



**UNIVERSITY *of the***  
**WESTERN CAPE**

**AN EXPLORATION OF THE DYNAMICS AND NATURE OF POVERTY: THE  
CASE OF KHAYELITSHA, 2010 – 2018.**

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## DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis submitted for examination titled: *An exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty: The case of Khayelitsha, 2010 – 1018* is my own work, and 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.

Luvuyo Zuma

Signed 

Date 29 November 2022

## **DEDICATION**

I truly dedicate this dissertation to my mother who has raised me and my siblings as a single parent after losing my father in a tragic bus accident while we were still very young. Even though growing up without the guidance of my father had its own challenges, my mother tirelessly played the role of a father and a mother. Special thanks to my wife, Siphokazi Zuma for her unwavering support and also my lovely children, Mhle Zuma, Ayabukwa Zuma, and Yiva Enzokuhle Zuma. I also dedicate this dissertation to my many friends, past and present colleagues, and church family who have supported me throughout the process. Completion of this study undoubtedly required me to sacrifice a lot of my family time and leisure activities. I really dedicate this study to the individuals out there that sincerely serve as inspiration to me in so many aspects.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| ABM:  | Abahlali Base Mjondolo                      |
| AIDS: | Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome          |
| AMPS: | All Media Products Survey                   |
| ANC:  | African National Congress                   |
| BLAs: | Black Local Authorities                     |
| BNG:  | Breaking New Grounds                        |
| CDC:  | Center for Disease Control                  |
| CASE: | Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion |
| CCS:  | Census and Community Surveys                |
| CPAG: | Child Poverty Action Group                  |
| COCT: | City of Cape Town                           |
| CBOs: | Community-based organisation                |
| CSP:  | Consolidation Subsidy Programme             |
| CDW:  | Community Development Worker                |
| DAC:  | Development Assistance Committee            |
| DHS:  | Demographic and Health Surveys              |
| DWAF: | Department of Water Affairs and Forestry    |
| EHP:  | Emergency Housing Programme                 |
| EPWP: | Expanded Public Works Programme             |
| FPL:  | Food poverty line                           |
| FBSP: | Free Basic Services Policy                  |
| GHS:  | General Household Surveys                   |
| GoGs: | Gift of the Givers                          |
| GEAR: | Growth, Employment and Redistribution       |
| HBAI: | Households Below Average Income             |
| IRT:  | Integrated Rapid Transit                    |
| HSRC: | Human Sciences Research Council             |
| HDR:  | Human Development Report                    |
| HDI:  | Human Development Index                     |

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| HIV:     | Human Immunodeficiency Virus  |
| HSRC:    | Human Sciences Research Council   |
| IDPs:    | Integrated Development Plans  |
| IRDP:    | Integrated Residential Development programme                              |
| KPBT:    | Khayelitsha Peace Building Team   |
| LBPL:    | Lower-Bound Poverty Line  |
| MDGs:    | Millennium Development Goals  |
| NIDS:    | National Income Dynamics Study  |
| NDHS:    | National Department of Human Settlements                                  |
| NHC:     | National Housing Code   |
| NEPAD:   | New Partnership for Africa's Development                                  |
| OECD:    | Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development                     |
| OHSs:    | October Household Surveys   |
| PHP:     | People's Housing Process  |
| PURP:    | Presidential Urban Renewal Program  |
| PILs:    | Public Interest Litigations   |
| RDP:     | Reconstruction and Development Program                                    |
| SoG:     | School of Government  |
| SSEU:    | Special Social Exclusion Unit   |
| SASAS:   | South African Social Attitude Survey                                      |
| StatsSA: | Statistics South Africa   |
| SFWS:    | Strategic Framework for Water Services                                    |
| SJC:     | Social Justice Coalition  |
| TB:      | Tuberculosis  |
| TDI:     | Transport Development Index   |
| URISRDP: | Urban Renewal and Integrated and Sustainable Rural Development Programmes |
| UISP:    | Upgrade of Informal Settlements Programme                                 |
| UN:      | United Nations  |
| UBPL:    | Upper-bound poverty line  |
| USMs:    | Urban social movements  |
| UNDP:    | United Nations Development Program  |

UNICEF: United Nations Children Emergency Fund  
UWC: University of the Western Cape  
WC: Ward Councillor  
WDF: Ward Development Forum  
WMD: Water Management Device  
WSSD: World Summit for Social Development

## **ABSTRACT**

This mini-thesis explores the understandings of township poverty by the local state in an urban setting in South Africa using Khayelitsha as a case study. The study will then examine which conceptual frameworks are used by the City administration to examine poverty since it is not a static “condition” and includes chronic, relative, historical and intergenerational aspects. The main challenge is that post-1996 the South African government embarked on specific steps to address poverty to redress the injustices inherited from apartheid-by providing housing, water and health, education, and creating jobs without spatio-structural change. The vision was to design policies to deliver only “basic” services in black townships while the government adopted neoliberal macro-economic policies like the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR). The inability of both the national state and local governments to conceptualize effective solutions to these issues has led to the rise of persistent poverty and protests triggering the rise of Urban Social Movements (USM) in the city that have engaged the city to address these challenges using a more more sophisticated and historically informed understanding of impoverishment. The study, based on more than a dozen interviews with city politicians and officials and social movements, reveals that both national and local governments have not moved beyond seeing poverty only in its absolute form which has made it difficult, if not impossible, to break the cycle of impoverishment in cities.

**Keywords:** Poverty, inequality, government, urban social movements, City of Cape Town



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# Chapter One: The problem of poverty in the township of Khayelitsha, City of Cape Town, South Africa

## 1.0 Introduction

The dynamics of impoverishment within the township of Khayelitsha are informed by the socio-spatial structure of Cape Town in general, and in Khayelitsha in particular, as underscored in this introductory chapter. The introduction highlights the end of formal apartheid, and its significance for service delivery within the City of Cape Town (CoCT) within a democratic dispensation. The African National Congress (ANC) failed to design political, economic policies like land reforms and social policies to structurally transform cities and regions and to design housing, electricity, water, sanitation, sewer and clinics, and schools in the right places to include marginalised blacks. The redress the imbalances of the past was inadequate to ensure equity, inclusion, and social justice in the country in a way that addressed relative poverty.

Williams (2009) holds that the policies of the City of Cape Town seem to entrench social injustice as many citizens lack land and formal houses, electricity, water, sanitation, and other basic services. This is illustrated as the townships have been experiencing a rapid increase in the number of shacks or makeshift dwellings and with this the rise of informality and insecurity. These deteriorating conditions seem to suggest neglect by national and local governments in terms of service delivery. These conditions have sparked protests in the community through which they wanted to display their dissatisfaction with the high levels of poverty in the township. Since 2008 little has changed, and moreover relative poverty and inequality have increased. Amartya Sen's capability theory provides a different lens on the concept of poverty. It is this neglect that has inspired this thesis to interrogate whether state officials and civil society leaders in the community comprehend the different dynamics and nature of poverty. This chapter will provide a background to the study, examine the research problem, identify the research questions and their aims and their rationale, and the research setting of the thesis. The chapter concludes with the overall argument and the structure of the thesis.

## 1.1 Background to the Research Problem

The study explores the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. This is vital as these different dynamics or understandings of poverty have emerged as a challenge globally, regionally, nationally, and locally in many areas in Khayelitsha township. Despite these different dynamics, many scholars, governments and civil society leaders, poverty alleviation agencies, and poverty advocacy groups do not understand these different dynamics. Understanding these different dynamics would provide clarity on how to design appropriate poverty intervention mechanisms or policies to tackle it and its impact on the various communities.

Globally, poverty and increasing wealth for a few is a growing concern as billions of people worldwide live on less than a dollar a day and many others go to bed without a meal, and tens of thousands of people die daily due to poverty or poverty-related challenges like malnutrition and health. These sentiments are also supported by Anup Shah (2013) who adds that at least 80% of humanity lives on less than \$10 a day. More than 80 percent of the world's population lives in countries where income differentials are widening. According to UNICEF, 22,000 children die each day due to poverty and in most cases, they die quietly in the poorest villages on earth. The report adds that around 27-28 percent of all children in developing countries are estimated to be underweight.

The two regions that account for the bulk of the deficit are South East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. The scholarship adds that in the African continent poverty is afflicting many and impacting many households. It is estimated that a total of thirty countries are ranked as having low levels of human development and these levels are contributing to high levels of deaths due to poverty.

Though many scholars point to the fact that South Africa is a middle-income country with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of \$13,300 (CIA World Fact book 2008), many households in the country are living in poverty. This view is also supported by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) (2004) which notes that the percentage of South Africans living in poverty has not changed significantly since 1994. Rather the gap between the rich and the poor is widening, as many households are sinking deeper into poverty. A United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Report (2003:200) notes that the number of poor South Africans increased from 20.2 million in 1995 to 21.9 million in 2002, interestingly, the

report paints a bleak picture as it concludes that: “The Human Development Index has worsened as it reveals that poverty still engulfs 48.5% of the population...income inequality has increased...the majority of households have limited access to basic services, and the official unemployment rate has sharply increased to more than 30% in 2003” .There can be little doubt that a large number of South Africans do not have an adequate standard of living. The Department of Social Development (cited in Everatt, 2003:77) agrees with the UNDP finding as it notes that one in ten Black South Africans are malnourished and one in four children undersized, and further adds that almost half the population lives on less than \$2 a day. Also, when one examines South Africa’s Human Development Index (HDI) value and ranks the country’s HDI value for 2019 is 0.709 which put the country in the high human development. Between 1990 and 2019, South Africa’s HDI value increased from 0.627 to 0.709, an increase of 13.1 percent. Between 1990 and 2019, South Africa’s life expectancy at birth increased by 0.8 years, mean years of schooling increased by 3.8 years, and expected years of schooling increased by 2.4 years. South Africa’s GNI per capita increased by about 21.6 percent 1990 from to 2019. Though there are gradual improvements in the indexes on the ground, it does not translate to improvements as the poverty levels are still high. These conditions are prevalent in the townships in Cape Town. These areas have emerged as centers of poverty, insecurity, crime, and social distress.

In this light, research on poverty as a phenomenon of interest should be continued and accelerated. Fewer studies have focused on the different dynamics of poverty with the view of unpacking how different groups perceive and understand it within their respective settings. It is this lacunae or gap in the literature that this study seeks to address.

In this light, this ythesis sought to understand the different concepts and dynamics of poverty and the factors that drive these various perspectives or explanations. More specifically, the researcher envisaged that understanding the different dynamics of poverty experienced in Khayelitsha will generate new knowledge that if well utilised would enable governments, civil society and scholars, and poverty alleviation agencies to better target their intervention mechanisms or policies to address or arrest it. Put succinctly, the researcher hopes that the findings of this study will contribute to addressing the different dynamics of poverty in the township and improving the lives of poor people in general and specifically those living in Khayelitsha.

This introductory section provides a background to this study. In this light, the chapter examined the global, regional, national, and local efforts at addressing the challenges of



poverty and the researcher shall proceed to demonstrate that poverty has become one of the biggest challenges facing humanity and that joint efforts are needed to prevent it from escalating further. It is against this background that the researcher describes the different dynamics of poverty in South Africa in general and in Khayelitsha post-1994.

## 1.2 Efforts at addressing Poverty Globally- (Global Agenda on Poverty)

As intimated above, since poverty has emerged as a problem globally, many attempts have been made to arrest its spread and address its impact. However, inequality is a wider concept than poverty since it addresses an entire population (national or regional), not just the group deemed to be below a certain poverty threshold. Haydar (2005:240) notes that a “significant number of people in the world today live under conditions of extreme poverty and most of them lack access to basic goods like food, water, and health care.” Furthermore “everyone agrees that the conditions of the poor are atrocious” (Haydar, 2005:240). Hence efforts are needed urgently to increase our efforts to reduce poverty. This call was echoed during the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) when many delegates recognised that the world is at a crossroads and that people will have to unite in the fight against poverty.

This triggered the adoption of the now-famous Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development which was also a confirmation of the commitment of the people of the world from both rich and poor countries to the United Nations (UN) Millennium Declaration. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that emerged from the UN Millennium Declaration were very specific, with clear, measurable targets such as reducing poverty among the more than 1 billion poor people worldwide by 2015 (Human Development Report, 2005:17). David (2010) notes that despite widespread poverty and the commitment from the various countries, there is no concise agreement as to how responsibilities are supposed to be shared on who is to do what and when to achieve these goals and timelines of alleviating poverty. It is generally agreed that responsibility rests at one of two levels. David (2010) adds that in many cases the location of responsibility for extreme poverty is attributed to the local conditions like the institutions, policies, practices, and values of that location.

In most cases, national governments normally assist the local sphere to improve the living conditions of people. However, there is also a view that global institutions and the practices

and policies of various international actors must play a significant role in addressing extreme poverty (Haydar, 2005:240). Understanding this perspective to fight against poverty requires the promotion of institutional and policy changes both at the local and international levels. It is, however, difficult if not impossible to determine which of the domestic or global institutions are more responsive to lead the fight against this scourge. This notwithstanding, it is the researchers' contention that international and multinational organisations need to participate and contribute more towards poverty alleviation projects.

A good case in point is the view adopted by aid donors representing the rich nations which in many cases need to be increasingly interested in how poor people in poor countries understand poverty. However, addressing poverty from a global angle does not imply the rejection of the measurement of the impoverished local circumstances in which people are living in such as lack of access to food, clean water, and shelter (Bastiaensen, De Herdt & D'Exelle, 2005:979). Moreover, it is the researchers' contention that poverty eradication campaigns should be approached from both a global and domestic perspective. In this light, global initiatives should establish factors that may impact the well-being of communities, while governments at the domestic level should assist local communities to fight against local conditions that may prevent them from securing their necessities. A key question is what local communities themselves think are the contributing factors to poverty in their communities.

It is against this background that this study focuses on exploring government's perceptions of the causes of poverty and civil society responses. More specifically, the study seeks to understand the dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. The next three sections thus introduce South Africa, the City and Khayelitsha as a way of understanding the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha.

### 1.3 Efforts to address poverty in South Africa

As intimated earlier, South Africa, is a middle-income country, but paradoxically it has high levels of poverty and inequality as millions of its citizens live below a dollar a day. It must be recalled that in SA during colonial times, it was mining that became central to the creation of a migrant labour system and Bantustans which still shape poverty and inequality in contemporary South Africa. In SA, black people were more completely dispossessed of land and proletarianised than in any other African county through permanent European settlement

(Bond 2000; Lund, 2008). In this light, the country presents a unique case for the study of poverty and positions itself as a laboratory for research on poverty alleviation strategies by poverty alleviation agencies.

Before 1994, black South Africans were denied urban and farming land, political rights and refused access to quality education, housing, water and sanitation (Lund, 2008: 2-4). The outcome of three centuries of exclusions from the political and economic mainstream placed millions of black Africans at the bottom of the social ladder, followed by Coloureds and Indians. The outcome was that these apartheid laws placed blacks in a situation where they were produced and used as semi-skilled cheap labour, and denied access to good educational facilities that the government provided. These inequalities were intense, but today have been modified but remain. They are worsened by corruption.

Since 1994 the government has taken some bold steps to mitigate poverty through several programs like the Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) housing, Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), the Social Grants, Free Basic Water Services with the vision to address poverty and the injustices of the past. The government introduced The Strategic Framework for Water Services (RSA, 2003) 'to assist in promoting sustainable access to a basic water supply by subsidising the ongoing operating and maintenance costs of a basic water supply service' (RSA, 2003:29). The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry sees this limited policy as a reasonable measure within the available resources towards the fulfillment of the constitutional imperative of providing access to sufficient water. DWAF contends that South Africa's economy is large enough to finance the fulfillment of the FBW policy (RSA, 2003).

The government also introduced the South Africa Social Security Agency (SASSA) with the mandate to pay grants to the pensioners aged 60 for men and 55 for women. In addition, there has been an extension of the child support grant and foster support grant to children.

The government has also introduced the budgets of the national, provincial, and local governments to create jobs, deliver services, improve the productive capacity of the economy, and assist the poor. These budgets however are not spent wisely or honestly and hence multiple leakages so that high-quality services rarely reach the poor. This was shockingly revealed in the corruption around Covid-19 relief measures under President Ramaphosa. These issues of corruption and poor policy reforms are making it difficult for the transformation of the material conditions of the majority of the people as many are unemployed and poor. Hence, the transformation has not addressed the basic issues of poverty.

## 1.4 Efforts to understand and address poverty and inequality in Khayelitsha after 1996

Khayelitsha started as a tented township in the early 1980s after blacks in Crossroads who resisted forced removals were forced to flee from violence. By 1986, some 8,300 people had occupied 4,150 sites and serviced plots at Site C, Site B, each with a tap and toilet. Khayelitsha is about 30 km away from the Central Business District of Cape Town. Its distance from work places has deep implications for poverty and inequality since transport costs are much higher and this leads to people minimizing movement out of the townships (hence worsening social exclusion from the wider city).

Storey (2014:13) agrees that whereas only 21% of the city's total households comprise informal dwellings, Khayelitsha has 55% of its residents in informal households and this reveals how the informal areas are more prevalent than the formal ones. This is a challenge as Conradie (2014:5) and Seekings (2013:1) see the area as depicting high levels of informality, poverty, and crime due to these high levels of informality. Living in shacks in insecure informal settlements arguably contributes considerably to a cycle of poverty.

Previous studies on poverty in Khayelitsha by Ndingaye (2005) focused on investigating poverty in Site C, Khayelitsha. She employed a qualitative research method. The lacunae or gap in her study is that it covered just one area in Khayelitsha and therefore it cannot be generalised to include the entire township. Also, her conceptual framework focused more on the role of the national government in addressing poverty and ignored both the role of the city of Cape Town and the contribution of civil society organisations like urban social movements in the community like the Social Justice Coalition, Abhalali Base Mjondolo, and the Ses'Khona Peoples' Rights Movement. These movements are engaging the city constructively through protests and public interest litigations using the courts and the Constitution to pressure it to provide services and alleviate poverty in the community (Abang, 2019).

Nabe (2000) adds that the challenge was immense in some areas of the city as infrastructure is non-existent these include water supply, electricity, street lighting, libraries, community halls, and clinics. Nabe (2000) expands that since many residents do not have jobs and the city is not providing housing, this led to a surge in shack dwellings in Khayelitsha. Also, roads, sewage systems, and drainage started collapsing due to a lack of maintenance. He adds that the failure to provide housing and the scarcity of jobs has led to the rise in informal settlements and thus

compounding poverty. Nabe (2000) notes that whereas scholars bought into this narrative that these failures are due to apartheid policies, and inactions but Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) argue that they are the outcome of the lack of Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) in the city's budget.

Bond (2000) notes that post-1996 the national government took steps to alleviate poverty but did not transform the socio-economic conditions of Khayelitsha or fundamentally change the material conditions of the people through the RPD housing programme which was superimposed on the old apartheid township. Tissington (2011) substantiates that the government also introduced the equitable share to ensure that residents in townships like Khayelitsha could have access to limited basic services like water. The grant was to assist municipalities to cover the costs of providing basic services to residents in the townships who cannot afford to pay for them. Tissington (2011) adds that the Free Basic Water Implementation Strategy was also introduced by the government, and it was linked to indigent or pro-poor policy targeting only the poorest households in communities like townships and informal settlements, and rural households. This was envisaged to provide a low level of services to these townships like Khayelitsha.

There was The Presidential Urban Renewal Program (PURP) which was launched by President Thabo Mbeki in his state of the nation address in 2001 as an *area-based* approach to address poverty. The PURP was an area-based approach to address poverty and underdevelopment in Khayelitsha. The government also introduced no-fee schools to assist learners that are not able to pay fees. This was to reduce poverty in many homes in Khayelitsha. The government also introduced school feeding schemes to reduce poverty among the residents in this community. Initially, many were optimistic that these measures would substantively improve areas like Khayelitsha and set a path for reducing poverty which was implicitly seen as related to service delivery and infrastructural poverty. Nabe (2000) argues that the democratically elected municipal councillors would be responsive, accountable, and transparent and push for sustainable and equitable service delivery.

Despite these efforts, Conradie (2014) points out that the township depicts the signs of poverty as housing, sanitation, water, and waste removal are a problem. Thus, the post-apartheid transformation approach to poverty has not materially changed the living conditions of the residents. The Social Justice Coalition (SJC) has mass campaigns “for the City of Cape Town to address the lack of effective public lighting in black poor and working-class areas”. Although this was not specifically recommended, “the commission did find that inadequate and

ineffective lighting contributed to grave insecurity and made policing even more challenging”.

In a recent court judgment on unequal protection in Cape Town, Judge Dolamo said that:

“Twenty-five years into our democracy people, black people, still live under conditions which existed during the apartheid system of government. The dawn of democracy has not changed a lot for the people of Khayelitsha. They continue to live in informal settlements where the provisions of services are non-existent or at a minimum. This is more glaring where a comparison is made with the more affluent areas, mainly occupied by a privileged minority. The unfortunate reality is that the residents of Khayelitsha, who are predominantly black, continue to receive inferior services, including services from the SAPS”, and this amounts to unfair discrimination.

Significantly, service delivery definitions seem to understate the importance of location and spatial inequality as part of a cycle of impoverishment.

## 1.5 The different perceptions of and dynamics or causes of poverty

Many scholars have categorised poverty into three broad areas: construction of a poverty profile (who the poor are), causes of poverty (why people are poor), and poverty eradication strategies (what to do about poverty) (Ngwane, Yadavalli, & Steffens, 2003:283; Hanmer, Pyatt & White, 1999:796). In exploring these different poverty categories, the researcher intends to state that the approach of the present study is to raise the consciousness of the impact of people’s perceptions of the various causes of poverty. Du Toit (2005:6) explains that “we need to know more about poverty: the factors that drive it and those that maintained it.” Poverty is also seen as a multidimensional problem and therefore it cannot be explained in a single dimension or even by a combination of the individualistic, structural, or fatalistic dimensions. Flowing from this poverty is to be understood within a social context.

Most of the literature on perceptions of the causes of poverty seems to suggest that it can be explained according to three perspectives. The first perspective is to focus on individuals who make decisions or develop habits and are themselves to blame for their poverty. The second holds that poverty is a consequence of external economic, political, and /or cultural factors that operate at a supra-individual or societal level. The focus is on building community-level empowerment and self-help, especially skills that allow people to create economic

opportunities and learn to manage money, and budgets. The third often view poverty as obscuring inequality of circumstances, and exploitation by the wealthy classes and argues in Marxist ways that the poor must take back the land and resources from colonial white monopolist (see EFF and movements like Occupy the City and Ndifuna Kwazi).

In exploring these different perspectives, the researcher would start with the “individualistic” since it focuses on individual failings or shortcomings of some sort. Proponents of the individualistic perspective distinguish between two separate explanations in this category: the “culture of poverty”, and the theory of the “underclass.” The culture of poverty theory of Lewis (1961) reasons that many poor people get accustomed to their deprived situation and then develop a way of life that keeps them poor; the poor further exhibit feelings of marginality, helplessness, dependency, and inferiority.

The explanation in this category is the notion of the underclass, which is conceptualised “as a small group of people living in poverty with a distinct set of values and behaviours, and a strong propensity for crime and other antisocial behaviour” (Auletta, 1982:12; Hunt, 1996: 312; Ward, 1989:2; Wilson, 1987:8). It is vital to clarify the distinction between the “moral underclass debate” and the “structural underclass.” The proponents of the structural underclass perspective explain that the poor should not be blamed for their deprived situation but rather the circumstances under which they live. Murray (1984:29) based on his review of the American Social Policy between 1950 and 1980 made it clear that large-scale structural changes to the system would not significantly address poverty if it ignored individual effort or virtue.

