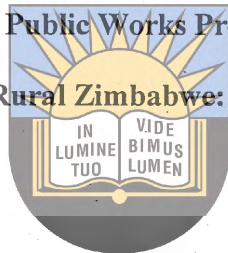




**An Investigation into Public Works Programmes as a Poverty
Reduction Strategy for Rural Zimbabwe: A Study on Gutu District.**



University of Fort Hare
A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Development Studies
Together in Excellence
of Fort Hare University in Fulfilment of the Master of

Social Sciences in Development Studies Degree

By

Zindoga Blessing Josiah

(Student Number:200706156)

Supervisor: Professor S Buthelezi

September 2008

Dedication

To my parents who never disbelieved



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Declaration

I declare that the subsequent work is original work emanating from two years of hard work, pain, and solitude by Zindoga Josiah Blessing (200706156). In the best of my knowledge, this work is not extracted from other people's works without acknowledgement and has not been previously submitted to any University faculty. Errors and omissions are the responsibility of the author and no other person is liable for the misadventures.

Signed on this 2nd day of December 2008 at Alice campus of the University of Fort Hare



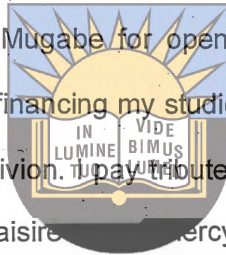
Signed : *jbzindoga*

Supervisor:
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE LIBRARY	
ACC. NO.	<u>7001194</u>
BIB NO	<u>18484736</u>
ITEM NO.	<u>2397448.5</u>

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof H.S Buthelezi, my supervisor, for constructive criticism of this work. I also acknowledge Mr Whitehead Zikhali (second year Doctoral Student) a friend, and academic acquaintance whose valuable assistance throughout the two years of my study is worth mentioning. It could have been more difficult without his academic, spiritual, and financial support. Above all, thanks to the Head of State and Government of Zimbabwe, His Excellency, the President R.G. Mugabe for opening doors when all hope was almost shattered. Thank you for financing my studies at a time when I was almost deeply sinking into academic oblivion. I pay tribute to my inspiring friends Taurai, Collet, Emmanuel, Rangarirai, Taisire, Mercy (Mai Anoe) for all the support not forgetting Marvelous, Joseph, Jotham, Joy, Lucia, Tinashe, Kudakwashe, Wiseman, Chivimbiso and Naison, fellow classmates and academic comrades who shared with me all the joy and sacrifice of research. I also thank Clara Dapira for the assistance and support I received. To my brothers Joseph, Jotham and Joy it is a sad thing that you never grew up to know me because of the long absences, but I am happy you will emulate what I achieved. Lastly, to the woman I love, Ndakunda, I thank you for supporting me when it mattered most.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Abstract

With the progression of the new millennium, a new socio-economic order has taken charge in most developing countries, unfavourable to the well-being of the less economically advantaged populations. Seemingly, Zimbabwe is not an exception to this development. Increasing concerns have been expressed about the effects of the several interventions aimed at poverty reduction in Zimbabwe, both from within and outside the country.

The programmes and projects that have been devised to address poverty nationally and at local levels since 1980 have allocated vast amounts of resources and funding to different projects and initiatives. The nature of these initiatives have not demonstrated huge and resounding successes mostly because there have been serious shortcomings in their conceptualisation and implementation. Based on the social development theory that believes that the human being should be the centre of development, this paper conceived poverty as deprivation of means of securing necessities in life. This research focused on assessing why the contribution of Food-for-work and Cash-for-work (public works) programmes towards reducing vulnerability of households to the problems of food deprivation, unemployment, and social exclusion in making important decisions in life has not produced resounding results.

This dissertation provides answers the problem and sub-questions based on both quantitative and qualitative data collected from a focus group discussion and a household questionnaire survey carried out in July-August 2008. From the discussions held it was established that, poverty in the Gutu District is strongly linked to a failure of productive agriculture and exclusion from formal or urban wage employment. The main conclusions are that the public works programme has neither brought all the benefits its proponents

expected, nor negatively affected the society as badly as critics of the programme might have believed.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Contents

DEDICATION.....	II
DECLARATION.....	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	IV
ABSTRACT.....	V
<i>List of Acronyms.....</i>	<i>ix</i>
CHAPTER 1.....	1
THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING.....	1
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Background to the Poverty Situation in Zimbabwe.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Statement of the Problem.....</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Thesis Statement.....</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Objectives of the Study.....</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Significance of the Study.....</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Geographical and Socio-economic Profile of Gutu District</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Scope of the Study.....</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>Approach of the Study.....</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Definition of Terms.....</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>25</i>
CHAPTER 2.....	27
TOWARDS A PEOPLE-CENTRED THEORY OF POVERTY REDUCTION: A SYNOPSIS OF LITERATURE	27
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Modernisation Theory</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>Critique of Modernisation.....</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>Basic Needs Approach.....</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Critique of Basic Needs</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>Neo-Liberalism.....</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Critique of Neo-liberalism</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>Towards the Adoption of a People-centred Development Paradigm</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>45</i>
CHAPTER 3.....	48
CRITICAL ASPECTS OF PUBLIC WORKS AS A POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY.....	48
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>Background to Public Works Programmes.....</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>A Preview of Public Works in the United States of America, Germany and Niger</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Key Questions Identified in the Public Works Discourse.....</i>	<i>58</i>

<i>Poverty Reduction, Whose Responsibility</i>	59
<i>A Fundamental Actor: The State</i>	64
<i>New Partners in Poverty Reduction: the Masses</i>	66
<i>Poverty, Unemployment and Public Works Programmes</i>	68
<i>Conclusion</i>	76
CHAPTER 4	77
THE CONTRIBUTION MADE BY PUBLIC WORKS TOWARDS POVERTY REDUCTION IN THE GUTU DISTRICT	77
<i>Introduction</i>	77
<i>Overview</i>	78
<i>Who is selected to Participate</i>	80
<i>Employment Creation</i>	84
<i>Social Exclusion</i>	87
<i>Popular Participation</i>	95
<i>Benefits of Public Works Projects</i>	97
<i>Shortcomings of Public Works Employment Programmes</i>	101
<i>Conclusion</i>	105
CHAPTER 5	107
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	107
<i>Introduction</i>	107
<i>Successes of the Public Works Programmes</i>	109
<i>Negative Outcomes</i>	110
<i>Recommendations</i>	112
<i>Directions for Future Research</i>	114
APPENDICES	115
<i>Annexure 1 The Questionnaire</i>	115
<i>Annexure 2 Application for Police Clearance to hold Discussion</i>	120
<i>Annexure 3 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents</i>	121
<i>Annexure 4 The Focus Group Discussion Details</i>	122
REFERENCES	124
List of Figures	
<i>Figure 1.0 Map of Gutu</i>	15
<i>Figure 4.1 Employment Statuses of Participants</i>	86
<i>Figure 4.2 Distribution by Gender</i>	89
<i>Figure 4.3 Sources of Income</i>	98
<i>Figure 4.4 Sources of Food</i>	99
List of Tables	
<i>Table 4.1 Educational Qualifications</i>	92



