

The application of Sen's Capability approach to selected women in Khayelitsha

By



**A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Masters of Arts in Development studies under the Institute for Social Development,
University of the Western Cape.**

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis submitted for examination titled:

“The application of Sen’s Capability approach to selected women in Khayelitsha”, is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Asha Sawyer

Signed:.....



Date:.....

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Amartya Sen

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ABSTRACT

THE APPLICATION OF SEN'S CAPABILITY APPROACH TO SELECTED WOMEN IN KHAYELITSHA

Measuring poverty adequately is critical for any type of development project, and yet there are still no clear guidelines as to which approach is best to be used for different circumstances. There is a variety of different ways of measuring and understanding poverty, each with their own advantages and disadvantages, depending on the intended goal. What is therefore important is the selection of an appropriate approach, or if necessary a combination of approaches that ensures the measurement of poverty in a holistic and participatory way.

This research will therefore explore the theory regarding poverty and poverty measurements, and research various perspectives ranging from income to basic needs, social exclusion, sustainable livelihoods, and finally to the Human Development Approach. It will look at how each of the approaches are carried out, by whom, what its focus is and what type of policy changes they are good in promoting. From this background the research will focus on the Human Development perspective which is believed to be a holistic alternative to poverty assessment. The discussion will center on Sen's Capability Approach and on the current debate about its applicability. The discourse lies in Sen's resistance to develop a list of capabilities. He has done so in order to allow for the adequate analysis of context specific circumstance, however making it difficult for international comparison (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003:17)

The capability measurement of poverty focuses on the lack of 'capabilities', as opposed to lack of money or resources which are seen as instrumental in the achievement of actual 'functionings' (actual 'doings' and 'beings'). Poverty by this definition is deprivation in capabilities or the failure to achieve basic capabilities which comprise the ability to satisfy important 'functionings' (Nussbaum, 2000:70). Capabilities draw attention to the causes of poverty and consider the decline in any human rights violation not allowing for any tradeoffs (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003:17)

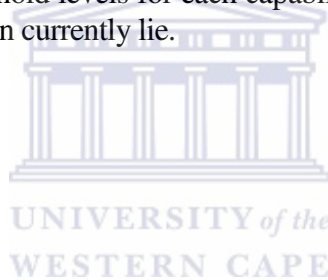
Martha Nussbaum agrees with Sen's theoretical background but developed a list of Capabilities which are: life, bodily health (which includes shelter), bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions (emotional development not blighted), practical reason, affiliation, relationship with other species, play and control over one's environment. At the same time she leaves the indicators open to allow for the adequate analysis of context and location specific circumstances (Nussbaum, 2000: 77-80).

The study focuses on the applicability of Martha Nussbaum's list of essential capabilities to assess poverty and its multifaceted dimensions. The study was based on a selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha. The methodology used was a survey, focus group discussions and observation. The study was conducted from May 2006 to June 2006.

The findings of the study were utilized in order to determine whether South Africa has the necessary institutional guarantees in place for the protection of the capabilities of the women, and whether they were able to benefit from them. Focus was also placed on quality and quantity of services and commodities available to them through social services, but also through the economic sector. The final step was to see if the women could, if they wanted to, transform the commodities and services available to them into functionings of value. If they could not, then they do not have the capabilities.

The study reveals that that the selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha lack all of the capabilities identified by Martha Nussbaum to a certain extent, however, a threshold level was not identified because the threshold levels have not yet been identified. The fact that the women do not have any of the capabilities indicates that the state of their poverty is complex and the issues are multi-dimensional and thus need multiple simultaneous interventions in order to address them, which is acknowledged in the research recommendations. It also highlights the weakness of local democracy, which is essential to guide the participatory developmental process needed for the women to lead their own development. The women are thus identified as the key stakeholders in voicing their needs and ensuring that basic essential needs are provided in the correct quantity and quality.

The research found that although Nussbaum's list of capabilities was practical in allowing for the complex problems to be analyzed, a gap is still recognized for the identification of specific functionings for international and even national comparisons and that the list can be left open for other developmental purposes and not for the measurement of poverty with comparative purposes. It also highlighted the need to identify threshold levels for each capability in order to be able to identify how far below acceptable levels the women currently lie.



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis gives an account of the ‘capabilities’ of a selected group of women in Site C in Khayelitsha near Cape Town. The account is done by the utilization of Martha Nussbaum’s list of essential ‘capabilities’ which is an application of Sen’s Capability approach. Martha Nussbaum agrees with Sen’s theoretical background but developed a list of capabilities which are: life, bodily health (which includes shelter), bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions (emotional development not blighted), practical reason, affiliation, relationship with other species, play and control over one’s environment. At the same time she leaves the indicators open to allow for the adequate analysis of context and location specific circumstances (Nussbaum, 2000: 77-80).

1.1.1 Khayelitsha and women as the research context

Khayelitsha today is predominantly made up of informal settlements and the township is a product of the segregation policies of the apartheid regime as it was originally designed to be a dormitory city with minimum economic base (Tusma, 2003: 20). The residents of Khayelitsha are either migrants from the Eastern Cape or relocated from other townships within Cape Town (Bhekithemba, 2005: 8). The township is characterized by predominantly low income housing, with high levels of poverty and unemployment as they are isolated from social and economic development. The concern is that the population of Khayelitsha have inequitable access to basic services, which in turn results in high levels of unemployment, high levels of crime and poor health conditions that are further aggravated by

lengthy commuter trips (Tusma, 2003: 20). It is from this background that this research focuses on Khayelitsha, as it is an area where poverty is very complex.

It has been proven that better education and health care can directly improve the quality of life not only of the woman receiving it, but also of her entire family (Sen 1999: 90-94). For this reason this research focuses on women.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND AIMS

The study deals with the need to adequately understand and measure poverty in order to promote and support sustainable development. The research problem is how best to assess and address the poverty of women in a situation of social and economic exclusion such as in Khayelitsha, and whether the Capability Approach can be used in this way. The research question is: what are the capabilities of the women in Khayelitsha and which are they lacking the most with reference to Martha Nussbaum's list of capabilities?

This is potentially an important area for research as adequately assessing poverty is important for any type of developmental project, and yet there is still no clear guideline on which is the best method to achieve this. There are a great variety of perspectives on poverty measurements held by various institutions ranging from an income perspective to basic needs, social exclusion, sustainable livelihoods and finally Human Development, the new approaches have not replaced the old and currently all are being used by different organizations and for different things.

In the case of Sen's Capability Approach there is a lively discourse with regards to its applicability because of the lack of clearly identified capabilities. This has been primarily because Sen believes that it should be done at local level in order to increase people's participation in identifying what they have reason to value (Commim, 2001: 4; Sen, 2001: 38). However for comparative purposes there is a need for the identification of at least general basic capabilities that no person should do without as the 'capability' failure in any of those identified would not allow for fully human functioning. Martha Nussbaum has created a list of essential capabilities that have these characteristics (Nussbaum, 2000: 6).

It is therefore proposed that an in-depth study be done of the capabilities of a selected group of women in Khayelitsha to experiment with the practical use of this approach because it has promising characteristics particularly with regards to emphasizing a holistic understanding of the complex factors that affect people's lives and their ability/possibilities to break out of the poverty cycle. This study would therefore measure the poverty of women in Khayelitsha based on Martha Nussbaum's list of essential capabilities and through this be able to highlight the gaps in service provision and constitutional rights that are preventing the adequate development of the capabilities of women who represent one of the most vulnerable groups and who hold they key to breaking the poverty cycle of the community or at least of their households (Sen 1999: 90-94; Sachs, 2005: 60-64) .

1.2.1 Research Aims

It is against this background that specific aims of the study are:

1. To provide the theoretical context and background to the study of capabilities.
2. To provide a justification for the selection of Nussbaum's list of essential capabilities.
3. To provide an overview on the status of women in South Africa and where possible of Khayelitsha from existing data.
4. To assess the capabilities of the selected women living in Khayelitsha (Site C).
5. To present research findings on the different capabilities as identified by Martha Nussbaum.
6. To identify major factors limiting development in Khayelitsha particularly focusing on women and to suggest recommendations.

1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.3.1 Data collection techniques

The research will utilize both primary and secondary sources of data for its analysis.

Secondary Sources of data

At present capability literature is benefiting from new books, documents from various organizations, articles and conference papers. Other secondary sources of value have been a variety of documents

produced by the South African government as well as various organizations and individuals looking to address the complex issues surrounding poverty and its multi-faceted dimensions and issues surrounding development. Focus was placed on available documentation about Khayelitsha, the women who live there and the poverty in which they live, which will be included in an attempt to portray their reality as much as possible and allow for the analysis to be done in context.

Primary sources of data

Primary sources of data are important because they allowed for deeper understanding of the women, their concerns, and their reality as they perceive it.

Two sets of questionnaires were used for data collection, one quantitative and one qualitative which were applied together. The first one is based on the 2006 Cape Area Panel Study done by the centre for Social Science Research Centre at UCT used annually to assess people in Khayelitsha with more basic multisectoral quantitative questions. The second questionnaire is a more reflective or qualitative questionnaire designed by the Khayelitsha Life Skills for Women (UWC) program, to analyze feelings and perceptions.

Qualitative data not obtained from questionnaires was obtained through focus group discussions with about 20 of the women participating in the Khayelitsha Life Skills for Women (UWC) program. The discussions held in this forum were of value because they gave the women space to bring up issues which were relevant to them.

Observations were also key in understanding not only the group of women selected, but also the reality that they live in. Throughout the process, and on every visit made to Khayelitsha, observations were made and recorded.

1.3.2 Selection of cases

Case selection was based on the selection made by the “Khayelitsha Life Skills for Women (UWC)”, a project directed by Ina Conradie at UWC, designed to enhance the life skills of women in Khayelitsha. The women are volunteers and therefore are not a representative sample of the population.

The women were alerted to the project through the support of local community groups, through the distribution of posters, fliers and loud-speakers. Several meetings were announced to introduce the project to women in Site C. Women interested filled in a very small questionnaire to determine their eligibility.

The criteria suggested by the team members (including myself) were:

- Motivation: a range from highly motivated to women who struggle - but who are nevertheless keen to participate
- Age: again a range, from 18 – 55
- Commitment: one weekday morning free for the foreseeable future (Wednesday)
- Level of education: no specific level required
- Addictions: No women with a known alcohol problem will be chosen, in other words, women whose drinking will affect their daily functioning were excluded
- No women with severe depression

In the meetings 165 women were interested and filled out an initial questionnaire to assess their eligibility based on the selection criteria, out of which 103 entered the program. The survey was carried out before the women were informed about the purpose of the programme so as not to create expectations or influence their answers in any way. The findings for the capability assessment were therefore not compromised even though the focus of the project is on life skills. The research drew on this sample because the researcher was engaged in the process of the design of the survey, was involved in the data collection, data capturing and was able to include questions relevant to the study of the capabilities of the selected group of women.

1.3.3 Data analysis

Only the questions relevant to the women's capabilities were analyzed and findings were categorized according to the capability that they influence¹. Material within each category was then compared to institutional guarantees available in South Africa and to other relevant data of South Africa, Cape Town and Khayelitsha. The goal was to highlight the areas where the selected women in Site C in

¹ For more information of questions selected see ANNEX I and ANNEX II on p.144-151

Khayelitsha are lacking in functionings, the reasons why and to determine if the obstacles could be overcome. If the women are not able in real terms to overcome the problems impeding the capabilities, then they do not have them.

This process was supported with the use of computer-aided software (Excel and SPSS) for the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study can make a valuable contribution to the current debate on Sen's Capability Approach and its applicability. In addition, it offers an analysis of the issues affecting the quality of life of a selected group of women in Khayelitsha. Although the sample is not representative of the population, the realities they face are also valid in many ways to the rest of the residents of the township. Therefore recommendations are applicable in addressing some of the issues affecting poverty and development in the area.



1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter one defines the research question and provides an overview of the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter explains the methodology through which data was collected and analyzed.

Chapter two is the first part of the theoretical framework and gives a perspective on the evolution of poverty and the various definitions and methods of assessing poverty. Chapter three contains the second part of the theoretical framework and focuses on the Capability Approach. The chapter looks at the ideology behind Sen's Capability Approach and looks into the current debate about its applicability. Amongst these is Martha Nussbaum's argument based on Sen's Approach and her list of capabilities of central importance.

Chapter 4 provides valuable background information. The chapter discusses the issues which are pertinent to the context of poverty in South Africa, in Cape Town and in Khayelitsha, with particular focus on women.

Chapter 5 gives a description of the current functionings of the selected group of women in Khayelitsha based on the questionnaire findings.

Chapter 6 gives a description of the current capabilities of the selected group of women in Khayelitsha based on the findings of their functionings found in chapter 5 and on the social and political possibilities that they actually possess based on service provision and the constitutional guarantees discussed in chapter 4.

Chapter 7 summarizes the study findings and makes a few recommendations and suggestions (based on the study), of how the quality of life of the selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha can be improved, and discusses the feasibility of using Martha Nussbaum's list as a measurement of poverty.

1.6 CONCLUSION

Currently there is a lively debate on the applicability of Amartya Sen's Capability Approach in assessing poverty. It is a valuable approach because it focuses not only on people's functionings but on their actual capabilities. The levels of poverty are therefore in this sense a lack of essential capabilities. The focus of the study is to test the applicability of Sen's Capability Approach through the use of Martha Nussbaum's list of essential capabilities in assessing the poverty of a selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha. The following chapters will expand further on the theoretical framework necessary for an adequate analysis of the causes and solutions of the poverty of the women in Khayelitsha, starting with different measurements of poverty being used today.

CHAPTER 2

POVERTY MEASUREMENTS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Poverty has been defined in different ways by different people, depending on their interests. When managing poor people's development, it is always important to consider how they themselves define or understand their poverty, and what they perceive to be the causes and possible solutions. However, the only way to clearly understand poverty in these terms is to become involved with the people affected by it. Most poor people perceive the major symptoms of poverty to be alienation from the community, food insecurity, crowded homes, use of only the most basic (natural) forms of energy, lack of adequately paid jobs, family fragmentation, and lack of basic services (May, 1998: 3-6; Narayan *et al.*, 2000: 1-19).

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It is also important to identify factors that contribute to the development of poverty. Without an understanding of these factors, development projects will only temporarily alleviate the symptoms whilst the problems persist and gradually resurface. Therefore, understanding and measuring poverty is not a static process, since people's vulnerability² is constantly changing as a result of illness, death, external economic conditions, climatic changes or natural disasters. A community or individual's vulnerability can increase or decrease according to their management of the assets, resources and skills available to them; and their level of vulnerability directly affects their possibility of breaking out of the poverty cycle. Availability, access and management of assets, resources and skills are not the only factors that have to be considered when assessing vulnerability and poverty: people's ability to devise coping mechanisms must also be measured (Moser, 1998: 3-6).

²People's vulnerability is the negative impact of change (Moser, 1998: 3), can be viewed as a cause of poverty or as symptom (Prowse, 2003: 8).

The ability of the poor to define coping mechanisms can be established by measuring poverty and properly understanding it together with them, though this may be easier said than done. There is a variety of different ways of measuring and understanding poverty, depending on the intended goal; each has its own *pros* and *cons*. What is therefore important is the selection of an appropriate approach, or if necessary a combination of approaches that ensures the measurement of poverty in a holistic and participatory way.

Part of this study will explain the evolution of ‘poverty’, or at least how perspectives and definitions of poverty have evolved, and later on describe the types of poverty measurements devised during the process. Perspectives vary from income to basic needs, social exclusion, sustainable livelihoods, and finally to the Human Development Approach. However, beyond a definition it is important to understand that diverse measurements of poverty are used and interpreted differently to achieve a variety of possible outcomes (intentionally or not). It is also significant to consider whether measurements focus on individuals, households or groups, and whether the measuring is being done by an external agent or by the community itself. How the assessment is carried out, by whom and what its focus is, play a big role both in the findings and in the identification of adequate solutions for people’s development. Some measurements are good for promoting policy changes that increase the availability of basic social services, while others promote economic growth and private income and expenditure (Dixon & Macarow, 1998: 6; Escobar, 1995: 21-25). However, there is a risk that promoting economic growth might widen –rather than close– the gap between rich and poor, even though the numbers show growth at a national level (Shiva, 2005: www.navdanya.org/articles/end-poverty.htm).

The following section will therefore focus on providing a historical framework of the evolution of the perception of poverty and how it has influenced the aim of development and become the focus of its measurement as well.

2.2 POVERTY

Historically the concept of ‘poverty’ has evolved as people have reflected on the definition and approach to measuring and dealing with it, often reaching diverse conclusions. The opposing arguments of well-known economist Jeffrey Sachs and Dr Vandana Shiva, an environmental scientist,

are an example. Jeffrey Sachs argues that before the Industrial Revolution almost everybody was poor and that as the Industrial Revolution led to new riches the majority of the world was left behind (Sachs 2005: 31-33). Dr. Shiva argues that “the poor are not those that were left behind, they are the ones who were pushed out and excluded from access to their own wealth and resources” (Shiva, 2005: www.navdanya.org/articles/end-poverty.htm).

During colonial times it was believed that the ‘natives’ could be influenced by the colonizers, but that “not much could be done about their poverty because their economic development was pointless”. Unfortunately the problem was not the lack of developmental initiatives, but the damage to the economic and social structures of these countries at the time (Escobar, 1995: 22).

The causes of poverty are multiple and complex. There is a large body of literature which explores these causes from the pre-colonial period through colonialism, and reviews early trade patterns and land redistribution during and after colonialism.

The introduction of foreign currencies changed the culture of trade and barter. At the same time, existing social structures were altered through the creation of small groups of elites that developed strong associations with European and American businesses (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 4-9; Fanon, 1963: 30-38). Most importantly, however, colonization changed local people’s modes of production and their livelihoods, as land was taken away from farmers who grew local crops and given to either colonizers or groups of local elite that were prepared to farm ‘cash crops’ good for promoting trade. The act of changing the modes of production is believed to have changed the world forever. People’s traditional means of survival were reduced or taken away, while the imposition of monetary taxes forced them to become paid workers for a minimum wage on the land that was previously their own. In the process, poverty as we know it today was created. This was reinforced by Africa, Latin America and Asia exporting primary goods and importing manufactured goods, which brought “the birth of capitalism and the exploitation of the periphery” (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 6). This period also brought about the creation of mega-enterprises that kept most of the profit and maintained the majority of the population underpaid (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 4-9), and do so to this day.

“Without the destruction of India’s rich textile industry, without the takeover of the spice trade, without the genocide of the native American tribes, and without the African slavery, the Industrial Revolution would not have led to new riches for Europe or the U.S” (Shiva, 2005:

www.navdanya.org/articles/end-poverty.htm). Therefore people are not poor because they are lazy or their countries are mismanaged, but because their wealth, land and culture has been appropriated or distorted, and their capacity to create wealth destroyed in the process. In addition, the riches accumulated by Europe and North America were based on wealth appropriated from Asia, Africa and Latin America (Shiva, 2005: www.navdanya.org/articles/end-poverty.htm).

At the end of World War II, mass poverty was ‘discovered’ in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and it was announced that around two thirds of the world population were poor. The shock this statement caused was intended to increase focus on economic growth. Escobar maintains that the new focus on poverty once again changed the world order, as it supported annual per capita income not for the purpose of comparative statistical operation but mostly in order for the US to promote economic growth. The new focus of development on economic growth was endorsed by the IMF and the World Bank (who defined poor countries as those with an annual per capita income of less than \$100 US dollars). The state of well-being from this moment on became closely linked to monetary growth and modernization, which needed ‘the right climate’ in order for ‘poor countries’ to be able to borrow money to ‘develop’ (Escobar, 1995: 21-25; Hewitt, 2002: 290-292).

Vandana Shiva argues that growth and development for the Third World unfortunately became aimed at economic development, which in some instances can also be closely linked to the creation of poverty. People that produced enough for their own consumption were therefore poor, according to the economic measurement of poverty, because they were neither producing for the market nor supporting ‘economic growth’ (Shiva, 2005: www.navdanya.org/articles/end-poverty.htm).

The perception of poverty in this context highlights the importance of developing and using appropriate measurements of poverty, because “people do not die for lack of incomes. They die for lack of access to resources” (Shiva, 2005: www.navdanya.org/articles/end-poverty.htm). Hence there is a need to consider not only income, but other resources available to people as well. Development thus becomes people-centered, and for the first time it is considered important to place people and their reality at the center of any process (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 17-20). This new paradigm recognizes that income is not the only important influencing factor, and has once again changed the face of poverty (Martinussen, 2003:289-291). New methodologies and definitions of poverty were developed with this new ideology; however, these new definitions did not replace the older ones. The new definitions brought, above all, the recognition that a holistic understanding was required, of the complex factors

affecting people's lives and their ability or possibility to break out of the poverty cycle. The definitions also led to the realization that people's participation is vitally important and central for their own development and empowerment. Poverty was therefore redefined as "going short materially, socially and emotionally... spending less on food, on heating, and on clothing than someone on an average income". Poverty was described most importantly as a circumstance that "takes away the tools needed to build the blocks for the future ('life chances') as it deprives the opportunity to have a life unmarked by sickness, a decent education, a secure home and a long retirement" (Dixon & Macarow, 1998: 3).

The introduction of the Human Development Index (HDI) in 1990 was another important breakthrough. Amartya Sen played an important role in developing the HDI, which was used for the annual production of the UNDP Human Development Report. This step was crucial, since the HDI is based on the ideas behind the 'Capability Approach', though involving measurement of actual 'functionings' -amongst other elements- instead of 'capabilities' (Jolly, 2001: 2-3).

Two different types of poverty now recognized are the chronically poor and the transient poor, which are believed to be qualitatively different and require different interventions to eliminate them. Chronic poverty is defined mostly by a duration period of more than 5 years, which is considered by most cultures to be a significant period of time. Research data also shows that those who remain poor for a period longer than 5 years are more likely to remain poor the rest of their lives (Francis, 2005: 7). Transitory poverty, on the other hand, is believed to be due mostly to an inability in people to cope with shocks, as opposed to chronic poverty which may be due to a low endowment of assets and a lack of ability to translate these assets into income (Francis, 2005: 7-8; Grant *et al.*, 2005: 3-7). It is important to keep these definitions in context, because -as we have seen- different people view poverty and its causes differently. However, they are all relevant to the discussion because the new has not yet replaced the old. In the next sections a range of poverty measurements will be discussed.

2.3 DIFFERENT MEASUREMENTS OF POVERTY

Assessing and understanding the level or magnitude of poverty experienced by people is important for any type of developmental process. However, there are unfortunately no clear guidelines for selecting the best assessment method, mostly due to the fact that there are great discrepancies in the definition of

poverty and the new definitions have not replaced the old. As long as institutions vary in their definitions of poverty, their perspectives on poverty measurements will also be different. Measurements of poverty range from income perspectives to basic needs, social exclusion, sustainable livelihoods, and finally to the Human Development approach (capabilities and Human Development Index).

How poverty is measured is very important for a variety of reasons, and the motives behind the need to measure poverty also influence how it is done. Three main reasons for measuring poverty have been identified at present. The first and simplest reason is that poverty measurements enable comparisons between people, communities or countries. The measurements also provide data that allows for the adequate analysis of people's living conditions, and lastly for the adequate planning and implementation of appropriate sustainable solutions to the complex issues surrounding poverty. Since none of the measurement approaches can be used to fully address all three poverty measurement objectives, a combination is often required depending on the intended poverty assessment information and use.

The understanding and selection of the best measurement approach for each circumstance is important, since the results obtained differ according to the methodology and indicators used. There are two main types of indicators: objective and subjective, which can also be referred to as quantitative and qualitative indicators, respectively. Objective (quantitative) indicators are the social indicators that measure income levels, consumption, expenditure, life expectancy and housing standards, amongst many other variables, while the subjective (qualitative) indicators are based on the attitudes, needs and perceptions of the poor (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 4; Narayan, 1999: 14-15). Qualitative indicators provide important general information, but they do not show the full picture because poverty varies between and within countries, and aggregate data does not reveal location-specific variations unless this is its specific goal. On the other hand, qualitative data provides information on poor peoples' experience of poverty and the coping mechanisms they have developed (Narayan, 1999: 14-15).

More holistic approaches use both types of indicators, which allows for better in-depth analysis. The use of both types helps to determine and understand the diversification of survival strategies that poor people have, including not only their sources of income but also the security and nourishment which would have otherwise become invisible. These more holistic approaches also provide important additional information, such as the difference in household economic contributions (wage or non-wage

based) or the diverse ways that men and women respond to available safety nets (Narayan, 1999: 15-16).

The range of measurement approaches, from the simplest to the most complex, will now be discussed in detail, including the indicators they attempt to measure.

2.3.5 The Monetary Approach

The *monetary* approach is the simplest and most commonly used, but it is also a largely inaccurate definition of poverty. Poverty as defined by the World Bank is ‘the inability to attain a minimal standard of living’ measured by the income requirements to satisfy basic consumption needs (World Bank, 1990: 26-27). The measurements are usually based on the use of a poverty line, where the value of different components is calculated at market prices or through the calculation of monetary values for items acquired through subsistence production, which are not actually valued through the market (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 6).

The monetary approach has three main different ways of measuring poverty based on income, expenditure and/or consumption (market value calculations), and the indicators used for all of these methods are purely objective. People are considered poor in each case if their income, expenditure or consumption fall below a defined measure (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 6), known as a ‘poverty line’. Monetary measurements of poverty are most often used for global comparison, but for greater analysis they can also be adjusted to include better examination of regional variations. For example, the poverty line has to consider the fact that the rural poor generally need less income/expenditure than the urban poor, when comparing rural and urban poverty within a country or countries (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 38). Income and expenditure patterns differ because rural people largely depend on their own production and the natural resources available, which may vary amongst different rural populations. However, such factors and adjustments are rarely taken into consideration.

The most common poverty line was defined by the World Bank in 1990, which classified the poor as those earning below US \$1 a day. The definition was based on a mid 1980’s income and statistics survey and factored in the changes in national consumer prices tracked. The World Bank definition of the poverty line is becoming obsolete because inflationary pressure has changed significantly since the

calculation was established (Jere-Malanda, 2006: 19). However, the same definition is still widely used for international comparisons, which raises questions concerning the evolution and history of poverty, and the need for the World Bank and the US to increase economic development (Hewitt, 2002: 290-292). The US and the World Bank fail to consider in this particular economic definition of the poverty line that rural populations and people in diverse places depend on different resources for their survival (Escobar, 1995: 21-25). Various regions and countries have acknowledged the failure and developed their own poverty lines that are more reflective of their own circumstances and more appropriate than the US \$1 per day standard. An example is the debate in South Africa where there is no official poverty line.

In South Africa several monetary definitions of poverty are being used, which are incongruent, each make their own assumptions and vary in their conclusions (Maclennan, 2007: www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx?articleid=299828&area=/budget07_home/budget07_news/). Some of the measures currently being used are the Household Subsistence Level and the Household Effective Level³, the Hooegeveen and Ozler- Upper and Lower Bound poverty lines⁴, in addition to the commonly used under \$1 and \$2 a day (National Treasury, 2007: 33-34). Currently monetarily they range from a line defined at R800 to R1600 (the most commonly used under \$2 a day), to R2400 rand per household per month (Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, (2006d) www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/CityStatistics/City%20stats%20summary%20page.htm; National Treasury, 2007b: www.treasury.gov.za/povertyline)

The Gross National Product (GNP) and the GNP per capita measurements (which are obtained by dividing the total GNP by the total population) were also developed for comparing the ‘development of each country’ at international level. These terms, however, do not provide any information about the distribution of wealth and income within a given country, (Sen, 1999: 60) leaving a gap; hence the Gini coefficient was developed to measure the level of inequality and the distribution of income within a country (Sen, 1999: 60).

³ The Household Subsistence Level includes only the basic essentials, The Household Effective Level includes “medical expenses, education, savings, holidays, recreation, insurance, buying household equipment and any transport beyond that of the breadwinner going to and from work” which increased the value by 50% (National Treasury, 2007:33)

⁴ Hooegeveen and Ozler- Upper and Lower Bound Poverty Lines estimated at R593 per person per month and R322 respectively in 2000 prices (estimated through the cost of ‘basic needs’). In 2006 prices the Lower bound Poverty Line is estimated at R432. (National Treasury, 2007:34)

The consumption method involves more difficult calculations and is therefore not often used for international comparison purposes of measurement, though it is the most appropriate monetary approach measurement method. However, consumption measurements are vital for the adequate measurement of poverty within countries in order to take regional variations into consideration.

All of the monetary approaches collect data at a household level at a particular time, but findings are expressed as an individual measure. Hence the concern is that the findings do not show the inequality within households and are static in time, and thus do not allow for the appropriate monitoring of trends.

Overall, the monetary approach does not attempt to address the complex issues causing poverty, but simply calculates the number of poor people according to the given definition. The method is thus biased and open to political interpretation. A major problem is that governments often promote policies that generate private income rather than expanding on the provision of social services, based on the results of these measurements (large numbers of people below the poverty line), in an effort to directly improve their income and expenditure measurements (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 6-9)

2.3.5 The Basic Needs Approach

Poverty under the *basic needs* perspective was developed by the World Bank and is best described as the “inability of individuals, households and communities to obtain sufficient resources to satisfy their basic needs”. These basic needs refer not only to the satisfaction of the family minimum requirements for personal consumption of food, shelter and clothing, but also to access to services such as safe drinking water, adequate sanitation, transport, health services and education (May, 1998: 3). The basic needs approach is considered better than the monetary approach in the sense that each country can use it as a guide to major policy recommendations, because it goes beyond the physical survival needs of an individual and includes a variety of social services which should constitute individual guarantees (Dixon & Macarow, 1998: 6).

The basic needs approach has some disadvantages in development management since the needs can then be seen as a ‘shopping list’ that should be provided for (Personal experience). The approach can create dependency and lack of community participation (Rahman, 1994: 185), and subjectively

focuses on what people do not have rather than on what they do have. Preconceived negative attitudes tend to develop dependency rather than motivate people in a society to become actively involved in their own development. The basic needs approach does not focus at all on the social issues surrounding and causing poverty and vulnerability, in the same way as the monetary approach fails to provide the necessary framework to understand these issues (Dixon & Macarow, 1998: 7).

The basic needs approach was the first to focus on what needed to be accomplished, rather than on the question of how to achieve it. The approach, however, remained an individualistic measure and failed to assess the causes of poverty or unequal distribution of wealth and resources within households (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 107). Data collected is quantitative and gathered at the household level, but findings are expressed individualistically, which makes it difficult to translate into adequate policy or action that can target specific needs of vulnerable groups. At the same time it is important to recognize that the method is the basis of other measurements of poverty, as they include the basic needs and move beyond, trying to gain a better understanding of the underlying causes of poverty (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 39).



2.3.5 The Social Exclusion Perspective

The *social exclusion* perspective was created in the First World because most people in these societies already had their basic needs met and could therefore recognize that deprivation and vulnerability were the result of other variables, since there was hardly any income poverty in those countries (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 39). Therefore, the concept of social exclusion was developed in order to “describe the process of marginalization and deprivation that can arise even within rich countries with comprehensive welfare provisions” (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 20). Social exclusion therefore refers to ‘the relational dimensions’ of poverty instead of focusing only on the distribution of monetary income (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 40).

One can thus assume that social exclusion affects people everywhere, not only in the First World or industrialized countries. Exclusion has a greater impact in underdeveloped and developing nations, and should therefore be considered particularly important when assessing poverty in these cases. Countries with marginalized sectors of the population, such as minority groups or usually the disadvantaged and poor majority, need to pay special attention to this approach when measuring

poverty; and understand the process of marginalization by identifying reasons and mechanisms which cause an individual or a group to become excluded from full participation (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 21).

There are various problems associated with the application of the social exclusion concept. In developing countries exclusion tends to apply to the majority of the population, hence the 'normal' in this case may not be a desirable and adequate measurement of exclusion. Another problem is that exclusion is part of society and local customs in many countries (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 22); for example, the preference for some societies to educate boys and keep girls at home. It is difficult to propose that norms should be adopted from other societies, particularly when they oppose local customs and beliefs. Some argue that change can possibly be justified because of 'globalization' and the fact that underdeveloped countries are those being 'excluded' from full participation in the international arena. However, the most practical idea is to develop indicators locally through participatory approaches (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 22).

Social exclusion indicators emphasize the political, social and economic components of a country, and are therefore composite indicators of poverty and inequality (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 40). These indicators are the factors that cause one person to be more vulnerable than another in the same country, and highlight the cultural and political aspects causing the vulnerability. The factors are determined by analyzing a given society, including its customs and policies that make a person more or less disadvantaged. The social exclusion perspective also attempts to address the patterns that make a disadvantaged person further excluded, resulting in further disadvantage, multiple disadvantages or exclusions that intensify deprivation (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 21).

The social exclusion approach considers groups and their specific circumstances, such as the elderly, the handicapped, a particular gender or race group, in order to understand the multidimensionality of their situation. Causes of exclusion are addressed, such as not being allowed to participate in formal employment, as are the results of that exclusion; hence the data collected is primarily qualitative. The social exclusion approach can lead to group-based policies such as affirmative action. It is, in fact, the only one that exclusively addresses the process of poverty and ascribes responsibility of specific exclusion to harmful policies or cultural practices, as well as to those who promote and practice them (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 20-23).