Furthermore, Murray felt that blaming the system and overlooking the deficiencies by the poor had a disastrous impact on the poor themselves. He argued that the moral imperative is to do something to correct the situation of the poor through the implementation of policies that would address the past injustices towards the poor but at the same time inform the poor if they are not taking advantage of their opportunities (Murray, 1984: 223).

The second theoretical perspective suggests that “structural” explanations are the cause of unequal conditions within society that create poverty, rather than the intellectual and cultural deficits of the poor. Within the structural framework, distinctions are made between social injustice (lack of social opportunities) and economic injustice (exploitation by capitalists, for example, poor people are exploited by the rich). In this category, the poor are not to blame for their circumstances, as external factors have placed them unfavourably in social structures, in a position often characterized by a lack of access to opportunities (Shek, 2004: 273).

## 1.5.1 Self-perceptions of poverty

In many cases, people's perceptions of the causes of poverty are influenced by both external and internal factors, as well as both conscious and unconscious processes. The researcher, therefore, wants to underline that how people perceive poverty is influenced by the person's current cultural context, and cultural background, and simultaneously by the person's genetic make-up that impacts how the person engages with his/her environment.

A review of the literature showed that demographic variables such as race correlate with perceptions of the causes of poverty. For example, a study conducted by Nasser, Abouchdid & Khashan (2002:111) found that South African students, in general, are more likely to blame poverty on structural explanations and that White and Coloured respondents showed a high fatalistic inclination. Hunt (2004: 843) study in the United States showed that African Americans and Latinos are more likely than Whites to see both structural and individualistic explanations of poverty as important.

Cozzarelli, Wilkinson & Tagler (2001:223) found that White American college students were more likely to explain poverty in terms of internal attributions, while non-white students indicated external factors as responsible for poverty situations. An appraisal of popular perceptions of poverty studies in South Africa also shows that race has an overwhelming influence on explanations of poverty (Hamel et al., 2005:352).

Education is another variable that influences people's perceptions of the causes of poverty (Hunt, 1996:300). Highly educated people are more likely to view poverty in terms of individualistic rather than structural factors.

Furthermore, the inclusion of geographical location assumes that people's values, preferences, and behaviours are the results of their material or life circumstances (Mattes & Bratton, 2003:7; Zhang & Thomas, 1994:885). A sociological approach, that geographical location, and gender may play a key role in determining how people explain poverty (Seekings, 2000: 833). Also, May, Woolard & Klasen (2000: 30) note that there are discrepancies in living standards and access to services between rural and urban South Africans.

Employment status is another variable that has influenced how people perceive the causes of poverty. Past research has demonstrated that indicators such as employment interacted with a host of socio-demographic variables. Hunt (1996:310), for example, demonstrated that



employed minorities such as Latinos often ascribe their success to internal or individualistic factors such as hard work.

## 1.6 Research Problem

The study explores the different dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha with specific emphasis on how the state views poverty. This is vital as the absence of a clear understanding of these different dynamics or understandings of poverty may lead to wrong policies being implemented in Khayelitsha and instead of addressing these problems, it is aggravating them leading to the death of many, and the rise of poverty-related illnesses in the township. Unless this trend is reversed more children and adults in Khayelitsha may die due to these misconceived policies that are being implemented.

Through an examination of these multiple concepts of poverty, the study adopted a qualitative approach to understanding the conceptions and misconceptions of poverty in the community. The problem this research seeks to understand is the specific dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha since it manifests itself in different ways in different places. The study also seeks to understand how spatial inequality leads to social exclusion and the contribution of urban social movements to make it central to defining poverty in policy-making.

## 1.7 Research Questions

The central research question this thesis seeks to explore is; what are the dynamics and understanding of poverty in Khayelitsha among key leaders?

### 1.7.1 Sub question one

What are the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha?

### 1.7.2 Sub-question two

How does civil society understand poverty in Khayelitsha?

### 1.7.3 Sub-question three

What are the views of various social movements on the causes of poverty?

## 1.8 Research Aims /Objectives

### The Main Objectives

The primary objective of this thesis is to contribute to a better understanding of the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha.

#### 1.8.1 Objective One

To examine the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha

#### 1.8.2 Objective Two

To analyse civil society's understanding of poverty in Khayelitsha

#### 1.8.3 Objective Three

To investigate the various views of several social movements on the causes of poverty.

## 1.9 Research Rationale and Justification of the study

The study is relevant in that the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha need to be understood since their understanding would reveal how the phenomenon can be addressed and measured. It should be reiterated that the national government has a role to play in framing measures and concepts of poverty and determining the mandates of the local state. The actual delivery of basic services in these townships resides with the local government or the municipality, but this too can be varied from city to city as local government enjoys a degree of autonomy and different parties also bring their ideologies to bear on defining poverty. The local government plans the use of space and the qualities of space, and it is the mandated authority to provide housing, electricity, water and sanitation, and sewer amongst other services in the township.

Cape Town has powerful movements, and they bring awareness campaigns leading to the emergence of community leaders who are mobilising residents to ensure that these services are redefined and delivered.

## 1.10 Khayelitsha: Research Setting

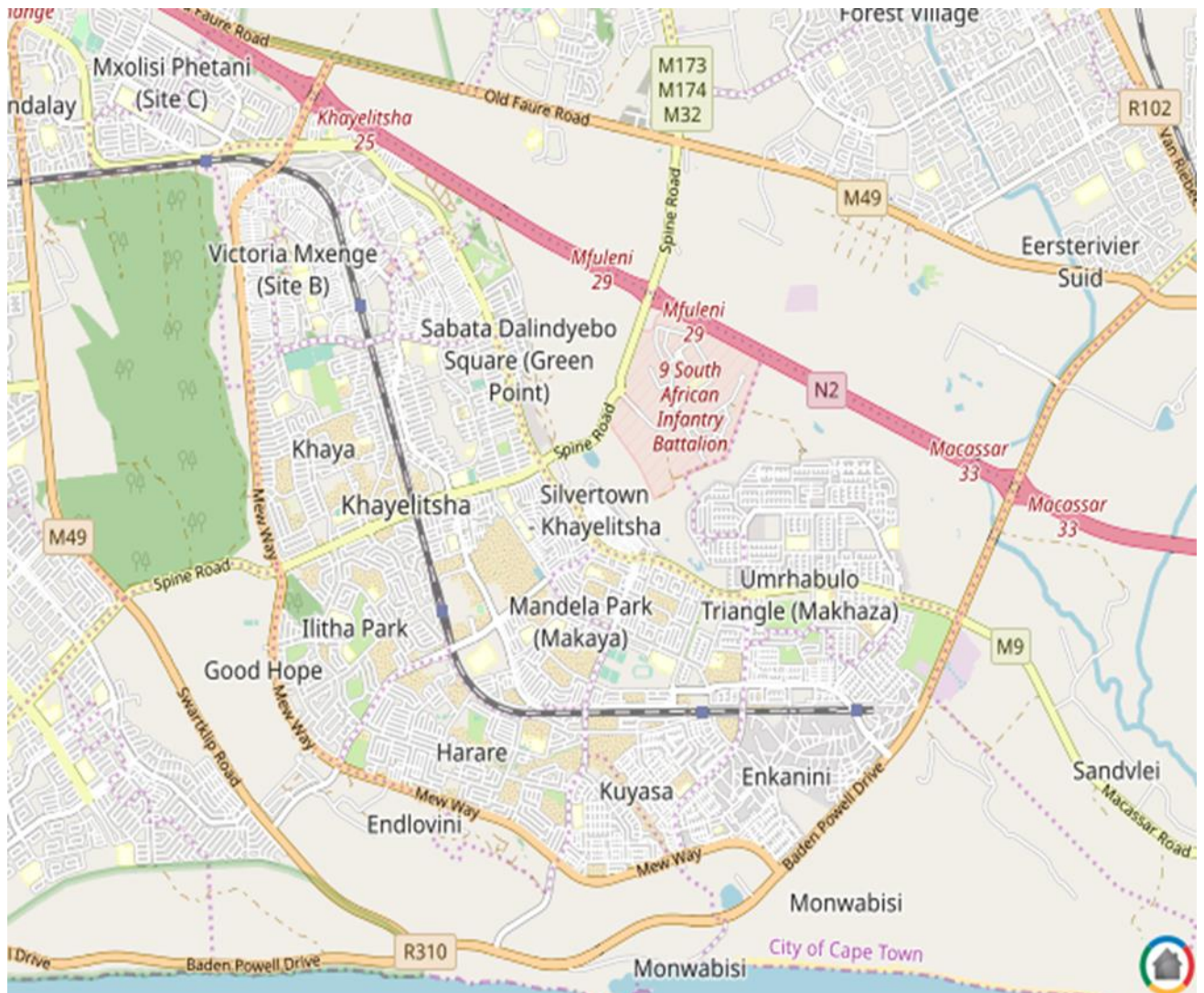
This section of the thesis briefly introduces the research setting and the township under investigation. Khayelitsha township was created to house informal settlement dwellers on the Cape Flats to ease the congestion in Old Crossroads (Molokhane, 2009). Molokhane (2009) noted that Khayelitsha started as a tented township and by 1986, some 8,300 people had occupied 4,150 sites and serviced plots at Site C, Site B, and service main demarcated plots, each with a tap and toilet. Khayelitsha is about 30 km away from the Central Business District of Cape Town. Its far-flung geography has implications for poverty and inequality since transport costs are much higher and this leads to people minimizing movement out of the townships (hence worsening social exclusion from the wider city).

Molokhane (2009) noted that the apartheid state wanted to move all 'illegal' people to Transkei, a homeland in the Eastern part of the country, but failed to do so in the face of massive resistance. Molokhane (2009) holds that these removals were resisted. The new township and the strategy were to create four smaller towns, each with 30,000 residents.

Molokhane (2009:6) again reveals that many of the first residents sought to escape the violence executed by the 'Witdoeke' (a vigilante group) which was under the control of the notorious Johnson Ngxobongwana. The people living in the new community like many others were to provide cheap labour for the white areas like Camps Bay, Wynberg, Claremont, and Constantia. With the massive influx of people into the area post-1990 it emerged as the second-largest black township after Soweto (Census 2001). Khayelitsha grew rapidly post- the 1990s as people arrived from the Eastern Cape. The existence of formal houses alongside informal ones accounts for the high density in the township. The property market in the area is unstable as there is crime, and too many uncertainties that often propel the small middle-class to move elsewhere (Seekings 2011). Seekings (2013) again notes that an examination of the area reveals two different pictures: one of a middle-class Khayelitsha reminiscent of all other middle-income areas in the city, and a second which is low-income areas and impoverished, and not receiving services. According to StatsSA (2011), the area had a population of 391,749 inhabitants. Seekings (2013:2) estimates that the population is close to 400,000 people. Seekings (2013) posits that 10% of Cape Town's population lives in the area and about 27% of Africans live in the township. The Social Justice Coalition (2013) adds that this informality

has led to many who live in these makeshift houses or shacks resorting to buckets as sanitation options.

Figure 1: Khayelitsha



Source: City of Cape Town, 2021

As can be seen from the picture above a swam seems to separate Khayelitsha from the neighbouring Coloured township of Mitchells Plain.

## 1.11 An overview of the study and the Organisation of the Thesis

The overall argument of this Master's thesis is to explore the different dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha. Since the phenomenon of interest is poverty, the thesis started by unpacking the concept and illustrated how the national, local government, and urban social movements attempted to address the issue within Khayelitsha township. The thesis developed this central argument in five interrelated chapters. This first chapter examined the background to the research problem, the central research question, the research aims/objective, the central research question, its rationale, the research setting, and an overview of the study and the organisations of the thesis.

Chapter two provides the literature review, which clarifies the concepts of the study as it unpacks poverty, and its multiple dimensions; absolute, relative, chronic, and intergenerational poverty. It proceeds by unpacking the cycle of poverty concept and why its study is important. Also, it provides an understanding of the roots of poverty in the area. Further, it examines what constitutes poverty in Khayelitsha township. It also examined how poverty contributes to social exclusion, how it is measured, the concept of civil society and the different types of civil societies, and also the concept of urban social movements as well as the concept of social justice. The chapter also provides the legislative framework and the theoretical grounding of the study, which is human capital and capabilities theories.

Chapter three examines the research methodology of the thesis. The concept of research methodology, research paradigm, qualitative research design, and research design, sample selection, data collection methods, data analysis, data collection methods, data analysis, data verification/trustworthiness, credibility, and transferability.

Chapter four presents and discusses the data collected through semi-structured interviews, telephonic interviews, and extensive documentary reviews. The data collected would respond to the three specific objectives of the study, which are linked to the main research objectives which emerged from the overarching research question of the study. Data analysis was completed through qualitative data and a thematic approach was applied as explained in the research methodology in chapter three. This chapter presents and interprets the data that attempts to respond to the overarching research questions of this study as stated in chapter one. Chapter five draws the conclusion and recommendations of the study. This chapter will conclude the study by presenting overall remarks, and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO: The Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

“Endemic and widespread poverty continues to disfigure the face of our country. It will always be impossible for us to say that we have fully restored the dignity of all our people if this situation persists. For this reason, the struggle to eradicate poverty has been and will continue to be a cornerstone of the national effort to build the new South Africa” (President Thabo Mbeki, 2004).

### 2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a background to the study as it identified the research problem, the overarching research question, its objective and sub-objectives, the rationale of the study, and its setting. This chapter provides the conceptual clarifications of the study as it unpacks the concept of poverty and its multiple dimensions: absolute and relative poverty and the cycle of poverty concept. It examines what constitutes poverty in the community. Also, the chapter provides an understanding of the apartheid roots of poverty in the area. The study also examined how poverty contributes to social exclusion, the semi-permanent insecurity of shack life, and the concept of civil society and social justice as it applies in Khayelitsha. The study also provides both the legislative framework and the theoretical grounding in policy analysis as it explores human capital and capabilities theories.

### 2.1 Conceptualising Poverty

As stated by former President Thabo Mbeki widespread poverty continues to disfigure the face of our country and this is extended to our townships and informal settlements in Khayelitsha. Interestingly, the concept of poverty has been given a variety of meanings from different perspectives by different scholars in different settings. This has interestingly politicised the concept and therefore, people are considered poor if their income is so low as to be intolerable. “Poverty encompasses different dimensions of deprivation that relate to human capabilities, including consumption and food security, health, education, rights, voices, security, dignity,

and decent work. Poverty must be reduced in the context of environmental sustainability. Reducing gender inequality is key to all dimensions of poverty” (OECD, 2001).

According to Ndingaye (2005:16), many scholars define poverty, not in the direction of intolerable, but rather from the angle of deprivation as a large number of people who experience the phenomenon have been deprived by the ruling class of a decent standard of living. Dinito & Dye (1983) explain poverty in terms of deprivation. They clarify that it is insufficient in basic human needs like food, housing, clothing, education, medical care, and other items needed to sustain a decent living standard. In South Africa, a group of scholars like Wilson and Ramphela notes that Mrs Witbooi comments: “Poverty is not knowing where your next meal is going to come from, and always wondering when the council is going to put your furniture out and always praying that your husband must not lose his job (Wilson and Ramphela 1989:14).

Singh (1980) notes that it is difficult if not impossible to convey the true meaning of poverty because the people affected may not have anything in common other than a lack of resources to meet their basic needs. Due to the complex nature of poverty, it is not possible to give a uniform account of the circumstances in which people become poor.

Haralombos (1991) explains that from a sociological angle poverty is viewed within the social context of the family, community, and society, not just the individual. Most sociologists read poverty in terms of the inadequacy of the welfare state, not its generosity. Though poverty does not explain a certain kind of attribute or specific characteristic which people do or do not have in many cases it is used to describe a cluster or a large number of conditions.

Budlender (1998) explains that the basis of poverty is greatly influenced by the individual’s background, experience, and environment. Ndingaye (2005) adds that poverty is not only about lack of money, but also more importantly about the scarcity of favourable occasions which allows them to build different lives for themselves. According to Halsey (1985: xxiii) “Society means a shared life. If some and not others are poor, then the principles on which life is shared are at issue: society itself is in question.” Poverty can be defined in various ways, and debates on the definition of poverty are challenged for good reasons. Deliberations on how poverty should be conceptualised, explained, and dimensions surpass semantic and difficult issues.

The conceptualisation, description, and dimension of poverty in a specific community are similar to the standards of that society; in trying to conceptualise, describe, and quantify what is not accepted in a community rest on what the society perceives is required to satisfy their needs. As such, it becomes imperative that the ideas, descriptions, and dimensions of poverty

are consistent with present evidence and are suitable for the society in which they are exercised. Meth (2006) argues that poverty is also political due to the allocation or the provision of resources and shows the effect of historical and current policy decisions.

The way politicians, civil society, and specialists apply the concept of poverty consists of different and various social roots, philosophical debates, and politics. The present contest draws on difficult and, in some instances, conflicting fundamental expectations on what citizens should require enabling marginal human life; necessities amongst society, and people, the connection between having and nonexistence, ill-being, well-being, and suffering, and social life, and individual agency. Regrettably, these essential debates and stories are not precisely associated, and it simply means that the concept of poverty as it is there in everyday language has attributes of “messiness” on it (SPII 2007).

## 2.1.2 Multidimensional poverty

The notion that poverty is multidimensional was first presented by Townsend (Townsend, 1979) and further developed by Chambers (Chamber, 1983). In the final declaration of the World Summit for Social Development in 1995, the United Nations concluded that: “Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger, and malnutrition, ill-health, limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness, and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterised by a lack of participation in decision-making, and civil, social, and cultural life” (United Nations 1995).

This definition suggests that there are multiple dimensions of poverty. The definition combines the notions of absolute and relative poverty and points to the need to differentiate poor people by gender, age, occupational status, origin, or ethnicity. In 2001, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation of Economic Co-operation, and Development (OECD) published its Guidelines for Poverty Reduction (OECD 2001) and adopted a multi-dimensional poverty definition.



### 2.1.2.1 Absolute Poverty

Absolute poverty is defined as when people lack necessities for survival. It quantifies the number of people below the poverty line and is independent of place and time. Absolute poverty refers to individuals living on maintenance or living below what is minimally required to live a cohesive life. The concept of absolute poverty rests on the idea that it is possible to define a minimum standard for physical survival, and that the needs of the poor do not change through time (Buckingham, 1991:9). Alcock (2012) argues that absolute poverty is the notion that being trapped in poverty relates to an individual with no essentials in life, and in some instances, it is regarded as subsistence poverty.

This concept is always linked with the initial study of Booth and Rowntree, who were worried to classify a subsistence range based on the price of essentials and later quantify the number of citizens with household incomes lower than this level and that's the reason they find it difficult put food on the table for themselves and their respective families. Nevertheless, in real life, what is necessary for survival differs according to where and when one is living.

### 2.1.2.2 Relative poverty

The concept of relative poverty is used when people's way of life and income is much worse than the general standard of living. It classifies people as poor not by comparing them with a fixed poverty line, but by comparing them with others in the general population under consideration. The concept of relative poverty draws a comparison between the lowest income group and top earners' group-living conditions. It posits a situation where the mortality rate is high, malnutrition is chronic, housing is sub-human standards and employable skills are extremely rudimentary due to poor education or absent entrepreneurship (Singh, 1980).

Relative poverty for Buckingham (1991) discusses the idea that poverty is relative and implies that poverty is about being poor in comparison to the standard of living of others, and about being unable to do things that are generally accepted. Singh (1980) defines relative poverty in terms of its relation to the standards, which exist elsewhere in society. This can be understood primarily in terms of inequality, namely where goods and services are less than available to most members of the community struggling to maintain the prevailing norm of living. In the context of this study, Khayelitsha township is a classic product of an apartheid and reflects its

monstrous history of land dispossession (1913 Land Act), repressive urbanization and the migrant labour system. In addition there is the stark legacy of “Bantu” education. The Khayelitsha community suffers from severe relative poverty compared to hyper affluent neighbouring communities like Stellenbosch are not poor but massively privileged. South Africa has the world’s worst inequality and this is evident from comparing places like Stellenbosch and the black townships.

### 2.1.2.3 Chronic poverty

Over the years there has been increasing attention on chronic poverty, and it is specifically associated with our understanding of urban poverty given that it acknowledges variances amongst the “poor”. Chronic poverty is a concept that considers the period that a person or family languishes in poverty including the depth of poverty. Theoretically, poverty challenges us to distinguish between those who are underprivileged at any specific point in time and those who are deprived over a lengthy period of time. Chronic Poverty Research Centre claims that chronic poverty is anything between five years or more, it should be realized that such “specificity is somewhat arbitrary” (Mitlin, 2005).

### 2.1.2.4 Intergenerational poverty in South Africa

The generation of children that were born after 1994, also known as “Born Frees” by politicians and scholars had high hopes of a better life. Hypothetically speaking, young people that are being born in a democratic state should have been exposed to better opportunities, they are regarded as a possible “demographic dividend” that could assist stimulate growth and improve independency ratios. In spite of many promises of a decent life for everybody, racial, class, and gender disparities continue to be a determining factor in the lives of young people including opportunities and dreams. Regrettably, the number of youngsters dropping out of school has increased and unemployment worsened in particular for the young people. The condition has led several people to think of youngsters in the country as a “lost generation” or a “ticking time bomb” required to be addressed as a matter of urgency. The country’s NDP cautions South Africa that it must provide solutions to alarming levels of youth unemployment and to create significant opportunities for the youth (De Lannoy, Leibbrandt & Frame, 2015).

### 2.1.3 An understanding of the cycle of poverty

Poverty is a social problem, which reproduces itself from generation to generation; hence we talk about the cycle of poverty today. Children are subject to exception trauma for example in shack fires and these traumas may be life-long. At most times when you come from a poor background that is born to poor parents the chances of being rich are very narrow. The cycle of poverty is more like a permanent situation, where people are trapped and unable to escape. Dinitto and Dye (1983: 55) postulate that:

“Poverty is a way of life passed on from generation to generation in a self-perpetuating cycle. This culture of poverty involves not just a low income, but also the attitudes of indifference, alienation, and apathy”.

Leinwand (1968) explains that the cycle of poverty is related to the casualties of society, such as inadequate parenting, children who are in varying degrees abused at home resulting in emotional disturbance, socially and intellectually deprived people, unskilled or unemployed persons who do not earn enough to move out of social deprivation, people trapped in unstable and unsatisfying marriages and those living dysfunctional family lives. Health is also severely compromised and may leave life-long effects and shorten life expectancy. All these interact with various negative linkages to keep one in the trap of the cycle of poverty.

### 2.1.4 Why the increasing interest in the study of poverty?

As stated by former President Thabo Mbeki the struggle to eradicate poverty as a scourge has been and will continue to be a cornerstone of the national effort to build the new South Africa post-1996. This then justifies this thesis as it seeks to gain valuable insights into the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha, in the city of Cape Town post-1996.

The question that comes to mind is why is the study of poverty a theme for empirical and theoretical inquiry? Joining the debate in this angle is vital as many governments, civil society, and academics are intensifying their interest in the concepts. This is demonstrated in the growing volumes of literature that are being produced by scholars like Chadwich et al., (1984); Chambers (1983); Filstead (1990); Babbie (1986) and also journals, articles like Reconstruction and Development Program (1995); Moola (2002); Poverty Profile (1997).

Some of this research is yearning to be utilised in this inquiry to enhance our understanding of the nature of poverty, property markets and its different dynamics in Khayelitsha. The increasing interest in the study of poverty is also due to its contribution to social exclusion and we need to understand how to avoid it.

