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Goodbye to Projects? - Review of Livelihoods Approaches and Development Interventions in South Africa

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**GOODBYE TO PROJECTS?
THE INSTITUTIONAL IMPACTS OF A LIVELIHOOD APPROACH ON
DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS**

RESEARCH PROJECT NO. R7908

DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

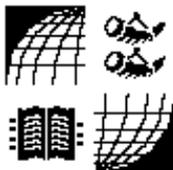
WORKING PAPER SERIES

PAPER NO 2

**AN APPRAISAL OF THE USE OF
LIVELIHOODS APPROACHES IN SOUTH
AFRICA**

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BACKGROUND TO PROJECT AND WORKING PAPER SERIES

This paper is one in a series of working papers prepared under a research project on *Goodbye to Projects? The Institutional Impacts of a Livelihood Approach on development interventions*.

This is a collaborative project between the Bradford Centre for International Centre for Development¹ (BCID) with the Economic and Policy Research Centre (EPRC), Uganda; Khanya – managing rural change, South Africa; and, the Institute for Development Management (IDM), Tanzania. The project is supported by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) under their Economic and Social Research Programme (ESCOR).

Approaches to projects and development have undergone considerable change in the last decade with significant policy shifts on governance, gender, poverty eradication, and environmental issues. Most recently this has led to the adoption and promotion of the sustainable livelihood (SL) approach. The adoption of the SL approach presents challenges to development interventions including: the future of projects and programmes, and sector wide approaches (SWAPs) and direct budgetary support.

This project intends to undertake an innovative review of these issues. Central to this will be to question how a livelihood approach is actually being used in a range of development interventions. This will be used to identify and clarify the challenges to the design, appraisal and implementation of development interventions and changes required from the adoption of a livelihoods approach.

The research is to be conducted in two phases. The first phase consists of general and country reviews on SL and development interventions. The second phase of the research is detailed case studies on development interventions in Uganda, Tanzania and South Africa. These case studies will compare and contrast the implementation of sector wide approaches, programmes and projects developed following an SL approach against those designed using a “classical” approach.

This paper ‘An Appraisal of the use of livelihoods approaches in South Africa’ is the second in the series of project working papers. This is the output of a literature review and series of interviews on sustainable livelihood approaches, projects, programmes and sector wide approaches in South Africa.

This research is funded by the Department for International Development of the United Kingdom. However, the findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the author(s) and should not be attributed to the Department for International Development, which does not guarantee their accuracy and can accept no responsibility for any consequences of their use.

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PROJECT WORKING PAPERS TO DATE

1. Annotated bibliography on livelihood approaches and development interventions.
2. Appraisal of the use of livelihoods approaches in South Africa.
3. Review of approaches to development interventions in Tanzania: From projects to livelihoods approaches.
4. Review of development interventions and livelihoods approaches in Uganda

For more details on the project, this paper, and others in the series, please contact the UK or African co-ordinators:

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For more details on the project and copies of recent publications please consult the project's web site:

- <http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/dppc/goodbye.html>

1.0 Development Interventions in South Africa

1.1 Background

The term “livelihoods” has become widely used in development planning literature in South Africa. The language is becoming more widespread in policy documents, research, newsletters, project and programme proposals and reports, in planning documents and in reports on implementation. However, there is a concern that the words on paper represent merely a set of key phrases and buzzwords with little impact on the livelihoods of the rural poor whom the approach is meant to benefit.

Khanya, who authored this paper, have been very active in applying sustainable livelihoods approaches in Africa. They have been contracted by DFID for the Sustainable Livelihoods Resource Group, and are the only organisation outside of the U.K. to be included.

In attempting to assess the use of livelihoods approaches in South Africa, much more work needs to be done in a rigorous analysis of where the approach has been used on the ground in project and programme implementation. In the vast majority of the references sourced, a livelihoods approach has not moved beyond words on paper.

A few agencies are active in implementing a livelihoods approach, and there is a commitment to do so among many other agencies, which have not yet worked out what this means in practice.

This paper will limit itself to discussion of livelihoods approaches in rural development. Rather than be comprehensive, it will attempt to draw out key issues through analysis of a number of examples.

1.2 Development trends in South Africa

The South African government has made an explicit commitment to rural and urban development, expressed through an array of sectoral and multi-sectoral policy papers, the most recent of these being the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy. (Govt of South Africa, 2000) In the early days of the post-apartheid government, the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) represented the wishes of the government with regard to development. This document committed the government to social expenditure and popular participation in implementing a development approach. This was soon superseded by the Growth, Employment and Reconstruction Policy (GEAR), which committed the Government to macro-economic stability as a way of encouraging foreign investment and thus economic growth. GEAR also represented a move away from participatory development towards a more top-down, government-led approach.

Today, policy is increasingly expressed as a mix of targeted expenditure on infrastructure, within a context of macro-economic stability.

Broadly, government objectives with regard to rural development are:

- Macroeconomic stability to create a climate supporting investment and trade;
- Agricultural policy reform to remove distortions and enhance competitiveness in agriculture;
- Investment in infrastructure and service delivery to strengthen links between rural areas and the economy as a whole, to reduce costs of production in rural localities, and to make rural areas more desirable places to live;
- Decentralisation of government and administration coupled with increased capacity of local authorities to make government more responsive to constituents;
- Investment in human capital to enhance the skills and health of rural people; and
- Broadly based ownership of land and productive assets to address the historical poor access of black South Africans to land and housing.²

While these policy objectives may be sound, in practice the challenge is enormous and planning in rural South Africa faces huge challenges. As a result of Apartheid there are huge backlogs in provision of rural infrastructure and services. The population is sceptical about the goodwill of government; poverty and HIV/AIDS are impacting upon the population, with the dramatic worsening of health indicators such as lifespan; Government services at local and provincial level are inadequate, especially in the poorer provinces where almost all government expenditure goes into personnel costs. In terms of local government, municipal finances are chaotic, councils are under-funded and there is widespread non-payment for services.

Implementation of development projects is uneven. There has been considerable expansion of infrastructure including water supply, electricity, telephones, postal services and health services. However sanitation has been neglected until the recent cholera crisis. Several of the infrastructure projects such as rural electrification suffer from non-payment which leads to questions about sustainability.

To date, government response to the rural crisis has yet to have much impact. Government is now concentrating on some 14 nodes to implement its rural development strategy,. There is as yet no commitment for rural areas to match the R8 billion that has been committed to the upgrading of Alexandra Township, one of South Africa's most impoverished urban areas.

Poverty relief funds available through the Ministry are under spent because of a lack of implementation capacity, or because they cannot be unlocked from the government bureaucracy.