The social exclusion approach is specific to a particular society and therefore cannot provide an absolute definition of poverty, since an adaptation to regional differences is required. The data collection process and findings are also based on participatory approaches to ensure that the voices and opinions of the poor are heard throughout the process (Narayan *et al.*, 2000: 188-193).

2.3.4 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The *sustainable livelihoods* approach was developed as the result of recognizing that, “food security was not a mere problem of agricultural productivity but of poverty in all its multi-faceted dimensions”. The concept was therefore moved forward to “advocate for the achievement of sustainable development as a broad goal for poverty eradication focused on the poor who live in marginalized areas” (Singh & Gilman, 2000: 1).

The livelihoods approach is focused on how people in a specific region or place make a living, and aims at ensuring that valuable resources available to people are sustainable: meaning that they are not contaminated or depleted (Singh & Gilman., 2000: 1). The approach is based on what people have, rather than on what they do not have, which in addition to being more positive than the traditional monetary or needs assessment approaches, allows for people to be creative with what is already available to them (Moser, 1998): 1-2). The method does not look at people living in impoverished areas as victims, but rather as managers of their own lives. Poor people are not seen as waiting for someone to solve their problems, but rather as already addressing the problems the best way they know how. The approach, therefore, recognizes that people have access to a series of complex portfolios which take into account all the local and traditional knowledge and relations that are particularly valuable in a local context (Singh & Gilman, 2000: 3). The livelihoods approach also recognizes that people in different places are not poor or vulnerable in the same way, and therefore focuses on people’s ability to cope with hardship rather than on poverty as implied in all previous approaches (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 40).

Physical resources, access to opportunities, choice and training are some of the issues considered in the livelihoods approach. The value of traditional tangible assets such as labor and human capital, productive assets such as housing, as well as intangible assets such as social capital and household relations are also acknowledged as more important than just money (Moser, 1998: 11-14). The

approach thus involves the measurement of all resources including natural, social, physical and financial capital.

The sustainable livelihoods approach has a strong focus on participation of individuals and communities in the whole process, ranging from the formulation of indicators to the actual assessment and measurement processes, which therefore ensures proper analysis of location-specific circumstances (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 40). Participation allows people to differentiate between tasks that help them survive and acts that will help them improve their quality of life in the future. The approach also recommends that all members of the community participate in the process, including NGOs and local government, as well as other local organizations and private companies, in order to provide a consensus on the solutions and approaches to be implemented (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 40). The indicators used to collect the data are qualitative, in order to show the different dimensions affecting people's livelihoods and their ability to cope. The goal of the policy is to support existing livelihoods and develop new livelihood systems through improving skills and assets available to people, as well as eradicating barriers based on gender or racial inequalities, and by protecting the assets of the poor (Singh & Gilman , 2000: 4 & 36-37).



2.3.5 The Human Development Perspective

The *human development* perspective draws extensively on the work of Amartya Sen, which promotes a holistic understanding of poverty and aims at enlarging people's life choices (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 40; Jolly, 2001: 2): to live "long, healthy and creative lives"(Jolly, 2001: 3; Sen, 1999: 87).

This approach emphasizes that economic growth does not necessarily have a direct link to poverty reduction, and that focusing on human resource investment, social-sector expenditure and provision of basic needs is not enough to improve human development. Focus must be placed on "reinforcing human capabilities and fostering access to meaningful opportunities for exercising choice" (Jolly, 2001: 3).

In the human development perspective, complex or composite indicators are used that help reflect the range of conditions of poverty. This perspective also allows for the development of indicators for "less

tangible dimensions of poverty and indicators that reflect the perceptions of the poor themselves” (Davids *et al.*, 2005: 40).

There are two main branches of the human development perspective relevant to the current study of the applicability of the Capability Approach for measuring poverty. The first branch and source of the concept was developed by Sen and is the basis for all the rest. The second branch is the Human Development Index, which is the most commonly used today since it is applied by the UNDP in the production of annual Human Development Reports.

The capability measurement of poverty focuses on the lack of ‘capabilities’, as opposed to lack of money or resources, and therefore rejects monetary income as a measure of well-being. Poverty by this definition is deprivation in capabilities or the failure to achieve basic capabilities which comprise the ability to satisfy important ‘functionings’. The definition of well-being has therefore shifted away from a monetary definition to personal fulfilment, which is the freedom of individuals to live valued lives (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 14; Nussbaum, 2000: 70). This approach considers money as a means to an end but not the end itself, thus recognizing that different people need different resources to achieve the same results; physical differences, abilities and access to resources become significant. Focus is therefore placed on the adequacy of resources, rather than on their sufficiency, and takes into account external factors and social restrictions that influence the level of capabilities any individual can achieve (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 14-15; Sen, 1999: 87).

Sen did not develop a comprehensive list of capabilities or indicators to allow the adequate analysis of context-specific differences, making it unfortunately difficult for international comparison. The Capabilities Approach emphasizes the freedom of individuals. Regrettably there is a tendency to measure functionings rather than capabilities. The most common functionings measured are life expectancy, morbidity and literacy, which are virtually identical to basic needs. Capabilities, however, draw attention to the causes of poverty and consider the decline in any capability as a human rights violation, and do not allow for any tradeoffs. In addition, the Capabilities Approach permits a shift away from private resources and highlights the value of social services (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003: 17).

The Human Development Index was devised by Dr Mahbub ul Haq Humand with support from Amartya Sen, based on Sen’s theoretical framework (Laderchi *et al.*, 2004: 18; Jolly, 2001: 3). The approach is concerned with determining the issues other than income that impede people’s

“capabilities and opportunities for living a long, healthy and creative life”, because poverty is considered to be more than merely low income (Sen, 1999: 87). Hence, overcoming poverty means “having a decent standard of living, the respect of others, and the things that people value in life” (Jolly, 2001: 4). In developing the methodology, Sen and Haq initially used the Human Development Index (HDI) to measure progress in variables such as longevity, access to information and knowledge, social and political participation, and material means. The HDI later evolved into the Human Poverty Index (HPI) developed by Sudhir Anand and utilized to measure the extent of people’s deprivation. The HPI and HDI are both standard terms used in the UNDP’s annual Human Development Reports (Jolly, 2001: 4).

The HDI approach was designed to conceptualize the well-being of countries and is useful in understanding inter-country, regional and long-term poverty trends. The approach also recognizes that a country’s GDP is not a sufficient measure of poverty, and therefore uses complex indicators to measure life expectancy, infant mortality, availability and access to education, and skills training, as well as the GDP per capita. The Human Development measurements at a national level are indicated on a scale ranging from 0 to 1, where 0 refers to no human development and 1 to full human development. By focusing on a country as a whole the findings conceal inequalities inside the country, because they do not highlight regional, gender or any other differences within a country. However, when used within a country HDI helps underline the differences between race and gender (Laderchi et al, 2003: 18-20), but unfortunately cannot show differences within households. Thus the HDI is a simpler and limited version of Sen’s approach, as it is only based on actual functionings and has chosen different variables on which to focus the measurements.

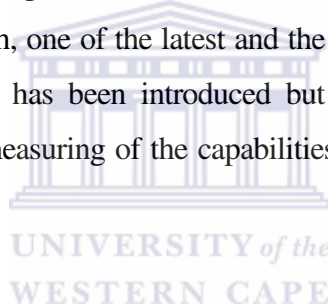
2.4 CONCLUSION

Poverty has evolved, or at least our understanding of it has. As development practitioners it is important to utilize the knowledge that is now available and learn from the mistakes of the past. The understanding of poverty in this study totally agrees with the statement that “we must first know what poverty is before we attempt to measure it, and before we can do anything to alleviate it” (Alcock, 1997: 67). In addition, it is also important to know what has caused poverty, since “the poor did not become poor because they were lazy or because their countries were mismanaged. They are poor

because their wealth, land and culture have been appropriated or distorted and their wealth-creating capacity has been destroyed” (Shiva, 2005: www.navdanya.org/articles/end-poverty.htm). There is, therefore, a need to understand what poverty is, how it has developed (focusing on particular circumstances), how to adequately measure it and finally what the possible appropriate solutions at local and national levels should be.

There are many definitions of poverty, most of which have been influenced by preconceived causes or by solutions considered from an economic and political point of view. Hence the understanding and measuring of poverty is not simple. It is important for development practitioners to be aware of discrepancies and issues when choosing a poverty measurement approach. Any one, or any combination of approaches, can be used as long as there is an understanding of their limitations and ultimate purposes.

As different approaches have evolved, so have their complexity and usefulness in understanding and analyzing intricate situations. The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to attempt to operationalize a version of Sen’s Capability Approach, one of the latest and the most complex systems for measuring poverty. The Capability Approach has been introduced but will be expanded on further in the following chapters, and utilized in measuring of the capabilities of Xhosa women living in Site C in Khayelitsha, Cape Town.



CHAPTER 3

THE CAPABILITY APPROACH

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in the previous chapter, Sen recognized that “there are many fundamentally different ways of seeing the quality of living”, and therefore poverty. He argued that, “you could be well without being able to live the life you wanted. You could have the life you wanted without being happy. You could be happy without having much freedom. You could have a great deal of freedom, without achieving much.” (Sen, 1987: 1)

Sen proposes an entirely different approach for perceiving the quality of living and introduces the Capability Approach, which will be described and analyzed in detail in this chapter.

The Capability Approach evolved from a philosophical background that should first be understood before trying to grasp what the approach entails. It is also important to understand the value of the Capability Approach in terms of equal and just development, an essential aspect since this thesis focuses on a selected group of Women living in Site C in Khayelitsha rather than on the whole population. Different critiques of the Capability Approach will be discussed, as well as views on the reluctance of the approach to identify specific functionings and indicators. Finally, this chapter will conclude in justifying why this thesis should focus on the capability list identified by Martha Nussbaum, which is supported by other authors: specifically those that focus on gender development.

3.2 BACKGROUND TO SEN'S CAPABILITY APPROACH

Although the development of the Capability Approach is concerned with establishing an adequate way of understanding and assessing poverty, it also has deeper philosophical roots of welfare⁵ and utility. Utilitarianism is a sound social policy aimed at the maximization of welfare. John Rawls, however, criticized utilitarianism and objected to its aggregative character, arguing that it is not concerned with patterns of actual distribution of welfare and in addition assumes that “welfare is the aspect of a person’s condition which commands normative attention”. Rawls therefore recommends that normative evaluations should focus on goods rather than the calculation of welfare. His primary concern is that people could adapt their preferences according to the circumstances in which they live, which would make the assessments based on welfare inconclusive (Cohen, 1993: 9).

Legrange, Adam Smith’s contemporary, noticed the different needs amongst various consumer groups related to their occupation, location and other demographic characteristics, and then specified diverse rations of vegetables and meat for the consumer groups according to their requirements (Sen, 1987: 20). There are similarities to the basic needs perspective, which is generally formulated in terms of the possession of goods; however, Legrange’s observations also draw attention to the “type of life that people are able to lead” (Sen, 1987: 24). Sen therefore argues that any evaluation of the standard of living needs to focus some attention on the satisfaction of basic needs, but these should be formulated in line with functionings and capabilities, so as to become instrumentally important instead of being intrinsically important. The argument is based on the fact that the commodities needed to achieve a specific standard of living may differ depending on the physiological, social, cultural and other underlying factors affecting each person. Therefore “the value of the living standard lies in the living, and not in the possessing of commodities, which has derivative and varying relevance” (Sen, 1987: 25).

Sen focused on ‘the condition of a person’, which could be -for example- his level of nutrition, rather than focusing on his ‘stock of goods’, such as his food supply, or his ‘welfare level’, the pleasure or desire satisfaction that he obtains from food consumption. The change of focus means that different people require different amounts of goods to satisfy the same needs, and so emphasis should center on what goods ‘do to human beings’ (Cohen, 1993: 10), instead of the amount of goods available to

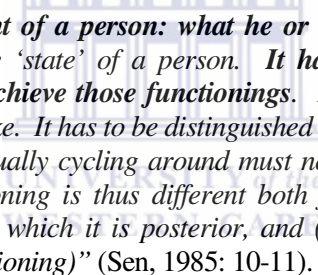
⁵ Welfare being the enjoyment, or a desirable or agreeable state of consciousness (Cohen, 1993: 9)

human beings. Sen also criticized welfarists because although they focused on what people get from goods, they were observing people's 'mental reaction', which can adjust to different conditions. Hence when assessing a person's well-being, as Cohen explained it, "we must look to her condition in abstraction from its utility for her" and focus beyond Rawlsians, who are only concerned with a person's supply of goods, or the welfarists, with the utility (satisfaction) a person gets from the goods (Cohen, 1993: 16-19).

3.3 WHAT EXACTLY IS THE CAPABILITY APPROACH?

The Capability Approach evolves around *commodities*, *functionings* and *capabilities*, the three main concepts on which it is based.

The first step in defining the Capability Approach is to distinguish commodities from functionings, as follows:



"A functioning is an achievement of a person: what he or she manages to do or to be. It reflects, as it were, a part of the 'state' of a person. It has to be distinguished from the commodities which are used to achieve those functionings. For example, bicycling has to be distinguished from possessing a bike. It has to be distinguished also from happiness generated by the functioning, for example. Actually cycling around must not be identified with the pleasure obtained from the act. A functioning is thus different both from (1) having goods (and the corresponding characteristics), to which it is posterior, and (2) having utility (in the form of happiness resulting from that functioning)" (Sen, 1985: 10-11).

Commodities are therefore objects that a household produces or owns, and relate to functionings as these are achieved by the individuals' ability to utilize relevant available commodities, thus accomplishing their 'doings or beings' (Harrison, 2001: 3). It will later be revealed that assessments of commodities do not have value when used on their own, but only when used as tools in supporting people's functionings and capabilities.

Functionings and capabilities differ as follows:

"A functioning is an achievement whereas a capability is the ability to achieve. Functionings are in a sense, more related to living conditions, since they are different aspects of living conditions. Capabilities in contrast are notions of freedom, in the positive sense; what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead" (Sen, 1987: 36).

Capabilities can therefore be defined as the substantive freedoms individuals enjoy to lead the kind of life they have a reason to value (Sen, 2001: 87), the freedom to lead one type of life over another (Sen, 1992: 40), or the ability to achieve functionings. Capabilities can also be defined as the “various living conditions we can or cannot achieve” (Sen, 1987: 16), or as the various combinations of functions (‘doings’ and ‘beings’) an individual can achieve (Sen, 1985: 14).

It is also necessary to understand the combined concepts of the capability framework. On the basis of *‘Development as Freedom’* (Sen, 2001), Commim described the Capability Approach as “a framework for evaluating and assessing social arrangements, standards of living, inequality, poverty, justice, quality of life or well-being”. He argues that the main contribution of the Capability Approach is “the broadening of the informational space”, that increases the information needed to make evaluative judgments by using functionings (‘doings and beings’) rather than only opulence, utilities or rights (Commim, 2001: 4).

The Capability Approach needs a ‘valuation exercise’ to be efficient, which is the process of identifying and weighing what people are able to do or be; without it the different layers of complexity would not come to light. The valuation exercise has various essential outcomes, which include the identification of a spectrum of variables and relevant spaces, and the requirement for each of the functionings and their variables to be evaluated and prioritized. The valuation process is important because people will give different values to diverse functionings; some persons may consider a functioning crucial, while others may find it insignificant (Commim, 2001: 4).

Broadening the informational space is also intrinsically important to a person’s well-being, as it protects his or her freedom to choose which functionings are valuable in a particular context. The goal of well-being is therefore not a series of achieved functionings, but rather the capability of choosing amongst the possible lifestyles and living conditions, thus reflecting a person’s true freedom to live the life he or she has reason to value, or the ‘agency aspect’⁶ of a person (Commim, 2001: 4).

The recommendation of the Capability Approach in terms of poverty assessment is therefore twofold. Firstly, poverty should be measured in terms of what people have access to and what they are able to do with those resources, which should then be measured against the freedoms that people have to lead the kind of life they have reason to value. The second recommendation is the process by which

⁶ The agency aspect of a person “describes the situation where one acts in terms of one’s own values and objectives” (Commim, 2001: 4)

valuable functionings and capabilities are chosen by a person or persons. The process of selection also has value (of its own), in increasing a person's freedom (Sen, 2001: 38). The focus of this research is the measurement of poverty and will thus leave out the process of selecting functionings and capabilities by the targeted group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha.

Harrison makes a comparison between assessing functionings and capabilities based on Sen's theory (Harrison, 2001: 5-6). He argues that when trying to assess a person's standard of living, the 'objects of value' can be the various 'doings' and 'beings' a person achieves. The 'doings' and 'beings' can be an infinite number and could potentially be continually subdivided; therefore the process of identifying and prioritizing 'doings' and 'beings' that are of intrinsic value and discarding those that are not can be a valuable exercise on its own (Harrison, 2001: 5-6; Sen 1987: 29).

Harrison further argues that what is important is to understand how the various functionings and capabilities affect a person's well-being. According to Sen, functionings are elements of a person's being, and therefore the evaluation of well-being has to assess these essential elements (Sen, 1992: 39). In other words, a person's well-being is perceived as the range of functionings he or she has. However, if a person's capability of achieving well-being is to be measured, then the set of functionings that a person can (if he wanted to) achieve has to be evaluated. By looking at capabilities rather than functionings, the approach allows for the identification of reasons -other than by choice- why certain 'doings' or 'beings' are not achieved. A good example is the importance of differentiating between not eating because of the absence of food and not eating because of a spiritual fast. Both people will be experiencing hunger, but one is doing it by choice and can assume that food will be available once the fast is finished, and the second person does not have food to satisfy the basic consumption needs. Capabilities as opposed to functionings thus allow for the evaluation of whether alternatives are available to individuals in terms of the state that they actually achieve, and whether alternative functionings are actually possible (Harrison, 2001: 5-6).

It is important to note that Sen recognizes how it is not always possible to assess people's capabilities; he has stated that "one might have to settle often enough for relating well-being to the achieved -and observed- functionings, rather than trying to bring in the capability set" (Harrison 2001: 6). Although Sen is reluctant to choose a specific capability set, he has identified five key freedoms that he considers instrumental regarding policy (Sen, 2001: 38) which will be discussed in the next section.

3.4 THE LIST OF FREEDOMS AS IDENTIFIED BY SEN

Sen recognized that it is valuable for communities themselves to identify their different functionings and capabilities, as the process of identification has a significance of its own; he has therefore refused to sanction a selection of basic capabilities. However, in the book *Development as Freedom* (Sen, 2001), Sen identified five key types of freedoms that are considered instrumental regarding policy issues. He also stated that these five types of freedom complement one another and contribute to the general capability of a person ‘to live more freely’. The five freedoms identified for special attention were political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security, all of which are defined below (Sen, 2001: 38-40).

Political freedoms include civil rights and refer to the opportunities people have in terms of determining who governs them, as well as the ideologies and values through which they are governed. Political freedoms also include “political entitlements associated with democracies in the broadest sense”, such as freedom of speech including -but not limited to- criticizing authorities; freedom of political expression and freedom of press, voting rights, and the possibility of choosing among political parties (Sen, 2001: 38).

Economic facilities are the opportunities that people have to utilize economic resources for the purpose of consumption, production or exchange. Opportunities depend on the resources that are available or owned, as well as the ‘conditions of exchange’ which are defined by markets and prices. The economic development of a country should therefore not be limited to the generation of national wealth, but should also be reflected in the economic enhancement of the population. The proper dissemination of wealth should make a difference in the quality of peoples’ lives (Sen, 2001: 39).

Social opportunities refer to the measures that society takes to ensure the provision of essential services such as education and health care, which highly influence an “individual’s substantive freedom to live better”. Social opportunities have an immediate impact on people’s lives, such as increasing literacy levels and reducing morbidity and mortality; however, they are also important for more effective social participation. For example, illiterate people may not be able to participate effectively in the work force or in political activities, as they are unable to inform themselves by reading or express themselves in writing. A child who does not have access to health care may miss

many days of school as a result of preventable or easily curable diseases, which may have long-term effects on his educational development (Sen, 2001: 39).

Transparency guarantees deal with social interactions and how individuals relate to one another assuming, from what they are being offered, what they will actually get in the end. It is understood that society is based on a hypothetical level of trust, and that the rupture of this trust can seriously affect dynamics which will in turn disrupt everyday life. Hence, transparency guarantees are instrumental freedoms important in preventing corruption and in enhancing financial responsibility at all levels (Sen, 2001: 39-40).

Protective security provides a safety net for people who fall through a good economic system as a result of various vulnerabilities and whose lives would be reduced to misery, starvation or death unless some type of support were implemented. Sometimes material changes can gravely affect people's lives, and without institutional arrangements such as grants or unemployment benefits, people may find themselves in dire circumstances (Sen, 2001: 40).

3.5 CAPABILITIES AND POLITICAL FREEDOMS

It is important at this point to understand how democratic and political freedoms and civil rights relate to functionings and capabilities. Sen suggests three arguments in favour of democratic political freedoms and civil rights. The first is the direct importance of political freedoms and civil rights in basic capabilities such as effective political and social participation. The second states that they have an instrumental role in enhancing the 'hearing' that people get, referring to the rights that allow people to gain a voice and actually be heard by those who make decisions; this includes their claim to economic needs. The last argument is that freedoms and rights have a constructive role in the conceptualization of needs (Mehrotra: 2001: 3).

Mehrotra suggests that the instrumental and constructive roles can easily be weakened. He argues that the instrumental role of giving a voice to people can be blunted when governments respond to the demands of the poor without ensuring the quality of the services. Mehrotra also mentions that the 'conspiracy of silence' regarding issues essential in improving the lives of the poor, can hinder the constructive role; because if essential issues and their solutions are not openly discussed, then nothing

is done about them (Mehrotra, 2001: 3). The idea is central to the evaluation of people's capabilities, because it means that although civil rights may exist on paper, there are problems regarding their actual implementation.

A major concern is that when deprivations are perceived as chronic, such as regular malnutrition, illiteracy, and inequalities in gender or racial relations, then less attention is given to them as compared to acute problems or emergencies. The conspiracy of silence referred to above and the provision of low-quality services explain why deprivations can exist and persist for long periods of time, resulting in chronic underdevelopment, vulnerability and poverty. Mehrotra believes that Sen is therefore concerned about the dangers in overselling the effectiveness of democracy, and calls for 'fuller' democratic practice: more effective use of communication and political participation in finding long-lasting solutions to chronic problems (Mehrotra, 2001: 3). He is disturbed by the ineffective delivery of basic social services such as primary health, reproductive health, primary schooling, safe drinking water and sanitation, and -more importantly- on what governments need to do to trigger local action (Mehrotra, 2001: 3), all of which is essential to finding long-term solutions for alleviating poverty.

The most basic essential functionings, such as being able to read and write, being free from preventable diseases and being adequately nourished, are not possible without access to basic social services (Mehrotra 2001: 6). It has also become clear through the acceptance of the millennium development goals, that the world is in agreement and has now advocated that states and specific organizations should finance the provision of fundamental social services such as elementary education, basic health, access to water and minimum sanitation (Sachs, 2005: 210-214; Mehrotra 2001: 6). Mehrotra also argues that many simple functionings, such as being adequately nourished, being able to read and write and being free from avoidable diseases, are actually linked to more complex functionings, which in turn are not achievable if people are not able to participate effectively in society (Mehrotra, 2001: 3&6).

However, the argument in support of effective participation places a lot of pressure on local democracy at the lowest level (household and community level), on issues concerning successful collective action. Every individual must have a voice, and the argument implies that the capability set must therefore "include the freedom, and in fact the *realized* functioning of participation" (Mehrotra, 2001: 3). The development of complex functionings is essential in teaching the poor how to apply pressure on local elites and thus decentralize decision-making all the way to local government. In most developing

countries service delivery is almost always provided in a top-down manner and through sectoral line ministries. Mehrotra is most concerned here with ineffective use of resources and lack of synergy between interventions in different spheres. Essential for sustainable development is the adequate provision of basic services such as education, health, water and sanitation, nutrition, and reproductive health, but synergy cannot be achieved through the vertical provision of services, since intersectoral action is best triggered locally (Mehrotra, 2001: 6).

Mehrotra criticizes Sen for being primarily focused on democracy at a national level rather than at a local level (Mehrotra, 2001: 7). Although Mehrotra may be partly right, he may have exaggerated as Sen has insisted that an important part of the Capability Approach is the ‘valuation exercise’, which implies that the capability set must be identified and evaluated locally, and therefore would require efficient local democracy (Commim, 2001: 4). It is important at this point to highlight Mehrotra’s concern that “democracy at the macro level rarely translates into power for the poor. If it did, we would have evidence of pro-poor economic growth and dramatic improvements in human development indicators in those Latin American and African countries which went democratic over the 1980s and 1990s” (Mehrotra, 2001: 7).



3.6 THE CAPABILITY APPROACH FOR POOR WOMEN

WESTERN CAPE

Wendy Harcourt and Martha Nussbaum believe that the Capability Approach is in line with demands women are already making at national and global level (Harcourt, 2001: 1 and Nussbaum 2000: 27). They therefore consider the capability framework important in developing strategies that promote gender equality and well-being of women, in an attempt to promote a more just development. They support this through Sen’s argument that:

Nothing arguably is as important today in the political economy of development as an adequate recognition of political, economic and social participation and leadership of women. This is indeed a crucial aspect of “Development as freedom” (Sen, 2001: 203).

Sachs, also, affirms that the cultural barriers blocking women’s political, economic and educational rights deeply affect poverty. It is a proven fact that low educational levels for women result in high fertility rates, which force them to remain within the child rearing role. Cultural barriers also affect women from religious or ethnic minorities, limiting their access to rights and resources (Sachs, 2005:

60). Sachs provides a different explanation: the demographic trap, which can also be linked directly to cultural barriers. He argues that children in the developed world are born at a replacement rate, meaning that each couple has two children who will replace them when they die; cultural barriers are not keeping women in a child-rearing role. However, in the poorest of the poor families, with little if any female education, families have two or more girls in addition to the boys; thus in each generation the population is doubled. This is a serious problem for the family, because in most cases it cannot invest equally in all the children with regards to nutrition, health, and education; frequently, only one goes to school and it is usually a boy that is given the opportunity. The increase in household numbers also exerts greater demands on existing limited household resources, including land and land productivity, resulting in increased pressure which can quickly exacerbate poverty. All population problems can be partly solved by increasing access of women to education, and therefore reducing fertility rates (Sachs, 2005: 64).

3.7 DIFFERENT VIEWS ON SEN'S CAPABILITY APPROACH WITH REGARDS TO DEFINING SPECIFIC FUNCTIONINGS AND CAPABILITIES

Sen's Capability Approach outlines the process by which the quality of life should be assessed in terms of the capabilities that each person has. Poverty should therefore be envisaged as the deprivation of basic capabilities, and not merely as lack or lowness of income. Since capabilities are the substantive freedoms enjoyed by people to lead the kind of life they have reason to value (Sen, 2001: 87), or a person's freedom to lead one type of life over another (Sen, 2001: 87; Sen, 1992: 40), or people's ability to achieve various functionings (Sen, 1985: 14), the measurement of poverty should therefore be focused on people's freedom to achieve various functionings (Sen, 2001: 87; Commim, 2001: 4).

Many economists recognize Sen's philosophy as a breakthrough in international economics that provides alternative ways of perceiving and understanding poverty. The refusal by Sen to determine valuable capabilities and functionings has created a debate regarding the applicability of the Capability Approach. As a result, different people have attempted to make the approach operational in a more holistic manner, in line with Sen's ideas other than the Human Development Report (HDR).

One of the theorists, Flabio Commim, believes that "the operationalization of the Capability Approach is the most important challenge that lies ahead of this framework", partly because of its theoretical

under-specification (Commim, 2001: 2). Sugden, Ysander, Srinivasan and Roemer all suggest that the ‘multidimensional-context-dependent-counterfactual-normative nature’ of the Capability Approach prevents it from having operational significance. However, Commim then goes on to acknowledge that Sen has actually provided a “strong practical meaning” when relating to his work on capabilities, admitting that “the approach must nevertheless be practical in the sense of being usable for actual assessments of the living standard” (Commim, 2001: 2; Sen, 1987: 20), and that therefore the approach has some “practical importance” (Commim, 2001: 2; Sen, 1992: 11).

Mehrotra argues that the Capability Approach is essentially “evaluative” and is used for “normative purposes”. He believes that the approach would be more evaluative if specific functionings or their correspondent indicators were identified, which would then enable their distribution amongst the population to be noted. Mehrotra also believes that what is needed to make the Capability Approach practical in terms of policy-making and thus poverty alleviation is to define the ‘conditions’ necessary for actual realization of essential functionings, and that this process should take place at community level (Mehrotra, 2001: 7).

Sabina Alkire, according to Ingrid Robeyns, stated that “the Capability Approach is a framework of thought, a normative tool, but it is not a fully specified theory that gives us a complete awareness to all our normative questions. It is not a mathematical algorithm that prescribes how to measure inequality or poverty, nor is it a complete theory of justice”. Alkire goes on to argue that the approach only advocates that the evaluative space should be that of capabilities, but does not indicate which capabilities should be of primary focus or how they should be aggregated (Robeyns, 2005: 66).

Nussbaum agrees with Sen’s theoretical background but develops a list of capabilities: life, bodily health (which includes shelter), bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions (emotional development not blighted), practical reason, affiliation, relationship with other species, play, and control over one’s environment. The indicators are open to allow for the adequate analysis of context and location-specific circumstances (Robeyns, 2005: 77-80). The list of capabilities is important for this thesis because the assessment of women in Khayelitsha will be based on these capabilities in the following chapters.

Nussbaum believes that threshold levels should be established for each capability and that it is most important that no human should have to live under the identified threshold, rather than obtaining full

capability equality. If people fall below the threshold, then truly human functioning is not possible (Nussbaum 2000: 6-12). The approach is considered to be appropriate in addressing issues such as gender inequality, as it can deal with matters of cultural constraints (Nussbaum 2000: 16).

Ingrid Robeyns does not agree with Nussbaum's list and argues that it has a different theoretical assertion, and a different concept of what the list should do, from Sen's. Robeyns argues that Sen focused more on social choice and the search for fair and consistent democratic procedures, and so a definite list cannot be endorsed if Sen's Capability Approach is to be respected. However, some capabilities can be identified for specific purposes, such as permitting comparisons between people or groups in diverse contexts. Robeyns therefore proposes her own list of capabilities designed to address gender inequality issues (Robeyns, 2005: 70-78).

It seems there has to be a consensus regarding the implementation of the Capability Approach, in order to make it more practical for specific purposes. Most thinkers on the subject agree that it is important to identify and determine a list of the most important basic capabilities or 'freedoms', as well as a standard procedure of analysis and measurement in order to make the approach more practical (Commim, 2001: 3). The Capability Approach is considered to be more "demanding at an informational and methodological level" than any of the other standard approaches (Chiappero Martinetti, 2000: 3), and therefore requires "some specification- and simplification-" so it can be used efficiently (Alkire, 1998: 3 in Commim, 2001: 3).

It was stated in the previous chapter that the Capability Approach has already influenced one of the standard criteria for identifying and measuring poverty: it is now used annually in the production of the HDR. Here the Capability Approach does not deny the important role that income plays in poverty, as the lack of it can be a principal cause of a person's capability deprivation. The Human Development Index (HDI) does not, however, fully represent what the Capability Approach stands for, as it mostly focuses on a limited number of actual functionings. This is why research and debate must continue in order to perhaps choose different lists of capabilities for diverse evaluative purposes, while maintaining the idea that participatory assessments still need to take place that identify specific local capabilities for certain development purposes. For the time being, however, and for the purpose of this thesis, Martha Nussbaum's list of capabilities will be used and will be further explained subsequently.

3.8 JUSTIFICATION OF MARTHA NUSSBAUMS'S LIST OF CAPABILITIES

Martha Nussbaum maintains that the fundamental importance of certain capabilities needs to be recognized internationally in order to operationalize the Capability Approach. A threshold level below which no human being should live must also be identified for each capability, as a failure in any would impede truly human functionings. The goal of 'human development' should therefore be to get ALL people above the identified level. Once essential capabilities and their threshold levels have been identified, the approach should be used for the actual comparison of people's quality of life, focusing on the difference in levels of capability poverty within and amongst groups of people and nations. The Capability Approach would thus establish a new way of assessing poverty. Once gaps in any capabilities are identified, the initial focus of social policy should be to achieve that threshold for all, rather than obtaining full capability equality (Nussbaum, 2000: 6-12).

International focus is mostly placed on employment, discrimination, domestic violence, sexual harassment, and reform of rape laws. Others, however, including certain feminist philosophers, argue that hunger, nutrition, literacy, land rights, the right to seek employment outside the home, child marriage and child labor should also be included. There is a wide range of views on the factors affecting women's quality of life, and it is therefore important to understand the traditions of each country or culture and their constraints. A well-known factor is that differences in nutritional status between boys and girls are common in many countries; there is also higher infanticide of female babies, sex-selected abortions are common, and education levels still remain higher for men as they are provided with better education opportunities. This unequal treatment is the result of different value status considered for each sex; for example, even though both boys and girls are expected to work in many cultures, household work is considered essential and traditionally allocated to girls and women, while boys are allowed to go to school. The disparate treatment ultimately affects individuals' 'inner lives', as it determines their self-worth, self-esteem, inner hopes and what they believe they are able to do (Nussbaum, 2000: 7-31). Hence it is important to understand how local context can affect people's choices and aspirations, and therefore their capabilities.

