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MASTERS DISSERTATION

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Title: **A Case Study in the Use of Beadwork
as a Model for Successful Development
Practice in South Africa.**

Abstract

This dissertation is an evaluation of a model for development practice implemented in Cape Town in 1999 that uses beadwork as a source of income generation in an attempt to meet the needs of the local context in terms of job creation, empowerment and social upliftment. It documents a process of development strategy and implementation over a two-year period from 1999 to 2001 and evaluates this model in terms of a theoretical framework for successful development practice and by comparative analysis with research on the lace industry in India.

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Foreword

The practical component of this university degree towards a Masters in Political Science was inspired by reading and academic papers toward completion of the two-year coursework in development theory. This practical component has evolved from a 'vision in a classroom' to the internship for democratic governance to a real-life business, to the meat of this dissertation. Thoughts, words, sentences and action have combined themselves around the ideas of discourse and power in development theory, local participation and the role of culture in development, feminist theories of development, the South African context in light of a comparative analysis between the RDP and GEAR and environmental sustainability in a situation where unlimited economic growth rivals the carrying capacity of the earth. These ideas both paved my road map of development theory and have informed my practice of development in a local context.

The methodological orientation of this dissertation attempts to bridge theory and practice linking the researcher to the researched. In this sense there is a feedback mechanism between theory informing practice and practice informing theory. And it is in this light that this road map of development theory both informs, and is informed by, the practical component of this dissertation. This paradigm of development research goes beyond the

quantitative and qualitative approaches entering the methodological realm defined by Participatory Action Research (PAR). This approach emphasizes a partnership, as opposed to a relationship based on power relations, between the researcher and the researched in the planning and implementation of development projects through active participation in development action (Mouton & Prozesky, 2001).

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Preface

This dissertation comprises the revised version of the original draft submitted in September 2001. In 2002 the name of the business changed from 'Cake' to the 'RUBY Beading Project' as a result of one of the partners leaving the company. To date, August 2003, the original beading group continues to evolve as a model for development practice under the name RUBY. Robyn Lidsky takes sole responsibility for the RUBY beading project.

At the time of writing the beading project continues to evolve and expand. We currently employ 35 women in Site C, Khayelitsha. The permanent members of this beading group all have bank accounts and are paid via internet banking – this has furthered their own sense of empowerment. The RUBY beading project has just completed work on elaborate beaded costumes for the film production King Solomon's Mines. We have also sent our first export orders of contemporary Zulu love letters to the UK, US and Europe. RUBY supplies 10 stores nationwide (The Young Designers Emporiums) with original beaded jewellery and accessories that are handmade in the townships of Cape Town. RUBY will also be participating in SA Fashion Week 2003 in Johannesburg. This event comprises the best of South African fashion talent. See Appendix A for further details of current achievements.

Introduction

The use of beadwork as a model for successful development practice was borne out of a vision in a postgraduate class on Development, and inspired by readings on sustainable development, development management, postmodernism and feminist theories of development. In August 2003 - almost four years down the line - this vision is a reality, a real solution to problems of unemployment and poverty, and a growing business that employs a number of women in and around the townships of Cape Town. 'RUBY' is part cutting edge fashion label, part business for profit, part model for successful development practice.

The RUBY beading project employs women living in the townships of Cape Town, in the often poverty stricken outskirts of urban areas like Phillipi and Khayelitsha by making existing skills in beadwork - which are a vibrant part of African culture commercially viable in a contemporary marketplace. Conceptually, the aim is to merge traditional media inherent in Xhosa, Zulu and Ndebele traditions with contemporary trends in fashion design to produce a range of up market fashion-oriented accessories that are in demand both locally in South Africa and internationally all over the world. The intention is to economically empower unemployed women in the townships through job creation. This in turn provides a springboard for community upliftment and delivery of basic

services like housing, because various savings and loan schemes are introduced to the beadworkers, who are mostly women.

The women who work for RUBY do not work on the basis of a wage system or in a factory environment. Rather, they work from home on a piece rate that is determined by the unit quantity produced. In this sense their work takes place inside the boundaries of the informal sector. All of these women were previously unemployed and it is in this way that beadwork is used as a source of income generation and job creation.

Maria Mies in The Lace Makers of Narsapur, Indian Housewives Produce for the World Market (Mies, 1982) argues that the growth of the lace industry under the dynamics of capitalist development, and its potential to improve the social and economic position of women, is a myth. This argument portrays rural women in Narsapur, located on the east coast of the state Andhra Pradesh, India; and the consequences of 'cottage' industries whereby luxury handmade lace items are produced for Western markets under the conditions of capitalist growth.

Mies argues that this study of the lace makers has special relevance in the context of development strategies for women in Third World countries because these strategies see the solution for rural women's problems in the establishment of income generating activities in small-scale industries and household industries whereby additional income can be earned by the women to supplement the income of the men (Mies, 1982). Mies's study is a qualitative analysis of the production and reproduction relations prevalent in

the lace industry; and an attempt to evaluate whether these policies are really in the interests of rural women or in the interests of those who control the market nexus.

Although many theoretical perspectives shaped both this dissertation and its practical component, my inspiration comes from the realm of feminist writers on development in the Third World like Vandana Shiva: Staying Alive, Women, Ecology and Development (1989) whose work documents the effects of development objectives on women, ecology and environmental sustainability in India; and Maria Mies, Patriarchy and Capital Accumulation on a World Scale (1986) and Women, The Last Colony (1988). Like Shiva, Mies' work specializes on the effects of capitalist development on women in the Third World, but highlights the relationship between women, capital accumulation and patriarchy as producing a division of labour that turns women's work into an invisible 'blind spot in the global political economy' (Mies, 1986: 2).

Mies' research on the lace industry in India provides a logical point of entry for this dissertation: firstly, because of my familiarity with this literary terrain, and secondly because it provides a foundation for a comprehensive analysis of the women bead workers in the South African context. This foundation takes the form of a comparative analysis between the lace industry and the beading project, in order to evaluate the benefits of this type of industry in the South African context.

Although the women who work for RUBY live in urbanized areas as opposed to Mies' study of the lace-makers, which is located amongst rural women, this study of the lace

industry is relevant in weaving clusters of conceptual and practical points of reference together in a comparative analysis. Mies' theory opens points of reference that are shared by the women beaders in the South African context: firstly because their labour - like that of the lace makers - exists as non-wage labour in the informal sector. Secondly, their production time takes place within the framework of home industries; and thirdly, because this type of production takes place as a piece rate whereby the women workers are paid on the basis of the unit quantities that are produced. In both contexts the constant nexus refers to the fact that this type of work takes place within the boundaries and conditions defined by capitalist growth.

Mies argues that although the lace industry has been in existence for almost one hundred years and involves more than one hundred thousand women and despite the fact that this industry provides the largest share of foreign exchange earned for the state of Andhra Pradesh, no systematic survey had ever been carried out on the lace makers. Mies argues on this basis that the lace-making women share the fate of most women engaged in the informal sector that is, that 'they do not exist statistically as workers' (Mies, 1982: 8).

Because the lace-making women are not regarded as workers this type of work is excluded from the calculations of development planners and economists. Mies argues however that this work is not only absolutely necessary for the survival of communities but also constitutes the hidden basis for any take-off of development processes (Mies, 1982: 6). This 'take-off' of development occurs because non-wage labour in the informal sector is part of the ongoing process of primitive or original capital accumulation in the

initial stages of development. According to Mies this capital accumulation can only take place because the incomes of those engaged in wage labour are subsidised by subsistence production and by forms of non-wage labour. The economic contribution of the lace makers is thus rendered invisible and the lace industry relegated to a submerged or underground economy that occurs as housework. Mies' analysis therefore attempts to uncover the mechanism used to link housework to the house industry within a historical perspective (Mies, 1982: 7).

The South African narrative differs from this interpretation because the history of beadwork is not one that historically takes place under the guise of a household industry as will be shown in chapter three. Further, although the nature of the informal sector in South Africa is such that it is not included in official statistics on GDP, its contribution to the economy is not invisible. In fact, estimates of the contribution made by the informal sector to GDP put this at 18% nationally. These estimates would suggest that half the economically active population earn their living from the informal sector (Bremmer & Visser, 1997). Furthermore, in a proposal for A Development Strategy for the Craft Industry in the Western Cape (Crafts Council, 1999) "craft", defined as a 'means of livelihood through the production of a broad range of items manufactured by hand with the emphasis on traditional skills that take place in an informal environment like the home' (Crafts Council, 1999: 2) is identified as being a source of income generation for large sections of the population.

Mies argues that the definition of the lace industry as a household industry is a factor contributing to the exploitation of the women lace-makers on two levels. The first level of exploitation occurs because production time is obscured as leisure time. Mies' study illustrates that lace-work is perceived as taking place in the leisure time available to women. The reality is that it doubles the domestic burden of women who combine housework with lace work in a fourteen hour working day (Mies, 1982: 189). In the South African context of the women beaders this relationship between work and home is more complex as evidenced by interviews in chapters three and five which show the advantages of combining production time with domestic time and of working in close proximity to the home.

The second level of exploitation occurs, according to Mies, because the potential for worker organization in the form of collective bargaining power or unions is curbed because this type of work does not occur in an organized factory environment. The fact that these women work from home is a factor in their atomisation, and therefore inhibits the formation of collectivised worker co-operation that underlies their exploitation (Mies, 1982: 168). The women who work for RUBY do not work as isolated individuals, but in communal groups of women. In this way their bargaining power is strengthened, and as a result they are less likely to be exploited as highlighted in chapter four.

The Aims of the Study

The primary aim of this dissertation is to evaluate the RUBY beading project in terms of it being a model for successful development practice. This evaluation takes the form firstly, of a comparative analysis with the lace industry in India, in the study compiled by Maria Mies. In this study Mies exposes the different levels of exploitation of the women lace makers producing hand made lace items for the world market. My aim however, is to show by way of comparison how the South African example differs and consequently how it actually benefits the women bead workers in terms of job creation and income generation and therefore exemplifies a model for successful development practice.

The secondary aim of this dissertation is to provide an illustrated map, checklist or guideline for successful development practice with which to evaluate the "RUBY model". This 'checklist' therefore refers to the key indicators of contemporary successful development practice namely: participation; coherent strategy that reflects the needs of local communities; effective implementation and its spin-offs (empowerment and capacity building); a holistic approach that recognizes the local socio-economic context; and sustainability.

Explaining Keywords and Concepts

An understanding of the phrase 'successful development practice' in the context of this text, means that the criteria described above have been adhered to in this journey of development. Before we embark on this journey a brief explanation of the relevant criteria is necessary.

Participation refers to the active exercise of *people's power* in development strategy and implementation. It means that the participants themselves take action that is inspired by their own thinking and deliberation and over which they have effective control (Rahman,1993: 150). According to Anisur Rahman participation also implies the concept of self reliance (Rahman,1993:150). Like Rahman Stan Burkey asserts that the process of participation is one in which 'people learn to take control of their own lives and solve their own problems' (Burkey,1993:56). Burkey equates this *process* of participation with a 'learning- by- doing exercise' or *praxis* meaning practice as distinguished from theory. In the literature on participatory development praxis is associated with action and reflection (Burkey,1993). This idea of action and reflection in development practice, as opposed to theory and planning is the vertebrae of this study. In this realm of learning by doing Participatory Action Research or PAR becomes an appropriate methodology of analysis because it exemplifies praxis, as will be discussed further in the section below on PAR.

Key to this process of participation in development is the *empowerment* or acquisition of power by people at the grassroots. In light of participatory development empowerment implies that the people are enabled to articulate and assert what development means to them and it is in this way, that they are enabled to begin to participate in the strategy and implementation of development initiatives. Rahman argues that empowerment has both quantitative and qualitative aspects. A quantitative element of empowerment is control over economic resources however, the qualitative elements of empowerment imply organisation, social awareness and self reliance (Rahman,1993:206). Like Rahman, Burkey argues that the process of participatory development is empowering because the people themselves are enabled to influence and control activities related to their own improved conditions (Burkey, 1993: 206).

This notion of people's self-reliant participatory development from the grassroots goes beyond the basic needs approach as articulated by Streeten and cited in Burkey

'A Basic Needs program that does not build on the self-reliance and self-help of governments and countries is in danger of degenerating into a global charity program' Streeten (as cited in Burkey,1993:31).

The definition of what constitutes *basic needs* includes minimum requirements such as food, shelter and clothing as well as essential services such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, health and educational facilities. However, a basic needs approach to development should not rely on hand outs and charity but on supporting processes of social change and self reliance (Burkey,1993) so that development is sustainable in the long term. As will be seen in chapter seven the beading project in question introduces self- reliance to the women bead workers as opposed to hand- outs.

Recent trends in development thinking therefore go beyond the paradigm defined by economic growth in their reference firstly to the long-term fulfilment of basic needs and secondly, to *environmental sustainability*. Development that is sustainable means that it has long-term viability both for people and for the planet, as opposed to short-term gain. Sustainable development therefore refers to the qualitative concerns of economic growth. It implies the preservation of natural resources rather than the destruction of nature to satisfy human lust for acquisition and conquest (Rahman, 1993:210). In light of recent evidence of global warming, deforestation and ozone depletion it is clear that the by products and side effects of economic growth should not exceed the carrying capacity of the earth on which we depend for our survival.

Methodology

The research methods used in this study are comparative analysis and participatory action research. The comparative analysis is between two case studies namely, the lace makers of Narsapur (India) and the bead workers in the South African example. A more in depth analysis of both comparative analysis and participatory action research, as methods of research, is provided in their respective sections below.