### 2.1.5 How does poverty contribute to social exclusion?

This section of the thesis explains that poverty leads to the social exclusion of certain members of society, and therefore there is a need to address its causes. Alcock et al., (2012) explain that during the process of developing his relative poverty approach Joseph Townsend was aware that maintaining a customary standard of living involved more than just having a sufficiently high income. Townsend (1979) explains that many of our challenges in health, housing, electricity, water, sanitation and working conditions of millions of people globally would also affect living standards, and yet these might be determined by factors beyond current income levels in their specific countries and this is a challenge. Alcock et al., (2012) explain these other dimensions of deprivation in the report of his inquiry on poverty (Poverty in the United Kingdom, 1979), where he elaborated that it was this notion of deprivation or lack of resources or income, rather than simply income poverty which better captured the problem of an inadequate standard of living a modern society like in Britain and other western countries. Further, Alcock et al., (2012) add that in the 1980s the main sponsors of a Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) publication (Golding 1986) took up this wider method and the study attempts to raise some pertinent issues on an increasingly wide range of other aspects of society, which could lead to deprivation for those excluded from them.

Alcock et al., (2012) explain that these included information and communication technology, banking and financial services, and leisure activities, all of which are now readily recognizable as essential elements of modern life. Alcock et al., (2012) claim that the CPAG book that he designed excluded the poor and underlined the idea of segregation from social activities as a vital element of the problem of poverty. They add that the problem with poverty does not only arise from what we have but what we do (or do not do) to address poverty which can be a problem in our society. Hence, it is this issue of social exclusion which has begun to accompany poverty as a broader conceptualisation of this key driver of social policy in many countries.

Alcock et al., (2012) add that social exclusion has emerged as a vital issue in the United Kingdom's academic and policy discussion due to the inspiration of European policy-making, where exclusion has emerged as a goal of EU initiatives. In 1997, the Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) emerged, and this was the brainchild of the London School of Economics. Hills et al., (2002) read the notion of exclusion as non-participation in key social activities like consumption-purchasing of goods and services; production-participating in the economically or socially valuable activity; political engagement-involvement in local or national decision making; and social interaction with family, friends, and communities.

Alcock et al., (2012) note that these expanded the approach developed in the CPAG book back in the 1980s; and led the researchers to focus more on different ways of measuring social exclusion using both quantitative and qualitative methods, which revealed that the experience of exclusion varied over time and place as different groups experience different types of exclusion. Alcock et al., (2012), explain that these initiatives were taken further by the Labour government after 1998 with the establishment of a special Social Exclusion Unit reporting directly to the Cabinet Office. This was to reveal the government's commitment to addressing social exclusion.

Alcock et al., (2012), yet the efforts were vital to assist in understanding the challenges faced by the poor in the country. Alcock et al., (2012) add that this unit was not to address all the different aspects of social exclusion noted or highlighted in the study but to focus action on key policy priorities like rough sleeping or homelessness, school exclusion, and teenage pregnancy which are forms of experiences of poverty with the hope that it would influence policy-making across government departments. Despite these efforts by 2010, the coalition government abolished it.

### 2.1.6 The measurement of poverty

Alcock et al., (2012) claim that researchers have tried to develop some means of how poverty can be measured using the broader concept of social exclusion, considering some of the different dimensions involved. They add that the Labour government developed a list of fifty-nine indicators, including school attendance, infant mortality, and fear of crime, and tracked changes in this over time; but this has now been abandoned. Alcock et al., (2012) expand that the Joseph Rowntree Foundation has also supported research over ten years on a list of fifty

comparable pointers (Parekh, MacInnes, & Kenway 2010). The scholarship explains that, however, the complex and changing information that these multiple measures provide does not make it easy to establish general levels of poverty and social exclusion.

Alcock et al., (2012) add that the problem might be a complex one, but there is a need for simple summary measures. They claim this is to some extent recognised by both academics and policy-makers; and in practice, there are some simple measures of poverty and social exclusion which are widely employed by researchers and politicians and do provide important evidence of the scale of the problem. Alcock et al., (2012) add that important here is the data on income levels produced annually in the Households Below Average Income (HBAI) report. This data uses a measure of poverty based on those households with an income below 60 percent of the median average income (that is the mid-point in the income distribution). This is a generally quoted measure; it is combined into the official definition of child poverty and is also adopted in many other developed countries.

Alcock et al., (2012) add that on this measure, 13.5 million people were poor in the United Kingdom in 2008/09. This was around 22 percent of the population and an increase of over one and a half million over four years. This includes 3.9 million children in poverty, over 0.6 million above the initial target of a 25 percent reduction in child poverty in five years, on the way to the 2020 target of removing it. Indeed, progress on reducing child poverty is now in reverse.

Alcock et al., (2012) add that the figure also shows the proportions below 40 percent and 50 percent of the median and it has been adjusted to account for housing costs, as these can vary greatly. But by the 1980s the levels of income inequality rose sharply, and dropped slightly in the early twenty-first century, before starting to rise again over the last few years. Alcock et al., (2012) see these clarifications for these changes are complex, and Hills explores some of them in his famous research on inequality. Hills reveal that the number of people in poverty on this low-income measure has remained high since the 1980s, with only some improvement in the new century under Labour government. However, they suggest that the target of reducing child poverty by 2020 will be huge and will require great changes.

According to Ravallion (1992, 1998); Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), (2012:8) poverty can be assessed objectively or subjectively. They add that individual measures if or not they perceive themselves as poor relative to a specific group and this might not necessarily include the poverty line. For instance, an individual declares the salary level that they regard to be considered to have adequate money to purchase what they need to live (this money may vary

from person to person) and if the salary is lower than the self-rated poverty line, that person is categorised as being poor. Then again, an individual self-measures if his/her salary or general welfare is lower than the average level of citizens residing in the same location. An individual could also declare on a scale of, for example, zero (extremely unhappy) to 10 (extremely happy), how he/she feels about life in general. An individual is categorised as being poor if his/her acceptance of the state of life is under a specific level such as an average of five (Fransman & Yu, 2018).

Objective money-metric poverty can be quantified using the absolute or relative method. The absolute method involves the utilisation of a poverty line that reflects the much-needed salary level to buy a bag of necessary goods for one to live. Govendor et al., (2006:9) claim that relative money-metric deprivation involves the selection of the underprivileged i.e., 20% or 40% portion of the people using a relative poverty line or prescribing a poverty line at a specific percentage of the middle-class per capita income. Census and Community Surveys (CSs); Leibbrandt et al., (2006); Yu (2009) and All Media Products Survey (AMPS); Van der Berg et al., (2005) & (2007), to National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS); October Household Surveys (OHSs) and General Household Surveys (GHSs); Posel & Rogan (2012) all these scholars concur that in this country there's vast experimental research about money-metric poverty since the 1990s, collecting a set of information using numerous datasets, starting from the salary and spending reviews.

StatsSA (2014:2) contends that even though the money-metric method is concentrating on the small income or expenditure patterns classifying the underprivileged, it does not record "the multiple aspects that constitute poverty", as such poverty involves multiple non-money-metric features like health, education, social and physical exclusion, lack of capacity to own assets, provision of services and acceptance of being helpless and defenseless (Fransman & Yu, 2018). Hentschel & Lanjouw (1996:1) maintain that the argument on the actual meaning of poverty carries on despite specific fundamental phases in the analysis of poverty that have become standard. In most cases, persons are categorised based on the welfare indicator – usually salaries or spending on goods and services. Secondly, a poverty line is chosen that distinguishes the underprivileged from the non-poor. Lastly, the poor recognised in this manner are then assessed more carefully in the form of a creation of a poverty profile (Woolard & Leibbrandt, 1999).

## 2.1.7 Classification of Poverty

According to Chambers (1988), poverty has five distinct dimensions:

- “*Poverty proper*” inadequate salary or ability to own assets that can produce income.
- “*Physical weakness*” caused by under-nutrition, illness, or incapacity.
- “*Physical or social isolation* owed to marginal zone, insufficient provision of goods and services, naivety and being uneducated.
- “*Vulnerability*” to the predicament and the danger of being trapped in poverty for sustained periods.
- “*Powerlessness*” in current social, economic, political, and cultural structures.

I need to emphasise from the beginning that this study focuses on all aspects of poverty mentioned above. Even though money metric poverty assessment, possibly offers the greatest objective proxy for poverty standing, the study is by no means implying that other forms of measuring poverty are insignificant. The underprivileged are not troubled completely with enough salaries and expenditure. The ability to achieve other goals like security, independence, and societal involvement might prove to be of importance to enable individuals to buy fundamental goods and services (Woolard & Leibbrandt, 1999).

The nationwide poverty lines were created by applying the cost-of-basic-needs method that connects welfare to the use of goods and services. The lines entail food and non-food proportions of family consumption expenditure.

- *Food poverty lines* – **R561** (in April 2019 prices) individually per month. This specifies the amount of money that each person will require to purchase the minimum needed day-to-day energy intake. This category is usually regarded as the “extreme” poverty line.
- *Lower-bound poverty lines* -**R810** (in April 2019) individually per month. This money refers to the food poverty line, including the average money resulting from non-food items in the house that has the total spending equivalent to the food poverty line.
- *Upper bound poverty line* – R1 227 (in April 2019 prices) individually per month. This talks to the food poverty line including the average amount resulting from items of the house that has food spending that is equivalent to the food poverty line (Statistics South Africa, 2019:3).



Table 1: The table below shows inflation-adjusted national poverty lines for 2019 (per person per month in Rands)

| Poverty line                    | 2019-line values |
|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Food poverty line (FPL)         | 561              |
| Lower-bound poverty line (LBPL) | 810              |
| Upper-bound poverty line (UBPL) | 1 227            |

## 2.1.8 An Understanding of the root causes of poverty in Khayelitsha

The current economic inequalities in Khayelitsha are in many ways politically designed by the previous apartheid state to promote capitalism/wealth along racial lines and exclude Africans or blacks from participating actively in the economic activities of the city in particular and the country in general. These political designs favoured whites at the expense of blacks. It is for these reasons that the ANC and other Mass Movement Leaders felt there was the need to fight and overthrow this evil system since they equated apartheid with capitalism. This systemic inequality has not been overturned since 1994.

These sentiments have been founded on the observation that indeed there has been an almost visible symbiotic relation between apartheid and capitalism in industrial society (Wilson, 1976). Motlhabi (1986:15) understands “apartheid” as meaning the enforced separation of different racial groups in a community. This was the pattern of race relations in South Africa. At its roots was a pass system for Africans. The symbiosis between apartheid and capitalism could be seen in apartheid’s key role in the development of capitalism in South Africa. Capitalism in turn contributed to the maintenance of the system of apartheid. Each could not have survived without the other. The legacy of apartheid is the main factor in the economic crisis and the high level of poverty that disadvantaged South Africa finds itself in.

The mining capitalists wanted the government to legislate laws that were favorable and conducive for capitalism to thrive in. Thus, the mining sector came to pioneer and entrench a system, which soon spread to all sectors of the economy. This system of apartheid-capitalism working relationship set a precedent, which became an everlasting feature in the fabric of the South African political and economic civil society (Lodge, 1983). One of the disturbing features of the apartheid-capitalism nexus is how the former undermined the economic

empowerment of other races besides the whites. The law of the land was designed to deny these racial groups – notably the Africans-the opportunity to uplift themselves economically.

The institution of a migrant labour system is one of the many examples of how racial laws were used to advantage capitalism through the misappropriation of cheap labour. Ndingaye (2005) notes that due to the fixing of the gold price and the expense accrued by the importance of machinery and skilled labour, mining capitalists were frustrated by the small profits that they extracted. As a way of accruing more profits, black cheap labour was targeted for exploitation. Wilson (1976) claims that a series of labour-orientated laws like the Pass Laws, the Native Services Contract Act, the Masters, and Servants Act, and the Native's Labour Regulations were legislated to exclude Africans from the benefits of certain labour rewards. By denying them their freedom of movement, the Pass Laws effectively limited their bargaining power, exposing them to exploitation by a certain type of employer and excluding them from enjoying benefits to be derived from the Industrial Conciliation Act.

The cheap labour system was meant to advantage capitalism and enabled it to reap huge surpluses and profits at the expense of blacks. Johnstone (1972) further observes that the 1913 Land Act was amongst the most central laws which actively promoted Capitalism. In any given society, ownership of land and/or access to it is a fundamental basis of all wealth and power. It is from the land that man derives his existence. This is also supported by Noyo (2005) who reveals that the 1913 Native Land Act deprived many Africans of land and made them dependent on Whites for employment.

Ndingaye (2005) adds that through depriving Africans of land, the state effectively proletarianised Africans or made them working-class, relegating and reducing them to be forever dependent on the low wages meted out to them by their capitalist masters. Ndingaye adds that through a combination of low wages, high taxes, and strict restrictive labour laws apartheid has rendered Blacks, Indians, and Coloured landless, desolate, and impoverished, while the white minority lives in affluence. Interestingly, in post-apartheid South Africa, the legacy of apartheid and capitalism continues to influence the direction of issues in the country. The impact of these relationships is visible in the country post-1990s, as the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer. What is true is that the political economy of South Africa is mainly about apartheid and capitalism. Post-1990, the two continue to coexist even at a time when South Africa is seeking a new political identity.

## 2.1.9 The indicators of poverty in Khayelitsha

As pointed out by former President Thabo Mbeki poverty can be read from two angles, firstly the settlements where people live and secondly the dignity of the people. Interestingly, most of the literature turns to refer to issues of poverty only concerning income, and this overlooks other vital angles of human well-being, such as settlements, health, education mobility, and self-respect. Flowing from the above, Klasen, (1997) notes that “income only constitutes an important input to well-being... it does not measure the level; of well-being itself. This argument holds that other measures of the physical, intellectual, and emotional status and development of household members are required to complement income figures. These include the measurement of such intangible qualities of “sense of empowerment” and self-esteem is difficult but contends that it is vital to a full description and understanding of poverty. In some countries, income-based measures are calculated per household and thus obscure both differences in household size and composition and unequal distribution of income and consumption within households.

Further criticisms of the income-based measures do not consider goods and services produced by households for their consumption (subsistence) rather than the sale and thus do not accurately reflect the wealth of a household. Poverty is the condition of having insufficient resources or income. In its most extreme form, poverty is a lack of basic human needs, like adequate and nutritious food, clothing, housing, clean water, and health services. Extreme poverty can cause terrible suffering and death in some cases.

Regan (1996) expands that the Third World Countries with the poorest people live mainly in the developing areas of Africa, and they mostly struggle daily for food, shelter, and other necessities. Estimated levels of poverty have been mentioned. From 1969 to 1971, about 33% of the population of the sub-Saharan African region was poverty-stricken. These figures rose to 37% in 1994. The respective figures for America were 19% and 13%, while those in Asia were 29% and 20%. Both Asia and Latin America had a decreased level of poverty while in the United States it has increased.

## 2.1.10 The concept of civil society

The concept of civil society has been examined and interrogated by many scholars and in many settings. These efforts had given the concept different meanings. These different conceptualisations have generated more confusion than consensus. In this study, the researcher shall extract definitions of civil society that are proximate and most relevant to gain insights into the efforts of exploring the different definitions of poverty between urban social movements and governments in Khayelitsha. The researcher shall examine the concept of civil society and its different types and the notion of urban social movements. For White (2004:10) civil society is an intermediate associational realm between state and family, populated by voluntarily constituted organizations that are separate from the state and enjoy the autonomy to it. This conceptualisation is vital in this inquiry as it identifies civil society by differentiating it from other sectors organized and driven by the state or by the market and working above the threshold in which biology and intimacy are predominant (as in the family and close friendships).

Cohen & Arato (1992) read civil society as “a sphere of social interaction between economy, and state, composed above the entire intimate sphere (especially the family). This is the sphere of associations’ especially voluntary associations, social movements, and forms of public communication. In the long term, “both independent action and institutionalisation are necessary for the reproduction of civil society” (Cohen & Arato, 1992).

He further opines that “civil society is the domain that can potentially mediate between the state and private sectors and offer women and men space for activities that are simultaneously voluntary and public; a space that unites the virtue of the private sector liberty with the virtue of the public sector concern for the general good” (Barber, 1995:10). Civil society here is seen as independent from the state and the market and plays an important role in mediating between the citizens and the states in alleviating poverty in Khayelitsha township.

## 2.1.11 Different types of civil society organisations

This section unpacks the different types of civil societies. This is vital as not all civil society organisations focused on alleviating poverty. Houtzager & Lavallo (2010) affirm that in Brazil

just like in South Africa there are five different types of civil societies. These organisations are diverse (Houtzager & Lavallo 2010).

The five groups of civil societies include associations, coordinators, advocacy NGOs, service not for profit, and others that do not fit within the four categories (Houtzager & Lavallo 2010:14). The first of these groups is the associations that are made up of a variety of local and territorial-based actors that have either direct members or work on behalf of a territorially defined community (Lavallo et al., 2005). In the case of South Africa, this may be the South African Civic Organisation (SANCO). Secondly, the scholar notes that Coordinators are social actors who bring together other collective actors or represent the interest of issue-based imagined communities at local, state, provincial, or national levels (Lavallo et al., 2005). They coordinate debate and action amongst member organisations and mediate relations with the state. In South Africa organisations like the former non-governmental organisation (NGO) People's Dialogue, and presently the Slum Dwellers International can be seen as good examples of CSOs operating as Coordinators (Mohamed, 2009:47).

Besides, there are also advocacy NGOs that have as their core function, the transformation of social issues into public issues, and campaigning around these issues to influence public policy or private behavior, be it at the local provincial, national, or transnational level (Mohamed 2009:48). The relationship between these organisations and the beneficiaries is that of a target group where there have often been no direct contacts as well as no formal membership (Houtzager & Lavallo, 2010:14). The next groups are the service for a non-profit which has as their primary task the provision of services to the individual client (Houtzager & Lavallo, 2010:15). These may include the provision of services as charity or as an effort to empower disadvantaged individuals.

These may include actors who provide professional training or employment counseling, food for the homeless, medical care, and shelter for battered or abused women. Many of these groups in Sao Paulo have religious roots and deliver most of these services on behalf of the state (Houtzager & Lavallo 2010:15). Lavallo et al., (2005) observe that another group of civil societies is the new social movements. This term is used with reference to the excess of protest movements that emerged in Western societies in the mid-1960s and which differ significantly from the conventional movements. Buechler (2000) views new social movements as a diverse array of collective actions that have displaced the old social movements of the proletarian revolution. These movements differ from the traditional social movements centered on economic concerns that had previously dominated following Marxist paradigms, such as the

labour movement. Lastly, Lavallo et al., (2005) termed others are the class of civil society which is a grouping of philanthropic foundations, pastoral organizations of the Catholic Church, and others, such as classic civil society actors as the Lion Club and Rotary clubs. New social movements are a diverse array of collective actions that have displaced the old social movements of the proletarian revolution (Buechler, 2000).

Again, Tilly, (2003) as cited by White (2008) views social movement as; “a sustained challenge to power-holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power-holders by utilising repeated public displays of that population’s worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment” (Tilly, 2003:23). Interestingly, White (2008) again citing Tarrow’s view of social movements, suggests that social movements are best defined as “collective challenges, based on the common purposes and social solidarities in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities” (Tarrow 1998:4). This definition resonates with the activities of USMs in Khayelitsha as they are fighting to alleviate poverty and improve the living conditions of the poor. Thus, the activities of these movements could be read as a new social movement or urban social movement as they pursue common interests around urban issues like housing, health, education, incomes, and basic services like electricity, water, and sanitation.

### 2.1.12 The concept of urban social movements

Urban social movements (USMs) are mostly urban-based and their origins lie in the history of urbanisation, particularly industrialisation in western Europe, as Tilly (2004) contends that in Great Britain after the 1960s, the rapid growth of a property-less, wage-dependent, and urbanising working-class compelled urban citizens to develop direct connections with the national government. Jacobsson (2014:1) hypothesises that cities have emerged as the theatre where the most critical social conflicts play out. This departs from the understanding that urban areas are incubators of revolutionary ideas, ideals, and urban movements (Harvey 2012), as cities attract people from divergent backgrounds.

Furthermore, Castells (1977) posits that the problem is that USMs have as its axis the forms of articulation between ‘urban’ struggles and ‘political’ struggles characterised by contradictions and mobilisation towards advancing urban claims of particular groups. USMs are defined as a system of practices whose “development tends objectively towards the structural transformation of the urban system” Castells (1977:263). Thus, USMs emphasise “the potential

of urban struggles to express structural contradictions and assist in bringing about radical changes in the political power” when the struggles link up with the polity (Pickvance 2003). Castells (1983:202) describes USMs as entities working collectively to attain certain goals for their urban communities. He adds that these goals are raising the standards of collective consumption issues, furthering the community culture, and reaching for political self-management. This resonates with Badiou (2005) who reads ‘collective’ to mean universalising which includes all concerned in the struggle to upgrade these areas in Khayelitsha. Castells (1983:202) interprets these USMs as changing ‘urban meanings’ or mental models and by influencing the conception of ‘urban meaning’ USMs can bring about structural social change in urban settings like providing houses, electricity, water and sanitation in Khayelitsha.

These USMs are fighting and advocating for defining common concerns and are important actors who explain the structural transformation of familiar problems of people’s livelihoods in Khayelitsha (Friedmann 2011). Gradually the study of grassroots urban social movements are gaining ascendancy as globally, more than half of the world’s population now lives in cities and other urban areas. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that urban problems became central to both policy-makers and civil society actors worldwide (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016; New Urban Agenda 2016). This turns to reveal why both the government and urban social movements read poverty in Khayelitsha differently. Whereas these urban populations bring urban development which in turn brings huge social, economic, and environmental transformations and the rise of negative social processes, again, it comes as no surprise that some key social conflicts nowadays concern urban issues and often center on socio-spatial rights and needs. These urban struggles include the growing privatisation of both services like housing, electricity, and water and places in Khayelitsha (Lorrain & Stoker 1997; Becker et al., 2017).

Further, the gentrification processes push low-income groups out of upscaling neighborhoods (Beauregard 1986; Freeman 2009); and the lack of affordable housing in Khayelitsha and accessible public spaces for many in these areas (Appadurai 2001; Soja 2010). While a profit-oriented logic is increasingly shaping the cities, they tend to become less livable and less adapted to the residents’ needs like those in Khayelitsha (Massam 2002; Harvey 2008; Marcuse 2013).

### 2.1.13 The concept of social justice

According to Sullivan (2006), social justice is often construed as a distributive concept meaning that all people should be treated equitably concerning receiving whatever social benefits are available in life in a specific society. There are many situations in life where equality is not an inherent condition or may not even be possible. Sometimes, it can appear as though state institutions and government legislation are biased in favour of the better off in society, and that they often contrive to exacerbate the oppression of those in the social group. This can result in those at the bottom of the social ladder, suffering the effects of injustice and inequity.

The concept of social justice for Van den Bos (2003) is generally described as the fair and equitable distribution of power, resources, and obligations in society to all people, regardless of their race or ethnicity, age, gender, ability status, sexual orientation, and religious or spiritual background. According to Sue (2001), the main principles undergirding this definition include values of inclusion, collaboration, cooperation, equal access, and equal opportunity. Such values are also the foundation of a democratic and egalitarian. Much research documents the adverse effects of poverty and inequality on the physical, psychological, and social development of adolescents (e.g., Evans and Kim 2007; Hay et al., 2007). For example, Abernathy et al., (2002) note that adverse health outcomes start in infancy, as poverty is associated with higher rates of infant mortality. In their study, they assessed how the home environment and family income level affect adolescents' physical well-being. The results showed negative health as they are poorly nourished. The psychological effects of living in poverty are equally problematic during adolescence.

Adolescents living in poverty often cope with stressful life situations, such as domestic disputes or Gender-Based violence, divorce, and neighborhood violence, at a higher rate than youth from families with adequate income (Center for Disease Control 2007). In addition, adolescents of color are more likely than White adolescents to live in the poorest, crime-ridden neighborhoods, which places them in a disadvantaged position.