Nussbaum argues that it is difficult to agree on universal values because there are so many theories and philosophies that contradict each other. She says that often women who fight for their rights are considered to be westernizing and rejecting their own customs and beliefs; yet Marxist ideologies are considered to be grassroots ideologies because they stand against economic exploitation, nevertheless

they are actually foreign as well. It is important, therefore, to respect diversity and not impose change; however, equal rights and equal opportunities should be promoted. The availability of social and political rights permits change for the people that want change and allows traditional roles for those who choose to embrace them (Nussbaum, 2000: 35-37& 41).

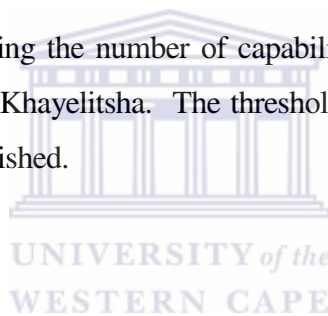
The argument supporting 'culture' has a sincere anti-westernizing discourse. Often it is said that cultures protect women by maintaining norms of female modesty, obedience and self sacrifice, and that when these are removed women are at risk of divorce and must lead 'exhausting' careers (Nussbaum 2005: 41). Nussbaum states that the arguments from culture contain more than just norms of behavior. Certain aspects of culture contribute to social blocks which impede change, through systems of class, caste, religious beliefs, patrilineal societies, secularism and religiosity, rationalism and mysticism. However, it is important to accommodate people who wish to continue living under the traditional hierarchical way of life. The argument supporting 'diversity' states that every person should be permitted a space in which any form of human activity has the possibility of flourishing without threatening diversity. However, Nussbaum highlights that some traditional practices are harmful or threaten other elements of culture. Criteria should therefore be developed in order to determine and assess which practices are worthy, and therefore preserve them in the interest of cultural diversity; and which are not, such as female circumcision and child marriage. Paternalism, on the other hand, is concerned with political rather than comprehensive liberalism, and therefore facilitates a political climate in which people are allowed to pursue 'the good' as long as they do not harm others (Nussbaum 2005: 48-59). Therefore "universalities that are facilitative rather than tyrannical, that create spaces for choice rather than dragooning people into a desired total made of functionings" are required (Nussbaum 2005: 59).

Nussbaum's main argument is that "seclusion is incompatible with fully human functionings". Her concern is that people without options endorse the lives they lead because they are afraid change might make things worse, and do not have the time and energy needed to overcome challenges. People who endorse their lives as they are will most likely be neglecting the duty they owe themselves, and thus losing their natural rights by shutting their eyes to their own interests (Nussbaum, 2000: 46). Development should then "respect the dignity of persons as choosers" and defend universal liberties, including their material conditions, with each person as an end. Universal values must therefore be identified first, before respect for dignity can be achieved.

An approach is needed, therefore, that respects each person's struggle to flourish, encompasses a vision for each person as an end, and is not "dictatorial about the good" (to able adults). The approach should also be free from political, cultural, and economical tyrannies (manipulation). The focus should therefore not be placed on satisfaction, as this can be influenced by deprivation (amongst other things), but rather on people's ability to turn resources into meaningful human activities (functionings), and therefore their capabilities (Nussbaum, 2000: 68-70).

Nussbaum has transformed Sen's Capability Approach into a philosophy that can be used for the underpinning and identification of central capabilities, and addresses women's lives and the problems they face through examination of their material and social setting. Nussbaum focuses on a list of "capabilities of central importance" that scrutinize what a woman does and what she is in a position to do, and evaluates what resources are really available, which are not and why. In order to make a comparison of peoples' quality of life, each capability needs to be assessed and their position according to the threshold recorded, as each has a different value.

The current study focuses on assessing the number of capabilities that are available to the selected group of women living in Site C of Khayelitsha. The threshold levels of each will not be recorded, because they have not yet been established.



The list of capabilities central to human functioning as identified by Nussbaum are:

- 1. Life.** *Being able to live to the end of human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.*
- 2. Bodily Health.** *Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.*
- 3. Bodily Integrity.** *Being able to move freely from place to place; having one's bodily boundaries treated as sovereign, i.e. being able to be secure against assault, including sexual assault, child sexual abuse, and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.*
- 4. Senses, Imagination and Thought.** *Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason- and to do these things in a "truly human" way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing self-expressive works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom from religious exercise. Being able to search for ultimate meaning of life in one's own way. Being able to have pleasurable experiences, and to avoid non-necessary pain.*

5. Emotions. *Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by overwhelming fear and anxiety, or by traumatic events of abuse or neglect. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development.)*

6. Practical Reason. *Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience.)*

7. Affiliation. A. *Being able to live with and towards others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another and to have compassion for that situation; to have the capability for both justice and friendship. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.)*

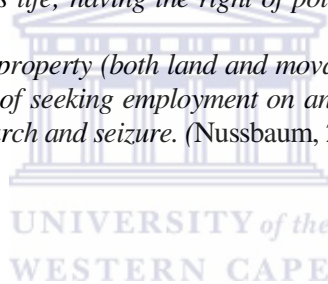
B. *Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails, at a minimum, protections against discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, caste, ethnicity, or national origin. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers.*

8. Other Species. *Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.*

9. Play. *Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.*

10. Control over One's Environment. A. Political. *Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protection of free speech and association.*

B. Material. *Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), not just formally but in terms of real opportunity; and of seeking employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. (Nussbaum, 2000: 78-80)*



Martha Nussbaum also identified three different types of capabilities which allow for better analysis. The first are the 'basic capabilities', which are the "innate equipment of individuals". A healthy newborn has all the capabilities such as hearing, seeing etc, but they are very rudimentary and not directly transformed into functionings. What this means, for example, is that although a newborn baby has the capability of eating, he cannot do so on his own until someone teaches him how and his muscles develop in order to allow that functioning to take place (Nussbaum, 2000: 84).

The second type is the 'internal capabilities', or the "matured conditions of readiness". Some internal capabilities develop on their own as bodies mature, though most depend on support from the individual's environment. This means that although people eventually develop their internal capabilities with the help of material things and the social environment, there may be other aspects that prevent the functionings from taking place (Nussbaum, 2000: 84).

This is where the third type, the ‘combined capabilities’ come in, the “internal capabilities combined with suitable external conditions for the exercise of the function”. For example, an uncircumcised woman has the internal capability of sexual pleasure, but if for some reason she is not allowed to marry, then she does not have the combined capabilities (Nussbaum, 2000: 85).

The Nussbaum list of capabilities consists of combined capabilities, and therefore focuses on ensuring that the environment is optimum for the actual exercise of functionings by individuals. She also recognizes that persistent deprivation can affect a person’s internal readiness to function. Material and social circumstances are therefore both important in developing internal capabilities and also in allowing them to later be realized (Nussbaum, 2000: 85-86).

3.9 CONCLUSION

The Capability Approach focuses on equal and just development. Although it is a good tool for understanding and addressing poverty in all its multifaceted dimensions, it is also complex; there is, therefore, a great discourse around its applicability. Sen, rightly so, refused to identify essential capabilities in order to allow for local identification, ensuring that the poor in their local context identify and prioritize areas of needs and therefore broadening people’s informational space. However, if the approach is to have practical value, in the sense of actually being used to assess and compare the well-being or the quality of people’s lives, then basic capabilities need to be identified. In recent years, efforts have been made by different people to identify basic capability sets for specific purposes and thus operationalize the Capability Approach.

Martha Nussbaum developed a list of capabilities essential to people’s well-being, which are life, bodily health (including shelter), bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions (emotional development not blighted), practical reason, affiliation, relationship with other species, play, and control over one’s environment. Indicators are open to allow for adequate analysis of context and location-specific circumstances (Nussbaum, 2000: 77-80). Nussbaum also believes that a threshold should be identified, below which no human being should live. Although Nussbaum’s list of capabilities will be utilized to assess the well-being of the selected women living in Site C in Khayelitsha, it will be done without previously identified threshold levels. The reason being, that

identifying threshold levels for each capability acceptable to all national and cultural contexts requires extensive amounts of research beyond of which is possible in this study.

The assessment findings of the selected women in Khayelitsha will help in the identification of their actual functionings in chapter six. Therefore the following chapter will focus on providing a framework to present the historical and political context of Khayelitsha and its population.



CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters provide the theoretical framework for this study highlighting the value of the Capability Approach in assessing and addressing poverty. The discourse around its applicability was emphasized, as well as the reasons for the identification of Nussbaum's list of central capabilities. The following section will focus primarily on providing a historical, social and political framework of Khayelitsha to enable a contextual analysis of capabilities of the selected women living in Site C in Khayelitsha.

This framework is important because the creation of Khayelitsha is directly linked to the history and the end of apartheid, and results of segregation policies of the past can still be observed in the well-being of people living in the township. Khayelitsha was built away from the city and designed to be a dormitory town, meaning that it had and continues to have a minimum economic base. The result is that people have to face long commuting trips in order to reach places of employment, which plays an important role in their development. In addition, the township and its population must face disparities with regards to service provision.

An important observation is that currently in South Africa there is a problem regarding statistical data, which is either not available for many sectors and locations (such as Khayelitsha) or has not yet been adequately analyzed. This is a problem that has been identified in the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), stating that "the information resources (structured information that is housed in databases) in the City were widely dispersed throughout the organization. This makes the retrieval of information difficult, especially where a series of information items across multiple departments is required" (City

of Cape Town, 2006: 26). So the problem is that valuable information gathered in various statistical databases by the government in different areas is not being shared amongst sectoral lines, which limits adequate analysis of complex problems and their sustainable and holistic solutions. Such information is relevant to this study because it limits the possibility of comparing some capabilities of the selected women to those of the rest of the population of Khayelitsha or of South Africa. Focus will primarily have to be placed on whether the selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha have the capabilities or not, and wherever possible compared to the rest of the South African population.

The next section will therefore focus on providing an overview of historical, social and political factors that influence the poverty of the selected group of women in Khayelitsha and thus their capabilities, or vice versa. The first section will examine the historical background of the creation of Khayelitsha, which was strongly linked to the apartheid regime.

4.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: Apartheid and the Creation of Khayelitsha

The creation of Khayelitsha is directly linked to the history and the ending of apartheid. The attempts of the white electorate to keep the population racially divided dates back to the early 1900's, when the government at the time created a separate living area for the Xhosa population that had established a permanent presence in Cape Town. The Government increasingly adopted repressive measures to control the number of Africans in urban areas, thereafter and throughout the 20th century. These measures included requiring Africans to carry passes, the prohibition of gardening or building of private huts by Africans in urban areas, the repatriation of "redundant" Africans back to rural areas, coloured labour preference policies, and not allowing women without guaranteed accommodation into the cities, amongst many other restricting laws (Conradie, 1992: 31- 35).

As restrictions were introduced, there was resistance from the African population opposed to the removals, to paying rent, being oppressed and having their rights taken away from them. Resistance increased further in 1934 when Black voters (Africans with the necessary property and education qualifications) lost their franchise rights. People who resisted the new laws were either sent to prison or forcefully removed and taken back to their 'homelands'. As resistance increased, so did measures to control rural to urban migration. By 1955 the new measures included temporary settlement of people in Nyanga to screen for those considered "illegal", who were then sent back to their homelands.

The major crisis with the influx control measures was the collapse of homeland agriculture, which was no longer reliable for people's livelihood (Conradie, 1992: 31- 38). Agriculture was most certainly not able to sustain those who were being forcefully returned from towns, hence the African people continued to migrate to urban areas despite the difficulties and risks.

The harsh restrictions resulted in a period of protest in 1960 which led to the suspension of passes for one month in the city of Cape Town, later extended to the rest of the country. The suspension was important because it was the first time the Nationalist Government gave in to an African political initiative. Nevertheless, harsh repression followed the suspension and resulted in the ban of the ANC and PAC in 1963. Tension continued to escalate as more people protested. The government began to respond with violence and the demolition of informal settlements. The escalation of violence in turn attracted international attention, which began to pressure the government (Conradie, 1992: 38-40).

The creation of Khayelitsha was one of the last attempts by the government at "Separate Development". The Driftlands area was selected for the development of a new dormitory city, meant to provide housing for 5000 people within the first two years and eventually house 250,000 people. The Africans initially rejected the idea of Khayelitsha because they would be forcibly moved again. If they were forced to move then the new location did not bring with it a favourable policy change and Africans were still being told where they could and could not live. A Tswana-speaking police squad was therefore assigned in October 1985 to facilitate the forceful removal and resettlement of African people to Khayelitsha (Conradie, 1992: 40-48).

The removal operation resulted in civil unrest and consequently the destruction of the homes of over 70,000 squatters from Crossroads and the surrounding squatter camps. As civil unrest continued, the government was forced to promise that the construction of New Crossroads would continue and that Old Crossroads would be upgraded. However, it became evident that not all of the displaced people would be able to live in 'upgraded' Old Crossroads or New Crossroads. The government therefore offered 18-month permits for staying in Cape Town to all those willing to move to Khayelitsha. The leaders slowly gave in and Khayelitsha began to fill up with African occupants. However, there was no proper development of infrastructure and provision of services, mainly because the occupation process happened too quickly and because Khayelitsha was 30 km away from the city (Conradie, 1992: 40-48).

4.3 KHAYELITSHA: Present day

The residents of Khayelitsha are immigrants from the Eastern Cape or those relocated from other townships within Cape Town (Bhekithemba, 2005: 8). At the time of the 2001 Census⁷ the population of Khayelitsha was predominantly African (99.42%) and formed nearly one third of the African population living in metropolitan areas of Cape Town (Fig. 4.1). The remaining population included the coloureds (0.54%), Indian/Asians (0.01%) and whites (0.03%) (Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, 2006a: www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/Census2001-new/Suburbs/Khayelitsha.htm). In contrast, the population profile for the city of Cape Town indicated that the population consisted of coloureds (48.1%), Africans (31.7%), whites (18.8%), and Indians (1.4%) (Strategic information, CCT, Aug 2003: 9). These statistics show that at the time Khayelitsha was predominantly inhabited by Africans, who represented about one third of the population of the city of Cape Town. Although the statistics are outdated, the African population is sure to have increased as rural to urban migration has continued.

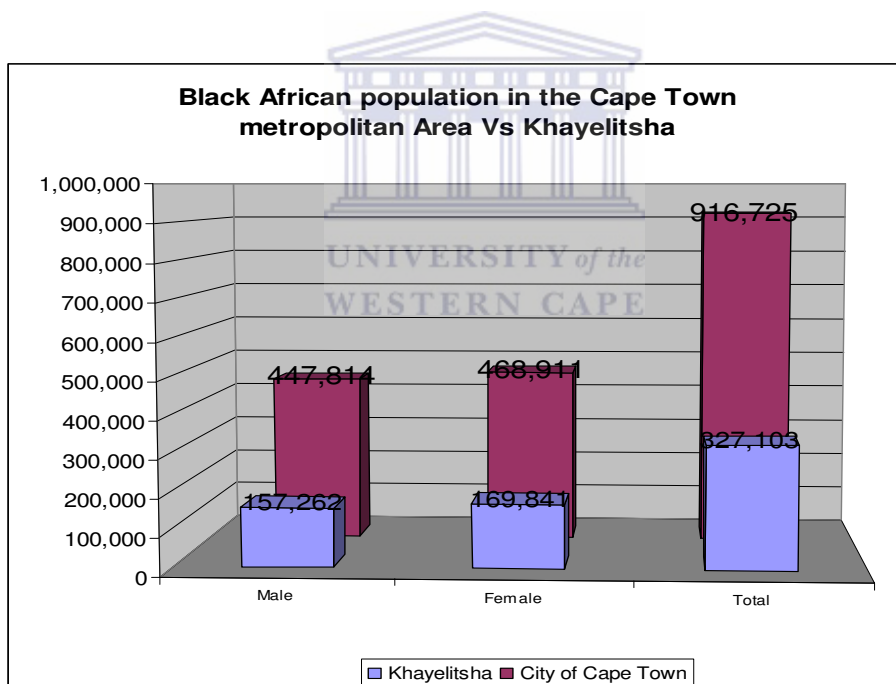


Fig.4.1: Title: The African population in the Cape Town metropolitan Area Vs Khayelitsha. Adapted from Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department (2006a), www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/Census2001-new/Cape%20Town/Cape%20Town.htm.

⁷ The 2001 Census is the most recent.

The township is predominantly made up of informal settlements and low-income housing (Tusma, 2003: 20), and people living there have inequitable access to basic services primarily because of the hasty occupation process and the disparities of the past which have not been able to be rectified (City of Cape Town, 2006: 20; Conradie, 1992: 40-48). In addition, people living in townships are still isolated from economic and social opportunities, a consequence of the segregation policies of the apartheid regime under which Khayelitsha was intended to be a dormitory city (Tusma, 2003: 20).

When the 2001 census survey was conducted (the last known statistics-not estimated), Khayelitsha and its population had high levels of unemployment, particularly amongst women, as compared to other areas and other racial groups (Strategic Information, CCT, 2003: 30; Tusma, 2003: 20). At the time the overall unemployment rate of the city of Cape Town was higher for women (31%) than for men (27%). However, the gender difference was most significant within the African population, with women having a 56% unemployment rate as compared to 44% in men. The biggest discrepancies were observed amongst different population groups. The highest levels of unemployment were found in African women at 56%⁸ and the lowest unemployment rate was found with white females at 4% (Information and Knowledge Management, 2003: 29). A more recent estimate calculates that the worst 20% areas of the city, where 40% of the population live, have unemployment rates of 40-58% and amount to 68% of the city's unemployed (City of Cape Town, 2006b: 29); Khayelitsha is one such place.

The city of Cape Town is believed to have almost doubled in size in the last 20 years. During this period the transport infrastructure has primarily stayed the same and the major roads and rail routes still focus mainly on getting people to and from the city centre, despite the fact that movement patterns have changed. This outdated transport infrastructure makes people travel longer distances than are necessary and increases pollution, costs and traffic in the city (City of Cape Town, 2006: 20).

Although poor transport services and difficult mobilization affect people's livelihood and access to basic services, it is further recognized that this also has an impact on the city's economy, as access to "areas of job opportunities, economic development and housing developments are located outside the established radial transport corridors (both rail and road based corridors)". The IDP stated that the current system of public transportation consisting of rail, buses and taxis, which 60% of commuters

⁸ This statistical information is of particular importance because it refers to the research sample, placing the selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha high on the unemployment probability.

depend on, are unreliable, dangerous and infrequent (City of Cape Town, 2005: 26). The IDP also recognizes that “poverty and inequality are made worse by this since it is the poor who are most affected” (City of Cape Town, 2006: 20): poor people have little access to economic and social opportunities, due to high transport costs (City of Cape Town, 2006b: 57).

Approximately 55% of people living in Khayelitsha consider the Eastern Cape their home, while 54%⁹ would wish to retire there (Bhekithemba, 2005: 8). The attachment to the Eastern Cape may influence the amount of personal effort that most residents are willing to commit towards improving their living situation in Khayelitsha, and this should be recognized as a significantly important factor. Many residents remit money to their home towns and are not planning to make Khayelitsha their permanent home, therefore relying on the government’s commitment to the provision of houses.

4.4 POLITICS AND SERVICE PROVISION

There was a need to establish a new Constitution and new frameworks at the end of apartheid, through which social, economic, and political interactions would be re-established independently of racial lines. It is often argued that “as much as apartheid was about inequality, the final Constitution is about the attainment of substantive equality” (Buhlungu, *et al.*, 2006: 103).

South Africa has a Bill of Rights protected by the Constitution and based on international covenants, principles of customary law and regional instruments (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 97-98). The Bill of Rights is committed to “an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equity and freedom” (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 100) and primarily protects human dignity, the right to be treated equally, and the right to freedom and security. The Bill also protects against slavery, servitude or forced labor of any kind, and entitles the rights to life, privacy and freedom of religion, expression, assembly, and association, the right to vote and participate in the political process, freedom of movement, freedom of trade, fair labor practice, property rights (regardless of race and gender) and rights of accused, detained or arrested persons. In addition, the Bill of Rights protects some socio-economic rights such as adequate shelter (housing), access to health care, food, water, social security, as well as education

⁹ An important clarification regarding these percentages is that they are not meant to add up to 100% as they are separate statistics.

(basic and further) and other specific internationally recognized rights, such as those of children (Buhlungu *et al*, 2006: 98).

One important purpose of this research is to verify if South Africa's 'progressive' Constitution and Bill of Rights actually support the capabilities of the selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha. Although the rights exist on paper, problems may exist regarding their application, and rights might not be legally enforced because local governments may not have adequate administrative, financial and management capacity for providing the services set out in the Constitution (SALGA, 2004: 3).

4.4.1 Provision of basic services: The Role of the Government and Local municipalities

The Constitution of South Africa outlines a vision for the development of local government, which is meant to protect human and socio-economic rights. Local government therefore has the responsibility of ensuring "the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner" (SALGA, 2004: 3). The *White Paper on Local Government* (1998) identifies good provision of basic services as a constitutional right of the people. Although significant progress has been made during the first ten years of democracy, particularly on the provision of water, there is still a lot left to be accomplished concerning access to basic services for the majority of the South African population (SALGA, 2004: 3).

The challenge during the first ten years after apartheid was to identify the resources and strategies required to transform the country and alleviate poverty. Proper analysis was needed for designing adequate policies, legislation, transformation initiatives and development programs to address the issues identified (SALGA, 2004: 4). The government of South Africa had to overcome many obstacles, including challenges in restructuring its role in service delivery in line with newly identified needs and divisions of power. Amongst these new divisions of power was the legislation to enable municipalities to become more effective in addressing local developmental challenges. The legislation added to the responsibilities and demands on municipalities, which in many cases did not, and still do not, have adequate administrative, financial and management capacity for providing the services set out in the Constitution (SALGA, 2004: 3), which is the concern highlighted in the previous section.

Studies have shown a lack of qualified personnel not only within municipalities but in all spheres of government. Technical support and specialized task teams, managed by local or national government, are therefore not providing adequate support to municipalities, which is part of their constitutional obligations (SALGA, 2004: 6). Municipalities, however, also have the responsibility of identifying needs and indicating to local and national government where they need additional support, and making sure that the quality and quantity of support is adequate to address their needs (SALGA, 2004: 7). The capacity gaps at both national and municipal level curtail effective addressing of developmental issues.

Despite the constraints, President Thabo Mbeki emphasized in May 2004 that *visible advances* needed to be made in terms of improving the quality of life of all people in South Africa¹⁰ (Mbeki, 2004: www.info.gov.za/speeches/2004/04052111151001.htm) As a result, municipalities have to overcome their capacity constraints and achieve visible goals within the principles outlined in the *White Paper on Local Government* (1998). These goals include providing satisfaction, accessibility, affordability, quality, accountability, integrated development, sustainability and money-value services, thus ensuring and promoting competitive local commerce and industry, as well as democracy. South Africa has therefore entered a new phase of ‘accelerated service delivery’ for which “the challenge is not about what we need to do, but *how* to do it better” (SALGA, 2004: 4). Municipalities now have to achieve acceleration and at the same time ensure that service provision is sustainable¹¹. The implementation process of these goals can be contradictory, because sustainability often needs to use more holistic approaches which take more time and require considerable financial, institutional, technical, social and environmental resources. Therefore it is often not possible to do it faster and better. There are also increased expectations regarding the targeted population, as they are now expected to be more involved in the planning of their own development (SALGA, 2004: 4-5).

The provision of basic services has been identified as an important factor in reducing poverty. Services therefore have to be provided in an accelerated manner, which means that municipalities need to work hard and make sure they do not adopt a ‘top-down’ approach that would compromise the prioritization of needs for the poor in municipal planning (SALGA, 2004: 5). The planning process therefore must be participatory and inter-sectoral at national and local government levels, as well as

¹⁰ Important to bear in mind is that President Thabo Mbeki was mostly referring to the targets with regards to water, sanitation, electrification and housing, even though quality of life may include many other more complex factors.

¹¹ Sustainability referring to being able to continue operating over time, as well as generate benefits over the long term (SALGA, 2004: 4)

municipal, with inclusion of local communities. Program monitoring and control must receive attention to make sure the participatory processes do not undermine or go against sustainable development solutions (SALGA, 2004: 7).

The Municipal Systems Act of 2000 made it mandatory for all municipalities to develop an Integrated Development Plan, commonly known as an IDP, which is:

...a strategic plan which all development in a municipal area is based upon. The IDP is the principal planning instrument that guides and informs the municipal budget. It is a plan that not only concentrates on the provision of municipal services, but also seeks to alleviate poverty, boost economic development, eradicate unemployment and promote the process of reconstruction and development. (City of Cape Town, 2005: 8)

The aim of the IDP is to facilitate a systematic approach to achieving municipal goals, which would be monitored and controlled, prioritizing community needs in early stages of planning. The IDP for 2006-2007 for the city of Cape Town is based on the priority needs identified in the “Mayoral Listening Campaign” that took place during March and April 2005, which consisted of 20 meetings in different parts of the city. An average of one out of every three comments raised was related to housing, jobs and crime (City of Cape Town, 2006: 12). Questions still remain regarding to what extent the listening campaigns are participatory and empowering, if no alternative ways of involving the communities are available to individuals¹².

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4.5 LACK OF NATIONAL COHERENCE

4.5.1 Racial Disparities

One of the most visible outcomes of apartheid is racial disparity, particularly in positions of management. The creation of homelands with little economic base, influx control mechanisms and racial discrimination created economic imbalances according to race (Daniel *et al*, 2005: xxiii-xxxiii). Although many efforts aimed at reducing the disparities have been made, including policies and strategies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) strategy, many disparities still remain (Daniel *et al*, 2005: 363). White males still held 63% of managerial jobs while

¹² There are alternative leadership structures in communities that are in charge of involving communities in planning, other than the IDP which are playing strong roles with regard to empowerment.

blacks held only 20% by the year 2000, despite government policies to reverse inequality trends (Daniel *et al.*, 2005: xxiii-xxxiv). Recent statistics show that from 2000 to 2006 there has been an increase of only 9.5% of blacks in top management, out of which Africans only increased by 5.1% during the same period (Benton, 2007: allafrica.com/stories/200705150333.html)

The government through the public sector has taken decisive measures to correct the imbalance, and private industries are also subject to 'equity' demands to provide work for more Africans. Unfortunately, the lack of adequate education levels and skills amongst the black population -also a result of the apartheid legacy- has led to many government departments lacking the necessary capacity. Problems of implementation are expected to remain at least in the medium term (Daniel *et al.*, 2005: xxxvi).

Levels of inequality have become increasingly based on intra-racial, not inter-racial, inequalities (Daniel *et al.*, 2005: 11), an argument based on the findings that the "incomes of the richest ten per cent of African households rose by 17 per cent, whilst the incomes of the poorest 40 per cent of these households fell by 21 per cent" (Daniel *et al.*, 2005: 11). Findings also showed that the Africans who were already better off are the same ones that benefited from the total rise in income between 1991 and 1996. The ten richest per cent African people received 40% of this income and the richest 40% received 62.5%, which has spurred the growth of the African middle class. The argument is therefore that inequality is increasingly a "function of class, rather than race"; however, at present race is still a factor, meaning that more and new complexities and issues influence poverty today (Daniel *et al.*, 2005: 11).

4.5.2 Poverty in South Africa

Human Science Research Council (HSRC) estimates show that the proportion of people living in poverty in South Africa did not change between 1996 and 2001. Poverty levels remain at 57% for South Africa as a whole. In the Western Cape, which is the province with the lowest proportion of poor people, poverty remains at 32% with a total estimate of 1.4 million people living in this condition. The estimated poverty rate of 30% indicates that Cape Town amongst all the major cities has the lowest rate in South Africa (HSRC, 2004: 1-2). A survey also estimated that up to one million people

in the city of Cape Town were living below the poverty line or only marginally above it¹³ (City of Cape Town, 2005: 14).

Although poverty rates have seemingly not increased, what certainly has changed is that people living in poverty have continued to get poorer as the gap between rich and poor increases. The HSRC calculated the poverty gap¹⁴ to have increased from R56-billion to R81-billion between 1996 and 2001. The increase in the poverty gap indicates not only that poor households were unable to benefit from economic growth, but that their situation is getting worse. The fact that inequalities no longer run along racial lines can also be observed by looking at the Gini coefficient amongst same race groups. The Gini coefficient¹⁵ ranked South Africa at 0.69 in 1996 and 0.77 in 2001. The Gini coefficient for the African population rose from 0.62 in 1991 to 0.72 in 2001, while the Gini coefficient for the white population rose considerably more from 0.47 to 0.60 during the same period (HSRC, 2004: 1-2).

4.5.3 Poverty in Cape Town

It is estimated that an average annual growth rate of 6% to 7% is required in order for the city of Cape Town to considerably reduce levels of unemployment. However, average economic growth has been around 3% since 1994 (City of Cape Town, 2005: 179). The economic performance of the city of Cape Town barely surpassed the population growth rate¹⁶ in the decade before the 2006-7 IDP. There has been only a minimal increase in the real average per capita income, and the growth has mostly been distributed amongst those already better off (City of Cape Town, 2006: 19). The number of households has also increased considerably during the same period, which means demands on basic service provision and housing have increased as well. Therefore, even though many households have gained access to these services, the number of houses in need have also increased, resulting in only minimal improvement in the quality of life for most households (City of Cape Town, 2005: 11).

¹³ The South African Poverty line referred here is defined at below R1600 rand per household per month (Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, 2006d, www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/CityStatistics/City%20stats%20summary%20page.htm).

¹⁴ The poverty gap is calculated through the required annual income transfer needed to bring all poor households out of poverty.

¹⁵ The Gini coefficient is measured from 0 in highly distributive income to 1 in cases of high unequal distribution. (HSRC, 2004: 2)

¹⁶ The growth in households is attributed to the number of poor people that move to the city every year, which is estimated to be around 48,000 (City of Cape Town, 2005: 11).

Estimates show that around 265,000 families currently need adequate shelter and access to basic services (City of Cape Town, 2005: 14). Most informal settlements and other areas with inadequate housing are “characterized by severe social and economic conditions which manifest in high levels of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, alcoholism, low health status and deviant behavior such as crime and delinquency”, which is a matter of concern (State of Cape Town 2006: 14). Large portions of these populations are also excluded from meaningful participation in the first economy, and unemployment is estimated to be 19.7% (this estimate is very low) (City of Cape Town 2006: 19). Such high levels of poverty are also of concern because they continue to place pressure on air and water quality and other aspects of the environment (City of Cape Town, 2005: 14).

It is believed that up to 36% of the households (1.2 million people) in Cape Town were living below the Household Subsistence Level in 2005 (City of Cape Town 2006: 19; City of Cape Town, 2006b: 32). A different estimate shows that in 2005 up to 38% of households were living marginally above or below the household poverty line (City of Cape Town, 2006b: 22). In order to observe whether patterns of segregation continue, it is necessary to look at the Household income per annum according to area of residence. The table below (Fig.4.2) distinctly shows that Khayelitsha has more people earning less than R19,200 per annum than the rest of the city (Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department 2006a: www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/Census2001-new/Suburbs/Khayelitsha.htm; Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department 2006b: www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/Census2001-new/Cape%20Town/Cape%20Town.htm).

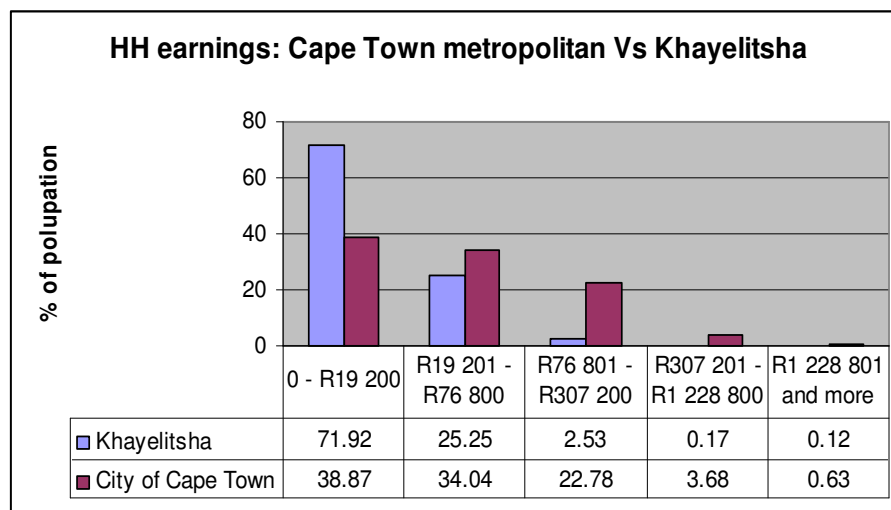


Fig.4.2: Title: The household earnings in the Cape Town metropolitan area Vs Khayelitsha. Adapted from Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department 2006 (a) www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/Census2001-new/Suburbs/Khayelitsha.htm; (b) www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/Census2001-new/Cape%20Town/Cape%20Town.htm).

