

A Path to Social Development

The contribution of a micro-level programme in reducing poverty and enhancing capabilities: A Case Study

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Social Science in Social Development

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

This aim of this study was to explore if and how a micro-level intervention, Jobstart, impacts on the lives of the poor and vulnerable people in the City of Cape Town metropolitan area by reducing poverty and expanding capabilities. Jobstart is a programme in the Economic Development Focus area of the Catholic Welfare and Development (CWD) agency. Jobstart provides accredited courses for the hospitality industry and assists and mentors graduates to find employment in the hospitality industry.

The theoretical and operational focus of the study was Sen's (1999) capabilities approach. A conceptual model was designed that asked the following questions: a) how is poverty conceptualised by CWD and by participants in the programme? Do participants consider themselves poor? b) how is development promoted through a capabilities approach? c) how does Jobstart contribute to development in households and communities? and d) how are participants' lives changed by expanding their capabilities?

The research design was a qualitative, single case study with descriptive and exploratory elements. The sources of data collection were organisational documents, direct observations, semi-structured interviews with seven recent graduates and interviews with three staff members. The sampling approach was theoretical sampling for the selection of the case and purposive sampling for the selection of interview participants. Reliability and construct validity were attained but due to the small sample size, external validity is not attained. Ethical considerations and the promotion of the participants' dignity were foundational to the study. The data was analysed through manual coding until categories and themes emerged that were linked to the theoretical model.

The findings show that Jobstart promotes economic and social development through a capabilities approach; and that Jobstart had an impact on the lives of the participants and their families. A case description and quantitative and qualitative indicators support this finding. The findings also show that many participants do not consider themselves poor for several reasons. Both CWD and participants conceptualised poverty as multidimensional and more than income deprivation. "Lists" of capabilities emerged that were linked with Sen's (1999) capabilities framework, which in turn highlighted gaps for further research.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

“Jobstart helped me a lot, a lot, a very lot because last year when I quit the school because of that situation with the boys, I told myself, now it’s the end, I don’t know where to go. And I met CWD and then my dream start again.” (Lwazi, a participant in the study)

1. INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL MODEL OF THE STUDY

This study explores how a micro-level intervention reduces poverty and promotes economic and social development by enhancing the capabilities of a vulnerable group of people in the Cape Town Metropolitan area. This was done through a case study of Jobstart, a programme of the Catholic Welfare and Development (CWD), based in Cape Town.

Jobstart was created in 1996 to address the poverty and unemployment in the Cape Town Metropolitan area. The Jobstart programme recruits unemployed persons between 18-45 years and up to 60 years old and targets women and refugees, who undergo a twelve week Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA) accredited training programme in technical skills for the hospitality industry. Jobstart then assists graduates to find jobs in casual and permanent employment, mainly in the Cape Town area (ECODEV Annual Report, 2009/2010).

The research strategy for the study was a single case study, and the case is descriptive and exploratory; and the overall study is qualitative. Theoretical sampling was used to select the case; and purposive sampling to select the participants. The data collection methods included documents and reports, interviews with three staff members, in-depth interviews with seven recent graduates of the programme and notes from site visits. Interviews with participants were recorded, transcribed and manually analysed to identify codes, categories and themes. The ethical considerations include preserving the dignity of

participants, assuring anonymity and confidentiality at all stages of the research design by providing pseudonyms. Reliability and construct validity were ensured through triangulation of data collection techniques and a case study protocol. The limitations of the study are that conceptions of inequality and vulnerability were not sufficiently probed in the data collection phase; the small unrepresentative sample of participants, and the lack of access to detailed quantitative data from Jobstart. The small sample size means that the findings cannot be generalised.

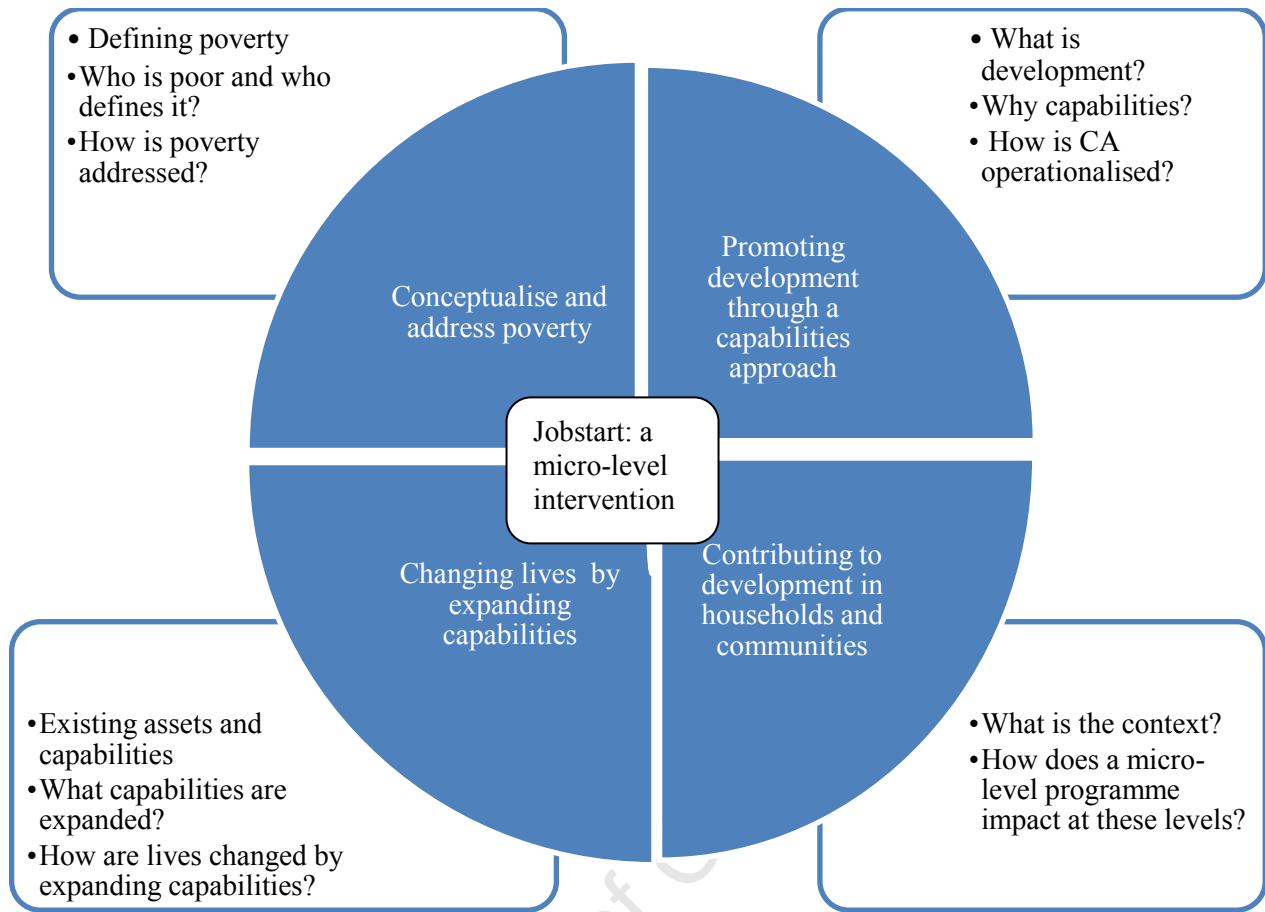
The main findings of this study are that:

- a) The CWD and Jobstart graduates have a broad, multi-dimensional conception of poverty that is different from the traditional and dominant income-led approach of poverty. The CWD definition of poverty is Christian Biblical and faith-based but is not explicitly defined and certainly not as well-documented as the approach to poverty. The Jobstart graduates had some divergent views on whether they consider themselves poor and most of them did not consider themselves poor; while they shared commonalities about their observations of poverty in their communities and at Jobstart.
- b) Jobstart promotes economic and social development through a capabilities approach even if the concept of capabilities is not used. The impact of Jobstart is quantitative and qualitative in that lives and families have been positively impacted through the Jobstart intervention.
- c) Participants have an array of existing assets and capabilities, irrespective of Jobstart. These include those identified by participants themselves or through analysis of data. These assets and capabilities include: home ownership, belief in self/ positive thinking, spirituality/ belief in God and prayer, multilingualism, reliable childcare to enable an unemployed mother to seek work, habit of saving and financial support of spouse or sibling that adds to household income, participation in community and church activities, surviving setbacks and resilience in overcoming difficulties.

d) Jobstart has promoted the expansion of the capabilities of participants in several ways. Throughout the analysis and discussion, several lists of capabilities emerged. Sen's (1999) framework of constitutive and instrumental capabilities was linked with the data from interviews and documents. Jobstart provides hungry and needy trainees with food and other items such as soap and deodorants. The provision of food prevents hunger and assists in the learning process. The design of the training programme and the teaching approach promotes social integration and access to economic facilities, respect for self and others, English language skills and provides life skills and technical skills. Most notable is the anti-xenophobia approach by Jobstart that emphasises the need for South Africans and fellow Africans from other countries to work and learn together. Jobstart provides a skill for the hospitality industry and provides support and mentorship after trainees have graduated, to find employment or to start own businesses.

Figure One below is a presentation of the conceptual and operational model of the study. This model incorporates the underlying logic of the study and includes the context, theoretical model, research design, questions and objectives and the findings.

Figure 1: Conceptual Model of the Study



Chapter Two is the theoretical framework for the study. This chapter details the above model and covers the context, explores an understanding of poverty, looks at the Capabilities Approach and its application. The theoretical model in Chapter Two is an adaptation of the conceptual model in Figure 1 above.

Chapter Three outlines the research design of the study and sets out the steps followed in gaining access, undertaking data collection, analysis, limitations of the study, and ethical considerations.

Chapter Four analyses and discusses the findings as outlined earlier in this chapter, while Chapter Five makes recommendations and concludes the study.

The remainder of this chapter introduces the social context, defines the research problem, summarises similar studies; introduces the research questions, research objectives and research methods; and clarifies concepts that will be used throughout the study. It is worth noting that the research questions and the propositions are directly from the afore-mentioned Figure 1.

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2. SOCIAL CONTEXT

The study is located in the Cape Town Metropolitan area. The Jobstart programme is located in the Cape Town CBD in the same area where many of the Jobstart graduates eventually get work opportunities in the hospitality industry. In order to understand the impact of Jobstart, this study focusses on the communities from which the participants come. These communities are Khayelitsha, Nyanga, New Crossroads, Wittebome, Retreat and Vasco/Goodwood. Some of these communities represent the deep pockets of unemployment and poverty in the City of Cape Town, despite the aggregate wealth that the Western Cape reflects in national indicators (Groenewald, 2008).

Chapter Two details indicators and compares the provinces in South Africa according to these indicators. The Western Cape fares 'relatively' well in comparison to the other provinces. For instance, Western Cape's unemployment rate (narrow definition¹) is 21.6%, the third lowest² and lower than the national average of 29.8% (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Marindo (2008) shows other trends in the Western Cape, such as a better quality schooling system, better access to health services and some basic services. However, the study points to pockets of deprivation and poverty in the Western Cape and as experienced by the Jobstart graduates. Despite its relative wealth, the Western Cape experiences the same development challenges as the rest of the country.

The national challenges are discussed in Chapter Two, where reference is made to the nine challenges identified in the National Development Plan, South Africa's mixed progress against the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and South Africa's ranking on the Human Development Index. The

¹ See definitions later in Chapter 1 for broad and narrow definitions of unemployment.

² This is based on the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) for Quarter Four of 2011. The QLFS data for the fourth quarter of 2011 was more likely than Census 2011 to capture work in the informal sector and casual labour, accounting for the lower unemployment rates in KZN and Limpopo (Stats SA, 2012).

relevance of unemployment, poverty and inequality to the study is that the Jobstart programme attempts to reduce poverty and unemployment by providing a skill in a short space of time and support for graduates to find work or to start their own businesses.

3. FOCUSING THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

In order to focus the “research problem” it was necessary to understand the capabilities approach and its applications; and to look at similar studies that influenced this study.

3.1. The Capabilities Approach and its Application

The Capabilities Approach (CA) to development was pioneered by development economist, Amartya Sen and over time has created a body of knowledge and practice as discussed by the Human Development and Capabilities Association (<http://www.capabilityapproach.com>). The CA is an alternative to the dominance of economic- growth and income-led approaches of development (Sen, 1999, Nussbaum, 2000, Alkire, 2002).

Capabilities or freedoms are the functionings (beings and doings) that people have reason to value (Sen, 1999). Sen (1999) proposes constitutive or intrinsic capabilities which include avoiding deprivations such as starvation, escapable morbidity and premature mortality; and freedoms of literacy, numeracy, political participation and uncensored speech. Instrumental capabilities are political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security.

The strengths of Sen’s approach is that it is *inter alia*, normative, broad, multidimensional, promotes multidisciplinary and has developed the notion of agency which sees poor people as active agents in their development (Alkire, 2005, Robeyns, 2008).

The biggest concern for the capabilities researchers has been about operationalising capabilities (Nussbaum, 2000, Alkire, 2002 and 2005, Robeyns, 2008; Walker and Unterhalter eds, 2007).

There are many examples of putting capabilities into practice. These are general assessments of the human development of countries, assessing small scale development projects, identifying the poor in developing countries and in advanced economies, deprivation of disabled people, assessing gender inequalities, debating policies, critiquing and assessing social norms, practices and discourses, capabilities and functionings as concepts in non-normative research. (Robeyns, 2008).

In this study, I refer to or use at least three of the applications of the capabilities approach:

- i) the study itself is an example of *the assessment of a small-scale development project*. In the main, I draw on Alkire's (2002) work.
- ii) Clark and Qizilbash's work in Western Cape communities on getting poor and vulnerable people to identify what they value most is an example of *identifying the poor in developing countries*. Additionally, I draw on Narayan, et al (1999) and Narayan and Petesch (2002) on the World Bank study series, "Voices of Poor."
- iii) The study draws on the 2011 Human Development Report for conceptualisation, comparison and context. This is an example of *general assessments of the human development of countries*.

3.2. Similar Studies

In this study, I have drawn on the below studies and works:

3.2.1. Valuing Freedoms: Capability Approach and Poverty Reduction

Alkire (2002) assesses three small-scale poverty reduction projects in Pakistan. These are three case studies of women's income-generation activities: goat-rearing, adult literacy and rose cultivation. Conceptually, Alkire combines the Capabilities Approach with Finnis'

dimensions of human values (Alkire, 2002). This is plausible, Alkire argues, as the theoretical bases of both are mainly compatible and due to the flexibility of the Capabilities Approach. Operationally, Alkire defines an operational definition and “fills the gaps” left by Cost Benefit Analysis, social impact analysis and other participatory tools with her capability set framework. The aim of the process was to develop participatory methods for developmental activities that the field staff could apply and implement themselves. The methodology developed by Alkire has been used in several NGOs and applied in the three case studies over a nine-month period. Crucial to the process was the participation of women themselves.

Alkire (2002) finds that by using the capability framework, poor people themselves were able to identify what they valued and generally income did not rank highly. Capabilities such as knowledge, relationships and religion were ranked as more important. Alkire shows that the traditional cost-benefit analyses would not have identified these factors which were important to the participants in the projects.

3.2.2. Dimensions of poverty in South African settings

Clark and Qizilbash (2002) undertook studies in three South African settings to apply a multidimensional framework of poverty and assess the distinctions between what they call core poor, vulnerable and non-poor. They asked poor people what they consider as basic essentials to life (basic needs and basic capabilities). The three settings were Kwanonqaba, a township adjacent to Mossel Bay in Western Cape; Murraysburg, a town on the cusp of Northern, Eastern and Western Cape; and Khubus, a remote village in the Northern Cape. The findings include a list of dimensions³ that people consider as basic essential to life (needs and

³ See Table 4, Chapter 2 for the list of basic essentials.

capabilities), that poverty is multidimensional and multi-faceted; and that South Africans set high standards for people to qualify as poor. They find that the ‘core poor’ are households where few or no-one has employment and limited access to education and health. In some dimensions, for example housing and clean water, the problem is extreme vulnerability rather than core poverty.

Clark (2002) conducted another study to assess the views of ordinary people on human development and well-being. A survey was conducted in Murraysburg, a town in the Western Cape and Wallacedene, a township in Cape Town. He finds that people generally share a common vision of development as that espoused by Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2000) that more needs to be said about the survival of the poor in developing countries, the psychological side of well-being and better things in life such as recreation. This is consistent with Max-Neef’s (1991) formulation of human scale development that focuses on the satisfaction of a wide range of human needs including protection, subsistence, identity, affection, understanding, idleness, creation and participation.

Clark and Hulme (2010) provide a framework of poverty by introducing the breadth, depth and time or duration aspects of poverty. By this, they illustrate the multidimensionality, seasonality and “vagueness” of poverty. The concept of vulnerability also emerges. This framework is briefly discussed in Chapter 2.

Both Clark and Qizilbash (2002) and Clark (2002) provide useful frameworks that I used in conception of poverty, application of capabilities and shaping the research questions. As mentioned, I found the contextual relevance useful and applicable.

3.2.3. Poverty and Inequality in South Africa

Nattrass and Seekings (2010), Borat, et al eds (2001) and May, ed. (2000) are seminal texts on South African poverty and inequality.

Nattrass and Seekings (2010) provide an historical overview of the development of South Africa's economy, state intervention in the economy over the last century, the history of exclusion of black people and women, and the legacy of apartheid.

May, ed.'s (2000) extensive work included policy analysis, cross-cutting plans and programmes and the SA Participatory Poverty Assessment. The approach was to emphasise the link between economic development and the expansion of human capabilities. The focus on inequality and its relevance for our context cannot be overemphasised as previously mentioned. I use the concepts and definitions in this study.

Bhorat et al (2001) use several data sources and data sets, such as household surveys to measure poverty and inequality. They emphasise the historical context and multidimensionality of poverty. An historical view on labour markets since 1917 is provided, which highlights the legacy of racial, class and gender discrimination. Borat et al (2001) provide measures and data on poverty and inequality and make the argument that poverty reduction should include employment opportunities, increased access to education, health and social security.

These studies are relevant for context but they also shaped the conceptualisation and terrain of the study. Thus, these seminal works sharpened the conceptualisation and analysis.

3.2.4. "Voices of the Poor"

The World Bank commissioned studies on the "Voices of the Poor" written up in three volumes, covered sixty countries and sixty thousand (60 000) poor men and women's voices.

Participatory and qualitative research methods were used. These studies shaped the research questions and provide useful analytical tools for my study.

The methodology used has been critiqued for apparently lacking rigour, for ‘analysis by quotation’, exaggeration and overly emotional tone (Narayan and Petesch, 2002).

Despite these critiques, I use these studies extensively. It was also the inspiration to include the question to participants on their definitions of poverty.

3.2.5. Capabilities and the agency of women in Khayelitsha

Conradie (2008) undertook a study on capabilities and agency of women in Khayelitsha, Western Cape. The key question by Conradie was: “what enables some actors to achieve development-oriented agency in a context of general social and economic exclusion?” (Conradie, 2008:1). The findings included that some women exhibited more development-oriented agency than others possibly due to personal histories and personality; and that women involved in political activity displayed more determination and perseverance than those not involved. In my study, the issue of political involvement is not directly evident, as discussed in Chapter Four. However, this is an area of further study.

4. RESEARCH RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The context and aforementioned studies demonstrate the need to continue finding ways to reduce poverty and inequality and expand people’s capabilities. This study shows that micro-level interventions are an important pathway to social and economic development. The operationalisation of a capabilities approach as a tool of analysis and intervention shows the opportunities for reducing poverty and changing the lives of individuals, households and communities.

This study contributes to the body of knowledge of capabilities and also in telling the story of how one intervention can impact the lives of vulnerable and poor people. The recommendations in this study will also be useful to Jobstart.

5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS and RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The aim of the research is to explore how a micro-level intervention contributes to the body of knowledge on capabilities, but more crucially, how such an intervention changes the lives of those who participate in it.

The broad research questions and propositions are:

A. How is poverty conceptualised, and understood?

Proposition A1: The CWD is faith-based and has a Biblical conception of poverty and poverty reduction.

Proposition A2: The participants in the Jobstart programme have their views on poverty and whether they consider themselves poor.

B. What does the Jobstart programme do to promote economic and social development?

Proposition B1: The Jobstart programme promotes social and economic development.

Proposition B2: The Jobstart programme has quantitative and qualitative indicators that it promotes economic and social development.

C. How does Jobstart as a programme contribute to social and economic development in the households and communities from which participants come?

Proposition C1: The biographical data of participants highlights a diversity of individual circumstances and socio-economic challenges.

Proposition C2: The unemployment data of the areas from which participants come highlights that households and communities have high unemployment rates.

D. What capabilities are being expanded or promoted for participants or beneficiaries of the Jobstart programme?

Proposition D1: The voices of participants and their stories point to challenges and resilience.

Proposition D2: Participants have concerns, plans, priorities, coping strategies and capabilities separate from Jobstart.

Proposition D3: Participants' lives have improved or capabilities have expanded as a result of being part of Jobstart.

Proposition D4: Based on the data, several 'lists' of capabilities may be generated and linked to Sen's framework of capabilities.