The country's economy has grown between 2 and 3% per annum in the last three years, a considerable improvement from the 80s and early 90s. A recent Reserve Bank report notes that while growth is satisfactory, net capital outflows exceed inward investment. Unfortunately, growth has had almost no effect on unemployment, as the economy continues to shed formal jobs. The agriculture sector, for example, shed almost 30% of its labour in the past 5 years, due to a combination of labour and tenure security legislation, combined with fears of crime. Surprisingly, agricultural growth remained good in the same period.

² World Bank 2001

Mining has continued its long-term decline, despite the growth of platinum. In the last five years, the mining industry has shed 20% of its labour force. Rural economies in the former homelands have continued to deteriorate, with infrastructure, especially roads, noticeably inferior to 5 years ago in many areas. Land reform and agricultural development has made little or no impact on the rural economy since 1994.

The most encouraging trend in the country has been towards decentralisation of administration, as the third sphere of government has been put in place since 1998. Although government at this tier is still weak and poorly resourced, it is a vital tool in a pro-poor approach to development and will become increasingly relevant, as its institutional weaknesses are resolved. Civil society, in the form of NGOs, has been negatively affected by government and foreign donor funding strategies, but nonetheless remains an important institution in South Africa, and a vital role-player in participatory planning.

Government planning at National level is limited to the Medium-term expenditure framework. There is no national development plan, as in some other countries such as Botswana. At local level, provincial plans represent broad statements of intent, rather than targeted programmes, while local planning, through the Land Development Objectives (LDO) and Integrated Development Plans, do represent attempts to develop coherent frameworks for development.

Shortcomings include a lack of capacity and knowledge of how to encourage the emergence of development initiatives, which see people's energy and existing assets as the principal building blocks for achieving social and economic transformation. South African civil society should be playing a major role as a facilitator of state-community relations, and of more innovative and empowering development approaches. Yet, the sector lacks the structure, experience and vision to work effectively with local government and communities.

In the formative days of the new government, a plethora of special projects developed. Some of these display elements of livelihood approaches, while others followed a more traditional project approach, emphasising handing over of assets or resources. The Working for Water programme, is an example of a community-based programme that has some success in generating sustainable employment and involving communities in a participatory way, while the community-based public works programme, while having a participatory intention, seems to have been less successful in building community participation.

1.3 Approaches to development interventions

Development interventions in the country depend upon the sphere of government that has legal status over that sector. For example water and land are national competencies, and are controlled by National government departments. Rural development is a provincial competency, with planning goals set by each province. The approach to poverty-related development interventions is to guarantee free access to basic services –education, health, water, sanitation, power up to a minimum level, with payment being levied on users for services beyond the minimum level. Questions are asked whether this form of free service is sustainable and free education or healthcare are often very poor quality services. Nonetheless, along with proposals for basic welfare grants, they represent an attempt to create a caring state.

Most development interventions that are poverty related are based on annual departmental budgets. The poverty spend across government is in excess of R1 billion per annum, with each Department developing its own programme, usually a mix of own spending and devolution of responsibility to provinces, local authority or outsourced service providers. In most instances, poverty funds are to be spent in the year of allocation, meaning that there is little opportunity for long-term planning.

Government has also funded the national Development Agency, whose task it is to fund NGOs and community-based organisations. To date, its track record has been appalling, with disbursements being very slow. Its funding cycle is generally from 1 – 3 years. The National lottery is also meant to provide income to welfare organisations, but systems for award and disbursement have not yet been put in place.

A number of other charities also operate, ranging from corporate social investment programmes to the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund. Their project cycle is generally from 1 – 3 years, although some donors will give grants, for instance to Universities, for longer periods.

Most international donors have five-year country programmes, based on country strategy papers. Most aid is targeted at government at national and provincial level, although some donors, including the EU and USAID do have non-governmental programmes. It is an increasing trend for donors to contract NGOs or consultants based in their home countries to bid for multi-year programmes. These companies or NGOs are then required to have local partners to manage programmes. Few donor grants are extended beyond two cycles of funding – a maximum of 6 or ten years. Most organisations experience donor funding as short-term, even if it gets extended over a number of years.

Governments are usually organised by sectors. Poor people's livelihoods revolve around livelihood outcomes not sectors. There need not be conflict between sector-wide approaches and the SLA as they are potentially complementary. The SLA is said to be effective at both grass roots and policy levels, thus the SLA should add value to sector programmes by strengthening stakeholder participation and ensuring that policy and institutional change reflect the livelihood priorities of the poor. The starting point for sector programmes therefore should become agriculture- or forest-dependent communities, not the resource or sector per se.

A strong argument for sector-wide – as opposed to integrated or local development programmes, is that the problems of rural people cannot be solved at local level alone, and the sector-wide approach enables a programme to work at local, provincial and national level.

The sector-wide approach is followed in a number of donor programmes- for instance the Forestry support programme, supported by DFID.

The alternative to sector-wide support is budgetary support, in which the donor support forms part of a departmental budget. The Land Affairs technical support programme and the contributions to Working for Water programme can be seen as examples of budgetary support.

2.0 An assessment of livelihoods approaches in selected organisations

The following analysis is the result of an audit of the use of SLA in South Africa, with key organisations being interviewed according to agreed themes (natural resource-based and health oriented interventions).

2.1 Adoption of SLA by donors, NGOs and others

DFID of all the major international donors in South Africa has invested most in a sustainable rural livelihood approach.

DFID's Country Strategy acknowledges that the removal of poverty is the South African government's leading policy objective for social and economic transformation. Much of DFID's programme aims to increase the capacity and ability of largely, but not solely, government institutions, to contribute to the elimination of poverty. One of the three main thrusts of the Country Strategy is to promote sustainable livelihoods for rural communities, with direct benefit to poor people, and a second is to improve the effectiveness of government in service delivery.

DFID has supported a range of projects in support of its SLA objectives, some of which are the Khanya comparative studies in the Eastern Cape, and the SCAPE project led by CARESA. DFID has supported a number of sector-wide projects e.g. Forestry sector, agriculture, land affairs, Coastal and marine programmes. In all of these, a SL approach has been followed in principle, although much of the work has in fact been of a technical nature. Where communities have been involved in obtaining a state asset, the livelihood principles are clearly seen, but it is less clear whether a livelihoods approach is being followed in technical assessments of state forest evaluations, or in the Forestry Restructuring proposals developed as part of the DFID forestry support programme. These projects can be contrasted with earlier DFID projects to provide technical assistance to the SA Land reform Programme, where the objectives are defined in project terms, and the outputs are more quantitative. However, SLA commitment has yet to be thoroughly tested in the DFID approach as few community-based implementation programmes have yet been funded over a full project cycle.³

Many funded projects that have been framed in terms of an SLA approach, such as rural training for economic development have experienced significant problems at the institutional level that make it difficult to evaluate the experience of using an SL approach.