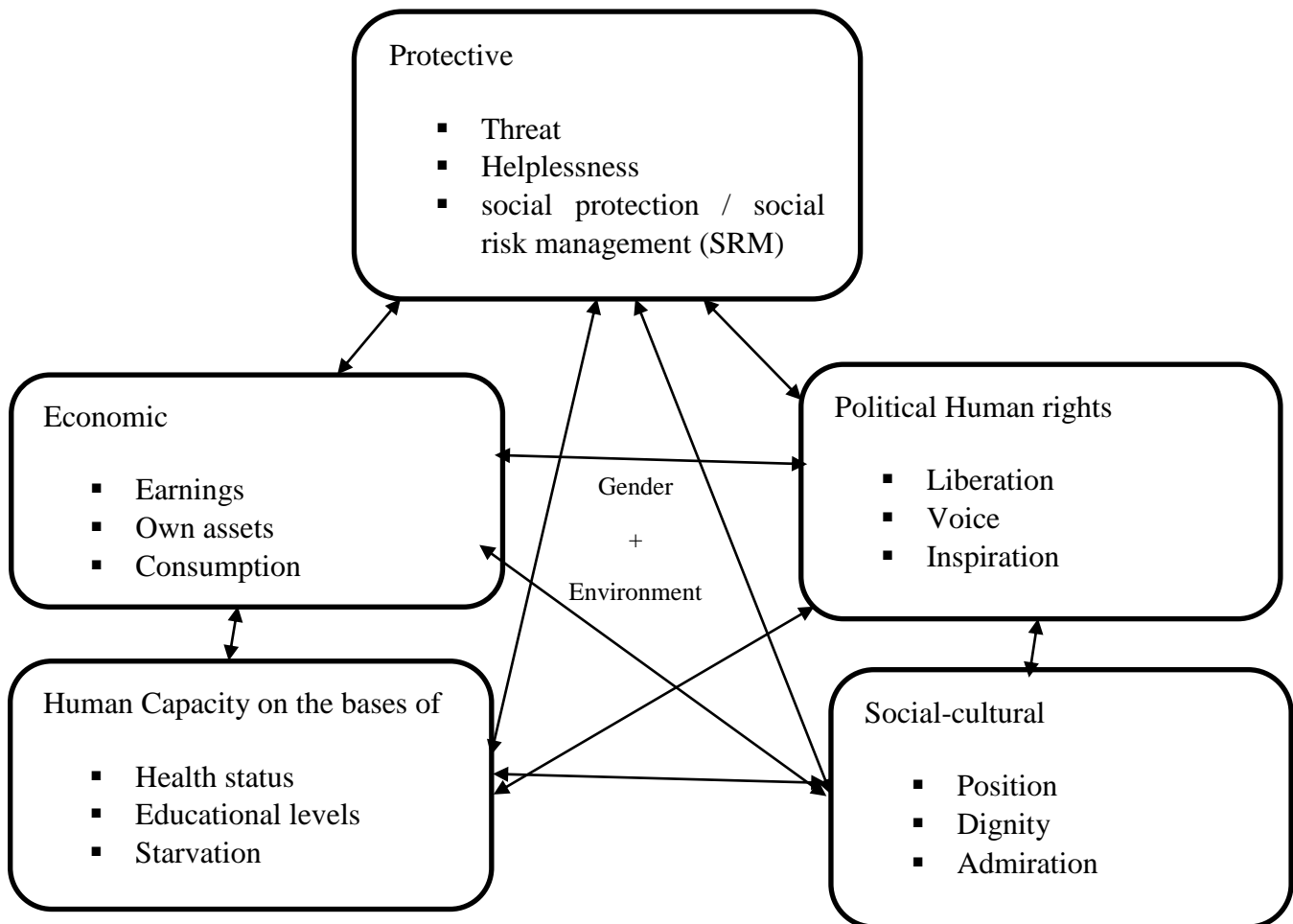
The DAC has assumed the capabilities method to poverty, emphasized that poverty consequences are influenced by the individuals and family's ability and that these competencies are interrelated. Nonetheless, the DAC stresses that distinction amongst capabilities is vital for



both analysis and to enable the development of sound policies and interventions. DAC sketches the following mentioned 5 capabilities/dimensions:

Protective, Economic, Political, Human and Socio-Cultural (OECD, 2001).

**Figure 2:** Povnet’s Multi-dimensional poverty framework (POVNET-01)



(Source: OECD, The DAC Guidelines Poverty Reduction, 2001)

## 2.1.14 The Legislative Framework of the study or the birth of local government in South Africa

This section of the study examines the role of local government as an agent to address poverty in Khayelitsha. Williams (2003:2) notes that the new ANC government took steps to reform society and one of the sectors was the creation of local government. He adds that this was to ensure that the government is brought closer to the people to meet their material needs, especially the previously dispossessed and neglected communities who were abandoned like in Khayelitsha. This then saw the inclusion of Section 152 of the new Constitution of 1996 which includes, among others the object of Local government (1) (a) to provide a democratic and accountable government for local communities and community organisations in matters of local government.

Barichievy et al., (2005) point out that in terms of the Local Government Municipal Structures Act, Act 117 of 1998, but especially the Local Government Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000 through which municipalities are required to complement their formal structures of representative government with a system of “participatory governance.” Piper and Von Lieres (2008:5) weave in that participatory governance include allowing all residents, a say in the passing of by-laws, the development of the Municipal budget, IDP, and Municipal Performance. Hence, the transformation of the socio-economic and material conditions and poverty reduction falls squarely in the hands of the municipality.

This is community participation, which Williams (2005) describes as the direct involvement of the community and community-based organisations (CBOs) in decision-making in services. Indeed, Williams (2009:16) concurs that though the overall post-apartheid urban transformation policies revolve around historical challenges of not only housing patterns but also the land ownership patterns but these issues have not been addressed. This is shared by The Municipal Structures Act (1998), The Municipal Systems Act (2000), and the White Paper on Local Government (1998) which all mandates the municipality the task of planning and delivering land, houses, water, and basic services to all the residents of the municipality. The Constitution (1996) again states in section 26 (2) that, “Everyone has the right to access adequate housing. In terms of Section 27 of the constitution (1996) “Everyone has the right to have access to...sufficient food and water and social security.” These constitutional provisions reveal that the city has the responsibility to alleviate poverty in Khayelitsha.

Tissington (2011) illuminates that in terms of the 1996 Constitution Part B of Schedule 4 assigns municipalities with the task of the provision of water and sanitation services limited to potable water supply systems, domestic waste-water, and sewage disposal. This was to reduce poverty in the Khayelitsha Township. Tissington (2011) again adds that the Municipal Systems

Act, Act 32 of 2000 detailed that basic services constitute the right to municipal services which is enshrined in section 73 of the Act. The vision was to ensure that services are closer to the people to alleviate poverty. Williams (2003:8) explains that in terms of Co-operative Governance even if councils do not have the resources to provide services, the provincial or national government must assist to deliver the resources and reduce poverty in the township of Khayelitsha.

The above narrative is well recognised internationally as Ortiz (2007:7), weaves in that modern government is based on a social contract between citizens and the state in which rights and duties are agreed to by all to further the common interest. In this light, citizens lend their support to a government through taxes and efforts for a country's good; in exchange, governments obtain legitimacy by protecting the citizen's rights and through public policies that benefit all.

However, policy-making is often captured by powerful groups and elites, making government policies biased and unaccountable to most citizens. This is the reality in the city of Cape Town where political parties have captured the power and are no longer listening to the plight of most residents in the city like those in Khayelitsha township.

## 2.2 The Theoretical Framework

This section explores the different theories driving this study, which are the human capital and the capability theories.

### 2.2.1 Human Capital Theory

This section explores the human capital theory. This theory examines the earnings of individuals, and it is one of the major determinants of poverty. It was first developed by Becker & Mincer (1975) it explains both individuals' decisions to invest in human capital in issues like education and training and the pattern of individuals' lifetime earnings. Becker & Mincer (1975) expand that individuals' different levels of investment in education and training are explained in terms of their expected returns from the investment.

Becker & Mincer (1975) add that investments in education and training entail costs, both in the form of direct expenses (e.g., tuition) and foregone earnings during the investment period like

those in Khayelitsha. Thus, only persons who will be compensated by sufficiently higher lifetime earnings will choose to invest. Becker & Mincer (1975) note that people who expect to work less in the labor market and have fewer labor market opportunities, like women are unlikely to invest in human capital. As a result, these women may have lower earnings and may be more likely to be in poverty like in Khayelitsha.

Becker (1975:43) avers that human capital theory explains the pattern of individuals' lifetime earnings. He adds that the pattern of individuals' earnings is such that they start low (when the individual is young) and increase with age although earnings tend to fall as individuals near retirement. The human capital theory states that earnings start low when people are young because younger people are more likely to invest in human capital and will have to forego earnings as they invest.

Younger people are more likely to invest in human capital than older people because they have a longer remaining work-life to benefit from their investment and their foregone wages and so the costs of investing are lower. Earnings then increase rapidly with age as new skills are acquired. Finally, as workers grow older, the pace of human capital investment and thus productivity slows, leading to slower earnings growth. At the end of a person's working life, skills may have depreciated, because of the lack of continuous human capital investment and the aging process.

This depreciation contributes to the downturn in average earnings near retirement age (Ehrenberg & Smith 1991). To the extent that poverty follows earnings, we might predict a similar relationship between age and poverty, with poverty more likely for the young and elderly. Consistent with this prediction, Bane & Ellwood (1986) find that a sizable portion of all poverty spells begin when a young man or woman moves out of a parent's home-an event often associated with getting further education or training-and that these poverty spells are relatively short with an average duration of fewer than three years (1986:16-17).

While much empirical work tends to support the human capital theory, it is a theory of human capital investment and labor market earnings, not poverty. As discussed, earnings are only one of the main determinants of poverty. Non-earnings, income, and family composition are other vital determinants that human capital theory does not explain. Thus, the human capital theory cannot be considered a complete theory of poverty and it is complemented by the capability theory.

## 2.2.2 Amartya Sen's capability approach

The capability approach of Amartya Sen (2009) focuses on what people can do and be, as opposed to what they have, or how they feel. Sen (2009) argues that, in analysing well-being, we should shift our focus from 'the means of living', such as income, to the 'actual opportunities a person has', namely their functioning and capabilities (Sen, 2009:253). Sen adds that the concept of 'Functioning' refers to the various things a person succeeds in 'doing or being', like participating in the life of society and being healthy among others. Sen (1999:75) adds that 'capabilities' refer to a person's real or substantive freedom to achieve such functioning; like the ability to take part in the life of a society like Khayelitsha. Another factor worth noting is the stress on real or substantive-as opposed to formal freedom since the capabilities are opportunities that one could exercise if they desire. The capability approach places specific stress on the capabilities a person has, regardless of whether they choose to exercise these or not.

## 2.3 Chapter Conclusion

The study explores the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha and as explained earlier, several urban social movements are assisting the urban poor in Khayelitsha to fight for social justice to address poverty. But a good understanding of the different dynamics of poverty is vital. Social movements such as the SJC assist residents to mount pressure on the city of Cape Town to provide electricity, water and sanitation, and waste removal services.

Another social movement is the Abahlali base Mjondolo is the largest social movement in the country with members mainly from informal settlements in Durban and others in Khayelitsha (Abahlali 2016a). The members see themselves as a movement of the militant urban poor, comprising entirely of shack dwellers and militate for formal houses in the townships.

The other organisation fighting for the alleviation of poverty in Khayelitsha is the Ses'Khona People's Right Movement (SPRM). Robins (2014) agrees and explains how the SPRM had mobilised the community to compel the city to deliver land, houses, electricity, water, and sanitation on an equitable basis to all. Conradie (2015) illuminates how Ses'Khona engaged the city to construct houses for the residents and through that alleviate poverty.

Another USM fighting poverty alleviation is the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) which is involved in AIDS/HIV activism. The organisation fought with the government to offer anti-retroviral drugs to stop the spread of HIV from mothers to their unborn babies. These SMs aim to mount substantive pressure on the city to provide services and reduce poverty among the urban poor. In a way, these activities lead to the practice of social justice, which ensures that the previously marginalised are provided with basic services. These movements ensure that all people of Khayelitsha should be treated in an equitable man.

## CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter explored the literature review. It started by unpacking the conceptual framework which provided clarifications on the main concepts driving the study. It also explains the legislative which explains the national legislation on addressing urban poverty which is the mandate of local government and the theoretical framework which grounds, this thesis on an exploration of the different dynamics and nature of poverty: the case study of Khayelitsha. This chapter examines the research methodology that was used in gathering the data for an exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha. The study will explain concepts like the research methodology, research paradigm, research design, qualitative research, case study research, interviews, focus group discussions and telephonic interviews, document review and triangulation of data and data analysis, and ethical consideration.

### 3.2 Research Methodology

This section of the thesis explores the research methodology. To conduct any form of inquiry, we need to be guided by a specific research methodology. Webster (1998:64) describes research methodology as the analysis of the principles of methods, rules, and hypotheses employed by a discipline; the development of methods; procedures to be applied within a discipline. Leedy (1993) reads a research methodology as an operating outline within which the facts are placed so that their meaning may be seen more clearly; it also details the research design used in the study.

Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis & Bezuidenhout (2014:289) illustrate that the research methodology consists of two major aspects that the researcher requires to deliberate in the methodology. The researcher needs to discuss how data will be collected. Secondly, the researcher needs to discuss how the data will be analysed after the collection. The next matter to be clarified is whether the researcher will be conducting basic research or applied research, or a combination

of both. Basic research is characteristically utilised to create basic understanding and to study and develop theories to clarify a particular phenomenon.

Secondly, there are applied research studies on pragmatic problems to enable the identification of solutions that can be implemented in practice. This then leads to the research paradigm.

### 3.3 The Research Paradigm

During the investigation, the researcher must be certain of the value of data to be collected in answering the overarching research question and achieving the research objectives. In this case, a research paradigm is vital as it helps to guide the researcher in making critical decisions or choices in the study. A research paradigm is an inclusive system of related practices and thinking that defines the nature of inquiry along three dimensions which are ontology, epistemology, and methodology (TerreBlanche & Durrheim 1999).

Bryman (2012:630) asserts that Thomas Kuhn is accountable for devising the term “paradigm”. The paradigm defines “a cluster of beliefs and dictates which for scientists in a particular discipline influence what should be studied, how research should be done, and how results should be interpreted.” The concept of a paradigm is mainly applied in the natural sciences. In social science, paradigms are more likely to be regarded as research traditions or global views. Nonetheless, what is more, significant is to understand that by adhering to a specific paradigm or research custom, researchers assume a particular way of investigating a problem associated with their domain. Kuhn further recognises that when the scholars accept and pursue specific methods and processes of conducting research, they are inevitably confronted with challenges and discrepancies (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014:19).

This study made use of social constructivism and the interpretive paradigm. This is so as it seeks to explore the dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha. Social constructivism is vital as it is concerned with understanding the world as it is from the subjective experiences of individuals. Hence, the study would be utilising meaning (and not measurement-oriented methodologies), like interviewing or participant observation, that rely on a subjective relationship between the researcher and subjects. It should be noted that “Interpretive research does not predefine dependent and independent variables: but focused on the full complexity of human sense-making as the situation emerges” (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994:3). It is based on this



understanding of social constructivism that the qualitative approach was adopted and not the quantitative to gain meaning in this study.

### 3.4 The Exploratory Research

This study also used exploratory research to gain insights into the phenomenon. Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., (2014:12) maintain that in exploratory research, the purpose is to collect new data on a specific topic that has not been investigated before, for example: To what level do the country's media represent the needs of the bigger population within the country? Research that has the general aim of exploration frequently refers to the research of an unfamiliar subject. As per our social, and technological methods change; fiscal new areas of study arise nonstop. Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., (2014) add that exploratory research can be conducted due to the following goals: to gain new perceptions using the preliminary test or pilot test; to classify important concepts, to identify major partners; to recognise social needs; to identify outcomes of the research problems; to develop hypothesis; to verify expectations; to get used with unfamiliar conditions, policies, and patterns.

When doing exploratory research, data reliability and correctness are normally not scientific standards as the study design must be flexible to allow perceptions of unidentified fields of the study. The research approach applied in exploratory research involves qualitative methods like individual case studies and focus group discussions (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., (2014).

### 3.5 The Qualitative Research Method

The qualitative research method is aimed at exploring the different problems or cases as well as uncovering the quality of whatever is being investigated (Niewenhuis, 2007). Creswell (2012) views qualitative research as responses that have been given by subjects in a study in the form of words that subjectively do not use numbers to describe reality to the researcher; it can also be collected from primary and secondary sources.

Creswell (2014) further avers that numerous characters in a study need to be effectively examined so that qualitative research can be assessed. He adds that qualitative research uses multiple approaches and procedures for the collection of data. Scholars like Maxwell (2005) concur that qualitative research should be guided by intellectual objectives so that an

understanding of the meanings assigned by the respondent to events and situations, the specific context in which respondents are situated, and the processes that contribute to situation, events, and actions should be well exploited, thus it evolves creative clarification of occurrence.

Maree (2011) explains that the world is made up of people with different beliefs and assumptions, attitudes, and values. The scholarship points out that by exploring the expertise of others about the occurrence, the reality of the matter will be known. Qualitative research is thus an act of acknowledging the interactive relationship between researchers and participants. Participants and their experiences and how they have constituted reality based on those experiences.

This study employed a qualitative method of research to give rise to in-depth views on an explanation of the dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha. There are different approaches in qualitative research to gather in-depth data. These include narrative, life history, ethnographic, case study, self-study, etc. The researcher employed the use of open-ended emerging data with the primary objective of developing themes from the data. The researcher views this approach as deemed fit for the study of the different dynamics of poverty because it is an assessment and participants' contributions will assist the researcher in developing a pattern of understanding the phenomenon. Also, the qualitative method provided answers to the questions about what, why, and how on an exploration of the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha.

However, the qualitative research design has some inherent limitations. Amongst these limitations are the generalisations of findings which not possible or not allowed, that is, findings emerging from a study cannot be generalised to a large population compared to the quantitative research method. Whereas Atieno (2009) claims that quantitative research findings can be tested to discover the statistical significance unlike in qualitative research. Also, in the qualitative research approach, conducting interviews for data collection is a long process and time-consuming. The analysis of the data also is time-consuming as these data are too voluminous and need to be arranged into themes. Besides, there is a problem when it comes to proving the reliability and validity of the research findings. This is because one would have to redo research that has been conducted thus duplications and repetition is common and time-consuming (Anderson, 2010).

Nonetheless, the researcher deemed the qualitative approach suitable to gather and analyse data needed to explore the different dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha. Also, the method was used due to the complex nature of research objectives and research questions

which warrant an assessment of realistic outcomes. This requires an in-depth inquiry which was done by asking questions from the community on the different dynamics of poverty in the township.

### 3.6 The Research Design

According to Flick (2004), the research design is a strategy to gather and analyse data to allow the scholar to respond to the research questions. Miles & Huberman (1994:40) explain that research design is the bond that holds the research together, arguably enabling the researcher to tie all the key parts of the research project together to assist in answering the main research question (s).

Creswell (1994:21) agrees and notes that a research design is a series of events that link the procedures for gathering the empirical data to the primary research question on the one hand, and the ensuing data collection, analysis, and conclusions on the other. It is this design that relates to the practical aspects of how the study was conducted to answer the research question on exploring the different dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha township. I have employed case study research as part of my research design in this investigation.

### 3.7 The Case Study Research

In line with a qualitative method, case study research was deemed suitable for this study. Yin (2008) explains that case study research is a careful method of collecting information about a certain unit of analysis which may include but not be limited to, individuals, groups, communities, organisations, or even a country. The choice of case study method was selected based on its strength. Miles & Huberman (1994) explain that the strength of a case study is rooted in its intensive description approach and analyses of a phenomenon, social unit, or system bounded by time and place.

Interestingly, there are different types of case studies. Among these different types of case studies that exist, the study employed a holistic embedded single-case design as noted by Yin (2003:42). This is central in that when researchers are interested in looking at the same issue but are now captivated by different decisions made by different stakeholders within the same area, then a holistic embedded unit would enable the researcher to explore the case: while

considering the influence of the various variables and associated attributes on the phenomenon (Yin, 2003:42).

This is crucial as the study seeks to explore the different dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha. Case studies are designed to bring out the views of the participants by using multiple data sources like interviews, focus group discussions, and observations. In this case, data were collected from multiple sources from civil society organisations, Councillors, and politicians. These case studies have their caveats.

Case studies have been criticised by many citing the absence of scientific quality and reliability and that they do not resolve the problems of a broader population. For example, a case study allows the researcher to obtain a general understanding of a specific problem or series of activities and can offer an overview given that several sources of findings were applied. Further, another limitation of a case study is that it can be valuable in taking the developing and inherent properties of life in companies and the outgoing tide and flow of the company's events, particularly in situations where the transition happens quickly (Noor, 2008).

Case studies are described as ideographic research methods; meaning approaches that investigate persons as individuals as opposed to members of society. Case studies are normally descriptive and offer an abundance of long-term material on persons or specific circumstances. Case studies have the capacity of providing fresh ideas and hypotheses to arise from cautious and thorough observation. The case studies do have restrictions given that there might be challenges with confirming or qualifying the information, underlying factors prove to be complex to test, and conclusions cannot be made from a single case study (Blanche, Durrheim & Painter 2006). Despite these caveats, this study employed a case study approach to gain insights into the study.

### 3.8 Research Sampling

This section of the study unpacks the concept of a research sample. Turner (2020) explains that the number of subjects or participants from which the data is collected is known as sampling. The sample used subjects or participants that represented a typical group of individuals within a particular context. In this light, the study selected individuals who are knowledgeable on the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha.

### 3.8.1 Purposive Sampling

As captured earlier, sampling denotes the selection of a smaller section of the population planned to appropriately represent the behavioural patterns of a whole population in each context. This study, therefore, applied the purposive sampling approach as a suitable method for data collection. The participants are selected based on their specific traits distinguishing them from the others and this is called purposive sampling (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:79). The researcher therefore resorted to utilizing the purposive sampling technique so that the best possible source of information can be obtained to answer the research questions.

In this study political elites like the Ward Councillor of Site C, Khayelitsha Ward 18, 1 Chairperson of the South African Civic Organisation (SANCO), and the Secretary-General of the organisation. Also, 2 City of Cape Town officials and members of urban social movements like the Social Justice Coalition (2) and Abahlali base Mjondolo (1) and community-based organisations like Khayelitsha Peace-building Team the Chairperson, and the Secretary-General were selected to best represent the sample.

The careful selection of this sample enabled the researcher to engage deeply with these groups on the topic at hand, which is an exploration of the dynamics of poverty: a case study of Khayelitsha. In general, sampling enabled the selection of information-rich cases. In addition, the ward councillors, the Khayelitsha Peace-building Team, and the SANCO leadership with Abahlali members had unique backgrounds in terms of their socio-economic description as they live in the area.

### 3.8.2 Participants

This section explores the details of the participants that were selected for the study. As noted above a total of 25 participants were enlisted for the study in the qualitative data collection. But due to the Covid 19 pandemic, many of these participants turned down the request and only 16 agreed to participate in the study. This comprised 1 Ward Councillor, 3 Officials from the City of Cape Town, 1 Chairperson of SANCO, 1 SANCO Secretary-General, 2 members from the SJC, 2 representatives from the KPBT, and 2 from Abahlali base Mjondolo.

The choice of these participants is because they are directly involved in fighting poverty in Khayelitsha and therefore they have in-depth knowledge of the community especially as most of them work and others live in the community.

The participants were drawn from political circles, municipal administrators, civic organisations, urban social movements working on poverty alleviation, and community-based organisations working in the community of Khayelitsha. There was a total of 16 participants who had in-depth knowledge of poverty issues in the community of Khayelitsha and are familiar with the area.