Research Objectives

- i. To explore definitions of poverty from the perspective of the CWD and participants.
- ii. To describe how the Jobstart programme promotes economic and social development using a capabilities approach.
- iii. To describe how the Jobstart programme contributes to the social and economic development in parts of the Western Cape from where the participants come, by targeting the poor and vulnerable; providing skills and opportunities for employment.
- iv. To explore the assets and capabilities that the participants had separate from Jobstart.
- v. To explore what capabilities are being expanded or promoted for participants in the Jobstart programme.
- vi. To generate 'lists', based on the data and to link to Sen's framework of capabilities.

6. DEFINING CONCEPTS

There are several concepts that are used repeatedly throughout the study. All of these concepts are contested as discussed in the next chapter. For the sake of brevity and clarity, I select the definitions below:

6.1. Functionings, Capabilities and Freedoms

Sen (1999: 75) states that

- “the concept of *‘functionings,’* which has distinctly Aristotelian roots, reflects the various things a person may value doing or being. The valued functionings may vary from elementary ones, such as being adequately nourished and being free from avoidable diseases, to very complex activities or personal states, such as being able to take part in the life of the community and having self-respect”
- “a person’s capability refers to the alternative combination of functions that are feasible for her to achieve. Capability is thus a kind of freedom: the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations (or, less formally put, the freedom to achieve various lifestyles)”
- Development is thus “seen as a process of removing unfreedoms and extending the substantive freedoms [capabilities] of different types that people have reason to value” (Sen, 1999:86)

6.2. Human Development

“Human development is the expansion of people’s freedoms and capabilities to lead lives that they value and have reason to value. It is about expanding choices. Freedoms and capabilities are a more expansive notion than basic needs.” (UNDP, 2011:1)

6.3. Poverty

“Despite the obviously large numbers of people living in poverty, the definition of poverty has been the subject of some debate among policy analysts. The emerging consensus sees poverty as

generally characterised by the inability of individuals, households or entire communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living.” (May, 2000:6).

The preferred definition in this study is Sen’s where he argues for “seeing poverty as a deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as lowness of incomes. Deprivation of elementary capabilities can be reflected in premature mortality, significant undernourishment, persistent morbidity, widespread illiteracy and other failures.” (Sen, 1999:20).

6.4. Inequality

“Defining inequality within the social context requires consensus on what is meant by ‘equality.’ The term ‘equality’ can be regarded as referring to a state of social organisation that enables or gives equal access to resources and opportunities to all its members.” (May, 2000:6). The most common measure and approach is the Gini coefficient that measures the degree of inequality and “serves as the starkest indicator of South Africa’s unequal distribution of income.” (May, Woolard and Klasen, 2000:26). However, income inequality is not the only type of inequality; and other ‘spaces of inequality’ include different aspects of quality of life and well-being, such as health, longevity; and freedom. (Sen, 1999:93).

6.5. Vulnerability

This concept acknowledges that oftentimes individuals, households and communities move in and out of poverty due to changing conditions and circumstances. “Vulnerability refers to the negative outcomes of processes of change. These may be economic, social, environmental or political, and may take the form of long-term trends, ‘shocks’ or cyclical processes such as seasonality. Central to the analysis of vulnerability is the examination of the assets that can be called on to help people withstand or mitigate the impact of the threat in question.” (May, 2000:6-7).

6.6. Unemployment

The official or narrow definition of unemployment is “persons who did not work, but looked for work and were available to work in the reference period.” (Stats SA, 2012) The expanded definition is “persons who did not work, but were available to work in the reference period.” (Stats SA, 2012). As far as possible, I provide both official and expanded data and in most instances, I only provide the official data.

6.7. Micro-level intervention

This term refers to a programme at the municipal or provincial level, as opposed to one which has national or global reach. In this study, the micro-level intervention refers to Jobstart. Jobstart is a programme that is part of an area of focus, namely Economic Development, which is in turn part of the Catholic Welfare and Development, operational mainly in the Cape Town Metropolitan area.

6.8. Participants in the Study

There are several terms used interchangeably in reference to the participants in the study. The participants who were interviewed were recent Jobstart graduates that were invited to participate. Before they graduated, they were trainees or learners of the Jobstart programme as defined by Jobstart. Trainees or learners are the terms used by Jobstart for those recruited by Jobstart.

6.9. Targeting

The Jobstart reports refer to “targeting” the poor and vulnerable people and especially unemployed women and/or female headed-households. Sen (1995) problematises targeting conceptually and substantively by highlighting the negative effects such as stigma, treating recipients as passive rather than active agents in their development, inaccuracies resulting in the intended recipients not being targeted. Throughout this study, targeting is used without intending to undermine the agency of people and to report accurately on the terms as used in the source documents.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

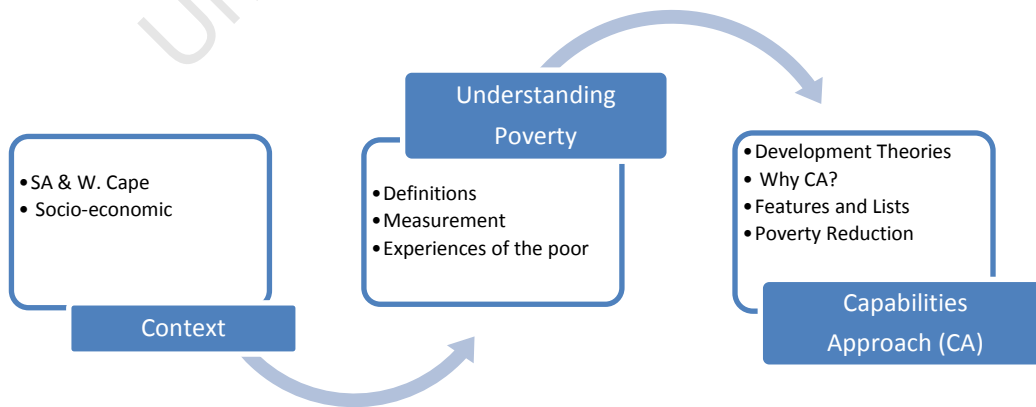
“South Africa has the means, the goodwill, the people and the resources to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality. It is within our grasp. But it will not happen unless we write this new story: a story of people, their relationships, their dreams and their hopes for a better tomorrow. We want our children and young people to have better life chances than we have. At the core of this plan is a focus on capabilities; the capabilities of people and of our country and of creating opportunities for both.”
(Trevor Manuel, National Development Plan, 2011:Foreword)

1. INTRODUCTION AND PRESENTATION OF OVERARCHING FRAMEWORK

The above quote summarises this chapter, which is about understanding how poverty and inequality can be reduced and eliminated. Amongst the array of approaches, I argue that the capabilities approach of analysis and action is the best way to achieve the goals of eliminating poverty.

Figure 2 graphically represents the conceptual and theoretical flow of the study, as well as the critical elements and questions that inform the study. It is a different format of the conceptual model but is similar in content as the model discussed in Chapter 1.

Figure 2: Theoretical Model



Section 1 provides the context of the study. This starts with the global, national and Western Cape data and statistics relevant to this study. The South African context points to deepening inequality and history of social exclusion from all spheres including the labour market. Borat et al (2001) highlight the reality that the study of poverty and inequality in South Africa must take the history and dynamics of the labour market into account.

Section 2 covers the conceptions, the debates, the measurement and the values and principles underpinning the perspectives on poverty. Here, I draw on several sources, as the field of study of poverty is wide-ranging. There are several seminal texts and approaches that I highlight. The dominant approach is income-led perspective of poverty. The alternatives state that there is more to know and conceive and that poverty is complex and multi-dimensional. These arguments are made by Kanbur and Squire (2001), Clark and Qizilbash (2002), Narayan et al (1999) and Narayan and Petesch (2002), Sen (1999), Nussbaum and Glover, eds. (1995) and Nussbaum (2000).

Given the location of the study, I draw on relevant studies and literature about South Africa, for example, Nattrass and Seekings (2010), Borat et al (2001) Clark and Qizilbash (2002), May (2000) and Clark and Hulme (2010).

Section 3 covers the ground on Capabilities or the Capabilities Approach (CA) and its link to poverty. Capabilities and functionings were defined in Chapter 1. The application and operationalisation of capabilities as relevant to the study, is discussed. The question of operationalisation and lists and weighting of capabilities is one of the major debates within capabilities circles.

2. CONTEXT

This section covers aspects of the social context, including SA in global context, national and provincial context.

2.1. South Africa in Global Context

South Africa is a middle income country implying that it is less dependent on foreign aid than other African countries (SA Govt. MDGs Country Report, 2010). “The macro-economic environment of benign inflation holds promise, but even in the best of times growth reached a plateau at 5% in an economy requiring at least 7% to achieve both its employment and redistributive consequences.” (SA Govt. MDGs Country Report, 2010: 3). This summarises the economic growth challenge which cannot be separated from the other pressing challenges we face as a country.

The 2011 Human Development Report ranks South Africa at number 123 out of 187 countries (UNDP, 2011). The Human Development Index combines indicators of life expectancy, education and income/ standard of living. The HDI tells us how the people are doing as opposed to the traditional GDP measures which tell us only about economic growth.

The Millennium Development Goals or MDGs provide a framework of development progress on a global level, or at least for the 189 countries who became signatories to the MDGs in 2000 (SA Govt. MDGs Country Report, 2010). The South Africa country report was consulted with civil society and shows articulation with governmental strategy and programmes. There is mixed progress on all the goals with some indicators in each being achieved and others not at all or partially. For example, near universal primary education has almost been achieved, but the quality of education is poor. Additionally, child mortality and maternal mortality remain concerns.

2.2. National Context

The 2011 Census indicates that South Africa's population is now 51.8 million, an increase from 44.8 million in the 2001 census (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The gender profile is 51% female and 49% male; while 79.2% is black African, 8.9% classifies as coloured, 8.9% white and 2.5% is Indian/Asian. The racial categories are as depicted in the Statistics South Africa data.

South Africa's demography is marked by a rapidly urbanising population and a youthful one (National Planning Commission, 2011). The two measures that distinguish South Africa are a declining fertility rate and declining population growth rate due to HIV/AIDS mortality. HIV/AIDS mortality is stabilising. This means that in twenty years, the population will be ageing and this will require policy shifts (National Planning Commission, 2011). South Africa is at the 'sweet spot' of demographic transition in that the proportion of the working-age population should be able to support under 15 years old and those over 64 years old. The problem is that joblessness and HIV/AIDS has created more dependants than what the working age population can support (National Planning Commission, 2011).

Based on detailed data and analyses, the National Plan highlights the following nine challenges for South Africa:

- "Too few people work.
- The standard of education for most black trainees is of poor quality.
- Infrastructure is poorly located, under-maintained and insufficient to foster higher growth.
- Spatial patterns exclude the poor from the fruits of development.
- The economy is overly and unsustainably resource intensive.
- A widespread disease burden is compounded by a failing health care system.
- Public services are uneven and often of poor quality.

- Corruption is widespread.
- South Africa remains a divided society” (National Planning Commission, 2011:3)

The National Development Plan prioritises quality education and increased employment opportunities as critical to addressing a number of challenges (National Planning Commission, 2011). I will particularly focus on unemployment here, given the focus of this study.

The Presidency (2010) provides the following definitions related to unemployment. *Employment* is “persons aged 15-64 who did any work or who did not work but had a job or business in the seven days prior to the survey interview. *Labour force participation rate* is the proportion of the working age population that is either employed or unemployed, while labour absorption rate is the proportion of the working-age population that is employed.” Unemployment, as defined in Chapter 1 has narrow and expanded definitions.

The unemployment data as gleaned from the 2011 Census (Stats SA, 2012) is represented as follows:

Table 1: SA Unemployment by Race and Gender

	Men (Official)	Men (Expanded)	Women (official)	Women (Expanded)	Total Official	Total Expanded
Black African	30.5%	39.8%	41.2%	52.9%	35.9%	46.3%
Coloured	21%	28.6%	23.8%	34.4%	22.3%	31.5%
Indian	9.7%	14%	14.5%	23%	11.7%	17.8%
White	5%	8.1%	6.9%	12.5%	5.9%	10.2%
Total	25.6%	34.2%	34.6%	46%	29.8%	40%

This data shows that the unemployment rates, official and expanded are highest amongst Black African people and Black African women in particular. This is relevant to the case study because Jobstart actively recruits unemployed people, in particular women.

The youth unemployment rate in South Africa is 48.9% (Statistics South Africa, 2012) and this high figure continues to be the source of concern and debate in the country and the media.

Bhorat and Leibbrandt (2001:127) provide a nuanced view of the unemployment data based on the modelling they did on labour market participation. They conducted a three-phase labour market procedure, which includes participation, employment and earnings:

- Those searching for jobs are more likely to get jobs than those not searching. This is based on the understanding that structural employment is important in participation.
- Many youth are in the non-searching category.
- Rural and urban unemployed have different characteristics but similar probabilities of getting employment. Urban work-seekers could take rural jobs but rural work-seekers cannot compete in urban settings.
- Age and education are important determinants:
 - Older cohorts have greater participation in the labour market than youth.
 - Many unemployed youth are discouraged work-seekers.
 - Youth are least likely to gain employment as the market is stacked against new entrants.
 - Non-tertiary education increases the probability of participation but is not sufficient to ensure employment.
 - It is better to have secondary schooling than only primary education.

The Jobstart programme, being cognisant of this context, provides training and support with placement in employment opportunities for those who have a minimum of Grade 9.

2.3. Provincial Context

At the provincial level, the Western Cape unemployment rate is 21.6%, the lowest in the country and below the national average of 29.8%. (Stats SA, 2012). However, as shown in Chapter 4, there are pockets of poverty within the province and in particular in the City of Cape Town. Three of the areas from which participants come are Khayelitsha, Crossroads and Nyanga. These areas have unemployment rates exceeding 50%.

The Western Cape has approximately 5.8 million people, roughly 11 % of the South African population. This is significantly less than Gauteng (24%) and Kwazulu Natal (20%). The Eastern Cape has 13% of the country's population. (Stats SA, 2012).

The racial profile in the Western Cape is unique in the country, due to the dominance of the Coloured group (48.8%), followed by Black Africans (32.9%), Whites (15.7%) and Indians/Asians at 1% (Stats SA, 2012). The reasons for the composition of the population in the Western Cape, as in SA are linked to the history of apartheid laws and social engineering which dictated where people may live and work. (Nattrass and Seekings, 2010).

Half the participants in my study hail from other African countries outside of South Africa. It is therefore relevant to understand the context of foreign nationals in South Africa and the Western Cape more specifically. Reliable data on foreign nationals and refugees is difficult, given the fears and perceptions of getting the legal status and documents in place (Marindo, 2008).

Marindo (2008) highlights that in 2007, foreign-born persons comprised of 2.7% (or 1.3 million people) of the total South African population. This is low compared to other immigration countries in the world and high compared to other African countries. At the provincial level, Gauteng has the highest share of the foreign-born population at 46.2% and the Western Cape is a distant second at

10.6%. Nationally, 71% of foreign-born persons were born in Africa and 22.3% in Europe. In the Western Cape, the foreign-born population from Europe was 46.7% compared with 41.7% born in Africa. Of the group born in Africa, 36% are from the Southern African Development Community (Marindo 2008:156-158).

3. UNDERSTANDING POVERTY

This section explores definitions, theories and conceptions of poverty. Poverty is complex and multidimensional (e.g. Narayan and Petesch, 2002); has a time element, depth and severity (Clark and Qizilbash, 2002). There are additional concepts that are probed, such as vulnerability, deprivation, inequality and exclusion. I ultimately select a definition, which is a capabilities perspective for understanding poverty.

Measuring poverty and inequality is as contested as defining poverty. Poverty lines and thresholds, while useful, mask some important factors. Here I will highlight the Human Development Report (UNDP, 2011) indicators as an alternative to poverty lines. I also highlight the work done by Borat, et al (2001) in their seminal work on poverty and inequality in South Africa.

Given the focus of this study, I highlight Narayan et al (1999) and Narayan and Petesch (2002) which represent the global 'voices of the poor', hence the section, experiences of poor people.

3.1. Definitions and Conceptions of Poverty

The definition of poverty influences the strategy for addressing poverty and therefore both require attention (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). The dominant approach to poverty has been income-led definitions, where lack of income or wealth is seen to be the main factor causing poverty (Narayan

and Petesch, 2002). Kanbur and Squire, 2001 and Meier and Stiglitz, (2001) provide a useful analysis of the evolution of thinking about poverty. After reviewing literature and World Development Reports by the World Bank, they make two main conclusions:

- a) The expansion of definition to include more elements than income does not change who is counted as poor in aggregate measures. It does reveal additional aspects of poverty that enhances understanding and approaches. However, even the broader understanding has not reduced poverty.
- b) The expansion of definitions significantly changes the thinking about strategies for reducing poverty and also introduces interactions between aspects of poverty and different policies.

Some of the definitions or features and elements of poverty that have been highlighted in the selected literature is summarised in Table 2. The rationale for highlighting these definitions is that they are alternatives to the dominant income-led approach; and they provide options for definitions in this study.

Table 2: Defining Poverty

No	Category	Concepts	Description	Source
I	Dimensions of poverty	Poverty Proper	Lack of income or assets to generate income	Chambers, 1998 in Woolard & Leibbrandt (2001, Bhorat, et al, eds)
		Physical Weakness	Under -nutrition, illness, disability	
		Physical or social isolation	Due to peripheral location, lack of access to services, illiteracy	
		Vulnerability	To crisis and risk becoming poorer	
		Powerlessness	Within existing social and economic structures	
II	Multidimensionality and vagueness of poverty	Core Poor	Those who are unambiguously poor	Clark and Qizilbash (2002)
		Vulnerability (to Extreme vulnerability)	How close to being poor in some dimension of poverty	
		Non- poor	Not poor in any dimension	
		Vagueness or fuzziness	A set of 'admissible' specifications since poverty is 'vague' -	
III	Integrating core poverty and chronic poverty (vagueness and time)	Transitory Core poor	People who sometimes experience poverty in at least one core dimension	Clark and Hulme, 2010:359
		Chronically Core Poor	Persistently poor in terms of at least one core dimension of poverty	
		Transitory vulnerable Type I	People that are not definitely poor at present, but have either experienced poverty or vulnerability in the past and/or likely to experience it in the future	
		Transitory vulnerable Type II	People that are sometimes vulnerable to poverty in a given dimension, which may or may not be core.	
IV	Examples of definitions from poor people: Bangladesh	Social Poor	No assets, some income and periodic food insecurity	Narayan and Petesch, (2002:121-2)
		Helpless poor	No assets, landless, wage labour/sharecropping or widows in urban areas	
		Hated poor	Woman-headed household or headed by elderly male, no income	
		Beggars	Homeless and begging	
V	Poverty= capability deprivation	Elementary capabilities or substantive/ constitutive freedoms	Avoidance of starvation, undernourishment, escapable morbidity and premature mortality. Freedoms of literacy, numeracy, political participation and uncensored speech and so on.	Sen (1999: 36)
		Instrumental freedoms	Political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities (education, health, social services), transparency guarantees, protective security	
		Interconnectedness and inter-relationships of capability deprivation and other phenomena	Income poverty, inequality beyond income inequality, unemployment, gender equality	

The above list is not exhaustive and illustrates that there cannot be one neat definition of poverty. Rather, the above reveals the complexity of poverty; and that notions of time or seasonality and vulnerability are also important. These points are compatible with the findings in Chapter 4.

3.2. Measuring Poverty and Inequality

The measurement of poverty has been contested over time and these measures have become more sophisticated and detailed. (Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

As mentioned, the income-led approaches have dominated thinking on poverty and this has led to emergence of poverty lines or thresholds which determine who is poor and who not. (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). Additional measures have emerged, such as absolute and relative poverty lines,⁴ dual poverty lines (for example, more than one cut-off or absolute and relative lines), expanding the bundles of goods for deriving lines to include additional items (Woolard and Leibbrandt, 2001:47). As result, there are a number of possible lines or levels such the Supplemented Living Level, Household Subsistence Level and so on. Another item that impacts on measurement is the unit of measurement. The options are to measure at the individual level or at the household level. The household surveys in South Africa provide the best information to help measure poverty. (Woolard and Leibbrandt, 2001).

3.3. Experiences of Poverty: “Voices of the Poor”

The real and lived experience of poverty as from the perspective of poor people is essential in understanding so that approaches can be relevant. Put differently, “the poor are the true poverty experts” (Narayan and Petesch, 2002). In this section, I use Narayan et al’s (1999) and Narayan and

⁴ From Woolard and Leibbrandt, 2001:47 in Borat, et al eds): “Absolute poverty lines are derived from a bundle of goods that are deemed to assure ‘basic needs’ (e.g. food, shelter, and clothing). Relative poverty moves with the standard of living of the population- ‘cuts off’ the poorest section of the population to create a line.”

Petesch's (2002) findings as this study covered sixty countries and sixty thousand voices of poor people.

There are common themes and findings from the studies by Narayan et al (1999) and Narayan and Petesch (2002).