DFID has used Khanya as a support agency in implementing a SL approach, and Khanya has both implemented a number of projects using the approach, and been involved in training other DFID partners (see below).

European Union (EU) has not followed an explicit sustainable livelihood approach in its funding programme.⁴ However, a number of its larger rural projects clearly aim to improve sustainable livelihoods. One of its largest rural programmes is the Wild Coast Support

³ DFID, 2000

⁴ Pers Comm EU Country Programme Officer.

programme, which comprises a number of components including job creation through small business support, promotion of eco-tourism, and sustainable natural resource use. Other EU programmes in South Africa have focussed on infrastructure support for example in the water sector, technical support at district council level, and the Micro-projects programme.

DANCED (Danish Agency for Co-operation on Environment and Development) has provided support to a number of sustainable community-based natural resource projects. Some of its projects have provided technical assistance to government for example a project in the Department of Environmental Affairs on improving South African participation in biodiversity management and CITES trade⁵. In other fields, DANCED has promoted sustainable natural resource management through community management, and in these projects it has followed an explicit SL approach.

DANIDA's support to rural development focused on Land Reform & Rural Water supply. Under the government-to-government programme, grants to rural development activities have been justified by reference to poverty alleviation. Danida is seeking to give the rural poor improved access to productive resources mainly by promoting the redistribution of land and improving access to water, thus enhancing the livelihoods of the rural poor and raising living standards. Support to this area can, however, also be seen as a more indirect contribution to the objective of (black) employment promotion as it was envisaged that the redistribution of land from large-scale to small-scale farmers would involve more labour-intensive technologies, hence increasing rural employment by up to 30%.

DANIDA provides additional supports for the rural poor through its assistance to the South African Agricultural and Plantation Workers Union (SAAPAWU).

DANIDA was responsible for a major contribution to monitoring and evaluation of the land reform programme, where systems implemented have promoted community-based participation. On the whole, DANIDA planning support did not emphasise SL approaches, although considerable work done by LAPC on community-based analysis did contribute to the approach.⁶

USAID support for the rural sector has been limited in recent years. USAID support is offered through a number of Strategic Objective programmes. Technical support programmes include land reform support and market assistance to emerging farmers.

USAID programmes make no reference to sustainable livelihood approaches. The following sections of their policy are most relevant to this analysis:

“Working collaboratively with the RSA and civil society, USAID will support the following programmes:

- USAID will continue to focus on primary health care delivery and will expand its emphasis on HIV/AIDS prevention and mitigation. A new HIV/AIDS strategy will assist the RSA and NGOs to improve public awareness and prevention measures. USAID will

⁵ Pers Comm, Cites programme officer

⁶ DANIDA Country Evaluation 1998

continue to provide support to the RSA, NGOs, universities, and the private sector to improve South Africa's capacity to develop, analyse, and implement economic policy options and to provide advanced economics training for people with potential to become the leaders and policy makers in the South African economy in years to come.

- Increased involvement in business, trade and investment by the majority population is key to invigorating the economy and creating badly needed jobs. USAID will continue to support micro-enterprise and small business development while creating linkages between disadvantaged South African firms and U.S. firms. A broadening of these programs to reach rural areas and incorporate agriculture is also envisaged.”⁷

SWISS COOPERATION

Although a relatively small donor, SWISSAID places considerable emphasis on projects with an explicit participatory agenda. Two such projects are the support to a tenure upgrade project for labour tenants in Mpumalanga, and support to the Eastern Cape transformation Authority, where communities were supported in taking over assets from government Corporations. The concern with the latter programme is whether it achieved objectives of improving sustainable livelihoods, although its approach strongly emphasises community-driven participation.

GTZ The Promotion of Rural Livelihoods Programme was established as an extension of the Community Based Development Planning Project (CBDP) project. The CBDP, based in the Policy Research, Planning and Strategy Development branch the Office of the Premier, started in 1997 as a joint initiative between Government, civil society institutions and local community groups. It was established to test and institutionalize suitable participatory methods and instruments for community participation in development planning and policy implementation in the Eastern Cape Province.

The intervention in the Eastern Cape is focused at two specific programme components, namely:

- Developing locally specific income generating approaches & opportunities, and the establishment of institutional preconditions for the implementation of these approaches.
- Strengthening decentralized Government Institutions in planning, and the provision of locally specific, effective public service delivery.

The Programme is supported by the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ), on the basis of a government to government agreement between South Africa and Germany.

This Programme is rooted in the RDP and promotes the 8 pillars of the Eastern Cape Provincial Growth and Development Strategy. It has direct links to the Provincial Spatial Plan, the Rural Upliftment Programme and the draft Integrated Rural Development Strategy of the Province.

⁷ USAID Website

The Programme is planned to run in three cycles over a 9-year period, to support Government Departments, District Councils and Local municipalities to integrate & coordinate their interventions in the pilot areas for the benefit of the rural communities.⁸

Kellogs Foundation has recently awarded the Post Graduate School of Agriculture and Rural Development, University of Pretoria a major grant to implement an Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) in southern Africa, with participating countries including South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland. Its programme is currently being developed.⁹

CARESA

CARE's organisational mandate is to focus its programmes on helping the poorest and most vulnerable. Care International adopts a specific SL approach to its work, ranging from relief to development work.

The livelihoods approach is its primary programming framework, in use across its relief and development work. CARE sees this framework as an effective way to improved inter-sectoral coordination and thus increases the impact of its work. The approach is deemed to be sufficiently comprehensive to address the challenge of large-scale poverty, yet sufficiently flexible to address context-specific constraints.

The interaction between these attributes defines what livelihood strategy a household will pursue. CARE's emphasis is on household livelihood security linked to basic needs. Its view is that a livelihoods approach can effectively incorporate a basic needs and a rights-based approach. This focus on the household does not mean that the household is the only unit of analysis, nor does it mean that all CARE's interventions must take place at the household level. The various perspectives brought to livelihoods analysis contribute to the generation of a range of strategic choices that are reviewed more fully during detailed project design.

The Strengthening Capacities for Transforming Relationships and Exercising Rights Programme (SCAPE) has been established by CARE South Africa in conjunction with a consortium of three other major partners, and several additional collaborating networks, with an initial geographic focus on the Northern and Eastern Cape Provinces. The programme will strengthen the capacity of civil society organisations (CSOs) to implement development activities that assist people to exercise their new rights, and take greater control over and responsibility for their own livelihood improvement. Critical to this process is to influence the way that CSOs and local government organisations work and relate to each other and local communities.