Cape Town also faces problems other districts do not, related primarily to ordinary people gaining significant access to opportunities offered by the district. In the city of Cape Town considerable public resources and assistance have gone to develop projects such as the Waterfront and the Cape Town International Convention Centre, significant investments from which poorer people have little or no benefit at all. It is therefore argued that the city of Cape Town is somehow maintaining old patterns of consolidation and segregation (City of Cape Town, 2006: 20).

4.6 WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Johanna Kehler stated that “the disadvantaged position in any given society is based on the relations of class, race and gender-based access to social resources and opportunities”. She also stated that “it is a known fact that women’s position in society is determined both by their access to, role and status in paid employment, and the status accorded to their reproductive and domestic roles”. Therefore it is society and its cultural norms that limit women’s access to employment and their reproductive and domestic roles, meaning that these are interrelated (Kehler, 2001: 2-6).

South Africa is said to have a progressive constitution and legislature designed to provide an adequate legal framework for equity (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 97-100). However, a legal framework on its own is not enough. It is the appropriate implementation of that legal framework which is essential in improving the standard of living for historically disadvantaged populations, including women. Therefore, solving the problems faced by women and the poor remains a challenge. Statistics show that in South Africa 52% of the population are women (Kehler, 2001: 5), and yet the IDP 2005/2006 recognizes that women have not yet gained status equal to that of men. It is believed that in South Africa inequalities based on gender have historical, social and even institutional roots, difficult to overcome. Current manifestations of these inequalities can be observed in the limited representation women have in civil society structures and local government, their limited access to socio-economic opportunities and resources, knowledge of their rights, and means to protect themselves. All of these inequalities link up with women having little protection of their sexual and reproductive rights, which can be observed through the high rates of abuse, domestic violence and even rape in the city of Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2005: 22).

Cape Town is said to have acknowledged the problems and is seeking to address gender equity; in order to achieve this, power imbalances need to be addressed, in addition to local and national perceptions, stereotypes and attitudes. The ultimate goal would be to achieve equal pay and benefits for women for the same type and hours of work as men. In addition, jobs should no longer be gender-related, meaning that even though in the past certain jobs were usually assigned to people of a specific gender, this should no longer be the case. Sexual harassment and discrimination as a result of pregnancy need to be eliminated, and child care facilities should also be considered a priority (City of Cape Town, 2006: 103).

A report on human rights practices for the year 2005 indicated that issues affecting poor urban women during the previous year included domestic violence¹⁷ as well as harassment from former lovers. Although laws require police to arrest abusers without a warrant, findings showed that social attitudes combined with lack of resources, infrastructure and training of law enforcement officials many times prevented the actual implementation of the laws. This, in addition to poor treatment from police officers, doctors and judges, discouraged many women from reporting abuse (US Department of State, 2005: www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61593.htm).

Other discriminatory practices included bride prices ('lobola'¹⁸) and virginity testing, which have strong social and historical reasons to persist. Other common discriminative practices regard divorce, inheritance, and custody of children; these persist despite women having equal rights under property and family laws. In work places women also face sexual harassment and typically have less job security and lower wages than men (US Department of State, 2005: www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61593.htm).

4.7 CONCLUSION

As Khayelitsha was amongst the last attempts at separate development, the township was located at a significant distance from the city, isolating its population from economic and social opportunities.

¹⁷ Domestic violence includes sexual, physical, verbal and emotional abuse.

¹⁸ The researcher recognizes the delicate debate around cultural practices such as 'lobola', but will regardless consider this one a discriminative and dangerous practice particularly in a South Africa where misconceptions around HIV/AIDS are making virgins and even infants possible victims or rape (Earl-Taylor, 2002: www.scienceinafrica.co.za/2002/april/virgin.htm).

Other discrepancies left behind by apartheid regarding access to services and skill levels continue to have negative effects on the African population. Khayelitsha is predominantly populated by Africans that have relocated from rural areas or other areas within the city. Together they represent at least one third of the African population in the city of Cape Town, which is the race group with the highest levels of unemployment and poverty.

In addition, women in South Africa although 'protected' by the Constitution continue to have a status unequal to that of men. This makes them highly vulnerable to various forms of violence and discrimination, which could potentially also hamper the development of their capabilities. All the factors need to be taken into consideration in order to analyze in context the capabilities of the selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha.

The next chapter will initiate analysis of the capabilities of the selected women in Khayelitsha by focusing on their functionings, their actual 'doings' and 'being' obtained from the surveys and focus group discussions.



CHAPTER 5

FUNCTIONINGS OF THE RESPONDENTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Following the depiction of the research context, findings will now be discussed. These are based on the responses of the questionnaires, focus group discussions and observations of the 103 women¹⁹ participating in the UWC Life Skills for Women Programme as explained in Chapter 1. This chapter in, the next section, focuses on views, perceptions and opinions of the women and the identification of their functionings utilizing Martha Nussbaum's list of capabilities central to human functioning introduced in Chapter 4, which are: life, bodily health (including shelter), bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions (emotional development not blighted), practical reason, affiliation, relationship with other species, play, and control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2000: 77-80). Their capabilities will be assessed in Chapter 6 through the analysis of the findings of this chapter.

5.2 FUNCTIONINGS OF THE RESPONDENTS

In the next section the findings and functionings of the selected women will be grouped according to the different capabilities they reflect, in order to allow for easier analysis of these capabilities in the next chapter. Each section will consist of the definition of each Capability (as identified by Martha Nussbaum) followed by a discussion of the research findings and the identification of the women's functionings and the reasons why some are not being achieved based on their own perceptions.

¹⁹ All 103 women were interviewed using two different questionnaires, providing both quantitative and qualitative data on a wide range of issues such as their physical health, access to resources, education levels, mental and emotional states. The focus group discussion was held with around 25 women who volunteered to discuss specific issues not included in the questionnaires and provided the women with an opportunity to voice other aspects of their life they thought were also important to share.

5.2.1 Functionings for the capability of ‘Life’

The capability of ‘life’ as defined by Martha Nussbaum is:

Being able to live to the end of human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one’s life is so reduced as to be not worth living. (Nussbaum, 2000: 78)

The majority of the women, when asked about what they thought was the most common cause of death in Khayelitsha, agreed that it was AIDS and violence, in that order. In addition many of the women expressed that they wanted in some way or other to provide home care to people that were ill (mostly of AIDS) and old, because they were concerned that many people in Khayelitsha are very poor, ill and dying and are not appropriately cared for. In this sense they wanted to make certain that people’s lives were not reduced to be not worth living, and then finding themselves alone.

Although many of the women interviewed could be ill themselves, most looked healthy and one could assume they are living a dignified life; poor, but dignified.

Conclusion: The findings discussed above show little about the actual functionings (such as length of life) of the women being interviewed. However, one can assume that the functionings that would help sustain the capability of life are not all present amongst the population of Khayelitsha, as the women expressed concern about bedridden individuals that could no longer care for themselves and whose families could not support them adequately. In the next chapter the situation expressed by the women will be compared to national statistics, in order to obtain an adequate comparison and determine their capabilities.

5.2.2 Functionings for the capability of ‘Bodily Health’

The capability of ‘bodily health’ as defined by Martha Nussbaum is:

Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter. (Nussbaum, 2000: 78)

Questionnaire findings:

Health: The majority (81%) of interviewees indicated that they have good, very good or excellent health (see Fig. 5.1 below).

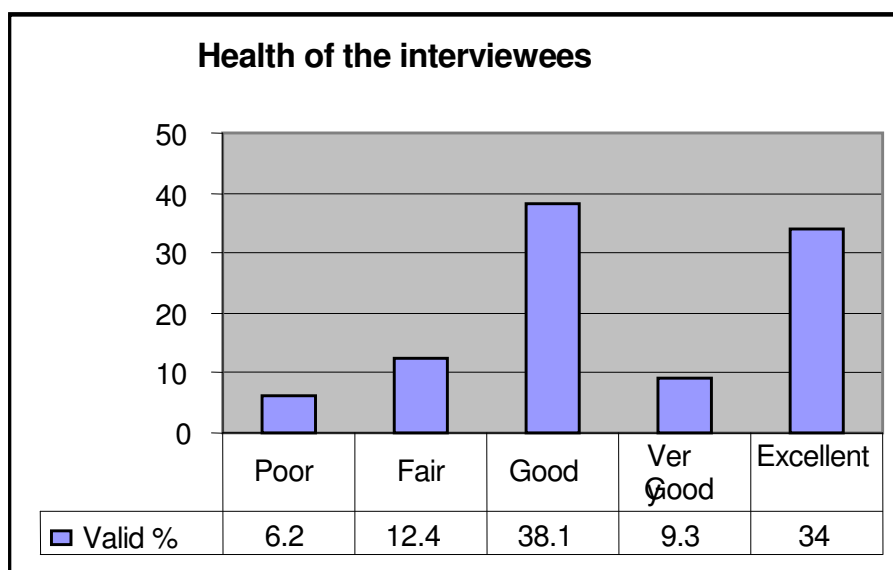


Fig.5.1: Title: Health of the interviewees. Based on Survey findings.

During the 12 months prior to the study 3.4% of the interviewees reported suffering from at least 3 health conditions, 8% from 2 and 33% from 1. The health conditions they suffered from were broken down as follows: 8.3% suffered from respiratory problems, 6.8% had high blood pressure, 4.5% had problems with sight, hearing or speech, and 3.4% had fever. Some of the other illnesses reported but not prevalent were: other sexually transmitted diseases, diabetes, heart disease, headaches, problems with joints, appendix, leg problems, stress, rheumatism, colds, and diarrhea. An interesting finding was that only 1.1% reported having AIDS.

However, 31.6% of the interviewees reported having gone to a doctor or a clinic and 3.1% claimed to have spent a night in a hospital in the past month. The new findings show contradictions with the previous data on health conditions they suffered from in the last 12 months, because if both findings were correct it would mean that of the 33% of the interviewees who were sick during the last 12 months, the majority would have been sick in the last month and with ailments serious enough to make them go to the doctor.

The discrepancies could mean that the health conditions of these women are actually worse than what they wanted to portray to the interviewers²⁰. The interviewees were aware that data collected was for a study and they agreed to it, but what the study was actually about was not explained to them in order to avoid influencing their answers. However, their answers may have been altered because they were not told what the findings would be used for, and did not want to be ineligible in case the project was looking for healthy able people. The interviewees therefore may have adapted their responses in order to seem in need of help but still capable of many things (in case the project was aimed at helping them finding work, obtaining training, etc).

Shelter: There is a range of different definitions of what adequate shelter should be, considering culture and climatic conditions. However, for the purpose of this study adequate shelter will be taken to mean that it keeps the resident secure from intruders, protected from climatic conditions, and is not overcrowded or dangerous.

The interview findings show that 4% of the interviewees lived in houses built of traditional materials, 38% lived in temporary shacks (built of plastic, cardboard and plywood), 51% lived in permanent shacks (made of corrugated iron mixed with some brick foundations) and only 7% indicated that they lived in permanent buildings (see Fig 5.2 below).

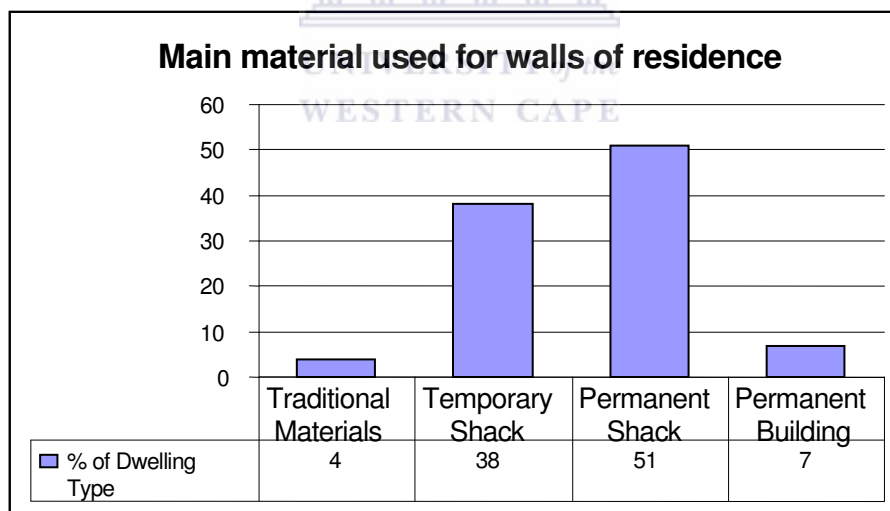


Fig.5.2: Title: Main materials used for walls of residence. Based on Survey findings.

²⁰ I used to work for the UNICEF Operation Lifeline Sudan (UNICEF-OLS) Emergency Preparedness & Response team (EP&R), where part of my responsibilities was to lead and carry out assessment missions of possible disaster areas and new areas of operations. Part of the daily activity was to carry out interviews, sometimes through questionnaires, in order to assess the situation/conditions of the population. Many times people hoping to get food aid (amongst other forms of aid) exaggerated or omitted information which they believed would affect our decisions in terms of type and quantity of aid.

The median of the number of rooms²¹ per residence reported by the interviewees is 3.44, while the median for the number of people in each household was 5; the residences had up to seven rooms and as few as one. However, overcrowding can only become apparent when the number of people living in each household is compared to the number of rooms in each residence (see Table.5.1 below-left and Fig.5.3 below-right). Observations show that the size of the households is not necessarily related to the number of people living in them, as 10% of households lived in residences consisting of only one room and the number of people living in them ranged from one to eight persons, compared to 2% of households that lived in seven-room residences where the number of people living in them ranged from one to seven; only around 17% of households live in residences with more than four rooms.

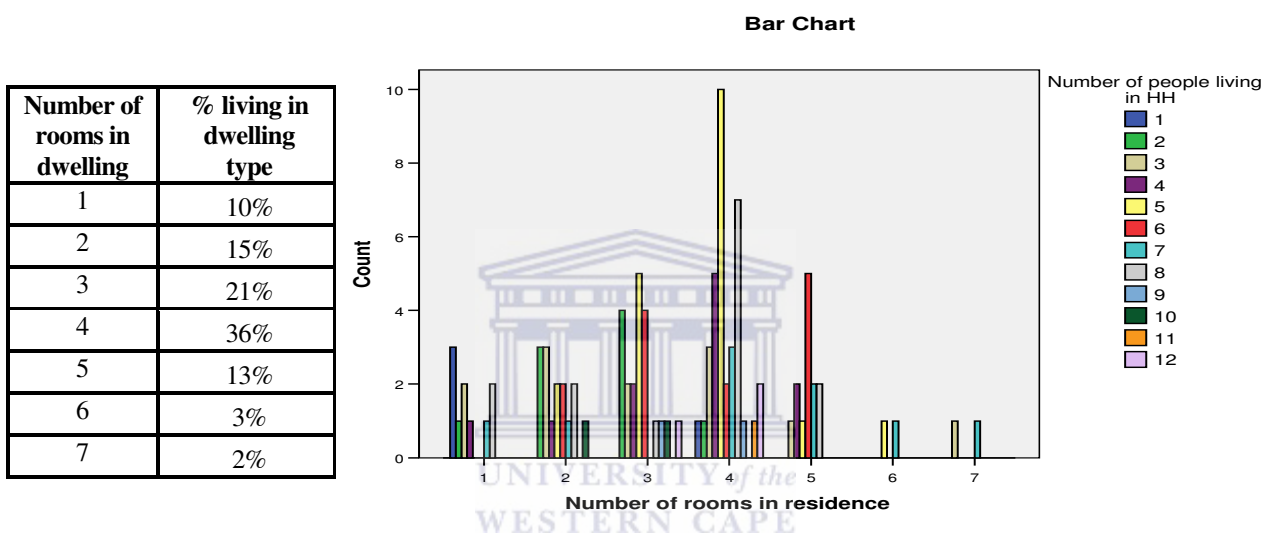


Table. 5.1 Title: Size of dwelling (# of rooms) Vs % of Households living in dwelling type. Based on Survey findings.

Fig.5.3: Title: Number of people living in different sized dwellings. Based on Survey findings.

From the findings above, one can assume that up to 89% of respondents live in inadequate shelters²². This conclusion is based on the materials that most shelters are made of, the distance between them, and the number of people living in them, as many are overcrowded and could be dangerous if the dwelling or their neighbours' dwellings caught fire. The idea behind this is that the shacks themselves

²¹ The number of rooms includes bedrooms, living rooms, kitchen, lounges, dining rooms as well as backyard shacks if they are part of the household.

²² Adequate shelter in this study means that it keeps the resident secure from intruders, protected from climatic conditions, and is not overcrowded or dangerous.

are not necessarily inadequate; what makes them so depends on the location, surrounding conditions, state of the shack (permeable), number of people living in them and types of fuel used. Any or all of these characteristics could make a dwelling unsafe and or unfit.

Water and Sanitation: Findings show that 17.2% of the women who answered this question have access to an internal piped water source, and 43.4% have access to an external piped water source. 35.4% of the women collect water from piped public taps for free and the last 4% have to pay for the water at their nearest water source, a piped public tap. One can therefore assume that at least 60% of the women do not have to spend time and face serious risks to satisfy their water necessities.

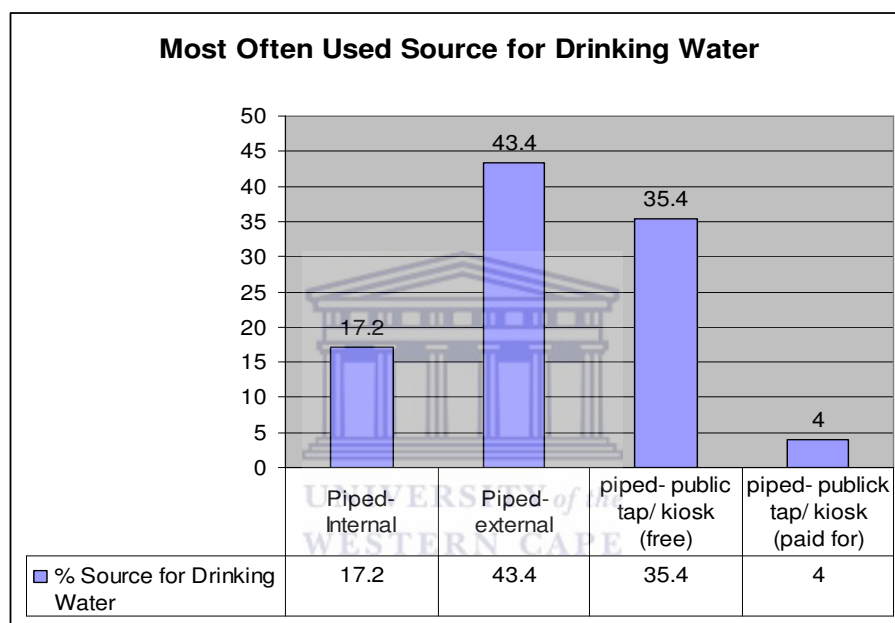


Fig.5.4: Title: The most often used source for drinking water: Based on Survey findings.

With regards to sanitation the findings are not what was expected, as 77% have access to flush toilets. 12% of these have them inside their dwellings, 31% have them on site and 35% use communal flush toilets. In addition, 1% reported that they use pit latrines and 2% use bucket toilets. However, the most concerning figure is that 19% claimed they do not use toilets at all. Furthermore, at the time many interviewees reported that the state of public bathrooms was appalling, to the extent that sometimes they preferred to wait until they went home, despite the discomfort.

Contributions to the Household: The importance of contributions by other people to the well-being of the household is also a good indicator of the level of needs they face. Findings show that 69.1% of households consider contributions from non-household members to be very important, while only 24.5% consider them not important at all. Strangely, only 3.2% think they are somewhat important and 3.2% don't know.

Nutritional Status: The nutritional status of the interviewees was not assessed; however, the number of days on which households did not have enough to eat shows that they could be malnourished. Findings reveal that 24.5% of the interviewees indicated their household did not go hungry, and 4.3% did not know (for statistical purposes I will assume that if they did not go hungry, other members of their family didn't either). One can therefore assume that 28.8% managed to at least satisfy their food consumption needs. Out of the remaining 71.3% households, 31.9% indicated not having enough to eat 4 days or less, 28.7% did not have enough to eat between 5-10 days and the remainder of the respondents did not have enough to eat from 11-29 days (See chart to the bellow).

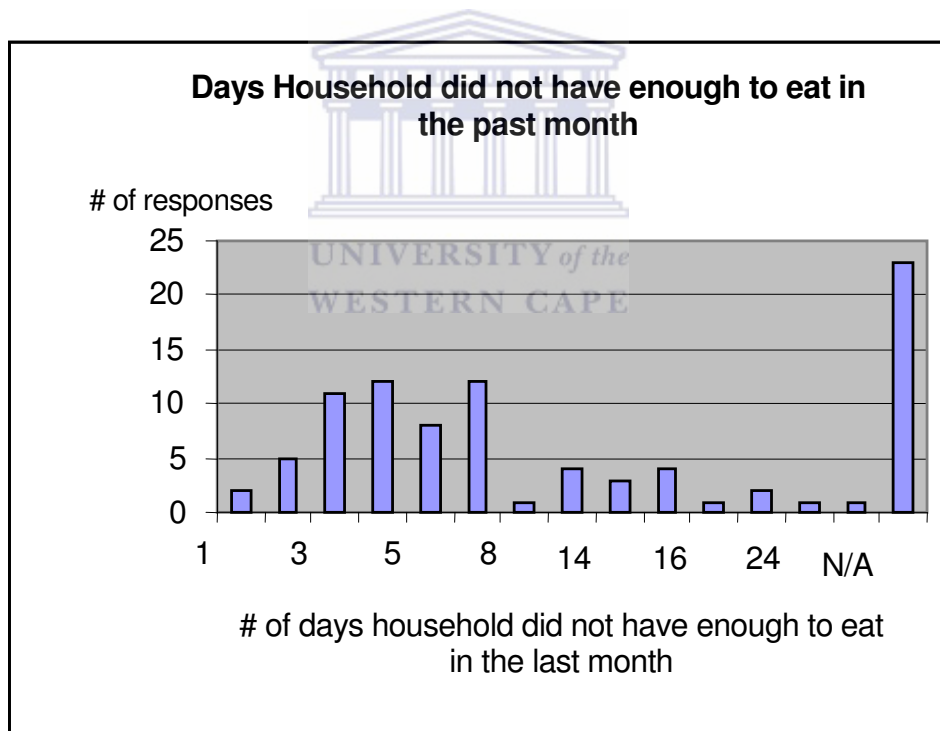


Fig.5.5: Title: Number of days households did not have enough to eat in past month. Based on Survey findings.

Focus group discussions:

The findings of the focus group discussions indicated that the women felt their health was worse than that of people living in other areas. When asked why they believed this, their response was, “we are poor, we are many living in small houses and sharing whatever little food we have. The streets are dirty and the wind brings the dirt inside in summer, and in winter it is cold and wet and our houses have leaks”. The women also expressed concern about their nutrition, and especially for those who were HIV positive, particularly because they believe that not enough information is available with regards to HIV/AIDS and the importance of adequate nutrition. The women also indicated that the lack of sufficient toilets was responsible for many people defecating and urinating in the streets, making the ground and air dirty.

When asked what they thought they needed to change, the women said they needed money to be able to eat enough. The women also indicated that formal shops in the area should open because there are very few and many local shops that sell meat don't have refrigerators. In addition the women stated that Khayelitsha needs more doctors and nurses because the existing ones don't care, treat people badly and make them wait for hours. Many said that when seriously ill they prefer to travel to the clinic in Wynberg because the ones in Khayelitsha often don't have medicines. However, sometimes as a result of lack of money they cannot afford to look for better treatment.

Conclusion: The findings of the questionnaires and focus group discussions indicate that the women's health conditions are most likely worse than what they want to portray. However, because extremely low levels of HIV/AIDS were reported -which could be a deliberate omission as discussed above- the concern is that many may not know their status. In terms of access to health care, findings show that availability of health care professionals and medication may be low and may be driving people to travel to other areas in search of proper treatment, increasing costs and thus applying more pressure on their already scarce resources.

There are other findings that may also be affecting their health and nutritional status. Findings showed that up to 89% of the women could be living in inadequate shelters, either because homes are too close to each other (usual in informal settlements) and could be a potential health or fire hazard, or because they are constructed in such a way that they do not protect their residents from intruders or from climatic conditions (shacks often have leaks). However, it was also observed that as a result of overcrowding even permanent shacks could be considered inadequate, though this is not to say that all

shacks are. Overcrowding is a serious concern, as there were sometimes six people living in a two-room residence and twelve in a four-room residence, although the case was not always so extreme.

Access to water and sanitation are essential to human life, for health but also for sociological and psychological reasons, because they can avoid embarrassment and allow time to be allocated differently. According to international standards²³, access to clean water for most of the interviewees was not only acceptable but above the recommended standards. There may still be some concerns with regards to affordability of water if they consume their quota before the end of the month; flush toilets actually represent a big problem with regards to the amount of water wasted. Lack of access to adequate sanitation, on the other hand, poses a potential health risk because according to these findings up to 20% or more of the population could potentially be defecating and urinating in the streets. This constitutes a threat not only to their health but to the community's as a whole.

Nutrition is also an important aspect in leading a healthy life. Although their actual nutritional levels of the women were not measured, the number of days on which they did not have enough to eat is a good sign that they may not be meeting their nutritional needs. In addition, the fact that so many of them considered contributions to the household to be very important is also a strong indicator that they may not have enough income as a household to fulfill their basic necessities. At a glance their bodily health does not appear to be too bad, although it is probably worse than they are letting on, especially considering the number of days per month they felt they did not have enough to eat and the number of times they visited a doctor.

From these findings it seems clear that all the functionings are not at optimal levels, particularly those relating to health services. In addition, one has to consider that poverty is probably affecting their nutritional level and contaminating their environment if they do not have adequate sanitation. There are also many dangers which the women are exposed to by living in inadequate housing.

Unfortunately many issues, particularly those related to reproductive health, could not be fully covered as some of the women do not feel comfortable discussing them. Some issues are considered taboo, such as condom utilization, but even more concerning is whether or not the women are able to control the use of condoms, in particular in a community with such a high incidence of HIV/AIDS and sexual violence.

²³ Millennium Development Goals

5.2.3 Functionings for the capability of ‘Bodily Integrity’

The capability of ‘bodily integrity as defined by Martha Nussbaum is:

Being able to move freely from place to place; having one’s bodily boundaries treated as sovereign, i.e. being able to be secure against assault, including sexual assault, child sexual abuse, and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction. (Nussbaum, 2000: 78)

Questionnaire findings

Safety: During the interviews the women were asked whether they believed there was a problem with abuse in Khayelitsha and whether they had problems with abuse themselves. The responses showed that different women had different interpretations of what ‘abuse’ meant, which included rape, robbery/crime/break-ins, emotional abuse, corruption from officials that are supposed to be looking after the well-being of the community, assault by children and minors, problems with gangsters and lack of safety in schools. The findings showed that 61.2% believed there was a problem with violent abuse in Khayelitsha, 22.3% were concerned about rape, 35.9% said there were problems with regards to robbery, crime and break-ins, and 10% showed concern about emotional abuse. These four forms of abuse that were identified by the women amount to 93.2% of their answers. The remaining 6.8% referred to corrupt officials that are supposed to be looking after the well-being of the community, assault by children and minors, problems with gangsters and lack of safety in schools. In addition, 23.3% of women reported having been victim of at least one of these forms of abuse.

An interesting comment made by one of the women was that today in the new South Africa life is easier because abuse of women is now illegal, and they can be treated with respect. Unfortunately the previous answers show that the right to be respected doesn’t necessarily mean they actually are.

Freedom of movement: Possibly one of the most domineering measures taken by apartheid was controlling the movement of people, particularly of the African population. Although no specific questions were asked with regards to freedom of movement, when the interviewees were asked how living in the new South Africa makes life easier or more difficult, 11.7% highlighted that it’s better because the pass system no longer exists and people do not have to struggle and even fight anymore to move from one place to another. Some women also mentioned that they are now free to attend previously white schools; however, one woman stated that they had no other place to go. In this sense,

the woman could not move even if she wanted to, even though she is 'free' to do so. In addition, security was reported to be an obstacle to movement, particularly at night.

Another aspect affecting the movement of the interviewees was indicated to be access and cost of transportation. However, findings showed that different women living in Site C varied in their responses, which indicates that even when living in the same area, access to transport can be more difficult depending on where people live. Transport costs seemed to be a constraint, as lack of money was often said to be a reason for not going in search of jobs and not having access to government offices or areas of business. One woman said her business failed because she spent too much money on transport, while another said that even though she worked the money was not enough because she spent too much on transport.

Findings showed that 9.1% of the households of the interviewees have a functioning car, bakki or combi in their household and 13.1% have a functioning bicycle.

Focus group discussions

Safety: The findings from the focus group discussions showed that ALL the women did not feel safe especially after dark. The women said they are not safe even when they are in their houses because *totsis* (gangsters) break in, steal things and beat them. When asked if there was rape they almost all said yes, and that it happened all the time. The women said they were afraid for themselves and for their daughters and even their sons sometimes. They also told me that abuse in some homes is very common and they can't report it to the police because nothing ever gets done about it and it only becomes worse.

Freedom of movement: Findings showed that many women felt that with the end of apartheid they had regained a lot of control over their lives, particularly movement. However, many others expressed the thought that although laws were no longer limiting, many places remained out of reach because of costs, making transportation expenses the most limiting factor.

Conclusion: The above findings show many of the functionings that support the capability of 'bodily integrity' are entirely lacking, as most women showed concern in both the questionnaires and the focus group discussions regarding issues of their safety. They were particularly concerned about the high

risk of rape and frequency of abuse and domestic violence, even though constitutional guarantees seem to be in place. Many of the interviewees expressed that women in South Africa today have rights and can get divorced if mistreated, but many also explained that the justice system, in particular the police, do not always respond appropriately to such claims. Most concerning was that they were deeply afraid for the safety of their children with regards to sexual violence, even when referring to their sons.

Although it was not possible to obtain information from the women regarding their sexual satisfaction and choice in matters of reproduction because of the sensitivity of the subject, there is a very high probability that many of the women lack these functionings, as they are directly related to respect from their partners. The women may not be able to enforce contraceptives or choose when or how to have sex if they are abused by their partners.

Furthermore, with regards to the functioning of freedom to move from place to place, the women indicated that there are still many limitations directly linked to the location of Khayelitsha and the levels of poverty and unemployment. The township is far from the city center, increasing transport costs, and transport can be difficult to access depending on where the women live within Site C in Khayelitsha. It was also observed that insecurity plays a limiting role, particularly at night.

From the above findings it becomes clear that most functionings are far below the optimum levels and most of the interviewees do not have actual freedom to move, are not safe from harm at home or in the streets and many may not be able to have sexual satisfaction and control over matters of reproduction.

5.2.4 Functionings for the capability of ‘Senses, Imagination and Thought’

The capability of ‘senses, imagination and thought’ as defined by Martha Nussbaum is:

Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason- and to do these things in a “truly human” way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing self-expressive works and events of one’s own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one’s mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom from religious exercise. Being able to search for ultimate meaning of life in one’s own way. Being able to have pleasurable experiences, and to avoid non-necessary pain. (Nussbaum, 2000: 78-79)

Education levels: The education findings of the quantitative questionnaire (see chart below) showed that the highest level achieved by the interviewees was Standard 10 (18.4% of those who responded); however, not all passed Matric and none of the women reported having continued their studies. However, in the qualitative questionnaire some women said they had taken some skills training and one indicated that she had a Masters degree. Also important to highlight is that 10% of the respondents did not know what level of schooling they had acquired, and one can assume that if they do not know it is probably very insignificant.

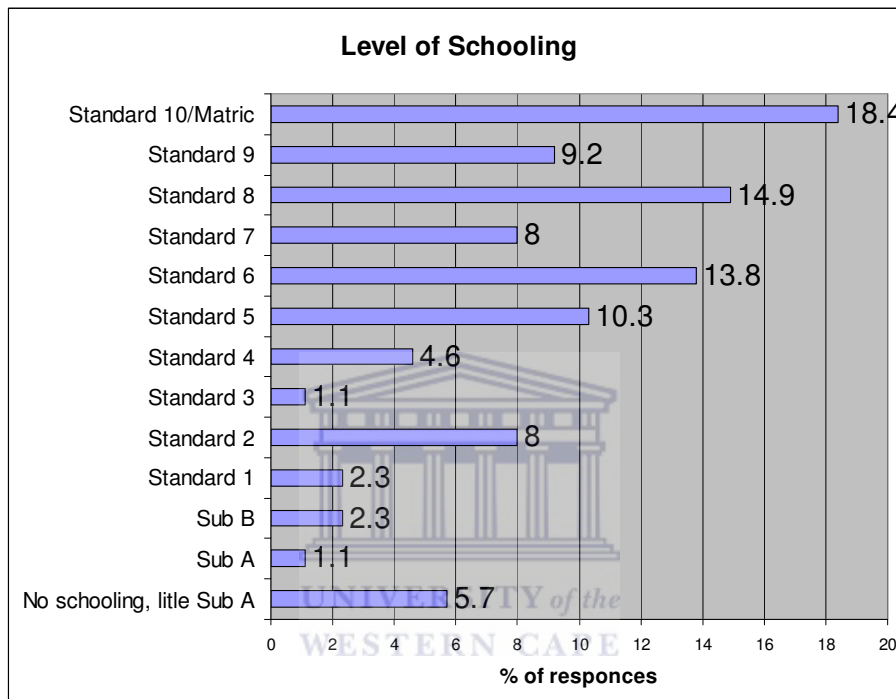


Fig.5.6: Title: Level of schooling of the respondents. Based on Survey findings.