However, the actual research procedure used to gather information over the two-year period relies on interviews with the women bead workers. Mouton describes this mode of observation characteristic of case study research as “participant observation”. This type of participant observation relied on “semi-structured interviewing” techniques with

individuals and focus groups (Mouton, 2001:151) in which the key research questions are “exploratory” and “descriptive” (Mouton, 2001:150). This process of active case study research procedure occurred over the two- year period via the many interviews with the women bead workers.

Research methods

Mouton describes the merits of case study research as having the ability to provide in-depth, qualitative insights as well as being able to “establish rapport with research subjects” (Mouton,2001:151). As will be shown in the section on participatory action research this notion of rapport, is also a pre-requisite of participatory action research.

Mouton further describes the mode of observation characteristic of case study research as “participant observation” (2001). This idea of participant observation is the thread around which the fabric of the research is woven because it means that participation in the research design and its observation occur simultaneously. The researcher is thus actively engaging with the case study itself not only as an observer but also as a participant. This idea of simultaneous observation and participation was evident throughout my work in the Ruby beading project as researcher and as the initiator of this job creation project. indeed participant observation is the opposite of passive observation. Participant observation is also a characteristic of participatory action research.

According to Mouton one of the main drawbacks of case study research is the potential bias of the researcher (2001) that may be evident in one –sided interviews that reflect the viewpoints of the researcher. Clearly this poses a potential stumbling block or obstacle in terms of the objective validity of the case study in question. With this in mind the researcher has made every effort to adhere to what Mouton defines as “structured questionnaires” and “semi-structured focus group interviewing” (2001). Efforts were made to ensure that potential sources of error via leading questions, fictitious constructs and ambiguous questions (Mouton, 2001:103) were avoided and that the questions to the women bead workers throughout the interviews over the two-year period were straight forward, and that the interpretations of the answers were unbiased.

Comparative Analysis

Comparative methodology provides the subtext of this dissertation opening up points of reference in order to locate the argument. As discussed above, this dissertation compares the lace makers of Narsapur, India - who are engaged in the production of hand-made items - to the women bead workers in the South African context. Comparative analysis assumes a matrix for comparing the similarities and differences in phenomena that is either MSSD or most similar systems design and MDSD or most dissimilar systems design. In terms of MSSD a limited number of similar units of analysis are used to compare differences whereas in MDSD many dissimilar systems are used to compare similarities or identify trends (Frendreis, 1983: 256-8).

Concepts are therefore essential in comparative analysis because they are the common points of reference for grouping phenomena, the link in relating similarities and differences (Rose, 1991: 446). Comparative analysis is therefore defined by its focus on the similarities and differences between groups of units of analysis (Mouton,2001:154) or “functionally equivalent units of analysis” (Rose, 1991: 447). The comparative analysis of women bead workers in South Africa and the lace industry in India follows the MSSD approach whereby similar units of analysis, namely socio-economic context, historical context, structure of the industry, production and reproduction relations, profits and exploitation and organization are floating conceptual points of reference around which conclusions are woven, a web of information spun and differences highlighted.

These points of reference both locate the argument and help navigate the theoretical framework for successful development practice. They also lay the foundations for the argument of this dissertation - namely that this type of production of handmade items that takes place within the boundaries defined by capitalist growth has the potential to benefit and empower these women bead workers in the informal sector in the South African context. The argument of this dissertation is in stark contrast to Mies' argument and her study of the lace makers of Narsapur that showed that over time, this type of production both disempowered and impoverished the lace makers.

According to Mouton the strength of comparative analysis is in its ability to allow for comparison of different theoretical viewpoints across different settings such as cross-national and cross-cultural studies (Mouton,2001:155). Although the two case studies

referred to in this research are located in different cultural and national settings, that is the research on the lace industry occurs in India whereas the example of the Xhosa bead workers occurs in Cape Town, South Africa, the logic of comparative analysis allows for them to be comparatively analysed. It should be noted that this study is more qualitative than quantitative in light of the fact that only two cases have been selected for comparison as opposed to a vast study of a number of different cases.

Participatory Action Research

The methodological arena of this research is defined firstly, by comparative analysis and secondly, by a participatory research paradigm. In terms of Participatory Action Research – henceforth referred to as PAR, the researcher has a double role as a 'change agent' or catalyst in development action. However, the aim of the change agent is to set in motion a process of self-reliance rather than one of dependence. According to Anisur Rahman this does not necessarily mean that the change agent must withdraw from the process but that the people, should within a reasonable time, be enabled to continue their collective development activities on their own (Rahman, 1993). Continued mobilization around issues of development therefore occurs from within and amongst the people.

In terms of a PAR approach the initiators of development action have both a vested practical and research interest in assisting self-reliant development initiatives (Rahman, 1993:80). Like Rahman, Stan Burkey in People First, A Guide to Self-Reliant Participatory Rural Development describes PAR as a process of 'analysis-action-

reflection' (Burkey, 1993:61) wherein the investigator participates in development as an agent of change. Hence,

'Participatory action research is thus an active research with a clearly defined purpose of creating knowledge to be shared by both the people and the investigator, knowledge that leads to action and, through reflection, to new knowledge and new action.'

(Burkey, 1993:61) The story of RUBY as a model for development can be understood in terms of PAR firstly because development action was initiated or catalysed by the researcher who is also the 'change agent', as described in chapter six and secondly, because the change agent has a vested research interest which is the subject of this study.

Furthermore, the aim of this study is to track this process of 'analysis-action-reflection' itself an imperative in PAR and the obligation of the change agent. Thus chapter two analyses the motifs of development practice and chapter three identifies the needs of the local context. Chapter six documents the actions taken by the change agent via the story of RUBY as well as reflections on it in terms of it being used as a model for successful development practice.

Anisur Rahman in People's Self-Development further describes PAR as 'Action Research that is participatory, and participatory research that unites with action for transforming reality' (Rahman, 1993: 75). This notion of action research or 'experiential knowing' as described by Fals Borda and cited in Mouton (Mouton & Prozesky, 2001) is the lifeblood of a PAR approach and means that the research process occurs simultaneously with a process of development action. Similarly Burkey describes a process of learning-by-doing or praxis to explain this action oriented approach to

development (Burkey,1993).This idea of development action coupled with research is the main thrust behind this dissertation because this study of the beading project documents actual development practice that occurred over a two-year period in a South African context.

However, Rahman cites the work done by Fals Borda with grassroots groups in Colombia to explain both what he and Fals Borda have described as the potential pitfall of social transformation. This refers to elite domination both of the development process and over the means of knowledge production (Rahman, 1993). According to Rahman the criteria for PAR is such that those who are disadvantaged will transform their environment '*by their own praxis*' (Rahman, 1993:82). This process starts at the grass roots and aims to assist and stimulate development rather than controlling it. In terms of this process the change agent plays a supporting role rather than one of domination.

The RUBY model further fits the PAR approach because over the two- year period the change agent has assisted and stimulated development action as opposed to dominating it. This is evident because the beading co-ordinator and agent, Anditha Shaweni has herself become empowered to mobilise the beading group for production. In other words the change agent, RUBY facilitated development action through job creation and orders for beaded products but does not mobilise or organise the group. This responsibility has been handed over to a woman from the community concerned, as detailed in chapter six.

Furthermore, although the women have acquired beading skills through the RUBY project none of them are contractually obliged to remain members of the group. In fact

over the two- year period many of them have joined other beading initiatives in the townships (interview, 2001a). In this sense the change agent plays a supporting role via skills transfer to the women bead workers and it is in this light that the RUBY model further fits a PAR approach.

Another way in which the beading project enabled continued community mobilization and self-reliance without domination by the change agent is via the introduction of various savings and loans schemes for housing delivery to the women bead workers. This is explored in chapter five by the section on the Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association or VMHDA. This process documents a further way in which the research or local theory evolved while communities were simultaneously mobilized and empowered through development action in what Rahman refers to as a dual process of transformation (Rahman, 1993).

PAR therefore emphasizes two key ideas namely, participatory involvement in development action and secondly, in research and production of knowledge.

As a method of research PAR implies a subject-subject relationship between the researcher and the researched. The people therefore participate in research as equals. According to Rahman, in the same way that development initiatives may create a process of economic dependence on outsiders, knowledge production that is one-sided may create intellectual dependence on elites and may contribute to the further inaction of the people (Rahman,1993:89). PAR therefore refers to the re-appropriation of knowledge by those

engaging in processes of development and use of this knowledge as a guide or tool in their own action. In an ideal PAR world local knowledge is thus incorporated and communities are both mobilized and empowered through development research (Mouton & Prozesky, 2001: 541) because they are enabled to use and disseminate knowledge. The “researched” are thus no longer the subjects of a study, but the participants in a feedback mechanism; the research enterprise is thus co-managed both by the change agent and by the participants as described by Rahman and Burkey above.

Mouton underscores this element of PAR emphasizing that participation in all phases of development strategy and implementation is an imperative in PAR (Mouton & Prozesky, 2001: 539). It should be noted however that it has not been possible for this particular case study research to take PAR to this end because the subjects of the study, namely the women bead workers, did not participate actively in all phases of development strategy and implementation, and in this sense, did not co-manage the research enterprise.

Participation by the women bead workers in development strategy and implementation was not possible because the beading project began before research commenced on 'RUBY' as a model for development. However, it is likely that knowledge gained during this process of development action and research will be returned to the women bead workers by way of established example. In other words, through their acquisition of beading skills in a formalised business-oriented environment and via their own personal experiences of job creation as a result of their participation in the RUBY beading project (of their own free will and not because they are not contractually bound) they may use this knowledge base as a guide for their own future actions.

CHAPTER 2

A Theoretical Framework for Successful Development Practice

Is development a discourse of power?

To compile a theoretical framework of development is to enter murky waters. It is to enter the world of discourse and the contamination of power. Indeed, the postmodernist warning against development as a discourse of power is relevant amidst the failure of structural adjustment policies in Africa and imported solutions to underdevelopment via modernization.

In terms of development theory, postmodernism refers to the idea that knowledge is power and that the representation of knowledge can be conceptualised as discourse and that discourses are theories that exercise power (Dowson, 1995). Foucault thus identifies a problem in the discourse produced by Western institutions because the centres of knowledge are also the centres of power. The pursuit of truth that is endemic in the search for knowledge is, according to postmodernists, a reflection of the holders of power. Development theory that has its roots in Western institutions reflects the 'truth' about development not because it is the truth but rather, because it is a form of knowledge that reflects the dominant power (Braidotti, 1994:11). In this sense development is a discourse of power.

The post-modern view of development theory is critical of the image of the First World as the ideal, universal model for development. Development in terms of this model is the means to the ideal ends defined by democracy, liberal values, social justice and the comforts of modernity. Postmodernists criticize both the means to development defined by Western models of economic growth and modernization, and the 'utopian' ends of modernity. Rather, postmodernism implies a dystopia, a rupture in modernity within complex, post-industrial societies (Boyne, 1990). The theory of development in terms of modernization has been understood as linear progress and is described by Rostow as a pattern of change from tradition to modernity in four stages: 1) tradition: i.e. backward beliefs and technology; 2) the introduction of modern technology; 3) take-off towards modernization and 4) modernity and mass-consumption (Braidotti, 1994:22). Coetzee argues however, that this linear conception of modernization as the movement from a state of underdevelopment to one of development cannot be accepted because:

'The developed world was not in a developmental state comparable to that of the present developing world when it started its development path. Underdevelopment is not an original condition that can be eliminated in proportion to the addition of components of modernity. Rather, underdevelopment is a direct function of a specific condition combined with a specific condition in the world structure'. (Coetzee, 2001:42)

The idea of an evolutionary, linear concept of progress however, is central to theories of modernization. It is also a universal theory of development imagined in the First World in order to be applied to the 'developing' world. Postmodernism however, abandons

universal theorizing because it presents a singular, totalising view of the world that excludes cultural pluralism and difference. The postmodernist critique of development describes it as a universal system of knowledge that is reflective of the dominant power of the First World. The dominant model for development thus represents a formula for development in the Third World. Postmodernists argue however, that this formula cannot be applied to all socio-political contexts because it implies according to Lyotard as cited in Dowson: 'culturecide' (Dowson, 1995:39), or the failure to realise local and particular contexts.

The complex layers of this argument are important in defining a working theoretical framework of development practice because they signal a shift in development thinking that is marked by: micro-perspectives as opposed to meta-narrative and grand theory; the importance of local knowledge and local context against a formula that can be applied to all contexts (culturecide); the establishment of a link between institutions and communities that relies on dialogue; and, an emphasis on participation as opposed to a 'top-down' approach. This new development discourse influences the theoretical framework for this dissertation. It refers to a micro-foundation for development thinking that is based on Korten's people-centred approach to development (Coetzee, 20001: 119) as opposed to the 'economism' or materialistic basis of modernization (Van Nieuwenhuijze, 1982:1-9) that relies on blind patterns of economic growth and material welfare. By laying this micro-foundation for development, the locations of knowledge and power are separated; development is thus democratised because participation at the local, or grass-roots level is guaranteed.

This is another reason why the Participatory Action approach to research, which emphasizes the political dimension in the construction of knowledge has such a critical influence on the process of the research documented in this dissertation. The idea that the evolution of theory should be the result of dialogue rather than dictation provides us with the understanding that because knowledge, power and ideology can so easily be bound up together the political role of knowledge production must be clearly understood (Mouton & Prozesky, 2001). This thesis is therefore guided by PAR and by a number of theoretical perspectives that have influenced my reading of development. This 'checklist' for successful development therefore refers to multiple perspectives on development as opposed to a singular pattern of development.

Participation: Democratising development

The key prerequisite for people-centred development is participation. Participation shifts the emphasis in development from commodities and production to the enhancement of people's capacity to participate in development. Participation has spin-offs like empowerment because local communities are able to influence the developmental process by participating in it (Kotze, 1997) and community upliftment from within because the community itself is able to participate in their development. Participation implies that the capacity of people to share in development is enhanced at all levels of the development process.