The goal and intended outputs of SCAPE over a three-year period are:

- Improved household livelihood security for poor people in South Africa.
- Stronger CSOs playing an important role with increased impact on poverty eradication and rights realisation in South Africa.

⁸ GTZ

⁹ Pers comm Prof Sylvain Perret

- Purpose: To demonstrate improved capacities of South African civil society, engaging effectively with government, to support communities in exercising their rights and addressing livelihood priorities.

The SCAPE programme is an ambitious institutional strengthening strategy that has been thoroughly and carefully planned and piloted. The overall intention of this three-year proposal is to demonstrate an innovative conceptual approach and practical methodology that will help transform the CSO sector and its relations with government. This approach has been developed through:

- Reaching a common vision and understanding of the major problems facing civil society with partners;
- Experimenting with and adapting methods and approaches with organisations working on the ground;
- Establishing a networking philosophy, through which CARE and its partners will seek to improve the way in which government and civil society organisations assist communities to exercise their rights.

CARESA has also been active in providing training in SL approaches, for example to the Mineworkers Development Agency.

Oxfam

Oxfam's programme in South Africa includes:

- Supporting local organisations in running 16 advice centres in the former Transkei homeland in Eastern Cape – the poorest part of South Africa. Oxfam is helping the centres to become more effective in advising and representing their clients over issues such as pension rights and redundancy benefits. It is also assisting with the launch of the Transkei Advice Centres Association, which provides support and representation for its members. In the longer-term, Oxfam hopes that the advice centres may move from assisting individual clients, to working with government and the private sector to address the issues affecting their communities
- Supporting poor communities in the rural Nkandla district in KwaZulu-Natal – which has one of the highest poverty rates in South Africa. Oxfam is planning to work with local non-governmental organisations, farmers associations, and local development committees, to enable people to improve their livelihoods, and to benefit fully from the area's vacant land and fertile soil. This involves identifying and securing markets for crops; finding crops which offer better economic returns; enabling local people to benefit more from the state-owned Ntingwe Tea Estate; improving people's skills through education and training; and equipping people to participate in local governance.

Oxfam approach to SL is typified by its Nkandla project. The project was chosen because of high levels of poverty in the district. Remittances and pensions, key livelihood sources are perceived to be under threat. People were expressing an interest in expanding agriculture as an additional livelihood source. Nkandla has the potential for agriculture, and the chiefs were prepared to release land for agricultural use. The outputs of the project are:

- Understanding the livelihood and vulnerability contexts;
- Contributions to human, social, physical financial and natural capital through targeted programmes
- And to establish working relationships among stakeholders in public, private and civil society sectors regarding support for sustainable livelihoods.¹⁰
- Supporting a farmers' co-operative of 3000 members through the Oxfam Fair Trade Company. Working in alliance with other European Fair Trade organisations, Oxfam imports food such as raisins – paying the farmers a fair price, and providing a secure market.

IUCN

The IUCN in South Africa has played an important role in promoting sustainable livelihoods for communities through the use and management of natural resources. IUCN has mainly had an advocacy role and it has consistently promoted SL approaches in community based natural resource programmes. New strategies have developed through a gradual, evolutionary process, known by a variety of different names - 'people and parks', 'buffer zone management', 'participatory resource management', 'community based conservation and development'. These names reflect the diverse political, ecological and historical environments in which these new strategies were developed as well as the differing objectives of its developers. They have led to the emergence of a shared set of principles and policies for natural resource management. At the heart of these is the recognition that strategies must offer local communities and other stakeholders clearly defined rights over the resources with which they live, if they are to be used in a sustainable manner. With these new rights come new responsibilities and the need for new skills. The development of such skills by all stakeholders, particularly local communities, is essential if effective resource management is to evolve.

Throughout the Southern African region this approach is now known as Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM). CBNRM seeks to provide the legal, institutional and economic frameworks for stakeholders to become co-managers of their resources. In South Africa a plethora of projects have emerged following the democratic transition that seek to involve natural resource users in the management of these resources. Various programmes and policies promoting local participation in the use of natural resources have been developed for different sectors by different government departments, for example, the Community Forestry Programme in the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and the LandCare Programme in the Department of Agriculture. Many different NGOs are involved in implementing projects and communities are beginning to organise themselves to become co-managers of their resources.

But whilst the concept of enabling local-level use and management of natural and cultural resources has now gained widespread support and has a clear policy mandate, the mechanics of how to move in a co-ordinated, multi-sectoral and integrated way from theory to practice have yet to be defined. Further direction on the policy and practice of community participation in resource management is required from government, in tandem with the

¹⁰ Oxfam 2001

development of a common vision that is realistic and fits South Africa's developmental goals.¹¹

2.2 SL-based programmes of the SA government

Department of Agriculture – Poverty alleviation programmes

The national department broadly articulates its core mandate as one, which aims to continue maintenance of a viable commercial agricultural sector in the country, as well as creation and provision of development opportunities for emerging farmers, especially from the former homelands. In order to achieve that overall goal, a strategic plan outlining key programmes such as the National Land Care Programme (NLCP) and the Household Food Security Programme was developed. These are funded through the Poverty Relief & Infrastructural Development Fund.

It has been difficult to obtain a coherent definition of poverty from officials of the Department of Agriculture, with officials believing strongly that they do not necessarily have to define poverty as a department, but rather all their efforts and programmes in the department are geared towards poverty alleviation. In essence, the department sees its mandate as a poverty alleviation “statement”.

It was interesting however, to note that some provincial departments choose to align their definition of poverty alleviation with that adopted by the whole province, as is the case in the Free State where the Department of Social Development has defined poverty and poverty alleviation for the province: “Reduction in a lack of ownership of (or limited access to) resources and opportunities. These include insufficient food, inadequate or unrecognised skills and capabilities, inadequate income, poor health and welfare, conflict and breakdown in society, lack of access to natural resources and inadequate physical infrastructure, both personal and community”. Agriculture defines its clients as all who are involved in agricultural activities in varying magnitudes, while the Free State provincial department specifically sees anyone who owns anything from a few chickens, a backyard vegetable garden to commercial farmers with several thousands of hectares of agricultural land as clients. The difficulty for the province is time allocation to provide support to all.