University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

List of Acronyms

ESAP Economic Structural Adjustment Programme

FAO Food and Agriculture Organisation

GDP Gross Domestic Product

IMF International Monetary Fund

OAU Organisation of African Union

SAP Structural Adjustment Programme

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

ZANU PF Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Chapter 1

The Problem and Its Setting

Introduction

The world confronts challenges in rural development as it tries to deal with the issue of poverty. Most of the world's poor people live in the rural areas, and it seems the situation will remain so as long as there is a pro-urban bias in most countries' development strategies and their allocation of public investment funding (World Bank, 2003:2). Although the world has been optimistic about rural poverty reduction, the World Bank statistical revelations predict that by 2015 more than 600 million people will be trapped in poverty mostly in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2006:v).

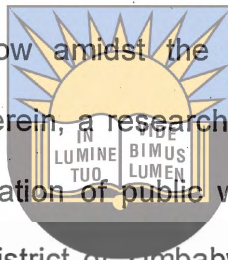


University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In a bid to reduce this, the concept of public works was adopted (alongside other strategies) by several countries the world over. Zimbabwe also adopted the strategy in a bid to reduce the adverse effects of poverty in both the rural and urban areas. From the public works philosophy, it is anticipated that labour-intensive public works have the potential to serve as both short-term sources of employment and long-term generators of development. At the same time, they are able to address the immediate challenges faced by the poor. Public

works conceptualises poverty from two standpoints, firstly as a deprivation of food, and, secondly as a collective deprivation of assets necessary to bring about socio-economic change.

However, rural people have little political power to influence public policy to attract public investment towards the rural areas. This is assumed to partly explain why the progress in improving standards of living remains very slow amidst the adoption of several poverty reduction strategies. Herein, a research agenda was drawn from the fact that, amidst application of public works as a poverty reduction strategy in the Gutu District of Zimbabwe, poverty remains a major problem among these communities. The aim of the study was to investigate the successes and failures of public works programmes in the Gutu District in order to establish why poverty has not been significantly reduced.

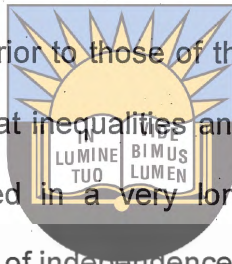


University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The argument espoused herein is that, although Zimbabwe adopted public works to address poverty through cash benefits, food handouts and the creation of infrastructure that can spearhead development as a simulation from the rest of the world, the programmes had their own limitations and as such have not improved the situation of poor people in the Gutu District. Hence, the rural poor in Gutu still grapple with the challenges of poverty.

Background to the Poverty Situation in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's poverty situation can be best understood in the context of her colonial history. During the colonial era, the social, economic, and political atmosphere presented more economic and political benefits on whites as opposed to blacks. Land ownership laws offered Africans poor quality and small portions of land whilst whites were entitled to fertile land (Ranger, 1985:4-6). 'Native' education and employment opportunities were inferior to those of their white counterparts. These policies introduced great inequalities and perpetuated poverty among blacks. This culminated in a very long war of liberation and the subsequent attainment of independence in 1980.



University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

Chimanikire in a seminal paper, "Accountable Governance and Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Zimbabwe" argued that the war had undesirable effects on the whole population and the resultant economic hardships were felt most severely in the rural areas. At independence, one of the major challenges was that of redressing the inequalities of the past, highlighted above. The Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), which is the ruling party tried to develop the country in a socialist style (Dashwood, 2000:20). Accent was placed on education, health, the rebuilding of infrastructure previously destroyed by the war, removing racist laws and promoting the development of women, and the resettlement of the

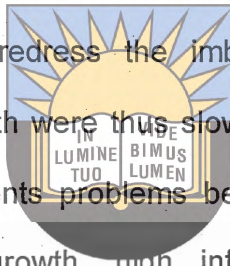
landless people. In the same paper, Chimanikire further asserts that the first ten years of independence witnessed resounding progress in redressing the imbalances, and laid a foundation for a sound human resources development policy.

The government of Zimbabwe adopted the public works strategy in 1984 in a bid to avert the dietary challenges confronting the rural people (Webb, 1985:179-180). The strategy became an important initiative to poverty reduction through catalysing employment creation. The policy guiding the whole framework of public works is the decentralisation policy, which delegates duties from the central governments to the local authorities, which are in fact the lower tiers of the government. These authorities are expected to develop infrastructure in their areas of jurisdiction.

Public works lays emphasis on the infrastructure created and anticipates that it would lead to a trickle-down of economic benefits to the poor. The policy is formulated from the central government and is delegated to local authorities to execute. In the process, the subsequent projects are expected to lessen the adverse effects of poverty faced by the people. Zimbabwean public works include food-for-work and cash-for-work projects annexed to projects like dam

construction, road construction, and maintenance, the building of schools and hospitals, as well as gully reclamation.

Relying on Chimanikire, the policies of the 1980s were beneficial to sustained economic growth, but the Zimbabwean economy began to stagnate in the mid to late 1980s. The government recognised the need for a strong economy that could provide resources necessary to combat poverty and redress the imbalances of the past. Both development and growth were thus slow, unemployment levels rose, and balance of payments problems became inflexible. Because of declining economic growth, high inflation rate, high levels of unemployment, and increasing financial budget deficits, Zimbabwean authorities fell under pressure to discard the dominant policies of the early 1980s in quest of capitalist market-oriented reforms (Dashwood, 2000:141).