The women were then asked why they were currently not enrolled. 25.5% (of the 62 that gave an answer) said they could not afford to go back to school, 22.6% considered themselves too old to re-enroll in schooling. Other interesting responses were that 4.9% have to take care of sick relatives, 1.6% got pregnant, and 1.6% did not want to study past Matric. Only one of the women indicated that she was still in school (Standard 10), but she was unsure if she was going to be able to complete Matric because she was now working. Finally, many women stated difficulties in finding jobs as a result of their low levels of education.

Findings in the qualitative questionnaire showed that a significant number of women, when asked what they thought a good life would be, gave answers related to education. However, most were

referring to the education of their kids or other kids from their community. One woman said a good life for her would be that the kids in her educare would grow and become educated people. Many others wanted to become nurses, study home-based care or continue their studies. The woman with the Masters degree wanted to get a Ph.D. in Chemical Science.

Self-expressing works: Although it was difficult to measure the self-expressive works of the women, from observation one can gather that they can be very creative when provided with a little encouragement. They are capable of finding, under very difficult circumstances, ways to do little jobs to feed their families. Not all the women may be able to be ‘artistic’ (in the common use of the word, to create peaces of ‘art’), but they are creative in many other ways. Many of them enjoy singing, sewing, and cooking, and if given a chance are very capable of being innovative. Nevertheless a very common thing is to copy existing ideas, particularly of successful small businesses, which unfortunately end up competing with each other, and some women showed concern saying that it reduces the number of their clients.

Freedom of expression, affiliation and religious exercise: With regard to freedom of expression, affiliation and religious exercise, for the most part it seemed that the women’s rights are protected. A good example is the way they combine different forms of Christianity with traditional beliefs and practices. Even though 89.1% of the women belonged to a religious organization, 84.2% believe that the spirits of their ancestors care what they do, 35% believe in ghosts or that the spirits of the dead can come back and 54.5% believe in witches. In addition, 41% belong to at least one community organization. Findings also showed that many women feel they are now able to express anything to the government without fear of retaliation. At the same time, many of them stated that I had spent more time with them than any government official ever had. In other words, it seems they are free to express themselves but there may be no one available to listen to what they have to say.

Pleasurable experiences and avoiding unnecessary pain: Findings showed that having pleasurable experiences and avoiding unnecessary pain is not always possible for the interviewees as a result of the frequency and danger of violence and abuse and high levels of poverty and unemployment they face on a daily basis. One woman, for instance, said a good life for her would be “not being in pain and suffering because of unemployment”. As a result of unemployment and poverty, many pleasurable experiences, particularly those that can only be achieved with money, are out of reach for them.

However, this is not to say they don't have pleasurable experiences, particularly because every individual values different things. Some women said they are happiest when they are at church, weddings and other celebrations because they can sing and dance.

Conclusion: The above findings show that the functionings for the capability of 'senses, imagination and thought' are present for the interviewees to a certain extent but not at optimal levels. The majority of women did not get to Matric and have very little education. However, although levels of education are of concern, what is most important is the women's ability to think ahead, reason and make plans. Findings showed that many of them had problems answering open questions. One woman even said that she could not imagine because she was not educated. The women also seemed to have difficulties visualizing how they could have a better life that was not directly linked to money or having a job, although some did list personal gains that could help them achieve a better life for the future. This is not to say they cannot think, but rather that they have limitations with regards to certain things. An example of the opposite, however, is their ability to create little jobs to allow them to feed their families. Most can be very creative, and because of their low levels of education they rely on things they can do with their hands, such as sewing or plaiting people's hair.

Findings with regards to the women's functionings related to freedom of affiliation and religious exercise, showed they are free to choose for themselves the practices they want to keep or the organizations they want to join. Their freedom of expression is, however, questionable only because they may not have easy access to the officials they need to express their needs to.

5.2.5 Functionings for the capability of 'Emotions'

The capability of 'emotions' as defined by Martha Nussbaum is:

Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by overwhelming fear and anxiety, or by traumatic events of abuse or neglect. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development). (Nussbaum, 2000: 79)

The interviewees were asked a variety of questions with regards to their emotional state and the availability of emotional and other types of support from people close to them, in order to understand the various functionings that play a role in the capability of ‘emotions’. Findings showed that 64% of the women were happy or very happy most of the time. When asked how much control the interviewees believed they had over things that happened in their lives, the answers were not what was expected because 36% said that they were totally in control and 49% said that they controlled most things (see Fig.5.7 below). Contradictory findings showed that when the women were asked how often they felt things were piling up so high that they could not overcome them, it showed much higher levels of anxiety. The majority (57.4%) of the women felt overwhelmed sometimes and around 20% felt overwhelmed more often than that or all the time (see Fig. 5.8 next page).

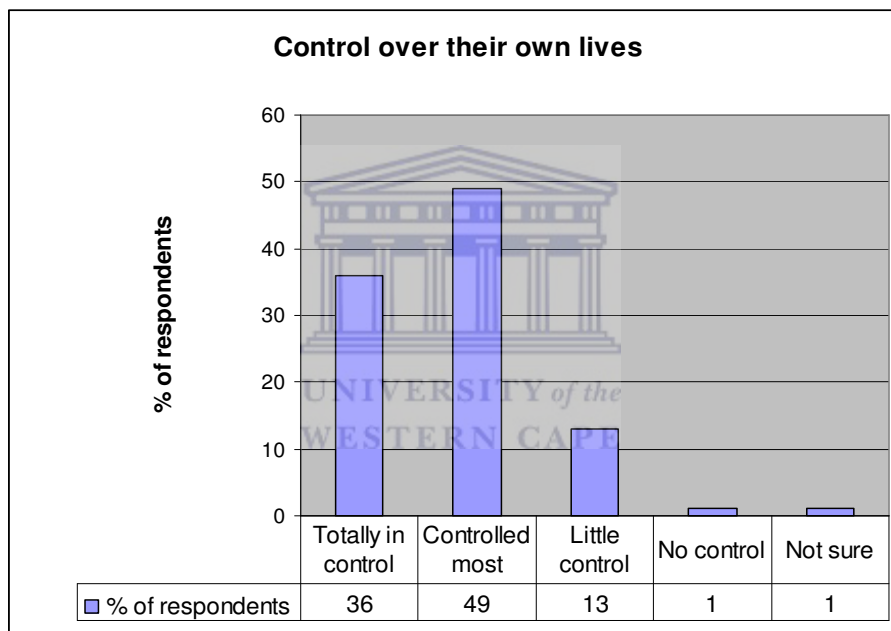


Fig.5.7: Title: Control the respondent felt over their own lives. Based on Survey findings.



Fig.5.8: Title: How often the women felt things were piling up so high that they could not overcome them. Based on Survey findings.

Findings also show that 42% of the women sometimes felt so nervous or anxious in the last year that they felt worn out, and an additional 17% indicated feeling that way all the time or often. However, 33% said that they never felt nervous or anxious (see Fig.5.9 below).

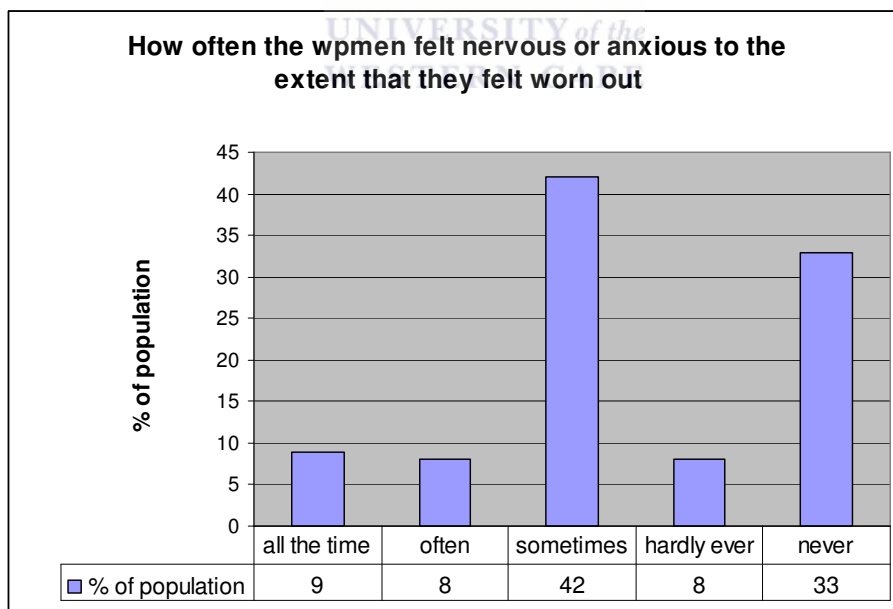


Fig.5.9: Title: How often the women felt so nervous or anxious that they felt worn out. Based on Survey findings.

Similar findings were recorded with regards to the women not being able to stop feeling sad and depressed even with help. Another important issue is how many times in the last year the women felt nervous or stressed. The findings showed that most women (53.5%) felt nervous or stressed sometimes and 22.8% never felt like that (see Fig.5.10 below).

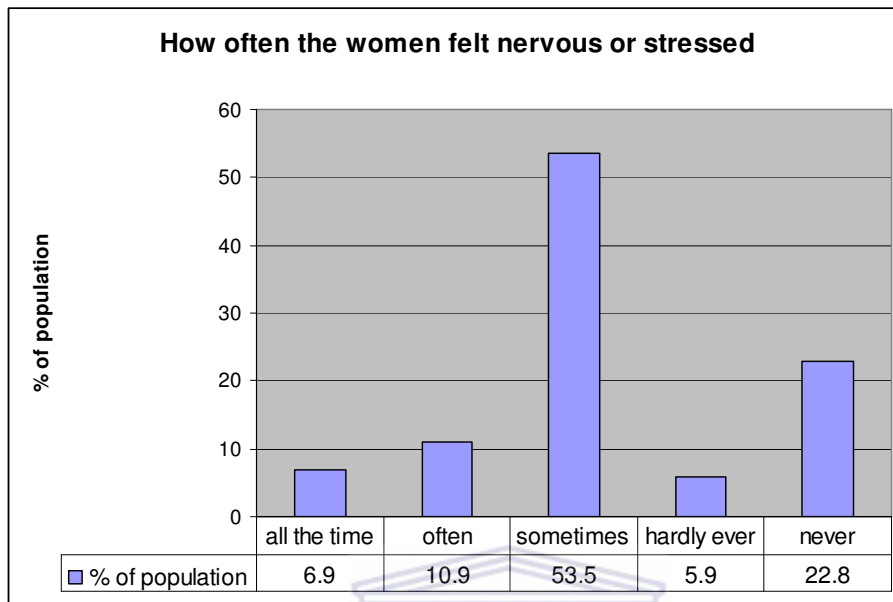


Fig.5.10: Title: How often the women felt nervous or stressed. Based on Survey findings.

From the above findings one can observe that the emotional and stress levels of the women vary, but overall are quite high. It is also possible, and in particular with regards to how much control they felt they had over things that happened in their lives, that the women modified their answers and tried to paint a better reality than the one they face. This is especially so considering there are many things they are unable to control, not because they do not have the ability but because those decisions are not left up to them.

The women were also asked a variety of questions regarding the availability of other people when they need them. Findings showed that the 71% of the women had someone available to have a good time with all of the time, 16% said most of the time, while 11% said some of the time; only 2% said they had someone a little of the time or none of the time. What this means is that the majority of the women have someone (friends or family) to spend their leisure time with.

In addition they were asked how often they had someone to show them love and affection, help them with their daily chores if they were sick, prepare them meals if they were unable to, take them to the hospital if they needed to go, help them if they were confined to bed; someone who understands her problems, someone to share her private worries and fears and someone who listens to her when she needs to talk. From the chart below, one can observe that the majority of the women have a good emotional base from friends and family, as very few of them have someone none of the time or little of the time while most have someone all of the time.

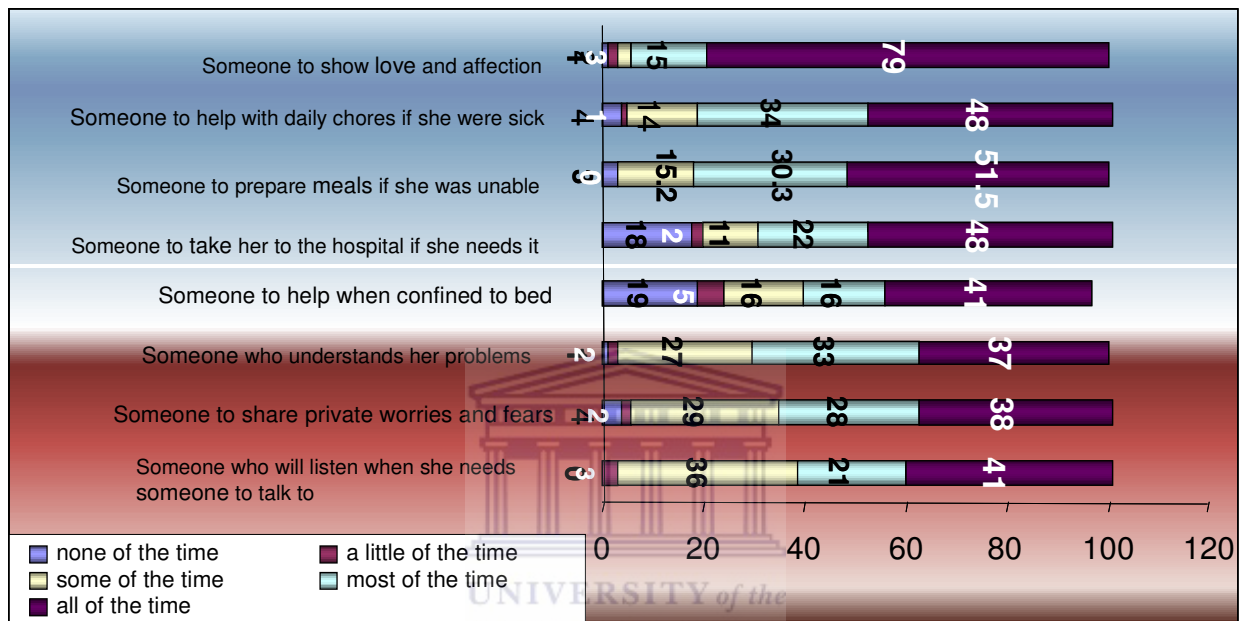


Fig.5.11: Title: Availability of other people to the women when they needed someone. Based on Survey findings.

Conclusion: Important to bear in mind, however, are the high rates of abuse (discussed previously in the capability of ‘bodily integrity’). Having someone available for some of their emotional and physical needs does not mean they are not hampered in other ways. Their sense of security plays a big role with regards to the development of their emotional state, because if they are afraid they are probably not well emotionally. Therefore, despite the fact that the women in most cases have good social support from other people, which helps them emotionally, there are many things that affect other social aspects and their emotional state. Their development in this area isn’t properly protected when they are afraid all the time, at home, and when they are trying to live their lives and improve them.

Therefore, even though they have some people who care about them, the fact that they do not receive the necessary respect and protection from the rest of society could mean that their emotions have not fully developed. It is difficult to measure to what extent they have been affected without a full psychological evaluation, but it is evident that the women's levels of stress and anxiety are fairly high.

5.2.6 Functionings for the capability of 'Practical Reason'

The capability of 'practical reason' as defined by Martha Nussbaum is:

Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience.) (Nussbaum, 2000: 79)

Findings show that many of the women interviewed have made several attempts at finding jobs but are often turned down because experience and education are required. The problem is that finding a job without education is difficult and so is getting an education without the money that could be obtained through a job. It is a vicious cycle, and once the women see the trap they stop trying. In addition, the fact that most have low levels of education (see Senses, Imagination and Thought above) many times creates mental blocks. For example, when asked to imagine the future, a woman said "I don't know what you are talking about because I never go to school"; another said she does not dream about the future because it is confusing and tells lies. One can assume that when the women are constantly being asked for educational levels they don't have, they become convinced that without schooling they are worthless, and stop trying to reason. This does not mean they cannot reason; it means they have gotten used to not reflecting and planning for their lives. One of the interviewees laughed when asked about her aspirations, and when asked why she was laughing she said "I am laughing because I have forgotten what I aspired to be when I was still in school, it's funny how quickly we forget when we don't have means". It is a matter of concern, also, that since most of the women are unemployed and have been for a while, combined with the levels of unemployment, their chances of finding work are slim, and thus many may have given up trying to plan and continue looking for jobs.

At the same time, many of the women know what they want and have an idea of how to try to achieve it; but they are unable to get fast results, so they get frustrated and give up. What they aspire to be has

with time become limited. Findings showed that the women found it difficult to imagine what a good life to them would be, and most of their answers were limited to getting a job and getting money to buy property, vehicles, education etc. The women that continue to look beyond difficult times and make an effort to achieve their dreams are the ones that seem to have fewer problems trying to make plans.

Focus Group discussions:

During the focus group discussions the women indicated that I had spent more time with them in one day than government officials had in a whole year. This is despite of the fact that IDP is now supposed to assure communities' participation in their own planning and development²⁴. Therefore, the tool (IDP) that supports the functionings of the capability of 'practical reason' is flawed for these women, as they were not able to participate. Findings showed that the selected group of women are not being given the possibility to actively reflect about their life in Khayelitsha, and how it could be improved.

Conclusion: There is no doubt that the women know what is good and what is bad. They know what they want to change and have an idea of how that could be done, and in this sense this capability has some of the functionings needed. However, after things go wrong for long periods of time and the women feel they are trapped in a vicious circle, many give up trying to reflect and plan for their future. In addition, it seems that many of the women have been told time and again they are not educated enough, or trained enough, so have begun to believe it and have been losing abilities rather than gaining them. At the same time what is also concerning is that some of the development tools designed to change this and engage the population in the planning of their own future are not working for everyone, and the selected group of women are amongst these. This is not to say, however, that no functioning mechanisms are in place other than the IDP which was a focus of this study.

²⁴ For more information on the IDP see discussion on Chapter 4 p.42-43.

5.2.7 Functionings for the Capability of ‘Affiliation’

The capability of ‘affiliation’ as defined by Martha Nussbaum is:

A. Being able to live with and towards others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another and to have compassion for that situation; to have the capability for both justice and friendship. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.)

B. Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails, at a minimum, protections against discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, caste, ethnicity, or national origin. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers. (Nussbaum, 2000: 79-80)

A. Findings show that the interviewees are capable of showing great concern and compassion for other people. When asked what they wanted to achieve in life, what they very strongly wanted to do, many women showed great concern for the well-being of people in their community. One woman in particular said she wants with all her heart to help others around her, work with the sick and help them in their houses, while another said she wanted to study and become a successful social worker to help and become an asset to her family and the rest of the community. A third woman said she wanted to help others achieve their goals, and explained that with a little help disabled people can achieve many things normal people do. Some women wanted to help other women, help their parents renovate their house and help the community by organizing workshops focused on young people. When the women were asked what they thought a good life would be, answers included working as a nurse and helping people, providing for their family everything that makes them happy, helping other people realize their dreams and making them happen, starting projects to enable women to do things for themselves, working so her mother no longer has to and so she can take care of her brothers and sisters, living with people that you love and in a beautiful home, being able to support her children and show them the right path. Findings showed many more examples like this where the women wanted to achieve things for themselves that would allow them to have a positive impact in their community, by helping young people, orphans, street kids, the elderly, and HIV positive people, amongst many more.

As many as 40% of the women already belong to one or more community organizations and many more expressed interest in helping their community. It seems, however, that although many wish to

dedicate their lives to helping others, in reality they may not be able to afford to work for free without receiving other alternative incomes. It is important to highlight that the obstacles are not institutional, that is to say, there are no laws that limit their participation.

B. Many women at different times highlighted the fact that the new South Africa has rights against discrimination and there are no longer laws that control the movement and freedom of people according to race. However, during the focus group discussions findings showed that all of the women still suffered from different forms of racism or discrimination. The women indicated that although many things had changed since the end of apartheid, they still felt that white people and men continue to be the hiring preference for many jobs. One can therefore assume that although on paper women are equal members of society, in reality disparities persist. Other cultural norms also showed influence over some of the rights of the women outside the workplace, in their communities and homes, preventing them from doing some things and achieving some of their personal goals.

The women were asked what they wanted to achieve in life, what they very strongly wanted to do. One woman said she wanted to be dignified, and another said, “What I want is to be like other people, to be a ‘person’ even though I am not rich”. These are two example of persons’ self-respect being affected as they feel constantly humiliated when compared to others.

Conclusion: From the discussion above one can assume that some of the functionings that support the capability of ‘Affiliation’ are very strong while others are weak. With regards to part A, the women showed a lot of compassion and concern for other human beings and expressed a strong interest in helping those that are more disadvantaged than themselves. Findings also showed they have freedom of assembly and political speech (although having an audience may be difficult to achieve).

The functionings for part B were more complex to analyze, as it enquires into the social bases of self-respect. Many women felt undignified, and indicated that their situation prevented them from being real “persons”. In addition, despite the fact that the post-apartheid government has banned discrimination based on race and gender²⁵, many women felt that most employers still preferred to hire white people and men, therefore preventing African women from achieving many things they want. It seems, therefore, that for this group of women equality exists only on paper, and is not yet a reality for them.

²⁵ For more information on the new constitution see Chapter 4 p.47-48

5.2.8 Functionings for the capability of ‘Other Species’

The capability of ‘other species’ as defined by Martha Nussbaum is:

Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
(Nussbaum, 2000: 80)

Findings during the focus group discussions initially indicated that the majority of the women did not like pets (cats and dogs). However, when asked about their homes in the Eastern Cape and whether their families had animals there, and whether they were important, the women said they were very important and were taken care of.

Regarding nature and plants, findings showed that the women did not give them much thought when they were in Khayelitsha, probably because there was very little space and thus very little nature; however, plants and nature were very important for the traditional healers. When asked whether they took care of nature and protected it, most of the women looked puzzled about the question and then one said that most of the time they had other things to worry about and most nodded their heads in consent.

Conclusion: The above findings show that the women cannot be particularly concerned for the well-being of the environment and animals around them when they are struggling to feed their families. However, the functionings appear to be circumstantial and depend on whether they are in Khayelitsha surrounded by a complex of overcrowded shacks or visiting their families in the Eastern Cape, where nature is essential for their survival. Findings also showed that, if made to reason on the subject, they do realize the importance of nature and animals to their survival and accept that they do care in many ways.

5.2.9 Functionings for the capability of ‘Play’

The capability of ‘play’ as defined by Martha Nussbaum is:

Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities. (Nussbaum, 2000: 80)

Leisure: Findings showed that 71% of the households have functioning radios, stereos or cassette recorders in their households, 65.3% have functioning television sets and 27.8% have functioning video, VCR or DVD players.

71% of the interviewees said they have someone available to have a good time with all the time, 16% indicate having someone most of the time, while 11% said some of the time. One can therefore assume that the majority of the women have someone (friends or family) to spend their leisure time with. In addition, when the women were asked how happy they were most of the time, 25% said that they were very happy, 39% said that they were happy, 26% said that they were a little happy, 9% said that they were not happy and 1% said that they did not know.

Recreational activities: During the focus group discussions most of the women said they like to sing and dance for fun, which is one of the reasons they like going to church (89.1% of the women belonged to a religious organization). When asked about the frequency in attending church, 16.2% the women said they attended more than once a week, 40.4% attended once a week, and the rest attended once a month or less. They also reported liking to go to weddings because that is another place where they can sing, dance and have fun.

The women were also asked about other places where they could go and spend some time and have fun. They said there are some places in Khayelitsha, but very dangerous. Some of the younger women indicated that for fun they got high because they were bored. This is a clear example of the negative impact that a lack of places for recreation can have on young people. Many of the older women also expressed concern that young people were turning to crime, substance abuse and gangs because they had nothing to do and nowhere to go.

Conclusion: Findings showed that the women felt the recreational spaces available in Khayelitsha are not safe, and therefore they are highly dependent on the availability of their friends and family for having a good time. The older women indicated that they like singing and dancing and thus appreciate large gathering such as weddings and church, and did not seem to be very affected by the lack of recreational spaces. However, this lack is recognized as a serious problem for the younger generations by all the women (young and old). The women argued that young people with no place to go become idle and run the risk of becoming self-destructive (turn to drugs and sex) and dangerous (crime, rape, HIV/AIDS etc).

5.2.10 Functionings for the capability of ‘Control over One’s Environment’

The capability of ‘control over one’s environment’ as defined by Martha Nussbaum is:

A. Political. Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one’s life; having the right of political participation, protection of free speech and association.

B. Material. Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), not just formally but in terms of real opportunity; and of seeking employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. (Nussbaum, 2000: 80)

A. Findings show that the women felt a lot of things had changed since the end of apartheid. The fact that they could now vote and the ANC was in power was a big change and a good step towards improving their ability to influence decisions that affect them and their lives. The women highlighted that now they could complain, and although things did not always change, at least they could express themselves freely. At the same time they discussed weaknesses, as many women had not felt they were part of the IDP information-gathering and decision-making process, as discussed previously. The women stated that I had spent more time with them and listened to them more intently than any person or group of persons from the government ever had. They did not feel that the process was including them, despite the fact that measures such as the IDP were being put in place.

The women were also asked during the focus group discussions how they viewed the government, and most of the interviewees indicated they were happy with it. However, during the questionnaires when asked who they thought best represented their needs and interests in Khayelitsha, 29.2% said that the ANC and 14.6% said the South African National Civic Organization (SANCO). This shows that less than half of the women feel that in general the government and its organizations are looking out for their well-being in some way or another. Findings did, however, show high ratings for the political party (ANC), as 10.3% of the women said it was excellent, 45.4% said it was good, 14.4% said it was moderate, 14.7% said it was poor and 5.2% did not know.

With regards to freedom of association, based on the findings -that the 103 women belong to 23 different churches- one can assume they are free to choose in that respect. In addition, 40.4% belong to one or more community organizations. However, on a less positive note, many women felt discriminated against when looking for and maintaining jobs. Many women felt that some jobs were only available for white women or men, and in that sense they still had many limitations. One woman

said she worked for a company that gave them only temporary positions, and gave white women the permanent ones.

B. Findings showed that when asked whether living in the ‘new’ South Africa made their life easier or more difficult, the women did not always agree. Some women said that it was easier because now they are free to go and do things they previously could not, and -most importantly- nobody can force them now to go places where they do not want to be. In addition, many said it was easier because the government was building houses and trying to increase service provision and government grants. At the same time, many said it was more difficult because there is a lot of unemployment and crime, service provision was not seen to have increased significantly and education is still not good. Some women said that if they are not able to get a proper education, they cannot get jobs (and there is a lot of competition), and therefore they cannot get the things they need.

Findings also showed that the majority of the women felt that living in Site C made their life more difficult. The women mentioned several causes, including high crime rates which make Khayelitsha dangerous and prone to robbery; one can start achieving things and investing in things, then be robbed and lose everything. There is also a lot of unemployment in Khayelitsha, jobs in the area are scarce and many women can’t afford to look for work in other areas because they are too far away. Another grievance is that they don’t have proper houses and toilets, despite all the promises. The women believe the situation is worse for them because they are often targets of crime and so there are things they cannot do and jobs they cannot have, and that because of this they become dependent on men and even have to tolerate abuse. The women that said life was easier pointed out that people help each other, that some services are free even if not ideal, and that they do not have to pay rent because most of them live in shacks. An interesting finding was that one woman said it was easier because cheap things can be bought in the streets of Khayelitsha when they cannot afford to buy them in shops; there is a very high possibility that these are stolen goods, which perpetuates crime and decreases the control they have over their environment.

Findings also showed different answers with regards to how being a woman affected them in achieving their aspirations. Some said that being a woman did not affect them because in South Africa today they have rights and are protected and can do whatever they want. However, others said that being a woman still made many things more difficult, for cultural reasons. Some felt they still have the main role of child rearing, have to put everybody else before themselves and have to obey their

husbands even if they do not agree. In addition, many felt that most jobs were reserved for men. One woman even said, “The way I see it, it seems as if development is focused on men.”

Findings showed that out of the 103 women only 40 said they were working, and therefore government grants are often considered significant alternative sources of income; however, findings showed that 68% of households are not receiving grants. 9% of the women interviewed received a state old age pension, 20% received a grant for child support, and 5% received a child foster care grant.

There are other findings that suggest the women do not control many aspects of their physical environment, such as the fact that only 57.4% had a refrigerator or freezer and 71.3% had an electric or gas stove, only 13.1% had bicycles and 9.1% had a car, Bakki or Combi. Some 40% have to leave their homes to collect water from public taps, when they would prefer to have access to water in their homes. Most distressing, however, is the fact that up to 20% of the households may be urinating and defecating in the streets, becoming a health hazard not only to themselves but also to the rest of the community.

Conclusion: Findings for many of the functionings were contradictory, probably a result of the history of South Africa. Most of the functionings appear to have improved significantly since the end of apartheid, particularly with regards to political participation, freedom of movement and government involvement in trying to change the environment in which the previously disadvantaged communities lived in, through the provision of houses and increasing services. Unfortunately, the levels are not optimal.

With regards to the women’s control over their political environment, findings show that despite the design of the IDP as an integrative process the political participation of the selected group of women is still limited to voting. The women, however, appreciated their right to freedom of speech, even though they may not always find an audience for their concerns. In addition, through their participation in community and church organizations the women are able to voice their concerns. Therefore, even if not ideal a lot of progress has been made.

Other aspects affecting their physical environment negatively were observed to be the location of Khayelitsha, combined with a minimum economic base. High levels of unemployment, combined with the women’s low educational levels, are seen to decrease their possibilities in finding jobs, which in turn plays a big role in determining where the women live, what type of dwelling they live in, the

number of functioning household goods they own, as well as having water and sanitation to the levels they would like, amongst other things. On the positive side, life in Khayelitsha was perceived to be more affordable because they do not have to pay rent and can find cheap goods available for sale in the streets.

The last thing that is important to bear in mind is whether their rights to property and employment are the same as the rest of the population's. It has become evident from observations that they know their rights, which include the right to property, and that they should no longer face discrimination in the workplace or at home. Unfortunately, many feel these rights are only on paper and that in reality they are not treated in an equal manner, and that white people and males have priority for many jobs. At the same time, they are also at a disadvantage in their homes, as they have to put the well-being of the rest of their family before their own and have to obey their husbands even if not in agreement.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Based on the research findings discussed above, it becomes evident that many of the women involved in the study lack many of the functionalities that support the capabilities. The complexity of their reality and the multi-dimensionality of their poverty are highlighted, and their feelings revealed regarding many issues affecting their lives and how they perceive things could be changed.

The selected group of women in Site C showed great concern for issues affecting their lives and their families' lives. Findings showed that HIV/AIDS, death, violence and poverty are part of their everyday life. They also showed how income poverty prevented them from achieving many things they value, including jobs and education, and from getting things they needed such as food, health care, and transportation. Findings do not stop at that, however. Other important aspects were looked into which would not have been able to be measured through another approach, such as their ability to be compassionate and caring despite the problems they face in their everyday life. It is all of these aspects that support their humanity and sadly from the findings; it seems that their functionalities are far from optimal levels.

The next chapter will utilize the findings discussed in this chapter to assess their capabilities, and thus help understand why these are not developing, for reasons other than choice.

CHAPTER 6:

CAPABILITIES OF THE RESPONDENTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the capabilities of the selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha utilizing Martha Nussbaum's list of capabilities central to human functioning introduced in Chapter 4, which are: life, bodily health (including shelter), bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions (emotional development not blighted), practical reason, affiliation, relationship with other species, play, and control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2000: 77-80). In order to assess and measure what the capabilities of the respondents are, the previous three chapters have to be taken into consideration. Chapter 3 defines the Capability approach and its importance in analyzing poverty, Chapter 4 provides the historical, social and political framework within which Khayelitsha was created and continues to function, and Chapter 5 provides the research findings needed for analysis. The research findings report on the actual functionings ('doings' and 'beings') of the respondents, as well as available commodities, services, social and institutional guarantees that the women indicated having access to, those they do not and the reasons given for this by them.

When looking at each capability as identified by Nussbaum the following issues must be taken into account. First of all is the issue that when the questions focused on welfare, there is a possibility that the women modified their answers based on the circumstances in which they live²⁶. Therefore, more important than the women's satisfaction is whether or not they have access to the different commodities and services that have been identified²⁷ as instrumental in improving their quality of life. Also important is whether the women have the capacity, the knowledge or the information to combine

²⁶ See also Rawls discussion on welfare p. 25.