The South African LandCare Programme is a community-based and government-supported land management programme, co-ordinated by the National Department of Agriculture. It is a process focused towards conservation of the natural resources through sustainable utilisation by a community with a conservation ethic, created by education and community-based monitoring of these resources. The essence of LandCare is that it is a grass-roots programme supported by both public and private sector through a series of partnerships. The LandCare Programme offers practical assistance to effect land conservation activities that are identified, implemented and monitored by a community – primarily the farming community.

One example of LandCare is the Integrated Multiple Livestock and Crop Agricultural Systems Development, a Community Development Project. The overall goal of this programme is to optimise productivity, food security, job creation and better quality of life for all.

¹¹ IUCN/DEAT Workshop proceedings

In line with the above longer term objectives, the Eastern Cape LandCare Project has as immediate objective the creation of financial stability in targeted communities by means of agriculturally directed interventions. In order to determine the most appropriate interventions, the Project started off by determining the needs and potential of the targeted communities and the area, through socio-economic studies, and by establishing a link between research and application of technologies in the communities.

A consortium of resource institutions drives the LandCare Project in full co-operation with the communities. These institutions are the Agricultural Research Council, Eastern Cape Dept. of Agriculture and Land Affairs, and the National Wool Growers Association. They operate by means of a steering committee and focus all their efforts on 5 especially selected communities, during a first phase.

The project was co-managed by CIRAD, a French development agency, and the Agricultural Research Council. The participatory methodology used is based on a typology of households, in order to understand the livelihood strategies and appropriate interventions to be undertaken by the community.¹²

Department of Environmental Affairs & Tourism

Community-based tourism initiatives have been driven by SL approaches in a number of cases. The Tourism White Paper mentions little in the way of promoting sustainable livelihoods. Indirectly, as included below constraints on such an approach are set out.

A number of factors limit the effectiveness of the tourism industry to play a more meaningful role in the national economy. Some of the key constraints are identified below:

- tourism has been inadequately resourced and funded
- myopic private sector
- limited integration of local communities and previously neglected groups into tourism
- inadequate tourism education, training and awareness
- inadequate protection of the environment
- poor service
- lack of infrastructure, particularly in rural areas
- a ground transportation sector not geared to service tourists
- lack of inclusive, effective national, provincial and local structures for the development, management and promotion of the tourism sector

Many tourism initiatives are based on the premise that sustainable livelihoods must be created in the process, but few rural tourism efforts outside of those linked to CBNRM have got off the ground. Currently, the EU Wild Coast programme is promoting tourism through a number of community-based programmes, including horse trails.

¹² World Bank 2001

The Addo project of Khanya is a prime example of a sustainable tourism project. Its key elements are that it:

- generates economic value,
- reduces poverty and inequality,
- regenerates the environmental resource base and
- is carried out within an open and accountable system of governance.

Some of the key findings regards SA tourism policy were:

- Awareness - While there was little awareness on the ground of sustainable tourism, there was recognition of the positive possibilities for tourism development.
- External pressure - Unlike agricultural trade, there are currently few external requirements being placed on South African producers of tourism products and services.
- Consumer demand – There is a growing awareness of the environmental and social impacts of tourism in key international markets, and demand for responsible tourism, particularly in the German market. Lack of awareness on the part of travel agents and tour operators, as well as lack of supply and insufficient knowledge of what does exist hampers this.
- Diversification - Community tourism projects, such as the drama groups, choral groups and arts and crafts groups in the Addo area, have the potential to add value to the tourism system through diversification of the mainly wildlife-related tourism product. However, there is a weak understanding amongst disadvantaged communities of what tourism is, and how a living can be made out of it.
- Good practice - Examples of good practice exist that have positive developmental effects, and will lead to greater integration of community tourism with mainstream tourism. Good practice mainly consists of homegrown social responsibility of tourism operators, with little evidence of any environmental responsibility criteria in the linkages formed between operators.
- Livelihoods - The livelihoods outcomes desired from tourism by disadvantaged communities go beyond jobs and income to include education, skills development and inter-cultural contact, and to be on the tourism map.
- Central role of the conservation authority - The AENP currently makes limited use of local suppliers and even less of suppliers from disadvantaged communities. No suppliers are proactive with regard to environmental and social criteria. However, the Park has a potentially positive central influence as it has stated social responsibility policies and an imperative for ecologically sustainable development.
- Equity - Tourism in the Addo area is growing and much of it appears to be economically viable. However, a clear priority is to broaden the ownership base and ensure more equitable distribution of benefits.
- Planning - The lack of integrated regional planning means that much tourism development has occurred in an ad hoc way, with negative implications for environmental management.
- Policy and delivery - Policy implementation and service delivery with respect to tourism promotion and development is hampered by capacity constraints and the general developmental context of the Eastern Cape.
- Infrastructure - Poor road infrastructure, worse in black areas, is a major constraint to the development of sustainable tourism.

Currently no major regulatory or external pressures pushing towards more sustainable tourism practices are felt by the industry and levels of consumer demand for more environmentally, socially and ethically sustainable tourism are still low. Despite this, there are convincing arguments in favour of adopting a proactive stance towards sustainable tourism development.

Department of Land Affairs

Land reform is seen as an essential component of South Africa's development agenda in order to address equity issues.

The contribution derives from three primary sources: more equitable distribution of assets contributes to investment through linkage with the financial sector; redistribution of land achieves efficiency gains through better land to labour ratios throughout the agricultural sector; and growth linkages are stronger for agricultural growth deriving from small farms than from large commercial farms. The increased demand for infrastructure to complement and increase returns to land reform is developed, as is the need for improved support services. Land reform has promised much in terms of development, and while a number of successful projects have been established, the programme has yet to deliver benefits to rural South Africans. SL approaches have been widely used in the land reform programme, but have not addressed the massive administrative constraints faced by implementing such a programme. There have been many instances where projects based on SL principles have been formulated and even approved, but decision-making at various tiers of government has blocked implementation, allowing valuable assets to decline and livelihood opportunities to be lost. Thus one might conclude that the programme as a whole has not implemented SL principles, but that these have only been used by some of the participants in the process. This represents a general weakness in SL in South Africa – its uneven use.

Department of Water Affairs- Working for Water

This special project of Dept of Water Affairs was established to improve water resource management through labour intensive bush clearing programmes. It is funded through donor contributions, rather than by the budget contribution of the department. The programme has been very successful in generating long-term, productive public sector employment on community-based principles, and has been driven by SL approaches.

Department of Public Works- Community-based Public Works Programme

Although this programme appears to be an ideal opportunity for SL approaches, it has been driven by a more technocratic delivery agenda, emphasising the provision of infrastructure rather than the community principles that underlie such provision. Management of the programme is in the hands of development agencies, particularly the IDT, and community capacity building appears to receive less attention than it deserves in the process.