According to Stan Burkey true participation in development means that the poor acquire knowledge through a process defined as 'conscientisation' or awakening through self-awareness. This is the first step in achieving genuine participation because the poor are able to become aware of their own situation, of the causes of poverty and of what measures they can take to begin changing their situation (Burkey, 1993:57). Through the acquisition of knowledge they acquire the power to influence decisions relating to their own development. Similarly Coetzee thus argues that participation means a breaking of the monopoly of knowledge (Coetzee, 2001:126).

Piet Human's 'Yenza' approach resonates strongly with this interpretation of participation in development because it offers a 'blueprint for transformation' that reflects the strategy and the implementation of strategy in development as being built from the ground upwards or from a grassroots perspective. The first step in this approach is finding out what the specific needs of a community are. This requires an in depth understanding of both the local context and the way in which this context impacts on the needs of the community. Human, like Burkey (1993), thus emphasizes the importance of the views and perspectives of the local community in development planning as opposed to the 'rose-tinted vision' of the development agent and their often false perceptions about the needs of local communities (Human, 1998: 180).

Strategy and Implementation

Development strategy or planning is the initial stage in development and reflects the realisation of ideals - the translation of ideals into practical reality. The strategic development phase involves a shift away from the concrete world of facts and realities into the realm of concepts and ideas. It implies a vision, a mission and strategic goals (Human, 1998). The importance firstly, of the local context and secondly, of the community's participation in developing a strategy cannot be understated. Indeed, context and participation must shape development strategy, moulding the form in which development should take place that reflects the needs of a community.

Kellerman emphasizes the importance not only of a community's involvement in development planning and strategy, but also in the implementation of strategy. This level of participation is defined as the measure of influence people exercise over development activities affecting their lives (Kellerman, 1998) This level of participation in the implementation phase of development, promotes project efficiency and effectiveness, because people are more likely to be players if they are in control.

Participation in project implementation has other implications or spin-offs. Capacity building increases because beneficiaries are able to manage and control development activities. Likewise there is greater empowerment because people are enabled to have an increasing measure of control over their own lives (Kellerman, 1998:52). According to

both Kellerman and Human implementation is the real test for development without which it has no basis in reality. Project monitoring and evaluation are vital ingredients in implementation because they ensure ongoing feasibility, and test the benefits in development projects (Kotze, 1998).

A Holistic Approach

Kotze argues that the importance of participation in this new development discourse signals a framework for development that is governed by a holistic approach, as opposed to a fragmented or Newtonian view of reality. According to a holistic approach, the whole is viewed in terms of the relationships and interactions between its parts as opposed to the sum total of its parts, the emphasis being on the whole as an interactive unit (Capra, 1983; Kotze, 1997). This view of development management resonates strongly with my practise of development in a local context because it means that the needs of a community are addressed as a whole.

Kotze cites examples of development failures that prove the point that a fragmented approach to development in which one or a few variables are changed is inappropriate. Tried and tested in the Third World examples include the replacement of staple food production by commercial crop planting in order to stimulate the economy and increase GDP, instead social relations, nutrition, information flow and the status of women deteriorated. Another example is the transfer of administrative technology in order to create institutions capable of developing the Third World. Ironically present-day

bureaucracy poses one of the biggest stumbling blocks for development. A further example cited by Kotze occurred in the mid 1990's with the introduction of infra-structural development as the main emphasis in development action, and funded by institutions like the World Bank and the Development Bank of South Africa. Characteristic of this infra-structural development in Africa is its neglect of people's needs, technological transfer and local maintenance capacity (Kotze, 1997).

According to this development "wisdom" the developers fragment and define the context according to their view of reality and fail to understand the local people's meaning given context and their 'ecology of ideas' (Kotze, 1998: 67). This context is defined as having its own way of relating to and observing the world, its own ecology of ideas that is determined by the relations within the community and between the community and its environment (Kotze, 1997). According to Kotze this framework either permits or blocks development depending on whether or not there is a 'fit' between development initiatives and context. This brings the argument back full circle to the role of participation in development without which the local context cannot be deciphered.

Sustainability

An overview of this new discourse of development refers to it as people-centred development at the centre of which are the ideals of human welfare and respect. This occurs through channels of participation at all phases of development strategy and implementation. The markers for successful development therefore imply a striving for:

social justice, comprehensive consultation and joint decision -making, and the alleviation of all forms of human suffering (the satisfaction of basic needs) (Coetzee, 2001:122).

However, the values of respect and human well being in development cannot be guaranteed without the guarantee of environmental sustainability and it is in this light that development theorists are asking whether the question of human-centred development has not been taken too far.

Sustainable development has been defined as: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Built into the idea of sustainability is the ideal of human welfare in terms of meeting basic needs, that is intertwined with respect for the Earth as the living organism on which we depend for our survival and secondly, respect both for local ecosystems and for the carrying capacity of the Earth as a vessel or container of limited natural resources.

Sustainable development means that we recognise that social decay and inequality are linked to environmental decay, and that sustained poverty may be linked to the sustained exploitation of natural resources (Adil Khan, 1995). It means that the consumption rate of renewable resources must be kept within the regenerative limits of the Earth. This definition has sparked intense debate because it means that increasing patterns of economic growth that rely on the unlimited consumption of natural resources may need to be curbed. In other words, environmental sustainability may not be compatible with sustained patterns of economic growth.

This theoretical framework for development shows several key indicators as the markers of successful development practice. This checklist includes participation; coherent strategy that reflects the needs of local communities; effective implementation that reflects spin-offs like empowerment and capacity building; a holistic approach that recognises the local meaning-given context; respect and human well-being; and environmental sustainability. This theoretical framework forms the vertebrae of good development practice and therefore assists in evaluating the comparative practise of development in two local contexts and it is to this that we now turn.

CHAPTER 3

Socio-economic Context: An information highway for development.

This theoretical framework for development highlights the role of the local context in informing development practice. A holistic approach to development means firstly, that the local socio-economic context sets the parameters for development practise, and secondly, that the relationships between the parts of this context should be addressed as interdependent facets that refract the ends of development as a whole.

In the South African context, in the eyes of many commentators the state is viewed as having sold its soul to a macro-economic reality, the Growth Employment And Redistribution or GEAR policy that is informed by global agencies like the World Bank and IMF. This formula for development in South Africa heralds a neo-liberal policy that recommends adherence to free market principles. This means minimal government intervention in the economy, privatisation of state enterprises, a balanced budget, trade and financial liberalization and high interest rates. Patrick Bond argues that these policies were designed under the influence of the 'Washington Consensus' ideology which refers to the fact that the 1980's-90's neo-liberal ideology was co-ordinated from the IMF,

World Bank, US Treasury Department, Federal Reserve Board and Washington think-tanks that were funded by large corporations and banks (Bond, 2001:231-240).

In a post-modern light it can be argued that this formula for development is linked to the global power players and consequently that the location of knowledge about development mirrors the location of power in the global matrix. In terms of Kotze's argument this view of development reflects a fragmented view of reality as opposed to a holistic approach to development (Kotze, 1998) because it assumes that by injecting a few variables into the South African economy there will be a kind of domino effect whereby the whole local context will be transformed. This approach to development in South Africa is not informed by the local socio-economic context, a context that is defined by the parameters of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment

The statistics on poverty in South Africa indicate that 18-20 million people, close to half of South Africa's population live in poverty. The proportion of people living in extreme poverty (income of less than R194 per adult per month) is between 25 and 30%. These statistics show that the poverty rate for Africans was slightly above 60% compared to 1 % of whites and, that 60% of women headed households fell under the poverty line as opposed to 30% of men headed households (Fitzgerald, McLennan & Munslow, 1997).

A UNDP index for measuring poverty, the HPI or Human Poverty Index gives an indication of the levels of human poverty defined as the extent of basic needs deprivation

and exclusion from development. This index shows the following variables: people not expected to survive to the age of 40; severely and moderately underweight children under five years of age; people without access to safe water; people without access to health services and illiterate adults. The HPI calculated that 20.2% of the population in South Africa, or one fifth was affected by human poverty as defined above (Cawthra, Helman-Smith & Moloi, 2000).

The statistics on inequality rely on the GINI coefficient which functions as a measurement for levels of inequality, this coefficient ranges between 0 signifying perfect equality and 1 suggesting perfect inequality. Applied to South Africa this measurement shows that South Africa ranks as one of the third most unequal societies in the world with a GINI coefficient of 0.69%. (Cawthra et al, 2000: 78). Figures from the UNDP suggest that income inequality in South Africa is on the increase and that, although it is at its most pronounced among Africans, the income stratification is growing along class lines and weakening along race lines (Cawthra et al, 2000:80).

Although poverty and inequality in South Africa cannot be reduced to a single cause, such as the absence of income or employment in light of the socio-political history of Apartheid, statistics show that lack of employment is the single greatest cause of poverty in South Africa (Cawthra & Kraak, 1999). Clearly the key to good development practice in the South African context is to ensure that business opportunities be harnessed to provide employment opportunities for previously disadvantaged communities because

this is where poverty and inequality most reside (Botchway, Noon & Setshedi, 2001: 406).

Employment: The Limited Role of the State

GEAR's negative impact on employment has been a source of concern that has spurred calls for greater state investment in job creation. Government however, does not appear to have a coherent strategy, despite limited public works programmes, to tackle unemployment. Although poverty and inequality are causally multi-faceted and cannot be reduced to a single cause such as lack of employment, what is clear is that both government resources and private sector initiatives and capital have the potential to create the opportunity for sustained economic activities, and in turn reduce the downward spiral of poverty in South Africa (Cawthra & Kraak, 1998:72).

As mentioned above, GEAR aims to trim public debt by cutting back on public spending. In this sense, GEAR limits the role of the state in the economy and in job-creation. Stimulating economic growth has been left almost entirely to private-sector investment. Increasingly this has translated into heavy reliance on foreign investment, which in turn has meant that government has shied away from increasing taxation and other measures that might increase revenue for development (Cawthra & Kraak, 1998: 51). Instead, the goal of raising additional resources for development, employment creation and programmes to reduce poverty is premised on the expectation of sustained economic growth. Despite a short-lived 3.1% growth in GDP in 1996, which was centred on the

low employment, financial, and information technology sectors (hence the description "jobless growth") (Cawthra & Kraak, 1998: 73), the South African economy has entered a period of stagnation. As a result, levels of inequality in South Africa are still among the highest in the world. For the half of South Africa's population living below the poverty line, the prospects look bleak.

GEAR has therefore been criticised as a unilinear (Le Roux, 2001: 222) development policy that relies on a fragmented approach to the problems of inequality, poverty and unemployment. This neo-liberal approach to development assumes that an injection of market-driven growth will trickle down into those sectors of the population that are afflicted by poverty. According to economist Johan Nel however: "South Africa cannot wait for the rising tide of economic growth to trickle down to those in poverty. Economic and labour market policies must ensure that South Africa follows a more labour-absorbing path, which narrows the gap between the haves and the have-nots" (Nel, 1998:15). Other analysts have argued that the failure to accord higher priority to poverty eradication and a greater degree of income inequality might undermine growth prospects because inequalities in physical, financial and human assets are likely to constrain poor people from participating effectively and efficiently in the economy. This could lead to inequitable growth or, depending on the depth of poverty and inequality, to low growth (Cawthra et al, 2000: 95). In light of a socio-economic context that is defined by poverty and inequality, sources argue that it has become increasingly difficult to understand and defend government's refusal to contemplate possible revisions of GEAR (Cawthra et al, 2000:96).

Reading the local context

The theoretical framework for successful development highlights the importance of reading the local context, and of using its defining qualities as the building blocks in a strategy for development. As the South African socio-economic context is defined by poverty, inequality and unemployment, a successful strategy for development in South Africa must read this information highway if development is to address the needs of the local context.

The story of RUBY was borne out of the South African socio-economic context, with the notion that opportunities for employment could be created, by harnessing local skills in order to tackle poverty and inequality amongst the poorest sections of South African society. The practice of successful development in South Africa relies on a holistic approach that recognises the local context in its entirety. Clearly job creation is a priority in terms of this approach, because it contains the potential to curb poverty and inequality through income generation for large sections of the population who exist below the poverty line.

The strategy behind RUBY is to create a labour intensive form of production that bridge existing local skills with business initiatives to create new economic opportunities. Skills in beadwork are embedded in the cultural memory of the country. These skills represent a vibrant form of expression of African identity spanning the Xhosa, Zulu and Ndebele

traditions. The intention behind RUBY is to merge these local skills with contemporary trends in fashion design. By doing so a brand is developed that has both social ethos because it relies on job creation and secondly, represents the cream of cutting-edge South African design. In this way resources are networked and cultural resources become linked to peoples' own initiatives and skills for sustained economic activities. The idea behind RUBY is thus to bridge capital, business initiative, and original design to local skills and cultural resources and thereby create a form of labour- intensive employment.

Maria Mies in *The Lace Makers of Narsapur* argues however, that although such forms of labour intensive employment may, on the surface, create new jobs, the reality is that it does not affect the downward spiral of poverty and inequality. This study takes place in a specific socio-economic context that is not entirely dissimilar to the South African situation. Mies' study relates the story of women in India in the 1980's and the negative impact of the mechanization of agriculture through the Green Revolution. Although this socio-economic context is not defined by Apartheid, a history of inequality and poverty and a macro-economic policy that depends on economic growth before job creation, the Indian context also refers to rising levels of poverty and inequality in the midst of this so-called Green Revolution.