In addition, 10 participants were males and 6 were females. There was an intensive investigation of both individuals and groups. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with civil society organisations. This provided detailed responses and captured feelings, meanings, and understandings thereby getting more in-depth information on an exploration of the dynamics of poverty: a case study of Khayelitsha.

Further, focus group discussions with groups of civil society organisations, 8 were conducted to incorporate both interviewing and discussions. Authorities such as Nyumba et al., (2014:23) recommended a minimum of three to four group meetings for simple research topics. Given that this was simple research limited to a small community this was thought vital, but due to Covid 19 and its restrictions, this was not possible, so I conducted only one focus group. Focus groups facilitated observation of group dynamics, discussion, and clear insights into the participants.

As mentioned above, due to the Covid 19 Pandemic I had to conduct 3 telephone interviews since the participants turned down the idea of face-to-face in-depth structured interviews.

### 3.9 Research Methods: data collection tools or sources

According to Dale & Volpe (2008:28), qualitative researchers are in most cases concerned about the validity of their messages and reducing the likelihood of misinterpretation of how various procedures are used in collecting data to answer the research question.

In this study, the key methods for gathering data were from existing literature (secondary data) to focus group discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews, semi-structured interviews, and telephone conversations (primary data). These interviews were all audio-recorded and the

mode of interviewing is face-to-face. The use of multiple methods enabled me to embark on triangulating the various data sets in this study.

In-depth interviews and semi-structured interviews were conducted with individual civil society leaders and city officials using selected questions (Appendix 6: civil society leaders and Appendix 7: City officials Questions).

Focus Groups Discussion with civil society leaders (Appendix 13: Focus Group Questions)

Telephonic Interviews (Appendix 9).

These research instruments were used to collect data using the following data collection strategies described below:

### 3. 9.1 Literature Review (Secondary Data)

To gain insights into the phenomenon of interest the inquiry started by sourcing the literature from documentary sources otherwise known as secondary data. The process involved a collection, and analysis of available literature on poverty, urban social movements, social justice, and the theory of human capital. This enabled the researcher to prepare a clear conceptual framework which on the other hand assisted in the theoretical framework. These were mostly textually based and in some cases were available in electronic and physical format. The desktop research method was the main method employed to gather the data from government documents, gazettes, books, newspapers, published and unpublished articles, and minutes of meetings, on the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha covering the period from 1990 to 2018.

### 3.9.2 In-depth interviews

The role of interviews in qualitative research is unique and incontestably a major one in ethnographic research. According to Dale & Volpe (2008:29), the qualitative research interview is an attempt to understand the world from the subject's perspective, to unfold the meaning of people's experiences, and to uncover their lived world. Patton (1990:1) observes that "qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit" interviews are of vital importance in that

a legitimate way to generate data is to interact with people (talking and listening to them) thereby capturing their experiences in their own words (Dale & Volpe 2008:29).

Young et al., (2017) revealed that an in-depth interview is a dialogue between an interviewer and an interviewee that elicits richly detailed material that could be used in the analysis. The advantage of an in-depth interview was that it provided detailed responses and was ideal for capturing feelings, meanings, and insights, thereby getting more information on the subject matter under inquiry.

In semi-structured interviews, the interview protocol used to guide the interview process allows the interviewee the opportunity to probe for additional information, and/or to adjust questions throughout the interview (Creswell, 2012). In this manner, semi-structured interviews are perceived as most appropriate to generate information-rich data from research participants. Making use of semi-structured interviews is suitable for this study, as it allowed the researcher to better comprehend the lived experiences of the participants of the study. Semi-structured interviews allowed for the modification of questions when needed during interviews.

These interviews with selected CSOs and city officials gave the researcher allowed the researcher to probe for a deeper meaning to explore their experiences with the study. Combining the focus group discussions with individual interviews provided the empirical data that created a better overall picture of the research.

During the interviews, the researcher was assisted by an interview guide. According to Schostak & Barbour, (2006:54) who agree that the interview guide, guided the researcher to remember key points to ask during the interview and would act as an extendable conversation between partners that aimed at obtaining 'in-depth information' about a certain topic or subject. Through an interview, a phenomenon could be interpreted in terms of the meaning interviewees brought to the inquiry. The questions should be phrased to guide the participants in narrating their lived experiences on the phenomenon under discussion. As mentioned earlier, an interview guide was utilised to steer the discussion on the topic under inquiry. The interview questions were shaped by the research questions and objectives of the study.

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the participants (the ward councillor, the city of Cape Town officials, CSOs, and community members). The researcher guarded against the limitations of interviews by providing the participants with unconscious hints that could influence the participants' responses to the questions asked. Open-ended questions were asked for the researcher to elicit a range of possible responses, which would give detail and might have required clarification where necessary. Interviews were conducted in public places and in



most cases at a place convenient to the participant to reduce their cost of participating and to reduce their chances of declining to participate.

The interviews were audio-taped, and the researcher made use of handwritten field notes from his research diary. These notes supplemented and assisted with the interpretation of the transcriptions for analysis purposes. To protect the identity of participants each was given an identified pseudonym and all data was marked with the pseudonym. The results of the interviews and observations were first interpreted using Thematic Analysis. According to Boyatzis (1998), during the data collection process, the researcher will look for potential meanings and issues of specific interest in the data collected.

An inductive approach was used; this means that the themes identified were powerfully linked to the data collected. However, in-depth interviews are often a time-intensive activity and very time-consuming exercise because of the time it takes to conduct interviews, transcribe them, and analyse the results (Boyce & Neale, 2006). In the planning, data collection and significant provision were made to include sufficient time for transcribing and analysing the data collected.

### 3.9.3 Focus Group Discussions

This section explores focus group discussions. For Robson (2011) a focus group discussion is an open-ended group discussion where the interviewer guides the focus, typically lasting for an hour. Focus group discussion combines elements of both interviewing and observation and this provides it as an important strength as a data-gathering tool (Ochieng et al., 2018). They are also a vital source of data collection in a qualitative research study. Kwame (2009) explains that focus group discussions offer space for the researcher to sit with the participants and deliberate issues ranging from what they did, how they did it, and who else was involved?

Focus Group Discussions, in general, allow, “researchers” to observe the group actions that underlie the construction of collective identity, collective action frames, and the emotional dynamics involved in the creation of oppositional values” (Blee & Taylor 2002:109). In this inquiry, the FGD assisted the researcher in gaining insights into groups and dynamics about the nature of collective action, especially for collecting information about specific sub-groups of the population and on issues that are of interest to the study like the activities of the urban social movements (Della Porta, 2014b:291). To shed more light on the advantages of FGDs, Sherraden et al., (1995:5) suggest that the social interaction within the group yields freer and

more complex responses because of the interactive synergy, snowballing, spontaneity, and security of the participants within the group.

This, in turn, implies that the participants tend to express views that they may not have expressed in other settings or if they were interviewed individually. Sherraden et al., (1995) maintain that in FGDs, the responses have high face validity because of the clarity of the context and the detail of the discussion. Bryman (2008) asserts that FGDs offer the researcher the opportunity to study how individuals jointly make sense of a phenomenon and construct meanings around it.

Despite the above benefits of FGDs, Alatinga (2014:122) contends that they also have some caveats notable among these are methodological limitations which include the fact that the findings from the FGDs cannot be generalised. However, the main objective of qualitative studies is to understand how an individual perceives, organises, gives meaning to, and expresses their understanding of themselves, their experiences, and their worlds within a particular context-something which qualitative techniques are not able to offer (Mishler 1986). This study involved a focus group discussion with all the civic and civil society organisations and CBOs based in Khayelitsha made up of 8 members. During this focus group discussion, the researcher adopted a neutral observer status in order to benefit objectivity from the civil society organisations and to generate data and insights found in a group setting (Ayrton 2018). This discussion also facilitated observation of group dynamics, discussion, and clear insights into the participants' behaviour, attitudes, and language. The FGD in this study contained a list of semi-structured open-ended questions, with probes, specifically selected to keep the conversation easy and engaged. This research instrument was advantageous in that the focus groups were easy and inexpensive to assemble. Attempts were made to involve all participants in the FGD so that emerging views were representative of the entire group. However, the researcher notes that facilitation requires a high level of expertise to deal with conflicts that might arise, particularly around issues of confidentiality. Besides, the results, especially from a small group, were difficult to generalise, as they could not be regarded as representative of the wider population of Khayelitsha. During the focus group discussion with civil society, the researcher used Appendix 13 and the FGD was audio-recorded and later transcribed.

### 3.9.4 Telephonic Interviews

According to Vogl (2013:133), telephone interviews provide a more balanced power distribution between interview participants. It allows the interviewees the opportunity to speak freely in their setting, exercise greater control over their views, and thus direct conversation towards areas that are perceived as vital. The telephonic interview is vital, especially during this Covid 19 pandemic era of research where face-to-face interviews stand a risk of too much rapport which could divert discussions and thus lose their focus and possibly lead to infection of participants. Tucker & Parker (2014) explain that interviewers are encouraged to maintain a certain degree of distance and formality with research participants. They add that telephone interviews can reduce social pressure on participants while building rapport as many are always shy especially responding to sensitive questions.

Holt (2010) conducted a study on the use of telephone interviews and found that many interviewees preferred the option of telephone interviews instead of face-face interviews. The author further states that these interviewees did not only prefer this option but were so much appreciative for giving them the preference to choose. The reasons these interviewees advanced were that they are more comfortable openly discussing individual experiences over the phone than talking to the interviewer's face. This is vital, especially with the rise of Covid 19.

New sub-questions or probes are common features that researchers often identify during qualitative interviews. Therefore, the lack of visual contact gives the interviewer to unobtrusively notate follow-up questions while the interviewee is speaking (Hermanowicz, 2002). Interviewees are often busy (Holt, 2010) and this group of participants is always willing to accept a telephone interview, this is so because, rescheduling and cancellation can be easy and convenient (Chapple, 1999).

However, there are some limitations to this approach as some scholars argue that the lack of facial expressions has the potential to impact the communication process (Gillham, 2000; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008). The authors state that the lack of visual clues could create challenges for researchers. Firstly, there is the risk of misunderstandings due to a lack of visual cues and this can lead to a breakdown in the communication process (Hermanowicz, 2002). Secondly, body language is absent for probing, seeking clarifications, and elaborations to answers given (Stephens, 2007). Thirdly, key non-verbal visual data are not recorded by the researcher (Novick, 2008) and this type of data collection is crucial in qualitative research.

Fourthly, body language which is considered natural in conducting interviews would be lacking, thus the researcher is unable to seek clarifications or elaborations to answers given (Stephen, 2007). Finally, interviewers cannot depend on visual cues to assess the interviewees' level of interest.

Notwithstanding, these limitations the researcher considered telephonic interviews vital as the selection of participants is purposive and the sample size of the study is small. This allowed the researcher to make a lengthy telephone conversation with all the participants. Scholars argue that a telephonic interview is not suitable for all participating groups. Instead, researchers are encouraged to carefully select their target research participants when selecting their interview methods (Farooq, 2017). The researcher carefully selected his participants in conducting a telephonic interview and 3 participants agreed to participate in these interviews the questionnaires in Appendix 13 were used to guide the researcher. Equally, these telephonic conversations were audio-recorded. The participants involved three community members in Khayelitsha 2 female and 1 male.

### 3.10 Document Review

Bowen (2009) reads the document review as a reliable data collecting tool that was used to collect qualitative data. For Creswell (2013) document review involves a researcher collecting and reviewing documents to obtain the required data. Amin (2005) adds that these documents may be management or official reports, court proceedings or minutes of meetings, or private documents.

In this inquiry, only official documents like the Constitution of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, the RDP of 1993, the Municipal Structures Act, 117 of 1998, the Municipal Systems Act 2000, and the Free Basic Services Policy (2001). Also, legal documents like the Irene Grootboom Constitutional Court Ruling (2000) and policy documents like the IDP of 2007-2012 and 2017-2022 relating to the strategic development plans of the City of Cape Town were reviewed.

Organisational documents are useful secondary records collected by others and cover a wide range of material (Hall & Hall, 1996:212). In this light, the SJC provided documents on how they have been engaging the City through Social audits to compel it to alleviate poverty in Khayelitsha. Also, court documents from the SJC where are engaging the City through public interest litigation to provide basic services in Khayelitsha and to seek an upgrade of the

informal settlements. The main advantage of these sources is that they can be processed at greater speed and with a lower cost of retrieval compared to primary data, where respondents need to describe what is meaningful and salient without being confined to standardised categories.

### 3.11 Data Triangulation

To successfully answer the overarching research question, the researcher had to triangulate the data. Triangulation for Denzin (2012) is a process whereby the researcher analyses data from multiple angles, it is also useful in checking the validity of different types of data. This is so important in this research because the stories and lived experiences of the urban poor in Khayelitsha will be looked at it from different angles. These may be from the urban social movements and the ward councillors who will also have a story to tell which when analysed in comparison will give a clearer view. The researcher is aware of the difficulties that budding researchers encounter in getting to meet certain personalities. As a result, the researcher had earlier made arrangements with Ward Councillors, politicians, and Community Elites in Khayelitsha.

### 3.12 Data Analysis

The data collected needed to be analysed. Kwame (2009:97) explains that data gathered must be organised, broken down, into manageable units, synthesised and patterns must be searched to help discover what is important and what is not and what was learned about an exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty. The interviews, telephonic interviews and focus group discussions were recorded and later transcribed word by word, as a result, the data were analysed by the researcher using a thematic data analysis approach. The thematic analysis has been explained as a qualitative research approach that can be in usage over a variety of epistemologies and research to elicit useful information. This technique is used for describing, identifying, organising, analysing, and reporting the subject matter found in a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The thematic analysis allows for a strong, adaptable proposal that can be attuned and better to suit this study. It allows a huge and completely detailed, though complex description of data.

This analysis also offers a huge attainable form of data analysis for budding researchers (Braun & Clarke, 2006), even though it does not need the full complete theoretical and professional technical knowledge like other qualitative approaches. The few recommended measures and procedures of the thematic analysis can prove to be an advantage to researchers who are unfamiliar with qualitative methods as it is easy to grasp on and learn (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun & Clarke (2006) state that this is a useful approach for assessing the perspectives of various researchers, emphasising similarities and imbalances, and creating unexpected insights in the study. It is also useful for outlining key features of huge, collected information set by forcing the researcher to overlook and consider taking a clear methodological approach to data administration, to produce a final report that is organised and clear (King, 2004). The caveats of this approach are evident when compared to coinciding qualitative research approaches. A young researcher's ability to manage and administer the thematic analysis can be affected by the lack of a shortage in vital literature. The thematic analysis does not allow claims of the language used by the researcher as stated by Braun & Clarke (2006). The flexibility of the thematic analysis can lead to less compatibility and a lack of coherence when developing themes derived from the research data (Holloway & Todres, 2003).

In this study, thematic data analysis was deemed suitable because it is malleable. Considering the complexity of the study, it is, consequently, logical for the researcher to apply this approach. The research sample is small and homogenous; therefore, thematic analysis is suitable. Marriam (2009) explains that the investigator is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis in thematic analysis. The researcher adopted the step-by-step thematic analysis of data as suggested by experts like Braun & Clarke, (2006).

Ryan & Bernard (2003) note that all themes are of equal importance. Going with this line, the researcher, sorted and marked common expressions as well as repetitions arising from the themes and sub-themes. I then developed a cut and paste approach which I used where there were the cutting and pasting coding techniques to process the transcribed text needed. According to Stewart et al., (2007), the cutting and pasting technique involves the act of identifying important expressions and arranging the expressions in themes. I analysed this data and made systematic comparisons and aggregation of field notes on this study.

### 3.13 Data Trustworthiness

In the field of social research, data trustworthiness is a key challenge that researchers need to guard against. This is so because the absence of trust in the data could result to discredit the study's reliability, credibility, and conformability. The aspect of trustworthiness in research is imperative for both qualitative and quantitative research validity, conformability, and reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The framework for assessing trustworthiness in research is based on the above criteria. Information dependability and data accuracy are called reliability in research.

The transfer of information and applicability is what is referred to in research as data validity. This requires that the same research can get the same findings. Transferability suggests that you can use the research findings in another setting. The research objective is to render by conformability. However, it is difficult to be objective in all cases, which requires that a conformability audit be conducted to determine whether research data supports the process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

To instill trust in the findings, the researcher combined individual interviews with information from the participants and an analysis of written documents. As such, the data from interviews and the case study were verified to see if they are similarities and differences. Also, the researcher gave all the participants a chance to verify whether the facts were reflective of their views. This helped the researcher to establish whether the interpretations of what the participants had shared with him were true. To have control over research bias the researcher avoided generalising the findings of his population. The findings were understood from a context and perspective. For Neuman (2006:188) validity and reliability in research form a key aspect of research measurement. Depending on the research approach applied, validity and reliability will have different meanings. In qualitative research, validity is seen as the ability of an inquiry to be genuine and hence trustworthy (Neuman, 1997).

#### 3.14.1 Reliability and Validity

Bulmar & Warwick (1983) the approach used by a researcher depends on its legitimacy, effectiveness, and appropriateness, and this is key to research validity. The validity, therefore, is "the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept

under consideration" (Babbie & Mouton, 2009:122). Adequate reflection involves that a repeat of the study can be done by another researcher. Guion et al., (2011) argue that research validity can be achieved through other means of data analysis like thematic methods. This process also has setbacks as the environment can change after the original research has been conducted. According to Maree (2007:80), the use of two methods of analysis involving several investigators or peer researchers to help with the interpretation of the data could enhance validity and reliability. To ensure validity, the study sought the assistance of a peer researcher to cross-check the processes and look for similarities and differences in the text.

### 3.14.2 Conformability

According to Shenton (2004), the use of independent research instruments that differ from the skills and perceptions of the researcher is imperative for the conformability of the study. However, the author notes that it is difficult to displace real objectivity as researcher bias cannot be avoided in the process of setting interview questions. Nevertheless, this does not deny the fact that the researcher can obtain some form of conformability in the study. Shenton (2004) went further to point out that the concept of conformability in qualitative investigations is comparable to objectivity. Hence, efforts were made to ensure that the findings of the study can be assured. This was a necessary step to put out any possible bias in the study pattern.

### 3.15 Research Ethics

Ethical clearance is a phase whereby the ethical consequences of the study and tools are checked thoroughly to certify that the intended research processes may not cause any danger to the participant in any way. Ogletree & Kawulich (2012) explain that companies establish ethics committees and codes of ethics to safeguard both the researchers and respondents from hurtful research activities. Creswell (2013) emphasises that Codes of ethics may be distinguished according to the research discipline, but it is largely settled that the measures are taken by the researcher to warrant, through upholding informed consent, "data anonymisation and confidentiality", and that the study does not contain any potential challenges. The researcher informed the participants of the magnitude of the study to evade dishonesty and promote a voluntary contribution to the study. The researcher advised the participants that they



can pull out of the study if they deem it not to continue. As stated in the Appendices, in the study, and in the Consent form used throughout the interviews, all the participants in the study were told about its purpose. The researcher was duty-bound to inform the participants that the data collected will be used for mainly study purposes and may be vital for other organisations facing similar challenges (Nyahodza, 2019).

Putting the instruments and the procedures to be followed aside, the gathering of the data from the respondents increases ethical anxieties. Ethical concerns involve taking into consideration that you do not want to put people in danger, promoting consideration for their privacy, encouraging respect for people, and not exposing people to insignificant research studies. For the researcher to ensure that s/he does not harm respondents, the researcher must be careful of body and psychological harm. The constitution permits people to “have a right to privacy” and the scholar must keep the data collected with the confidentiality it deserves. This simply means that whoever is reading the study must not be able to identify who is the respondent. Scholars need to take into account the fact that subjects are separate human beings and should be treated with the utmost respect (Wayne and Melville, 2001:47-49).

### 3.16 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the research methodology and the research methods that were used in collecting the on what are the dynamics and understanding of poverty in Khayelitsha township. The chapter adopted a descriptive and exploratory approach, and the research paradigm and the qualitative research design were all discussed. The putting together different sampling approaches, a case study that is convenient and purposive was applied to select the participants. In addition, data collection tools and processes, data analysis, ethical considerations, trustworthiness, reliability, and validity, and the limitations of the study were discussed. The next chapter presents the data collected and interpreted, findings, and a discussion of the study.

# CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, FINDINGS, AND DISCUSSIONS

## 4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented a discussion on the research design and methodology that was utilised in collecting the data on the exploration of the different dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha from 2010-2018. This chapter presents and discusses the data that was collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, telephonic interviews, and extensive documentary reviews. The data collected was meant to respond to the three specific research objectives of the study, which are linked to the main research objective which in itself emerged from the overarching research question of the study. Data analysis was completed through qualitative data and a thematic approach was applied as explained in the research methodology. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to present and interpret the data that attempts to respond to the research questions of this study, which was, what are the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha?

## 4.2 Entering the Research Site and Conducting Interviews

This section of the study explores the research journey that the researcher took to gather data in this study. This is vital as one of the challenges that most researchers face in their research journey is the issue of access to a research site to gather data. This view is also substantiated by Welman, Kruger & Mitchell (2005) who researched the challenges of gaining access to a research site and they found that it is problematic. To collect the data on this study, the researcher had to conduct semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with some civil society and civic organisation leaders in the community and telephonic interviews with the city of Cape Town officials and some community elites and Ward Councillors and a comprehensive review of documents was completed. To access the community of Khayelitsha the researcher had to seek permission from the Ward Councillors in the various wards.

The interviews started with nine civil society organisations leaders, six males, and three females. While the city of Cape Town officials were two males and a female. The community

members were two males and a female, and the Community Development Workers were two males and a female. The civic society leaders from SANCO were three a male and a female. These individuals were selected to participate in this study due to their in-depth activities in the area and knowledge of the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. The researcher started this research journey by making several phone calls and seeking appointments with the officials at the City of Cape Town, Abahlali base Mjondolo, Khayelitsha Peace Building Team, and Social Justice Coalition, and SANCO members and community members in Khayelitsha. Through these calls dates and places were arranged and 25 participants' agreed to be interviewed, but finally, 17 participants participated in the study. This gave a response rate of 64%.

Though the sample is small, and the response rate is not 100%, these responses were sufficient to provide a reasonable analysis and interpretation of data on the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. This level of response would ensure the validity and reliability of the data collected for the study. Marthinisen (2021) notes that should the response rate have been below 50%, the outcomes of the interviews would not have been reliable enough to serve as a true reflection of the outcomes of the study. Hence, for this study, the response rate was satisfactory to allow data analysis and interpretation and make meaningful outcomes, and draw inferences from the study.

Due to the COVID 19 restrictions, many of the participants could not make and the researcher had to scout for alternative means of conducting the research he then suggested that for those who prefer telephonic interviews he was ready to conduct them. This then justifies the use of these telephonic interviews. The researcher agreed with the participants on the issue of anonymity which ensured that the participants expressed their feelings and opinions freely all through the interviews. The researcher then arranged on interviewing these community activists, civil society leaders, civic and community leaders, and city of Cape Town officials to gain insights into the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha and each interview lasted for 40 minutes. These interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed by the researcher. Before the interviews, the researcher explained to the participants that participation in this study was voluntary, and they had the right to withdraw whenever they felt uncomfortable continuing.

As per the regulations of the University of the Western Cape (UWC), the researcher presented his student card as proof that he was a bona fide student of the University and from the School of Government (SoG). The researcher also presented the consent form to the participants to

read and sign and later they were also presented with the information participation sheet that they also signed. After the completion of the interviews, the researcher sent a copy of the interview to the participants to make comments and revert to him.