In the current year, the PWP has developed an administrative approach stressing capacity at district level. However, the poverty relief programme is still based on funding projects managed by the district council, which must be completed in a single budget year.

Department of Social Development

Poverty relief funds of the Department of Social Development

The Independent Development Trust (IDT) also implements a number of other government-funded programmes, for example the poverty relief programme of the Department of Social Development.

In 1998/99 its R203 million budget aimed to promote sustainable social development strategies that focus on building institutional capacity to address the structural conditions associated with poverty.

The Department's stated approach was to replace the traditional welfare approach, based on provision and consumption, with a development approach, based on self-reliance and sustainability and focus mainly on local economic development with the emphasis on income generating projects.

In its attempt to build an effective development approach in the implementation of all its projects and programmes, the Department engaged the IDT to provide the expertise and management to ensure the realisation of the Departments objectives.

These objectives include:

- Strengthening the partnership between Government and NGOs.
- Ensuring availability and the efficient use of resources and enabling the poor to maximise their use.
- Enhancing social services and well-being.
- Establishing services in rural areas and promoting integrated community development outreach programmes.

The sectors funded by this programme cross the spectrum of welfare services. They include prevention and rehabilitation, child and family services, the elderly, disability, drug and alcohol services and crime prevention and rehabilitation.

Infrastructure development, capacity building and training, income generation and community based care and rehabilitation are the most frequently funded projects.

Although the project uses the language of sustainable development, little emphasis is given to investing in SL approaches. Indeed, the Department has been consistently incapable of spending funds allocated for poverty alleviation, much to the frustration of the well-developed NGO welfare organisations in South Africa.¹³

Integrated Welfare programmes

An interesting example of an SL approach to welfare is the Bambisanani project in Region E in the Eastern Cape. Designed as a response to HIV/Aids, this model is based on community consultation to design home-based care, welfare and other interventions to promote sustainable livelihoods. The partners in the project include government, non-government and business. Local consultation and participation are central to the project, and there are strong

¹³ IDT website

linkages to local, regional and national levels. The project is now being replicated in northern Kwazulu Natal.¹⁴

Department of Health

Since 1994 the Department of Health (DoH) has transformed itself from a disjointed system, which was made up of 14 separate departments each with their own set of objectives into a single integrated department with a common purpose. The vision of the department is to establish “a caring and humane society in which all South Africans have access to affordable, good quality health care”. During the past 6 years the DoH has primarily expanded primary care infrastructure, a key component of its aim to deliver quality health to all of South Africa. This expansion included:

- Building more than 500 new clinics
- Upgrading more than 2 000 clinics with new equipment
- Placing 125 mobile clinics into the rural areas

In conjunction with improving the clinic environment, the national DoH has introduced some profound policy changes in this period, including:

- Free health at the point of delivery for pregnant and lactating women, and children under the age of six years.
- The provision of primary school nutrition services through which about 5 million children have benefited

All of which has had an important impact on all South Africans, but particularly those in the rural areas, as will be noted below.

In terms of service delivery, the DoH has 9 provincial offices, whose work is organised around the DoH’s Health Sector Strategic Framework, 2000 – 2004. The framework is based on the Department’s 10-point plan, which aims to “strengthen implementation of efficient, effective and high quality health services”.

The 10 Points have been (largely) divided among the different Chief Directorates in the DoH, which are about to be renamed as clusters. The 10 Points are:

- Reorganisation of certain support services
- Legislative reform
- Improving quality of care
- Revitalisation of hospital services
- Speeding up delivery of an essential package of services through the district health system
- Decreasing morbidity and mortality rates through strategic interventions
- Improving resource mobilisation and the management of resources without neglecting the attainment of equity in resource allocation
- Improving human resource development and management

¹⁴ Goldfields Foundation 2000

- Improving communication and consultation within the health system and between the health system and the communities we serve; and
- Strengthening co-operation with our partners internationally

This framework includes indicators and targets for each priority area identified above.

Poverty Alleviation Programmes

The DoH, not surprisingly sees much of its work within a broad definition of poverty alleviation. They argue, for example, that the department today focuses much more on primary health than on tertiary health. The implication here is that primary health is for the benefit of those who cannot afford private health services, i.e. the poor. However, when one asks about poverty alleviation from the perspective of targeted funds, the DoH cites its Integrated Nutrition Programme (INP) as its “flagship anti-poverty programme”. The reason for this shift in interpretation is arguably largely the result of the Treasury Department. The Treasury Department annually allocates approximately R500 million to the DoH for poverty alleviation, all of which is then subsequently allocated by the DoH to its INP. Thus although many of the DoH’s initiatives have a anti-poverty slant, after all they are meant to be providing health to all, the department sees its INP as the one programme aimed at alleviating poverty.

The following looks first at some broad anti-poverty DoH initiatives, then it focuses specifically on the INP.

There are several broad anti-poverty initiatives in the DoH, which are part of the DoH’s strategic interventions to decrease morbidity and mortality, particularly amongst the poor. These interventions include:

- Ensuring there is an integrated approach by all departments who work in the health sector (particularly social welfare)
- Immunisation programmes
- Decreasing the incidence of HIV/AIDS, STDs and TB
- Malaria control
- Reducing Maternal mortality

Integrated Nutrition Programme (INP):

The aim of the INP is to deal with all cases of malnutrition through combining direct nutrition interventions (e.g. school feeding schemes) and indirect nutrition interventions (e.g. provision of health care services). Due to prolonged periods of inadequate food intake, about one in five children in South Africa are below average height due to their diet. Due to the enormity of the nutrition problem the DoH currently feeds approximately 5 million primary school children a day in low income urban and rural areas, as defined by Census 1996.

The aim of the Integrated Nutrition Programme (INP) is to ensure that provinces move from food handouts to a more sustainable process run by the community and which will tackle the root causes of poor nutrition.

The key objectives of the INP are as follows:

- Intensify efforts to implement the INP;
- Promote community-based Growth Monitoring (the monitoring of children's height and weight);
- Strengthen nutrition interventions at both health facility and community levels to rehabilitate malnourished children (e.g. the growing of food and raising levels of awareness around nutrition);
- Work with other sectors to tackle the root causes of poor nutrition and poverty; and
- Promote food fortification (e.g. add vitamins to bread and milk).

The national department, through its Directorate of Nutrition is ultimately responsible for the implementation of the programme. Within each province a sub-directorate takes responsibility for implementation in the province. Structures for managing the INP at regional, district and community levels exist and are supported by various task teams and committees.