Although the Green Revolution technology led to an initial increased yield in the production of commercial crops and resulted in the rapid development of agriculture and substantial integration into national and international markets (Mies, 1982:11) this ultimately had an adverse effect on the socio-economic conditions of women. According

to Mies, the increased prosperity in certain sections of the rural population led to greater poverty and inequality in other sections, because the money gained from rapid expansion of capitalist farming was spent on luxury items rather than being invested in productive sectors of the economy that could expand employment. As a result, the purchasing power of the population at large was unaffected. Further small farmers could not cope with the high production costs of Green Revolution technology, which in turn pushed them out of the market and led to greater inequality (Mies, 1982:17).

This socio-economic context negatively affected women in these households because they were pushed to a subsistence level of consumption, existing below the poverty line. This expansion of poverty affected women more dramatically than men because it was accompanied by a process of polarisation between the sexes whereby men were more readily employed in agricultural labour because of the prevailing role definition and ideology of women as housewives, women were thus more negatively affected. Moreover the majority of women workers did not control any means of production - only 5% were reported to be cultivators while the majority could only sell their labour power (Mies, 1982:22).

This inverse effect between the development of commercial agriculture and the socio-economic conditions of women in India have limited parallels in South Africa. Although the mechanization of agriculture in the 1970's and 1980's negatively affected employment opportunities, particularly in the rural parts of South Africa, this was also accompanied by retrenchments in the mining industry, and the decline of manufacture (Cawthra &

Kraak, 1998:73). It should be noted that the mechanization of agriculture had a greater impact on Mies' study of the women lace makers because the consequences of this were being felt at the time of her study in the early 1980's.

In present day South Africa, the socio-economic context refers to poverty resulting from the overall lack of employment opportunity, existing inequality that is the result of the previous dispensation, landlessness, limited access to education and growing rates of HIV infection that in turn affects the potential for employment. Statistics do show, however, that women are more likely to be affected by poverty than men. In 1999 60% of women headed households could be classified as poor as opposed to 31% for households headed by men (Cawthra et al, 2000: 79). At the Speak out on Poverty Hearings in 1998 enduring themes were not only the negative impact of poverty on women, but also the particular vulnerability of women to poverty because of the traditional roles ascribed to women (house-work, child rearing and agricultural labour) that prevent women from sustaining independent economic livelihoods. Customary law prevents women from owning houses and land in rural areas. In addition the subservient sexual status of women also means that they are more susceptible to HIV infection, which in turn affects their potential for employment, and contributes to increasing levels of poverty.

The bead workers that are employed by RUBY are all women. Likewise, the lace makers of Narsapur are all women. Clearly the effects of poverty on women are more dramatic in both the South African and the Indian socio-economic contexts. This is important both as a point of comparison and, if we explore the sub-text, as a starting point for a more

comprehensive analysis of RUBY. Mies emphasizes for example, that the women lace makers gave up work outside the house when they started lace making. They became "women sitting in the house" or housewives. It has to be borne in mind that exclusion of women from work outside the house is a status symbol in India that is reserved for well-to-do castes. Mies argues however, that the women who remained agricultural labourers actually received higher wages than the women who were making lace items. The status symbol gained from being a "housewife" in this sense, laid the groundwork for exploitation because, not only did the women turn down other forms of agricultural labour which then became the domain of the non-converted untouchables, but their low wages became a kind of trade-off for their higher status as 'women sitting in the house' (Mies, 1982: 33). The South African context bears no resemblance to the situation described above, because there is no caste system. In this sense, there is more freedom to combine different kinds of work to create an income, and less potential for exploitation on the basis of a trade-off for lower wages in lieu of a higher caste status.

In fact, it has been argued that in the South African context, craft or hand-made items using traditional skills are particularly useful as a means of income generation. In the Western Cape, craft is already an important means of income generation in which 15000 - 30000 people are already involved (Crafts Council of the Western Cape, 1999: 2).

Women, according to this proposal, are a dominant force within the craft sector and were identified as the primary beneficiaries of a development plan for the craft industry.

In terms of the South African socio-economic context, the concept behind RUBY reads the defining parameters of this local context - namely lack of employment, poverty and inequality and attempts to address them through commercial enterprise. Mies's study of the lace makers of Narsapur shows that although this type of industry creates employment, it still does not address the poverty and inequality of the women lace makers.

In a comparative analysis of the socio-economic contexts of South Africa and India, we note the similarities of context despite the different causal factors in creating these contexts. Successful development practise implies a holistic approach whereby the parts of the local context are interpreted as interdependent variables that constantly interact with, and relate to each other. If RUBY is to be regarded as a successful model for development practice, what is clear is that it cannot address employment without addressing poverty and inequality: firstly, because that would mean that the local context is disregarded in development strategy and implementation; and secondly, because it would reflect a fragmented view of development that parallels the GEAR model in attempting to inject one part of a development strategy - like economic growth or job creation - toward meeting the needs of the whole context. This argument is the launching pad for the next chapter, in which it will be possible to evaluate - via comparative analysis between the RUBY model and the lace-makers - the ends of development in terms of their failure or success in meeting the needs of their respective local contexts.

CHAPTER 4

LACE VS. BEADS: A comparative analysis of Production

The notion that 'all that glitters is not gold' is the main thrust behind Mies' argument. Mies argues that although the surface reality of the lace industry appears to benefit the women lace makers through employment creation, over time the hidden truths are the increased levels of poverty and inequality among the lace makers (Mies, 1982: 5).

The impoverishment of the lace makers, Mies argues, is made possible by the structure of the lace industry, firstly because of its division of labour, and secondly, because of its wage system. The notion of a submerged economy in which the women lace makers are invisible producers further contributed to this web of exploitation. This chapter compares the structure of the lace industry with the system of production of the handmade beaded pieces in the South African context, in terms of the history of the industry, division of labour, the wage system, and the notion of a submerged economy as comparative points of reference in order to gauge potential levels of exploitation.

Comparative history of the Lace Industry/ India and Beadwork/South Africa

The history of the division of labour in the lace industry in India goes back to the beginning of the colonial period. Narsapur is situated on the bank of the Vasistha Godavari, six miles from the sea and had long been an ancient trading port for the export of excellent textiles produced by the spinners and weavers in the hinterland. This trade had been in the hands of Indian, then Arab merchants, and was later usurped by the Portuguese and then by the Dutch and English in the 17th century - when Narsapur reached the zenith of its prosperity (Mies, 1982: 28-29).

In 1912 the brothers Josefs - who became the first exporters of lace along regular commercial lines - reorganised their system of production along the lines of the classical putting-out system, or horizontal division of labour, whereby lace thread and patterns were given to the women and the finished goods later collected (Mies, 1982: 57). This system of production was first put in place by the Indian merchants who exported cotton and silk during the 16th and 17th centuries, and later by the missionaries in the Godavari Delta (Mies, 1982: 28) and it is in this way that the history of the lace industry is tied to the history of colonial penetration.

Beadwork, by comparison, in the South African context is only tied to the history of colonialism through the exchange of beads, as opposed to the early commoditisation of beaded artefacts. The exchange of beads in Southern Africa dates back to the 6th century

when African communities with direct or indirect access to the Indian Ocean coastline began trading with Arab merchants. These imported glass beads can be divided into three series that reflect the historical timeline of this area: the pale blue-green and yellow beads like those found at sites in the Limpopo valley as early as the 10th century, more sophisticated beads of Indian manufacture that were traded until the 19th century, and the beads of European origin that swamped the market with the arrival of the European traders (Klopper, 2000).

Beads, however, not only represent a medium of exchange that trace the flow of history in Southern Africa, they also reflect the symbolism, status and cultural practices of the Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele and Sotho communities. These cultural practices relate to initiation ceremonies, fertility festivals, and courtship exchanges - whereby woven bead-worked pieces communicate visual symbols resonating social and religious values (Klopper, 2000: 35).

Although beads were often exchanged for valuable indigenous commodities like cattle, ivory and slaves - and the beadwork adornments and artefacts that emerged out of this trade in the 18th and 19th centuries trace the patterns of consumption of the European traders - the beadwork pieces themselves remained a form of cultural expression that may have been collected as cultural artefacts (Klopper, 2000: 15), but were never turned into a commodity. By contrast, the lace items of Narsapur both originated and were traded as commodities.

The implications of this early history of beadwork in Southern Africa and the lace industry in India are far reaching. In the Southern African context the art of beadwork remained the cultural property of the people. Although beads were used as a means of exchange, the woven pieces of beadwork or finished pieces retained their cultural integrity because they were not exchanged as commodities, and if they were exchanged they were collected as cultural artefacts by European travellers (Klopper, 2000: 15). By contrast, the lace items in the Indian context not only did not originate out of any cultural format, but also were historically exchanged as commodities.

The implications of this comparison between the South African and Indian contexts relate to the use of culture as a resource in development, and to its potential for income generation. Because beadwork is an indigenous local skill that is passed down the maternal line in African communities, it remains a skill that is owned by the women themselves and on this basis is less likely to be exploited. By comparison, the craft of lace making was imported, and passed onto Indian women - firstly by the colonizers in the form of the earlier mission stations, and secondly, by men who became the traders and exporters of lace (Mies, 1982: 54). The history of the lace industry in India reflects this lack of ownership by the women over their craft and in some ways lays the foundation for their exploitation.

Division of Labour

The historical division of labour in the context of the lace industry informs the modern Industry in India. This refers to both a horizontal and a vertical division of labour whereby lace pieces are split into their component parts, and assembled on an invisible assembly line. By comparison, the bead-worked pieces relate to a history of ownership by women over their craft, and to pieces that retain their cultural integrity by being completed as a whole by individual women. This benefits the women bead workers by giving them a greater degree of bargaining power over their end products.

The horizontal division of labour in the lace industry refers to a system whereby agents are employed to visit the lace-makers at certain intervals, give them the thread and the designs their customers abroad had ordered, and after a certain time collect the finished items (Mies, 1982: 57). The way RUBY operates, on the other hand, can be divided into two models under the heading division of labour. This system functions like the lace industry via the horizontal division of labour whereby beads, thread and product designs are given to the women bead workers. Both parties agree upon a delivery date and production cost and the order is invoiced. After the agreed upon length of time has elapsed, the completed items are collected. In terms of the first model and like the lace industry, one person is employed to act as a supervisor. This person receives a commission of 15% of the total order and is usually responsible for distributing the beads

and dividing the work equally amongst the women. This model shares with the lace industry the concept of an agent or supervisor who is employed by the exporter as the link between the other workers.

The second model refers to the same horizontal division of labour the only difference being the lack of an agent or supervisor. RUBY operates on both levels. This second model was tried and tested between February and April 2001 with a group of bead makers in Phillipi who are part of the Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association. In this case RUBY worked with two groups of women. Although there was never an official appointed supervisor, it always happened that one person took responsibility for the rest of the group by collecting the finished items and left over beads, and receiving the money which was then evenly distributed, even though this person was not receiving the 15% commission. This illustrates the spirit of *ubuntu*, or community and collectivised action that was more prevalent amongst the women who were part of the Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association or VMHDA because they were already involved in group action through community-oriented savings and loan schemes for land reform and housing delivery.

Ubuntu is a Zulu word articulating a world-view that emphasizes equity, communal responsibility, mutual support and interdependent relationships between people. The principle of *ubuntu* is evident in the nearly one million *stokvels* in South Africa. *Stokvels* are joint undertakings or collective enterprises, such as cooperatives in which profits are shared on an equal basis (Siebert, 2003: 1-3). My observations of the women bead

workers from the VMHDA highlight this notion of *ubuntu* in the sense that the distribution of the beads and of the money earned was evenly distributed or collectivised because the work was shared between all members of the group. Furthermore although one person took responsibility for collecting and dividing the money earned this was done on an interdependent basis and not for self-gain as in the case of the Indian lace agents.

The horizontal division of labour in the lace industry however, is also accompanied by an elaborate system of vertical division of labour whereby the women producers are organized along an invisible assembly line. In terms of this vertical division of labour each woman is assigned a small component part of the whole lace item namely *chetipani*, or handwork, *athukupani* or joint or attachment work and *kazakattu* or bordering and lining (Mies, 1982: 57). These component parts are later joined together by especially skilled women in the houses of the exporters and traders. This means that the production process and the necessary skills are split into different parts; this decentralised factory is spread over many villages (Mies, 1982: 59).

According to Mies, the organisation of production along the lines of the vertical division of labour was not only a means to minimise labour costs, but also mechanisms by which the exporters tried to gain control from the actual producers over their products. By splitting up the work process and keeping control over the assembling of the parts, the exporters prevented the likelihood of the producers from keeping the thread that was advanced to them, and from making whole articles to sell at the informal markets. In this

way the exporters prevented the autonomous marketing of lace products by the women producers (Mies, 1982: 60).

The women who work for RUBY do not work on an invisible assembly line. Rather, they complete whole bead worked pieces. The wage system may thus be calculated on the basis of a completed piece rate, as opposed to being split into separate parts. This means that labour costs cannot be minimised because the women are able to assert their own price control over the end product. Although the parallel with the lace industry shows the same horizontal division of labour the production system of beadwork does not engage in a vertical division of labour, and is thus closed to potential exploitation in this regard.

According to Mies this type of division of labour is advantageous from the point of view of the exporter because (s)he does not have to invest capital in buildings, machines or equipment since all of these costs are borne by the actual producers who work from home (Mies, 1982: 58). However this system of production can be interpreted in the South African context as a system of mutual benefit whereby the producers benefit through job creation from the immediate growth of small businesses. In turn, these businesses flourish because they do not require large amounts of start-up capital. This, it is argued, is especially applicable to the South African context, because it is one defined by unemployment.