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In the 1990s, Zimbabwe entered into a phase of deep socio-economic recession. Chipika *et.al.* (2000:43) cite that, because of the socio-economic recession, real growth rate averaged less than three percent during the 1980-1990 periods. The private sector investment also receded to less than 10 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from 1987-1989 and unemployment rose to unsustainable levels. In 1991, the country adopted the World Bank neo-liberal

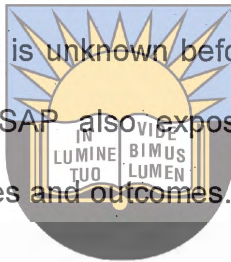
reforms under the name *Economic Structural Adjustment Programme* (ESAP). Although some group of intellectuals argue that Zimbabwe did not adopt the foreign prescribed policy because of economic decline, it is apparent that seeds of an economic meltdown were beginning to germinate around the late 1980s. It was hoped that the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) would resolve problems that were associated with the growth of (GDP), incomes, and employment (Mwanza, 1999:1). Furthermore, the proponents of the SAPs hoped to create a free market economy thereby, increasing investment.



Climatic factors, particularly drought, deepened the gravity of the problems, especially in 1992. The extension of the period of the reform that was originally planned to end in 1995 to beyond the year 2000 suggests that the government had realised no rapid results from the reform. The rigorous measures imposed by the ESAP, led to, *inter alia*, the massive retrenchment of skilled and unskilled labour and of the civil service, the closure of many manufacturing industries, general price increases, and the deterioration of social services. According to Sachikonye (1995:63) in the manufacturing industry, about 1600 workers were retrenched by Cone Textiles in October 1992 because of its liquidation. Many more faced retrenchment in various industries during this era. These factors, combined with the liberalisation of the

economy, led to a rise in poverty levels and a reversal of the gains of independence in Zimbabwe.

Most of the workers retrenched during this period returned to the rural areas to add to the percentage of the poor population. Mwanza (1999:15) argues that before 1990, when the ESAP was adopted by Zimbabwe, poverty was too insignificant a problem to Zimbabwe to the effect that its extent is unknown before this period. Nevertheless, the adoption of the ESAP also exposed some major disjuncture between policy objectives and outcomes.



University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

It can be argued that, while the public works policy speaks the same language with SAPs, that of cost recovery and cutting government expenditure, SAPs are more hostile to public works. The fate of public works after the adoption of SAPs in 1991, therefore, hung precariously in the balance. This is because SAPs stressed on the total disengagement of government from providing social services as well as funding public investment. However, in this case, the Government continued to host the Ministry of Public Works, which still runs some projects aimed at poverty reduction in both the urban and rural areas.

An intensification of public works programmes was seen in 2003 when a new statutory instrument was enacted which governed and

regulated the operations of Non-Governmental Organizations in Zimbabwe. The Policy on Non-Governmental Organizations in Humanitarian and Development assistance stressed the need to integrate public works in all humanitarian assistance. It stressed that, no aid for the poor was to come as social welfare but people should be given development projects targeted at the construction of infrastructure as well as enhancing their life through public works (Government of Zimbabwe, July 2003:3).



It is, therefore, against this background that this study had to be carried out. The study investigated the success of public works in reducing the effects of poverty in the Gutu District's five wards. The research tried to find out if what public works aims to address, as poverty is the actual poverty challenge that prevails in the rural areas. Since decentralisation, which is the policy, that houses public works does not fully empower the poor to think and do development, a question remains unanswered; can rural poverty be successfully alleviated using programmes that are conceived in isolation from the people that are the intended beneficiaries?

The research questions the whole rationale of public works in the context of social development theory, which suggests making people the centre of development as opposed to economic growth. Attention

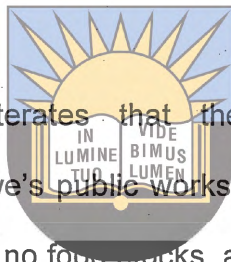
is drawn to the idea that, it is essential to fully involve the poor people in the deconstruction of poverty since they are part of the society that is responsible for its creation.

Statement of the Problem

Zimbabwe enacted a deliberate development policy aimed at developing both the urban and rural areas. This has been done through the creation of a Ministry of Local Government, Public Works, Rural, and Urban Development Under Chapter 29 of the Constitution, which was subsequently followed by the adoption of public works, (food-for-work and cash-for-work) programmes. Under the framework of this policy, development is measured by the people's general welfare and infrastructure development of the places that they live in. The problem identified in this research is that poverty remains a big problem in Zimbabwe's Gutu District notwithstanding the adoption of public works (food-for-work/cash-for-work) programmes.

The policy guiding the whole framework of public works is the decentralisation policy, which delegates duties from the central governments to the local authorities, which are in fact the lower tiers of the government. These authorities are expected to develop infrastructure such as roads, dams, clinics, schools and bridges as

well as to assist in enhancing social life in their areas of jurisdiction. The policy is formulated from the central government and delegated to local authorities to execute. Adoption of the policy was seen as one of the major strides by the Zimbabwean government in correcting imbalances created by the war of liberation as well as to repair infrastructure that was destroyed by the war.



Webb (1995:182) reiterates that the criteria for selection of participants in Zimbabwe's public works involved selection of people with no regular income, no food stocks, as well as households with no more than ten herds of cattle. The projects are expected to provide relief to this category of poor people through cash benefits, food handouts, and infrastructure. While Zimbabwe has been approaching the issue of poverty through this creation of semi-permanent employment and sometimes-permanent employment, the issue of poverty rises to be top ranking among Zimbabwe's many challenges.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Garnier (1982:5) argued that public works do create work in a short space of time and normally responds to crisis. It is evident that Zimbabwe is a nation in such crisis. Whether Zimbabwe has realised success from such great expectations remains the big question. Three

quarters of the rural population of Zimbabwe was reckoned to be below the national poverty datum line in 1995, and the prevalence of severe poverty increased during the 1990s from 17 to 37 percent of the rural population. Relying on the World Bank, rural poverty accounts for 88 percent of all the poverty in Zimbabwe, World Bank (1995:26). To the present date, these statistics are ever rising although no current official statistics can be found.



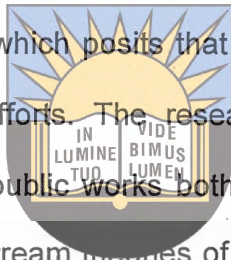
As emphasised in the *Second Five Year Development Plan*, it is perceived that public works lead to positive socio-economic outcomes on the poor by way of enabling them to access school on a regular basis, access food, realise better health and nutritional outcomes, (Zimbabwe Government, 1991:101). Amidst all these expectations, Zimbabwe's policies fall prey to public sociological scrutiny and criticism ranging from academic to media critics. One media critique, William Hague in a *Mail and Guardian* article of April 20-25 2007 argues that,

Mismanagement and misguided policies have brought Zimbabwe to the brink of collapse. Zimbabweans are poorer than they were in 1970 and their lives are shorter.