- a) Poverty is complex, multi-dimensional and there are differing categories of the poor, depending on the context (Narayan et al, 1999). Poverty is about a lack of what is necessary for material-well-being, such as food, housing, and land. For example, food security and hunger are more acute when there is no income. Unemployment and underemployment leads to lack of income and in turn this has consequences such as reduced education opportunities and access to health. These in turn reduce employment options.
- b) The 'psychological' aspects of poverty include the awareness of lack of voice, power, and independence. The issue of vulnerability to rudeness, humiliation and inhumane treatment was also a theme. (Narayan et al, 1999).
- c) The "often adverse impacts or economy-wide shocks and policy changes on poor people and communities." Major events such as wars not only negatively affects the existing poor but also creates the 'new poor' as happened in countries like Bosnia and Serbia. The combination of economic crises, rising prices and a decline in public services in many countries impact negatively on poor people.
- d) The "culture of inequality and exclusion of mediating institutions: the state, markets and civil society" is often reported. The prevalence of corruption, clientelism and patronage and discriminatory practices in most sectors in many countries undermines development efforts, denies access to crucial services and opportunities and severely undermines the dignity of the poor. Several examples are cited of social groups who are excluded from most services e.g. the lower castes and 'untouchables' in India and the 'hated poor' in Bangladesh. The many reports

of police negligence or harassment or brutality against the poor are notable. All these experiences amplify the powerlessness of poor people.

- e) The “widespread gender inequity and the vulnerability of children” is manifested in alienation and hopelessness, households under great stress, the status of children and dynamics within the family. Oftentimes, the burden of poverty is most heavily carried by women and children. Domestic violence, while not unique to poor families is reported in many poor families. In many countries, women still do not have equitable access to opportunities such as markets, education, land or property ownership and so on. Cultural, social and religious norms militate against women having equitable opportunities and this is even worse for poor women.
- f) “The importance of the array of assets and capabilities in poor people’s lives.” This highlights the point that it is not only income but a whole range of assets and capabilities that poor people value sets out the assets or capabilities and examples that poor people mention. This is reflected in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Assets and Capabilities of the Poor

No	Asset or Capability	Examples Mentioned by the Poor
1	Material Assets	Employment, ownership of productive assets, land, house, boat, savings
2	Bodily Health	Freedom from hunger and disease, strong healthy bodies
3	Bodily Integrity	Freedom from violence and abuse, sexual and reproductive choice, freedom of physical movement
4	Emotional Integrity	Freedom from fear and anxiety, love
5	Respect and Dignity	Self-respect, self-confidence, dignity
6	Social Belonging	Belonging to a collective: honour, respect and trust within and across social groups
7	Cultural Identity	Living in accordance with one’s values, participation in rituals that give meaning; sense of cultural continuity
8	Imagination, information and education	Inventiveness, informed and educated decision-making, literacy, entrepreneurship, problem-solving capacity; expressive arts
9	Organisational Capacity	Ability to organise and mobilise; participation in representative organisations
10	Political representation and accountability	Ability to influence those in power, accountability of those in power

From Narayan and Petesch (2002:463)

Clark and Qizilbash's (2002) study of 3 Western Cape communities, found that communities ranked the following 'basic essentials for life'

Table 4: Ordinal Ranking in the Essentials of Life in 3 impoverished communities in SA

1 Housing/ Shelter	16 Land and Livestock
2 Food	16 Own Business/ Enterprise
3 Water	16 Religion and Church
4 Work/Jobs	19 Furniture
5 Money/Income	20 Happiness and Peace of Mind
6 Clothes	21 Community Development
7 Education/ Schools	21 Love
8 Health/ Health Care	23 Freedom/ Independence
9 Electricity/ Energy	24 Better Life
10 Safety and Security	24 Oxygen
11 Transport/ Car	24 Respect
12 Family and Friends	27 Blankets
13 Sanitation	27 Heat/ Temperature
14 Infrastructure	29 Sexuality
15 Leisure/ Leisure Facilities	29 Sunlight

Clark and Qizilbash, 2002:32

This list has similarities and differences with the Narayan (1999) et al's list and with the findings in my study.

4. MAKING THE CASE FOR THE CAPABILITIES APPROACH (CA)

This section considers the development debates, underlying assumptions of the different development approaches, the strengths and weaknesses of the capabilities approach and an example of a poverty reduction project, applying the capabilities approach.

4.1. Development Debates

Meier (2001) provides an historical analysis of development thinking over the decades. He posits that “ideas are fundamental to the future progress of development” (Meier, 2001:1). A useful framework is provided indicating these shifts in development thinking. This includes shifting from GDP and economic growth to human development and sustainable development; and taking a holistic view of poverty reduction approaches.

The definitions of human development and social development are often used interchangeably. “The UNDP equates social development with ‘sustainable human development’, which it defines as enhancing human capabilities for enlarging human choices” (Chen and Desai, 1997:422).

Sen (1999) conceptualises development as the expansion of real and substantive freedoms as means and ends; and hence the removal of ‘unfreedoms’ such as poverty, social deprivation, lack of access to economic opportunities. Moreover, the matters of social, economic and political aspects of development need to be understood in an integrated way. Sen’s approach is referred to as the capabilities approach and will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. This approach has influenced the formulation of the Human Development Index (HDI) commissioned by the United Nations Development Programme’s Human Development Report. The HDI was developed in 1990 by Amartya Sen and Mahbub ul Haq (Alkire, 2005).

4.2. Underlying Assumptions of different approaches

Crocker (1992) provides an analysis and critique of the foundations of development theories relative to his preferred approach, namely the capabilities approach. The major development approaches he highlights are the commodities, utilitarian, basic needs and capabilities approaches. All of these approaches have been applied in international development theories and practice.

4.2.1. The Commodity Approach

Crocker (1992) broadly defines this approach as that of income, GNP and economic growth (of goods and services). This approach argues that income and economic growth will lead to the improvement in the quality of lives of people.

Crocker (1992) highlights and summarises Sen and Nussbaum's critiques of this approach as including its narrow focus on development, focussing on commodities as opposed to human beings.

4.2.2. The Utilitarian or Welfarist Approach

Bannock, Baxter and Davis (1992: 436-7) define utility as, "the pleasure or satisfaction derived by an individual from being in a particular situation or from consuming goods and services."

The main critiques is that the utilitarian approach perceives humans as passive recipients of their situation, thereby reducing human agency and its overemphasis on only one aspect of human wellbeing, i.e. utility (Crocker, 1992).

4.2.3. The Basic Needs Approach

This approach attempts a development alternative to that of economic growth and focuses specifically on poor nations and people, as presented by Streeten (in Crocker, 1992). Streeten

and Burki (1978: 413-4) offer a ranking of basic needs, that include needs for basic survival, continued survival, productive survival, and non-material life participation.

Crocker (1992) highlights the main critiques from a capabilities perspective. The basic needs approach is an advance on the narrower approaches of commodities and utilities, by acknowledging that it focuses on development in a more holistic way. Crocker (1992) details Sen's concerns of the basic needs approach are: a) being theoretically ambiguous because it lacks a foundational conceptual basis; b) being overly focused on the quantitative minimum requirement for meeting basic needs and does not consider qualitative aspects, neither does it provide adequate measures of deprivation between and within nations as it focuses only on poor nations; c) perceiving humans as passive beneficiaries of aid.

4.2.4. The Capabilities Approach- Selected Approach for the Study

Sen (1999) states that traditional approaches of development focusing only on Gross National Product or income as measures of quality of life, ignore crucial elements of social and political realities which impact on quality of life. He advances the capabilities approach to development which underscores the importance of focussing on a range of human functionings and capabilities, hence an integrated approach to development.

Sen (1999:4) further states that the main reasons for freedoms [capabilities] as central to development are: to evaluate or assess progress on whether such freedoms [capabilities] are enhanced and that the achievement of development is thoroughly dependent on the free agency of people.”

The capabilities perspective, according to Sen (1999:36-40) focuses on constitutive elements and instrumental elements. The constitutive elements are the elementary capabilities of avoiding deprivations such as starvation, escapable morbidity and premature mortality; and

freedoms of literacy, numeracy, political participation and uncensored speech. Hence, individual capabilities are the economic, social and political arrangements which are elementary to being free of deprivation and thriving as a human being.

The instruments of capabilities are inextricably connected to the constitutive elements and to each other. The instruments are:

- political freedoms : political participation, governance, free speech and voting rights.
- economic facilities: opportunities for individuals to utilise economic resources for purposes of consumption, production or exchange. Income and wealth distribution of nations and families are important as access to resources. Distribution and growth is crucial in financing social services.
- Social opportunities: arrangements for education, housing, health and land distribution.
- Transparency guarantees: openness and trust that people can expect about what is being offered; and freedom to deal with one another under guarantees of disclosure and lucidity.
- Protective security: fixed institutional arrangements to provide social security for vulnerable sectors of the population.

Within the capabilities sector, there are divergent views on theoretical foundations and the operationalisation of CA. For example, Nussbaum (2000) makes a stronger conceptual link to Aristotle and Marx and also advances the argument for a universal list of capabilities that citizens can demand as basic constitutional requirements from their government. This is a major departure from Sen (1999) who argues that a list should not be imposed but rather be decided through public dialogue and consensus.

Alkire (2008) presents a number of frameworks that cover quality of life, participatory dimensions, basic needs, cross-cultural and universal values. These frameworks suggest some

overlaps between them. These are essentially “lists” or dimensions. Alkire (2002) identified as many as thirty nine lists, demonstrating the multidimensionality of capabilities and needs.

I have selected the summary of 9 lists that Alkire (2008) terms “Philosophical Dimensions of Human Value” as in Appendix 1.

4.3. Strengths and Weaknesses of the Capabilities Approach

Strengths

As outlined above, a major strength is that capabilities provide a holistic and integrated understanding of development, which is a shift from the neo-classical and economic growth-led paradigms (for example: Clark, 2005, Crocker, 1992). The influence of the Capabilities Approach in advancing new insights and measures of human development and poverty is evidenced in the UNDP Human Development Reports (Clark, 2005). The emphasis on agency and empowerment ensures an active and positive role for people, as opposed to a passive recipient role. Alkire (2005) identifies multidimensionality, the focus of humans as ends of development, multi-disciplinarity and the promotion of justice and poverty reduction. The notion of the ‘incompleteness’ of the capabilities approach is deliberate and allows for the agency of people to determine how to operationalise it (Alkire, 2002).

Another attraction of the capabilities approach is the search for universality and normative approach which allows for comparisons across groups and nations. The strength here is that universality holds up a mirror to expose gaps, exploitation, inequality and human degradation. (Nussbaum and Sen, 1993). The flipside of this presents a weakness, which is the danger of paternalism as the question arises of whose norms and standards are adopted to measure development.

Weaknesses of the Capabilities Approach

- a) The growing body of work and research has led to two paradigms, the ‘thin’ version of Sen (1999) and the ‘thick’ version of Nussbaum (2000), according to Carpenter (2009). The body of knowledge has opened up complex debates in multiple disciplines and has tended to emerge as being prescriptive and evaluative rather than explanatory. This is problematic as it seems to contradict Sen’s idea for public dialogue.
- b) The ‘lack of explanation’ has compounded the criticism of the difficulty in operationalising capabilities and especially determining the roles of state and civil society in the implementation of capabilities (Carpenter, 2009).
- c) Another complication in operationalising CA is semantic or language. Sen (1993) and Alkire (2002) point out the difficulties in explaining ‘capability’ and ‘functioning’. The common use of capability does not easily translate to the concept as Sen (1999) defines it.
- d) The CA has been critiqued for being overly individualistic and promoting a liberal agenda and in some instances has been applied in individualistic ways (Carpenter, 2009). Sen’s (2009) reply to this has been consistently that the conception of CA is not methodologically individualistic just because individuals think, choose and act. He states that “... the capability approach not only does not assume such detachment (individual from society), its concern with people’s ability to live the kind of lives they have reason to value brings in social influences both in terms of what they value and what influences operate on their values” (Sen, 2009:244).
- e) Some argue that the Capabilities Approach does not address underlying structural inequalities and merely comments on the context without analysing underlying causes of inequality and oppression (Carpenter, 2009).

Notwithstanding these weaknesses, I still use the capabilities approach because the strengths outweigh the weaknesses.

4.4. Operationalising Capabilities: An Example

I have selected Alkire's (2002) poverty reduction studies because of the applicability with my study, especially in relation to the expansion of capabilities. She assesses three Oxfam poverty reduction projects in Pakistan, utilising different approaches to demonstrate the 'operationalisation' of the capabilities approach. Oxfam needed to make funding decisions about the projects and therefore needed data to inform such decisions. The three projects targeting women were:

- Rose cultivation income generation project, where a few women cultivated roses, made them into garlands and these were sold in the local market for religious and cultural ceremonies. The final group were ten people (six women and four men). Skills and training were provided as part of the project.
- Goat rearing income generation project, where the project provided loans to women to purchase goats for further breeding and farming. At the time, 140 women from 4 villages had received a goat each. The loans were payable over time and when the purchase became profitable. Skills and training were provided as part of the project.
- Khoj literacy project to provide literacy to poor women. Approximately 40 had completed the programme over a three year period. The methodology is Paulo Freire's phonetic method of using codes and code words that link to the context of women's lives. Some topics included reading, rights, cleanliness, abuse, health, divorce and food. The intention was that through their empowerment, women would also identify ways to generate income.

Alkire (2002) then utilised the traditional cost-benefit analysis for each, followed by social impact assessments and participatory social assessments. A capabilities tool had been conceptualised by Alkire including Finnis' model (also outlined in Appendix 1). She argues that the strength of the incompleteness of the capabilities approach and somewhat compatible theoretical bases of the

capabilities approach and Finnis' model made this possible. She further argues that this in line with Sen's conception of agency and public participation, where the choices of dimensions and the operationalisation of capabilities is determined by people themselves.

The findings that Alkire made in applying the above model to all three case studies include the following issues:

- a) By focussing on income only or using the cost-benefit analysis only, capabilities that poor people value will be missed or absent from analysis. In the participatory methods, the women identified religion and health as most important and more important than savings, unity, helping others and girl's education.
- b) The comparison between the three projects revealed that the literacy project was the most costly, for a relatively small group of beneficiaries. There was no direct income generation to beneficiaries or the project. If cost and 'material' benefit were the only indicators were the only criteria, the project could have ceased.

This chapter has provided the theoretical foundations for the study, as outlined in the model presented at the beginning of the chapter. The context nationally and provincially set the stage for shaping the theoretical underpinnings of the study. The capabilities approach to development was selected as the most appropriate for the study because of multidimensionality, broad application and focus on human agency. The conceptions of poverty, its definitions and measurement were also debated. We arrived at the point where we want to explore if the case study is an intervention that reduces poverty and expands capabilities.

The next chapter will provide the research design of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

“You don’t have to judge other people, to say no, this one comes from there, they just foreigners. There is no such a thing as foreigners. We learn there how to work as a group, because you are going to a place where you can’t work alone.” (Mandisa, a participant in the study)

1. INTRODUCTION

The overall aim of the study was to understand how a micro-level intervention reduces poverty and expands capabilities of poor and vulnerable people in the Cape Town Metropolitan area. This broad aim required the in-depth exploration of a micro-level intervention, and the operationalisation of the capabilities approach.

The operationalisation of the capabilities approach includes the selection of dimensions of poverty and capabilities, as shown by Alkire (2008). The processes by which this operationalisation occurs and as done in this study, include i) using existing data, ii) making assumptions based on theories, iii) draw on an existing list that was generated by consensus, iv) using an on-going deliberative participatory process, and v) propose dimensions based on empirical studies of people’s values and behaviours. (Alkire, 2008:1).

The case study design complemented the aim of the study because a strength of the case study method is the opportunity for in-depth study to establish a link between theorising and operationalising, and case studies are likely to produce the best theory (Yin, 1993, Denscombe, 2000 and Neumann, 2000).

While the selection of a research strategy is not an exact science, the best design was selected for the research aims and questions (Charmaz, 2006).

A single case study design was employed, and the unit of analysis was the Jobstart programme, which is part of a larger organisation, the CWD. The study is qualitative and the case is descriptive and exploratory, and it is permissible to combine case study types (Yin 1994).

Mouton (2001) distinguishes between research strategies that require representative samples and those that have immediate contextual significance. This study conforms to the latter. In this study, sampling was employed on two levels. Firstly, in selecting the actual intervention or case and secondly in selecting the participants for the study. Mouton (2001:150) refers to the 'sampling techniques' in case studies as selection of cases or theoretical or judgement sampling. The intervention or case, namely Jobstart, was selected among possible micro-level poverty-reduction programmes in the Cape Metropolitan area because of a pre-existing relationship between the university and the programme. This relationship facilitated access to the organisation as time was a major constraint.

The type of sampling technique for selecting participants to interview was purposive because the selected sample is a rich source of in-depth information, rather than representative of the population (Leacock et al, 2009). The participants selected for interviews were recent graduates who had completed the programme within the last year of conducting the study. The intention was to have a representation of graduates across race groups, nationality and course, but this was not possible due to logistical problems, described later in this chapter. Seventeen participants were approached and only seven were eventually interviewed.

The data collection techniques used were organisational documents and reports, direct observations, semi-structured interviews with seven recent Jobstart graduates, unstructured interviews with three staff as key informants. This triangulation of data collection techniques adds to the rigour of the study, noting that lack of rigour is a critique of case study research (Yin, 1993).

The data analysis was done through manual coding of the organisational documents, notes on direct observations, and interview transcripts. I utilised Nayaran et al's (1999 and 2002) approach of letting the 'voices of the poor' or in this study, the participants shape the study. Nayaran, et al's (1999) use of quotations and stories was critiqued for being a 'study by quotations' and regarded as lacking in rigour (Nayaran, et al, 2002 and Carpenter, 2009). Despite this critique, the voice of participants is aligned to Sen's (1999) requirement of public discussion of capabilities and agency. For me, the quotes or rather the voices, close the distance between researcher and participant.

The two applicable types of validity are construct and external validity. The study sought to test conceptions of poverty, how participants' capabilities are expanded through Jobstart, and how Jobstart promotes social and economic development through a capabilities approach. The design decisions to use a case study, multiple sources of evidence and establishing a chain of evidence through protocols and a case study database all meet the test of construct validity. The "correct operational measures were used for the concepts being studied," (Yin, 1994:33). External validity means "establishing the domain to which a study's findings can be generalised (Yin, 1994:33). As mentioned, the sample was theoretical and purposive and is an in-depth description of a single case and the experience of a small sample size of Jobstart graduates. Hence, the findings cannot be generalised and neither was it the intention of study.

The reliability of the study is promoted by having used a case study protocol (Appendix 2). There were the gaps in the quantitative data that limited the reliability of the data, as discussed below and later in the chapter.

The ethical considerations as discussed later in the chapter, includes the basic requirements of informed consent, withdrawing from the study at any stage, anonymity and confidentiality. Pseudonyms are provided in reporting the findings. Participants were provided with a R50 at the end of the interview. A key challenge was that of language and this also posed a possible ethical dilemma when a participant incorrectly assumed that she was attending a job interview. This was re-negotiated as the purpose was explained again and she agreed to participate in the interview.

The remainder of the chapter is the research questions and objectives, data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS and OBJECTIVES

The research questions are derived from the conceptual model discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.

The broad research questions and propositions are:

A. How is poverty conceptualised, and understood?

Proposition A1: The CWD is faith-based and has a Biblical conception of poverty and poverty reduction.

Proposition A2: The participants in the Jobstart programme have their views on poverty and whether they consider themselves poor.

B. What does the Jobstart programme do to promote economic and social development?

Proposition B1: The Jobstart programme promotes social and economic development.

Proposition B2: The Jobstart programme has quantitative and qualitative indicators that it promotes economic and social development.

C. How does Jobstart as a programme contribute to social and economic development in the households and communities from which participants come?

Proposition C1: The biographical data of participants highlights a diversity of individual circumstances and socio-economic challenges.

Proposition C2: The unemployment data of the areas from which participants come highlights that households and communities have high unemployment rates.

D. What capabilities are being expanded or promoted for participants or beneficiaries of the Jobstart programme?

Proposition D1: The voices of participants and their stories point to challenges and resilience.

Proposition D2: Participants have concerns, plans, priorities, coping strategies and capabilities separate from Jobstart.

Proposition D3: Participants' lives have improved or capabilities have expanded as a result of being part of Jobstart.

Proposition D4: Based on the data, several 'lists' of capabilities may be generated and linked to Sen's framework of capabilities.

Research Objectives

- i. To explore definitions of poverty from the perspective of the CWD and participants.
- ii. To describe how the Jobstart programme promotes economic and social development using a capabilities approach.
- iii. To describe how the Jobstart programme contributes to the social and economic development in parts of the Western Cape from where the participants come, by targeting the poor and vulnerable; providing skills and opportunities for employment.
- iv. To explore the assets and capabilities that the participants had separate from Jobstart.
- v. To explore what capabilities are being expanded or promoted for participants in the Jobstart programme.
- vi. To generate 'lists', based on the data and to link to Sen's framework of capabilities.

3. DATA COLLECTION

This section looks at the various data collection methods in detail. It starts with the general issues related to gaining access to Jobstart and this is followed by a discussion on the procedures followed for interviewing participants, interviewing staff, data from documents and notes of site visits.

3.1. Accessing Jobstart

The CWD and Jobstart in particular had an existing relationship with the UCT Department of Social Development. This facilitated easy access into Jobstart, and eliminated many problems with access that one would normally face.

The Jobstart case study began in 2010, when I visited all the programmes and projects on site. I made contact with all the relevant staff and also received documentation and assistance for which I am immensely grateful.

3.2. Documents

I received several types of documents from Jobstart and also accessed some from the Catholic Welfare Development website. This includes the CWD Annual Reports for three years and reports on ECODEV programmes and activities for some periods, for example, some quarterly and one Annual Report as well as the reports to Caritas and the Western Cape Department of Social Development.