Mies also argues that the laws of supply and demand do not affect the exporters in the lace industry because the labour force is simply there, waiting for work. When demand is

slack, they simply give less thread to a smaller number of women. And when demand is great, they have no problem sending their agents to the women who are waiting for work (Mies, 1982: 57). Mies thus argues that the horizontal division of labour allows the exporter a certain amount of freedom from the laws of supply and demand because production commitments are voided. This in turn makes the women producers more vulnerable when demand is slack. However, when one considers that the owner of a business should always be striving towards building demand for a particular product because this increases profit margins, this argument appears to hold little weight. The way RUBY operates in the townships also limits the vulnerability of the women when demand is slack, because the production set-up is such that groups of women get together in small numbers and bead together from one location. Although there is no guarantee that the workflow will be constant - or that demand will not slacken - the fact that the women operate in groups widens the opportunity for additional product lines to fill production gaps because the work force is constantly available.

To these economic advantages of the division of labour in the lace industry, Mies argues, are added the political ones of labour control, scattered organisation of production, the isolation of the producers from each other, and the fact that the women do not know for whom they produce all of which make the formation of labour unions very difficult (Mies, 1982:34). Mies therefore argues that the exporters, at the expense of the women lace makers, incur the benefits of this horizontal division of labour. However the fact that the women bead makers in the South African context work in small groups also limits the potential for labour control that occurs when workers are separated from one another or

atomised. The women who work for RUBY work in groups; a system of mutual help is therefore automatic, as is their bargaining power over potential labour disputes and their potential for worker organisation.

By contrast, the atomisation of the lace producers - who all work separately from home - leads to the individualisation of production, and the prevention of any attempts to form labour unions or other systems of mutual help. The women thus individually attempted to get better wages from the agents, or to become sub-agents, in any case to have an advantage over the other women. Mies thus observed jealousy and competitiveness among the women that had its counterpart among the traders and exporters. This lack of solidarity that is the result of this division of labour is cited as being a serious obstacle to formal organisation (Mies, 1982: 60).

Wages and the Wage System

Mies argues that the wage system in the lace industry lays the foundation for the exploitation of the lace producers. There are a number of contributing factors in this regard. As is usual in household industries, wages are paid on a piece rate. Within the lace industry however, there are not only different rates for different types of work, but also different units of measurement (Mies, 1982: 61). The lace exporters and the agents use both Indian and local measurements, as well as old English measures, and measures based on the metric system. This lack of consistency and uniform measures resulted in an anarchic system of wages without any clarity for the producers. Because the lace

producers are, for the most part, illiterate, they get confused by the combination of old and new measurements and are easily cheated by the middlemen because they have no way to check these practises (Mies, 1982: 60).

This work output is not only measured by counting the number of pieces, but also by measuring the amount of thread used up in production - which is weighed prior to production, and after the finished goods are made. If the agents do not get the same weight of thread back they deduct from the wages, and because the producers are uneducated and often misinformed, they do not know what they are getting and for what amount of lace (Mies, 1982: 61).

In addition to exploitation by the wage system of the exporters, there is another layer of exploitation that comes from the ranks of the agents because they usually deduct their own wages or "profit" from the wage given by the exporter to the lace producer. On average the agent's earnings constitute 10% of the wage given by the exporter. Although the agent shares the profit of the exporter, in fact he/she has no idea of the actual surplus value earned by the exporters because this would mean comparing the total production costs with the market prices of the exporters (Mies, 1982: 69).

It is evident that this wage system leaves ample scope for the exporters and middlemen to manipulate wages and to rob the actual producers of their wage. In addition to this the wages of the lace makers are appallingly low. If one compares the daily wage for a lace worker against the minimum wage for an agricultural worker - and the wage rates of lace

makers against the consumer price index and the rising cost of living - the degree of exploitation becomes clear. Mies' study shows that there had been no real wage increase for lace makers in 48 years against a consumer price index that had tripled (Mies, 1982: 62). According to Mies, the lace makers were aware of their increasing pauperisation because they were able to compare the value of their wages in former days with their current circumstances.

In 1960 a government report issued by the All India Handicrafts board referred to the problems of the excessively low wages of the craftswomen. It urged the appointment of workers' representatives and an official of the State government to go "into the wages of the workers and recommend a fair Wage Schedule for adoption by the employers" (Mies, 1982: 40). In 1978, the situation was as it had been in 1960, even worse: the report had become a paper-body only that was ignored by the exporters and agents, and the wages of the women were as low as before.

Because of the low wages on which the women are 'unable to survive' (Mies, 1982: 63) they require advances on wages. This system of advances gives the agent a hold over the producers because once they have accepted the advance they have to produce for the agent. As a result, they lose ownership over their labour power and over the end product and can become entangled in debt bondage (Mies, 1982).

As mentioned above, the women who work for RUBY are also paid on the basis of a piece rate. One of the main advantages of the piece rate is the productivity incentive that

is introduced because the women are paid for the number of pieces they produce.

Although this system works in terms of productivity it should be noted that it could be negatively interpreted because it holds the potential to violate equity within the group. In practise however, instead of the fastest beaders taking more work for themselves work is split equally amongst the group (Andita, 1999:23 February, head beader) this brings us back to the principle of *ubuntu*. Only if the order is large and time limited is work divided according to level of skill with the fastest beaders often completing the most work.

The wage system of the RUBY model reflects an accurate system of measurement that is based on a minimum wage of R5 per hour. It should be noted that beadwork falls under the work description 'basic' that relates to its status as being part of the informal sector according to the Department of Labour. This means that there are no official minimum wage requirements and that the bead workers are in this sense, like the lace-makers, open to exploitation. The RUBY model aims to ensure that this does not occur by setting its own standard that is based on an hourly rate. Due to the fact that some of the women bead workers are illiterate, this system is clearly worked out. The rate per piece is R5 for a beaded square that is 5cm by 4.5 cm and takes approximately one hour to bead although this is dependent on the level of skill of the beader. In almost four years of business there has never been a wage dispute or disagreement as in the lace industry, nor have we been asked for advances on wages.

Every piece produced for RUBY is invoiced and wages are paid every fortnight to the agent, who is then responsible for dividing the money amongst the group. This

relationship is based on trust although it would be almost impossible for the supervisor/agent to cheat the producers, because the prices paid are common knowledge to all members of the group, as are the total amount of bead worked pieces produced by each member of the group. Further, the agent's fees are not deducted from the earnings of the bead workers, as is the case in the lace industry, which voids this potential, additional level of exploitation. Rather, the agent's commission is an additional 15% that is added to the total value of the completed order. This commission is payable to the supervisor, because she relays the information concerning product design, sampling and quantity whilst ensuring that the completed pieces meet the quality requirements.

A Submerged Economy

Both production for the lace industry, and the work produced by the bead workers in the South African context, take place inside the boundaries of the informal sector. In South Africa studies highlight the widespread involvement of women, relative to men, in informal economic activities. Analysts highlight the compatibility of this sector with the reproductive role of women (Rogerson, 1985:11), as well as the fact that women are more likely to participate in the informal sector, because they tend to be confined to the poorer sections of society (May & Stavrou, 1989:23). This is also evidenced by the statistics on poverty in chapter 2. Indeed, one of the major causes of the existence and persistence of the informal economy in South Africa is 'unemployment, coupled with the necessity to create livelihoods in hostile economic environments' (Manona, 2001: 352).

The informal sector is, by its nature, separated from official statistics on economic growth and employment and it is on this basis, that Mies argues that the women lace makers are made economically invisible by official statistics simply by not being defined as workers, and despite the evidence that millions of rupees of foreign exchange are earned each year because of their productive work. The exclusion of these women from the economy is made possible by the description of lace making as feminine leisure time activity in Census studies which goes back to the ideology of the housewife in the early days of the lace industry who uses her leisure in a profitable way (Mies, 1982: 54). This, Mies argues, is the mechanism used to render the lace makers invisible in economic terms. Beadwork however, is not regarded as feminine leisure time activity that is linked to housework. Rather, it is viewed in terms of being a traditional skill or craft that has real potential for income generation as documented by the Crafts Council (Crafts Council of the Western Cape, 1999: 3).

According to Mies, this ideology of the housewife is a condition for the smooth functioning of the system of production and exploitation of the lace industry whereby the producers are not only invisible, but the whole production process: its organisation; production relations; the wage system; labour time; income and expenditure, belong to a "submerged" or underground economy (Mies, 1982: 55). The mechanism by which this production process is made invisible is by an extreme division of labour and the organisation of production along the lines of the putting-out system because production is only visible inside the houses of the lace makers.

Although the beadworkers, like their counterparts in India are not registered in official statistics on employment and economic growth their position in this invisible economy is not the basis for their exploitation, although in different circumstances, that is, where there is no built-in minimum hourly wage as in the RUBY system, it could very well be. The fact that these women work in groups is an advantage, counteracting their potential for exploitation despite their being part of the so-called invisible economy because they have a degree of bargaining power through their labour power as a group.

A comparison between the structure of the lace industry and the bead workers in the South African context in terms of division of labour, the wage system and the notion of a submerged economy are useful categories in determining the status of the women who work for RUBY, and the extent to which they are, or are not, exploited. The above conclusions based on these comparative points of reference underline: the bargaining power of the bead workers relative to the atomisation of the lace industry; the honesty in the wage system which is based on a clear system of measurement and minimum standards set by the minimum wage; and a horizontal division of labour only. That is, a division of labour which guarantees that the labour of the bead workers does not take place on an invisible assembly line. These conclusions, based on a comparative analysis of the structure of the lace industry, show that this model is not a model of exploitation.

Whether or not this model meets the needs of the local context in addressing poverty remains to be seen, and can only be articulated through the voices of the beadworkers, as is

evidenced in the following interviews with Mathapelo, one of the supervisors of a group of bead workers.

“People don't have any source of income but now they have money to buy lunch and clothes. Now they support themselves, they don't have to ask their mother who is unemployed”. (Lidsky, Interview with Mathapelo: July 2001).

Beadwork also generates spending power,

"People who had nothing now are able to buy things and be very proud of them. One husband and wife got an account to buy a fridge, another family near me they just bought a stove, some are even saving at the end of the month" and, "before this they had nothing, now they have something" (Lidsky, Interviews: July 2001).

These interviews conducted amongst the women bead workers showed that beadwork is an important means of income generation that addresses the material needs of those employed and in this way, begins to combat poverty.

CHAPTER 5

Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association

If the RUBY model is inserted into the theoretical framework for successful development practice we find firstly, that this model adequately addresses the demands of the local South African socio-economic context - in terms of unemployment via job creation for the women beaders; poverty via income generation; and levels of inequality because jobs are created for the poorest sections of South African society. Kotze's holistic approach to development implies that in order for development to address the local context it should firstly, have an in depth understanding of this context which means that there is a fit between development initiatives and context, and secondly, represent an integrated approach that is multi-faceted in terms of meeting the needs of communities (Kotze, 1997: 67).

The delivery of housing is a critical need that must be addressed if the basic needs of communities are to be met through holistic development action in the South African context. In June 1998 it was estimated that the South African housing shortage in urban

areas stood at some 2.6 million units. While the government had promised to deliver one million houses in terms of its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) objectives, it is now evident that this target was unattainable, not only due to the size of the housing shortage but also, more significantly because of the rate of delivery. The one million houses that were built addressed little more than one-third of the total housing shortage in the country (Cawthra et al 2000: 103).

Development Update cites the importance of social housing programmes as outlined in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), as an alternative way of meeting South Africa's housing needs. Social housing is understood to encompass "... not just the structure of the building but also its location within viable communities, with access to socio-economic amenities and opportunities" (Cawthra et al 2000:105). In addition, the conceptual framework for social housing argues that the location of housing within viable communities can open opportunities for income generation through spaza shops and other small enterprises.

Another alternative in housing delivery is co-operative housing programmes that are run by independent institutions. These programmes offer alternatives to individual ownership by giving residents ownership of the housing programme not as sectional title owners but as shareholders. Co-operative housing models give residents a significant voice in running the housing programme through the board of a co-operative housing association, and make use of government housing subsidies and low interest bank loans (Cawthra et al 2000:107).

The RUBY model for successful development has the potential to be at the cutting-edge of this terrain because a large number of bead makers for RUBY are involved in co-operative housing schemes in and around the townships of Cape Town. As mentioned in chapter 4 there are two sub-models, under the heading division of labour, that relate to actual work completed with two separate groups of women bead makers. The second group comprised bead makers that are part of the Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association (VMHDA) in Phillipi, Cape Town. This work was documented during April/March 2001 when the beading project had overflow orders for 2000 corporate beaded pins (see Appendix B) for the Design Indaba, and for the energy drink company: Red Bull.

The original group of 15 women could not cope with the orders for these beaded, branded, corporate logos in such a short space of time and we realised that we needed to find large numbers of women who were already mobilized around income generation in order to meet these deadlines. A meeting with Andy Bolnik, who manages income generation for the Homeless People's Federation, an organization that is linked to the VMHDA, proved highly successful because it turned out that there were many women in the townships of Cape Town who were already part of the community-based savings schemes for housing delivery in the Western Cape, and were mobilized around income generation. Many of these women know how to bead but are currently unemployed.

At VMHDA communities are mobilized in groups around savings and loan schemes which allows them to access both government housing subsidies and bank loans for housing delivery (People's Dialogue: 1). This system resonates with the model of

cooperative housing schemes as described above. The system works, as is evidenced by the community at Phillipi where previous shack dwellers all own their own houses. This is also where the VMHDA office is located, as well as a community centre, crèche, day-care centre and local spaza shop. Therefore, the Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association also functions along the lines of social housing schemes, because houses are built around the viability of communities.