Although this comment carries overtones of sarcasm, criticism, and caricature, this helps to rationalise the suspicion by this study that, the poverty reduction strategies employed in Zimbabwe are not

succeeding. The question therefore is, whether the public works strategy is misguided, misconstrued, or mismanaged.

Given the above realities, this raises the central question that can public works be the panacea to poverty reduction in Zimbabwe's rural areas? This research is premised within the social development theoretical framework, which posits that people should be the centre of any development efforts. The research strives to navigate the pathway traversed by public works both in theory and in practice. It also argues that mainstream theories of development have led to the development of policies that do not aim at ending poverty, as they do not take people as the centre to development.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

There is much emphasis on economic growth and a trickle down of benefits to the poor. This has managed to either maintain the status quo or exacerbate the problem of poverty. The research aimed to establish the extent to which the public works have contributed towards the reduction of rural people's poverty. It made an effort to report on the achievements and failures of public works programmes in the Gutu District. Its study area is the Gutu District in Zimbabwe.

This is because it stands to qualify the rural as well as poor categories and at the same time, it is being served with public works projects.

Thesis Statement

The overarching argument of this research is that, although Zimbabwe like many other countries adopted the public works strategy in a bid to reduce poverty, the strategy is loaded with its share of shortcomings and has therefore, not been significantly successful in reducing poverty in the Gutu District.



Objectives of the Study

University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

The objectives of this research are to:

- assess the contribution made by public works programmes towards the reduction of the problems of food deprivation, unemployment and social exclusion in making important decisions in life in the Gutu District and
- to determine why the participation of poor people in public works programmes has not been significant in improving the lives of the poor.

Significance of the Study

Little has been written on the contribution of public programmes works to rural poverty reduction particularly in the Gutu District. It is thus

imperative to research on the input of this intervention in rural development, as this will assist policy makers, development workers, and the communities themselves in undertaking development. By using the social development theoretical framework as a tool of analysis this study will also assist greatly to the deconstruction of the structural impediments that keep the people at the grass roots poor. This will allow development workers to build on the local customs and institutions to ensure sustainability and achievement of programmes. The study is not a faultfinding expedition but seeks to find some answers to the poignant questions raised by the inquiry.



University of Fort Hare

As an intellectual contribution, the study pursues to provoke scholars

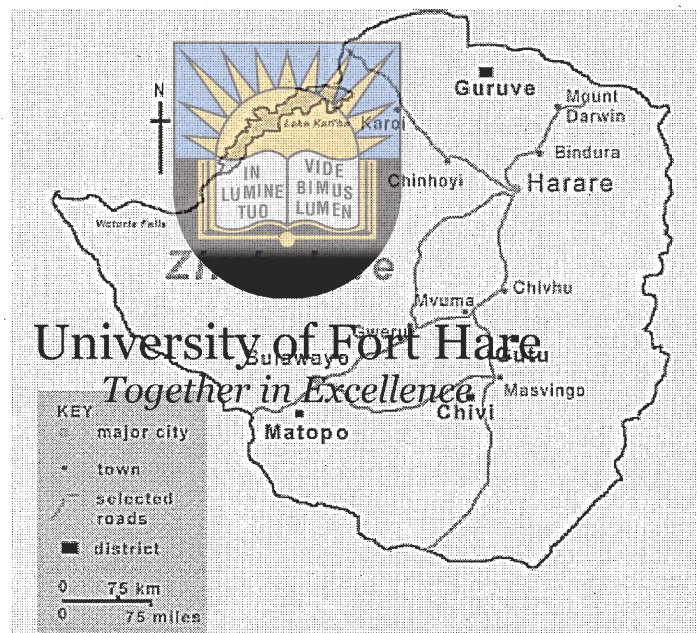
Together in Excellence

into more inquiry pertaining to the practical approaches used in poverty reduction. The research thus ensures that existing realities are taken into consideration and the concerns, welfare and aspirations of communities are taken on board while reducing cases of future conflicts. Article II of the United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development (1986:3) provides that: "...people should be at the centre of the development process..." This also remains a prominent argument in this study.

Geographical and Socio-economic Profile of Gutu District

This study focuses on the rural areas of Gutu District in Masvingo Province of Zimbabwe. The map below shows the geographical location of the study area.

Figure 1.0 The Map of Zimbabwe Including Gutu District



Adapted From (Bird and Shepherd, 2003:9).

The District has a population of 198 130 people according to the 2002 census record updated on 16 October 2005. It covers a land area of 7160km². In Gutu District, the issue of poverty is well defined despite the fact that many public works related projects have been accomplished. Political representation of this District in the top echelons of power is very strong. A number of cabinet ministers and

senior bureaucrats come from this District (Makumbe, 1998:3). It has communal areas as well as small-scale commercial farms. It is characterised by the predominance of one ethnic group, the Karanga people. This has maintained stability, a condition conducive for development. Regardless of this promising background, the District has been regarded as one of the poor Districts in the country.

Scope of the Study

Poverty is one of the oldest social evils that have existed since time immemorial. The conceptualisation, definition, measurement, and approaches towards addressing it have all been shaped by several traditions. This research explains it from the standpoint of the structural theory, which assumes that poverty is caused by the structure of the larger socio-economic order. The macro structure of society creates inequality and large-scale poverty. This theory blames structures like global capitalism for creation of the dependence system one of the manifestations of poverty. The theory tries to define poverty as an undesirable condition of deprivation that is created through human interaction with their social systems. It is however scaring to think around poverty as a product of the large structure of society since most interventions fighting against poverty are micro level policies.

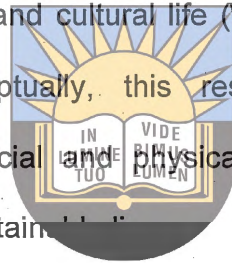


University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Chimankire in the article, “Accountable Governance and Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Zimbabwe” exposes that,

Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition, ill health, limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion.”

Poverty is also characterised by a lack of participation in decision-making in civil, social, and cultural life (World Development Report, 2000/2001:12). Conceptually, this research views poverty as deprivation of both social and physical assets to capacitate the human being to live sustainably.



University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

The investigation focuses on exploring the failures and successes of public works in reducing food deprivation, unemployment, and social exclusion from making important decisions. The aim is to establish why the intervention has not brought significant change to the poverty situation. The study is based on Chiwara, Majada, Basera, Munyikwa, and Chingombe wards that are engaged in cash-for-work and food-for-work projects that are reclaiming gullies, maintaining, and constructing roads in Gutu District.