The documents were used as sources to test most of the assumptions and research objectives. The Annual and Quarterly reports were used to develop descriptions of CWD, ECODEV and Jobstart to demonstrate that Jobstart promotes social and economic development.

The reports also provided quantitative data that I extracted and present in Table 5 in Chapter Four. This data provides indicators that Jobstart recruits poor and vulnerable people. The quantitative data for the ECODEV programme, of which Jobstart is the largest, reports on a total of 1024 trainees who were recruited and trained over a three-year period.

From the reports, the Caritas report and the Report to the Western Cape Department of Social Development are presented and analysed in Appendix 7 to show that Jobstart recruits vulnerable and poor and that it has impact in the rural areas of the Western Cape. Caritas funds trainees to study at Jobstart and the report covers the experience of 47 trainees. The DSD report reflects on a total of 29 trainees in Beaufort West, Caledon and Worcester. The rationale for selecting these reports as data sources is due to the detailed quantitative data, the recentness of the data and the fact that DSD report presents a rural perspective too.

The reports also provided qualitative data. A useful 'tool' was the ECODEV list of impacts (Table 6, Chapter 4) that lists the ways in which the ECODEV focus area, including Jobstart makes an

impact in individuals, families and communities' lives. This tool was triangulated with the staff and participant interviews for analysis, and also to test the assumption that Jobstart expands the capabilities of participants.

The documents were analysed in the manner described in the next section. One problem that emerged is gaps in the quantitative data. For example, there is not a profile of trainees (gender, race and nationality) for the three year period. I designed a template for the data and requested either the raw data or the completion of the template as part of a list of questions (Appendix 3: Template for Quantitative Data). I did not receive data that covered the entire period and due to logistics and timing, was not able to get all the data. However, this is somewhat mitigated by the qualitative data provided in reports or through interviews with the staff. Another mitigating factor, discussed under the section on interviews with the graduates, is that it became less important to interview a “representative sample” of the Jobstart programme, due to practical challenges.

Bell (1993) highlights the limitations of documentary evidence as the primary data collection methods. Researcher bias in categorising and selecting categories at the outset is mentioned as one pitfall, which should be addressed by having an open mind. This amplifies the challenge I had about the incomplete information where bias in selectivity of the data occurred. For instance, I selected the reports on Caritas and DSD (Appendix 7) for both completeness of information and because it was the most recent information to which I had access.

Mouton (2001) argues that ideas and hypotheses generated from in-depth literature studies or theoretical studies still need to be tested in the real world. One way to address this concern is to

undertake a few selected interviews to test key findings. I interviewed key informants at different stages, which allowed probing of the documentary evidence.

3.3. Direct Observations from site visits

I undertook a site visit, as part of a class to all the ECODEV programmes and projects in 2010. This was followed shortly afterwards by another visit to Jobstart, that included observing an interview of a potential Jobstart applicant. Three further visits to meet with and interview staff were undertaken. These visits included taking notes of my impressions while waiting for interviews to begin.

The site visits, after the interviews with participants, were the most memorable aspect of the study. Experiencing the sights, sounds and conversations of the projects in the community was instrumental in shaping the questions. The analysis and descriptions are richer for the backdrop created as a result of the site visits. Yin (1994) highlights the strengths of the direct observations covering events in real time and in providing a context of an event or programme.

The visits also allowed me to get a sense of the organisation and have informal chats with either staff or trainees. While the nature of these observations is subjective, they were useful in providing a sense of the organisation that helped shaping the questions.

The shortcomings of direct observations that I also experienced was that it is a time-consuming method, and is open to selectivity by the researcher (Yin, 1994).

3.4. Interviews with graduates

I received the contact details, mainly cell phone numbers of the graduates from the Placement Officer. I text messaged them, introducing myself and the purpose of the study. I invited them to participate in an interview that would last up to one hour, indicating that participation is voluntary and confidential; and at their convenience. I asked them to think about it and promised to call the

next day. I called the next day and where the phone was answered, and the person was interested, we made arrangements to meet in a quiet place that we could talk.

When starting the interview, I requested whether I could record it and indicated that the purpose for recording was to capture information accurately and that the recordings would be destroyed eventually. After the interview, I presented the graduate with an envelope containing R50 as a token towards the costs of making time to meet me.

The access and selection of recent Jobstart graduates was most challenging for the same reason that Jobstart struggles to track their graduates: inaccurate contact details. I received the contact details from the Placement Officer. I contacted seventeen graduates, and approximately seven were incorrect numbers. In at least three of these, I got alternative, correct numbers. I attempted to get a diverse group to interview and eventually managed to interview seven recent graduates. Informed consent and voluntary participation were non-negotiable and therefore I did not harass those who were undecided about participating.

The graduates were from all around town and we met in various locations. I met five close to their homes and took them either to my home or office for interviews. One interview was held outside on a park bench in town and another at a graduate's home. The venue and location also affected the quality of the recording.

These challenges, especially those of access and the logistics of meeting them, are some of the disadvantages of interviews.

Despite the challenges, I remain deeply grateful to those who were interviewed. One was a mother who had a two-week baby and was still willing to be interviewed. Another, due to language barrier,

possibly thought she was agreeing to a job interview and I had to clarify this and get her consent afresh. These are just two examples of how the participants went beyond the ‘call of duty’.

The interviewee’s perception that she was consenting to a job interview raised a serious ethical question and this was dealt with by re-clarifying the purpose of the interview. The misunderstanding came about as a result of language barriers.

The venue and location of the interview possibly influenced the responses in the interviews. For instance, the two interviewees who visited my home obviously saw Christian influences around my home and this could have shaped their responses to the questions. However, three other interviewees mentioned God or prayer in their interviews without knowing what my religion was. During the interviews, I was quite aware of the possible bias and probed responses at relevant points to reduce the bias. For example, I would say, “in addition to God, what else has helped you?...”

The interview guide is attached in Appendix 4. The question on poverty was added after the first interview, given the realisation that this was an important question to include after some initial analysis. The nature of the case study strategy is to balance flexibility with rigour (Yin, 1994).

A challenge was that the final list of people interviewed is not representative of the Jobstart trainees. For instance, not a single South African coloured person was interviewed, and not all programmes were represented. As mentioned this is mitigated by the fact that a sample was theoretical and the intention was not to generalise the findings. Also, the triangulation of data sources ensures that these problems are mitigated.

3.5. Interviews with staff/ key informants

The interviews with the three staff helped to triangulate the documentary evidence and assisted seeking clarity and further information on specific areas. The questions were structured around specific things related to the staff members' role.

The interview with Neliswa Zendani was taped and later transcribed. I had expected to meet with the ECODEV Manager, but he had an emergency. I therefore had to review my questions (Appendix 5: Interview guide for key informants). The interview with Zelda Kruger came about unexpectedly and I used the opportunity to interview her while waiting for another staff member. The interview with Chance Chagunda (ECODEV Manager) was pre-arranged and took place in a nearby coffee shop to ensure no interruptions. The conversation was not recorded and I took detailed notes and typed it up later.

These interviews were absolutely crucial in providing pertinent information and closing some initial gaps in the data.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of data in case study research uses two general strategies, namely relying on theoretical propositions that guided the research questions; and developing a case description or descriptive framework (Yin, 1994). I used both in framing the data analysis. Firstly, I relied heavily on the conceptual model presented in Chapter One and detailed in Chapter Two. This was the foundation of the research questions and the logic of the study. Secondly, I developed a case description early on in the study, which was refined over time. I also approached key informants to review the information, which also formed the basis of interview questions. The case description is presented in Chapter Four as one of the outcomes of the study.

The detailed process of analysis was iterative. I manually coded the all the documents in the manner set out below.

Procedure for analysing documentary data

I read all the relevant material and initially highlighted key concepts that appeared in the documents. I created a template and also identified various themes, and links to the research questions and literature where possible. Also, narratives from the documents were summarised.

At the same time, I created a diagram describing CWD, ECODEV and Jobstart. The descriptions were written up and revised over a period of time.

The quantitative data provided in the documents are presented in table format, in line with the research objectives. The decision to present the DSD and Caritas data was the outcome of analysis and the realisation that these reports support the assumptions that Jobstart makes a contribution to social and economic development.

Several documents presented the 'ECODEV community impacts. This was an analytical tool and became the basis for the list of capabilities that Jobstart expands, as presented in Chapter Four.

Participants' and key informants Interviews

The seven participant interviews and one key informants' interview were recorded and I transcribed them. Two key informant interviews were not recorded but I took detailed notes and wrote the notes up immediately after the interviews.

The procedure of analysis was as follows:

Step One: Code Responses by question, verify correctness of code until saturation.

Step Two: Verify that responses are in the correct category.

Step Three: Cluster Questions or Responses where question or responses were similar or where responses indirectly. An additional category, named 'other' emerged during Step One and needed refinement.

Step Four: Recategorise original questions, especially when overlap in questions.

Step Five: Identify themes and patterns until saturation.

Step Six: Link themes and patterns to assumptions and theories.

5. REFLEXIVITY

Reflexivity refers to the impact that the researcher has on the research process. The researcher influence on the process is inevitable but it is important to minimise the negative impact of the researcher influence.

Generally, I had to ensure that my own religious views do not negatively influence participants or the collection and analysis of the data.

6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Cresswell (2009) shows that ethical practices must be considered throughout the study from design to writing up the report. Participants should not be marginalised and their dignity is of primary importance.

The participants were provided with two opportunities to participate. I had smsed them, followed up with a phone call and at the start of the interview requested their participation again. I also explained the purpose of the study and indicated that their responses would remain anonymous. I indicated that I would give Jobstart summary feedback to assist them in improving. I advised that if a question was

uncomfortable, they could refuse to answer. Also, that we could end the interview if the s/he did not wish to continue.

I requested permission to use the tape recorder and indicated that only I or my supervisor would have access to the recording. I indicated that I would change their names in reporting the findings. I indicated that the recordings would be destroyed after the mini-dissertation had been submitted.

All participants agreed. One of the participants initially assumed that it was a job interview, due to a language barrier and I had to clarify the purpose and seek her consent afresh.

7. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are three main limitations of the study. Firstly, the study does not sufficiently probe conceptions linked to poverty, such as vulnerability and inequality. Secondly, the small sample size and profile of participants limits the generalizability of the study. For instance, I was unable to interview a coloured person, despite having approached a few. A more representative sample adds to the credibility of the study. Thirdly, the lack of quantitative measures and gaps in organisational quantitative data renders the data less reliable than it could have been. These limitations are mitigated by providing protocols and detailed procedures on how data was collected. Triangulation of data collection methods also assisted in enhancing the quality of the data and findings.

8. CONCLUSION

The choice of the case study approach matched the broad aims to explore the impact of a micro-level intervention in how it reduces poverty and expands capabilities. Sampling was done on two levels, theoretical sampling when selecting the case and purposive when selecting the participants to interview. There were three methods of data collection, namely documentation, direct observations, in-depth interviews with Jobstart graduates, semi-structured interviews with key informants. The

multiple methods assisted with triangulation of the data. The data analysis of interviews and documents were done manually by coding and identifying themes and linking themes to theoretical concepts. In addition to the themes presented in the next chapter, a case description, a template and tables and capabilities lists are presented as outcomes of this analysis.

The study meets the requirements of construct validity because the concepts of poverty and capabilities have been operationalised to the extent that they can be measured. The study does not meet the requirements of external validity because the sample of graduates was not representative and too small and cannot be generalised to the entire graduate population. Reliability is assured through the provision of a case study protocol which outlines the procedures and steps that were followed in the study. The ethical considerations were at the foreground from the design of the study, to the writing up phase to ensure the dignity of participants, informed consent and anonymity.

The next chapter analyses and discusses the findings.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

“It is very appreciated what you are doing. It’s about what you doing, you are a student, you know. Finding out like this, it’s fine, you can learn more. You know, some proverbs of English say, ‘finding is keeping’. You find now, you will keep that. Then you will learn more. That’s how it works, ja. Finding is keeping.” Jules towards end of his interview

Introduction

This chapter details the findings of the study, based on the research questions as defined in Chapters One and Three.

A. Conceptualising Poverty

- Ai. The CWD definition of poverty is based on the Bible and Catholic teachings. However, the actual definition of poverty is not explicit or documented like the CWD approach to poverty reduction. Since definition influences strategy (Kanbur and Squire, 2001), CWD should clearly define and document its understanding of poverty.
- Aii. The CWD approach to poverty indicates an approach that goes beyond the income-led approach to poverty.
- Aiii. The Jobstart graduates defined poverty, consistent with literature that shows the multidimensionality and complexity of poverty beyond income (for example, Bhorat et al, 2001, Nattrass and Seekings, 2010, May, 2000). Participants identified the following elements, which if absent indicated poverty: food, shelter, education for children, clothes, job, money, health, hope, getting what you wish, survival, coping with life, decision-making, positive attitude, and self-worth. This list is similar to the items provided in the Narayan et al (2001) study.
- Aiv. The graduates had divergent views on whether they were poor. Most indicated that they were not poor and provided reasons, such as “telling myself I am not poor” to having sufficient funds to pay

for the course. Some indicate that they were poor at some point or are poor in some aspects, for example not having enough money. One participant, in comparing his life with “successful lives”, concluded that he is poor. After probing, participants indicated that it is possible to come out of poverty. Some of these comments indicated the seasonality of poverty (Clark and Hulme, 2010). Most participants indicated that they had witnessed poverty either in their communities or amongst other learners at Jobstart.

B. Jobstart promotes economic and social development through a capabilities approach

Bi. The description of Jobstart, ECODEV and CWD shows the promotion of social and economic development of Jobstart. The quantitative indicators of ECODEV on recruitment figures and estimated job placements over a three period is a total of 1450 individuals trained and a conservative estimate of 902 placed in employment. This total needs to be nuanced further, as the impact on households could be multiplied by up to six people who benefit from one person being employed (Chance Chagunda, 2012). A limitation of the study is that the gender, racial, age and nationality profiles were not available. However, additional data and analysis on the Caritas trainees and Department of Social Development trainees (Appendix 7) shows the purposive recruitment of poor and vulnerable people, in particular women to the Jobstart programme.

The qualitative impact of the ECODEV is captured in a “list” of community impacts and highlights the holistic impact of ECODEV programmes, including Jobstart.

Bii. The description of Jobstart, its holistic approach and empowering philosophy shows that the needs and agency of trainees is central; and that social and economic development is promoted.

C. Jobstart contributes to the social and economic development in the households and communities from which participants come

Ci. The biographical information of the participants interviewed and the subsequent discussion highlights the vulnerability and the challenging circumstances from which the participants come.

Cii. An analysis of the unemployment data of the suburbs/ townships from which participants come or are currently living indicates that the historical black African townships, namely Khayelitsha, Nyanga and Crossroads have an average unemployment rate of 50%, far exceeding the national (29.8%), provincial (21.6%) and City of Cape Town (23.9%) rates. The impact of Jobstart in attempting to reduce the unemployment is not accurately measured in this study. However, the three participants from these areas all have employment.

D. Capabilities are expanded for the participants in the Jobstart programme

Di. The ‘voices of the participants’, based on the “Voices of the Poor” (for example. Narayan and Petesch, 2002), provide a backdrop to the subsequent sections on the participants’ capabilities.

Dii. A discussion on several aspects, separate from Jobstart, highlights the assets and capabilities that participants already have. This includes: desire for a good life, being a good woman, family, prayer/ God, having learnt English, helping others, high school education, multilingualism, home ownership, participation in church and/or community activities, savings, surviving violence.

Diii. The detailed discussion on Jobstart includes how participants heard about it, why they applied to Jobstart, how Jobstart has changed their lives and what aspects of Jobstart can be improved. The improvements and some of the good practices are part of the recommendations in the next chapter. All the participants indicated that Jobstart helped them and most instances, changed their lives. The capabilities that were expanded by Jobstart: providing food and basic materials, information and referrals for refugees, technical skills and qualifications for the hospitality industry, life skills and information on labour laws and rights, improved English, finding a job, managing conflict, better relationships, cultural and social integration, guidance and encouragement from staff for improved motivation, self-worth and self-confidence and increased respect for self and others.

Div. Several ‘lists’ were generated, based on the data and as reflected above. The lists are shown in Table 8. These are then linked to the two frameworks: firstly the ECODEV framework and secondly, Sen’s (1999) framework of constitutive and instrumental capabilities. This exercise is not exhaustive and highlights several areas for further inquiry. For example Sen’s (1999) framework, shows that political freedom and participation presents a further line of inquiry.

Taken together, the findings indicate that a micro-level intervention like Jobstart promotes social and economic development; and that Jobstart as an intervention is consistent with the Capabilities Approach.

1. Conceptualising Poverty

The definition of poverty influences the strategy for addressing poverty and therefore both definition and strategy require attention (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). This section focusses on the CWD conception of poverty, and the participants’ views.

1.1. CWD conception of poverty

The various reports and interviews with staff confirm that the CWD conception and approach to poverty is based on Catholic teachings and Biblical principles. (2010/2011 CWD Annual Report and Interview with Chance Chagunda, 2012). Despite the specific faith-based orientation, CWD services and offerings are open to all persons to access (CWD Annual Report, 2011/2012).

The vision and mission statement of the CWD is as follows:

Vision: A leading dynamic organisation professionally enhancing self-reliant communities.

Mission: Driven by the gospel values of the Catholic Church and our passion and love for humanity, CWD strives to eradicate poverty through service, caring and accountability. We walk alongside people and communities to learn and understand their needs and empower them to build self-reliant communities.” (www.cwd.org.za/about.asp).

There are thousands of references to poverty and “the poor” in the Bible (Alkire and Newell, 2005) and the expansion of the Biblical approach is beyond the scope of this study. There are several references made to the Bible, the gospel and Catholic social teachings in the CWD documents.

The CWD conception of poverty was further probed with Mr Chagunda. He pointed out the importance of context and the understanding of needs that shapes the definition and response. He mentioned a broader conception of poverty that includes material, intellectual and social aspects. He stated that: “lack of food affects ability to learn and energy levels; lack of food contributes to vulnerability to diseases, lack of income means no income to feed, clothe or educate children.” (Interview with Chance Chagunda, 2012). He explained that Jobstart targets the vulnerable in the Cape Town area to offer a skill in a short space of time that will lead to employment and alleviating hunger. While in training, trainees are fed and there are many examples of how trainees have eventually become breadwinners.

In sum, the CWD conception of poverty as explained by Chagunda is not neatly documented but implicit in their approach. The approach and strategy to poverty is well articulated as in Appendix 6, which describes the CWD programmes.

1.2. Participants’ Responses to Defining Poverty

The table in Appendix 8 summarises the responses from participants when they were asked to define poverty and if they consider themselves poor. The first participant, Grace had not been asked the question on poverty as this question had been added only after her interview.

The most striking feature is that taken together, the definitions show that poverty is not only about lack of income and includes a range of dimensions (Chambers, 1998) or capabilities (Sen, 1999). Figure 3 below is a list of ‘essentials’ or capabilities; which if missing indicate poverty as defined by the participants.

Figure 3: Elements, which if lacking, indicates poverty

Food Shelter Education for children Clothes Job Money Health Hope Survival
Getting what you wish Coping with life Decision-making Positive attitude self-worth

The examples provided by poor people in the Narayan and Petesch (2002) and Narayan et al (1999) are similar in respect of lack of jobs, education, food security, income, and clothes. Narayan and Petesch (2002) also highlight the features such as the lack of hope, inability to cope with life, make decisions, negative self-image and lack of self-worth as aspects of poverty. The differences between the participant responses and the literature are that the issues of land and gender equality are not explicit from the participant responses.

Jules, a participant, commented that some married women in his class were poor. Later in this chapter, the status of women and children is mentioned when exploring capabilities and some of the participant stories. Most participants rented property but the three South Africans living in townships, lived in homes owned by them or their family members. Land or home ownership is an important asset as highlighted by Narayan and Petesh (2002).

Some participants draw on the issues of time, depth and severity of poverty as discussed by Clark and Qizilbash (2002) and Clark and Hulme (2010). Linked to this is the concept of vulnerability which acknowledges that people move in and out of poverty due to circumstances (May, 2006). For example, Tongai recalled a time that he was 'possibly poor'. When probed, Jules and Lwazi thought it is possible to get out of poverty, indicating that for them it is also a seasonal issue. Depth and severity of poverty was alluded to by all participants who mention things like "when you sleep without food, is the worst poor" (Mandisa) or "when you can't get something that you wish in your life" (Rodrigue) or when you "don't know what to do. Life is not easy" (Jules).

Tongai stated that "some have lost hope, some are striving to pull up the ladder. Don't have shelter, no food." The ladder analogy is reminiscent of Sachs' (2005) use of the symbol of the "ladder of development" along which he categorises countries according to mainly economic indicators on the rungs of a ladder. Some, like many sub-Saharan African countries do not even reach the bottom rung of the ladder, while other countries are on higher rungs and trying to ascend this ladder towards greater economic prosperity and well-being. Tongai astutely uses the ladder to describe the poverty he has witnessed or experienced on a personal and individual level.

Most of the participants state that they are not poor and provide reasons. Jules said that Jobstart is not for poor people but it helps all people. Thumeka stated that she is not poor because she tells herself that she is not poor. Tongai said that he is poor in some aspects, and Lwazi concluded that he is poor when comparing his life to a 'successful life'. Even those who said that they are poor, make a point of stating that it is possible to get out of poverty.