The INP also links up with a number of other national departments to assist with implementation. These include the Departments of Education (where much of the feeding actually takes place), Agriculture (who have established food gardens and subsidised small scale farmers), Welfare (assist with the identification of beneficiaries), Water (drilling of boreholes and securing water for food gardens) and Public Works (who have also developed market gardens). Moreover, a wide variety of NGOs, CBO's, community project committees, consumer organisations, private sector and a number of international agencies are involved. These organisations assist at the local level in the distribution of food, the management of nutrition schemes, and the promotion of food security initiatives.

In terms of actual implementation, particularly with the specified anti-poverty programme, namely the INP, the national DoH with assistance from the Department of Finance, allocates the money that the provinces spend on the INP. Thus the province, once it has received its allocation from the DoH then allocates the money to different regions for expenditure on INP. Provided the provinces can account for their expenditure the provinces set their own targets for which beneficiaries will benefit from the INP.

Not all provinces outsource implementation to NGOs and CBOs. While Gauteng and the E. Cape, for example, rely heavily on such organisations to assist with delivery this has not been the case in the Free State. The Free State is currently reassessing the situation and is likely to use such organisations again. Previously NGOs and CBOs had played some role in the INP in this province, but widespread fraud and misuse of funds (a malady not unique to the Free State) led to rethinking the use of non-government organisations and structures in the programme.

3.0 Analysis of the use of SLA in South Africa

3.1 People's livelihoods

Prior to 1994, the government's poverty alleviation programmes followed a traditional top-down approach in terms of design and implementation. This is understandable given skewed policy administration at the time. However, following the democratic dispensation in 1994 there was a need from government to include citizens in the conception and implementation of

policies and programmes that would help alleviate poverty, especially within rural and the former homeland communities. Nevertheless, a shift from a paternalistic to a participatory development approach has not been easy for government systems and implementing authorities. Many officials in all three tiers of government recognise the importance of active participation of communities in development interventions, but the main challenge has always been the means to that end. At national level many interventions and programmes are conceived exclusively by policy makers and top government officials, and filtered down to provinces for implementation. This is perhaps caused by an emerging trend of the central government assuming a think-tank and supervisory role to provinces. The weakness with the way the centre plays this role is that provinces are given limited opportunities to make inputs in the design and planning of initiatives, let alone poor community members.

Very few interventions from the centre take into account people's livelihood outcomes and strategies, especially with a huge disparity in terms of socio-economic conditions amongst provinces. Many development efforts are conceived at an ad-hoc basis in the absence of a national development strategy. There are however templates within which rural and urban developments take place, for example the Integrated Rural Development Strategy and the Urban Renewal Effort. These are strategies with a poverty eradication objective, but most programmes implemented under each takes less account of people's livelihoods. Some of the known programmes from the national government that have assumed an SL approach are discussed above. Programmes from other national departments are taking a rather mixed and unclear approach to development, although many programme managers would quote the use of some elements of SL in their programmes.

Since the establishment of new municipalities in South Africa, provinces have begun to relegate most of their development responsibilities to local authorities, and are acting more and more like middlemen in terms of development. This is perhaps in line with the legislative qualification that local economies and development needs to be driven locally. Because of the recent establishment of such municipalities, many of the systems and procedures are still in the planning and piloting stages (e.g. the Community-based Planning approach currently piloted by Khanya in the Mangaung Municipality), and those will hopefully emphasize the need for building on people's outcomes and capital assets. Provinces have also begun to involve non-governmental organisations in implementing projects and programmes. This programme/project implementation strategy will assist in addressing the weakness in quality capacity for achieving the objective of poverty alleviation, provided that interventions reach the target communities they are aimed at.

3.2 Participation

As indicate above, participation at macro is mainly limited to national officials and sometimes provinces are represented. Much involvement and participation of the poor is beginning to show at micro level, with the design and implementation of Integrated Development Plans of municipalities. Provinces have decentralised to regions, but there are still issues of inadequate and weak capacity from provincial officials, leading to weak processes that would otherwise enable active participation of interest groups and the poor. Again, a classical example where community participation is encouraged in the Free State is the community-based planning approach piloted by Khanya in Mangaung in developing ward plans. The pilot awards responsibility of organising community members to ward committees, and allows various interest groups within the ward to participate in developing the plan through the use of an SL

framework as a basis for analysis. Out of discussions with various groups within the community, clear outcomes, strategies and potential vulnerabilities are taken into account, and all those lead to the development of projects to support livelihoods in the ward.

At the meso level, the Free State Department of Agriculture has been using SL principles in developing projects within the Community Projects Fund Support Programme (CPFSP) funded by the EU. Local stakeholders such as NGOs and CBOs have been part of the conceptualisation and the design of projects for CPFSP, although the SL approach itself has not been fully understood by departmental officials. Generally, participation of vulnerable community members/groups is still weak in government, especially at national and provincial levels.

3.3 Partnerships

Many of the systems and processes are still in the piloting stages in South Africa. Implementers of development initiatives are still battling with designing processes that enable participation of communities. Much of partnership processes occur between government departments and international development agencies. The British Department for International Development (DFID) (eg SA Forestry Programme) has emerged as a key actor in forming partnerships with government, as well as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Oxfam and the European Union (EU). While partnerships with poor communities still lag behind, there are instances of projects where this is happening (e.g. partnership in development projects between the Sundays River Valley Municipality and Mayibuye in the Eastern Cape).

At provincial level, the majority of partnerships exist between government departments and local NGOs. This is more prominent with rendering of Welfare services such as Child Welfare, Youth and Women's Rights. The key issue with weak partnerships in the provinces is a lack of effective programme coordination and poor intergovernmental synergy amongst departments. However, the recently drawn Provincial Development Plan will hopefully bring departments closer together in terms of budgets and human resource. In many cases where projects were conceived in partnership with poor communities, the relationship had soon become imbalanced and the project gets taken over by government officials. The reasons with such takeovers can be attributed to a lack of rights-based approach to development, and communities begin to see development efforts as a favour from agencies, and that they (communities) do not have to take any responsibility to ensure success of interventions.

3.4 Policy and institutional linkages

South Africa is said to have developed some of the best policies in Africa. However, what are emerging are issues of implementation of such policies. Many policies were designed around 1994 during the new political dispensation, and because of the need to urgently implement those policies in order to begin to address the present grinding poverty especially in rural areas, not much participation of affected communities was encouraged. In other words, much of the policy formulation was from the top, and very limited opportunity (e.g. much of the input was based on electronic media instead of road shows in rural areas) was given to local stakeholders for comment. In addition, there are currently weak processes that allow feedback from communities on the impact of policies on livelihoods.