Approach of the Study

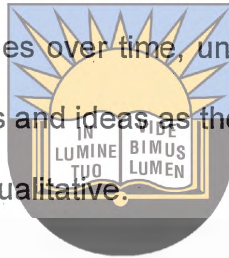
The study examines and judges the accomplishments of the public works strategy as an attempt to make the world a better place for the poor. Tuckman (1997:27) notes that no research method is entirely qualitative or quantitative. In order to overcome the difficulties deriving from the large amount of data and information needed and the complexity of the research itself, both quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches are used in this research.



Quantitative methods derive from the **University of Fort Hare** positivist paradigm. This philosophy, first proposed by Comte (1853), sustains that the social world exists externally, and that its properties and characteristics should be measured using objective methods. It emphasises the adoption of standardised analytical instruments to assess reality, the generation, and use of quantitative data, highly structured deductive approaches, and a focus on facts.

Largely qualitative research deals with exploratory data that cannot be put into a context that can be graphed or displayed as a mathematical term. Qualitative methods are associated with phenomenology. According to its paradigm, world and reality are not objective and

exterior, but they are socially constructed and given meaning by people Huysamen (1994:166). As a result, qualitative methods emphasise the involvement of the researcher in the observation, and the generation and use of qualitative data, together with the use of a low structured, inductive research, and focus on meanings. Qualitative methods require a great deal of time and resources, and the analysis and interpretation of data can be considerably difficult. These methods take into account changes over time, understand people's meanings, and adjust to new issues and ideas as they arise. This is why the main method used herein is qualitative.



University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

Data Collection Methods

The research methodology consists of two major components of information gathering. These are primary data collection and analysis and secondary data collection and analysis. The former, in this study, comprises of two surveys: the household survey and the focus group interviews. Due to financial constraints, 60 households from five wards were interviewed. Two communities were also jointly gathered for a focus group discussion. This was done to deal with the problem of individual household biases since the discussions also invited village heads, ward representatives, and chiefs.

Primary Data Collection

According to Patton (1990:10), qualitative methods use three kinds of data collection, which are open-ended interviews, direct observation, and analysis of written documents. This study used two types of interviews in gathering data (focus group discussions and structured interviews). The interview was an opportunity for the researcher to probe deeply to uncover new clues, open up new dimensions of the problem and to secure vivid, accurate inclusive accounts that are based on personal experience.




Both the household interviews and the focus group discussion were administered between June and August 2008 by the researcher in his personal capacity. This allowed for flexibility in choosing sample elements as well as conducting the research in the local language and then translating the information to English.

Sampling

A sample of poor people was drawn from five wards in the District. Samples were drawn using multi-stage sampling in which the first stage of selection of wards was done using stratified random sampling methods. The wards were the strata to illustrate characteristics of particular subgroups of interest. It is perceived that because of the ethnic uniformity in the Gutu District the five wards chosen were

representative of the whole. Household information is sensitive and most of the times it was treated as private and confidential; it was difficult to go about randomly selecting participants for the study. As a result, poor households were selected using snowball sampling where influential personal contacts were used by the researcher to facilitate access to the chosen participants.

Focus Group



A focus group discussion was held with villagers from two of the five selected wards in the District. The main aim of the focus group discussions was to establish the socio-economic impacts of public works on poor communities. For this research, focus group interviews were chosen, in order to gain as much information as possible, and to give interviewees the opportunity to express their own opinions attitudes and perceptions on the issue of public works as a method of reducing poverty. Flexibility represented the main advantage of such kind of interviews, since they allow one to follow up or explain questions. For the questions and procedure of the discussion see annexure 4.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

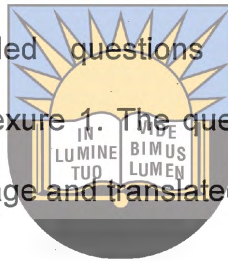
Profile of Groups

The focus group was made up of fifteen respondents selected through a snowball sample. The local chiefs, village leaders, and councillors

were invited for the focus group discussions. These are important where questions of selection criteria, attendance registers, and exclusion from projects need to be looked at.

Household Survey

Face to face, structured interviews were held with 60 villagers. The researcher used a pre-structured questionnaire script where both closed and open-ended questions were answered. For the questionnaire, see annexure 1. The questioning was done in *shona*, which is the local language and translated to the official language.



University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

Instrument used in Household Survey

A pre-structured questionnaire with both closed and open-ended questions was used for the collection of data. It accommodates largely the questions raised in the literature review of this research to allow for longitudinal comparisons particularly concerning changes in the poverty trends for those villagers in public works and those excluded.

The questionnaire however, is expanded to include questions on:

- Participation in policy making in general,
- The inclusiveness of the public works strategy.

Data Analysis

Qualitative analysis, which deals in words, is guided by fewer universal rules, and standardised procedures than statistical analysis. The study was mainly descriptive in its analysis. Analysis involved examining the assembled relevant data to determine how they answer the questions that are in the research objectives. The data consisted of demographic information, direct quotations from people about their experiences, opinions, and feelings as well as paraphrased references.



Graphs and charts were drawn to illustrate some of the results gathered from the field using Microsoft excel.

Limitations

The study was undertaken during a time of turbulent economic and political crisis after Zimbabwe's harmonised presidential and parliamentary elections in 2008, research was confused for a non-academic but political undertaking aimed at manoeuvring a certain political agenda. Some selected respondents refused to participate because of fear of victimisation by political activists. However, the targeted number of 60 respondents was attained for the household interview. When villagers in a selected area refused to participate, the

same procedure of selection was followed. Politics was purely coincidental and the findings were never influenced by political affiliations. Another problem encountered was that, household heads or their spouses insisted on being interviewees yet with limited information. Financial and material resources were not readily available to adequately carry out a study of this magnitude in all wards in Gutu District. It was hoped the responses of the sample chosen would represent those of the rest.



Ethical Considerations

- This research was conducted in such a way that the integrity of the research enterprise is maintained, and negative after-effects that might diminish the potential for future research were avoided.
- The results reported herein represent what the researcher observed or what the researcher was told. This research avoided taking interview responses out of context and discussing small parts of observations without putting them into the appropriate context.
- The research was carried out in full compliance with, and awareness of, local customs, standards, laws, and regulations. Permission to gather people for focus group discussion was sought from the Zimbabwe Republic Police in line with the Public Order and Security Act. Annexure 2 is the letter asking for permission.