Table 2: Participant's Background and Codes

| <b>Participant</b>       | <b>Gender</b> | <b>Age</b> | <b>Occupation</b>              | <b>Years living in Khayelitsha</b> | <b>Resident at</b> | <b>Codes</b> |
|--------------------------|---------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| KPBT (Chair)             | Male          | 51         | Activist                       | 22                                 | Site C             | KPBT1        |
| KPBT (SG)                | Male          | 31         | Activist                       | 16                                 | Site C             | KPBT2        |
| SANCO (Chair)            | Male          | 42         | Activist                       | 20                                 | Khayelitsha        | SANCO1       |
| SANCO (SG)               | Female        | 38         | Activist                       | 15                                 | Makhaya            | SANCO2       |
| City of Cape Town        | Male          | 35         | Senior Professional Officer    | 9                                  | Mandalay           | COCT1        |
| City of Cape Town        | Male          | 53         | Sub-Council Manager            | 30                                 | Ilitha Park        | COCT2        |
| City of Cape Town        | Female        | 23         | Assistant Professional Officer | 4                                  | Town Two           | COCT3        |
| Social Justice Coalition | Female        | 25         | Media Liaison Officer          | 25                                 | Site B             | SJC1         |
| Social Justice Coalition | Male          | 28         | Project Officer                | 7                                  | Ikhwezi Park       | SJC2         |
| Community Member (1)     | Female        | 38         | Activist                       | 12                                 | Khayelitsha        | CM1          |
| Community Member (2)     | Female        | 29         | Activist                       | 22                                 | Graceland          | CM2          |

| <b>Participant</b>           | <b>Gender</b> | <b>Age</b> | <b>Occupation</b> | <b>Years living in Khayelitsha</b> | <b>Resident at</b> | <b>Codes</b> |
|------------------------------|---------------|------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Community Member (3)         | Male          | 44         | Activist          | 23                                 | Site B             | CM2          |
| Ward Councillor              | Male          | 47         | Ward Councillor   | 16                                 | Makhaza            | WC1          |
| Community Development Worker | Female        | 22         | General Worker    | 22                                 | TR Section         | CDW1         |
| Ward Development Forum Chair | Female        | 28         | Secretary         | 8                                  | Site C             | CDW2         |
| Abahlali base Mjondolo       | Male          | 32         | Branch Secretary  | 7                                  | Site B             | ABM1         |

### 4.3 Background Information of Participants

In this section of the inquiry, the researcher explores the background information of the participants in the interviews. This information amongst others would include their occupations, gender, ages, years living in Khayelitsha, and place residing in the township. Table 4.1 shows how participants were coded in the interviews to protect their identities and ensure anonymity. The section intends to explain their positions in the community and how knowledgeable they are on the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha.

### 4.4 Research Findings

The sections of the study present the main themes that emerged from the semi-structured, and telephonic interviews, and focus group discussions with city officials, civil society in Khayelitsha, community members, and also civic organisation leaders in Khayelitsha. The findings of the study are presented using extracts and quotations from the semi-structured

interviews, focus group discussions, and telephonic interviews with the city of Cape Town officials. To ensure clarity in the study, the researcher purposely connected and integrated the findings from this study into the literature review, which explained the study and the legislated framework, and the theoretical framework of the research all related to the main focus of this study on gaining insights into the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha.

In the course of the investigation, the following themes and sub-themes were identified through a process of data analysis. Each theme and sub-theme will be discussed and augmented using quotations or responses from the various participants in the study. In most cases and where possible, reference was made to the literature and the theoretical explanations grounding the study to give meaning to the results that are presented in the study. It is worth highlighting that such engagements in interviews cannot be free of grammatical errors which emerged in certain responses of the participants as some preferred to express themselves in English and many others preferred IsiXhosa which is their mother tongue. However, the researcher understood their responses as in many cases they were clear and easy to comprehend and are quoted word verbatim to reflect their views.

Table 3: The Main Themes Emerging from the Study

| Research Objective 1  | Main Themes                       | Sub-Themes   |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| To examine the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha | What is poverty?                  | The absence of income, employment, and services.   |
|   | What is relative poverty?         | The absence of basic services, housing, and employment when compared to neighbouring areas.  |
|   | What is multidimensional poverty? | Lack of income and productive resources. Hunger and malnutrition, ill-health, lack of access to education and basic services; mortality from illness; homelessness and |

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
|  |  | inadequate housing, and social discrimination.  |
| <b>Research Objective 2</b><br>To investigate the views of various social movements on the causes of poverty | What are the causes of poverty?            | The Native Land Act of 1913.  |
|  |  | The lack of land<br>The failed land reforms since 1996.   |
|  |  | The Neoliberal policies<br>The introduction of GEAR.  |
| <b>Objective 3</b><br>To analyse civil society's understandings of poverty in Khayelitsha.                   | How does civil Society understand poverty? | Civil society understands poverty as the outcome of the failure of land reforms. The adoption of neoliberalism. The adoption of GEAR.<br>Civil society had to adopt Advocacy, Policy change<br>Service delivery to address poverty and Public Interest Litigation |

## 4.5 The Main Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this thesis was to contribute towards a better understanding of the nature of poverty and its different dynamics in Khayelitsha.

To gain these insights the study interrogated specific sub-objectives.

### Objective One:

To examine the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha

### Objective Two:

To investigate the views of various social movements on the causes of poverty.

## Objective Three:

To analyse civil society's understandings of poverty in Khayelitsha.

4.6 Flowing from these main research objectives, the following themes emerged:

- What is poverty?
- What is relative poverty?
- What is multidimensional poverty?
- What are the causes of poverty since 1996?
- The various understandings of the government of poverty
- How the new government is addressing relative poverty based on their understanding
- To analyze how civil society understands poverty in Khayelitsha
- To investigate the views of various social movements on the causes of poverty?
- The persistence of poverty in Khayelitsha township, despite the various efforts

## 4.7 Presentation and Discussion of Results

4.7.1 This section of the study explores the first objective of the study which was to examine the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha.

### 4.7.1.1 What is Poverty?

The first theme the researcher presented to Participant Ward Councillor (WC1) was what is poverty? He notes that:

Poverty in Khayelitsha should be seen as the lack of jobs or employment and the lack of housing and basic services. Therefore, the government is doing everything possible to create jobs and provide housing and basic services.

The understanding is that poverty is the absence of income, jobs, housing, and basic services in the community of Khayelitsha. This view is shared by IDP documents of 2007-2012 and



2017-2022 which all argue that the provision of jobs and basic services could address poverty in the community. When the researcher presented to Participant CoCT1<sup>1</sup>, he noted that:

“These opportunities are available and are right under our noses, but the major challenge is access to capital funding to start businesses is a problem. Those that have funds to start normally do that through their long-term savings from pension funds, early retirements, and or just being politically connected. Furthermore, black communities like Khayelitsha do not understand the power of business collaborations, bulk buying, and flexibility with prices, we have seen how foreign nationals like Somalis collaborate and succeed while we are watching yet we don’t go and collaborate amongst ourselves because we believe in individuality, we want to succeed alone, and this selfish attitude is working against us. This is one of the greatest challenges facing most of our businesspeople in Khayelitsha and this is also responsible for our poverty in the community”.

According to the city officials, opportunities do exist, but the challenge is investment capital and those who have capital are usually politically connected. He tends to agree with the SG of the Peace-building Team. He adds that South Africans should develop business networks to succeed as working alone or as individuals is not capable of pulling the township out of poverty. He notes that bulk buying in groups like through stokvels through which communities group together to buy goods could greatly assist in alleviating poverty in the community and creating jobs.

The finding seems to suggest that economic and or business opportunities do exist in Khayelitsha for these residents to grow their businesses and build their communities. Through this, they can pull their township out of relative poverty. The finding implies that many of the residents can pull their community out of poverty if they mobilise and work together. His views are shared with Robbins (2015) and Conradie (2015) who agree that opportunities do exist especially for those who are politically connected. But the vast majority of people in the community do not access these opportunities due to a lack of capital or networks.

### 4.7.1.2 Relative poverty

When the researcher asked Participant WC1 as to what is relative poverty?

He notes that:

Relative poverty is the different levels of poverty as the people in Khayelitsha are poorer than those in Mitchell's plain. But when you compare those in Mitchell's Plain to Wynberg you discover that Wynberg residents are richer than those of Mitchell's Plain.

Hence, the understanding here is that relativity poverty is when some citizens and in some locations are richer than others within the city.

### 4.7.1.3 What is poverty?

This was put to Participant CDW1. He notes that:

“The problem was related to income, employment, housing and the absence of other basic services like water, sanitation and waste removal services and others that residents in Khayelitsha need”.

The issue here is that poverty is related to income, employment, housing, and the absence of other basic services like water and sanitation, waste removal services, and others that residents in Khayelitsha need. In the view of the respondent, these are the major problems in the community.

The finding here is that poverty is related to income, employment, housing, and the absence of other basic services like water, sanitation, and waste removal services in the community. This view is shared by Seekings (2013) and Robbins (2014) who note that income, employment; housing, and basic services were of high concern to the residents in these areas.

#### 4.7.1.4 The concept of poverty from the City of Cape Town's officials

When the researcher pressed for reasons for the persistence of poverty in the community?

Participant CoCT 1 adds that:

“In the case of Khayelitsha, the area is also impacted by high levels of migration. As every year, thousands of people from mostly Eastern Cape move into the area and all of them need shelter. In most cases, they end up in makeshift houses known as shacks”.

The explanation seems to suggest that many Khayelitsha residents are coming from the Eastern Cape and on arrival, they need places to stay, and they turn to makeshift houses which in many ways depicts high levels of poverty and overcrowding.

This finding is congruent with Robbins (2014), Conradie (2015), and Overy (2013) who agree that migration from the Eastern Cape is partly responsible for the poverty in Khayelitsha. The literature explains that the high number of informal houses depicts high levels of poverty.

#### 4.7.1.5 What are the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha?

When I pressed Participant CoCT3 on what are the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha? He notes that:

“The South African government since 1994 has focused its energy to blame poverty in the country as a consequence of external economic, political, and /or cultural factors that operate at a supra-individual or societal level as the previous apartheid government did not provide millions of black South Africans with basic services and therefore they were excluded from the mainstream economy and or cultural factors that operate at a supra-individual or societal levels, and often view poverty as a result of some unforeseen circumstances”.

The understanding here is that since during apartheid most blacks were not allowed to own land and they were deprived of entering the mainstream economy, it became difficult if not impossible for many to acquire assets. Also, politically they were excluded from participating in mainstream politics where they could demand the socio-economic rights of their people. And, in terms of service delivery, they were not delivered services such as housing, electricity, water, and basic sanitation the ANC government thinks the provision of these services would greatly address poverty amongst blacks in general and Khayelitsha in particular.

This finding is in line with Shek, (2002;2004); Sun, (2001) who explain that poverty is the outcome of external economic, political, and/or cultural factors that operate at a supra-individual or societal level, and the third often view poverty as a result of some unforeseen circumstances, like illness or bad luck. The finding turns to reveal that the previous apartheid government is solely responsible for the poverty that many residents in Khayelitsha find themselves in. This explains why the central thrust of the new ANC government post-1996 is now focusing on addressing these external economic, political, and /or cultural factors that operate at a supra-individual or societal level to ensure that blacks are provided with basic services in these black areas and many townships.

#### 4.7.1.6 How is the new government addressing relative poverty based on their understanding?

When the researcher asked Participant CDW3 how is the government is addressing these external economic, political, and cultural factors that operate at the supra-individual or societal level to ensure that blacks are provided with basic services?

He notes that:

The end of apartheid provided an opportunity for the new government to provide services to these previous townships to ensure that basic services like housing, electricity, water and sanitation are provided to ensure that poverty is ended, people live in dignity and there is equality. Since the previous regime excluded them from the ownership of major businesses, ownership of land which is vital for economic activity, and they were denied basic services.

He reveals that the end of this discriminatory system ushered in an opportunity for the need for transformation in the political, economic, and social landscape of the country in general and in Khayelitsha in particular, especially with the introduction of the new Constitution Act 108 of 1996 which argues on equity, social justice, and inclusion. In addition, the Constitution also espouses socio-economic rights in its Bill of Rights which states that all South Africans are entitled to basic socio-economic and developmental rights.

As intimated earlier, the provision of these basic services falls within the mandate of Local Government and this is in line with Section 152 of the new Constitution of 1996 which includes, among others the object of Local Government (1) (a) to provide a democratic and accountable government for local communities and community organisations in matters of local government.

Barichievy et al., (2005) agree and point out that in terms of the Local Government Municipal Structures Act, Act 117 of 1998, but especially the Local Government Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000, through which municipalities are required to complement their formal structures of representative government with a system of “participatory governance. This is supported by the Constitution and the Municipal Structures Act and the Systems Act. In this light, the city has the responsibility and is obligated to provide services to address poverty. The City of Cape Town uses its Integrated Development Plan, which is a Five-Year Development Plan to map out its developmental programs for the city.

#### 4.7.1.7 The next theme was on the developmental programs of the City

When the researcher pressed for details on the various development plans used by the City of Cape Town?

The CoCT2 revealed that:

“According to the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), 2017-2022 notes that the IDP is a strategic tool that guides all the activities of local government in consultation with residents and stakeholders. Its focus is on development in the broader sense, and it is a structured plan that informs budget priorities,

decision-making, and the allocation of resources. Since local government exists to provide services to all residents, it is essential that it interacts with the residents in the city and obtains their input on their elected government's plans and vision".

The literature seems to reveal that the City of Cape Town uses the IDP as a tool that guides all the activities of the Local Government in consultation with residents and other stakeholders like civil society organisations in the various communities. The city does this through interaction with local communities. This highlights the notion of community participation, which is in line with existing literature by Williams (2004; 2005) which explains how the City uses the IDP as a strategic tool that guides all the activities of the Local Government. In this light, the City uses the IDP to address poverty in the city amongst the urban poor.

#### 4.7.1.8 The next question the researcher put to the respondents was how the city was assisting the poor in alleviating urban poverty?

The CoCT 2 responded that:

"The city was assisting in social housing in the townships through the provision of social housing like Breaking New Grounds (BNG) through which township dwellers could be allocated 40 m<sup>2</sup> of a plot for houses and the RDP housing Peoples Housing Plans (PHP) and Emergency Housing Programs (EHP). Through this, the City was building low-cost housing and providing for the urban poor".

The understanding here is that the city was assisting many poor Cape Town dwellers living in the townships and Informal Settlements with social housing programs through which they were provided with RDP and BNG and PHP and also EHP houses in the City.

This finding is in line with IDP 2007 -2012 which explains that the National policy which provides for a range of housing subsidy programmes that the City can utilise in the implementation of the above projects. Through these programmes, a range of national housing

subsidy programmes is available like the Integrated Residential Development programme (IRDP). This program is aimed is to provide at least a 40 m<sup>2</sup> BNG house (a house built according to the BNG Policy, post- September 2004) to families on the City's waiting list who earn a combined income of no more than R3 500 per month.

The IDP 2007-2012 document notes that the subsidy amount is provided by the National Department of Human Settlements. Beneficiaries must be in the City's housing database and must meet the requirements as prescribed in the National Housing Code. In addition, the document notes that there is also the Consolidation Subsidy Program, which is aimed at facilitating improvements to homes where people already own a serviced stand without a top structure and providing access to a subsidy (R55 706 in the 2010/2011 financial year) for top structures only. The document adds that there is also the People's Housing Process (PHP) which is aimed at households that wish to maximise their housing subsidy by facilitating the building of their homes themselves, this programme allows beneficiaries to apply for subsidies.

The document also explains that there is also the Emergency Housing Programme (EHP) which is aimed at providing temporary assistance to victims of housing-related disasters (such as fire and flood damage), including the provision of TRAs. The programme also provides funding for minimum services and shelter. The document further notes that there is also the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) which is aimed at providing basic services like water, standpipes and toilet facilities, permanent services, and houses to existing informal settlement areas, wherever possible (including in situ upgrades).

#### 4.7.1.9 How the City was alleviating poverty on the urban poor residing in the Informal Settlements in the City?

When the researcher asked the CoCT3 as to what the City was doing to assist those residing in Informal Settlements in the City?

He notes that:

“The city is in a process of assisting Informal Settlement dwellers with basic services like water, electricity, and sanitation and waste removal to ensure that they live in decent environments”.

The city official reveals that the City was doing some pilot programs in some informal settlements in South East of Cape Town.

This is in line with IDP 2007-2012 documents that explain how the City has embarked on a pilot programme in five informal settlements, primarily in the southeast of Cape Town, as part of the Upgrade of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) It is also planning to pilot the provision of infrastructure and services to backyard dwelling units in Hanover Park, Langa, and Facreton.

In addition to the IDP document, the City of Cape Town also produced an Indigent Policy t which was adopted to better the lives of the poor and to advance access to free basic services for underprivileged citizens. The City of Cape invited poor people, elderly, and disabled individuals to enroll for the indigent benefits including rates rebate. The City of Cape Town stressed that thousands of citizens who earn little or absolutely nothing, who are restricted by either age or disability from securing jobs or who are teenagers, enforced to lead households can and would benefit from the City's policy only if they are eligible to apply and successfully register.

City of Cape Town (2008b), the rate payers who own one property and whose overall earning is R2 880 per month or below, or teenager heading a household registered in the name of his/her/her deceased parent/s will qualify for a 100 % rates rebate when they enroll themselves as indigent (Poswa, 2008). Nearly 220 000 formal households then qualified on the basis of a house value that was below R100 000, but the list was constantly updated and verified. It is vital to acknowledge that the City of Cape Town is duly supporting up to 10.5 kiloliters of free basic water for the families that are entitled to benefit as poor from the City of Cape Town's Indigent Policy that was adopted in 2003 to help the underprivileged. The allowance of this water however is conditional on a household installing a Water Management Device (WMD) which controversially restricts supply to the allotted free amount (Beck, Rodina, Lukerand & Harris, 2016).

#### 4.7.1.10 The issue of spatial planning in the city

The next question the researcher put to CoCT 1 and CoCT 3 was on efforts of spatial planning as to the efforts of the city of Cape Town to bring the poor closer to the city through improved means of transport?

They both explained that:



The city inherited a racially divided city from the Apartheid policies and planning of the country's past. This has negatively affected the spatial form, social fabric, and structure of the economy. As a result, the poorer population largely resides further away from economic and employment hubs, with uneven access to basic services as well as health, education, transport, and social, cultural, and recreational facilities.

The explanation here is that apartheid created urban planning challenges which affected the spatial planning of the City of Cape Town. As an outcome, most poor urban dwellers live far from the city centre and, therefore, commuting to town has emerged as a challenge.

The IDP 2007-2012 document agrees that transport remains a vital element of the City's growth and development strategy. The document again notes that the City is moving ever closer to establishing a single authority for transport, while work on the city's Integrated Rapid Transit (IRT) system continues to progress well. The document notes that the ultimate aim of this system is to enhance public transport in the city by improving accessibility to various forms of reliable and cost-effective and improving efficiencies through dedicated public transport lanes and a better overall road network.

The IDP 2007-2012 document adds that the City's Transport Development Index (TDI) has shown that the low-income segment of the population spends about 43% of their household income on access – more than four times the acceptable international averages. This is creating problems for many Khayelitsha residents. The document argues that transport challenges experienced by Capetonians include the duration of peak-hour travel on the city's public roads and the failure of the public transport system, particularly of the Metrorail service, which is outside the City's jurisdiction. The transport issue is at the second element of the cycle of poverty alongside the insecurity of shacks.

#### 4.7.1.11 How the City is addressing unemployment

The next issue the researcher engaged the participants with was how the city was dealing with issues around employment creation?

The CoCT official notes that:

“Employment creation was not the business of the city but it is continually attracting Foreign Direct Investment into the City and other City Agencies are doing their best to attract investors. These investors are creating employment opportunities for many urban poor in the City”.

According to the 2017-2022 IDP documents which reveal that 26, 48% of individuals who are not either working or acquiring the skills to work require an intervention that addresses both demand (job availability) and supply-side issues (access to quality education, training, and skills development). In this respect, the City’s interventions to stimulate the local economy in the catalytic sectors<sup>8</sup> are critical, given the focus on creating opportunities for training and work placement. The document explains that the City also supports income generation opportunities for the unemployed through the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), which created a total of 113 914 such opportunities between July 2012 and June 2015.

It should also be noted that the IDP 2017-2022 reveal that job creation is not a direct local government mandate. In this light, the City has formed partnerships with other spheres of government, the private sector, and cities globally to encourage job creation in the City by providing a more enabling business environment that attracts investment and economic growth. According to the City of Cape Town’s Indigent Policy, it was reviewed to take into consideration other aspects like present income and was projected to reduce the roll to nearly 155 000 formal households (Mosai, 2006).

In terms of employment, transportation issues, and costs, Aliber (2003) argued that employment research in the country showed changes in and out of poverty relate to changes in employment status, precisely wage labour. The employment position of a household is a deciding factor in whether the family gets stuck in poverty, falls in poverty, or evades poverty. The scholar further reasoned that it is imperative to contemplate the influences that might play a role in unemployment like spatial isolation, level of education, and language.

In this respect, 40% of the main breadwinners spend more than an hour on the road prior to reaching their places of work. Most people travel by train to reach their workplaces (40%), followed by the use of taxis at 17% and the buses at 15%. Almost 60% of employed people spend more than R20 on each trip for a return journey. Besides the direct costs of traveling, its hidden costs show the multiple dimensions of poverty that require to be calculated as well, adding erratic transportation models and the time lost on the road, social instability

## 4.8.1 Objective 2: To analyse how civil society understands poverty in Khayelitsha

### 4.8.1.1 The concept of poverty amongst civil society leaders.

When the researcher asked Participant KPBT1 as to how they understand poverty?

He notes that:

“In this community many residents are unemployed and tens of thousands live in makeshift houses or shacks. Others are homeless and many rely on social grants”.

His explanations seem to explain that the new government did not take any steps to carry out reforms that could have given many in this community employment. He points out that many in this community are still poor. Also, many are homeless due to the new government’s adoption of neoliberal policies like GEAR which introduced privatisation in the country. This saw the privatisation of housing. All these policies contributed to poverty. This is in line with Noyo (2005) and Williams (2009) who both blamed the failed land reforms for the high levels of poverty and GEAR policy for the lack of basic services in Khayelitsha.

This is in line with many scholars who describe poverty in terms of income and earnings and the absence of social infrastructure. Hence, he alludes to the multidimensionality of poverty. This multidimensionality of poverty is in line with an extant scholarship by Townsend (1979) and Chamber (1983) who agree that poverty is multidimensional. This finding reveals that poverty in Khayelitsha is multidimensional as many do not have incomes, others earn less, and the houses are makeshift or shacks and RDP, and in some cases others live in the backyards of other houses.

### 4.8.1.2 The multidimensional angles of poverty

When the researcher asked Participant KPDT2 what he understands of the multidimensional angles of poverty? He further adds that:

“Khayelitsha is the face of poverty in the City as it was created by apartheid and is mainly occupied by Blacks. Over the years the influx of people from the Eastern Cape has contributed to poverty in the community. We see

Khayelitsha lack opportunities, lack of infrastructure, lack of nutrition. In South Africa, we have two-tier economies. The first economy is dominated by Whites who have capital, resources, and access to finance from the banks and access to land. The second economy is dominated by Blacks and this second economy is characterised by the lack of credit facilities, lack of capital, lack of opportunities, lack of ownership of land, and lack of infrastructure”.

The participant notes that the lack of credit facilities, lack of capital, lack of opportunities, lack of ownership of land, and lack of infrastructure over the years has emerged as a problem as the community is the face of poverty in the city. He also blamed these poverty challenges on migration as every year people migrate from the Eastern Cape to the City. Interestingly, most of these people turn to Khayelitsha in search of a place to live. He further adds that these conditions are due to the prevalence of two different economies, one white and the other black. Whereas the whites have capital and access to investment finance. All these do not apply to Blacks who are struggling in the informal economies in Khayelitsha.