Mr Chance Chagunda pointed out that generally the definitions and measurements of poverty do not come from the poor themselves and some will see themselves as poor and others not.

Alkire and Newell (2005) make a similar argument and state that poverty does not define the fullness of one's humanity. "...his grandmother, might, by our description, be classified as among the "extreme poor", but she would not be interested in that description. In fact, to describe her as "poor" would be to miss what was most important about her." Alkire and Newell, (2005:89).

This recalls Muhammad Yunus's words that "we not only don't know about the poor, worse still, we love to make up our own stories to build favourite theories around them. We keep ourselves in a comfortable position by fortifying ourselves with these theories." (in Narayan and Petesch, 2002:530).

The reasons that participants provided for them not being poor include savings, ability to afford to pay fees and educate children, positive attitude, and health. This highlights the importance of the array of assets and capabilities in poor people's lives (Narayan et al, 1999).

The matter of whether participants experienced or knew about poverty, either in class or the community was probed. There were numerous examples cited of classmates or people in the community or other communities that the participants consider poor. For example, Mandisa recalled numerous classmates who needed money or shelter. She also mentioned that Khayelitsha is poorer than New Crossroads. Rodrigue provided examples of classmates from Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Gugulethu and Phillipi who had nothing when they came to Jobstart but they now support families. Lwazi highlighted that he sees poverty in his 'location' and he observed that children quit school at a young age.

There appeared to be a sense of stigma and fatalism about being labelled poor hence the decision or mind-set that one is not poor. Sen (1995) highlights the problem of stigma, often overlooked in the

literature, and how peoples' self-respect can be undermined especially when poverty alleviation programmes target specific groups. This could be an explanation for the responses but was not probed in any detail.

A major limitation is that the conception of vulnerability was not sufficiently tested. It might be the case that many of the participants might identify with vulnerability rather than poverty.

The ambiguities, challenges and “fuzziness” of conception and definitions were starkly highlighted in this discussion. Sen (1993:33-34) states “that if an underlying idea has an essential ambiguity, a precise formulation of that idea must try to capture that ambiguity rather than hide or eliminate it.”

The purpose of this section has been to attempt to capture this ambiguity and complexity.

2. Description of how Jobstart promotes economic and social development

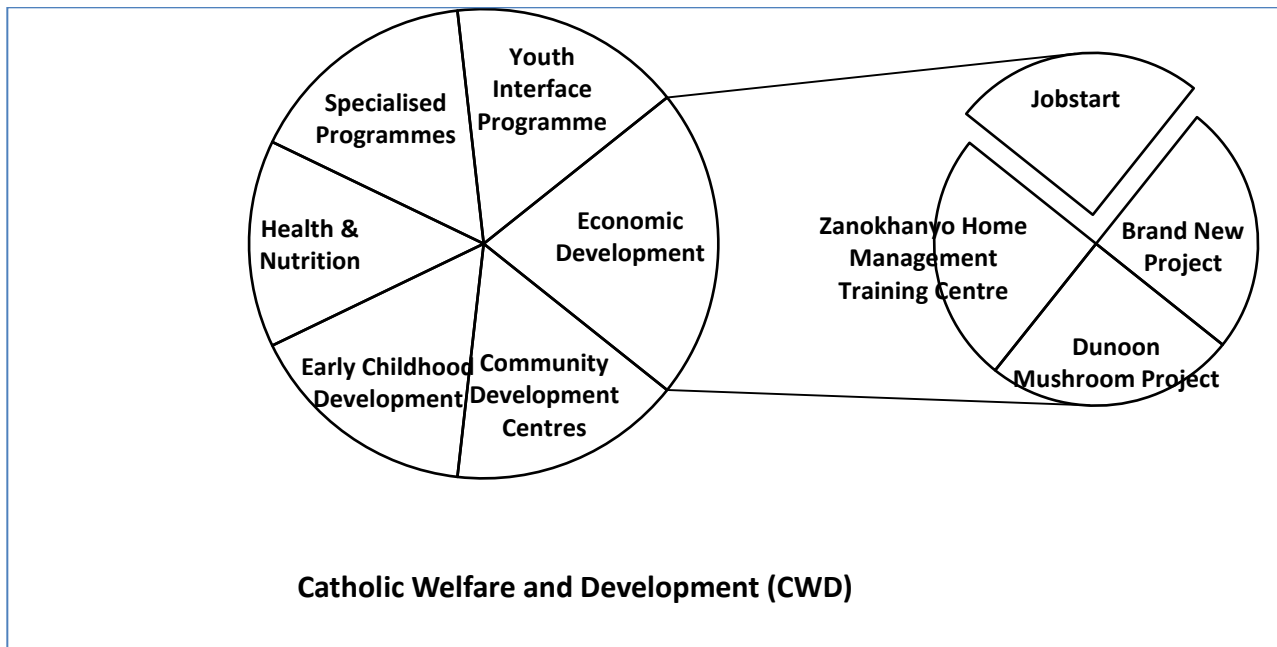
2.1. Overview of CWD and ECODEV

Jobstart is a programme of the Economic Development (ECODEV) focus area of the Catholic Welfare Development (CWD) agency. By describing Jobstart, ECODEV and CWD, it is apparent that collectively and individually, economic and social development is promoted through a capabilities approach. A detailed case description of CWD, ECODEV and Jobstart is in Appendix 6.

The CWD was started in 1970 and is the social outreach component of the Catholic Church in Cape Town. The ECODEV focus area emerged much later and Jobstart began in 1996. The CWD describes itself as having a ‘cradle to grave’ approach and is holistic in development.

Figure 4 below is a diagrammatic of Jobstart in context of ECODEV and CWD.

Figure 4: Description of Case: Jobstart in CWD



The figure above shows that the Economic Development (ECODEV) focus area has four parts: 2 programmes (Jobstart and Zanokhanyo) and 2 projects (Brandnew and Dunoon Mushroom project). Zanokhanyo, Brandnew and Dunoon are described in Appendix 6.

The table below illustrates the available numbers of the number of trainees in the ECODEV programmes and projects; and the numbers of graduates placed in employment.

Table 5: Number of trainees and placements in ECODEV Programmes for a 3 year period

<i>Programme</i>	<i>2011/2012 Trainees & Placements</i>		<i>2010/2011 Trainees & Placements⁴</i>		<i>2009/2010 Trainees & Placements</i>		TOTAL	
	Number trained	Number placed	Number trained	Number placed	Number trained	Number placed	No. trained	No placed
Jobstart	354	212 ³	293	147	390	286	1037	645
Zanokhanyo	120 ¹	59	147	100	128 ²	90	395	249
Brandnew ⁵	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Dunoon Mushroom ⁶	-	-	-	-	18	8	18	8
TOTAL	474	271	440	247	536	384	1450	902

1: The numbers for Zanokhanyo in 2011 is from Jan- November 2011

2: The numbers for Zanokhanyo in 2009/10 is for the period of 1 April 2009- 30 March 2010 to correspond with the financial year.

3: The number of Jobstart trainees placed in employment is an estimate.

4: This information is from April to Dec 2010, as gleaned from <http://www.cwd.org.za/ecodev.asp>

5: The Brandnew project has 2-4 women participating in the project, and expansion is limited (2010 Site visit notes)

6: Dunoon Mushroom project seems to have sustained the same numbers or reduced them- no numbers available in the reports.

The difference in numbers between those trained and those placed highlights the challenge of placing graduates in jobs. There are tremendous difficulties of tracking graduates after they graduate because they often change contact details and jobs without informing staff (ECODEV Annual Report, 2009/2010). This means that the number of placements might be higher. It is estimated that between 60 to 80% of graduates are placed in employment (Chance Chagunda, 2012).

The 2011 Stats SA census data (Stats SA, 2012) shows that approximately 405 000 people are officially unemployed⁵ in the City of Cape Town. During the period of April 2011- March 2012, Jobstart recruited 354 unemployed people. From this cohort, it is estimated that 212 of Jobstart

⁵ This figure might be higher as it does not include people who are of working age and who has stopped looking for work. See definitions later in this chapter.

graduates were placed (ECODEV). The provision of employment for 212 individuals in a context of 405 000 unemployed people appears to have limited impact. However, this study shows that Jobstart, as part of a larger organisation has a significant impact, not only on individuals but also in their households and communities. The significance of the impact is not only measured in numbers but also in how the lives of people have qualitatively changed.

The quantitative impact should be measured at the household level, where one employed graduate supports up to 6 household members (Chance Chagunda, 2012). As an example, the number of people placed after completing Jobstart and Zanokhanyo is 271 in 2011. By multiplying that number by six, the impact is approximately 1626 people in one year who potentially benefit from training and placement through ECODEV programmes.

The ECODEV reports have presented the contents of Table 6 as the qualitative impact of ECODEV on individuals, households and communities. It summarises the stories and experiences of many trainees and their families over the years. These qualitative factors are akin to a list of capabilities that are expanded by the ECODEV focus area.

It is worth noting that the ECODEV reports acknowledge the multi-dimensionality of development and a departure from the income-led approaches of poverty.

Table 6: ECODEV Community Impacts

Item	Description
Health	physical, mental, emotional or psychological impact. Trainees gain self-discipline and enhanced self-esteem, self-worth and purpose. Through income after securing job, or from small business venture, they are able to access healthcare.
Physical	impact on shelter, security and ability to clothe themselves after having income from jobs
Educational	impact on schooling of children or further study for trainees
Skills	Vocational and life skills for entry level jobs in the hospitality industry
Economic	improved financial position of individuals, households and communities. Economic empowerment through income from job. Women’s voice in household because they bring income. Increased circulation of money in the community to boost community. Some graduates are able to exit the social grant system
Social	Building human capital, social interaction, intercultural communication and socio-cultural co-operation.
Integration	integrate people of all races and people from various African countries with different backgrounds, languages, both refugees and non-refugees

Source: ECODEV First Quarter Report on 2010/2011: 19-20

2.2. Description of Jobstart

The Jobstart Training and Development Centre was established in 1996 “in response to dire unemployment and poverty in the Western Cape” (CWD Annual Report, 2008/9:30). Jobstart is located in the Cape Town CBD and targets refugees and South Africans for skills development in the hospitality industry (CWD ECODEV Report, 2010: 5). The courses are accredited by THETA⁶ and Services SETA and provide six weeks theoretical classroom- based learning and six weeks practical training in industries such as hotels, bed and breakfast establishments, and restaurants. An additional course is the seven-day micro-MBA in partnership with the University of Cape Town’s Graduate School of Business. A twelve-month business mentoring programme is also provided. Jobstart assists graduates to find work up to one year after graduation.

⁶ THETA is the Tourism and Hospitality Education and Training Authority and is responsible for accrediting training programmes in the sector.

Applications are open to South Africans and foreign nationals who are unemployed and between the ages of 18-45 years, according to Jobstart Pamphlet and 18-60 years, according Fourth Quarter ECODEV Report. A minimum of a Grade 9 and ability to communicate in English is required. (Jobstart pamphlet).

There six courses offered by Jobstart: Chef Assistant, Commercial Cleaning, Food Preparation, Food Service, House Keeping, and Micro MBA. The course costs range between R620 –R1375 for the twelve week programmes.

All the courses include Basic English Communication, life skills training, labour law, on-site training and personalised assessment (Jobstart pamphlet). If a student is struggling with English or with a personal matter that the Jobstart staff cannot handle, they will refer the student to a relevant agency (Interview with Neliswa Zendani, 2011). In some instances the student may have to learn English first before enrolling at Jobstart. Jobstart has referred prospective students to Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town or the Agency for Refugee Education, Skills Training and Advocacy (ARESTA).

If trainees cannot afford the costs of studying, they are referred to relevant resources for assistance such as ARESTA or Cape Town Refugees Centre. Jobstart also assesses individual cases and in dire situations, will fund trainees to study without paying, after a written agreement is made between the learner and Jobstart. (Interview with Neliswa Zendani, 2011).

The philosophy of Jobstart is consistent with that described with the Catholic Welfare and Development and ECODEV. The staff interviews indicate that the approach or philosophy includes the following elements:

- Jobstart is the critical socio-economic development component of the CWD. It has a combination of welfare and development in a complementary way and some say this is contradictory but it is not. (Chance Chagunda, 2012).
- “going the extra mile” by establishing the range of needs of trainees; and responding to these needs where possible, for example, providing for material needs such as food, deodorants and soaps (Neliswa Zendani).
- exposing trainees to real life through practical on-site training in the hospitality industry (Neliswa Zendani).
- encouraging trainees to expand opportunities by also doing voluntary work to gain skills if unemployed (Neliswa Zendani).
- maintaining contact, support and mentoring at least twelve months after trainees have graduated (Neliswa Zendani and Zelda Kruger).
- requirements of the staff or the organisational ethos includes: being a people’s person, dedication and commitment, working with people, giving, strong work ethic, punctuality, and confidentiality (Zelda Kruger).
- “The course is designed to motivate and encourage trainees. The first week is basic communication in English. This instils confidence that they are able to speak another language. Life skills – the way it is designed- you can make it if you want it. Motivation comes through in theory and practice. Students are encouraged through on-going mentoring.” (Interview with Chance Chagunda).

The description of the CWD, ECODEV and Jobstart shows that that collectively, these programmes contribute to economic and social development in the areas that they serve. The holistic, integrated development approach is evident throughout organisational reports and in interviews with the staff. The ECODEV report on the impact on the community is useful tool that is used in a later section.

3. Jobstart contributes to the social and economic development of the households and communities from which participants come

This section has two parts. The stories of the Jobstart graduates that were interviewed are summarised in the first part. The second part discusses the unemployment data of the areas that participants come from. Appendix 7 provides additional data and analysis of the Caritas Report (47 trainees) and the Department of Social Development (DSD) Report (29 trainees). This further demonstrates how Jobstart impacts on households and communities from which participants come. The DSD report also shows the impact in rural communities.

3.1. Biographical Information of the Participants Interviewed

Seven participants who had completed the Jobstart training were interviewed. A summary is set out in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Summary of Participants' Biographical details

Participant	Sex	Nationality	Years in SA	Race	Age	Marital Status	Education Level	Employment Status	Residence	Type of dwelling and number of people living with	Who& how supporting	Course @ Jobstart
Grace	F	Congo DRC	8	n/a	28	Married 5 years	Gr 12	Unemployed	Vasco	2 (bed)room flat, with 2 sisters, husband and 2 daughters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 daughters, age 2 & 4 @ crèche • 2 sisters @ CPUT/UWC • Husband works 	Asst Chef
Mandisa	F	SA-Lady Freire, E. Cape	n/a	Black	37	Married-12yrs	Gr 12	Perm Employed-	New Crossroads	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18-20 yr. old son frm prev. relationship lives in hokkie • She, husband, 2 daughters & son. • They own their house and renovating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18-20 yr. old son • 14yr &7 yr. old daughter, 2 week old son, • Husband works • They support their mothers 	Food Service
Rodrique	M	Congo	1yr 8 mo.	n/a	29	Single	Gr 12	Casual	Retreat	Rents a room, with a friend in a flat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents & 4 married sisters in Congo • 1 brother in London &1 in France, 1 stepbrother in Durban 	Food Service
Jules	M	Congo : DRC	2009-3 yrs.	n/a	25	Single-Engaged	Gr 12	Casual	Wittebome	Rents a flat with 3 other people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are 7: 1 brother in CT, 1 brother in JHB & 1 sister in PTA & 1 bro in Congo • Mother passed away 	Food Prep
Lwazi	M	SA	n/a	Black	19	Single	Gr 11, Gr 12 night school	Contract	Nyanga	Family owns the house. Lives with older brother, sister (aunt) & granny- 4 pple in total	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 month old child, stays in Delft with the mother. • Breadwinner 	Asst Chef
Tongai	M	Zimbabwe	5	n/a	23	Single	Gr 12	Contract after on-site training because he worked so well.	Retreat	Temporarily living with brother, b's wife & 2 kids	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 kids, mom died in 2003, dad in Zim & 1 brother in Botswana • Married sister, with 2 kids in JHB • Married brother with 2 kids in Retreat 	Food Prep
Thumeka	F	SA	n/a	Black	21	Single	Gr 12	Perm Employed at Fruit & Veg	Khayelitsha	Live with 2 cousins in main house. Brother & his girlfriend in the back House belonged to mom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother died in 2011 & father in 2005 • 4, 1 elder sister & twin brothers. She is youngest. • One cousin is working& the other in Gr9 	Food Service

It is challenging, almost irreverent, to summarise the complex lives of the participants in a brief table. To preserve anonymity, I have provided pseudonyms for the participants.

Racial categorisation was only applied to the South African participants, and because the national official documents still use the racial categories of Black African, Coloured, Indian/Asian and White. This is also the categories used by Statistics South Africa (2012). The three South Africans interviewed were all Black African and I was unable to interview Coloured participants for logistical reasons.

The nationalities interviewed were 3 South African, 2 DRC-Congolese, 1 Congolese, and 1 Zimbabwean. Most of the foreign nationals either had family members in South Africa or in other countries. In all cases, close family was still in the home country. The number of years in South Africa varied from less than two years to eight years.

The Human Development Index is an annual ranking of each country is useful to consider here for context from which the participants come. In 2011 South Africa ranked 123 and Congo 137 and both are considered Medium Human Development countries. Zimbabwe is ranked 173, a Low Human Development country. Congo- DRC is ranked the lowest at 187. (UNDP, 2011). As mentioned before, these indicators include life expectancy, schooling and Gross National Product. Essentially, the participants are all from countries with medium to low indicators in respect of human development. Some of the foreign nationals interviewed, express a desire to either visit or send money home but neither of these is easily fulfilled, given their own circumstances in South Africa.

The age range of the participants is towards the younger side of the 18-45 year old requirement of Jobstart. Lwazi is nineteen, while Grace, Rodrigue, Jules, Tongai and Thumeka are in their early to late twenties and Mandisa is in her late thirties.

There were three female and four males who were interviewed. Two of the women, Grace and Mandisa are married with children. None of the men are married and the youngest male, Lwazi has a ten month old son.

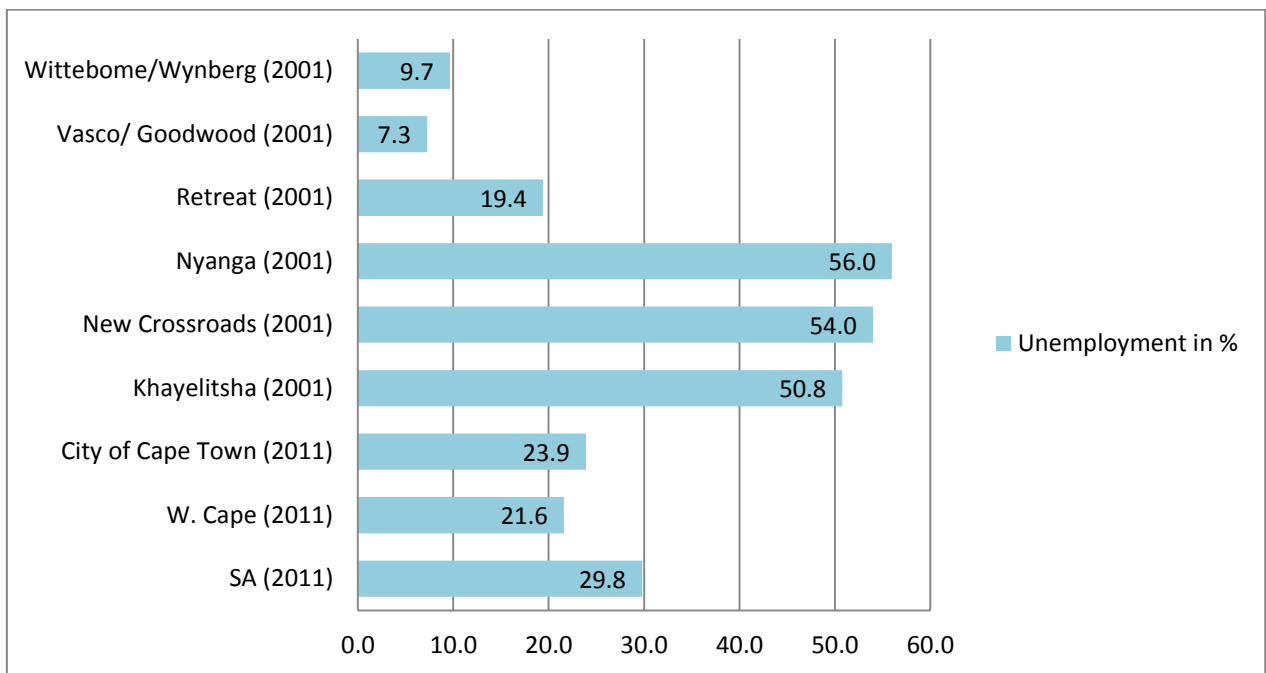
All the participants, except Lwazi has a Grade 12 or equivalent. Lwazi is currently studying his Grade 12 through night school, while he works on contract.

Grace, a female foreign national is not employed, while the others all have some form of employment. The foreign nationals are all in casual or contract positions. Lwazi, a South African male is in a contract position and takes on casual jobs from time to time. The two South African women, Mandisa and Thumeka are both in permanent positions.

3.2. Unemployment data of where participants come from

As mentioned, unemployment is a key issue in this study. I use the unemployment data as a critical area because the role of ECODEV and Jobstart is to provide a skill to unemployed people and to ensure employment of graduates.