- Full confidentiality of all information and the anonymity of participants were maintained. Participants were informed of potential limitations to the confidentiality of any information supplied. Procedures were put in place to protect the confidentiality of information and the anonymity of the participants in all research materials since no names were used in the report and responses are coded.

Definition of Terms

Public works

Public works refer to government funding channelled into public investment programmes aimed at creating work for the people, (Dejardin1996: 1).



University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

Poverty

This research treats poverty as being without the means of securing the necessary requirements of life (Novak, 1988:3).

Conclusion

This chapter exposed the problem by tracing it from the world at large and bringing it more precisely to Zimbabwe and to Gutu which is the study area. The chapter also tried to bring into focus the value of the study as well as clearly spelling out the objectives of the research.

Methodological issues were also outlined in this chapter clearly spelling out how data was collected and analysed. The next chapter reviews available literature and debates the relationship between modernisation discourses, the neo-liberal trajectory; *basic needs* approach to development and poverty reduction. It justifies the adoption of social development as a theoretical framework.



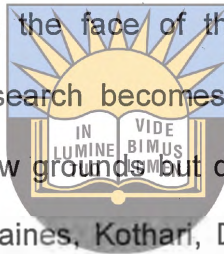
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Chapter 2

Towards a People-centred Theory of Poverty Reduction: A Synopsis of Literature

Introduction

The world admits that efforts to date have not been successful in eliminating poverty from the face of the earth. It is from these foundations that this research becomes a worthwhile study. This study does not break new grounds but develops from the works of previous scholars like Haines, Kothari, De Beers, and Swanepoel.



Herein this research hopes to show that the modernisation and neo-liberal principles adopted by public works reduce the efficacy of the programmes in the reduction of poverty.

University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

Discussions on these theories do not form a major part of this study; however, it is indispensable to take cognisance of the conventional debates in this regard to be able to put social development in context. No claim is made towards the building of new theories but social development will be investigated as a possible theoretical approach for the development of Zimbabwe's rural poor.

Modernisation Theory

Some leading conventional literature on development seems to indicate that, all nations are characterised by modernisation as their ideological model for development. This theory was very popular in the 1950s and 1960s. It viewed development as an evolutionary process where societies go from simple to complex institutional structure. According to Haines (2000: 32), modernisation assumes that all societies tend to follow one route to development. Societies not yet developed are yet to pass through stages passed by the developed world.



University of Fort Hare

One of the theories falling under modernisation is Rostow's '*stages of growth*' model which suggests that development occurs in a linear fashion with societies moving from traditional stage through pre-conditions to take off, take off and drive to maturity stages towards the age of high mass consumption (Todaro 1989: 70). According to this approach, the so-called "underdeveloped" communities can achieve the same status as developed countries if they would accept modernisation as a goal. It was assumed that developing nations would transform faster than Europe did because of the direct introduction of education, health care, and technology. To the developing nations, modernisation promised a guided transition towards a developed industrial society (Haines, 2000: 32). In this

regard, development is seen as a global process aimed at reproducing the image of the highly developed societies.

Another model falling under the modernisation domain is the structural change model. Its focus is on the transformation of developing countries' economies from a heavy dependence on subsistence agriculture to an urbanised industrialised economy. There are two examples under this model, Lewis's 'two sector surplus labour' model and Chenery's 'patterns of development'. Lewis assumed that developing economies, which he called "underdeveloped economies", consist of two sectors. These are traditional, rural subsistence sector with surplus labour that can be withdrawn from agriculture without any loss of output and a second high productivity urban industrial sector. This is where labour from the rural is transferred. He assumed that the transfer of labour from the rural to urban continues until all labour is absorbed into the industries. Therefore, the structural transformation of the economy will have taken place. (Todaro 1989:77)

Critique of Modernisation

Development strategies conceived in the framework of the modernisation theory put more emphasis on industrialisation and economic growth. They also call for progressively more centralised planning and control over the allocation of resources. Provision of an

infrastructure and institutions to manage this progress according to a western model is emphasised (Gabriel, 1991:1). Notwithstanding the existence of the idea that, increases in national income eventually lead to the solution of social problems, the experience of the past decades proved this belief mistaken.

Haines (2000: 32) is of the opinion that the modernisation theory oversimplified the differences between traditional and modern societies, and erroneously believed modernisation to be the process of moving from the one to the other. The modernisation approach did not question the applicability of externally led (or top-down) development planning (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998: 6), and is mainly criticised due to its “top-down” nature. It offers relief to symptoms only to a limited extent without addressing the root causes of poverty. Furthermore, it is for its lack of focus on the empowerment of the intended beneficiaries to provide for their own needs, and in this way can be seen as a method that maintained the status quo (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998: 6).

Modernisation theory implies that the standard of living is likely to go up as poor countries industrialise. Industrialisation, has however, had some negative impact on the lives of rural women and children who are left by men to fend for themselves. As modernisation encroaches,

the traditional stand of the extended family weakens and extends the responsibility to neighbours. Women who are abandoned or divorced find difficulty to fend for themselves. This has led to an increase in the levels of all forms of poverty.

While there is no easy answer to the question of how poverty can be alleviated, various studies now provide a strong indication about the role of overall economic growth in reducing poverty. Modernisation tends to liberate women from domestic confinement as they take up jobs outside the home. Women also gain some dignity as they are accorded freedoms and opportunities given to everyone. In Asia, for example, the countries that achieved notable success in poverty reduction (namely, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, and Thailand) are also the ones that attained high rates of gross domestic product (GDP) growth. It must be noted, however, that a high rate of economic growth is only a necessary condition, not a sufficient criterion in itself, for reducing poverty.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Basic Needs Approach

After the realisation, that economic development would not eliminate underdevelopment, and that the discrepancy between rich and poor had in fact escalated, it was propagated that the real issue was not

the resources, but their availability to all. A school of thought developed which argued that human societies were not to follow luxurious standards for all, and that if the focus was on fulfilling “*basic needs*” of all human beings, the world still has enough resources to meet the needs of all (Kothari, 1993: 12). The approach was named ‘*basic needs*’ and it gained currency in the later 1970s.