We started working with a group of mainly elderly women doing the beads, which later spread to include a group of women from Mandalay who were engaged in the savings scheme. Every week there were new faces at the meetings and new members wanting to be a part of the beading project - grandmothers told their daughters who in turn brought their daughters. The women were paid on a weekly basis when new orders were invoiced. The money that was earned fed directly into the savings and loan schemes for housing delivery because the women were enabled to save the money they earned.

Unfortunately, after the deadlines were met, the local demand for this particular product line faded. It became clear that we would either need an aggressive marketing strategy for these beaded pins through advertising and promotional companies or, that our market for this product was mainly export-oriented. The Homeless People's Federation has access to almost three million people who want to be a part of income generation in the informal sector because they are already mobilized around housing delivery.

This is a story of untapped potential for the delivery of basic services to many South Africans. It is also a potential model of successful development in this country because it could meet the integrated needs of the local context through employment and housing delivery. Because this model was tried and tested in the real world it shows both the evolution of development strategy and implementation over a two-month period. To relegate this model to the world of utopian dreaming and future potential is to deny a comprehensive analysis of the RUBY model, in terms of development strategy, and implementation, and it is to this, that we now turn.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 6

Strategy, Implementation and Participation

Strategy

In the proposal for a Development Strategy for the Craft Industry (1999) the obstacles to the growth of the craft industry in the Western Cape are summarized as: the lack of an institutional framework; the need for the creation of support structures and physical resources for the growth of this sector; the need for entrepreneurial development and capacity building; and the absence of a cohesive strategy for product and market development, that would position craft products within domestic and international markets (Crafts Council for the Western Cape: 1). The RUBY strategy for the development of beadwork parallels this proposal, both in terms of its strategy, and its implementation. It is in this way that it has contributed to the growth of this sector.

Firstly, the RUBY strategy realised that physical resources necessary for production like, raw materials, location, workspace and a wage system would lay the foundation for the growth of this industry. Secondly, that entrepreneurial activity through the start up of a small business would stimulate production, and thirdly, that it would be necessary to develop products that were aligned with a target market, as opposed to supplying the already saturated market with more tourist curios. This would be made possible by the synthesis of African tradition with contemporary trends in fashion design to create a relevant and commercial product line.

RUBY Beaded Pins for example (see Appendix C) are traditional Zulu love letters couched in contemporary images and popular fashion icons, like lips and flaming hearts. This idea was extended to corporate identity, by using the pins, as a marketing tool, for corporate logos that could be translated into beads. In this way a new, indigenous media space was invented that doubled as a way for corporates to invest in communities through job creation, and by directing wealth into the townships. It is in all of these ways that the RUBY strategy mirrors or reflects the development strategy for the craft industry, especially through product development, as described above.

Human's approach to strategic decision-making resonates well with my experience in RUBY because it suggests that decision-making should involve both the real world - the practical realities, as well as a process of thinking about future potential in terms of a timeline. According to this approach decision-making always starts in the real world because that is where a need, or a problem is experienced (Human, 1998: 115) or, in

Kotze's words: 'it begins within the parameters of the local context' (Kotze, 1997:65).

Strategic decisions are therefore made in order to transform a negative situation, that is one in which there is a lack of something, into a positive one (Human, 1998: 116).

The strategic decision-making behind RUBY involved this process of locating itself in the real world, identifying the needs of this local context in terms of job creation and housing delivery, and envisioning a strategic solution that was based on meeting the needs of this context. This development strategy can be summarized as intending to use existing skills in African beadwork in order to address the needs of unemployed women in the townships of Cape Town in terms of poverty, inequality and housing, because job creation would be centred around the most disadvantaged sections of South African society.

Implementation and Participation

Human defines the implementation of development strategy as applying strategy to the 'real world'; this is the stage where tangible results are realised (Human, 1998: 117). The implementation of the RUBY strategy began in 1999 and would not have been possible without the active participation of the local women beadworkers. In this case Kellerman's argument as cited in Kotze resonates strongly with my direct experience because it argues that participation in the implementation phase of development promotes project efficiency and effectiveness because people are more likely to be players, if they are in control (Kotze, 1998:52). Kellerman also argues that participation in project

implementation has other implications namely capacity building, because beneficiaries are able to manage and control development activities, and empowerment, because people are enabled to have an increasing measure of control over their own lives (Kotze, 1997).

Participation and the story of RUBY

The importance of participation by the local women in the story of RUBY was illustrated in the initial phase of project implementation, without which production of the beaded designs would not have been possible. The painstakingly slow production of the first beaded sample, a beaded bag that was made by a woman at the Montebello Centre in Newlands, Cape Town in June 1999 highlighted the importance of participation in project efficiency. When it became clear that she had no intention of participating in the vision I approached Betty Mathibela of Thibela Designs who has a stall at the Blue Shed in the V&A Waterfront in Cape Town (Lidsky diary entry, 1999:14 July). A number of women who worked with her were interested in making the first beaded bags that were then sold at the Young Designers Emporium stores in Cape Town. Their enthusiasm and active participation set in motion both the production and sale of the first beaded designs.

However, as the scope of the business expanded and the nature of the designs began changing it appeared that Betty Mathibela and the local women who worked with her lacked the flexibility to keep up with production demands and as a result, their levels of participation subsided. It was at this point that I approached Levi Strauss South Africa

with the idea in mind to bead onto Levi's denim jeans as part of a millennium customisation project for their stores that would highlight their commitment to the community. The production capability at Thibela Designs remained limited, and as a result they were unable to meet the deadlines for the beaded denim jeans which were by now on order from customers at the Levi stores (Lidsky diary entry, 1999:18 December). The production backlog and lack of commitment to deadlines called for fast, creative solutions that would need to be implemented if business with Levi Strauss was not to be jeopardised.

In response I approached the Small Business Development Centre in Mowbray who had a brief list of women involved with the development of the craft industry in the Western Cape. We thereby came to contact a woman who was involved in organising bead workers in Mandalay, Khayelitsha for a community-level project launched by the church based Non Government Organisation, ADRA: an NGO supporting community driven and social upliftment projects, like vegetable gardening and beadwork, in the townships. We contacted Connie and it became clear that she worked with about 20 local women beadworkers. Connie became totally committed to our vision and agreed to find a work-space at a local creche in Mandalay where the women could bead, and became the supervisor or overseer of the project, responsible for sampling, meeting deadlines and organizing the wage system. Her participation ignited the enthusiasm of the women beadworkers without which we would not have had the momentum to start our business.

The story of RUBY shows that without participation project implementation in development is impossible. This is in line with Kellerman's argument (as cited in Kotze, 1997) that participation promotes project efficiency and effectiveness. However, Kellerman also argues that participation has secondary implications, namely capacity building and empowerment. In order to test this hypothesis it was necessary to evaluate the ways in which the community had been strengthened or local capacity enhanced as a result of the beading project, and secondly, to interview the women beaders in order to assess how the beading project had advanced their own feelings of empowerment and self esteem. Conversely, a positive assessment or increased levels of capacity building and empowerment would correlate with higher levels of participation.

Capacity Building

An evaluation of RUBY, in terms of its levels of participation in development action show that capacity building, as a result of the beading project, was highest amongst the beaders at the Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association because they were actively involved in income generation and savings schemes as a group, and were therefore more attuned to their strength as a community than the women who were beading only as a group. However, the beading project did contribute to increased capacity building amongst the other group of beaders. This is illustrated by the fact that almost half of these women became involved in other community driven development projects after being a part of the RUBY beading group (Mavis, Lungiswa & Andita, 2001: 4 March, beaders). These projects included new membership in savings groups

under VMHDA amongst women who lived near each other. It should be noted however, that this could be attributed to the fact that the women were enabled to participate in the savings schemes at VMHDA because their earning capacity had increased, and not because their capacity as a community had been strengthened through the beading project.

Empowerment

Empowerment implies, according to Fals-Borda "the acquisition of power for the poor, oppressed and exploited groups; the people at the grassroots" (Mouton and Prozesky, 2001:547). It also implies that the participants in development are enabled to wield transforming power or leverage in development. As a result of empowerment, self-esteem is expanded because people feel that they have an increased measure of influence or control over their own lives (Kotze, 1997:53).

The story of RUBY shows that levels of self-esteem were expanded as a result of the beading project. This is illustrated by an incident with the group's ex-supervisor Connie who was eventually told by the women, to leave the project. The fact that the women were empowered to the extent that they could tell the supervisor of their project to leave, and of their own accord, elect a new supervisor who would then receive the commission on orders and be responsible for the wages, illustrates the levels of empowerment within the group. In comparative reference, the initial phase of the project showed lower levels

of empowerment that were indicated by the beaders sense of being indebted to, and controlled by Connie.

According to interviews conducted amongst the women their sense of control over their own lives was increased because, as Mathapelo explained:

"The people are now able to afford to buy bread and so they know where it is coming from and when it is coming, because of this they are in control" (Mathapelo, 2001:18 July, head beader).

Clearly earning a living contributes to feelings of control and empowerment because the vulnerability of poverty is decreased.

Participation: Checklist for successful development practice

A comparison with the lace industry

Not only is participation necessary for the implementation of development it is also a key ingredient in successful development practice. As discussed in the theoretical framework (chapter 1) participation refers to a people centred approach to development, as opposed to a material or commodity-driven approach that is in line with the new discourse of development. Participation implies that people at a grass-roots level have an increased capacity to share in the means and ends of development, and consequently, that development will be driven by their ecology of ideas and is relevant to their local context.

Participation also means that local communities participate in development by exercising a certain degree of influence over the development activities that affect their lives (Kotze, 1997: 55).

Jim Ife argues that participation is an active ingredient in community development because it implies the co-operation between private individuals in a public realm, as opposed to competition that is based on private interests (Ife, 1995: 201). According to Maria Mies in the context of the lace industry, the atomisation of the lace makers contributed to the fact that they were never able to participate in a public realm. As a result their co-operation was blocked, as well as their potential for unity and collectivised action against their exploitation by the exporters (Mies, 1982).

Mies argued that the lace workers were only capable of changing their status as atomised, divided, independent housewife-workers if their experiences were collectivised. The form this organisation would take depended on the definition of the lace workers as workers or as petty commodity producers. In the first case, a trade union would be the right type of organisation; in the second, a co-operative society would bring them together. The formation of a trade union is unlikely because, in India, this is restricted to factory workers proper. The possibility of forming an independent women's union is also unlikely because the women do not conceive of themselves as workers (Mies, 1982: 159). Mies therefore argues that the problems of organisation in the lace industry occur as a result of the definition of the lace industry as a home-based industry. This notion is

reinforced by the lace-makers perceptions of themselves or 'consciousness', as petty commodity producers rather than workers (Mies, 1982: 159).

The beaders in the South African context, on the other hand, participate in decision making as a group, as a collectivised entity. Decisions regarding wages, price paid per unit, workspace and supervisors were arrived at, over a two-year period, as a group within which all members participated. For example, the process of setting a price per unit for new products takes place over a few days and involves the democratic participation of all members of the beading group. Neither the supervisor nor representatives of RUBY are able to set a price without first confirming it with the other women. In this regard, Kotze's argument that participation cannot be equated 'with being hired to work on a labour intensive project without having any say over project activities' (Kotze, 1998: 52), enlightened my practice of development in a local context, because it emphasizes the importance of the measure of influence people have in development, through participation.

According to Mies the problem of organisation amongst the lace makers occurred both because of the definition of lace making as a home-industry, and because of the consciousness of the lace makers as petty commodity producers, as opposed to workers (Mies, 1982). In the South African context however, the definition of beading as a home-industry did not affect the women's active participation in a collectivised forum. The question thus arises as to whether or not this is because these women define themselves as workers or whether it is because of a collectivised spirit that exists among the women

as *ubuntu*. Interviews conducted amongst the beaders showed that many of the women considered beading 'work' despite the fact that they worked from home and apparently owing to the fact that they were getting paid for doing this work. According to Mathapelo:

"Doing the beads is working, they are getting paid and that is why they know they are working it's a job" (Mathapelo, 2001:18 July, head beader).

Perhaps the women's collectivised experience of beading as a result of the fact that they worked together from one location in a beading group, contributed to their perception of themselves as workers, in comparison to the atomisation of the lace makers, which defied their potential for worker organisation.

CHAPTER 7

Sustainability

Sustainability in the context of development means moving beyond a surface concern with economic growth per se, to considerations relating to the quality of that growth (Munslow, Fitzgerald, McLennan, 1997:3). This means ensuring that people's basic needs are being met, that the resource base is conserved, that environment and cross-sectoral concerns are integrated into decision-making and that communities are empowered (W.C.E.D., 1987). It has been argued that sustainable development needs to be at the heart of South Africa's development programme because it places these concerns, and in particular meeting basic needs, at the centre of the agenda of the growth process itself (Fitzgerald, McLennan & Munslow, 1997:4). Indeed sustainability is a key ingredient in the checklist for successful development practice. In order to evaluate the RUBY model its level of sustainability must be evaluated.

Environmental Sustainability

The first aspect of sustainability questions economic development as treating natural resources as "free goods" both as an input to the production process and as a "waste sink" for the residues of that production (Barbier, Markandya & Pearce, 1989:12). Many theorists therefore argue that new measurements of economic growth should take the actual costs of the natural resources they use up in production, as opposed to the costs of simply extracting those resources into account (Shiva, 1989:77). In terms of environmental sustainability it should be noted that RUBY products are made by hand and therefore more environmentally sound than manufactured goods, do not directly use up natural resources and do not treat the earth as a dumping ground for waste that is generated.

Basic Needs Approach

Sustainability also implies that the basic needs of people are addressed and that communities become empowered through development action. The economist Max-Neef refers to the term Human Scale Development (HSD) as being about people and not objects. Gross National Product or GNP, balance of trade, growth rates, exchange rates, inflation rates are criticised as indicators of the quantitative growth of objects, as opposed to HSD which is an indicator about the qualitative growth of people (Max-Neef, 1991:

16). In terms of HSD human needs should be satisfied and levels of self-reliance increased so that dependencies on outside delivery or "handouts" are limited, and communities enabled to depend on themselves (Bremner & Visser, 1997: 227) thereby enhancing empowerment.