There is however no clash in policy implementation among various levels of government because provincial policies are crafted within the national policy framework. Current policies do encourage cooperative governance, but as indicated earlier, the biggest challenge is ensuring that cooperation happens. This has led to many duplications in terms of roles amongst government departments, development agencies and in some cases even NGOs. For example, there are no clear lines of functions among the Independent Development Trust, the Development Bank of South Africa and the National Development Agency. Activities of all the three development organisations seem to overlap in ways that are sometimes counter productive, leading to poor institutional linkages. Another classical example is cooperation and linkages between the Departments of Agriculture and the Departments of Land Affairs. Both are supposed to dispense functions that encourage natural resource-based livelihoods, but very little cooperation exists. Generally, government departments sometimes compete for service delivery, and end by offering the same service to one client and fail to spend budgets in a beneficial manner.

3.5 Capacity building, strengths and sustainability

Sustainability of development projects depends largely on the capabilities of project members. It is therefore imperative that development interventions take into account the strengths and capital assets of target communities, and this is clearly the core of and emphasis of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach. Many programmes and projects have not paid sufficient attention to this aspect, and as result too many initiatives do not succeed. A typical example is the Department of Land Affairs' Land Reform Programme. The majority of projects under Land Reform are failing, and the key reason appears to be that capital assets and strengths of land reform beneficiaries are not properly and fully assessed to ensure that they will be able to drive and sustain the project. On the other hand, there is a huge backlog of land delivery to landless communities in the country, and the Department of Land Affairs seem to be trouble-shooting and racing a political timetable to deliver land, with little attention paid to the capabilities of beneficiaries. Land Affairs has recognised and acknowledge this mistake, and is currently busy establishing a Mentors' Programme to address the sustainability element of their projects. Similarly, the Department of Welfare seem to be fighting a losing battle with regard to its income-generating projects. The majority of projects fail, and are often "topped up" to try and sustain them. Some of the Welfare projects have been "topped up" six to seven times but with little success of the project. Nevertheless, most government organisations and agencies are still in the learning curve and are beginning to realise the importance of taking into account some of these key issues like proper capacity building to ensure sustainability of projects and programmes.

3.6 Change and feedback

As indicated earlier, many interventions especially from government have had poor impact on target communities. Normally, development agencies would commission outside organisations to undertake an evaluation exercise on their programmes. Khanya has had an opportunities to work with the Department of Land Affairs in appraising many of their projects, and the key issues often emerging include improper project design with key stages missing, e.g. unilateral project design by government officials, poor monitoring (often only by government officials) systems, lack of relevant training for project members etc. As a result, no mechanisms are put in place for programme/project members to feed back to policy makers the impact of policies and interventions on their livelihoods. Often by the time programme managers and facilitators evaluate, too much has gone wrong and the intervention

is about to collapse. Very few government departments have proper and well-structured monitoring and evaluation systems in place, and much of the current systems are financial-based and makeshifts. This is a national scenario though, and the national government has only recently commissioned a study to undertake an audit of monitoring systems in the country. At local level, there have been issues with poor accountability of ward councillors to their constituencies and to the local authority. This has caused much apathy from communities to get involved in the development ideas for their areas. The Mangaung Municipality in partnership with Khanya has embarked on an approach that aims to reverse the status quo, and get ward councillors to play a major role in mobilising communities to take part in planning their development, and providing feed back to local authorities regarding impact of projects on their livelihoods.

3.7 Governance

The issue of governance is central to national debates in South Africa. The South African government inherited huge illiteracy in the society post 1994. The challenge is to get people of less formal schooling to own and drive their own development processes. In other words, how does development agencies link development and literacy? The society, especially poor sections of the population still suffers from a dependency syndrome as promoted by the apartheid government, and the immediate reaction to development processes by communities is one of letting someone else do things on their behalf. Clearly, this attitude tips the scale of partnership and governance. Government officials and other development facilitators are often seen as big providers and are not held responsible for effective service delivery by target communities. This is a problem that agencies and government as a whole is dealing with, and only cooperation and a non-sectoral approach amongst various actors in development can perhaps lessen the extent of this dependency. Most decisions are made away from where development happens, and often, poor calibre facilitators are deployed to rural areas where poverty is abject. One of the ways to deal with this imbalance and lack of accountability to communities is perhaps to promote a rights-based approach to development. Accountability is often experienced between regional staff of agencies and departments and their principals, and not necessarily to communities. In India, government have come up with a system where local facilitators are paid by the State (equivalent to province) only on recommendation of local community structures. This is one way in which accountability to local communities can perhaps be promoted.

3.8 Livelihood analysis and framework

Many of the development facilitators and programme managers do not necessarily use the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) as a tool for analysis, but have either come into contact or have heard about it. Programme managers claim to do some kind of livelihood analysis, but can never really elaborate on how they went about it. In reality, many institutions in South Africa worry about not spending their budgets more than the impact their efforts make on livelihoods. There is weak livelihood analysis being done, and in some cases managers cannot articulate who clients of their programmes are. In any case, some of the principles of SL are applied in the initial stages of project/programme implementation, these are often poorly sustained, and hence the collapse of so many development and income generating projects. This trend will hopefully change over time, especially in the Free State Province where the provincial Poverty Eradication Strategy was designed using SL. Local municipality systems are also beginning to explore various development approaches, and SL is beginning to be favoured by those who have had exposure to it. The Mangaung Integrated

Development Plan is drawing heavily on the use of SL in compiling development interventions.

4.0 Conclusion

Development practitioners sometimes regard SL as the preserve of the few who understand the approach. The language used is sometimes intimidating rather than inclusive, and the research reports that emanate are opaque and difficult to follow.

SL is a long term, labour intensive, proactive methodology, which can be used beyond the life of a specific development project. As a reflection of a long-term plan, it does not have the capacity to rapidly assess sudden economic and political developments.

Some SL advocates express a concern that SL is now becoming a requirement for donor-funded projects, and that rather than developing a commitment to using SL approaches, organisations are using SL as a way of getting access to funding. At the same time, the use of SL techniques in project and programme development needs to be pragmatic. If the use of PRA is appropriate, this should be encouraged, even within a context of more traditional planning approaches.

Although SL as it is practised in South Africa is strongly associated with DFID and UNDP, it is also 'owned' by the wide range of practitioners who participate in the networks that have been created. SL approaches are most common in the NR sector, and the use of SL as a planning framework is very limited in the country.

A more detailed and rigorous analysis of case study development interventions should begin to answer some remaining questions about the efficacy and implementation of a sustainable livelihoods approach.

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Appendix 1

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