The *basic needs* theory is grounded in the idea of shifting from a grand theory to approaches that are more ‘practical’ aimed directly at reduction of poverty through social services such as education, health and welfare programmes, (Haines, 2000:32). *Basic needs* theorists generally argue that the mainstream theories fail to adequately consider human needs and structural impediments inherent in developing countries’ economies (Seidman and Ohiorhenuan, 1992:23). The *basic needs* approach insists that each person must have the minimum requirements for existence.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) identified the following as categories of *basic needs*:

- basic personal consumption: food ,shelter and clothing,
- access to essential services: clean water, sanitation, education, transport and health care,
- access to paid employment,

- and qualitative needs: healthy and safe environments and ability to participate in decision-making.

(Adapted from Hunt, D.1989: 256)

The approach suggests that the development of the community should begin with the rise of the people at grass roots level towards their own emancipation. *Basic needs* should be identified for each community in recognition of the fact that the priority of needs differ according to the people's socio-cultural conditions. The theory concludes that at every stage of development, local people do know what their needs are, and they can be relied upon to determine their own priorities of development and then work at them. This approach was the first to be people-centred, contrary to the previous economically centred approaches. As such, it introduced development approaches in which people at grass roots level would become the main actors in development; and can be seen as a forerunner of the people-centred approaches that were to follow (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998:8).



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Critique of Basic Needs

The main goal of the *basic needs* approach was to provide in the *basic needs* of the poor within the shortest possible period. The focus of *basic needs* on grass roots participation in identifying *basic needs*

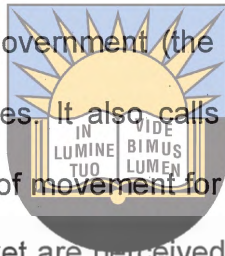
and wealth redistribution are its strong points. The approach is also regarded with respect on the basis of the fact that meeting the needs of the poor would not only help reduce poverty, but also improve on the education and skills levels of the population with the concomitant potential for contributing to greater economic growth and development.

It does however appear that while the *Basic needs* Approach focuses on what it wants to achieve, namely meeting the *basic needs* of the people, it never really developed a methodology on how this should be achieved. The approach also focuses on improving public services, which is financially demanding, and in most cases, governments are not willing to bear the burden. The approach's focus on small-scale activities has also been criticised as a brake to rapid economic growth and has been viewed as a method of continuing to trap developing countries in primary production. According to De Beer & Swanepoel, (1998:5) *basic needs* consequently lost its appeal in the early 1980s as a separate approach to ending poverty and enhancing human potential towards the development of poor countries.

Neo-Liberalism

A new ideology, neo-liberalism began to take charge and enjoyed increasing popularity from the mid-1970s. According to Haines (2000:

48-49), the global economic recessions of the early 1980s as well as rising debt were decisive of this policy shift in the developing world. The seminal neo-liberal thesis on Africa was first enshrined in the 1981 annual World Bank report on Sub-Saharan Africa, when the role of the state in development was first questioned. The main points of neo-liberalism according to Martinez and Garcia include: the rule of the market liberating "free" enterprise or private enterprise from any bonds imposed by the government (the state) no matter how much social damage this causes. It also calls for no more price controls. Concisely, total freedom of movement for capital, goods, and services and an unregulated market are perceived as the best way to increase economic growth, which will ultimately benefit everyone through trickling down effects.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Neo-liberalism also calls for cutting public expenditure for social services like education and health care. Reducing the safety net for the poor and even maintenance of roads, bridges, water supply, this again is done in the name of reducing government's role. Deregulation which meant reducing government regulation of everything that could diminish profits, including protecting the environment and safety on the job was also called for.

Martinez and Garcia also include privatisation, which entailed selling state-owned enterprises, goods, and services to private investors as one of the basic tenets of neo-liberalism. This includes banks, key industries, railroads, toll highways, electricity, schools, hospitals, and even fresh water. Although usually done in the name of greater efficiency, which is often needed, privatisation has mainly had the effect of concentrating wealth in a few hands and making the public pay even more for its needs. It entailed eliminating the concept of "the public good" or "community" and replacing it with "individual responsibility." Pressuring the poorest people in a society to find solutions to their lack of health care, education, and social security all by themselves then blaming them, if they fail, as "lazy." (Martinez and Garcia, "Neo-liberalism: A Practical Guide for Practitioners").



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Critique of Neo-liberalism

Although the objective of eliminating the public good by adopting neo-liberal reforms is one of the main ideas of neo-liberalism preached around the world, this does not mean that the neo-liberals are not aware that poverty can be reduced by the creation of public resources. A World Bank publication reads,

Anti poverty, programmes will not succeed unless delivery systems are adjusted to deliver more public-resources where the need is greatest, to increase transparency and accountability to beneficiaries, and to build capacities of the poor communities to help themselves (World Bank, 2000:101).

It is so surprising to get such a comment from the World Bank since around the world; powerful financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank have imposed neo-liberalism.

The influence of these giant organisations is more apparent when viewed in the Structural Adjustment Programmes era. SAPs advocated for cost recovery and cutting government expenditure, SAPs, are more hostile to programmes like public works for they increase government expenditure. SAPs' neo-liberal reforms attack the concept of the public good leaving the fate of public works after its adoption hanging precariously in the balance. Theoretically, after SAPs, there must be no public works since the neo-liberals stressed on the total disengagement of the state from providing social services, as well as funding public investment.

Neo-liberalism destroys welfare programmes and cuts back on social programmes. The ideology favours a minority while it disadvantages the masses. A follow up on neo-liberalism leaves scholars doubtful of who should be players in rural development as it removes the idea of collective ownership of assets and state investment in public institutions. According to neo-liberalism, the state should primarily make an effort to lower the monetary shortfall through devaluation, the

deregulation of prices and decreasing state subsidies. Limiting the role of the state, creating a liberal economy and a strict monetary policy according to the guidelines of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are the major policy options in many developing countries (Schuurman, 1993a: 11). Neo-liberalism principally discards the idea that the state should represent the value of common unity through which wealth is redistributed through income support and social services.



From the above discussions of a number of prominent development theories, it appears that a major problem was that although development is supposed to be all about people, a top-down technocratic approach was followed. This approach treats people and cultures as abstract concepts, statistical figures to be moved up and down in the charts of "progress".

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Ake reviews the "...years in which Africa was pre-occupied with development..." and sees "meagre returns." Ake draws the conclusion that a plethora of factors has been militating against this development. Among these factors, he mentions poor planning, incompetent management, and inappropriate policies (Ake, 1996:1-3). Todaro (1989:91-92) supports this assertion and explains the development dilemma of Africa by using a false paradigm model. Africa gets

"...inappropriate expert advice provided by well meaning often-uninformed advisers from the developed world. ... the advice leads to inappropriate policies." Pre-packaged solutions come from abroad with total disregard for the socio-cultural reality of the recipient society. The researcher believes that while underdevelopment is a global problem, there are no global solutions to underdevelopment.