²⁷ The focus of this research is not to expand the freedoms of the selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha and therefore the women themselves have not made the identification.

the resources they need (assuming they are available) to transform them into functionings²⁸. If the women do not have certain functionings, what is most important for this study is to find out whether they have the capabilities they need to lead lives they would consider worth living²⁹. This entails looking at available- or rather lack of- resources and levels of knowledge or freedoms that impede the transformation of goods and services into functionings. If the obstacles cannot be overcome, then the women do not have those capabilities. The analysis is of particular importance because South Africa is said to have a Constitution that is as much about equality as apartheid was about inequality, and yet inequalities continue to persist despite institutional guarantees³⁰. An adequate understanding of the complexities of the situation is therefore necessary in order to find sustainable solutions. The next section will take this into account when assessing the capabilities of the respondents.

6.2 CAPABILITY ASSESSMENT OF THE RESPONDENTS

The research process consists of assessing and measuring each capability as identified by Martha Nussbaum to see whether the respondents have the capabilities or not, and then if possible evaluate if they are better or worse off than other population groups in South Africa. Several steps are required for the analysis of each capability, and where necessary each section within the capability can be broken down into simpler sections.

The first and most important step is to look at whether institutional guarantees and freedoms are in place in the country and whether or not systems have been implemented to protect and carry them out. Then the findings of the functionings detailed in Chapter 5 will be analyzed to identify what is preventing the women from having full sets of functionings as per each capability. The reasons they do not have them may be multiple and complex, and therefore each will be explored by looking at what commodities and services the women have access to, what they do not and why. The impediments may be a result of unavailable or inaccessible commodities and services, or the inability to transform available commodities and services into functionings³¹. Important reasons for people's inability to achieve functionings may include social, cultural or institutional aspects which will also be identified and discussed. For some capabilities it may be necessary to look at the selected women in

²⁸ See also discussion in Chapter 3 p 26-27 on commodities, functionings and capabilities.

²⁹ See also discussion in Chapter 3 p.21 on living valued lives.

³⁰ See also discussion in Chapter 4 p. 47 on Politics and Service Provision.

³¹ See also discussion in Chapter 3 p 26-27 on commodities, functionings and capabilities.

context as compared to the general situation of the country by means of statistical information. It is the blocks to capabilities -other than choice- not easily overcome, that tell us whether the respondents have the capabilities or not.

Ultimately the findings will highlight which capabilities the selected group of women have, which they do not have and how they stand when compared to other population groups and locations. Within each capability it will show whether the blocks results from a lack of commodities or services including income (in terms of quality, quantity and physical accessibility), social and or cultural norms, existence of political guarantees within the Constitution and Bill of Rights, and lastly whether these guarantees that exist on paper are actually being supported through relevant institutions.

6.2.1 The Capability of 'Life'

Being able to live to the end of human life of normal length not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living (Nussbaum, 2005: 78).

Assessing the capability of 'life' involves analyzing whether the selected group of women in Khayelitsha could, if they wanted to, live a life of normal length and a life worth living. The analysis is therefore divided into two main sections: firstly their ability to live a life of full length and secondly their ability to lead a life worth living.

The analysis of each main section requires an overview of the institutional guarantees present in South Africa to protect the capability. Obstacles to the capability and relevant statistical information are also essential, as it allows the analysis to be done in context. The findings of the functionings discussed in Chapter 5 also help identify the reasons why certain functionings were not being achieved by the respondents, by looking at what commodities and services the women have access to, what they do not have access to and why. When the impediments (whether material, social or political) highlighted at national and local level cannot be overcome, then the respondents do not have the capability of 'life'.

The functionings of this capability were difficult to assess through the interview and focus group discussions in the previous chapter, because when people will die and the reasons are not easily measured. However, it was possible to obtain some information from the women with regards to

concerns they have that affect their capability of life and their actual quality of life, which will be discussed separately.

Not dying prematurely:

The first part of this capability requires finding out if the women in Khayelitsha have the potential to live a life of full length and not die prematurely. The first step is therefore to look at institutional guarantees, followed by statistical information. Finally, the findings will be compared to the concerns expressed by the respondents, to evaluate the information regarding the capability of 'life'.

South Africa through its Constitution and Bill of Rights is attempting to create an equal and just society that protects people's right to life and their human dignity, as well as some socio-economic rights which include access to health (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 98). What is therefore important is to find out whether guarantees are in place to ensure that all people are protected by them.

In South Africa it is estimated that women's life expectancy will drop from 52 years in 2001 to 37 years in 2010, while men's life expectancy is expected to reduce from 49 years in 2001 to 38 years in 2010 (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 8). This shows a trend that people are losing this capability, as life expectancy is reducing for both men and women; however, it is reducing much faster for women and it is critical to understand why these trends are happening. This evidence shows that in practice people's rights are not adequately supported and therefore the reasons why, are the main concern.

Statistical data in Chapter 4 showed that the capability of living life to full length is better supported for the people living in the Western Cape as opposed to other areas of the country. When looking at demographic differences, findings showed that for the city of Cape Town the white population is an ageing population representative of developing countries, while the African population is considerably worse off (Strategic information, CCT, Aug 2003: 13). What this therefore suggests is that the population that lives in Khayelitsha (being predominantly African) faces more dangers to their life than people living in other areas of the city. Although this is an estimate based on demographics, and many family members of people living in Khayelitsha are still living in the Eastern Cape, the higher levels of HIV/AIDS, TB and violent crime in Khayelitsha support this argument, which will be further discussed below.

The role that HIV/AIDS plays in reducing life expectancy: One of the most important factors identified to be increasing mortality levels in South Africa has been HIV/AIDS, where the majority of people living with this condition are women and girls. Although there are many discrepancies with regards to exactly how many people are currently living with HIV, at the end of 2004 the estimate stood at 5.3 million people, considered the highest national total of infections in the world. In 2004 around 57% of adults between the ages of 15 and 49 living with AIDS were women, while nearly four times as many young women between the ages of 15 and 24 were HIV positive as compared to their male counterparts (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 8).

The highest national prevalence rate estimate is 29.1% in 2006 (City of Cape Town, 2006b: 22). Although there are no estimates with regards to the prevalence rates of the city of Cape town for 2006, the antenatal incidence increased from 5.2% in 1998 to as high as 15.4% in 2005 (City of Cape Town, 2005: 24). The highest estimated rate for Khayelitsha indicated that prevalence has probably reached 33% (City of Cape Town, 2006b: 22), which is higher than the national prevalence rate but significantly lower than the HIV/AIDS rates for the city of Cape Town. It is therefore important to understand the factors causing such high levels of HIV/AIDS in Khayelitsha, which will be discussed below and include sexual violence and rape, as well as historical factors and access to services and information.

The relationship between sexual violence and HIV/AIDS: The levels of sexual violence and rape in South Africa are considered to be amongst the highest in the world (Bhulungu *et al.*, 2006: 333) and are most worrying due to the high rates of HIV/AIDS³² prevalent in the country. Also of concern are increasing numbers of child and infant rapes (which could potentially hamper other capabilities including this one for younger generations). Police statistics from 2004 to 2005 indicated that 55,114 rapes had been reported in the country, showing an increase of 4.5% from the previous year (Amnesty International, 2005: web.amnesty.org/report2006/zaf-summary-eng; Redpath, 2000: hsf.org.za/focus18/childfocus18.html; MRC News Release, 2002: www.sciencinafricco.za/2002/april/rape.htm). The city of

³² Sexual violence is known to increase vulnerability to HIV for all survivors. Women and girls are, however, physiologically more vulnerable than men and boys during unprotected heterosexual vaginal sex, while girls and young women are physiologically more susceptible than older women. Forced or coerced sex creates a risk of trauma, increasing vulnerability as genital or anal injuries are more likely to increase the risk of transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (Human Rights Watch, 2004: Chapter 4: 2). It is estimated that through an unprotected heterosexual encounter the risk of infection is of 0.1%; but in the case of rape, taking into account the number of times a person is raped and the number of attackers, the risk can be much higher (Gender News, 1999: 1). Some estimates indicate that a person raped in a country like South Africa has a 30% to 40 % risk of becoming HIV positive if not treated with Post-Exposure Prophylaxis (Smith, 2003: 22).

Cape Town is believed to follow the national trend in numbers of rape cases. The number reported in 2005/2006 was 3,792- only slightly lower than the previous year (Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, 2006: www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/CityStatistics/City%20Statistics%20Detail/Drug%20Related%20Crime.mht). It is, however, believed that the figure is twice as high, as it is estimated that only around 50% of victims actually report the incident to the police (City of Cape, Town 2006b: 55). With a high HIV/AIDS incidence in many areas of the city, including Khayelitsha, rape is not only a brutal crime but also a possible death sentence for many women, which is why it is so important in the analysis of the capability of 'life'.

Findings show that most rape victims are impoverished black women and children who can least afford or access medical and psychological attention (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 9). It is also argued that poverty plays a big role in the higher levels of violence and lack of security in poorer settlements (Cape Town, 2006: 23; City of Cape Town, 2006b: 61). It is therefore understood that poor African women such as the selected group living in Khayelitsha are highly vulnerable to rape and thus HIV, as a result of poverty. However, HIV/AIDS does not have to be a death sentence. With proper health care and nutrition people could live a full-length life. What this implies is that people who are developing AIDS need Anti-Retroviral Treatment (ARV) and people that have been victims of sexual violence need prompt access to Post-Exposure Prophylaxis (PEP). If the women had access to these medications, the capability of life could be better supported.

The city of Cape Town is said to provide comprehensive care at 70% of the city's clinics, and has three antiretroviral treatment sites in Langa and Hout Bay (City of Cape Town, 2005: 24); there is also an AIDS clinic run by MSF in partnership with the Department of Health of the Western Cape in Khayelitsha. In 2006 the MSF clinic was providing ARV's to 4000 people, (MSF, 2006: www.msf.org/msfinternational/invoke.cfm?objectid=95B1F632-5056-AA77-6C428EB542236E3F&component=toolkit.article&method=full.html) which unfortunately is not enough considering the extremely high HIV/AIDS levels in Khayelitsha. In addition, there is no information on how many people have access to treatment or how many are being treated at the rest of the health facilities. The majority of people living with AIDS are believed to NOT be receiving ARV's.

Chapter 5 showed that the women were concerned about the amount of deaths in the community as a result of AIDS, which goes in line with the findings. However, only one of the respondents indicated

being HIV positive, which is less than one percent. It is believed that the women may not have been truthful in their responses and that the actual prevalence is higher.

History, ‘denialism’ and the prevalence of HIV/AIDS: Another critical aspect affecting the spread and treatment of HIV/AIDS is historical. South Africa went through a period of ‘denialism’³³ which is said to be responsible for the extremely high rates of HIV, because NGOs and medical staff who were found to be providing PEP to rape survivors came under criticism and sometimes faced punishment for doing so. Some doctors and hospitals were even blamed for trying to ‘poison black people’ or were made to issue a circular making it clear that doctors were forbidden by the National Department of Health HIV/AIDS policy to administer antiretroviral drugs to rape survivors (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 23). The same situation affected antiretroviral drugs to prevent mother-to-child transmission (MTCT).

The phase of ‘denialism’ is over, and “under South African Law, women have the right to treatment and to antiretroviral drugs to reduce the risk of mother-to-child transmission (MTCT) and HIV infection after rape” (National Department of Health, 2004: www.doh.gov.za/docs/research/vol6-1rape.html). The Cabinet approved a plan to provide comprehensive care and treatment to people living with HIV/AIDS throughout South Africa, which included the provision of antiretroviral drugs. The plan also confirmed the previous commitment to provide PEP to rape survivors, as well as upgrading the national health system and implementing training programs for health care professionals regarding the appropriate use of antiretroviral drugs, which included a comprehensive education campaign (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 24). However, as was discussed previously, the majority of infected people are not receiving treatment and therefore problems remain with regards to the actual implementation.

Also of concern is the fact that the Health Department findings and reports are not focusing actual achievements of ARV and PEP provision, but rather “how many had died from the side effects” (SAPA 05.05.05 cited in Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 34-35). This is especially distressing because negative

³³ Although PEP and ARV’s had been available in South Africa through some service providers as early as 1997, this changed in 1999 when the nation entered a period of ‘denialism’. Government officials expressed concerns about the safety of antiretroviral drugs, including a speech by President Thabo Mbeki in which he mentioned that “the toxicity of the drug is such that it is in fact a danger to health”. By the year 2000 some members of government even began to question whether HIV was the cause of AIDS and called for the opinion of ‘denialists’ who went as far as to state that poverty was the cause of AIDS, and not HIV. It was also said that AIDS was a massive well-thought-out medical scheme brought about by pharmaceutical companies, scientists and doctors who wanted to make a profit, but that in fact the medicines were poison (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 19).

propaganda against the medication during the period of ‘denialism’ created confusion amongst the population regarding the effectiveness of treatment, and thus discouraged people from seeking it. This is perceived to be a major block to this capability.

The role health care plays in reducing life expectancy: South Africa is believed to continue having poor and fragmented health services as a result of historical neglect (UNDP, 2004: 27). The concern is that the combination of poverty, poor access to health care, poor nutrition, poor sanitation, and crowded settlements are perpetuating the spread of disease and preventing people from obtaining treatment in a timely manner. The result is an increase in prevalence and death from other curable diseases such as Tuberculosis (TB), which is easily cured with antibiotics.

The number of deaths as a result of TB went from less than 500 in 1999 to over 2000 in 2005 in Cape Town (Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, 2006f: www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/CityStatistics/City%20Statistics%20Detail/TB%20incidence%20and%20deaths.mht). The highest incidence of TB was found to be in informal settlements in Khayelitsha and Nyanga, where overcrowding and poor ventilation, combined with often damp and unsanitary surroundings, are believed to play a significant role in spreading the disease (City of Cape Town, 2006b: 22). The high levels of poverty in the settlement of Khayelitsha also increase the chances that people infected with TB will die from it, because they cannot afford access to adequate health services and medication.

Findings of the focus group discussions support this argument, as many women expressed concern with regards to availability of doctors and medication at the clinics near to them, and that on many occasions they had to travel to the hospital in Wynberg for proper health care. Seeking better health care was often not possible as a result of transport costs.

The role that crime and poverty play in reducing life expectancy: Crime is also a major factor affecting the capability of life directly and not only as the result of rape and HIV transmission. South Africa is believed to have amongst the highest rates of murder in the world. In the city of Cape Town a total of 1,057 murders took place in 2004 (last available police statistics), an average of 5 murders per day, which is considered “unacceptably high” (City of Cape Town, 2006: 23; City of Cape Town, 2006b: 61). High levels of poverty, unemployment and substance abuse are seen as the main causes of violent crimes (City of Cape Town, 2006: 23); although no crime statistics were obtained for Site C or

Khayelitsha, it can be assumed that they are a high-risk population as a result of the high levels of poverty and unemployment discussed in Chapter 4³⁴.

The findings from interviews and focus group discussions certainly support this argument because the women often expressed fear for their lives in Khayelitsha, and often stated that unemployment, poverty and drug abuse were major causes of high levels of crime. The totsis (gangsters) are believed to be the result of poverty and the perpetrators of many of the violent crimes, often resulting in death, in Khayelitsha. At the same time, some of the younger women did mention that out of boredom they got high, which suggests that idleness leads to bad decisions. Overall, the women stated that they were concerned all the time about the high levels of crime and the risks they have to face every day.

Concluding remarks regarding the respondents' capability to live a life to full length: What this is saying is that if poverty is influencing morbidity (high HIV/AIDS, TB) and thus mortality, and the levels of violent crime, then the capability to live a life of full length is much less for African women living in Khayelitsha than for people living in other areas and in different population groups, particularly white.

It therefore seems that poverty, high levels of crime, high levels of HIV and other communicable diseases, combined with inadequate access to resources and possibilities to break out of the poverty cycle, weaken the capability of life. The women are not able to live a full-length life because they are stuck in a cycle of deprivation. This capability, however, also has a second part, whether people are able to live a life 'worth living', which will be discussed below.

Life worth living:

For the second part of the capability of 'life', it is important to assess the women's quality of life and that of the people around them in order to see if they are living a 'life worth living'. As in the first part, it is important to look at how the respondents perceived their life and the lives of others. In this sense the findings from the focus group discussions are very important.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, many women felt the need to help other people. Even though they were poor themselves, they felt that the quality of life many people had was very bad. The women wanted

³⁴ For more information see Chapter 4 p.46.

to provide in some way home-based care for people who were ill (mostly of AIDS) and old. They were concerned that many people in Khayelitsha are very poor, ill and dying and are not appropriately cared for

From what was observed among the women interviewed, although many could be ill themselves most were still living a dignified life, poor but dignified. Their concerns, as previously stated, were mostly with regards to other people. At the same time they wanted to ensure a good future for their children. In this sense they wanted to make certain that people's lives were not reduced to being not worth living and finding themselves alone.

Conclusion: The surveys and the focus group discussions did not allow for an analysis of the functionings of the selected group of women for the capability of life, because the actual length of the life the respondents will live can only be estimated, not measured. The statistical data, however, allowed for an in-depth analysis of issues affecting capability of life.

The above discussion showed that life expectancy is dropping considerably for the population of South Africa as a whole but particularly for women. Findings also showed that poor communities such as the African in Khayelitsha are at high risk of violent crime, including rape. In addition, the already high levels of HIV in the country and particularly amongst poor communities, partly a result of historical factors, combined with high crime rates and fragmented health services increase the chances of women acquiring HIV and dying from it, because they cannot access ARV's or PEP in a timely manner. The 'poor and fragmented' health services also affect the availability and quality of health care, which increases women's vulnerability to other diseases such as TB and limits their possibilities of obtaining timely treatment, because often they cannot afford to travel to areas with better health care facilities. One of these aspects alone would not be enough to have such a negative impact, but the combination is deadly. Although the women did not seem ill, and their lives did not seem reduced as to not be worth living, the concern they have for the well-being of others in their community might in time refer to them.

From these findings it becomes evident that the political guarantees needed to protect the capability of life of the women in Khayelitsha are not there. The researcher therefore finds that the respondents do not have the capability of 'life'.

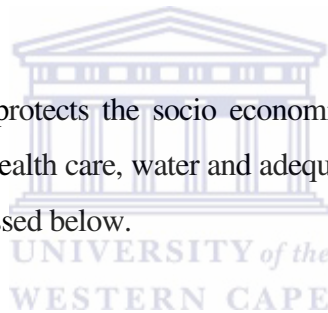
6.2.2 The Capability of ‘Bodily Health’

Being able to have good health, including reproductive health, to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter (Nussbaum, 2005: 78)

Assessing the capability of ‘bodily health’ requires an analysis of whether the respondents could, if they wanted to, live a healthy life, be sufficiently nourished and have adequate shelter. The analysis of this capability is divided into three main sections which are the ability to be healthy, nourished, and live in an adequate shelter.

For the analysis, the same steps are required as in the previous capability and include an overview of institutional guarantees in South Africa, problems with their implementation and statistical data. The findings from the respondents in Chapter 5 will also highlight their actual access to commodities and services and their ability to transform them into functionings. If certain functionings are blocked by faulty economic, social, cultural or political guarantees that cannot be overcome, then so is the capability.

South Africa in the Bill of Rights protects the socio economic rights critical for the capability of ‘bodily health’, which are access to health care, water and adequate shelter (housing) (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 98); these will be further discussed below.



6.2.2.1 Aspects affecting good health:

The first part of this capability is to find out if the respondents have the potential to lead a healthy life, which focuses on physical health, access to water and sanitation, and air pollution. Reproductive health was deliberately left out because of the sensitivity of the subject; however, infant mortality rates in 2004 stood at 23.8, which indicates a potential problem (City of Cape Town, 2006 227).

The role that health services play in people’s health: Since the end of apartheid, South Africa through its Constitution has strived for equality and the protection of people’s rights regardless of race or gender (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 98). Unfortunately, historical neglect can still be observed through “poor and fragmented” health services (UNDP, 2004: 27), as was observed in the previous capability (the capability of life). When observing the toll in lives that AIDS and other treatable diseases such as

TB are taking, the extent to which people's health is also affected becomes only too clear. A lot of the disparities are a result of inequalities of the past, but they seem to be perpetuated now by poverty and the continuous provision of unequal access and quality of services. The distance between the township and other areas also plays a role.

The findings in Chapter 5 support this argument, as the respondents indicated that the availability and quality of health services in Khayelitsha was often not good at all. They argued that there were not enough doctors or medications at many of the clinics, and therefore if seriously ill, and they can afford it, they prefer to travel to other areas of the city to ensure better service, and most importantly availability of necessary medication. The problem is that looking for treatment in other areas increases costs and thus perpetuates the cycle of poverty.

The role that water and sanitation play in reducing life expectancy: Access to health care is not the only service that determines and influences people's health. Access to water and sanitation is essential to human health and life and key to reducing poverty (WHO, 2005: 99). South Africa has set itself a higher mark than the rest of the world³⁵, aiming to provide all people with access to a functioning water supply by the year 2008, and at a distance of 200mts as compared to the 1km recommended by the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) (Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, 2003: 5-6; South Africa Government Information, 2005: www.info.gov.za/aboutsa/water.htm#policyleg).

In 2004 the government reported that since 1994, out of the 14 million South Africans who did not have access to basic water, 10 million had gained access (Kasrils, 2004: www.dwaf.gov.za/Events/WaterWeek/2004/default.htm). Unfortunately, despite the big advances in provision of this service, the number of households is also increasing rapidly and it is very likely that the 2008 target will not be met; projections show that there will be around 1.5 million people still without access to clean water (Buhlungu *et al*, 2006: 26-27). There are also some concerns with regards to affordability and access for households that have water outlets in their home if they pass their quota³⁶ (flush toilets

³⁵ The world committed itself through the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) to halve the number of people lacking adequate access to water and sanitation by the year 2015 (WHO, 2005:99).

³⁶ People in South Africa have the right to 6,000 liters of free water per household per month. In many places water meters have been installed in houses in order to monitor payment and minimize wastage. The problem is that water meters automatically shut down after 6,000 liters have been delivered, which means that for the rest of the month people do not have access to a safe source of water; therefore, the right that "everyone has ... to have access to sufficient water" is being compromised. Furthermore, poorer households are likely to have more people living in them (Earle, 2005: 6), and it is also known that the urban poor are used to relatively high levels of water usage, and that 6 kilolitres of free water for each household is equivalent to two flushes of a toilet per person per day (De Visser, *et al.*, 2002: 35).

actually represent a big problem with regards to the amount of water wasted). With regards to the provision of adequate sanitation, the government initially promised to provide sanitation for all by the year 2010; however, in 2004 the government stated that they would provide basic sanitation to 300,000 households. Although information on current delivery levels is not available, in 2004 it was estimated that there were still 4.5 million households without basic sanitation (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 27-28).

The city of Cape Town in 2004 provided emergency basic services to “all accessible settlements, with water provided at 95% of settlements, sanitation at 92%, and refuse collection at 99%”. Although these services are rudimentary they are expected to improve as permanent settlements replace them (City of Cape Town, 2005: 17& City of Cape Town, 2006: 6). The city of Cape Town has provided basic water services (shared water taps) since August 2005 for 25,500 households, and shared toilets for 13,000 households. This left a backlog of 9,000 households without basic water and 45,000 households without basic sanitation, although these figures could have changed with the influx of people into the city and the creation of new informal households (City of Cape Town, 2006: 42).

The findings of Chapter 5 definitely showed that the respondents have benefited from the emergency basic services, particularly with regards to water, as 60% had access to piped water on site (either internal or external), though some women expressed concern regarding costs. Those that had to use public taps expressed their need for on-site access and also complained about costs (some are free) and safety in having to utilize public taps. The issues regarding the provision of adequate sanitation are more complex. Inadequate access to sanitation continues to pose potential health risks as the findings showed that up to 20% of the population or more could potentially be defecating and urinating in the street. This poses a health treat not only to themselves but to the community as a whole.

The role that air pollution plays in people’s lives: Another important factor is air pollution, and areas which utilize household fuel burning as a means to satisfy their fuel needs are high on the list. Khayelitsha is one of the areas with the highest levels of this type of air pollution (City of Cape Town, 2006: 153). In Cape Town it is recognized that poor air quality does represent significant health risks (City of Cape Town, 2006: 161).

The table below shows the Annual Particulate Matter exceedances, which are the number of days during the year that particulate matter exceeds the levels allowed in the United Kingdom. The city

center has shown no change in the last four years; however, Khayelitsha has shown a significant increase for that same period. This type of pollution can provoke negative health effects, particularly for those who suffer from respiratory complaints, since pollution can exacerbate the condition (Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, 2006c.: www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/CityStatistics/City%20Statistics%20Detail/Particulate%20Matter.mht; Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department 2006d.: www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/CityStatistics/City%20stats%20summary%20page.htm).

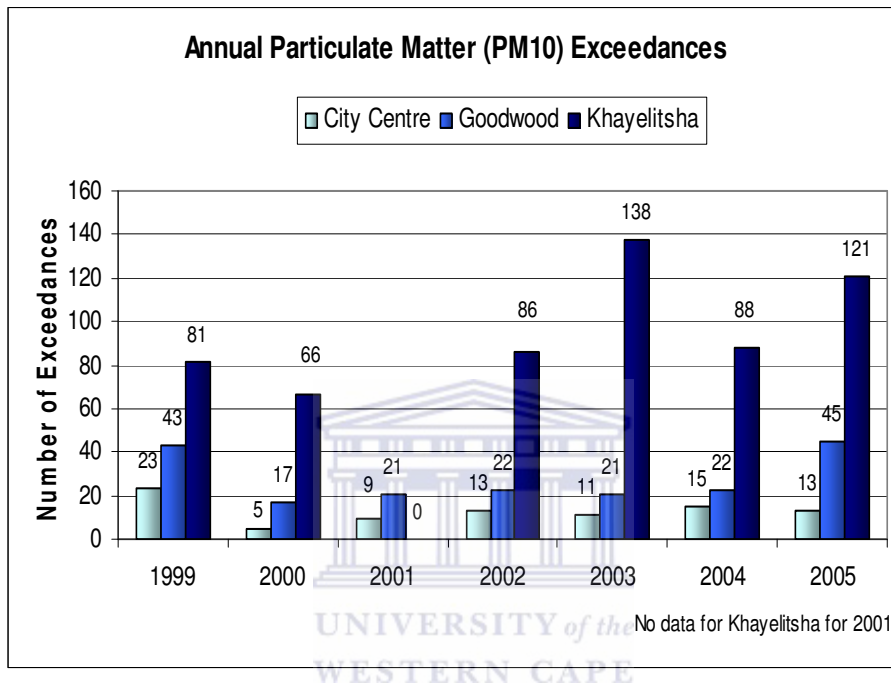


Fig. 6.1: Title: Annual Particulate Matter (PM10) Exceedances. Table adapter from Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, 2006c.: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/CityStatistics/City%20Statistics%20Detail/Particulate%20Matter.mht>

The high levels of particulate matter pollution show that Khayelitsha utilizes high amounts of wood and paraffin burning for heating and cooking, which affect people’s health and is a direct result of poverty.

6.2.2.2 Nutrition

Nutrition is also an important aspect in being able to lead a healthy life. Unfortunately there is not a lot of data available with regards to the nutritional status of people in South Africa. The IDP did, however, cite a study where findings showed 14.3% of households responding that they often went hungry, and a further 39.4% of households sometimes went hungry (De la Harpe 2005 in City of Cape Town, 2006b: 39).

With regards to the respondents, their actual nutritional levels were not measured; however, the number of days the women and their families did not have enough to eat is a good indication that they may not be meeting their nutritional needs. Findings show that 71.3% of households were not getting enough to eat. In addition, the fact that so many respondents considered contributions to the household very important is also a good indicator that when contributions are not available the households may not have enough income to fulfil their basic necessities. It therefore seems that poverty is probably affecting the nutritional level of many women living in Khayelitsha and their families.



6.2.2.3 Adequate shelter

In South Africa, between 1994 and 2003 around one million RDP houses serviced with electricity as well as on-site water and sanitation services were built, which should have been enough to eliminate the shack dwellings existing in 1994. However, the number of households living in shacks increased by 26% between 1996 and 2001, meaning that the rate of delivery had to double in order to comply with the new demand (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 23).

An explanation for the phenomenon is that although the population is increasing at less than 2.5%, households are breaking down into smaller nuclear families. Findings showed that African households are increasing at 3.2%, which is faster by far (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 22-23). The problem with this recent phenomenon is that it diminishes the impact that housing efforts are having.

In the city of Cape Town it is believed that around 30% of the households, which amounts to almost one million people, live in inadequate houses and in informal settlements such as Khayelitsha. There

are varying statistics for the number of households that make up the housing backlog, ranging from 265,000 to 300,000, a number calculated through alternative methodologies and definitions (City of Cape Town, 2006b: 14-15 &50). One problem about informal houses is that they are commonly made of wood and iron and do not meet safety standards (City of Cape Town, 2006: 67).

The Fig 6.2 (below) illustrates the percentages of the population of the Cape Town metropolitan area vs. the percentages of the population of Khayelitsha, in terms of homestead types. The clearest outstanding difference is that the majority (57.32%) of the Cape Town households lived in free-standing houses, as opposed to the majority (57.05) of the Khayelitsha households, who lived in informal dwellings/shacks not in backyards, and 7.27% more who lived in informal dwellings in backyards (Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department 2006b: www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/Census2001-new/Cape%20Town/Cape%20Town.htm and (Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department 2006a: www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/Census2001-new/Suburbs/Khayelitsha.htm).

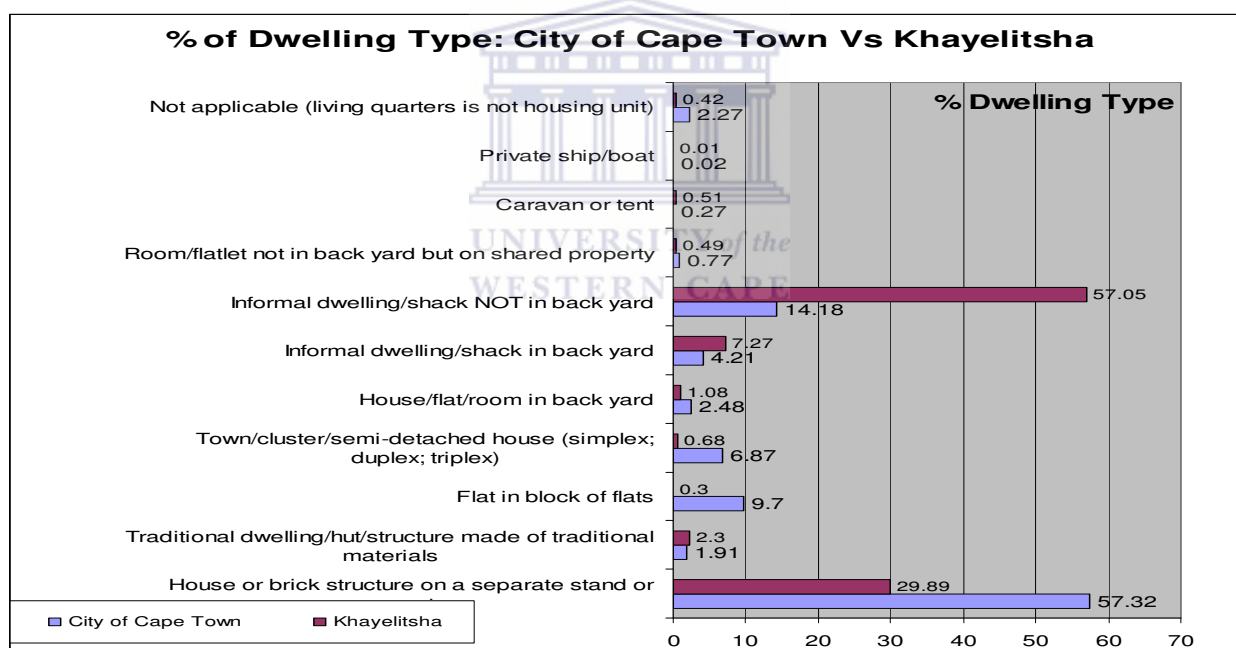


Fig.6.2: Title: The percentage of dwelling type: The city of Cape Town Vs Khayelitsha. Adapted from Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department 2006 (b) www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/Census2001-new/Cape%20Town/Cape%20Town.htm; (a) www.capetown.gov.za/censusInfo/Census2001-new/Suburbs/Khayelitsha.htm

The main reason statistics in South Africa are relevant to this discussion is that if households are increasing at the same rate as provision, then the housing backlog will continue and the chances of the government providing for these households soon is small. At the same time, there is a different concern with regards to household promises, combined with the fact that the majority of the women stated that the Eastern Cape is their home. The problem is that the women and their families are not willing to invest in improving their dwelling type or size if they are not planning to stay in Khayelitsha, or are expecting the government to provide this service.

The findings in Chapter 5 indicated that up to 89% of the respondents lived in inadequate housing. Once again the definition of ‘adequate shelter’ needs to be clarified, and it refers to dwellings that keep its resident secure from intruders, protected from climatic conditions, and are not overcrowded or dangerous. This means that just because they live in a shack, it is not necessarily inadequate. What makes it inadequate are the health hazards that are potentially present when shacks are too close to each other, are built of materials that do not protect people, and are overcrowded.