The RUBY model for development illustrates sustainability because basic needs like poverty, income generation and housing are addressed through development action. The self-reliance of the women beaders is also enhanced especially through the savings and loan schemes at Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association and directly through job creation, because they are enabled to become economically self-sufficient. Further, this model for development does not rely on outside delivery or "handouts" because the women are engaged in work and productivity incentives and as a result, their levels of empowerment are increased.

According to Mies' study of the lace makers however, household industries cannot be sustainable models of development because the basic needs of the lace workers are not addressed. Mies argues that in fact household industries contribute to the increasing pauperisation and marginalisation of the women lace makers (Mies, 1988: 40). This argument is based on C.K. Werlhof's argument that capitalism is not simply the relation between wage labour and capital, but that this relation is double-faced, with one side being represented by the exploitation inherent in the wage labour relation because wages are below subsistence level and the other, by the non-wage labour relation of subsistence producers (Mies, 1988: 44).

A comparison in the relation between wage labour and capital

In terms of the first side of this relation between wage labour and capital Mies compares the production costs against the market prices of the product. According to this measurement Mies argues that the exporters and traders gain from one woman's daily production almost three times the amount they pay her as wages. Further, the underpayment of the lace-making women covers only that part of their labour power that they sell directly for a wage to the exporters. It thus abstracts from the labour time used in this production process, as well as from the reproductive work the women do (Mies, 1982: 149).

These rates of exploitation are calculated according to an actual comparison between the daily wages for piecework and the sales value of the product for export. Mies found that although the traders gained 300% profit from lace, the women, even when working for an average of eight hours a day, still did not earn enough to meet their daily subsistence requirements. Mies calculates the average daily requirements as Rs. 1.60, a figure based on the average expenditure per person per day in a typical family budget at the time of the study. The lace-makers however, even if they worked a fourteen hour day received only Rs. 1.40 as wages, this means that after eight hours work she would not be able to buy the necessary food and other requirements even for her own day-to-day subsistence (Mies, 1982: 150).

A comparison with the 'RUBY model' shows what the beaders earn on a specific product line, a beaded pin for example, for which they are paid R5. This beaded pin takes approximately one hour to bead, which shows, that the beaders earn approximately R5 per hour. This length of beading time however, is dependent on the level of skill of the beader. Most of the RUBY beaders however are highly skilled and would therefore produce one beaded pin within this timeframe. This piece rate is repeated across all product lines which to date include beaded fringed chokers (see Appendix D), beaded stranded belts and gemstone wrist cuffs.

The piece rate for RUBY products is determined by many factors, the first of which relates to the selling price of the product and the feasibility of adding a 100% mark-up within market price constraints. Our experience has shown that some products we design are either too expensive to reproduce, or that we would need to find a way to cut costs in the raw materials or, reduce the mark-up. As a policy we never cut labour costs. If orders are required on quantity and the client requires a discount we explain to the client that because the products are hand-made it is difficult to reduce our selling price because the time taken to produce the items remains the same, in comparison to manufactured items where the price on quantity can often be reduced because the production costs are reduced. In this case scenario we would often reduce the mark-up, as happened with orders that were completed for the Design Indaba and for Red Bull in February/March 2001.

Clearly the sustainability of this system of piece-rate production is based on the continuation of the demand for beaded products in large quantities, so that the women are enabled to produce a certain amount of product per day and so that their minimum wage requirements are met. In interviews conducted with the bead workers one of the main problems identified with this system of production was the continuity and flow of orders.

"When the orders for the beads are good the women are happy and would rather be doing the beads than cleaning (domestic char work) because we can work near home and there is more time in the day for our own house-work." (Andita, 2001:18 August, head beader). Clearly, there was more time available during the day because travelling time to the city was reduced. However when orders are slack there is little benefit for the women from beadwork and in their own words:

"They would rather be doing the cleaning than sitting with nothing at home." (Noxolo, 2001:18 August, beader).

Thus the crux of the problem with piece-rate production in the South African context is not as Mies argues, situated in the context of exploitation and impoverishment within household industries (Mies, 1982) but rather as a result of the lack of work.

In order to counter this problem attempts are continuously made to develop new products for the beading project that are then sold in YDE stores nationwide, to build the capacity and hold the continuity of the group by taking large orders at a reduced profit for RUBY

while maintaining original prices at the piece rate from the bead workers and through increased advertising and marketing via product placement in local media and events like SA fashion week (see brochure in Appendix E). Lastly beaded commissions are now taken on, the most recent of which was production of beaded tribal costumes for the film *King Solomon's Mines* currently being shot on location in South Africa. Clearly expansion to an international audience via export of unique and indigenous beaded products is necessary for the sustainability and growth of the Ruby beading project.

Producers and Consumers

Mies argues that the wide network of production and market relations of which the women lace makers are an integrated part, is the basis of their exploitation. The RUBY model illustrates on the other hand, that this integrated network can be of benefit to the women beaders because of the increased amount of work that is created. Mies argues that this integration between producers and consumers is evident in the link between women in the Third world as the exploited producers of these crocheted lace items, and women in the First World who are the consumers of this end product. Exploited labour power is thus linked to buying power despite the fact that both are invisible to each other. In fact, the system perpetuates itself through this link of production and consumption (Mies, 1982; 1988).

The benefits in the link between production and consumption are evident when the buying power is made aware firstly, of the exploited conditions under which the objects

of their consumption are produced- and secondly, - when they are conscious of the benefits of using their 'buying power' to invest in products that are ethically sound. Naomi Klein (2000) evidences this consumer trend in her book *No Logo* in which she discusses examples of consumer boycotts of big brands that violate labour laws and ethics of employment in Free Trade Zones. Conversely, consumer power can be used to invest in the sustainability of methods of production that contribute to the social upliftment and empowerment of communities. For this reason, all RUBY beaded products tell the story of their origin (see packaging Appendix F).

Production and Reproduction relations in household industries

Mies' study of the lace makers in India showed that household industries cannot be sustainable models of development because the basic needs of the lace workers are not addressed: firstly because of the relation between wage labour and capital; and secondly, as a result of the relation between production and reproduction in household industries. The second part of this argument relates to the notion that the exploitation of the lace makers is in the non-separation of the spheres of reproduction and production. Mies argues that it is this non-separation of these spheres that makes household industries unable to meet the basic needs of the women lace workers. The organisation of the lace industry as a household industry and the social definition of the lace workers as housewives are based on an interconnection between these two spheres.

In household industries the site of production is simultaneously the site of housework and reproductive work, because production takes place in the home. Although the lace makers are by definition housewives, they are simultaneously integrated into a wide network of production and market relations. The implications of this non-separation of the spheres of production and reproduction are far-reaching and it is this, Mies argues, that contributes to the lack of sustainability of household industries in meeting the basic needs of the women (Mies, 1982: 110).

According to Mies' study the work of the lace makers is such that there is no clear demarcation between income-generating activities and housework (Mies, 1982: 122). The productive work of the lace-makers is thus rendered invisible, because it is subsumed under the guise of housework, and in this way, becomes the pre-condition for their exploitation when they are denied contractual wage labour relations with the exporters (Mies, 1982: 72), leaving them open to the exploitation that occurs. According to Mies the exporters are able to manipulate the labour time according to their demand because there is an unlimited supply of extremely cheap female labour time, which can be tapped without any risk to the exporter. In times of slack demand the exporters have no responsibility for the maintenance of these workers.

In the South African context, the benefits of household industries that actually contributed to sustainability are highlighted. Because the sites of housework or reproductive work are also the sites of beadwork, the women beadworkers are in an advantaged position. In interviews conducted with the women beadworkers all of them

highlighted the benefits of working within the close proximity of their homes, because it increased the amount of time available to them during the day.

"There is more time in the day to be at home than there would be if I had to go to town every day and wake up at 6 to go to a cleaning job" (Lulama, 2001: 3 August, beader).

Conclusion

The intention behind this dissertation is to evaluate a particular model of development that is being implemented, firstly in terms of a theoretical framework for successful development practice and secondly, in comparison to research by Maria Mies on a similar industry in India. I have termed this model of development: the "RUBY model" because over the past four years it has been put into practise by a business for profit called RUBY. This model however, can be interpreted as a working model for the development of the craft industry in the local context, and applied to many different kinds of craft that utilise either traditional skills like bead work, indigenous inventions or the hand-made recycling of materials.

The creativity that abounds us is evident everywhere on the streets of South Africa from wire radios to recycled plastic chickens to flowers made out of coca cola cans. This creativity seems to evolve on our streets out of waste; out of nothing, to a means of income generation for many disadvantaged South Africans. The "RUBY model" for successful development practice is about combining this creativity with contemporary trends in design, functionality and conceptual marketing ideas in order to make it available to a commercial public in a retail environment and, in doing so, to create a form of income generation in an attempt to curb unemployment and the downward cycle of poverty.

This dissertation is documented by real evidence between 1999 and 2001 in Cape Town, South Africa. The theoretical framework for successful development practice is outlined in Chapter two and includes participation, strategy and implementation, a holistic approach and sustainability. It is informed by the new development discourse that signals a shift in development thinking from a fragmented approach to a holistic framework for development action, that relies on an understanding of the whole local context. The "RUBY model" is based on a holistic approach to development because this model is strategized around meeting the needs of the local South African socio-economic context in terms of job creation, curbing poverty, and delivery of basic needs like housing.

Mies' argument that household industries contribute to the impoverishment and exploitation of the lace makers as documented in the Indian context, is the starting point for an evaluation of the RUBY model. Mies' argument, based on the structure of the lace industry in terms of division of labour, the wage system and the notion of a submerged economy are the points of comparison that navigate the flow of this comparative analysis with the system of production of the RUBY model.

Chapter four highlights conclusions based on these comparative points of reference that underline the bargaining power of the bead workers relative to the atomisation of the lace industry; the honesty in the wage system which is based on a clear system of measurement and minimum standards set by the minimum wage; a horizontal division of labour as opposed to a combination of the horizontal and vertical divisions of labour - which guarantees that the labour of the bead workers does not take place on an invisible

assembly line. These conclusions based on a comparative analysis with the structure of the lace industry show that the RUBY model is not a model of exploitation. This chapter also highlights the success of this model in addressing levels of poverty as evidenced by interviews with the women bead workers.

A continuation of the idea that the critical needs of the local context must be addressed if development action is to succeed is discussed in chapter five. This chapter outlines the extent of the housing shortage in present-day South Africa as well as a means of addressing it via the RUBY model. This chapter details the link between RUBY and the Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association (VMHDA) in Phillipi, Cape Town and the actual development action that took place over a two-month period. This involved the mobilisation of small groups of women beadworkers around income generation through beadwork that fed directly into the savings and loan schemes for housing delivery.

The "RUBY model" therefore illustrates a process of strategic decision-making in development because the needs of the local context are identified and a development strategy woven around these particular needs namely job creation, curbing levels of poverty and delivery of housing. However, the vision of strategy is ineffective without implementation. Chapter six therefore relates the story of RUBY as a vision of development strategy implemented in the real world over a two-year period. It should be noted that this vision continues to evolve at the time of writing. This process of implementation would not have been possible without the active participation of the local women bead workers as the story of RUBY, documented in this chapter, very clearly

illustrates. Participation is the lifeblood of development implementation and as such is a vital part of the checklist for successful development practise.

Participation also has secondary implications, namely capacity building and empowerment and it is in this further regard that it cannot be ignored in a checklist for successful development practise. Part of this chapter was to explore the way in which these spin-offs occurred during project implementation by evaluating the ways in which the community had been strengthened or local capacity enhanced as a result of the beading project and secondly, to interview the women beaders in order to assess how the beading project had advanced their own feelings of empowerment and self esteem. This process was comparatively reviewed with the lace industry in order to gain greater insight into the locations of participation. This review showed that the beaders were in an advantaged position because they worked in small communal groups as opposed to being atomised thereby opening the space for a public realm within which the women beaders were able to participate.

The last part of this 'checklist' for successful development practise refers to sustainability. The concept of sustainability is complex terrain that has its own internal debates around the compatibility of sustained economic growth and environmentalism. Chapter seven approaches sustainability as relating both to environmental sustainability and to a basic needs approach that is inherent in people-centred development, as opposed to material driven development that relies on certain economic indicators only. The "RUBY model" is evaluated in terms of this approach. In terms of environmental sustainability, it should

be noted that it is not an environmentally-driven model of development although all of the beaded items are hand-made and do not contribute to increasing levels of pollution in production.

The sustainability of the RUBY model is also evaluated in this chapter in terms of a basic needs approach to development by comparative analysis with the lace industry firstly, in terms of the relation between wage labour and capital and secondly in light of the relation between the spheres of reproduction and production that become linked in household industries. In the first regard, the details of the system of payment used in the "RUBY model" show that minimum wage requirements are always met in production of the beaded items. The crux of the problem with piece-rate production in the RUBY model is therefore not as Mies argues, situated in the context of exploitation and impoverishment within household industries, but rather as a result of the lack of work. This problem is illustrated throughout the interviews with the women beaders and remains a problem to be solved only with increased amounts of work and transactions within a wider web of market relations.

Mies' study of the lace makers in India showed that household industries cannot be sustainable models of development because the basic needs of the lace workers are not addressed firstly, because of the relation between wage labour and capital as discussed above and secondly, because of the relation between production and reproduction in household industries. The second part of this argument relates to the notion that the exploitation of the lace makers is in the non-separation of the spheres of reproduction and

production which denies the lace makers their contractual worker rights, and doubles their domestic burden. The advantages of this link in the two spheres is clarified in the South African context in light of the fact that the women beaders like working within travelling time that is saved as is evidenced in the interviews with the women beaders.