His views are shared by Conradie (2015) and Robbins (2014) who agree that Khayelitsha is the face of poverty in the city, and it is mostly populated by migrants from Eastern Cape and since the economy has two tiers one dominated by Whites and formal with access to investment capital while blacks operate in the informal economy it is difficult for them to raise loans and grow their businesses. The finding reveals that visitors who want to see poverty in the city always turn to Khayelitsha as it depicts all the different dynamics of poverty, whether in terms of incomes, earnings, houses, public infrastructure, or roads.

#### 4.8.1.3 The next theme was the role of decision-makers or the city in addressing poverty

When the researchers ask, the Participant from SANCO1 on what can be done to encourage decision-makers to be responsive to the demands of people trapped in poverty like in the case of Khayelitsha township? He notes that:

The city and the national government should encourage businesses to establish textile factories in townships like Khayelitsha. These factories can

create jobs and create employment opportunities for many unemployed in these townships. These residents can use their employment status and incomes to acquire assets, like houses and this can change the face of the community.

The understanding here is that the government can provide special incentives for investors to invest in townships and this could create employment opportunities for many in these communities. Also, their earnings could be used to acquire properties in the township or build their own houses. The building of these new houses in the township could change the face of the community and address the challenges of relative poverty in the township.

This finding is in line with Alcock (2018) who explains that these townships have huge business opportunities which, if harnessed, could drastically transform the community as it could attract other investors, and this could lead to investments and other developments like the rise of new houses. In some cases, these rising income levels could lead to residents buying their own houses from the banks and others building theirs in their plots. The finding is that the townships have huge business opportunities which, if harnessed, could transform the community as it could attract other investors, and this could lead to investments and the rise of new houses.

#### 4.8.1.4 Small and medium-sized enterprises can contribute to addressing relative poverty

When the researcher asked Participant SANCO2 on whether the setting up of small and medium-sized enterprises can assist in reducing poverty? SANCO2 noted that:

The setting up of small and medium-sized enterprises would go a long way to allow people to at least put a plate of food on the table and assist families to be self-sufficient to take care of themselves. But in many cases, many of these enterprises in the township may need government support to be sustainable as in many cases, the banks are not assisting these micro-enterprises in the township since many are not registered.

The SANCO official is of the view that if community members in this township can set up micro-enterprises to sell goods and provide services these efforts can go a long way to address relative poverty in the community. This is plausible as these activities can generate income and create wealth which they could use to buy houses and feed themselves and their families, The finding is in line with the human capital theory of Sen which supports the view that earnings could improve the quality of life and these earnings could assist in the long-term development of the residents.

#### 4.8.1.5 The next theme was to understand the contributions of networks and social capital in addressing relative poverty

The researcher proceeded to ask Participant SANCO1 how these small and medium enterprises could act as engines for economic growth and the reduction of relative poverty in the township. SANCO1 noted that:

if the businesses in the township could work together and put their resources together and buy in bulk from wholesalers like spekko rice, Makro, and Jumbo Cash and Carry they would be in a position to gain from economies of scale and make good profits to support themselves and their families. These efforts could go a long way to grow their businesses and reduce relative poverty in Khayelitsha. The Somalis are doing this and are supporting each other.

The understanding here is that if residents in the township could create networks and collectively buy in bulk from the major wholesalers they can easily grow their businesses and create employment and build and or buy houses for their families. These could change the face of poverty in Khayelitsha.

The explanation seems to suggest that social networks and social capital in many ways can lead to economic development in previously depressed areas like Khayelitsha. In this light, the finding is in line with Sen's Capability Theory, which earlier pointed out that these community members are capable of addressing their problems. This notion is vital as it seeks to point out that these residents are capable of organising themselves and achieving things thanks to their networks and social capital or trust amongst themselves rather than waiting for external actors.

#### 4.8.1.6 To understand the role of the city in addressing relative poverty

When the researcher asks Participant CM2 as to what can be done to promote access to opportunities for communities like Khayelitsha? The Participant noted that:

If the governments can fast-track the land reform program and ensure that huge parcels of land are handed back to blacks living in Khayelitsha this would lead to many erecting new houses and having enough land to create urban food gardens which would create jobs and reduce dependency on buying food items. These actions would drastically reduce poverty in the township of Khayelitsha.

The suggestion is that if the city and the government could fast-track land reforms and restitute land for many blacks, this would create opportunities for the construction of new houses and the creation of urban food gardens which could create jobs for many in Khayelitsha. These efforts could greatly reduce poverty in the township.

This literature is in line with the human capital theory which examines the earnings of individuals, and it is one of the major determinants of poverty. The theory was first developed by Becker & Mincer (1975), and it explains both individuals' decisions to invest in human capital in issues like education and training and the pattern of individuals' lifetime earnings.

#### 4.8.1.7 Is the city is addressing relative poverty in Khayelitsha?

The researcher then proceeded to ask Participant WC1 as to how the city was addressing relative poverty in Khayelitsha? The Participant notes that:

“The provision of low skill jobs like sweeping the streets and other Expanded Public Work Programs (EPWP) organised by the city and social security payments can go a long way to reduce relative poverty in the short term.”

The understanding here is that low-skill jobs can assist in reducing poverty in these townships in the short term, especially through government interventions like the EPWPs.

The finding is in line with existing literature by David (2010) which suggests that short-term interventions are aimed at providing support to the urban poor. Although they play an essential role in alleviating the plight of the poor, it is in essence survivalist nature. Rather, the eradication of poverty requires both short-term and long-term interventions. What is needed to eradicate poverty are longer-term interventions that empower the poor to lift themselves out of poverty.

In most cases, those who lack access to necessities mainly perceive the causes of poverty in structural terms, while the rich or those who have access to services perceive the causes of poverty in individualistic terms. In this light, the poor feel that external barriers or structural causes continue to prevent them from improving their lives. David (2010) holds that examples of structural causes include “the lack of opportunities within the external environment” and “poor household circumstances” like those living in shacks with no proper toilets, water, and sanitation. The IDP is the key strategy to identify the needs of the community, but municipalities have been hamstrung by lack of capacity, which often resulted in poor service delivery.

#### 4.8.1.8 The next theme was improved service delivery and infrastructure development to alleviate poverty

The next theme was service delivery and infrastructure development in the township and when the researcher put this question to Participant WC1?

He notes that:

“Many people in the township see themselves as being excluded or abandoned by the city and the government as they do not have houses, electricity, water and sanitation and waste removal services”.

The understanding is that these groups see poverty in structural terms in that they had been denied basic services by external organisations like the city which supplies these services. Whereas the rich have access to decent houses and basic services see poverty as an individual’s decision to acquire these services.

This finding is in line with David (2010) who notes that those who lack access to basic necessities predominantly perceive the causes of poverty in structural terms, while those who



are white mostly perceive the causes of poverty in individualistic terms. In other words, the poor feel that external barriers or structural causes of poverty continue to prevent them. The finding is that most blacks see poverty in structural terms, whereas many whites see it in individualistic terms.

#### 4.8.1.9 The next issue was on access to housing in Khayelitsha

When the researcher put this question to Participant WC1, he notes that:

Housing is crucial in Khayelitsha in alleviating relative poverty in the township as many residents do not have proper houses. This has led to many residents resorting to self-help schemes and the tremendous rise in the number of makeshift or informal houses in the community. These informal houses are making the township dirty. This high level of informality leads to other health challenges in the township like the high rate of tuberculosis (TB), dysentery, and cholera, and also social ills like petty crime.

The explanation here is that housing is the main challenge driving relative poverty in the community as the township has emerged as the leading township with informality in the city of Cape Town.

The finding is in line with existing literature by Astrid (2009) which identifies Khayelitsha as the leading township with informality in the city of Cape Town. As explained earlier, Storey (2014:13) notes that whereas only 21% of the City's households comprise informal dwellings, Khayelitsha has 55% of informal households and this reveals how the informal areas are more prevalent than the formal ones. Conradie (2014:5) and Seekings (2013:1) see the area as depicting high levels of informality, poverty, and crime due to these levels of informality. Astrid (2009:139) states that this makes the community the leading township with informality in the city. David (2010) reveals that access to assets like a house is a strategy that has been identified to improve economic and social security in areas like Khayelitsha. Many scholars agree that the provision of housing, land, capital, and social infrastructure will form the basis for economic engagement. In this regard, community infrastructure is an important form of asset for the poor.

This explains why there was The Presidential Urban Renewal Program (PURP) which was launched by President Thabo Mbeki in his state of the nation address in 2001 when he announced the launch of the URP as an area-based approach to address poverty and underdevelopment in areas like Khayelitsha. Also, President Zuma indicated that the Urban Renewal and Integrated and Sustainable Rural Development programmes will be boosted by focusing on more targeted interventions.

#### 4.9.1 Objective Three: To investigate the views of various social movements on the causes of poverty?

The first question the researcher put to the Participant from the urban social movements like the SJC1<sup>2</sup> was, what are the causes of poverty in Khayelitsha?

The Participant from SJC1 notes that:

Poverty in Khayelitsha is caused by the absence of land and the failure of the land reform program since 1996. This failure has meant that many blacks must rely on external job opportunities in the township to maintain their lives. The absence of land has led to jobless and a high rate of unemployment in the community which has led to many residents relying on the state. Also, poverty in Khayelitsha is due to the absence of services. The absence of these services has made the community dirty.

For the Social Justice Coalition, their perception of the causes of poverty is the failure of land reforms in the country post-1996. They note that this has led to a high level of joblessness and pushed many residents to rely on the state. Secondly, they also blame the state for its inability to provide basic services to the residents of the community.

This finding seems to resonate with existing literature by Noyo (2005) which attributes the causes of poverty to external causes and not by the individual. In this light, the SJC blames the apartheid system for the current high levels of poverty the township is facing and blames the

current government for the failure to deliver services, lack of transformation, and the failure to deliver low-cost housing to the residents of Khayelitsha. This finding implies that social movements view poverty as being caused by the government due to the failures of the land reforms and therefore the individual cannot be blamed for his failings. This explains why movements engage the city to ensure that services are delivered to these residents.

#### 4.9.1.1 The next issue was on the view of these civil societies on the causes of poverty

The second question the researcher put to the Participants from the SJC1 and leaders of urban social movements like ABM1<sup>3</sup> was, what are their views on the causes of poverty amongst Khayelitsha residents?

He notes that:

“Since the end of Apartheid, the South African government has not taken any bold steps towards building a new society like building multi-racial townships and communities where Blacks, Whites, Indians, and Coloureds live together. This is evident as in most cases Blacks are living in squalid conditions in informal settlements and in makeshift houses. While Whites, Indians, and Coloureds live in decent houses and have the best of services. The government has done little to move away from the Native Land Act of 1913, it has failed to carry out a land audit and land reforms and instead, it has adopted neoliberal economic policies which favour the Whites such as the GEAR policy. Also, the living conditions and living areas still reveal that the Group Areas Act of 1953 is still in tack and alive as segregation is rife in most South African towns and cities post-1996”.

This seems to suggest that the government has not transformed the landscape and the lives of the majority of blacks have not changed whereas other racial groups are experiencing changes. The neglect of blacks in the new dispensation seems to suggest neglect of the new government. The finding is in line with Williams (2004:2005; Seekings 2013) who hold that the post-1996 transformation thrust has done little to change the socio-economic, property market relations and material conditions of many blacks living in Khayelitsha township as tens of thousands live in makeshift houses that do not accrue market value, use bucket toilets, and others do not have access to water on an equitable and sustainable basis. Their struggles to ensure subsidised services that reach all have gone right to the Constitutional Court to ensure that sufficient services are delivered. A good case in point for Williams (2004) is the Grootboom case where the court ruled that housing is a basic right in the country. These findings imply that the ANC government has not substantively addressed the land problem which is at the centre of poverty amongst blacks.

#### 4.9.1.2 The next question to the social movements was on the causes of poverty

The next question the researcher put to ABM1 was how the city or government can address these causes of poverty in Khayelitsha? He notes that:

“The government should embark on a process of land redistribution and massively transfer land to its rightful owners. Second, the government should massively build houses and distribute them to Khayelitsha residents. These housing projects would reduce poverty in the community. Also, many of these residents do not have basic services, but they are South Africans, therefore, the government should provide them with basic services like electricity, water, and sanitation services. This is important as the absence of formal housing has led to many residents embarking on makeshift houses known as the shacks and these houses increase the levels of informality and also the levels of poverty in the community”.

The view of the ABM1 is that the government can address poverty in Khayelitsha through land reforms and the massive transfer of land to the blacks. Also, the government should construct houses and distribute them to the poor people in Khayelitsha. The government can also

intensify the efforts in providing subsidised services in this community like water, electricity, and sanitation and also improved drainage and sewer services. This would raise their standards of living and reduce relative poverty in the township.

This view is shared by existing scholarship by Noyo (2005) who holds that land is at the centre of the causes of poverty in South Africa. David (2010) also agrees that the provision of these services can go a long way in reducing relative poverty in Khayelitsha township as many residents would be provided with these basic subsidised services.

The finding is that the government creating jobs and providing housing to the residents in Khayelitsha can go a long way to addressing relative poverty in the township. Also, the provision of basic services can address poverty in the townships and give it a facelift.

#### 4.9.1.3 The next question to the social movements was the issue of relative poverty

When the researcher asks the Participant from the SJC1 on what is relative poverty?

He notes that:

“Relative poverty is a comparative concept as it attempts to compare poverty levels between different individuals and different areas. But we must remember that this is what apartheid did to South Africans as it favoured specific individuals and their communities and disadvantaged some. The evidence is there as some areas are still richer while others are poorer. Thus, the new South Africa is reflective of the Group Areas Act as areas like Mandalay nearer to Khayelitsha was designed for Indians while Mitchell’s Plain was designed for Coloureds, These areas today are far more developed than Khayelitsha as they both have decent housing and subsidised services when compared to many parts of Khayelitsha”.

For the participant, relative poverty should be seen from the legacy of apartheid as some citizens and certain areas were favoured while others were not. This legacy has led to some individuals and racial groups who were favoured having higher incomes and enjoying better services while black communities that were not favoured being disadvantaged. This is true as apartheid was some form of racial capitalism through which Whites and Coloureds were provided with economic opportunities whereas Blacks were neglected.

The finding is in line with Williams (2005) who explains that currently in Cape Town White areas still benefit from better services whereas black areas like Khayelitsha are neglected. This neglect is contributing to relative poverty as the area looks filthy as in many cases the city does not remove refuse on a regular basis. Also, water, drainage, and sewer are not delivered on a regular basis. Hence, there is existential racism in the city in the realms of service delivery as White areas are catered for and black areas like Khayelitsha are neglected. This explains why Khayelitsha is suffering from relative poverty as the area is being neglected. This finding implies that Khayelitsha is not receiving state services regular basis. The irregularity in the delivery of services is leading to the emergence of poor and filthy informal areas when compared to neighbouring areas like Mandalay and Mitchell's Plain where waste removal is regular.

The views of these social movements are that since poverty is caused by poor government policy, the absence of land, and the failures of land reforms, therefore poverty can be addressed through advocacy, policy change, and through these civil society organisations delivering basic services directly to these poor communities and through public interest litigations.

#### 4.9.1.4 The view of Civil Society Organisations on the causes of poverty

The researcher asked the Participant from ABM1 about their view on poverty alleviation, he revealed that:

“Since poverty is caused by poor policies they had to engage the government for a policy change to improve the lives of the poor in Khayelitsha”.

The view here is that movements engaging the city through policy change might lead to it adopting policies that alleviate poverty in Khayelitsha. The SJC (2014) agrees that engaging the city through policy change could coerce them to change their policy on Khayelitsha.

#### 4.9.1.5 The next theme was on how the CSOs use advocacy to engage the local state on behalf of the poor

In this light, the researcher engaged Participant SJC2 on how advocacy works. He explains that:

The SJC uses advocacy to engage the City to provide services in Khayelitsha. And if the city rejects advocacy they turn to a Public Interest Litigation to pressure the city to provide services.

The understanding here is that the CSOs always turn to advocacy through which they try to speak on behalf of the poor in Khayelitsha arguing for the state to provide more services. This is in line with Anheier, (2004) who expands that CSOs can play a constructive role in ensuring that they speak on behalf of the poor. In urban poverty reduction, CSOs seek to reduce urban poverty by advocating for citizens' rights and pressuring local authorities to provide adequate infrastructure, services, and land tenure for the poor (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2004a, 18).

Advocates of urban poverty reduction mainly focus on the poor's land-use rights, landlord-tenant relations as well as on the rights of informal workers and women in squatter areas. However, for CSOs to effectively advocate for the urban poor's rights, they need to strengthen the bargaining power of these groups to defend their rights and enhance their capacity for organization and collective action. Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004b) explain that: "poverty reduction requires more than an official recognition of the poor's needs. It has to include strengthening and being accountable to a people's movement that is able to renegotiate the relationship between the urban poor and the state (its political and bureaucratic apparatus at district, city, and higher levels), and among the urban poor, and other stakeholders" (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2004b, 282). Also, social movements like Abahlele Base Mjondolo, and the SJC has spoken against the high levels of poverty in Khayelitsha and have mobilised residents to fight for themselves. The finding is that the CSOs can assist the urban poor to fight for their urban land use rights and capacitate them to claim their rights in the city.

#### 4.9.1.6 The social movements assist the poor with services

When the researcher asked Participant ABM1 how social movements can directly assist the poor by delivering basic services.

He revealed that:

“In some cases, there are many civil society organisations which directly provide basic services to Khayelitsha residents like Gift of the Givers that constructed houses for many Khayelitsha residents who were affected by fire in 2009”.

The other case internationally cited is the case of Medicine Sans frontiers which is a CSO that assists Khayelitsha residents directly in their communities and Gift of the Givers, which build emergency houses for those in informal settlements whose houses are ravaged by fire. This view is also shared by the SJC reveals how on several occasions’ community-based organisations are assisting the residents with food parcels and soup kitchens to alleviate poverty. The KPBT1 explains how the organisation has organised many soup kitchens in Khayelitsha.

#### 4.9.1.7 Social movements organise Public Interest Litigations against the city to ensure policy change on poverty

When the researcher asked Participant SJC2 as to how they are organising Public Interest Litigations (PILs) to ensure policy change against poverty. The Participant explained that:

“The SJC has on many occasions resorted to PIL against the City. The SJC has embarked on public interest litigation by suing the City. This was as a last resort as the city has consistently argued that long-term sanitation infrastructure cannot be installed everywhere due to geographical and engineering constraints that allegedly affect 82% of informal areas in the city”.

This finding suggests that long-term infrastructure cannot be installed in some areas due to the geographical and geotechnical situation of these areas. The SJC Report (2016) reveals that for



several years the city has refused to provide any scientific evidence to substantiate this claim. In 2016, the SJC launched PIL against the city to pressurise it to upgrade these areas.

## 4.10 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the data collected from Khayelitsha township on the different ideas of the causes of and dynamics of poverty in the community. The chapter presented and analysed the data collected from the field through semi-structured interviews, telephonic interviews, and document data collected from Khayelitsha were also analyzed. The focus of the analysis was on both documents and interview responses. The second section presents documentary evidence on the multidimensionality of poverty in Khayelitsha.

It is evident that few if any of the City officials I interviewed had a deeper appreciation of the long history of oppression of black people and the severe dispossession of land, education and insecurity. Thanks to migrant labour, black families are constantly travelling “home” to the Eastern Cape for family activities such as funerals and weddings at enormous expense. Moreover, City officials think that economic growth and jobs is the key to solving poverty. Some suggest that blacks in townships should become entrepreneurs traders like the Somalian shopkeepers – a view which seems to ignore the specificity of SA’s settler colonial legacy.

The overall conditions of life in especially informal areas is not conducive to producing healthy and secure humans that are able to flourish. Walking through narrow corridors between shacks at night or early in the morning is dangerous and most if not all shack dwellers are without hot water or modern conveniences.

The next chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

# CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 5.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter examined the data that was collected through semi-structured and telephone interviews in gaining insights into an exploration of the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha township. This current chapter would highlight the discussions, conclusions, and recommendations of the study as it seeks to illuminate the research objectives. The research objectives the researcher set out in this study were to spotlight the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. Thus, the study identified the main concepts of poverty, relative and absolute, and also the multidimensionality of poverty in this township post-1996. In this concluding chapter, the researcher will briefly summarise all the various chapters of the thesis, present a summary of the research findings, present conclusions, and finally, draw recommendations that could assist on how to alleviate poverty in the township of Khayelitsha.

## Research Aims / Objectives of the Study

The main objectives

The primary objective of this thesis is to contribute towards a better understanding of the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha.

The research objectives were:

Objective one

To examine the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha

Objective Two

To analyse how civil societies understand poverty in Khayelitsha

Objective Three

To investigate the views of various social movements on the causes of poverty

## Research Questions

The central research question this thesis seeks to explore is; what are the dynamics and understanding of poverty in Khayelitsha among key leaders?

The research questions were:

Sub question one

What are the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha?

Sub-question two

How does civil society understand poverty in Khayelitsha?

Sub-question three

What are the views of various social movements on the causes of poverty?

## 5.1 Summary of Previous Chapters

In chapter 1 the researcher presented a general introduction to the entire study. This chapter, therefore, serves as a blueprint or gateway for this study. The researcher has intermittently referred to this as a core chapter as it is the entry point or point of departure of this study.

Chapter 2 of this study examined the concepts of poverty and different types of poverty in the literature. It also examined the multidimensional nature of poverty and the indicators of poverty in the township. It further examines how poverty leads to social exclusion. The study then shifted to examining civil society and social justice and the theoretical groundings of this study.

Chapter 3 presented the research methodology that was employed to collect the information on the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. These were necessary for directing the study and providing claims and evidence for the understanding of the different dynamics of poverty in the community. Moreover, the researcher provided and explained the thematic analysis approach which was used to analyse data to enhance the trustworthiness of this study. Furthermore, the research design assisted the researcher to focus on a given study area as well as the collection of data. The researcher took cognisance of the limitation, which in this case cannot be used for generalisation as the data might not be the same in the other townships in the city of Cape Town.

Chapter 4 presented and analysed the data collected from the field through semi-structured interviews, telephonic interviews, and document data collected from the selected areas of

Khayelitsha township were also analysed. The focus of the analysis was on both documents and interview responses. In this light, conclusions and recommendations can be drawn due to the emerging lacunae or gaps identified in this chapter.

Chapter 5 presented a summary of the previous chapters and recommendations on how government and civil society can understand the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. Concluding remarks of the study were given, as well as implications for future studies.

## 5.2 Summary and Discussions of the main findings

To provide a coherent sequence in this section, the researcher has aligned the research questions to the main findings.

The overarching research question of this study was to attempt an exploration of the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. The thesis reveals that post-1996 the township of Khayelitsha is experiencing different dynamics of poverty within a democratic dispensation and a Constitution Act, 108 of 1996 which promises socio-economic rights and the right to basic services. The different dynamics of poverty in the township have emerged as a problem as many are unemployed and live-in informal houses. These conditions are leading to high levels of illnesses like Tuberculosis and increasing levels of social crime. These challenges need to be addressed as highlighted by many scholars (Von Donk, 2004; Tissington, 2011). This study attempts to highlight these different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. To achieve this goal the study employed a qualitative study using in-depth and telephonic interviews, literature review, and documentary evidence.

### Research Questions

The central research question this thesis seeks to explore is; what are the dynamics and understanding of poverty in Khayelitsha among key leaders?

#### Research Question One: What are the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha?

A major theme that emerged in Chapter four in our findings on the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha was:

- What is poverty?
- What are the multi-dimensions of poverty?
- What is relative poverty?