Figure 5: Unemployment Rates in the areas where participants live



The sources of the above data are Statistics South Africa (2011) for the 2011 census data and Statistics South Africa (2001) for 2001 data from the City of Cape Town website.

The latest unemployment data at the suburb level was not available at the time of study. However, the above illustrates several things. Firstly, the Western Cape and City of Cape Town unemployment rate is below the national average. Secondly, the unemployment rates in Vasco, Wittebome, and Retreat are below the municipal, provincial and national rates. Ironically, the one participant who is unemployed, Grace, lives in Vasco which has the lowest unemployment rate. Thirdly, the historical Black African townships of Nyanga, Crossroads and Khayelitsha have unemployment rates that are more than double the municipal and provincial rates and well above the national rate. This is an indicator that opportunities for trainees are limited and that there are more unemployed people to support. This is reflected in the data provided by the graduates.

The type of dwelling and number of people living with participants also tells a story of either whom else must be supported or who is supporting the participant. The homes of the South African participants, all in townships, are owned by the family. These homes either support several children or extended family members by providing shelter and other material support. The foreign nationals all rent their dwellings and are sharing with several other people. The areas in which they are renting are considered “better-off” as compared to the areas where the South Africans live. These areas are also closer to Jobstart and the places of work and specifically to the Cape Town CBD.

4. Capabilities and Jobstart

This section starts with the participants’ stories as the background to the next two parts which includes the factors and capabilities that are not related to Jobstart, followed by the impact of Jobstart on participants’ lives. The fourth part provides a framework, based on Sen’s capabilities, from the responses from the interviews.

4.1. The voices of the participants

“You know, I feel so bad when I am talking about my past, I feel this life is not so easy.

This life is so hard. It’s very hard.” Rodrigue

The difficulties, challenges and pain of the past and the present came into focus for all the participants. Some of these circumstances are not unique to people who are poor or vulnerable but the impact is more devastating limited choices. (Narayan and Petesch, 2002)

The purpose of this section is not to sensationalise circumstances and people’s pain but rather to provide a backdrop for the next section, which deals with how capabilities are expanded.

The common themes which emerged from the stories are about the experience of foreign nationals and refugees, family, language, crime and violence, gender relations, and resilience.

Foreign nationals, including refugees

The majority of participants interviewed were foreign nationals.

The vulnerability of foreign nationals is demonstrated by the stories of how they arrived in South Africa and their early days here. Rodrigue arrived in Johannesburg having nobody “to receive” him. His relatives in Durban were unable to help him and he was stranded. He could not speak English. He spent hours walking in Johannesburg until a stranger offered him assistance by allowing him to stay with her for a few nights and then helping him get to Cape Town by train. In Cape Town, he managed to find fellow Congolese to help him get settled into accommodation. Grace also spent her first number of months living in overcrowded conditions. She still struggles with English and thinks that this is one of the reasons she is struggling to find a job. Tongai did not have the right documentation when he first arrived in South Africa but he was desperate for a job. He ended up doing long hours of construction work for R60 for two weeks. He was afraid to challenge his employer because he did not have relevant documentation. Things were so difficult for Tongai that he ‘picked up’ food to eat.

The living conditions of everyone has improved. Two participants live in Retreat, one in Wittebome and one in Vasco. They are all renting in flats with either other family members or friends. They share rooms and communal facilities. The areas in which they live have varying degrees of gang activity, high levels of substance abuse and crime.

No-one spoke about intolerance or xenophobia probably because this was not a direct focus. A positive contribution of Jobstart has been that of social integration and a few participants mentioned this.

Family

Each participant had a painful story about family. Grace desires to see the family that she left behind in Congo DRC approximately eight years ago. She was married five years ago and has a two-year old and a four year old daughter. She hopes to find a job so that she can visit her parents in Congo. On the positive side, she has her sisters living with her.

All the other foreign nationals have family in South Africa and family that they had left behind. Tongai's mother died when he was fourteen years old and his father is still in Zimbabwe.

Thumeka's mother died a year ago and her father died when she was fifteen. She is now twenty one. Her older sister seems to have been guiding her and she lives with two cousins and her brother in her late mother's house.

Mandisa is a married mother of three children aged 20, 7 and two weeks at time of interview; and a fourteen year old 'step-daughter' (husband's daughter from a previous relationship). Her twenty-year old son has a history of substance abuse, did not finish school and has caused the family much stress. She says, "*... to have children is sometimes hard. It's painful to don't have and it's also painful to have.*" (Mandisa)

Lwazi is a 19 year old father of a ten-month old son. The baby lives with his mother in Delft but Lwazi supports him financially. He is also the sole breadwinner in his home where aunt,

grandmother and older brother live. His father lives in a different township but does not support him. The mother and stepfather live in Kimberley. Lwazi states that he feels pressured and unsupported by his family. His passion for cooking was cultivated at a young age and he relates the following experience:

“Lwazi: When I was growing up, I used to live with my mother only, you see. My mother was pregnant.

And then at that time she was going to give birth, she leave me at home. Maybe it was four weeks I had to stay alone. I was doing Grade 4.

Me: You were like 9 years old, 8 years?

Lwazi: Ten years. I had to cook for myself, clean the house, wash my uniform... I also stayed with my stepfather...Have to cook for him. Because he was giving a lot of a pressure because he used to drink a lot. To cook for him, make him the lunch on the work, when he was working and then myself. When I'm at school, I must come back and then cook. At that time, I enjoyed cooking. When my mother came back home, I was cooking. Every meal there with the baby and I go into the kitchen and cook. And cleaning, I like to clean also. I like a neat place, you see. When I'm cooking, I like cleaning the house.”

Language

The Congolese participants all learnt English when they arrived to South Africa, whether through NGOs and further through Jobstart. Language has been a barrier for most of them, even the South Africans. In fact, Rodrigue mentions that he attended English classes St Joseph's College, a school in Rondebosch and 'foreigners, Xhosa-speaking and coloured people' were in class with him.

Grace stated that her inability in English was an impediment during her training at Jobstart. She feels that perhaps she did not understand what she needed to do and this came to a head during the practical training.

Mandisa related a story when she was working in a supermarket in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town and they were forced to communicate in Afrikaans. She referred to this time, in 1997, as a period of apartheid, even though apartheid had ended three years before in 1994.

Rodrigue was told by his compatriots to live alone when he arrived, until he could speak English. It is not clear if the person who told him this benefitted in any way because he had to pay more rent by living alone.

The command of English (or Afrikaans in Mandisa's case) was crucial for the participants to live, learn and work. Jobstart also focussed on improving English language skills. Sadly, the fact that all participants are at least bilingual or have the ability to speak more than two languages is not affirmed. Rather, English has greater currency than the remarkable ability to speak more than two languages. The issue of language is beyond the scope of this study and is an area of further research.

Crime and violence

The question of crime and violence was not probed directly and was either implicit or explicit in the participant's stories. The most explicit is Lwazi who was frequently bullied and assaulted on his way to school by a group of boys or gang members. This stopped when Lwazi had become a man through Xhosa traditional rites.

Tongai hints at criminality when he uses examples to answer questions: *"If I am someone to just rush into things like that, I will think of a lot of things. I will think of muti, I'm gonna think of robbing or doing something which brings me cash quick but I'm patient enough for so long where I am."* and *"... in life you just need some education. For you to prosper also you need some*

education. You may say I don't want it, I'm a dealer. I just do this. But one day you are going to need them."

Gender relations

Gender roles and the position of women was hinted and not explored in any great detail.

However, this emerged in some of the interviews. Of particular interest to me was listening for the vulnerability of women and children. Grace values her role to be a 'good woman' highly. The meaning of this was not unpacked in anyway.

Mandisa mentioned the infidelity of a neighbour's husband and how she gave tips to handle the situation.

Resilience

"That was our motto, never look back, you are going forward. Never and nothing can stand in your way if you can just believe in yourself that I can be what I wanna be in the next ten years. And for sure, if you really wanna be like that, stick to those principles of your life. Me, I'm trying and I can see it's gonna be fine." Tongai when telling about the lessons he learnt at Jobstart.

The participants have demonstrated capability in overcoming difficult obstacles and persevering.

Part of this, as discussed in the next section, had to do with the experiences gained from Jobstart.

4.2. Participants' plans, concerns and capabilities apart from Jobstart

This section deals with the issues that are not directly attributable to the contribution of Jobstart in participants' lives. This section sets the foundation for what the participants value and consider important in life.

The table in Appendix 8 provides the comprehensive responses to questions and emergent themes. Direct questions were: what is important in life, obstacles to achieving plans, and contributions to achieving plans. The "plans and goals"; and "other capabilities/assets" were identified through the narrative by participants. I added a section, "other capabilities/assets" during the analysis phase.

What do you value as important in life?

There are number of differences and similarities in what each participant *values as important in life*. These range from "being friendly with people" to the importance of family, education and faith in God, happiness, "having a good life" and "being a good woman." The list of the important things in life links with some of the lists mentioned in Chapter Two. For example, faith in God/ religion and education appear in Clark and Qizilbash's (2002) list of 'basic essentials in life', and this study was done in Western Cape communities. Faith in God or religion is also in Finnis's list as "harmony with a greater than human source of meaning and value" (Alkire, 2008:2)

Plans and goals for life

The section on the *plans and goals* of the participants is linked to the next section on the impact of Jobstart in participants' lives. The participants identify the plans or goals as getting a job, or better job, further education, visiting family or taking better care of family or marriage for some who are single.

Obstacles for achieving plans

The *obstacles for achieving plans* are: not having a job, stress, lack of finances, challenging personal or family circumstances such as addiction, violence, or taking too long to achieve goals. The impact of such obstacles on poor or vulnerable people is greater than those who are wealthier or have more opportunities. This is well argued in the literature (for example, Narayan et al, 1999 and Sen, 1997). For example, Lwazi is a nineteen year old breadwinner, with a 10 month old son, finishing his final year of school through night school while working. He was violently attacked while travelling to school when he was at school full-time in his final year. He was admitted to hospital and did not finish school. He is employed on contract and supports his extended family and son in this way. The school leaving certificate will help him to achieve his dream of becoming a master chef. If he should drop out of school or not get jobs, his immediate future plans are jeopardised and his household has less income. His son, who lives with the mother in a different township, is also impacted because of less material support. This example illustrates the vulnerability of a participant, where a negative change can have a domino effect on his entire household.

Besides Jobstart, what has contributed towards achieving plans?

The '*contributors*' to *achieving plans* are those factors identified by the participants as contributing to the achievement of their plans, besides the role of Jobstart. These are factors such as Grace's children in reliable childcare, allowing her the time and energy to actively seek work or Mandisa's learner's licence that may assist her in becoming more independent or Lwazi's support to neighbours with cooking that gives him a sense of purpose. Many participants mention their belief in God or prayer that has contributed to the achievement of plans; as well as the belief in self or

drive and motivation to succeed. Thumeka mentions Ikamva Youth and Y2K, which are NGO programmes that have assisted her in passing Grade 12. These “contributors” to the achievement of goals overlap with the important things in life, plans and the next section of “other capabilities and assets.”

Capabilities or “assets” identified by researcher during data analysis

The ‘capabilities or assets’ that participants have implicitly or explicitly mentioned in the course of the interview are those issues that I have identified as capabilities or assets. Narayan et al (2002) categorises the examples mentioned by the poor in a list of assets or capabilities. The examples in this study includes home ownership, multilingualism, financial and other support of spouse or relative which adds to household income, high school education/ matric, siblings or others in the household seeking education, participation in church or community activities, survival of setbacks, and habit of saving money. This list of ‘assets’ or capabilities will be picked up again in the next section.

4.3. Jobstart’s role and how it expanded capabilities

The questions and responses reveal similarities and overlapping themes, as shown Appendix 8.

The main questions are: reasons for applying to Jobstart, finding out about Jobstart, plans and goals, and Jobstart’s role in participants’ lives.

Reasons for applying to Jobstart

The common theme is that participants were unemployed and looking for work or study opportunities. Jules and Lwazi have a passion for cooking and so the Assistant Chef course fitted in with their plans. Tongai was the only one of the participants who was employed but it was in a very

low-paying job and he also wanted to gain a skill. It was through Jobstart that he realised a passion for cooking. Grace, Mandisa, Rodrigue, and Thumeka wanted to find any job for several reasons. This includes that Mandisa did not want to depend on her husband, Rodrigue wanted a skill and Thumeka did not get good enough results in Grade 12 to enrol in the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT).

How did they find out about Jobstart?

The most common way of finding out about Jobstart was through word of mouth by friends or family who had either graduated from Jobstart or who had heard about Jobstart. One participant was referred by a youth worker attached to a CWD Community Development Centre (CDC).

It is implicit that the prior experiences of others at Jobstart shaped the expectations of participants. This was most striking with Grace, whose friend had studied at Jobstart and got a job shortly after graduating. Grace was still unemployed after approximately six months and she was very frustrated by this. Rodrigue adds that he had heard that Jobstart “gives life” and he really wanted to know how Jobstart “gives life.”

Plans and Goals

As mentioned in the previous section, the plans and goals for the participants’ lives include employment, a better or more secure job, further study, marriage, and visiting family in the home country.

Jobstart’s role in participants’ lives

There were four questions that yielded similar or overlapping responses from participants. These questions were:

- Did Jobstart help you towards achieving your aims?
- In what ways did Jobstart help you?
- What are some of the highlights of being at Jobstart?
- If you look back on life, how has it changed, if at all because of Jobstart?

All the participants agree that Jobstart helped them towards *achieving their aims*.

Jobstart helped the participants in several ways. For example, by ensuring that a skill and certificate was attained, English was improved, finding a job, learning to help others, learning to be with other people in South Africa, life skills, treating the participants and other trainees with kindness and helped those who struggled financially, interview skills, encouragement, confidence, drive, respect, and being treated like family.

The *highlights of being at Jobstart* included having to tell the teacher in advance about absenteeism, getting breakfast and lunch, support with understanding lessons, learning life skills and communication, being encouraged, having high hopes, kindness and skill of staff, teachers/ staff at Jobstart, feeling like family, staff's guidance, listening and encouraging trainees, South Africans and trainees from other countries learning about each other, welcoming environment, and help with job placement.

Participants recalled several ways in which their *lives have changed since Jobstart*. This included attaining skills like cooking, or interviewing, learning or improving English, relating to others, handling conflict, learning other cultures, developing belief in self and encouraging passion, learning to be positive, not feeling alone, knowing that there is “always something for you”,

changed mind-set, direction in life, respecting others, life skills, training, experience and references helps with finding jobs.

From this data, it is clear that Jobstart has expanded several capabilities. This is from the food it provides trainees to enhance their concentration, to the teaching approach which enhances respect, self-confidence and a positive attitude. Two of the most obvious contributions are about expanding opportunities to find employment, thereby increasing individual and family income; and promoting intercultural interaction and social integration. The issue of social integration is crucial, given the history of xenophobia and is one of the key challenges raised by the National Planning Commission (2011).

Improvements for Jobstart

One of the questions asked was about the suggested improvements for Jobstart. Most participants indicated that they did not have any suggestions for improvements. A few mentioned that they thought the course was too short and that more time was required. One mentioned that more variety in placements would be desirable. For example, in Food Service, they should not be placed in hotels where only buffet meals are available, as they not get experience of waiting tables in a restaurant setting. A few graduates experienced difficulties in new jobs with issues such as rudeness and they suggest that Jobstart find out how graduates do in businesses recommended by Jobstart. One participant, who was unemployed at the time of the interview, suggested that Jobstart does more to help graduates find work.

4.4. Towards a list of capabilities?

A number of lists are possible, as Alkire (2008) has highlighted with the thirty-seven lists that she has devised.

Based on the data and the above discussion, the following ‘lists’ are summarised.

Table 8: Lists of ‘capabilities’ from data

Jobstart/ ECODEV impacts	Elements, which if lacking, is poverty	Existing capabilities or values in life mentioned by participants	‘Capabilities’ expanded by Jobstart	Capabilities identified by Researcher, based on data
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Health ▪ Physical ▪ Educational ▪ Skills ▪ Economic ▪ Social ▪ Integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Food ▪ Shelter ▪ Clothes ▪ Education ▪ Job ▪ Money ▪ Health ▪ Survival ▪ Hope ▪ Coping with life ▪ Decision-making ▪ Positive Attitude ▪ Self-worth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Desire for Good life ▪ Good woman ▪ Family ▪ Job ▪ Prayer/ God ▪ Learning English ▪ Good father ▪ Helping brother ▪ Helping neighbours ▪ Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Food and material needs when trainee ▪ Referrals and support for foreign nationals or with counselling, family issues ▪ Technical Skill learnt and information on laws and rights ▪ Improved English ▪ Finding job ▪ Improved relationships ▪ Conflict management ▪ Cultural integration ▪ Skilled and kind staff ▪ Encouragement and guidance from staff ▪ Self –worth and self confidence ▪ Respect of self and others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Multilingualism ▪ Siblings studying at university ▪ Support of family ▪ Home ownership ▪ Participation in church or community activities ▪ Saving money ▪ Surviving violence

The lists of elements, factors and capabilities show some overlap with each other and some of the lists in Alkire (2008).

Other studies (for example Clark and Qizilbash, 2002, and Alkire, 2002) have developed lists based on the data and where possible attempted to link it to existing framework. Likewise, I attempt to link the data to Sen’s framework and to the ECODEV list of impacts. The lists are incomplete and possibly show that further refinement may be done.

Table 9: Jobstart Impacts and Examples from data

ECODEV Impacts	Examples from data
Health: “physical, mental, emotional or psychological impact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing meals • Improved self-image, self-worth and purpose • Respect for self and others
Vocational and life skills for entry level jobs in the hospitality industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing skills and certificate • Life skills
Economic: “improved financial position of individuals, households and communities”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities for job and/or finding a job • Improved financial position of families
Social: “Building human capital, social interaction, intercultural communication and socio-cultural co-operation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning about other cultures and nationalities • Encouraged to volunteer and help others • Multilingualism, ting social interaction and intercultural communication
Integration: “integrate people of all races and people from various African countries”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning or improving English • Learning about each other’s cultures
Educational: “impact on schooling of children or further study for trainees.”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Income from jobs to study further
Physical: “impact on shelter, security and ability to clothe themselves.”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Income from jobs meets physical needs

Table 10: Sen's Constitutive and Instrumental Frameworks and Examples from data

Sen’s Constitutive and Instrumental freedoms	Examples from data
<i>Constitutive elements</i> Preventing starvation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jobstart provides meals for trainees • Food security
Escape from premature mortality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence and crime
Escapable morbidity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not probed
Literacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speak, write English
Political participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not mentioned
Uncensored speech	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not probed
<i>Instrumental freedoms</i> Political freedoms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not probed
Economic Facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • J’s start provides skills and certificates trainees for work • J’s start assists with finding employment • Jobs and income from it • Home ownership as asset • Savings
Social opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family support, relationships • Spirituality/ Prayer/ Belief in God • Participation in church and community and voluntary activities • self-worth, respect and confidence • Increased education opportunities • J’s start provides intercultural education betw. South Africans & foreigners • Multilingualism
Transparency guarantees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jobstart provides information on labour legislation and rights • Jobstart provides info and referrals for foreign nationals • Jobstart treats trainees with kindness and respect
Protective security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jobstart provides basic material support for those in need • Jobstart provides referrals for counselling, support

By comparing the frameworks, several issues arise. Firstly, the examples of the data crudely fit into both frameworks. However, it is apparent that further probing might be necessary. Secondly, Sen's framework has a conceptual basis, while the conceptual basis and framework of the ECODEV list is not documented, nor clear. The conceptual logic expedites the matching of data to the framework. Thirdly, gaps in the data or areas for further research are apparent in the Sen framework. This is useful to point to further research. For example, political freedoms and uncensored speech were not probed in this study. For Sen (1999), political participation and freedom is a constitutive (or basic) and an instrumental freedom. In other words, one cannot be free or exercise capability without the ability to participate politically and have freedom of association and speech. Conradie (2008) shows how the agency of poor women in Khayelitsha is developed through political and civic membership and leadership.

Conclusion of Chapter Four

This chapter has highlighted that Jobstart, as a micro-level intervention contributes to economic and social development through a capabilities approach. The conception of poverty by CWD is not explicit but its approach is multi-dimensional. The participants also had a multi-dimensional conception of poverty. Many participants did not consider themselves poor for several reasons. All the participants believed that it is possible to get out of poverty and many had seen poverty in their communities or amongst classmates at Jobstart. Several quantitative and qualitative indicators of Jobstart's impact were discussed. The impact in the households and communities from which participants come was explored by discussing the participants' biographical data and the unemployment data of the areas where they live. This discussion linked to the narratives of the participants, providing a backdrop for an examination of capabilities, those separate from Jobstart and those expanded by Jobstart. This led to the presentation of "lists", concluded by linking these lists to the ECODEV framework and Sen's (1999) framework.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter makes conclusions, based on the findings and then offers recommendations, before concluding the study. The recommendations flow out of this study and are clustered in two broad areas: those relevant for Jobstart and those relevant for further research.

Conclusions, based on the findings

Firstly, the study complements the literature that the insight into poverty should go beyond the traditional income-led approach. While the CWD definition of poverty is not clearly defined, the practical approaches to poverty reduction are well-documented. The definition by the Jobstart graduates and the CWD and Jobstart approaches provide a multi-dimensional approach to poverty. This is consistent with the capabilities approach.