Based on this evaluation of the RUBY model of development practise in the South African context, by means of a checklist for successful development practice that formed the vertebrae of this dissertation and, fleshed out by the comparative analysis with the lace industry in India, I conclude, that it is a successful model for development implementation in the local context. Perhaps the development resources that are available to us in a multi-cultural milieu are to be found in the blending and fusion of traditional skills with modern applications and infinite creativity.

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University of Cape Town

UPLIFTING FEELING

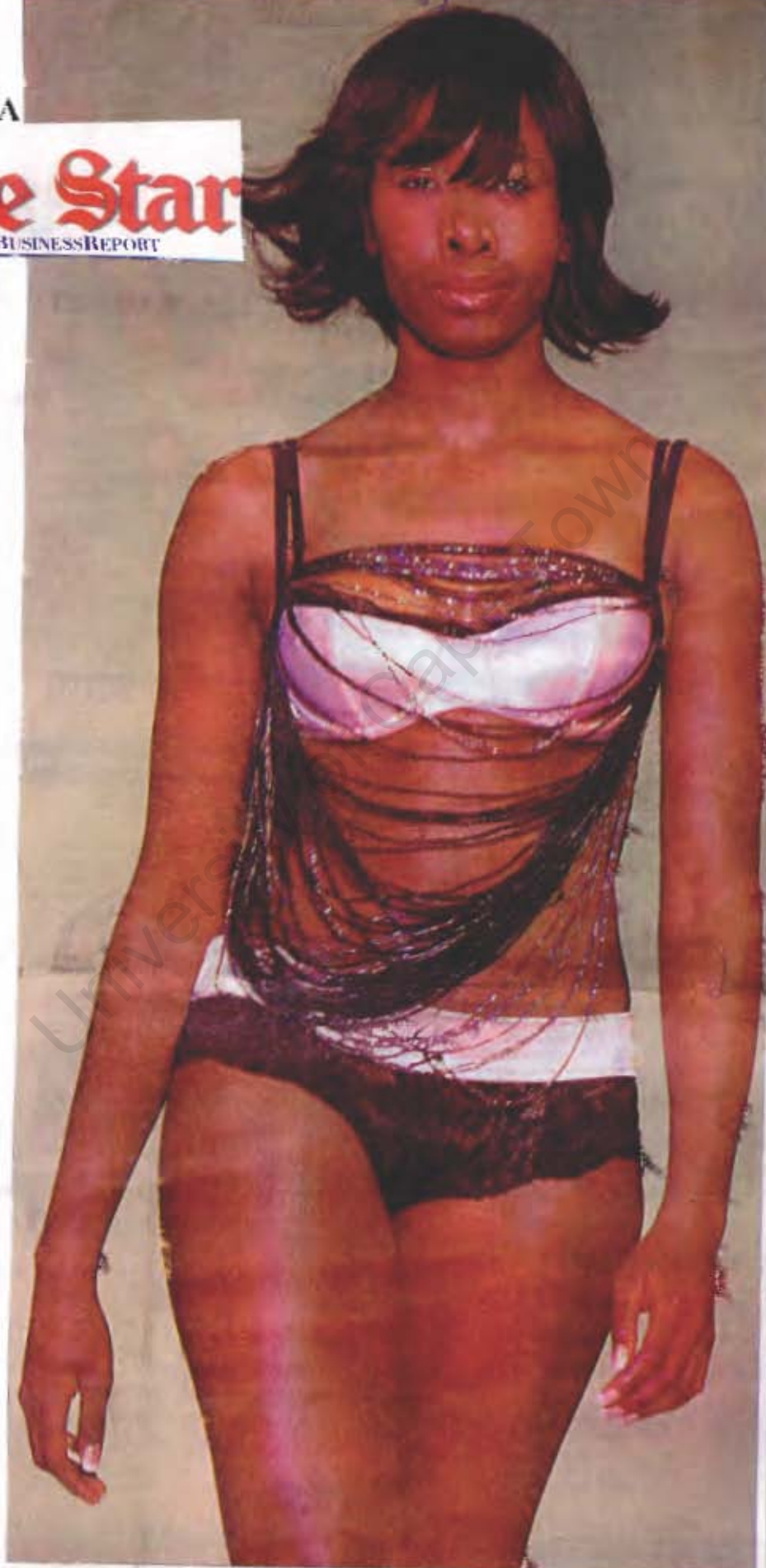
Appendix A

The Star

WITH BUSINESSREPORT

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UPLIFTING FEELING



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Politics

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Luscious lingerie ... the seventh SA Fashion Week, which began in Sandton yesterday, received an immediate lift from Cape Town designer Robyn Lidky's 'Pinky' collection.

Ruby lingerie paints SA Fashion Week red

By **MARIKA SBOROS**
Lifestyle editor

The bra cups overflowed at the start of the seventh SA Fashion Week in Sandton.

Cape Town designer Robyn Lidzky's delightfully decadent lingerie collection under the Ruby label was an early and welcome infusion of sultry glamour into an otherwise staid start to the Week.

The inclusion of underwire push-up bras for the first time turned Ruby into a fully fledged local lingerie label, and never was it more needed.

Lidzky has identified and aimed her sights at a niche in the local market for underwear that makes women "feel sexy and special".

Her collection featured deep-cut, half-cup bras, camisoles, hip-hugging panty briefs and obligatory G-strings in sensuous stretch satin with lace trims. The colour palette was a passionate juxtaposing of hues: dyed-up baby and dusty pinks and corise with black; gold with rose pink; champagne with ruby red.

Ruby accessories were also on display, among them beautiful handmade beaded chokers, the fruits of a socio-economic job-creation beading project Lidzky initiated several years ago and continues to run with women in



Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

The range includes fringed gemstone wrist cuffs and beaded stranded belts with perspex inserts not shown on the catwalk yesterday.

Ruby's accessory range is influenced by North African beading traditions, using imported glass beads and gemstones, combined with Swarovski crystals.

Lidzky's stated aim is to make the traditional skill of beadwork fashionable and contemporary, and she has certainly succeeded.

She recently completed beaded costumes for the tribal scene for the *King Solomon's Mines* film that is currently being made in South Africa for the Hallmark channel.

Cape Town designer Maya Prass showed her 2003/2004 summer range titled "The Peacock Room". It included wearable outfits with an Eastern influence, lots of layers and brightly coloured ragged shawls.

Craig Fraser's menswear range was an unusual hybrid of flower power and mili-

NEO NTSOMA

Lacy and sexy ...

Durban designer Robyn Lidzky showcased her lingerie collection under the Ruby label at the start of the SA Fashion Week yesterday.

winner, Kobie van der Westhuizen, showed her debut collection of wearable feminine lace and broderie anglaise outfits.

Highlights to watch out for in the rest of the Week include Icuba for menswear, Cape Town duo Hip Hop and Gauteng's Stoned Cherrie.

Both Hip Hop and Stoned Cherrie, who showed at the first Cape Town Fashion Week that ended at the weekend, have kept their collections' "thunder and gunpowder" for the SA Fashion Week, according to programme director Dion Chang (*Elle's* fashion editor at large).

So hot is the anticipation of Stoned Cherrie's show tomorrow night that it is already overbooked by 100 seats, said Chang.

The show's grande finale on Saturday evening promises to be a real style spectacle, with designers from Nigeria, Senegal, Ghana, Mozambique, Kenya and Ethiopia alongside established local designers.

This is in keeping with the Week's vision of making the SA Fashion Week a springboard not just for local fashion but for the continent as well, Chang said.

■ The SA Fashion Week runs till Saturday at the Sandton Convention Centre and the Newtown Cultural Precinct.

tarism, including a reinvented camo look that went straight through into swimwear.

The *Elle* New Talent Show, which opened the Week, was won by David Tlale under the Old Boy Oof label.

To my mind, there could have been only one winner among the student designers.

Tlale showed high-level innovation that made him stand out among emerging talent that overall had an uninspired and uninspiring feel.

Last year's New Talent

Appendix B



Nolitta, Mosandla, Nosandiso and Nokubonga beading in Khayelitsha

Why you need to wear this badge

It's the sexiest accessory of summer. The *Shape Care for the Carers* (CAC) beaded pin is turning heads – and winning hearts too. Each pin sold helps to fund the Care for the Carers programme. (See below for details and this year's beneficiaries.) But there's another group of women for whom these pins hold the promise of a better life. The women who make them. Across the townships of Cape Town, there are more than 30 women working from home, fashioning pins like these and other beaded items to support themselves and their families. Robyn Linsky, owner of the Ruby fashion label which employs the women, says by heading from home, these women can take care of their children and grandchildren while they work. Their extraordinary craftsmanship captured the eye of Gorgina Fanks, whose company, Stuff from Africa, conceptualises and commissions locally-made products from women like these. It was Gorgina who designed the Care for the Carers pin and her many other designs are gaining enormous popularity overseas. For more info, contact Gorgina on 077 278 2827. To order your badge for only R15, visit www.shapemag.co.za and click on "shape shop". All proceeds are donated to CAC.



What we're about

Care for the Carers is aimed at raising awareness of and sponsoring support for women in care-giving roles. Our beneficiaries this year, the carers at Red Cross Children's Hospita². To find out more about the campaign, go to www.shapemag.co.za or, if you'd like to get involved, contact us at shape@touchline.co.za. Donations are welcome (money raised will go, amongst other things, towards paying for trauma counselling). Cheques addressed to Red Cross/Shape Care for the Carers Campaign can be sent to Shape, PO Box 16368, Vaenberg, 8018, or paid into Standard Bank, Rondebosch branch, branch code 020009, account number 073-96051.

PHOTOGRAPHY: JANE DAVEN

Appendix C



Appendix D

GQ SOUTH AFRICA

August – September
R25.95 (incl VAT)
Namibia R525;
other countries R22.



FASHION'S HOTTEST...

- 8 designer labels
- 12 perfect black shirts
- 12 combat pants
- 15 denim jeans
- 12 graphic T-shirts

WIN £££

1000 UK Lotto tickets to be won plus a R10 000 Knoll chair

Special

CRASH DUMMIES

Crazy men who chase world water speed records

TOUR DE FRANCE

Drugs, drugs and, oh, more drugs

WAS THAT A CAMERA?

GQ ASKS

Who really benefits from SA tourism?

SOUTH AFRICANS

Do you keep asking... 'Should I stay or should I go?'

GADGET SPECIAL

Best, coolest, most available technology

Appendix E





RUBY

couturier lingerie
&
beaded fashion accessories

*the luxury of satin... the alchemy of colour...
the glimmer of gold and glass beads...*

welcome to ruby's summer of 2003/4

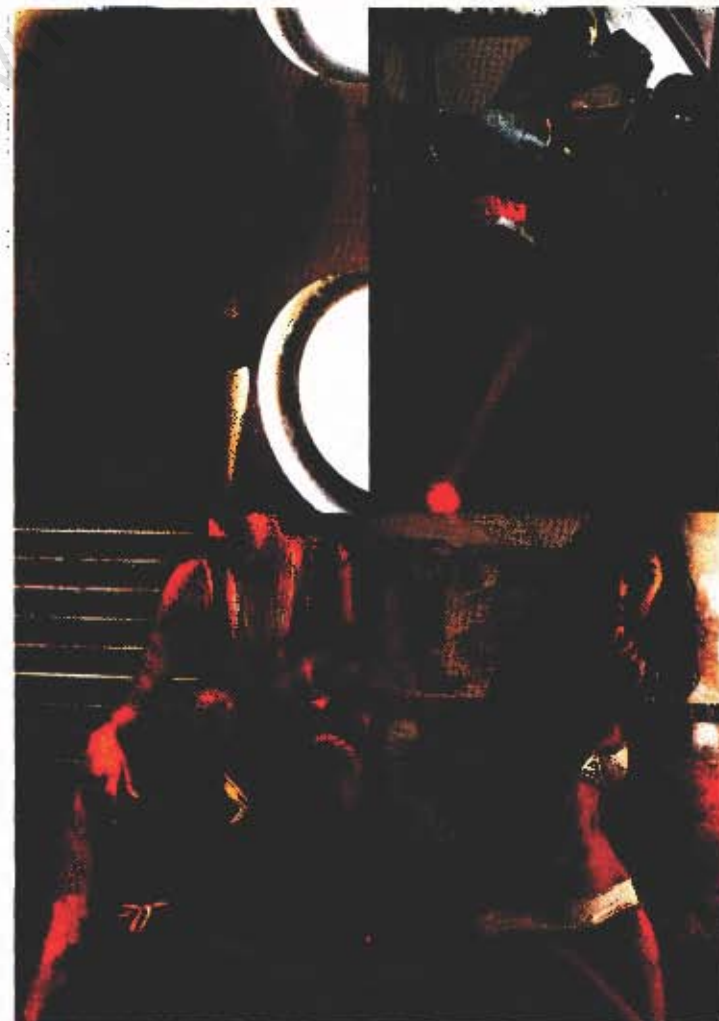
Ruby is an independent Cape Town label that uses only South African fabrics, manufacturers, and suppliers.

Beaded pieces made by Ruby Beading Project - a job creation initiative in Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

Lingerie and beaded chokers available in YDF stores countrywide. Customised beaded commissions taken on.

**For more information please contact
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Photographer: Johan Wilke; Stylist: Mareth Roos (Shine); Make-up & hair: Liesha (Shine); Furniture by Mila; Design & layout: David Gimpel; Models: Cyan from Topco, Bianca from Zero Models



Appendix E



Appendix F