During the interviews, it emerged from the participants especially city of Cape Town officials, Ward Councillors and Community Development Workers, Ward Development Chairpersons, and SANCO leaders that the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is the City's principal strategic planning instrument, from which various other strategic documents will flow. In this light, it informs planning and development in the City and reveals how poverty is understood by the City Mayor, City Managers, and other city administrators. Thus, the thesis followed this trajectory to gain insights into how the city uses the IDP as a strategy and this assisted the researcher to gain insights into what are the various understandings of the government in this case the City of Cape Town knows what poverty in Khayelitsha entails.

According to the Integrated Development Plan (2017-2022), the question as to what poverty in Khayelitsha is due to the absence of jobs and the city promises to create more jobs to ensure that citizens are employed. The Municipal Systems Act (2000) calls for the municipalities to develop a culture of municipal governance that works together with the elected leaders with a system of participatory governance. Williams (2005) agrees that IDPs provide an opportunity for both the municipalities and the communities to work together on local governance. This is supported by the Constitution (1996), and the Municipal Structures Act (1998) *inter alia* which argue on the involvement of the community and their organisations in Ward Committee (WC) meetings and IDPs in decision-making in the delivery of services in their various communities. Secondly, the study also found that the IDP also identifies inadequate housing as a challenge and the city also wishes to address these issues through the construction of more houses. Du Toit (2005) agrees that the progressive delivery of housing could address the different dynamics of poverty. This is also in line with Noyo (2005) who substantiates that the Native Land Act of 1913 has been at the heart of poverty in Black townships like Khayelitsha. He adds that this has been made worse by the inability of the ANC to deliver land to the landless post-1994.

The study found that if there is persistent poverty today it is certainly due to the failure of the land reform program. Noyo (2005) explains that the land reform program has also failed to escape the trappings of neoliberalism (read Thwala, 2003; Greensberg, 2004). He explains that landlessness compounds poverty in the manner that it impedes communities in Khayelitsha to

have recourse to a source of livelihood through farming. It curtails poor people's ability to use the land as a reproductive asset in the case of farming. This is true as hunger could be reduced if people had access to land where they could cultivate their crops and run urban food gardens.

## Research Question Two: What are the views of various social movements on the causes of poverty?

A notable observation is that CSO's seem to have a better grasp of the history and politics of poverty. Many of them refer to the:

- Native Land Act of 1913
- The lack of Land
- The failure of Land Reforms since 1996
- The abandoning of RDP
- The Government's adoption of Neoliberal Economic Policies and privatisation
- The Adoption of GEAR

As intimated in Chapter Two, many researchers have revealed that during Apartheid the various governments enacted a series of laws to keep Africans and Blacks poor. Like Wilson (1976) claims that a series of labour-orientated laws like the Pass Laws, the Native Services Contract Act, the Masters, and Servants Act, and the Native's Labour Regulations were legislated to exclude Africans from the benefits of certain labour rewards. By denying them their freedom of movement, the Pass Laws effectively limited their bargaining power, exposing them to exploitation by a certain type of employer and excluding them from enjoying benefits to be derived from the Industrial Conciliation Act.

Also, the cheap labour practice was premised to advantage capitalism and enables it to reap huge surpluses and profits for the Whites to the disadvantage of Blacks. Johnstone (1972) further observes that the 1913 Land Act was amongst the most central laws which actively promoted Capitalism in the country to exclude Blacks from the mainstream economy of the country. In any given society, ownership of land and/or access to it is a fundamental basis of all wealth and power. It is from the land that man derives his existence. This is also supported by Noyo (2005) who reveals that the 1913 Native Land Act deprived Africans of land and made them dependent on Whites for employment. In this light, it was expected that the ANC would ensure Land Reforms post-1996 but this has not happened. Overall, many social movements

perceive the Native Land Act of 1913 as the main driver of poverty in Khayelitsha. They also point to the fact that post-1996 the promise of Land Reforms had been stalled.

The leaders of these civil society organisations revealed that they anticipated a drastic change from the pre-1990 years and they are bewildered by the fact that little has changed in terms of land ownership as many Khayelitsha residents are still landless. Also, the multidimensional nature of poverty still rotates around the land, housing, land for agricultural use, and employment around farms.

Other activists argue that the fact that the government has embraced neoliberalism and privatisation as their core policy after the decommissioning of the RDP shows clearly that the government is not interested in poverty alleviation in Khayelitsha and others.

The study revealed that many civil society leaders believe that the government is responsible for both the delays and the failure to introduce land reforms. Thus, the government is responsible for the different dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. Activists point out the fact that the government is embracing neoliberal macro-economic policies which are leading to privatisation of services and contributing to increasing poverty. There is an urgent need for the government to embark on Land Reforms to ensure that land is transferred to Blacks to alleviate poverty.

### Research Question Three: How does civil society understand poverty in Khayelitsha?

Civil society understands poverty has been caused by poor government policies as mentioned earlier. Thus, they use these mechanisms stated below to address it.

- Advocacy
- Policy Change
- Service Delivery
- Public Interest Litigations

This section of the study explores how civil society understands poverty in Khayelitsha. It should be noted that civil society can promote development by operating at various levels (local, national, and global). Therefore, in assessing the role of civil society in poverty reduction, one can examine four main dimensions of civil society: first its structure; second the

space in which it operates; third the values it advocates; and finally its impact on policymaking (Anheier, 2004).

This section focuses on the role of civil society organizations operating in the field of poverty reduction, i.e., their ability to advocate for values that promote equity and their role in giving voice to the poor or voiceless, lobbying policymakers, and helping in service provision.

Civil society organisations can play a role in poverty reduction by ‘reaching the poorest’ (Lawson et al., 2009); lobbying the state to change policies and provide social services (Van Rooy and Robinson, 1998:39-42). In some cases, civil societies still play a role in providing humanitarian aid like Medecins Sans Frontiers like Gift of the Givers. This section focuses on three civil society approaches to poverty reduction: advocacy, policy change, and service delivery. The researcher agrees and posits that NGOs can promote poverty reduction, namely by: (1) pushing for structural and social change or advocacy; (2) lobbying the government for pro-poor reforms or policy change; and (3) the provision of basic needs or service delivery.

## Advocacy

As intimated earlier in Chapter four a key domain through which CSOs seek to reduce poverty is advocacy through which they mobilise campaigns around local or national government providing basic services to the poor in Khayelitsha. Coates & David (2002) argue that “advocacy work has become the latest enthusiasm for most agencies involved in international aid and development” (Coates & Davis, 2002:530). CSOs’ use of advocacy work at all levels is due to several reasons. First, their understanding of poverty and deprivation has deepened as they came to realize that despite decades of aid influx the causes of poverty have not been tackled yet.

Second, the context in which civil society organizations operate has changed as a result of the growing size and capacity of Southern NGOs. As a result, “Southern NGOs and social movements have become more assertive in challenging power structures within their own countries and increasingly at the international level” (Coates & David, 2002:531). Challenging such power structures is possible through active advocacy campaigns.

Hintjens (2006) explains that the strength of the movement lies in its belief in the ability of the poor to organize themselves. She adds that “the movement is an attractive source of inspiration and confidence for active, progressive people of all kinds” (Hintjens, 2006: 629). Therefore,



advocacy can be considered an effective means of promoting poverty reduction by inspiring the marginalized and the poor to organize themselves and advocate for their rights. It is important to note that as explained in chapter four advocacy movements can promote poverty reduction by bringing the poor's struggles to public attention, spreading the 'politics of hope', and inspiring the poor and disenfranchised by showing that change is – in fact- possible.

In the area of urban poverty reduction like in Khayelitsha, many local and international NGOs also seek to reduce urban poverty by advocating for citizens' rights and pressuring local authorities like the City to provide adequate infrastructure, services, and land tenure to the poor (Mitlin & Satterthwaite, 2004a,18). The study found that advocates of urban poverty reduction mainly focus on the poor's land-use rights and women in informal areas in Khayelitsha. The study also found that for CSOs to effectively advocate for the urban poor's rights like in Khayelitsha, they need to strengthen the bargaining power of these groups to defend their rights and to enhance their capacity for organization and collective action. This resonates with the work of the SJC. Mitlin & Satterthwaite (2004b) explain that: "poverty reduction requires more than an official recognition of the poor's needs. It has to include strengthening and accountable people's movement that can renegotiate the relationship between the urban poor and the state (its political and bureaucratic apparatus at district, city and higher levels), and between the urban poor and other stakeholders" (Mitlin & Satterthwaite, 2004b:282).

The study also found that these civil society organisations try to monitor the government and its resource allocation in favour of the marginalized. Second, they try to raise a public debate around poverty-related problems to influence policy design, build new alliances, gain new supporters and encourage policymakers to establish programmes to address these problems (Bebbington et al., 2009:11). Many CSOs work with local authorities to bring the problems of the poor to their attention and seek policy changes that would directly enhance the livelihoods of the poor. They work with local councils to gain their acceptability and use a non-confrontational approach to ensure that their suggestions are listened to (Mitlin & Satterthwaite, 2004b: 286).

The study also revealed that these CSOs also advocating to help the poor in service delivery and remedial actions. Rahman (2006) explains that "the CSO sector as a whole has shifted away from its initial focus on promoting political mobilization and accountable government, to the apolitical delivery of basic services" (Rahman, 2006: 451). Mitlin & Mogaladi (2009) explain that in South Africa CSOs were concerned with various problems related to poverty reduction, like shelter, human rights, labour, gender, and the environment. To address these

problems, they focused on the restoration of land to those who have been evicted (Mitlin & Mogaladi, 2009: 21-22) and the provision of soup kitchens for the hungry, and the provision of shelter by Gift of the Givers for those who lost their houses due to shack fires. However, politically mobilizing the poor is critical.

The study also reveals that in urban contexts, CSOs seek to help the urban poor by improving their homes and their surrounding infrastructure and providing services, especially through ‘slum-and-squatter’ upgrading programmes. Through service provision, CSOs contribute to urban poverty reduction by “often fulfilling the role that government agencies should provide – for instance, the provision of water, waste removal, healthcare” (Mitlin & Satterthwaite, 2004a,).

The study also revealed that these CSOs resorted to a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) against the City as seen by the activities of the SJC which embarked on litigation against the city. SJC Report (2016) Report notes that the organisation has been engaging the City to address poverty in Khayelitsha. It emerged from the study that despite these efforts the area still has worsening levels of poverty due to lack of housing and unemployment and these living conditions exacerbate endemic poverty producing gangsterism, crime, gender abuse, prostitution, and gambling (IDP, 2017-2022).

### 5.3 Recommendations

This study found poverty definitions in the City understate the importance of history, location, informal settlements and spatial inequality as part of a cycle of impoverishment. The City of Cape Town should urgently develop a better understanding of the deep roots of impoverishment and advance better located social housing programs for millions of excluded residents living on the Cape Flats. Urban social movements can achieve more for the community of Khayelitsha if they are able to work collectively to engage the city. Future researchers can also investigate the primary economic basis of the City (is the city a tourist city?). Future researchers can investigate what the property market does to drive the exclusion of the poor and how it produces and reproduces poverty especially seen in the housing sector in the townships.

This mini-thesis has explored the understandings of township poverty by the local state and civic actors. The study examined the limits of conceptual frameworks used by the City administration to examine poverty, noting its ahistorical character and failure to engage with

the increasing wealth of the elite as a factor in producing impoverishment. Poverty is historical but it is not a static “condition” and includes chronic, relative, historical and intergenerational aspects. The inability of both the national state and local governments to conceptualize effective solutions to these issues has led to the rise of persistent poverty and protests triggering the rise of Urban Social Movements (USM) in the city that have engaged the city to address these challenges using a more historically informed understanding of impoverishment. The study has suggested that both national and local governments have not moved beyond seeing poverty only in its absolute form which has made it difficult, if not impossible, to break the cycle of impoverishment in cities.

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## APPENDIX 1 – PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

### FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

Participation information sheet for (Interviews)

**RESEARCH TITLE:** An exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty: The case of Khayelitsha, 2010 – 2018.

Dear Participant

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Mr Luvuyo Zuma. It is in partial completion of the researcher's thesis towards the Masters in Public Administration Degree at the School of Government, at the University of the Western Cape. Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand the purpose of the research and what it would entail. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If you are unclear of anything, I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

#### **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this research project is to explore the various, competing understandings and dynamics of poverty in Khayelitsha. The problem this research seeks to understand is the specific dynamics and nature of poverty in Khayelitsha since the poverty manifests in different ways in different places.

#### **DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT**

We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you meet the set criterion for the population of interest and your participation will help other people. You will also be asked to participate in the interview session. The study will be done online via teams and zoom. The interview will last approximately 45 minutes.

#### **CONFIDENTIALITY & ANONYMITY**

Please be advised that the results of the study will neither divulge the organization's particulars nor the individual particulars, as to maintain confidentiality at all times. Any information that can connect the responses to an individual or organization will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. The researcher shall keep all records and tapes of your participation, including a signed consent form, which is required from you, should you agree to participate in this research study, locked away at all times.

All the data will be kept in password-protected computer files known only to the researcher. Data collection sheets and audio tapes will be kept safely in a lockable filing cabinet accessed only by the researcher. All raw data including written documents and tapes will be destroyed after three months of the final dissertation being marked and graded. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected.

### **RISKS OF THE RESEARCH?**

There's no foreseeable potential risk in the research that may cause any prospective harm to the participants.

### **BENEFITS OF THE RESEARCH**

The Benefits of this research are outlined as follows:

In spite of numerous poverty interventions implemented, a large number of people in Khayelitsha are still trapped in poverty. In response to this persistent poverty, spatial-stigma is faced by people of Khayelitsha. The study intends to investigate how poverty is conceptualised and why the various poverty interventions are not able to reduce the level of poverty in Khayelitsha?

### **VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, which means that you are free to decline from participation. It is your decision whether or not to take part. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind - and without giving a reason. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.

### **PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION**

There are no costs to the participant for partaking in the study.

APPENDIX 2 – INFORMED CONSENT  
FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

## INFORMED CONSENT

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before I proceed to interview you. I have included the consent form with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.

## QUESTIONS

Should you have further questions or wish to know more, I can be contacted as follows:

Student Name : Luvuyo Zuma  
Student Number : 3806537  
Mobile Number : 0829543785  
Work Number : 021 483 5785  
Email : 3806537@myuwc.ac.za  
I am accountable to my supervisor : Professor Gregory Ruiters  
Department : School of Government  
Telephone : 021 959 3869  
Fax : 021 959 3849  
Email : gruiters@uwc.ac.za

This research project has received ethical approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape,

HSSREC

Tel. 021 959 4111,

email: [research-ethics@uwc.ac.za](mailto:research-ethics@uwc.ac.za)

## APPENDIX 3 – ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER



UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE



08 February 2021

Mr L Zuma  
School of Government  
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences

**Ethics Reference Number:** HS20/6/43

**Project Title:** An evaluation of the dynamics and concept of poverty: The study of Khayelitsha, 2010-2018.

**Approval Period:** 05 February 2021 – 05 February 2024

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

**Please remember to submit a progress report by 30 November each year for the duration of the project.**

*The permission to conduct the study must be submitted to HSSREC for record keeping purposes.*

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse events and/or termination of the study.

Ms Patricia Josias  
Research Ethics Committee Officer  
University of the Western Cape

NHREC Registration Number: HSSREC-130416-049

Director: Research Development  
University of the Western Cape  
Private Bag X 17  
Bellville 7535  
Republic of South Africa  
Tel: +27 21 959 4111  
Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE.



## APPENDIX 4 – PERMISSION TO CONDUCT STUDY

South African National Civic Organisation



Peninsula Region, Western Cape

Site B Community Hall, Sulani Drive, Site B Khayelithsa

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To: Whom it may concern  
Date: 17 August 2021  
Subject: Data collection- Masters Dissertation

Dear Madam/Sir

Greetings on behalf of SANCO Peninsula Regional Executive Committee.

Please be advised that I hereby give Mr. Luvuyo Zuma, who is currently a student at UWC-School of Government, permission to collect data and have an interview with the structures of SANCO in the City of Cape Town ( Peninsula Region) towards completion of his Master's Degree.

Thanking you in advance

Warm regards

Thank you

Dalisile Mfazwe

+27 60 840 5839

[dalisilemfazwe@gmail.com](mailto:dalisilemfazwe@gmail.com)



APPENDIX 5 – CONSENT FORM FOR KHAYELITSHA BUILDING TEAMS

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

CONSENT FORM FOR KHAYELITSHA BUILDING TEAMS PARTICIPANTS

**RESEARCH TITLE:** An exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty: The case of Khayelitsha, 2010 – 2018.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by **Luvuyo Zuma** towards the **MPA** Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name :

Participant Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

I give consent for recordings to be taken:

|       |          |
|-------|----------|
| Agree | Disagree |
|       |          |

Date :

Place : Khayelitsha

Student Researcher : Luvuyo Zuma

Student Researcher Signature :

Student Number : 3806537

Mobile Number : 0829543785

Email : 3806537@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Professor Gregory Ruiters

Department : School of Government

Telephone : 021 959 3869

Email : [gruiters@uwc.ac.za](mailto:gruiters@uwc.ac.za)

## APPENDIX 6 – CONSENT FORM FOR SANCO PARTICIPANTS

### FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

#### CONSENT FORM FOR SANCO PARTICIPANTS

**RESEARCH TITLE:** An exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty: The case of Khayelitsha, 2010 – 2018.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by **Luvuyo Zuma** towards the **MPA** Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name :

Participant Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

I give consent for recordings to be taken:

| Agree | Disagree |
|-------|----------|
|       |          |

Date :

Place : Khayelitsha

Student Researcher : Luvuyo Zuma

Student Researcher Signature :

Student Number : 3806537

Mobile Number : 0829543785

Email : 3806537@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Professor Gregory Ruiters

Department : School of Government

Telephone : 021 959 3869

Email : [gruiters@uwc.ac.za](mailto:gruiters@uwc.ac.za)



APPENDIX 7 – CONSENT FORM FOR CITY OF CAPE TOWN PARTICIPANTS

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

CONSENT FORM FOR CITY OF CAPE TOWN PARTICIPANTS

**RESEARCH TITLE:** An exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty: The case of Khayelitsha, 2010 – 2018.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by **Luvuyo Zuma** towards the **MPA** Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name :

Participant Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

I give consent for recordings to be taken:

|       |          |
|-------|----------|
| Agree | Disagree |
|       |          |

Date :

Place : Khayelitsha

Student Researcher : Luvuyo Zuma

Student Researcher Signature :

Student Number : 3806537

Mobile Number : 0829543785

Email : 3806537@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Professor Gregory Ruiters

Department : School of Government

Telephone : 021 959 3869

Email : [gruiters@uwc.ac.za](mailto:gruiters@uwc.ac.za)

APPENDIX 8 – CONSENT FORM FOR SOCIAL  
JUSTICE COALITION PARTICIPANTS

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

CONSENT FORM FOR SOCIAL COALITION JUSTICE PARTICIPANTS

**RESEARCH TITLE:** An exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty: The case of Khayelitsha, 2010 – 2018.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by **Luvuyo Zuma** towards the **MPA** Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name :

Participant Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

I give consent for recordings to be taken:

|       |          |
|-------|----------|
| Agree | Disagree |
|       |          |

Date :

Place : Khayelitsha

Student Researcher : Luvuyo Zuma

Student Researcher Signature :

Student Number : 3806537

Mobile Number : 0829543785

Email : 3806537@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Professor Gregory Ruiters

Department : School of Government

Telephone : 021 959 3869

Email : [gruiters@uwc.ac.za](mailto:gruiters@uwc.ac.za)

APPENDIX 9 – CONSENT FORM FOR  
COUNCILLOR PARTICIPANT

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

CONSENT FORM FOR WARD COUNCILLOR PARTICIPANT

**RESEARCH TITLE:** An exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty: The case of Khayelitsha, 2010 – 2018.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by **Luvuyo Zuma** towards the **MPA** Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name :

Participant Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

I give consent for recordings to be taken:

|       |          |
|-------|----------|
| Agree | Disagree |
|       |          |

Date :

\_\_\_\_\_

Place : Khayelitsha

Student Researcher : Luvuyo Zuma

Student Researcher Signature :

Student Number : 3806537

Mobile Number : 0829543785

Email : 3806537@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Professor Gregory Ruiters

Department : School of Government

Telephone : 021 959 3869

Email : [gruiters@uwc.ac.za](mailto:gruiters@uwc.ac.za)



APPENDIX 10 – CONSENT FORM FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKER PARTICIPANTS

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

CONSENT FORM FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKER PARTICIPANTS

**RESEARCH TITLE:** An exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty: The case of Khayelitsha, 2010 – 2018.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by **Luvuyo Zuma** towards the **MPA** Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name :

Participant Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

I give consent for recordings to be taken:

|       |          |
|-------|----------|
| Agree | Disagree |
|       |          |

Date : \_\_\_\_\_

Place : Khayelitsha

Student Researcher : Luvuyo Zuma

Student Researcher Signature :

Student Number : 3806537

Mobile Number : 0829543785

Email : 3806537@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Professor Gregory Ruiters

Department : School of Government

Telephone : 021 959 3869

Email : [gruiters@uwc.ac.za](mailto:gruiters@uwc.ac.za)

APPENDIX 11 – CONSENT FORM FOR WARD DEVELOPMENT CHAIR  
PARTICIPANT

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

CONSENT FORM FOR WARD DEVELOPMENT CHAIR PARTICIPANT

**RESEARCH TITLE:** An exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty: The case of Khayelitsha, 2010 – 2018.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by **Luvuyo Zuma** towards the **MPA** Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name : \_\_\_\_\_

Participant Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

I give consent for recordings to be taken:

| Agree                    | Disagree                 |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Date : \_\_\_\_\_

Place : Khayelitsha

Student Researcher : Luvuyo Zuma

Student Researcher Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

Student Number : 3806537

Mobile Number : 0829543785

Email : 3806537@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Professor Gregory Ruiters

Department : School of Government

Telephone : 021 959 3869

Email : [gruiters@uwc.ac.za](mailto:gruiters@uwc.ac.za)



APPENDIX 12 – CONSENT FORM FOR ABAHLALI BASE MJONDOLO  
PARTICIPANTS

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

CONSENT FORM FOR ABAHLALI BASE MJONDOLO PARTICIPANT

**RESEARCH TITLE:** An exploration of the dynamics and nature of poverty: The case of Khayelitsha, 2010 – 2018.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by **Luvuyo Zuma** towards the **MPA** Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name :

Participant Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

I give consent for recordings to be taken:

| Agree | Disagree |
|-------|----------|
|       |          |

Date :

Place : Khayelitsha

Student Researcher : Luvuyo Zuma

Student Researcher Signature :

Student Number : 3806537

Mobile Number : 0829543785

Email : 3806537@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Professor Gregory Ruiters

Department : School of Government

Telephone : 021 959 3869

Email : [gruiters@uwc.ac.za](mailto:gruiters@uwc.ac.za)

## APPENDIX 13 – RESEARCH QUESTIONS

### FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

What are the various understandings of the government of poverty in Khayelitsha?

What are the views of various social movements on the causes of poverty?

How does civil society understand poverty in Khayelitsha?

1. What is poverty?
2. What is relative poverty?
3. What is multidimensional poverty?
4. What are the causes of poverty since 1996?
5. How the new government is addressing relative poverty based on their understanding?
6. To interrogate the social movements on the causes of poverty in Khayelitsha.
7. To analyse how civil society understand poverty in Khayelitsha.
8. What is the role of the city in addressing relative poverty in Khayelitsha?
9. Evaluation of the effectiveness and efficiency of the city in addressing relative poverty.
10. How the city is addressing unemployment?
11. How is the city addressing relative poverty in Khayelitsha?
12. The view of Civil Society Organisations on the causes of poverty.
13. How do social movements assist the poor with basic services?
14. How do Social movements organise Public Interest Litigations against the city to ensure policy change on poverty?