Secondly, the participants in the study had divergent views and reasons on whether they were poor. The findings suggest that while programmes might define people as poor, they have a different conception of themselves. In providing reasons, the participants reveal their capabilities and assets in dealing with their circumstances and also allude to the temporal nature of poverty and poverty as a mind-set. The most important element of this study was the creation of the space for participants to frame their conception of themselves in relation to poverty. Through this, a powerful construct of identity- the poor- emerged as a possibility for further study.

Thirdly, the quantitative and qualitative data and indicators show that Jobstart promotes economic and social development through a capabilities approach. The philosophy, principles and values of Jobstart is

consistent with Sen's capabilities approach. Furthermore, the data shows that Jobstart contributes to the economic and social development in the households and communities from which participants come and that the capabilities of participants in the Jobstart programme were expanded. The findings show that participants in the study already had 'assets' and capabilities irrespective of Jobstart and this combined with the Jobstart experience, promoted the expansion of capabilities.

Fourthly, the study shows that Jobstart, as a micro-level intervention contributes to the body of knowledge and community of practice in poverty reduction and social and economic development.

Fifthly, the efforts of the Jobstart staff, their attitudes and approaches promote human dignity and support. The environment created by staff in expanded the capabilities of the participants. The impact of the staff and how they treat participants, learners or clients cannot be underestimated.

Recommendations for Jobstart

1. This study found that the CWD definition of poverty is not clearly stated and is implicit in the approach and strategy. CWD might consider documenting its definition of poverty.
2. A shortcoming of this study was the lack of detailed profile data. Such data is evidently not in one place or one report. A suggested tool is provided in Appendix 3. The presentation of such data will strengthen the argument that Jobstart 'targets' the most vulnerable members of society.
3. Linked to the aforementioned point, is the difficulty that the Jobstart has in tracking its graduates because they do not inform Jobstart of their changes in contact details. A more comprehensive or improved monitoring and evaluation system is proposed to ensure that Jobstart keeps up to date with its graduates and to be able to document how economic and social development is achieved.

4. Participants mentioned some improvements which are worth exploring. Firstly, that the course be lengthened as it was too short for some. Admittedly, this brings about further capacity challenges, as less people will be trained in a year. Secondly, Jobstart should attempt to diversify its on-site training organisations to include restaurants to enhance the training of waitrons. Currently, the training is in settings where buffet service is available. Thirdly, Jobstart should ask graduates about their experiences in their jobs, as some are having challenges in the organisations recommended by Jobstart. Fourthly, some feel that Jobstart should do more to help them get jobs, while others feel that Jobstart has done so much.
5. Most participants heard about Jobstart through word of mouth and because of Jobstart's positive reputation. Two participants also utilised other CWD services through CDCs. These approaches are positive for Jobstart to continue.
6. The most overwhelming and consistent responses are related to the approach of staff in how they treated trainees, how they taught and how they inspired trainees. A recurrent theme was that the trainees felt like they were part of a family, that they experienced kindness and were encouraged to make the best of this opportunity. This is a great commendation to the staff, who clearly go beyond the call of duty and under immense capacity constraints. The approaches of meeting the needs of learners and connecting them to community resources are commendable. The Jobstart graduates state that their lives have changed because of Jobstart and many recalled the words of encouragement and hope that were spoken by Jobstart staff. The recommendation is to continue with the kindness, encouragement and hope.

Recommendations for further study

This study highlighted various limitations and possible further areas of research.

1. The conception of poverty highlighted the need to probe the concept of vulnerability as these are linked. The notion of inequality was also underdeveloped in this study. It would be useful to probe participants' views of these concepts; and more pertinently, their experiences of vulnerability.
2. The issue of stigma was mentioned in attempting to understand why Jobstart graduates do not consider themselves poor. This is an area requiring further study.
3. The small sample size limited the generalisations that the study could make. Therefore an expanded and more representative sample size could enhance the significance of this study.
4. The discussion on participants' capabilities highlighted some gaps. By discussing Sen's framework, the issue of political freedoms and participation was shown to be absent from the data. Conradie's (2008) study is a useful starting point as she looked at women's political agency and leadership in Khayelitsha.

Conclusion

Chapter One introduced and framed the study, offering a conceptual model of the study, exploring similar studies, outlining the research questions and objectives, and defining the concepts used in the study.

Chapter Two provided the theoretical framework of the study based on a literature review. The social context at national, provincial and municipal levels was discussed, with particular focus on unemployment. The conceptions of poverty, development and capabilities were discussed in great detail. The approach was that poverty is complex and multidimensional and is not limited to income. The assumptions underpinning development were debated and the capabilities approach was selected, as it is broad, normative, considers context and sees people as active agents in their own development. The operationalisation of the capabilities approach is one of the biggest debates in "capabilities" circles and therefore this was discussed.

Chapter Three presented the research design of the study and highlighted the ethical issues, validity and reliability. There were several limitations identified as a result of the small and unrepresentative sample. Chapter Four presented and discussed the findings. In essence, Jobstart promotes social and economic development through a capabilities approach and expands the capabilities of trainees. The conception of poverty was probed, with the most significant finding that participants do not consider themselves poor. The capabilities of graduates were probed and an outcome was lists of capabilities, and linking these lists with the ECODEV framework and Sen's (1999) constitutive and instrumental freedoms.

The study has achieved its objectives, despite limitations, by showing that Jobstart promotes economic and social development through a capabilities approach. The overarching aim of showing how a micro-level intervention reduces poverty and expands capabilities has been reached. Most importantly, the stories of amazing resilience have been told as told to me by Grace, Mandisa, Rodrique, Jules, Lwazi, Tongai and Thumeka.

APPENDIX ONE : Philosophical Dimensions of Human Value

Finnis, 1980	Griffin, 1986 Prudential Values	Galtung, 1980 True Worlds	Davitt, 1968: Value Areas	Lasswell & Holmberg, 1969: Human Values	Nussbaum 2000, Central Human Capabilities	Qizilbash, 1996: Prudential Values for Development	Rawls, 1971: Primary Goods	Sen, 1999 Instrumental Freedoms
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○Life ○Survival ○Health ○Reproduction ○Knowledge ○Meaningful Work / Livelihood ○Authentic Self-Direction/ Participation/ Agency ○Relationships ○Inner Peace ○Harmony with a greater than human source of meaning and value ○Environment & Aesthetic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○Accomplishment ○components of human existence ○deciding for oneself/agency ○minimum material goods ○limbs & senses that work ○freedom from pain & anxiety ○liberty ○understanding ○enjoyment ○deep personal relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○input-output (nutrition, water, air) ○climate balance with nature (clothing, shelter) ○health ○community ○symbolic interaction & reflection (education) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○Life & reproduction, ○Protection & security ○Title (Property) ○Sexual Union ○Decision-Responsibility ○Knowledge, ○Art, Communication, Meaning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○Skill ○Affection ○Respect ○Rectitude ○Power ○Enlightenment ○Wealth ○Well-Being 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○Life ○Bodily health ○Bodily integrity ○Senses, thought imagination ○Emotions ○Practical reason ○Affiliation ○Other species ○Play ○Control over one's environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○Health/nutrition/sanitation/ rest/ shelter/ security ○Literacy/basic intellectual and physical capacities ○Self-respect and aspiration ○Positive freedom, autonomy or self-determination ○Negative freedom or liberty ○Enjoyment ○Understanding or knowledge ○Significant relations with others and some participation in social life ○Accomplishment (sort that gives life point/ weight) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○Rights ○Liberties ○Opportunities ○Income & wealth ○Freedom of movement & choice of occupation ○Social bases of self - respect ○Powers and prerogatives of offices and positions of responsibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○Political freedom, ○Economic facilities, ○Social opportunities, ○Transparency guarantees, ○Protective security

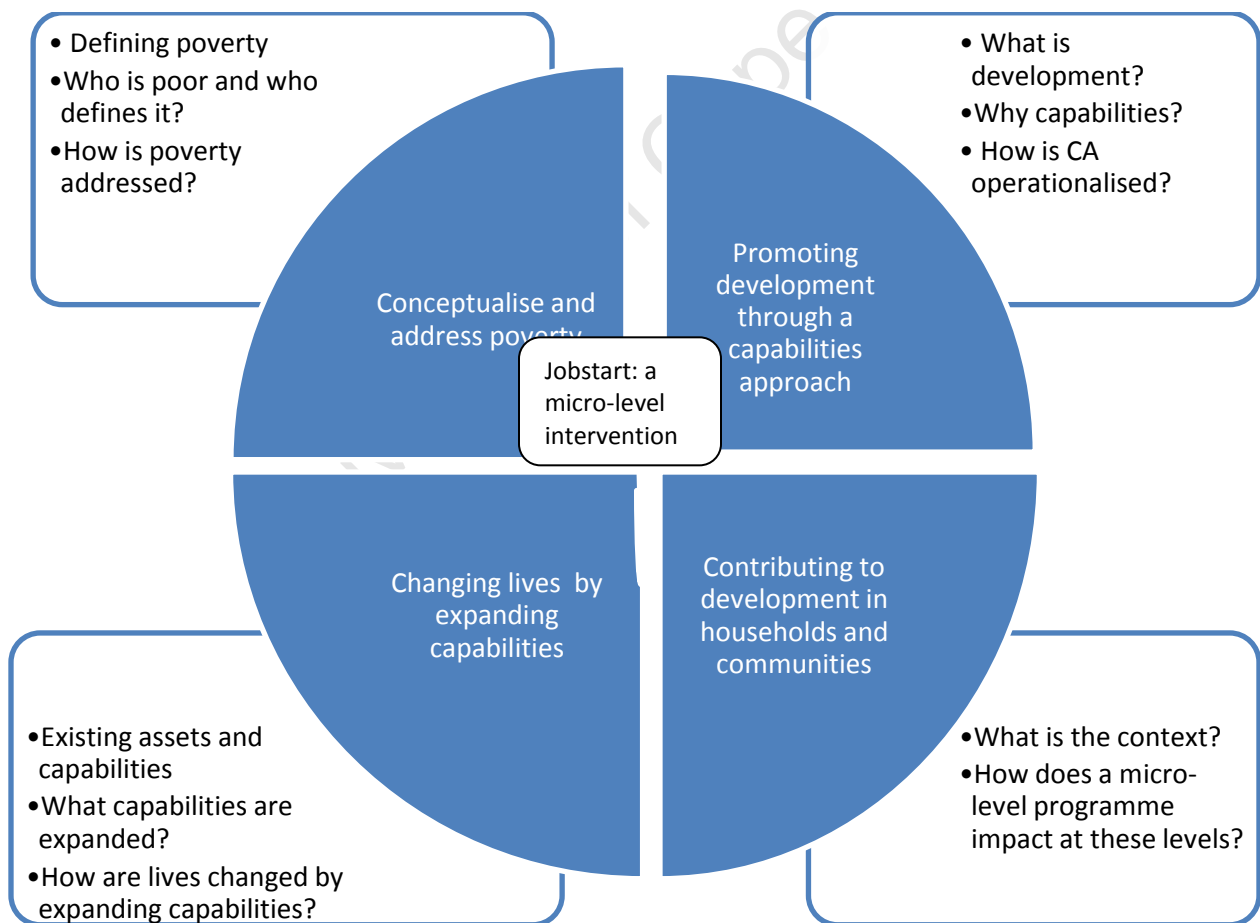
APPENDIX 2: CASE STUDY PROTOCOL

The protocol framework is based on framework and applications by Yin (1994) and Tellis (1997), who state that the case study protocol is a key ingredient to ensure rigour, validity and reliability in case study research.

OVERVIEW OF THE CASE STUDY PROJECT

The broad aim of the project was to explore if and how a micro-level intervention reduces poverty and expands capabilities of poor and vulnerable people and communities in the Cape Town metropolitan area.

Conceptual Model



Broad Questions Underlying the Conceptual Model

- ❖ What are the *conceptions and definitions of poverty and how is poverty addressed?* Who is poor and who defines it? How is poverty addressed? What is the capabilities definition of poverty?
- ❖ *Social and economic development is understood and promoted through a capabilities approach.* This statement begs the questions: what is development, the theories and approaches? Why capabilities? What is the capabilities approach and its applications? How is development promoted through a capabilities approach?
- ❖ *An intervention with a capabilities approach contributes to development in poor households and communities.* What is the context nationally, provincially and at community and household level? How does an intervention impact at these levels and what are the indicators of this?
- ❖ *Peoples' lives changed by expanding their capabilities.* What capabilities are expanded? How are peoples' lives changes by expanding their capabilities?

Refined Questions and Propositions

The broad research questions and propositions are:

- A. How is poverty conceptualised, and understood?
 - Proposition A1: The CWD, is faith-based and has a Biblical conception of poverty and poverty reduction.
 - Proposition A2: The participants in the Jobstart programme have their views on poverty and whether they consider themselves poor.
- B. What does the Jobstart programme do to promote economic and social development?
 - Proposition B1: The Jobstart programme promotes social and economic development.
 - Proposition B2: The Jobstart programme has quantitative and qualitative indicators that it promotes economic and social development.
- C. How does Jobstart as a programme contribute to social and economic development in the households and communities from which participants come?

Proposition C1: The biographical data of participants highlights a diversity of individual circumstances and socio-economic challenges.

Proposition C2: The unemployment data of the areas from which participants come highlights that households and communities have high unemployment rates.

- D. What capabilities are being expanded or promoted for participants or beneficiaries of the Jobstart programme?

Proposition D1: The voices of participants and their stories point to challenges and resilience.

Proposition D2: Participants have concerns, plans, priorities, coping strategies and capabilities separate from Jobstart.

Proposition D3: Participants' lives have improved or capabilities have expanded as a result of being part of Jobstart.

Proposition D4: Based on the data, several 'lists' of capabilities may be generated and linked to Sen's framework of capabilities.

The **objectives** of the project are:

- i. To explore definitions of poverty from the perspective of the CWD and participants.
- ii. To describe how the Jobstart programme promotes economic and social development using a capabilities approach.
- iii. To describe how the Jobstart programme contributes to the social and economic development in parts of the Western Cape from where the participants come, by targeting the poor and vulnerable; providing skills and opportunities for employment.
- iv. To explore the assets and capabilities that the participants had separate from Jobstart.
- v. To explore what capabilities are being expanded or promoted for participants in the Jobstart programme.
- vi. To generate 'lists', based on the data and to link to Sen's framework of capabilities.

Case study issues

- Single case design
- Type is combination of descriptive (what questions) and exploratory (how questions)
- Unit of analysis: Jobstart, which is a programme of ECODEV, focus area of CWD
- Triangulation through multiple data collection
 - Documents: reports, websites
 - Interviews with graduates – semi-structured (see Interview Schedule)
 - Interviews with key informants (see interview questions)
- Data analysis: manual coding, categorising, themes, link to theory

Link concepts, questions to theories

- Conceptualising poverty (Sen, Narayan, et al, Clark and Qizilbash, Bhorat et al, May et al, Seekings and Natrass)
- Development theories (commodities, utilitarian, Basic Needs Approach, Capabilities)
- Capabilities Approach and operationalizing capabilities (Sen, Nussbaum, Alkire, Robeyns)
- Developing 'lists' of capabilities (Sen, Nussbaum, Alkire)
- Case study methodology (Yin, Tellis)

CONDUCTING THE CASE STUDY, PREPARATION FOR DATA COLLECTION AND CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS

<p>1) Preparation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure Access to Jobstart • Map ethical considerations, validity and reliability • Plan methods of collection • Design interview schedules (Appendix 3) • Ensure recording devices are in working order 	<p>2) Site Visits</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visited all ECODEV projects- took notes • Met with staff: initial contact • Sat in on recruitment interview- took notes
<p>3) Documents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CWD website • CWD Annual reports, 2009-2012 • ECODEV Quarterly and Annual Reports • ECODEV and Jobstart Webpages • Jobstart Pamphlets • Caritas 2012 Report • DSD 2011/12 Report • Profile data/ records (not provided by Jobstart) 	<p>4) Interviews</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key Informants: 3 staff- interview guides • One recording and transcript of interview. Notes of interviews with 2 staff • Contacted 17 graduates – interviewed 7 • Interview guide for graduates • Recordings and transcripts of interviews with graduates

DATA ANALYSIS

The analytic strategy is guided by the theoretical propositions and a case description. The techniques for data analysis include

- Manual coding- categories, themes and linking to theories
- Interviews summarised in a database
- Documentary evidence summarised in a database

Tools generated as part of data analysis

These are 'outcomes' of the study, findings that can stand alone

- Diagrammatic Description of Case-Figure 4 (developing the diagram helped with determining the unit of analysis and writing the description)
- Template for organisational data (Appendix 2)
- Dimensions of poverty as defined by participants
- Lists of capabilities, using Sen's framework

APPENDIX 3 : TEMPLATE FOR QUANTITATIVE DATA

1) Total Data

Programme	2011 Enrolments & Graduates		2010 Enrolments & Graduates		2009 Enrolments & Graduates		TOTAL (E) G
	Number enrolled	Number graduated	Number enrolled	Number Graduated	Number enrolled	Number Graduated	
Jobstart							
Zanokhanyo							
Brandnew							
Dunoon Mushroom							
TOTAL							

2) Profile of Learners/ students by programme who graduated in 2011 from Jobstart

Table 1: 2011 Nationality, Race and Gender by Programme

	FEMALE			MALE			TOTAL
	SA Black African	SA Black Coloured	'Foreign National	SA Black African	SA Black Coloured	'Foreign National	
Chef Assistant							
Commercial Cleaning							
Food Prep							
Food Service							
Housekeeping							
Micro- MBA							
TOTAL							

Table 2: 2011 Age and Gender by Programme

	FEMALE				MALE				TOTAL
	18-24	25-34	35-45	45+	18-24	25-34	35-45	45+	
Chef Assistant									
Commercial Cleaning									
Food Prep									
Food Service									
Housekeeping									
Micro- MBA									
TOTAL									

...

3) What is the general trend of learners to find jobs after graduation?

APPENDIX 4 : INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH PARTICIPANTS

No	Questions	Notes to Self
1.	<p>Hi, my name is Edwina Brooks. I am a part-time Masters student at the University of Cape Town and am doing research about the Jobstart Programme and how it helps the participants in learning skills, finding employment and in other ways.</p> <p>I appreciate that you have agreed to participate in this study and for your time. Your identity will be unknown as I will not use your name and only you and I will know who you are. Also, I wish to encourage you to speak freely as I will not use your name.</p> <p>If you feel a question is personal or sensitive to you, please do not answer. Is this okay for you?</p>	Introduction of self, study, anonymity, confidentiality
2.	So tell me about yourself.	Biographical Information Name Surname Age Where born/ nationality Where live and how long Household Children Educational background
3.	<p>Jobstart says it is about helping people get out of poverty.</p> <p>How do you define poverty?</p> <p>Do you consider yourself poor? Why? Why not?</p> <p>Have you seen poverty in your community or at Jobstart</p>	Define poverty Is s/he poor? Experience of poverty in community or at Jobstart
4.	What were your reasons for applying to Jobstart?	Factors which led to seeking Jobstart
5.	When you think back of the reasons you joined J/start, do you think that the experience has helped you to achieve your objectives/ plans?	Describe the experience at J/start
6.	What were the highlights of being at Jobstart? What has been the things that need to improve?	Experience at J/start? Highlights and areas for improvements?
7.	What are the plans for your ? How did J/start contribute to achieving plans? What else contributed to achieving plans?	Plans/ goals How did J/start help? What else contributed?
8.	What is important to you in life? changed your life?	Things s/he values

9.	How has experience @ J/start change your life?	Impact of j/start
10.	What prevents you from achieving your plans or achieving what is important to you?	Identifying obstacles
11.	Further questions? Closing and Thanks	

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

Interview with Neliswa Zendani (Recruitment and Marketing Officer)

1. Introduction to study
2. Please describe your role in Jobstart?
3. How has Jobstart changed people's lives, given our social context?
4. Describe the communities that the learners come from?
5. What happens if a learner cannot afford to pay for the course or other costs related to studying?
6. What are the skills, besides the technical skills, that the learners are being taught to improve their lives?
7. Tell me about the numbers. How many learners do you recruit, how many graduate and how many get jobs?
8. What are the values and principles underpinning the Jobstart programme which makes it different from other programmes?
9. What happens to the learners who have graduated but do not get jobs?
10. What is Jobstart's impact, besides on the individual level?
11. If you look at some of success stories, do people break out of poverty?
12. The minimum educational requirement is Grade 9. Do you find that you have people with higher schooling qualifications?
13. Do you find people who want to further their education?
14. Closing comments, and thanks.