Conclusion: Findings show that the women in Khayelitsha do not have the combined capability of ‘bodily health’, despite recent efforts to improve access to essential services such as health care, water and sanitation, and housing, a lot is still left to be done. The most important concern with regards to this capability is that health services are not up to standard in Khayelitsha, and as a result of poverty services in other locations are often not affordable either, due to transport costs. Of particular concern are HIV/AIDS and TB, which are deadly diseases if left untreated. In addition, air pollution and inadequate access to sanitation, as well as low nutritional levels and inadequate housing, also perpetuate bad health for the respondents. Despite these many failing functionings, the women do not have the necessary freedom to move away, increase and improve their access to resources.

The researcher therefore finds that the respondents do not have the capability of ‘bodily health’.

6.2.3 The Capability of ‘Bodily Integrity’:

Being able to move freely from place to place, having one’s bodily boundaries treated as sovereign, i.e. being able to be secure against assault, including sexual assault, child sexual abuse, and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction. (Nussbaum, 2005: 78).

To measure the respondents' capability of 'bodily integrity', it is necessary to assess whether they are really 'able to move freely' from one place to another, and whether they are really able to have their bodies treated as sovereign. The analysis is therefore divided into two main sections accordingly.

The first step in understanding this capability is to understand the history of the country and apartheid and how it affected people's capability to 'bodily health', and then compare how the new Constitution has changed people's 'rights'. Secondly, it is important to identify current problems in South Africa affecting the functionings of this capability. Then the findings of Chapter 5 need to be looked at in context with the issues discussed above, to identify problems which cannot be overcome and therefore are a block to the capability under discussion.

During apartheid the government attempted to keep the population divided racially, and increasingly used repressive measures to control the number of Africans in urban areas (Conradie, 1992: 31-35). These measures completely impeded the capability of 'bodily integrity' for Africans, and as resistance increased so did the violent repressive measures, which further decreased this capability. When apartheid came to an end the new government established a new Constitution that is believed to be as much about equality as apartheid was about inequality, and includes the right to freedom and security. People's rights on paper changed entirely and they now have the 'right' to do anything as long as it is not destructive or harmful (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 103). The question now is whether the women in Khayelitsha have gained access to these rights in real terms and have gained this capability.

6.2.1 Freedom of movement affecting the capability of 'bodily integrity'

The first part of this capability is to find out whether the women are really free to move from one place to another. At first glance, the answer is yes. The pass system has been abolished and people are no longer restricted on a racial basis, although other types of restrictions seem to have taken their place.

The transport systems in the city of Cape Town have not changed significantly and still focus mainly on getting people to and from the city center, even though movement patterns have changed and the city has almost doubled in size. The main problem with the outdated transport system is that it forces people to travel longer distances than is actually necessary and increases costs, which is believed to perpetuate poverty and inequality as people are limited from accessing economic and social

opportunities. In addition, many means of transport are considered dangerous and infrequent (City of Cape Town, 2006: 20; City of Cape Town, 2005: 26). Railway lines and highways also create barriers between different parts of the city because they are difficult to cross, limiting access to services and making some income-generating activities difficult (City of Cape Town, 2006:20)

People in Khayelitsha are now 'free' to move from place to place without being restricted by laws based on race; however, the women in Khayelitsha verified that freedom of movement is still an issue. Many emphasised that the removal of the pass system made their life easier, though other women emphasized how in practice they still had nowhere else to go. Problems identified by the respondents as limiting their movement were transport cost, access (distance), and security, which were recognized as discussed above by the city of Cape Town. The women expressed particular concern with regards to moving at night. Freedom of movement therefore seems to be directly linked to the availability of economic resources, particularly because of the distance from Khayelitsha to other areas. Unfortunately, as previously discussed, the women belong to a race that is still disadvantaged for historical reasons and has not been able to overcome economic and monetary obstacles to this capability



6.3.2 Bodily boundaries treated as sovereign

The second part of this capability is to find out if the women can really have their bodily boundaries treated as sovereign. As has been previously discussed, South Africa has alarmingly high levels of crime and sexual violence, which are a major block to this capability and are particularly concerning in this discussion because most victims are impoverished black women and children (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 9) and the majority of the offenders are men they know (Human Rights Watch 2004: 12).

It is estimated that less than half of rape victims report the incidences to the police because they are known to treat rape victims badly, delay the process (ask them to return the next day) and sometimes even take bribes to make evidence 'disappear', which discourages women from reporting cases and seeking protection (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 4, 44-54). A different concern is that many women believe their partners are entitled to demand sex from them (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 10-11; Kistner, 2004: 5)

There are also other cultural practices that affect these communities, such as virginity testing which is itself considered a violation of human rights³⁷ and also puts young women at risk of becoming targets, as men search for virgins (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 12). A different common cultural practice is dry sex, which firstly makes women more vulnerable with regards to HIV, and is also related to sexual satisfaction or rather the absence of it.

The findings in Chapter 5 showed that many women know they have rights and can get divorced if mistreated, but many also explained that the justice system, in particular the police, do not always respond appropriately to such claims. Findings highlight that functionings supporting this capability are entirely lacking as women are afraid all the time. The respondents indicated that there are high levels of violence and insecurity, sexual violence and abuse within and outside the home. Although information regarding sexual satisfaction and choice in matters of reproduction was not obtained from the respondents, one can assume that most of the women lack these functionings because they are directly related to respect from their partners. If women are abused, and it is confirmed that culturally there are many issues which do not allow women to control aspects about their sexual life, it is therefore unlikely that their partners are concerned about their sexual satisfaction.

Conclusion: The above findings show that this capability is limited by a combination of poverty, cultural aspects and inappropriate response from police and the justice system. Poverty minimizes their movement and choice in real terms regarding where they can live and thus be safe. Women are too poor, and feel powerless in many occasions, to have the means and the strength to move away from danger. A weak police and justice system further continue to weaken the capability, as women do not seek justice and security because the system is corrupt or simply does not care, despite the fact that the Constitution acknowledges the need to protect these essential rights. Cultural aspects also play a role, as women many times lack the respect of men, which is the most damaging factor and the most difficult to change.

The researcher therefore finds that the respondents do not have the capability of 'bodily integrity'.

³⁷ Virginity testing is sometimes carried out even in schools in South Africa and is considered by WHO as a human rights abuse, a violation of a girl's right to privacy; it violates the right to bodily integrity, and is sexual discrimination as well as sexual harassment. This practice is currently increasing the risk of sexual violence against those girls, as they are publicly marked and become easy targets for men who are more and more looking for virgin partners. There seem to be patterns showing that men are looking for younger and younger girls due to the belief that virgins are not HIV positive (Human Rights Watch, 2004: 12).

6.2.4 The Capability of ‘Senses, Imagination and Thought’

Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason- and to do these things in a “truly human” way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing self-expressive works and events of one’s own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one’s mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom from religious exercise. Being able to search for ultimate meaning of life in one’s own way. Being able to have pleasurable experiences, and to avoid non-necessary pain (Nussbaum, 2005: 78-79).

Assessing the capability of ‘senses, imagination and thought’ has been divided into three main sections to facilitate the analysis of whether the women are able, if they want, to achieve desired levels of education and training; whether they are able to use their senses, and their imagination and thought in a “truly human way”, and to see if they really have their freedom of affiliation and expression. The next section is divided into the three main subsections identified above.

Institutional guarantees will be identified to see if the capability is protected on paper. Statistical information will then initiate the discussion with regards to the South African reality, which will be followed by the actual functionings identified in Chapter 5. The information should highlight the problems faced by the capability and indicate whether they can be easily overcome, to show if the respondents have the capability of ‘senses, imagination and thought’.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) requires education to be transformed and democratised in accordance with the values of human dignity, human rights and freedom, non-racism and non-sexism. It guarantees access to basic education for all, with the provision that everyone has the right to basic education, including adult basic education (Education Department 2007: 6).

Education and training: The levels of education in Cape Town are still considered to be alarmingly low, which creates disparities between skill levels among the population and the skill level requirements of the current economy. These disparities are considered to be a major social and economic constraint because a significant portion of the population does not have access to the growth sectors of the economy due to their low skill levels. This trend continues to drive poverty and marginalization. The shortage of people with the necessary skills also obstructs growth (City of Cape

Town, 2006: 22), which creates a cyclical problem. Racial and gender divisions of educational statistics highlight the heart of the problem. The percentage of African and Coloured populations (aged 20+) with educational levels of less than Matric range from 71%-76%, depending on gender and population group, while the white population of the same age group have an average of less than 25%.

Although the last available statistics are from the 2001 census survey and may have changed slightly, they are still believed to show the trends in levels of education (Strategic information, CCT, Aug 2003: 19).

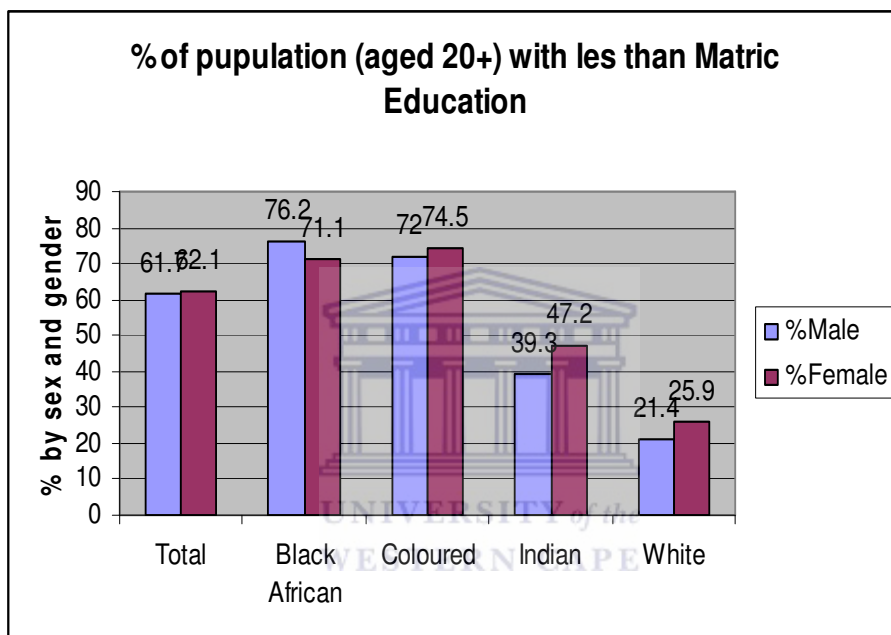


Fig.6.3: Title: The percentage of the population (aged 20+) with less than Matric education according to race. Adapted from Strategic information, CCT, Aug 2003: 19

The statistics go in hand with the findings from this study, that showed the majority of women did not pass Matric and have very low levels of education, just as the statistics predicted. However, in the qualitative questionnaire some women said they had taken some skills training and one indicated having a Masters degree. Many respondents value education, or at least recognize how education could improve their quality of life. Many women believed that if their educational levels cannot improve, then at least the children (theirs and their communities') need improved education as well as access to higher levels of schooling.

Senses, Imagination and Thought: Although the women have low levels of education, what is of more concern is their ability to think ahead, reason and make plans. In general it seemed that many of the women had problems answering open questions. One woman even said that she could not imagine because she was not educated. They had many difficulties visualizing how they could have a better life not directly linked to money or having a job, although some did list personal gains that had helped them achieve a better life. This is not to say they can't think, but rather that they have limitations with regards to certain things. The opposite, however, is illustrated by their ability to create little jobs that allow them to feed their families. Most of the women can be very creative, and because of their low levels of education they rely on things they can do with their hands, such as sewing or plaiting people's hair.

Freedom of expression and affiliation: South Africa's Bill of Rights also protects the right to freedom of religion, freedom of expression and assembly, freedom of association and the right to vote and participate in the political process (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 100)

South Africa prides itself in being a rainbow nation, rich in cultural, racial and religious diversity. Although all the women in the study were Xhosa, their religious practices and dedication vary greatly. In addition, findings show a variety of organizations (religious or not) the women are able to join, where they are able to express themselves on a variety of issues. In South Africa freedom of expression is also meant to be a guarantee, although from the interview findings it seems that many women felt they often do not have easy access to the officials they need to vocalize their concerns to. The issue here is that the IDP, which is supposed to be a highly consultative process and a major vehicle to true democracy, might not be playing this role with regards to the respondents.

Conclusion: The low levels of education among the population of Khayelitsha, combined with poverty and unemployment, have hampered this capability. The concern is that since many women feel powerless to overcome their families' poverty, they slowly have given up and thus further reduce the capability. The women in Khayelitsha are creative enough to find ways to keep their families alive, but as attempts fail they become less imaginative and innovative. It seems, therefore, that their internal capabilities (self-esteem) are the major obstacle to their mental development.

The researcher therefore finds that the respondents do not have the capability of 'senses imagination and thought'.

6.2.5 The Capability of ‘Emotions’

Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one’s emotional development blighted by overwhelming fear and anxiety, or by traumatic events of abuse or neglect. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development) (Nussbaum, 2005: 79).

Assessing the capability of ‘emotions’ requires an analysis of the respondents’ ability in real terms to have feelings towards people and things and not have their emotional development affected by fear and anxiety.

This capability is related to the findings of the capability of bodily integrity and therefore no new constitutional guarantees and statistics will be provided. Important bases for the discussion, however, are historical aspects which will be followed by the responses of the selected group of women, in an attempt to assess their capability of ‘emotions’.

Khayelitsha is predominantly African, which is the population subjected to most of the repressive and violent measures of apartheid. At the time, the police force was mostly present to protect the white population and therefore many crimes, particularly towards African women, were not prosecuted, because they were considered second-class citizens and many times were not even allowed in the cities. It is thus difficult to omit the emotional damage done to these populations in the past. Some people resisted oppression more than others, showing justified anger, and maintained the belief that they deserved to be treated better and with respect. Many women expressed time and again that they ‘now’ have rights and that things are better. However, a different reality now facing South Africa is that the gap between rich and poor is increasing along with unemployment. The fact that the country is not outraged and vocal in their needs in this regard, could be a symptom of problems with this capability.

Previous findings also showed that there are high levels of violence, rape and abuse in Khayelitsha, which indicates that the women’s emotional development continues to be inadequately supported, particularly if as a result of poverty they do not have confidence in the justice system and cannot access emotional support after traumatic experiences. The women did, however, indicate that they have a good social base which provides them with support to help them through difficult times, and were able to express a range of feelings from anger to happiness. Although it was not possible to

measure to what extent they have been affected by violence without a full psychological evaluation, it is clear that their levels of stress and anxiety are fairly high.

Conclusion: Without a full psychological evaluation it is difficult to estimate how the oppressive and often violent measures of the past affected many of the women that are now living in Khayelitsha. At the same time, the women are still victims or are afraid to become victims of violent crimes and abuse, and have levels of anxiety and fear that could be further hampering this capability.

The researcher therefore finds that the respondents do not have the capability of ‘emotions’.

6.2.6 The Capability of ‘Practical Reason’

Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one’s life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience.) (Nussbaum, 2005: 79).

Assessing the capability of ‘practical reason’ means assessing whether the respondents could be able, if they so chose, to have conceptions of good and bad and be able to engage critically in planning their own life.

The first part in assessing this capability is to look at how things have changed and how the new Constitution supports the capability of ‘practical reason’. Most relevant to the discussion, however, are the research findings of Chapter 5 that will highlight aspects which cannot be overcome and are blocking the capability.

It is important to bear in mind the historical implications in this capability. During apartheid many limitations were implemented along racial lines (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 100), and the new Constitution has given back, to previously disadvantaged populations, the right to engage in the planning of their own lives. At the same time social commitments by the government include providing housing and ensuring adequate levels of water and sanitation, amongst many other essential services (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 98). The danger with promises is the expectation that the government will provide certain things, and therefore many people are no longer trying to fulfil these needs on their own. The concern is that the demand for social services is so great at present in South Africa that people’s lack of engagement could mean they have to face long periods of inadequate services.

The South African government is, however, trying to engage the population in the planning of their own future. One of such tools is the IDP, which if properly implemented could be the key to empowerment and poverty alleviation. However, the process must be done with care, as the combination of people's high expectations of delivery and inadequate community participation can actually disempower people, particularly with regards to the planning of their own lives and critical reflection, rather than empowering them. The women in Khayelitsha supported this hypothesis when they indicated that they did not feel they played a role in the design of the IDP, as they were not involved in any of the listening campaigns.

The findings in Chapter 5 showed that the women in Khayelitsha know what is good and what is bad and know what they want to change about their lives and their community, and have an idea of how this could be done, and in this sense the capability has some of the functionings needed. However, it was observed that when things go wrong for long periods of time, many feel they do not have control for changing things and many have given up trying to reflect and plan for their future. The reasons are that most of the respondents are unemployed and have been for a while, despite trying in many ways to find a job and earn a living. They have failed because jobs always require experience and education, which they do not have. It is difficult to find a job without an education and difficult to get an education without the money that could be obtained through a job. The concern is that the women have been constantly told they are not educated or trained enough, and they are now beginning to believe it. Mental blocks are making some women believe they cannot imagine because they are not educated.

As their self-esteem weakens so does this capability, and the concern is that with time what they aspire to be is increasingly becoming more limited. This does not mean they can't, it means they have gotten used to not reflecting and planning their lives. The women that look beyond difficult times and continue to make an effort to achieve their dreams are, in fact, the ones that seem to have fewer problems trying to make plans.

Conclusion: The most important issues affecting the capability of practical reason as discussed above are the low levels of education among the women in Khayelitsha and the extended periods of time they have been unemployed. There are also question regarding how effective local democracy is for the respondents, and the danger that it could actually be further disempowering people planning for

improvement in their own lives, rather than empowering them -which is what it is supposed to be doing.

The researcher therefore finds that the respondents do not have the capability of ‘practical reason’.

6.2.7 The Capability of ‘Affiliation’

A. Being able to live with and towards others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another and to have compassion for that situation; to have the capability for both justice and friendship. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech. B. Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails, at a minimum, protections against discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, caste, ethnicity, or national origin. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers (Nussbaum, 2005: 79-80).

Assessing the capability of ‘affiliation’ involves analyzing whether the respondents could, if they wanted to, “live with and towards others” and have a good “social base of self-respect and non-humiliation”. The analysis therefore has two main sections and will look firstly at self-respect and non-humiliation, as it is of particular importance in the South African context, and secondly will look at various forms of interaction that women can participate in.

The first step in analyzing the capabilities is to highlight the institutional guarantees in place which are of particular importance as a result of the country’s history. The discussion will also briefly look into BEE to see its effects in the work place. Lastly, the findings of Chapter 5 will be utilized to measure if the respondents have the capability of affiliation based on whether the problems identified in Chapter 5 can be overcome.

Social base for self-respect and non-humiliation: After the end of apartheid South Africa developed a new Bill of Rights committed to “an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equity and freedom” (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 100). Therefore the Constitution now protects people’s rights on paper to be treated equally, human dignity, and freedom and security. In addition, it protects the right

to freedom of religion, freedom of expression and assembly, freedom of association and the right to vote and participate in the political process, freedom of movement, and rights to fair labor (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 100).

Although the post-apartheid government banned all forms of discrimination based on race and gender, Black Economic Empowerment was implemented in an attempt to even out historical disadvantages based on race and gender (Daniel *et al.*, 2005: 363). The concern is that the government has taken upon itself to correct the imbalance, which has unfortunately led to many government departments lacking the necessary capacity; meanwhile, although private industries are also subject to 'equity demands', discrepancies persist³⁸.

Despite this measure being in place, many women felt that employers still preferred to hire white people and men, therefore preventing them from achieving many things they want. It seems, therefore, that equality exists on paper but is not yet a reality for these women. One reason for this disparity is linked to the levels of education and experience they have as compared to others of more privileged backgrounds; however, this does not explain the preference in hiring men, particularly when women in Khayelitsha are known to have higher education levels than men³⁹. Women of all races still have to face different forms of discrimination, particularly in work, as is evidenced in that men hold higher jobs and are better paid.

Many of the women said that today they can 'do anything' (at least on paper), and that in itself is an incentive to continue trying. From this it would seem that the women do have this capability. However, in practice it is not always the case, despite institutional guarantees.

The women in Khayelitsha also face cultural constraints because of their Xhosa culture, although the majority say their culture does not make their life more difficult. Many mentioned that there were things they had to do in their households because they are women. There were also things respondents could not do outside the home, because they are women and the needs of their family had to come first. Findings show there are things about their culture and society that limit their capability of affiliation because they are women. Some of them reported feeling undignified, and that their situation prevented them from being real 'persons'. Unless past inequalities are addressed, these women will continue to feel humiliated and discriminated.

³⁸ See discussion on Chapter 4 p. 51 on Racial Disparities.

³⁹ For more information see p. 107 on education and training.

Being able to live with and towards others: The second part of this capability is largely based on the previous discussion, as not being discriminated allows for freedoms of affiliation, freedom of assembly and political speech, which in turn allow individuals to show concern towards others in a meaningful way.

In Chapter 5 it was evident that the women in Khayelitsha have a lot of compassion for other human beings and want to help people who are more disadvantaged than themselves. Many wanted to be part of, or initiate, organizations that help other women, people with HIV/AIDS, children, young people and the elderly. In fact, many women are already part of community organizations. The women did not see those with disabilities as people who cannot help themselves, but as individuals who need help to learn how to do things differently. One woman in particular wanted to become an activist to help her community and street kids. Unfortunately, despite their good intentions very few women are actually able to be involved in activities of their choice.

Conclusion: There have been great improvements with regards to this capability, but a lot still needs to be done, particularly in practice. Although discrimination no longer has political back-up, the gap in education and skills continues to affect many groups of people. Cultural aspects also continue to block certain development. The combination of low levels of skills and education and cultural aspects are present amongst poor Xhosa women living in Khayelitsha, which places them at a greater disadvantage compared to other population groups. If this capability were supported further with the help of CBO's, NGO's and government agencies, the women would end up helping themselves by helping others and uplifting the communities they live in.

The researcher therefore finds that the respondents do not have the capability of 'affiliation' at adequate levels, particularly with regards to the social base for self-respect and non-humiliation, despite institutional guarantees and even though discriminatory practices such as BEE, which are favourable towards non-white populations have been put in place.

6.2.8 The Capability of "Other Species"

Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature
(Nussbaum, 2005: 80).

Assessing the capability of 'life' involves analyzing whether the selected group of women in Khayelitsha could, if they wanted to, live "with concern for and in relation... to the world of nature" (Nussbaum, 2005: 80).

The first step in analyzing the capabilities previously has been to look at the institutional guarantees in place protecting the capability, in order to identify where weaknesses in fact stand. For this particular capability this will not be the case, other than highlighting that the 2006 IDP considers that "everyone has the basic right to a clean, safe and healthy environment" (City of Cape Town, 2006: 24). The analysis will focus on looking at where concerns around Cape Town lie with regards to the world of nature, in order to contextualize the argument. Lastly, the research findings of Chapter 5 will help identify the reasons why the women do or do not have a relationship with nature and whether these can be overcome. If the obstacles to the capability of nature cannot be overcome, then it will be assumed that they do not have the capability.

Cape Town is located in the Cape Floral Kingdom, which is "the smallest and the richest of the world's six plant kingdoms". Therefore, maintaining the natural environment is not only important for the city of Cape Town and its people but also for the world as a whole. However, it is also known as "being one of the earth's mega-disaster areas, those areas that have already or are on the verge of losing a significant part of their biodiversity". Cape Town is rich in plant and animal diversity, which includes land and marine environments, but unfortunately extinction rates are extremely high. The environment in Cape Town is also seen as key to the city's success with tourism (City of Cape Town, 2006: 24).

Research findings showed that the majority of women living in Khayelitsha also spend time in the Eastern Cape, and therefore this capability is influenced differently when they are in each of these places. Even though this capability was difficult to measure, it is clear that they each have individual feelings towards animals. Most respondents did not show interest in house pets, most likely because they would represent an additional burden in the household; however, when including the Eastern Cape in the conversation they did show concern for farm animals because they are important for their livelihoods or that of their families that reside in the area. Therefore, their relationship to animals is more based on need than culture.

Their relationship with plants faces similar differences. Unfortunately, by living in Khayelitsha they spend most of their time away from nature and forget how important it is. Traditional healers, however, do not forget and are even able to find some plants that are of value to them in areas around Khayelitsha. Most of them, however, don't think about nature much. One particular woman told me they have other things to worry about, and it seemed that most of the women agreed with her. The issue at hand is therefore that the women cannot be concerned about the ecosystem and its creatures when they are occupied in their own survival.

Conclusion: Findings show that the women do appreciate what nature and animals have to offer, and if made to think about it they do recognize that it is important to take care of them and protect them and that they are part of their everyday lives; but mostly they are concerned about their own survival and well-being. Poverty is therefore the major block to this capability, and as has been previously discussed it is a complex issue to address. Unfortunately, as the environment is destroyed so are the capabilities of these women who in the long term will be most affected. The fact that the women in Khayelitsha are not able to relate to the environment because they do not have this capability developed to optimal levels, will actually degrade the possibility of future generations to have this capability. If the natural environment is destroyed, future generations will not have an environment to be concerned about.

The researcher therefore finds that the respondents do not have the capability of 'other species'.

6.2.9 The Capability of 'Play'

Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities (Nussbaum, 2005: 80).

Assessing the capability of 'play' involves analyzing whether the respondents could laugh and play if they wanted to.

The first step in analyzing the capability of play is to look at what the government is trying to do to protect this capability. Analysis will focus on whether safe recreational spaces are available to the

women (if applicable). Finally, research findings of Chapter 5 will help identify the needs of different women and what they have access to, based on those needs and whether they can be resolved.

The government has recognized the need of people to have access to safe recreational spaces. Unfortunately, there are still very few safe and affordable places that poor people, especially those in worse areas, can access to play or exercise. Cape Town, however, is in the process of creating places such as the Look-out Hill development in Khayelitsha, which was designed for ordinary citizens to enjoy without having to pay. This place is an outcome of the city's "Dignified Places Program", designed to create new spaces in the most neglected parts of the city (City of Cape Town, 2006: 139).

The women that were part of this study covered a range of age groups and thus grew up in different political and social environments, and therefore value different things. The women like different games and laugh for different reasons. Most of the older women indicated that they liked singing and dancing and therefore going to weddings, other types of festivities and church.

Most of the problems were faced by the younger generations, who expressed that there was a lack of adequate recreational spaces, particularly for the youth. The women told me there were some places in Khayelitsha, but that they were dangerous; and none of them referred to Look-out Hill. Some of the younger women indicated that because they are bored they get high. The older women confirmed this by expressing concern that young people were turning to crime, substance abuse and gangs because they had nothing to do and nowhere to go.

Also very important are the social interactions that support this capability and how happy they are (although 'happiness' is relative). Chapter 5 showed that the women felt they had someone to have a good time with most of the time. The majority of the women indicated being happy most of the time.

Conclusion: The majority of the women seem to be happy and have people who care for them and spend time with them and make them happy. Because different women have different things that make them happy and different things they want to do in their leisure time, it is not possible to provide a definite capability measure. However, older women seemed to have less demands in terms of types

of activities and spaces for activities than the younger generations. Therefore the biggest problem preventing the full development of this capability is improving access to safe recreational spaces, particularly for the youth.

The researcher therefore finds that the majority of the respondents do not have the capability of 'play'.

6.2.10 The Capability of 'Control over One's Environment'

A. Political. Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protection of free speech and association. B. Material. Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), not just formally but in terms of real opportunity; and of seeking employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure (Nussbaum, 2005: 80).

Assessing the capability of 'Control over One's Environment' involves analyzing whether the respondents could, if they wanted to, live a life of normal length and a life worth living. The analysis is therefore divided into two main sections; firstly their ability to control their political environment and secondly their material environment.

The first step in analyzing this capability, as in all the others, is to look at what the government has implemented to protect the capability of 'control over one's environment'. Some general information will be added, but most has been discussed before and therefore many assumptions will take place. The findings of the functionings of Chapter 5 will play a key role, as they highlight what is actually possible for the women to do, and what obstacles are difficult to overcome.

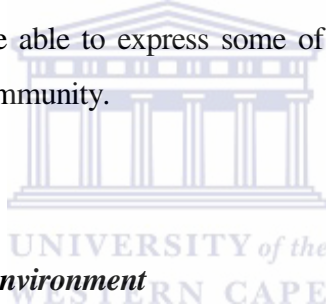
6.2.10.1 Control over the political environment

Assessing control over the women's political environment refers to understanding the range of their actual political participation and looking into local democracy. As has been previously discussed, South Africa has a comprehensive Bill of Rights which includes freedom of expression, and the right to vote and participate in the political process (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 100).

The IDP, which has been previously discussed, is one of the various local government structures and processes being put in place and utilised for including people in the communities in the identification of needs and in designing ways to address them. The country is therefore on the path to increasing local democracy, transparency and accountability⁴⁰. The concern is that some processes may be taking place without the participation of the majority of the people in the community.

Findings in Chapter 5 showed that the majority of the respondents said they were happy with the government despite all the problems they continue to face. They recognized and appreciated the fact that they now (as compared to during apartheid) have the right to voice their complaints, which is a first step in pushing for changes in their political participation. It was only when more in-depth questions were asked that it became apparent that their participation is practically limited to voting, and that they are not as happy as they originally reported being, because they are poor and have limited access to resources.

The women also indicated that they are able to find a voice through participation in community and church organizations, where they are able to express some of their concerns and as a group apply pressure for some changes in their community.



6.2.10.2 Control over the Physical environment

In order to assess whether the women can control their physical environment, one first needs to look at their ability to seek employment and hold property. The freedom from unwarranted search and seizure was not assessed; however, the assumption is that with the end of apartheid, the government is unlikely to violate this freedom.

There has definitely been an improvement to this part of the capability since the end of apartheid because people are no longer forced to move nor do they need passes to enter the city. The Bill of Rights protects trade, fair labor practice, property rights (regardless of race and gender) and rights to accused, detained or arrested persons (Buhlungu *et al.*, 2006: 100).

⁴⁰ See also discussion in Chapter 4 p.48-30 on the role of local government in the provision of basic services.

Statistics show that unemployment rate estimates range from 19% to 21% of the labor force in Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2006b: 22 (City of Cape Town, 2006: 12). It is estimated, however, that the worst 20% of the areas in the city (where 40% of the city's population lives) have unemployment rates of 40-58%, which amount to 68% of the city's unemployed (City of Cape Town 2006b: 29). It is only when we look at the different population and gender groups separately that we can become aware of how dire the situation is for some groups of the population of Cape Town, such as African women living in Khayelitsha. In the 2001 census survey (the last known statistics-not estimated) it was evident that the overall unemployment rate was higher for women at 31% than for males at 27%. The gender difference in unemployment was much more significant amongst the African population, with women at 55.8% and men at 44.2%. The most serious difference in levels of unemployment, however, lie with the different population groups, which is evident when the levels of unemployment of African women at 55.8% are compared with the lowest unemployment rate of white females at 4.1% (Strategic Information, CCT, Aug 2003: 31). At the time of the 2001 census survey 50.8% of the economically active population of Khayelitsha was unemployed, which goes in line with the unemployment patterns discussed above (Information and Knowledge Management, 2003: 29).

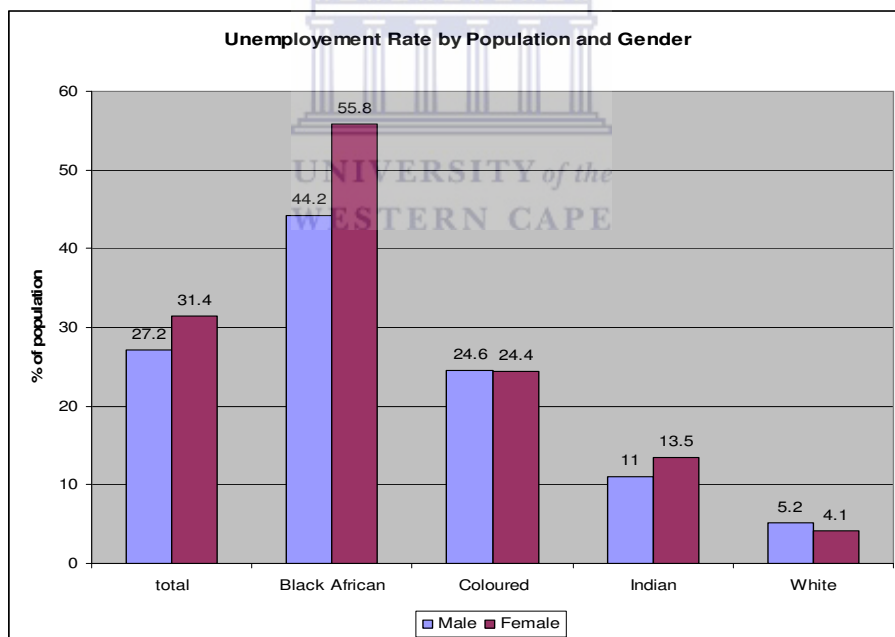


Fig.6.4: Title: The unemployment rate by population and gender. Adapted from Information and Knowledge Management, 2003: 29

In Chapter 4 it was shown that an average annual growth rate of 6% to 7% is required in order for the city of Cape Town to considerably reduce levels of unemployment, but since 1994 it has only been 3%

(City of Cape Town, 2005: 179). In addition it is believed that the results of economic growth have mostly been distributed amongst those already better-off (City of Cape Town, 2006: 19). Also, the fact that the number of households has increased significantly means that demands on basic service provision and housing have also increased, resulting in only minimal improvement in the quality of life for most households (City of Cape Town, 2005: 11). From these findings, it becomes evident that the cycle of poverty and unemployment for poor African people will not be easily broken if growth rates and quality and quantity of service delivery do not increase considerably. Thus people's purchasing power and ability to hold property and control their physical environment is limited and will continue to be so in the immediate future.