Interview with Chance Chagunda (Programme Manager)

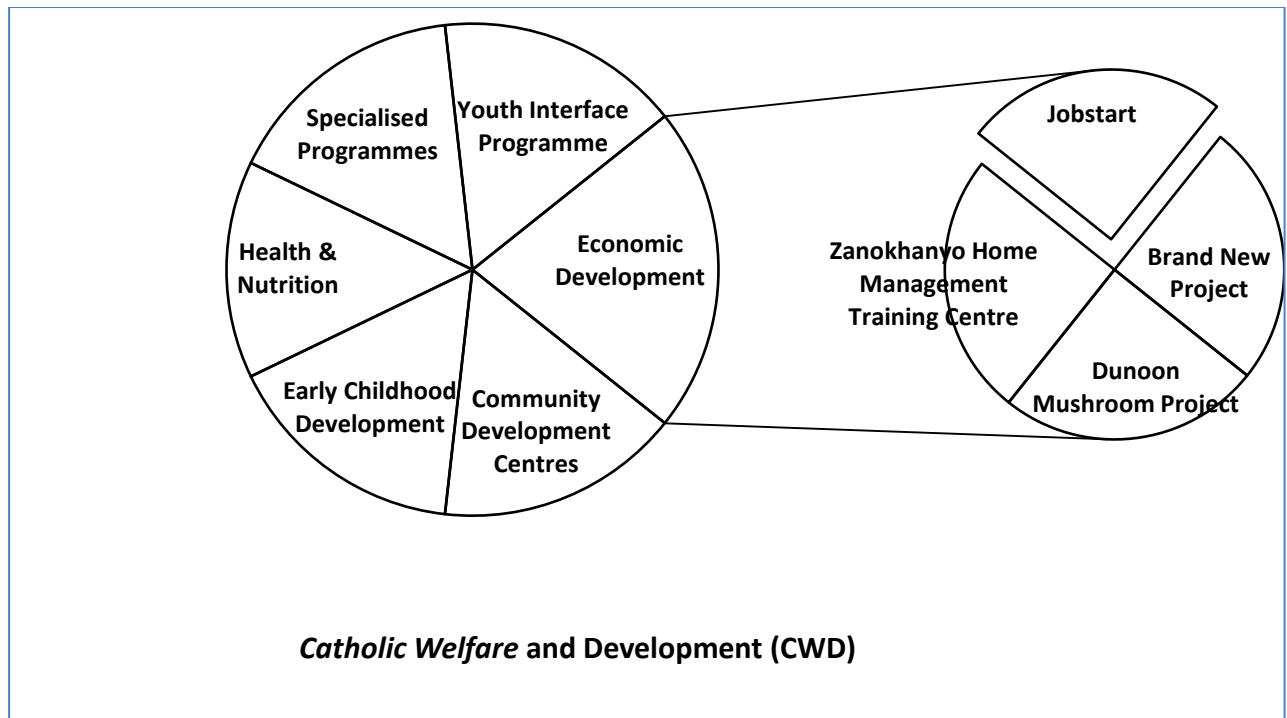
1. Introduction to study
2. How does CWD define poverty?
3. Participants do not consider themselves poor. What is your opinion?
4. What about approaches to poverty? Does definition determine the approach to poverty reduction?
5. What is Jobstart's impact and how is the impact measured?
6. The learners I have interviewed seem very motivated? What contributes to the motivation and the hope that they have?
7. What are some of the improvements that you think should be made to the programme?
8. Any further comments?
9. Closing and thanks
10. Do you find people who want to further their education?
11. Closing comments, and thanks.

Informal Interview with Zelda Kruger (Placement Officer)

1. Introduction to study
2. What is your job role and job function?
3. What are the positives of Jobstart?
4. What are the challenges facing Jobstart?
5. How is Jobstart different from other agencies?
6. What are the required qualities of working at Jobstart? What is the CWD ethos?
7. Closing and thanks

APPENDIX 6: CASE DESCRIPTION OF CWD AND ECODEV

Figure 1: DESCRIPTION OF CASE: JOBSTART IN CWD



Description of Catholic Welfare and Development (CWD)

CWD has been in existence since 1970 and is currently one of the largest welfare organisations in South Africa, let alone in Cape Town (CWD Annual Report, 2008/2009). The CWD is the social outreach arm of the Catholic Church in Cape Town and is based on the Catholic ethos and principles but its services and programmes are available to all people, irrespective of their beliefs or background (CWD Annual Report, 2011/2012). “CWD interventions offer a ‘cradle to grave’ approach to the welfare and development of the communities it serves, with interventions as diverse as crisis relief for families and sports programmes for the youth, to caring for the elderly, and the Neighbourhood Old Age Homes (NOAH) programme illustrates this point well” (CWD Annual Report, 2010/2011:22). CWD “continues to develop and nurture its beneficiaries through a range of interventions aimed at uplifting and improving lives in a holistic fashion- working with

individuals, families and groups to make a tangible impact...” (CWD Chairperson, Annual Report, 2011/2012:2)

The global economic downturn has affected donor funding, necessitating organisational restructuring, including the loss of some staff. At the same time, programme alignment and improving the competencies of staff to deal with the changing environment. “...with fewer resources, it means our priorities have had to shift, while maintaining a balance between the interventions leading to development, and increasing the capacity and intellectual capital of the staff.” (CWD Director, Annual Report 2010/2011: 10)

The CWD acknowledges the staff as its main asset. This corresponds to the finding about the role of Jobstart staff in contributing positively to the lives of the Jobstart participants.

The CWD is committed to uplifting the poor. This is done through several programmes as expressed through six focus areas (five are discussed broadly and ECODEV is discussed in great detail in the next section:

- **Community Development Centres (CDCs)** are based on developing opportunities for communities to become empowered to resolve their own issues. The presenting issues include high levels of unemployment, crime, limited access to housing, health and education services, gangsterism, substance abuse, domestic violence, malnutrition, school dropouts and teen pregnancy. Each centre includes the other CWD service, namely early childhood development, youth development, health and nutrition, and referral to Economic Developments programme. The nine CDCs are Atlantis, Mbekweni, Tafelsig, Elsies River, Weltevreden, Masiphumelele, Gugulethu, Khayelitsha and Delft (CWD Annual Reports, 2010/2011 and 2011/2012).
- **Early Childhood Development** provides support and training to informal crèches in impoverished communities and informal settlements around Cape Town, Paarl and up the West Coast since 1982. In the 2010/11 period, 63 facilities received assistance and support, 176 practitioners were trained and 2175 children were reached. (CWD Annual Report, 2010/11:13).

- **Youth Development** “the Youth Interface Programme provides opportunities and activities that facilitate social inclusion and mobility for young people within selected vulnerable communities, CDCs and Specialist programmes. Leadership, sport and dance projects aim to educate, develop skills and create opportunities for young people under the age of 35 to reach their potential.” (2008/9 CWD Annual Report: pp 44-46).
- **Health and Nutrition** “War Against Malnutrition, Tuberculosis and Hunger (WARMTH-food security programme) has set up community kitchens in low-income communities since 1968 to support the most vulnerable communities. WARMTH served 1.3 million meals in 2008/9 (2008/9 CWD Annual Report: pp. 40-43). Since 2010, the WARMTH kitchens have sought to become independent and started the process of establishing consortium kitchens (CWD Annual Report, 2011/2012). Awareness on HIV/AIDS and Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) continues. Partnerships with the Department of Health resulted in baby clinics to improve mother- infant nutrition and in 2011, a successful pilot peer breastfeeding programme was started in Wesfleur (CWD Annual Report, 2011/2012:15).
- **Specialist Programmes** “target the most vulnerable, namely: elderly, traumatised, refugees, the homeless and victims of fire and floods. Programmes include: Women in Need (WIN), Neighbourhood Old Age Homes (NOAH), Bonne Esperance (BE, refugee shelter for women and children), Catholic Counselling Network (CCN), Trauma and Healing and the Crisis Relief Programme” (2008/9 CWD Annual Report: pp 48-63). In the 2010 period, the Women in Need and Bonne Esperance programmes were merged to ensure structural and social integration.

Description of the Economic Development (ECODEV) Focus Area

The ECODEV website (<http://www.cwd.org.za/ecodev.asp>) states that ECODEV is about “teaching a person how to fish”, which is explained as empowering poor and marginalised people by offering skills training for employment in the hospitality industry or domestic work or to start micro-business.

“The primary objective of the ECODEV is to contribute to the creation of economic justice and promote community development through addressing skills deficiency and enhancing entrepreneurship among unemployed people by:

- Training job seekers in the hospitality industry
- Training people to run small businesses
- Providing support to community entrepreneurs
- Providing mentorship services
- Placing ECODEV graduates into jobs (part-time, short-term, and long-term employment)
- Helping individuals and communities to access economic opportunities and increase household income.” (ECODEV Fourth Quarterly Report, 2011:4).

The ECODEV focus area has the two programmes, namely Jobstart and Zanokhanyo and two projects, Dunoon Mushroom pilot project and Brandnew.

Zanokhanyo means “Bringer of Light”, started in 1998, is located in Harare, Khayelitsha and recruits unemployed women to provide basic skills training and economic opportunities through job placement. The training is based on needs and includes life skills, and basic training for placement at guesthouses, catering companies, pre-schools, old age homes, offices, private homes, and cleaning services. A baking programme and laundry service have also created income-generation opportunities (2010 First Quarter Report, 2010). The 2008/9 Annual Report states that in a ten-year period, more than 1000 women and their families have been positively impacted.

Brandnew was established in 2007 and also targets unemployed and vulnerable women to develop skills in sewing and crafts; and entrepreneurship. The project started when CWD requested the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) to donate counterfeit jeans rather

than destroy them for the women to re-design and manufacture a range of different products (2010, Presentation by Chance Chagunda). Currently, the project makes the training uniform for Jobstart, the dancing attire for the youth in the Youth Interfacing focus area; and other items for different stakeholders (ECODEV First Quarter Report, 2010:18).

Dunoon Mushroom project started in 2008 and is situated in Dunoon. Approximately eight women from the community have been trained in skills to grow shiitake mushrooms and in micro-MBA. The project is a three-way partnership: CWD, the National Development Agency who funds the project and the African Gourmet Mushroom (AGM) through whom the mushrooms are sold. Two major challenges are that a) AGM is not paying for the mushrooms timeously which affects monthly operations and b) politics, community dynamics and crime within Dunoon impacts the project negatively (ECODEV Annual Report 2009/2010 and ECODEV 4th Quarterly Report, 2011).

Appendix 7 : Analysis of Jobstart Caritas and Dept of Social Development Reports

Table 5 showed the recruitment data for Jobstart. In addition to this, I have selected two sets of indicators that Jobstart has to report on: 1) Jobstart Report to Caritas on 47 trainees and 2) partnership with Department of Social Development to train trainees in Beaufort West, Caledon and Worcester. The purpose of using these data sets is accessibility of reports and to triangulate with other findings.

Jobstart Report to Caritas

Table 1: Number of Caritas-funded trainees

	FEMALE				MALE				TOTAL
	18-24	25-34	35-45	Total	18-24	25-34	35-45	Total	
Chef Assistant	4	10		14	3	6	3	12	26
Food Prep	5	7	2	14	2	5		7	21
TOTAL	9	17	2	28	5	11	3	19	47

Source: Data from CWD/Jobstart Report to Caritas, January 2012

The Report to Caritas (2012) states the trainees come from diverse communities within the Western Cape and are South African and from other countries. The data provided in the report, as above, reflects the age and gender of the participants in the various courses. The overall gender profile is reflective of the annual gender profile in Jobstart, according to the Caritas report (2012). It is noteworthy that there are more women in the two courses than men, with the single largest group, being women in the 25-34 age group. Men (12) are closer in number to women (14) in the Chef Assistant course, than in the Food Preparation course where there are 14 women and 7 men.

At the time of the report, there was no data for how many trainees were employed after completing the course, and a key challenge is tracking where participants are eventually employed.

The report and data highlights the commitment of Jobstart to its stated criteria of targeting unemployed, unskilled women and female-headed households.

The Caritas Report (2012:2) states that “Jobstart improves the quality of life of the learners thereby creating self-sustaining communities. This is the kind of community development, which contributes to poverty alleviation in the short to medium term and eradication in the long term.”

DSD Training in Beaufort West, Caledon and Worcester

Jobstart and the Department of Social Development have an agreement that Jobstart trains 160 people from 16 DSD districts, meaning ten per district. The first phase of training occurred in 2006 and 2007 within the following nine metro districts: Athlone, Bellville, Cape Town, Eerste River, Gugulethu, Khayelitsha, Mitchell’s Plain, Paarl and Wynberg.

The second phase of the training was to take place in the rural districts: Caledon, Worcester, George, Oudtshoorn, Vredendal, Vredenburg and Beaufort West. The data below is from the report in 2011 on the training in Beaufort West-Murraysburg, Caledon and Worcester. As per agreement, the training was customised to the contextual needs of each community. Beaufort West/Murraysburg training was on public area cleaning (Commercial Cleaning) and the Micro-MBA offered to unemployed women. The Caledon training was the Assistant Chef course open to unemployed male and females. The micro-MBA course was run in Worcester, targeting those who wanted to start small businesses or wanted to expand existing businesses. Post-training mentorship for up to twelve months was offered for all the courses (Report on DSD Training in Beaufort West, Caledon and Worcester, 2011).

Table 2: DSD Female Trainees by Race, Age and District

	BLACK AFRICAN FEMALE					BLACK COLOURED FEMALE					TOTAL
	18-24	25-34	35-45	45+	Total	18-24	25-34	35-45	45+	Total	
Beaufort West	-	-	1	-	1	2	2	2	4	10	11
Caledon	2	5			7	-	-	-	-	0	7
Worcester	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	5
TOTAL	2	5	1	0	10	2	2	2	4	10	23

Table 3: DSD Male Trainees by Race, Age and District

	BLACK AFRICAN MALE					BLACK COLOURED MALE					TOTAL
	18-24	25-34	35-45	45+	Total	18-24	25-34	35-45	45+	Total	
Beaufort West	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caledon	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Worcester	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	3
TOTAL	2	1			4					2	6

Sources for data: Report on DSD Training in Beaufort West, Caledon and Worcester

The age data for the Worcester cohort is not reflected in the report, hence the incompleteness of the data. There are similarities and differences between the Caritas report and the DSD report especially with regards to urban and rural differences. However, comparison is limited due to size of different data sets (Caritas is 47 and DSD is 29), and because characteristics of race and age cannot be compared as they are either not provided or incomplete.

One similarity is that women are the biggest beneficiaries of the training and employment opportunities. A difference is in the age differential, where there are a few 45+ trainees in the DSD cohort. The issue of age was raised as a challenge. Many older women have several dependents and need the income. However, the job opportunities are limited (Report on DSD training, 2011).

Like the Caritas cohort, the data for graduates who secure employment was not available at the time of the report. The community profiles indicate that job opportunities in the rural districts are scarce. One suggestion was to encourage the establishment of co-operatives or small businesses to create income.

The DSD report (2011) states that the purpose of the training is to equip trainees with hospitality and business skills, that impacts on their households. For example, in the household, increased knowledge of food may lead to healthier eating, and in turn the community may benefit from initiatives such as soup kitchens or small businesses.

Based on the quantitative and qualitative data from the Caritas and DSD reports, these interventions recruit poor and vulnerable people, with a specific emphasis on recruiting women. Furthermore, the custom-made training is based on the needs identified by the relevant communities.

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APPENDIX 8: PARTICIPANT RESPONSES TO SELECTED QUESTIONS

Table A: Participant Responses to Poverty

	Define Poverty	Are you poor? Why/ why not	Is it possible to come out of poverty?	Poverty in class or community
Mandisa	“You’re poor if you sleep without food. That is the worst poor. And you don’t have clothes to wear... You can’t take your children to school”	Not poor, manage to buy food and send children to school.	n/a	Compares Khayelitsha to New Crossroads- latter not poor. Cites examples of classmates who need money or shelter.
Rodrigues	“...when you can’t handle anything in your life, then you are poor...When you can’t be alive for something that you wish in your life. When you can’t get something that you wish in your life”	No, was able to pay fees and gown money at Jobstart. Had saved from previous job and able to buy clothes, and support self	n/a	Examples of classmates from Khayelitsha, Mitchell’s Plain, Gugs & Phillipi who had nothing when came to Jobstart. Now support families
Jules	No money, don’t know what to do, life not easy, can’t lose hope, when you get a chance to do something, do it to get out of poverty	“Jobstart is about helping people. It’s not about helping poor people. For me, I think, myself, I can’t say I’m poor. I was like actually, like, I was looking for something I can get out of this or something. I can say I’m- it’s so difficult to say poor people- I’m not like that.”	“I think the way you think today is the way it’s gonna be tomorrow. If your thinking is very down, you don’t think about your future, you gonna stay just like that. But if you take that decision yourself, my life must change, you gonna change it.”	Yes, some poor (at Jobstart), different types: married women, some want certificates
Lwazi	People who struggle financially- cannot afford to put food on the table.	Yes, when comparing what I see in location to a life of success, I am poor. There is something ‘higher’ to attain.	“It is possible to get out of poverty if you work hard. You can sell plants at the terminus to get out of poverty.	See poverty in location, compared to successful lives Children quit school at a young age
Tongai	“Some have lost hope, some striving to pull up the ladder. Don’t have shelter, no food.”	“I can’t say I was poor because I was alive,, I wasn’t poor because I did have a life to breathe... because of the physical things, I was poor. I didn’t have enough finance but in the other ways I wasn’t so poor...now I’ve got a peace of mind. I’m working nice, loving my job, so it ‘s different from before		
Thumeka	Someone who does not have anything, who doesn’t have a job to survive	No, I don’t consider myself poor because if you tell yourself you are something, you are going to be that. So I tell myself that I’m not poor, I’m gonna be that.		See it a lot that people who tell themselves that they are poor stay there.

Table B: Participant Responses on the plans, concerns and capabilities *apart* from Jobstart

Participant	What is important/ do you value in life?	Plans/Goals	Obstacles to achieving plans	Contributors to achieving plans & improving life	Other Capabilities/ Assets: Identified by researcher
Grace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being a good woman • Have a good life • Stay with family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Job or further study</i> • <i>Visit family in DRC</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No job • Stress out 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children in reliable childcare • Actively seeking work • Will study anything 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 sisters studying @ university • Support of husband • Multilingual
Mandisa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Happiness • Prayer • Facing problems • Family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Better job</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Had struggled with son's addictions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has a learners licence • Prayer • Hope 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home ownership • Husband works • Work experience • Participates in church & community activities • Multilingual
Rodrigue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being friendly with people • Serious about life/plans • Relationship with God 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Mechanical Engineering</i> • <i>Get married</i> • <i>Visit family in Congo</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insecure job • Not being treated well at work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Belief in God • Learnt English very quickly. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Habit of saving money • Multilingual
Jules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Life is serious 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Big vision</i> • <i>Marriage</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of money 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Belief in self • Belief in God 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multilingual
Lwazi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To be a great father to his young son • Helping his brother achieve • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Finish Gr 12</i> • <i>Master chef</i> • <i>Take care of son</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of material and emotional support from family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning from Head chef at work • Attending night school for Gr12 • Prayer & faith in God • Helping neighbours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survived physical attacks • Cooks for community events • Multilingual
Tongai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • God • Life • Family • Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Kitchen Manager</i> • <i>Further studies</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time- taking long to achieve 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has passport, awaits work permit • On-the job training • Drive to succeed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multilingual
Thumeka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dreams of being a journalist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Journalism degree @ CPUT</i> • <i>Travel</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of finance for further study 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bridging Course at Y2K in Eng & Maths • Ikamva Youth helped in Gr12 • Belief in self • Positive attitude 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support of sister • Inherited mom's home • Multilingual

Table C: Participant Responses on Jobstart

Participant	Reasons for joining Jobstart	How find out abt Jobstart	Plans/Goals	Did J/start help u towards aims	In what ways J'start did help you?	Highlights of being at Jobstart	Life changes since Jobstart
Grace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To find a job 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Friend had found job after Jobstart 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Job or further study Visit family in DRC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes, learnt skill 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have a skill Improved English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have to tell teacher in advance if you will be absent Getting breakfast & lunch Support when you don't understand things 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How to cook Learnt English Interview skills
Mandisa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unemployed & did not want to depend on husband 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Friend 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Helping towards a better job 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Learning that we have to help each other Finding a job 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Learning lifeskills and communication Being encouraged Having high hopes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relating to others, including relating to current manager Handling conflict
Rodrigue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unemployed, needed job and skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Heard about it from "people" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mechanical Engineering Get married Visit family in Congo 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finding a job Learnt to be with people in SA Lifeskills Helped other students who could not afford to study Staff kind and helpful- "they give life" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kindness and skill of staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Learnt about people & SA culture
Jules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have a big vision, loves cooking, heard about J'start and went 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Heard about it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Realise Big vision Marriage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More than a qualification How to speak with people Interview skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers/leaders at Jobstart. Make you feel like family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guidance from teacher to believe in self to love what you do and about your passion
Lwazi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Told youth worker about dream to be a chef; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Referred by youth worker at CDC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finish Gr 12 Master chef Take care of son 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes Revived dream of becomin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lifeskills learnt at CDC and Jobstart Encourage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The staff take you as family Staff listen and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Being positive, not alone Always something

Participant	Reasons for joining Jobstart	How find out abt Jobstart	Plans/Goals	Did J/start help u toward aims	In ways what did help J'start you?	Highlights of being at Jobstart	Life changes since Jobstart
	was unemployed			g a chef	ment from Stanton	encourage learners • Take people from outside SA as family-help each other	for you
Tongai	• Wanted a better job & a skill	• Heard from cousin	• Kitchen Manager • Further studies	• Yes	• Confidence, drive, respect • Feels like family • Words are durable • Skills learnt from J'start • Improved English	• Welcoming environment • Guidance and hope from staff • "Never look back"	• Changed mindset-have direction • Respecting others • English and lifeskills
Thumeka	• Gr 12 results not good enough for CPUT	• Sister is Jobstart graduate	• Journalism degree @ CPUT • Travel	• Yes • Helped towards achieving future goal of becoming journalist		• Help with job placement-got a casual job	• Having training and experience helps with finding jobs • References also helped

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