The findings in Chapter 5 confirmed that the respondents have little control over their physical environment as a result of high levels of unemployment and limited access they have to many economic and other resources necessary for their development. Despite the fact that at present grants are considered to be an alternative source of income in these communities, and many of the women and their families receive different types of grants that do help improve their purchasing power, for most of them it is not enough. In addition, only a few of the respondents were able to buy things on credit from local businesses or borrow money from a bank. Their lack of access to funds therefore limits their possibility to hold property because they cannot afford it.

Overall it seemed that the women were able most of the time to make decisions as to how best spend the money they had available to them from work or grants. Unfortunately, many women could not, and it was not possible to calculate their number. The concern is for women who are not able to control their money and live with family members that do not act responsibly with it, wasting valuable resources; and so their control over their physical environment is further reduced.

The last thing that is important to bear in mind is whether their rights to property and employment are the same as the rest of the population's. Observations have evidenced that women know their rights, and that they should no longer face discrimination in the workplace or at home. Unfortunately, many feel that these rights are only on paper and that in reality they are not treated in an equal manner, and white people and males get priority for many jobs. At the same time, they are also at a disadvantage in their homes, as they have to put the well-being of the rest of their family before their own and have to obey their husbands even if not in agreement.

Conclusion: Since the end of apartheid and with the introduction of the IDP, improvements have been made with regards to the section of the capability of control over one's environment. However, the level of political participation or functioning of the respondents were also similar to that of many other 'democratic' countries where political participation is limited to certain issues in specific points in time through voting, and a lot is still left to be done. Having a Democratic government does not necessarily mean that the government will look out for the well-being of the African population, and it does not guarantee effective participation. Since the end of apartheid every adult is entitled to vote and participate, but the IDP was designed to go further than that⁴¹; unfortunately, as discussed above, there are limits to how participatory the IDP really is with regards to the respondents. Therefore, although freedom of speech is a political guarantee on paper, a lot needs to be accomplished with regards to the improvement of local democracy in order to strengthen the voices and this capability for the selected women living in Khayelitsha.

The women are no longer forced to move and the government is actively involved in trying to change the environment in which they live, through building houses and increasing service provision. Unfortunately, the levels are not optimal and for the time being they have to live in shacks in Khayelitsha, where they are isolated from economic areas where most jobs are available. Lack of income plays a big role in limiting their ability to hold property. On the positive side, life in Khayelitsha seems to me more affordable than what it would be in other areas with permanent dwellings, where they would have to pay rent; and here they can find cheap goods available for sale in the streets, although these unfortunately are likely to be stolen, which plays a role in decreasing other capabilities in addition to this one.

The researcher therefore finds that the majority of the respondents do not have the capability of 'control over one's environment'.

6.3 ASSESSMENT OF CAPABILITY STATUS

Through the analysis of each capability it is clear that South Africa protects at least on paper all of the institutional guarantees needed for the development of all the capabilities. The problem does not lie in its Constitution or Bill of Rights, the problems are with their implementation. Services need to be

⁴¹ See also discussion in Chapter 4 p.48-30 on the role of local government in the provision of basic services.

provided adequately (in terms of quantity and quality) to have an impact, however currently this is not happening. Poverty and unemployment in turn prevent the women from seeking adequate services and commodities that they need because they cannot afford them. The last issue that needs to be discussed is the respondents' ability to transform resources and commodities available into functionings. The inequalities of the past are still present amongst the population regarding low levels of education, skills and access to necessary information. This means that many times they are not able to do certain things because of inadequate knowledge or thought capacity.

The table below looks at each capability and assesses whether the institutional guarantees are in place, there is adequate service provision, there is access to economic means or commodities needed and finally if the respondents have the personal ability to obtain the capability.

Capability	Guarantees in the Constitution	Adequate service provision	Access to economic or commodities needed	Personal ability to obtain capability
Life	Yes	No	No	No
Bodily health	Yes	No	No	No
Bodily integrity	Yes	No	No	No
Senses, Imagination and Thought	Yes	No	No	No
Emotions	Yes	No	No	No
Practical Reason	Yes	No	No	No
Affiliation	Yes	No	No	No
Other Species	Yes	No	No	No
Play	Yes	No	No	No
Control over One's Environment	Yes	No	No	No

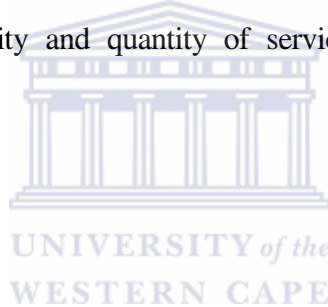
Table 6.1: Title: Assessment of Capability Status: Based on analysis in Chapter 6.

The findings show that none of the capabilities are currently at optimum levels and the only thing they have available are the institutional guarantees, which are unfortunately not enough.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The findings of the capabilities of the selected group of women in Khayelitsha discussed above highlight the complexity of the factors affecting their lives.

The women of Khayelitsha do not have any of the capabilities to a full extent; some are stronger, others are weaker, but none of them are fully there. The majority of them have been hampered by a history of inequality (apartheid), during which the women that were alive then belonged to the most disadvantaged group. Today these inequalities persist though for different reasons, primarily as a result of poverty, low educational levels, and thus opportunities. Despite all this, the women report being happier because apartheid has ended and they are no longer discriminated against by law. The danger is that, as Mehrotra argued, all the other simpler functionings cannot be properly nourished if the more complex functionings are not at adequate standards, because these more complex functionings support all the rest. Therefore, the realized functionings of participation are essential in ensuring adequate levels of pressure on local elites and local government structures to decentralize decision-making and improve quality and quantity of service provision (Mehrotra, 2001: 3-6), necessary for all other functionings.



CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis has explored discussions about how different views on poverty have evolved and influenced poverty measurements and thus how the actual findings and the emphasis on possible interventions regarding poverty have changed over time. A range of different poverty measurements were explored, from income to basic needs, social exclusion, sustainable livelihoods, and finally to the Human Development Approach. Each has their own *pros* and *cons*, but it has become evident that the best methods allow for the identification of social, political, and economic exclusions perpetuating poverty. The findings of this study show that Sen's Capability Approach is a good alternative to the other commonly used measurements of poverty⁴². From the discussion in chapter six on the assessment of the capabilities it becomes evident that the Capability Approach can provide a more holistic understanding of poverty and the complex factors that surround it.

The Capability Approach revolves around commodities, functionings and capabilities. The functionings are the actual 'doings' and 'beings' obtained from commodities, and the capabilities are the substantive freedoms, or the capabilities people have of turning commodities into functionings of their choice and that they have reason to value⁴³. The focus of the measurement of poverty thus becomes clear. However, how to select commodities, functionings, and capabilities which are essential is where the current debate on the subject stands today⁴⁴.

⁴² Discussion based on findings in Chapter 2 on poverty and poverty measurements.

⁴³ Discussion based on findings in Chapter 3 p26-28 on commodities, functionings and capabilities.

⁴⁴ Discussion based on findings in Chapter 3 p33-35 on different views on Sen's Capability Approach.

Sen has been reluctant to identify specific capabilities and their relevant functionings in order to support local democracy and local processes in identifying and prioritizing; based on local circumstances and beliefs. Without a selection of capabilities and functionings the approach cannot be considered an adequate tool for comparison and measurement of poverty. Several attempts have been made to develop a list or lists of basic capabilities that no person should do without⁴⁵.

One such list is Martha Nussbaum's list of 10 capabilities essential to human life; however, she did not identify specific functionings in order to allow for local identification and to support local democracy⁴⁶. The research paper explored the applicability of Nussbaum's list without involving the women in the actual identification of the functions.

The application of the Capability Approach in this research therefore complies only with the first goal on the approach as identified by Commim. This research focuses on identifying what people have access to and what they are able to do with those resources, bearing in mind that levels of education and knowledge also affect what people are able to do with those resources. What this research does not do is experiment with the process by which a person gives value to functionings and capabilities over other functionings and capabilities and thus increasing that person's freedom⁴⁷.

The research focused on identifying reasons other than by choice by which certain 'doings' and 'beings' are not possible to achieve. Each capability was broken down by the researcher to see what functionings are of particular value in the South African setting and which are least commonly being achieved. Once functionings were identified the availability of their relevant commodities and their social and political guarantees were explored. A summary of findings and recommendations are discussed below.

7.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ABOUT EACH

The next section will look at each capability focusing on the main findings in chapter six and recommendations based on the South African context to improve the quality of the lives of the selected

⁴⁵ Discussion based on findings in Chapter 3 p33-35 on different views on Sen's Capability Approach.

⁴⁶ Discussion based on findings in Chapter 3 p35-38 on the justification of Martha Nussbaum's list of essential capabilities

⁴⁷ See discussion on Chapter 3 p.27 on the recommendations of the Capability Approach in terms of poverty assessment.

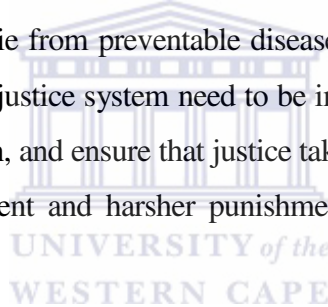
group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha and possibly other disadvantaged population groups in South Africa.

7.2.1 *Summary of findings and recommendations of the capability of ‘life’*

Regarding the capability of ‘life’, the researcher concluded that the respondents do not have this capability, even though the institutional guarantees are in place. The main problem is that life expectancy is reducing rapidly in South Africa, particularly for women, as a result of poverty related issues. The concern is that high HIV/AIDS levels combined with alarming levels of sexual violence and fragmented health services are not being properly addressed.

The following recommendations can therefore be made:

Health services need to be improved and become more accessible (including better information) to ALL, to ensure that people do not die from preventable diseases such as HIV/AIDS and TB among others. In addition, security and the justice system need to be improved dramatically to reduce levels of crime, particularly towards women, and ensure that justice takes place. This would mean enforcing stricter gun control and more efficient and harsher punishment for violators amongst many other security measures.



7.2.2 *Summary of findings and recommendations of the capability of ‘bodily health’*

Regarding the capability of ‘bodily health’, the researcher concluded that the respondents do not have the capability at optimal levels despite having a Bill of Rights that covers the issues affecting this capability. Findings showed that the respondents do not have acceptable levels of, or access to basic services such as health and sanitation. As a result of high levels of poverty and unemployment, the women also lacked the necessary resources to satisfy their basic necessities such as food and adequate shelter, despite recent efforts of government to provide housing and support through the means of social grants. Civil organizations have also been working closely with the government in supporting certain ventures and filling gaps where government capacity cannot reach.

The following recommendations can therefore be made:

Improving the capability of health means two things. First of all, it means making changes in the economy to improve the availability of jobs, in combination with redistribution of wealth, in order for women to be able to afford to make the necessary changes to improve their health (i.e., gain access to resources). Secondly, essential service provision needs to improve rapidly to ensure that the women have access to the necessary resources and education required to be healthy. The essential resources mean having proper access to health care (including ARV's), having adequate water and sanitation, and housing, amongst others such as education and transportation.

7.2.3 Summary of findings and recommendations of the capability of 'bodily integrity'

Regarding the capability of 'bodily integrity', the researcher concluded that the respondents do not have the capability despite having the institutional guarantees and dramatic improvements since the end of apartheid. South Africa has extremely high levels of violent crime and sexual violence which greatly affect this capability. It is a combination of poverty, cultural issues and an inappropriate response from police and the justice system on many of these issues that hamper the capability, resulting in the respondents being constantly at risk and constantly afraid.

The following recommendations can therefore be made:

Police capacity to reduce crime and prosecute offenders needs to be improved and support measures need to be put in place to improve gender sensitivity and enhance dedication on the part of the police. The women need to be empowered to at least be able to make decisions with regards to their body at home. This can be achieved by improving their socioeconomic status by means of increasing education and access to economic resources. Improvements in the economy and job availability are also essential, firstly in regards to crime reduction and secondly in order to allow these women to relocate to safer areas, or to leave their husbands or boyfriends if they are the ones inflicting harm.

7.2.4 Summary of findings and recommendations of the capability of ‘senses, imagination and thought’

Regarding the capability of ‘senses, imagination and thought’, the researcher concluded that the women do not have the capability, even though the institutional guarantees are in place. The low levels of education faced by the women interviewed, and the population of Khayelitsha in general, combined with high levels of poverty and unemployment, have hampered this capability. The concern is that, as many women feel powerless to overcome the poverty of their families, they have slowly given up, and grown less imaginative and innovative. It seems therefore, that it is their internal capabilities and issues of self-esteem that are the major obstacles to their mental development.

The following recommendations can therefore be made:

The women need to be supported with skills training and empowered in different ways to improve how they view themselves. Many women may be at an age or stage in their life where formal education is no longer an option and should therefore be supported through community initiatives appropriate to their needs; however the younger women should definitely be supported in order to complete their studies. In addition to formal education, their creative side should be supported as well so that it can flourish.

7.2.5 Summary of findings and recommendations of the capability of ‘emotions’

Regarding the capability of ‘emotions’, the researcher concluded that the respondents, most likely, do not have the capability even though it was not possible to determine their exact functionings. Findings showed that as a result of high levels of violence, crime and poverty, the respondents had high levels of anxiety and fear that could be hampering their emotional development. At the same time, particularly the older women may still be suffering from the effects of the oppression of apartheid. Although the women indicated having good, strong, social support structures from family and friends, they do not have access to psychological evaluations and support.

The following recommendations can therefore be made:

Improving safety and security in the community, that the women and their families live in, is essential for this capability, including improved gender sensitivity and better protection on the part of both the police and the justice system when dealing with reports and prosecutions. Trauma counselling, especially, needs to be available to the respondents due to the high levels of violence and rape reported in Khayelitsha, as well as possible historical trauma.

7.2.6 Summary of findings and recommendations of the capability of 'practical reason'

Regarding the capability of 'practical reason', the researcher concluded that the respondents do not have the capability at optimal levels despite the institutional guarantees. The main obstacles identified are low levels of education and high levels of unemployment over extended periods of time, which discourage the women in their attempts to plan for their future. In addition the respondents indicated not having adequate involvement in local democracy processes; indicating that the researcher had spent more time listening to them and their needs than any politician. The concern is that the local processes could be further disempowering the women regarding planning for improvements in their own lives rather than empowering them, which is what it is supposed to be doing.

The following recommendations can therefore be made:

Local democracy needs to be improved in order to empower people to take control of their own development, which should include ensuring the participation of individuals (not only community leaders) in community planning processes such as that of the IDP. Improvements need to be made with regards to levels of education as well as changes in the economy to improve availability of jobs, as have been previously mentioned, in order to empower the respondents to take active steps in planning and improving their lives.

7.2.7 Summary of findings and recommendations of the capability of ‘affiliation’:

Regarding the capability of ‘affiliation’, the researcher concluded that the women do not have the capability at optimal levels even though the institutional guarantees are in place. Great progress has been made, particularly on paper, however, in practice improvements are still needed. Discrimination is no longer institutional, but low levels of education and poverty have taken its place. The gap in education and skills continues to affect many groups of people, denying them access to jobs, economic empowerment, and therefore, access to certain goods and services. In addition, cultural aspects continue to block certain developments, particularly with regards to women. Findings also showed that the respondents are capable of showing great compassion for other people, but poor access to resources and knowledge often hinders their efforts to help others.

The following recommendations can therefore be made:

Further efforts to eliminate discrimination are needed. If discrimination is the result of low educational levels (which in this case they are), then adult education and skills training need to be provided, not only to the group in interviewees, but to the rest of the population, particularly the younger generation. In terms of other forms of discrimination, such as gender related issues, education and economic empowerment of women and men needs to take place in whichever form is best for the local context. Furthermore, the government and civil society should take advantage and support the women in their quest to aid their community, by empowering them to help themselves and help others in the process.

7.2.8 Summary of findings and recommendations of the capability of ‘other species’:

Regarding the capability of ‘other species’, the researcher concludes that the respondents do not have the capability at adequate levels. Partly as a result of culture, and largely as a result of poverty, the women do not have a healthy relationship with nature because they are more concerned with their own survival. The women are so preoccupied with their every day life, they find it difficult to be concerned about how they are damaging the environment. The concern is that the gap in this capability today may impede the chances of future generations to possess this capability as extinction levels continue.

The following recommendations can therefore be made:

In order to support the capability of ‘other species’, the women, poor communities, as well as the population as a whole, need to be educated on the importance of protecting the environment (plants and animals), due to the impact that it has on their livelihoods and survival. Providing this today will improve the capabilities of the future. Improving their socio-economic status should also allow them to be concerned with something other than basic survival.

7.2.9 Summary of findings and recommendations of the capability of ‘play’:

Regarding the capability of ‘play’, the researcher concluded that the respondents do not have the capability at optimal levels. Different women value different things and therefore have different capability levels. Overall the younger generations face greater problems as a result of the lack of available, safe and easily accessible recreational spaces. The main concern is that the low level of this capability is considered to be part of the problem of safety and security, as youth idleness is believed to play a role, when, out of boredom, they make wrong choices. The respondents however did indicate having strong friendships and emotional support systems, which are beneficial to this capability.

The following recommendations can therefore be made:

Supporting the capability of ‘play’ firstly requires safe recreational spaces to be made available to the community regardless of their age. Creativity and play should also be encouraged as a way of increasing community bonding.

7.2.10 Summary of findings and recommendations of the capability of ‘control over one’s environment’:

Regarding the capability of ‘control over one’s environment’, the researcher concluded that the respondents do not have this capability despite having the institutional guarantees in place. This capability is of particular importance as it supports all the rest, but is also dependant on them.

Great improvements have been made in terms of the women's control over the political environment, but it seems to be limited to voting. The respondents indicated not being included in the IDP process; it is not really including them in assessing and understanding their poverty and finding sustainable solutions. They also indicated that many times they do not have access to necessary forums in order to voice their concerns; they did indicate however, that many are members of community organizations and church groups. With regards to control over their physical environment, findings showed that the women are no longer forced to move, and the government is actively involved in trying to change the environment in which they live, by building houses and increasing service provision. Unfortunately, the levels are not optimal, and for the time being, they have to live in shacks in Khayelitsha, where they are isolated from the economic centres where most jobs are available. They are therefore hindered by poverty, low levels of education and limited opportunities.

The following recommendations can therefore be made:

Local democracy systems need to be improved to strengthen the capability of 'controlling one's environment', ensuring that the women are empowered and that their political participation is not limited to voting. In addition, recommendations made in other capabilities are also applicable to this capability, such as improved safety and security, education, economic opportunities and jobs, and access to basic services such as health care, to improve their health and nutritional status allowing the women to influence their physical environment and be able to choose where and how they want to live their lives.

7.3 CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF NUSSBAUM'S LIST AND THE TOOL UTILIZED

Assessing and understanding the poverty of the respondents, by using Nussbaum's list, allowed for an in-depth understanding of the complex problems surrounding it. Findings showed that the issues are multi-dimensional and thus need multiple simultaneous interventions in order to address them; these range from political, social, economic to educational opportunities. Improving economic growth on its own would not necessarily address all the problems of development, but improving affordability and accessibility of services (including education), would minimize the exclusion to the economy that the respondents currently face. Ensuring good levels of quality in services provided is also essential.

This research should be seen within the context of the current international debate about the applicability of the Capability Approach and the need to identify essential capabilities. It is an example of the practicality of Nussbaum's list.

Nussbaum's list of capabilities allows for complex problems to be analyzed, but it also highlights the need to choose specific functionings for international and even national comparisons, and to leave the list open for local variations and interpretations for other developmental purposes, such as increasing a person's freedoms. The problem of not having specific functionings, means that the findings of each country or region would vary, depending on the functionings identified locally. For this reason, the differences might not be captured properly. However, for developmental purposes, the local identification allows for an adequate analysis of location-specific circumstances, which in this case include the historical segregation which continues to be present today.

The lack of a previously identified threshold (which does not seem possible without the identification of certain specified functionings), does not allow for the identification of how far below the 'acceptable' levels the women currently lie. Findings showed that poor African women in Khayelitsha had lowered capability levels as compared to other populations in Cape Town, but how far below could not be measured.

Also important is the link between the capabilities in Nussbaum's list and the list of essential freedoms identified by Sen, which are: economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. If the findings above are reviewed under this new set, the capabilities of the selected women living in Site C in Khayelitsha continue to look bleak. Their freedom to access economic facilities is very weak as their location and skill levels continue to limit their access to jobs and other income-generating efforts. With regards to social opportunities, great improvements have been made in some areas of essential service provision, such as water, but with regards to others, such as access to healthcare, improvement has been slow, and in an effort to increase quantity, quality has become an issue. The concern is therefore that the instrumental role of giving people a voice can be compromised when governments respond to the demands of the poor without ensuring quality of services. There is a lot of evidence, as was seen in this research, to indicate that this is a common problem. The freedom of transparency guarantees has improved to some extent, but in many circumstances, and with regards to police services and the justice system, a lot is still left to be done.

Only with a significant improvement of this freedom will the women actually be able to take advantage of the institutional guarantees that exist on paper. Finally, with regards to the freedom of protective security, findings show that, although South Africa has many grants and pensions in place, for many families they are not sufficient to break the cycle of poverty. In addition this freedom was identified to protect those who fall through the cracks, in spite of adequate protection of social opportunities and economic facilities. Individuals and families whose vulnerability increases for a specific reason would have access to the necessary support. In the case of South Africa, the need for protective security seems to have become a norm rather than an exception for certain populations, the women living in site C in Khayelitsha being foremost among them.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The research paper explored the applicability of Sen's Capability Approach and tested an application through the use of Nussbaum's list of essential capabilities. Findings showed that the approach can be used for the measurement and comparison of people's quality of life, and thus, poverty, particularly if there is an agreement with regards to specific essential capabilities and their relevant functionings.

Although specific functionings and threshold levels for each capability have not been agreed upon, Nussbaum's list did allow for an adequate analysis of the complex issues surrounding the poverty of the selected group of women living in Site C in Khayelitsha. Findings showed that the women of Khayelitsha do not have any of the capabilities to the full extent; some are stronger, others are weaker, but none of them are fully there. The majority of the capabilities have been hampered by a history of inequality during which the women belonged to the most disadvantaged group. Today these inequalities persist, though for different reasons, primarily as a result of varying levels of educational attainment, and the corresponding lack of opportunities, in combination with the geographic location of the settlements and their poor economic base. The argument today, is that inequality is a function of class rather than race' (Daniel *et al.*, 2005: 11).

Based on the findings, the recommendations in this paper indicate that several simultaneous interventions need to take place in order to address poverty. In order to empower communities to pressure local elites to improve the quality and quantity of service provision, real local democracy

processes are needed. If the women gain their voice, through the realized functioning of participation, only then can they ensure that decision-making is decentralized, and actions are actually focused on improving the quality of life for most. The Capability Approach would contribute to this by providing an adequate framework to analyze situations of poverty in their specific contexts.



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APPENDIX I

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Questions Selected from the ISD, UWC: Khayelitsha Survey. 2006- Aspirations UWC Life Skills for Women

This is about goals or dreams that you have for yourself. Just relax, and say what comes to your mind. Here there are no right and wrong answers. You may say anything.

1. What do you want to achieve in your life? What is it that you very strongly want to do?
2. What would “a good life” be for you? What kind of life would make you feel happy and satisfied?
3. What are the things that you would like to do in the next few years?
4. How would it change your life if you did these things?
5. What have you done so far to achieve these things? What have you tried?
6. What has worked, and what has not?
7. Why did some things go wrong? Can you think of what the reasons were that made some of your efforts go wrong? Where there things that you did wrong, or did other people make it go wrong?
8. What do you need to be able to do the things you want to do?
9. What could make it difficult for you to achieve your aspirations?
10. What choices must you make to be able to do the things you want to do?
11. What are your fears about achieving the things you want to? What or who could prevent you from doing what you really want to do?
12. What are your gifts and talents- what are the things you can do really well?
13. Do women in Khayelitsha have problems with abuse?
14. Can you decide yourself how to spend your money?
15. How does living in Site C make life easier or more difficult for you? Why? Would it be better to live somewhere else?
16. How does living in the new South Africa make it easier or more difficult for you? Why?
17. How does being a woman affect working on your aspirations? Why?

APPENDIX II

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Questions Selected from the ISD, UWC: Khayelitsha Survey. 2006 -Taken from the UCT CAPE AREA PANEL STUDY (CAPS) – HOUSEHOLD MODULE Available at:
<http://www.caps.uct.ac.za/questionnaires/wave%201/CAPS2002.Wave1.HHquest.v0612.pdf>

A.6	Full Name		
A.7	Gender	(Male=1 ; Female =2)	
A.8	Current Address		
A.9	Community/Suburb		
A.10	Postal Code		
A.11	Work phone:		
A.12	Home phone:		
A.13	Cell phone		
A.14	Email		
A.15	Age: How old are you now?		
A.16.1	What is your date of birth?	DAY (1-31)	
A.16.2		MONTH (for example jan, feb)	
A.16.2		YEAR (for example 1985,1987)	
A.17.1	Date of interview	DAY (1-31)	
A.17.2.		MONTH (for example may, aug)	
A.18	Interviewer name		Interviewer code

Household roster

Government Grants

Line #	Name		Year of birth and current age		Sex	How is interviewee related to the head of household	How is ----- related to the respondent	Marital Status	Does --- receive any of the following government grants? Put a circle for each grant received. (For child grants, put a circle in the line for the parent or caretaker who receives the grant. Then put a circle in the line of the child who the grant is for)							
	B.1	B.2	B.3		B.6	B.7	B.8	B.11	B.12	B.13	B.15.1	B.15.2	B.15.3	B.15.4	B.15.5	B.15.6
	skip		Year	Age		Code B11	Code B12	Code	Circle	Circle	Circle	Circle	Circle	Circle	Circle	Circle
1									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
9									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
11									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
12									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
13									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
14									1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Module B: Household roster (part 3)
Health

Line #	How is the health of interviewee? 1=Poor 2=Fair 3=Good 4=Very Good 5=Excellent	Show health condition card: Has --- had any of these health conditions in the last 12 months Enter up to 3 conditions			Has --- visited a doctor or a clinic in the past month?	Has --- visited a healer in the past month?	Has --- spent the night in a hospital in the past month?
		B.17	B.18	B.19			
B.1	B.16	B.17	B.18	B.19	B.20	B.21	B.22
	Code	Code B17,B18,B19			1=yes 2=no 99=don't know		

Module B: Household roster (part 4)
Employment

Line #	Did you work for pay or family gain in last 7 days? 1=Yes 2=No 98=Refuse 99=Don't know	If yes to B.27:	If no to B.27:	If no to B.29:
		In the last month, about what was your total pay for all work 99998=Refuse 99999=Don't know	If not working: did ---- look for work in the last 7 days?	If not looking for work: does --- want work?
B.1	B.27	B.28	B.29	B.30
		Rands	1=yes 2=no 99=don't know	
1				

Module B: Household roster (part5)
Schooling

Line #	ASK FOR ALL:	ASK IF AGE 7-25		
	What is the highest schooling level completed	Is ---- enrolled in school, technikon, university, or other educational institution in 2006? 1=Yes, 2=No 99999=Don't know	If yes to B.34: What level of schooling or training?	If no to B.34: If not currently enrolled, why not?
B.1	B.33	B.34	B.35	B.36
1				

Module C. Household Characteristics

C.1	INTERVIEWER: Record main material used for the walls of this residence. ONE MENTION ONLY.	Traditional materials (mud, brick, duka)	1
		Temporary shack (plastic, cardboard, plywood)	2
		Permanent shack (corrugated iron, mixed brick)	3
		Permanent building (brick, block)	4
		Other (SPECIFY):	5
C.3	How many rooms are in this residence? Include bedrooms, living rooms, kitchens, lounges dining rooms as well as backyard shacks if they are part of the household. Exclude bathrooms, toilets and passages.	Number of Room	

Does anyone in this household own the following items ...? (Only mention items that are working)				
(C6-C.19 taken from C.13-C.26 CAPS 2005)	Yes=1	No=2	Refused=98	Don't know=99
C.6 Radio, stereo or cassette recorder	1	2	98	99
C.7 Television	1	2	98	99
C.8 Video, VCR, DVD	1	2	98	99
C.9 Telephone (not cellular)	1	2	98	99
C.10 Cellular telephone	1	2	98	99
C.11 Refrigerator/freezer	1	2	98	99
C.12 Gas/electric stove	1	2	98	99
C.13 Microwave	1	2	98	99
C.14 Washing machine	1	2	98	99
C.15 Bicycle	1	2	98	99
C.16 Motorcycle	1	2	98	99
C.17 Car, Bakki or Combi	1	2	98	99
C.18 Computer/laptop	1	2	98	99
C.19 More than 5 books	1	2	98	99

C.20	What is the most often used source of drinking water in this residence? ONE MENTION ONLY.	Piped – Internal	1
		Piped – Yard tap	2
		Water – Carrier/tanker	3
		Piped – Public Tap/Kiosk (free)	4
		Piped – Public Tap/Kiosk (paid for)	5
		Borehole	6
		Other (SPECIFY):	7

C.21	What type of toilet facility is available for this household? ONE MENTION ONLY.	Flush toilet in dwelling	7
		Flush toilet on site	8
		Flush toilet off site (shared/communal)	9
		Improved pit latrine with ventilation (VIP)	2
		Other pit latrine	3
		Bucket toilet	4
		Chemical toilet	5
None	6		

D.5	How important are contributions of money and goods from people outside the household in helping this household get by from month to month?	Not at all important	1
		Somewhat important	2
		Very important	3
		Don't know	99999
D.6	During the last thirty days, for how many days did your household not have enough to eat?	Number of Days	
		Don't know	99999
D.7	How would you compare this household's current financial situation to the situation of other households in this same neighborhood? Is current the situation much better, slightly better, about the same, slightly worse, or much worse than the situation of others in this area?	Much better than others	1
		Slightly better than others	2
		About the same as others	3
		Slightly worse than others	4
		Much worse than others	5
		Refused	99998
Don't know	99999		

Debt

People sometimes borrow money or buy things on credit. They then have to pay this debt back. Some people find this difficult. We would like to ask you about any debt you may have			
K.1.1	Do you owe money to a bank?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Refused	98
K.2.1	Do you owe money to a clothing shop?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Refused	98
K.3.1	Do you owe money to a furniture shop?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Refused	98
K.4.1	Do you owe money to any other shop (specify)	Yes	1
		No	2
		Refused	98
K.5.1	Do you owe money to a money lender?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Refused	98

			1 st mention	2 nd mention
C.4	What is the most important problem facing the country that the government should address? And the second most important?	Job Creation/unemployment	1	1
		Crime	2	2
		Housing	3	3
		Education	4	4
		HIV/AIDS	5	5
		Health Care	6	6
		Poverty	7	7
		Domestic violence	8	8
		Other (specify)	9	9
		Don't know	99	99

We have spoken about our society, health, values, and many other things. These questions are about life and death. I know that it is sometimes difficult to talk about this. But please try to answer these questions for me.

I.9	When you die, do you want your body to be: (Interviewer: prompt if necessary)	Cremated	1	
		Buried in an urban grave-yard	2	
		Buried in a rural area	3	
		I don't care – whatever is convenient for my family	4	
		Other (specify)		
I.10	Why do you want to be buried in a rural area? (specify) (Do not prompt)	To be with my ancestors		
		Other (specify) _____		

H.3	Do you belong to a religious group? (Give name of church) Are you a leader at church?		Yes
			NO
H.5	Do you belong to one or more community organisations?	Yes	1
		No	2

1. Who or which organisation do you think best represents your needs and interests in Khayelitsha?

2. If you think about the following organisations/structures, how would you grade them in terms of representing the needs/interests of your community in government?

	1 (Poor)	2(Moderate)	3(Good)	4(Excellent)
Political party				
Religious leader				

I am going to read a list of things that some people believe and other people do not believe. Do you believe each of these, or not, or are you not sure?		Believe	Not sure/ don't know	Do not believe
J.4.1	Do you believe that ghosts or the spirits of dead people can come back?	1	2	3
J.4.2	Do you believe in witches?	1	2	3
J.4.3	Do you believe that there are some African illnesses that can only be cured by traditional healers:	1	2	3
J.4.4	Do you believe that traditional healers can cure AIDS?	1	2	3
J.4.5	Do you believe in the tokoloshe?	1	2	3
J.4.6	Do you believe that black cats bring bad luck?	1	2	3
J.4.7	Do you believe that the spirits of your ancestors care what you do?	1	2	3

A few questions about the way you feel about your life in general:

H.7	Taking all things together, are you: very happy, happy, a little happy or not happy?	Very happy	1
		Happy	2
		A little happy	3
		Not happy	4
		Don't know	9
H.8	How much control do you think that you have over what happens in your life? Are you totally in control, do you control most things, do you have little control or do you have no control?	Totally in control	1
		Control most things	2
		Have little control	3
		Have no control	4
		Don't know	9