Rondinelli (1993: ix) believes that human development is the primary objective of and foundation for all development activities. Development, if well conceived, can open up vast spaces for human enhancement, but if misconceived or miscarried, can spell disaster, both for the people and for the social fabric.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Towards the Adoption of a People-centred Development Paradigm

It has been observed that the existing approach to development was conceived at two levels, one level has to do with the fulfilling of the minimum needs of the people by removing the source of poverty and marginalisation. The other approach focused on following the path of going for all the latest technologies, catching up with industrialised countries (modernisation). Contrary to this trend in development, the focus of this investigation is directed towards people-centred development. Commitment towards this avenue was shown at the

world summit for social development held in Denmark in 1995. According to UNDP (1998:4), governments undertook to pursue a programme of action embracing the following:

- Putting the people at the centre of development;
- uprooting poverty in the shortest possible time;
- promoting employment for all; and
- integrating groups that are still excluded.

This research advocates for an adaptive approach to development and poverty issues in development (social development).



As development programmes worldwide were being reviewed, many of the basic tenets of development theory became questionable. It is recognised that these programmes generally failed to help reduce poverty and underdevelopment in any significant way. This recognition caused a hot pursuit for alternative approaches. There is a major shift in the directions and priorities of development theories. The notion that development aims primarily at maximising gains in the gross national product has been deeply criticised, for example:

Cheema and Rondinelli, (1983: 12) posit that;

Planners and policy makers began to recognise that development requires a basic transformation in social, economic, and political structures that enables poor people to help themselves to increase their productivity and incomes....poverty would not be ameliorated "automatically" through trickle down and spread effects.

The focus has been redirected from programmes that attempted to build the economy in developing countries in the western image, towards programmes that would assist developing nations in following their own choice and emphasis. This means a movement in the direction of a people-oriented problem-solving approach. This is the one argued for herein.

The idea of social development that came as a counter theory to the mainstream theories in Africa is a brainchild of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The Union came up with a plan of action in 1981 named the *Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa*. The plan featured the integration of social and economic development, and sought to improve in general, living standards through focusing predominantly on the rural areas and uncared-for regions. Elementary to the success of the philosophy was the mobilisation of labour and skills for efficient service in health, education, and other social sectors (Ndongko, 1991:26).

The poor have been identified as the main beneficiaries of development programmes and their needs and characteristics have to be taken into consideration. Social development, which emerged in the developing world, embodies the viewpoint of a positive, humane, people-oriented development in society, centrally concerned with

social justice and equitable distribution of resources (Midgley, 1995: 25). According to Jacobs and Asokan (1999:152), "the term 'social development' refers to qualitative changes in the structure and functioning of society that help society to better realise its aims and objectives. It can be summarily described as the process of organising human energies and activities at higher levels to achieve greater results."



Scholars agree that social development is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. However, the African Centre for Applied Research and Training in Social Science Development (ACARTSOD) highlights that,

University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

Social development is concerned with the development of society in its totality [making humanity] the focus of the development effort and seeking to develop [its] potentialities in a total sense. More specifically, it... aims ultimately at the maximum improvement of the material, cultural, social and political aspects.... Furthermore, it embraces programmes and activities which enhance the capacities of members of society to fulfil ...existing changing social roles and expectations and to accomplish [their] various personal goals.... Finally, social development entails in the present circumstances the democratisation of the development process and the orientation of the development needs and interests of the masses. It ensures equitable sharing...in the benefits and burdens of development, the recovery of self-confidence and...de alienation. (ACARTSOD, 1980: 7)

For development to be sustainable, it requires the active involvement of people, the beneficiaries themselves, in the design and implementation of activities intended to improve their welfare.

While arguing for social development (Ndongko, 1991:26-32)

proposes that,

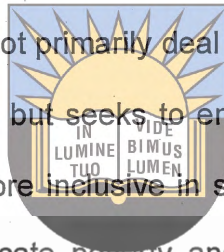
...reaching social development requires the overcoming of poverty, unemployment and glaring disparities in income and wealth. Such an approach requires the focus to be redirected from re-active to pro-active intervention, with its emphasis on prevention, resource building, and education.

The empowerment of people to take increasing charge of their own development is the key element, combined with a clear understanding of environmental constraints and of requirements to meet *basic needs* (Haines, 2000: 33). As opposed to its predecessors, the social development strategy emphasises the opportunity to participate, rather than giving more aid towards the welfare of society. It has been realised that different countries, communities and people, would accept different development goals, according to their particular values and norms. For development goals to embrace the values and norms of a specific community, the members of that community have to own the decision-making process.

People must be central in the whole development process. They must be involved in a transformative process not just being where they are moving forward towards a future that they want. It is believed that poverty can only be removed by the substantial empowerment of people, individually and in groupings. What is needed is social empowerment: to enable the people to acquire skills and capabilities

that are basic to both their self-respect and to their political and social standing and bargaining capacity (Kothari, 1993: 72).

Social development is accepted as an approach directed on promoting a social condition of well-being and is characterised by involving the notion of growth and positive change, and seeks to integrate social and economic processes, as both are integral facets of development. It does not primarily deal with individuals by providing services or by treatment, but seeks to enhance the well-being of the population, and is therefore inclusive in scope (Midgley, 1995: 23). It seeks solutions to eradicate poverty and favours a wide variety of approaches and strategies because of its wide scope. However, the decisive objective of social development is to bring about unrelenting improvement in the well-being of the individual, family, community, and society.

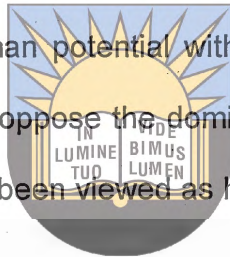


University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

This investigation advocates for the adoption of the social development paradigm in sculpturing development policies and poverty reduction practices. The theory argues that, impractical views exist of an alternative development grounded on small and localised efforts, based on mutual aid. It is further argued that, despite their impracticality, they can form a strong countervailing culture of development against the dominant modernisation and neo-liberal

development theories (Kothari, 1993: 127). It is necessary to accept that development efforts will have to face up to realities such as the decreasing role of the state in providing “safety nets” and a world-wide tendency that the poor become poorer as the rich become richer.

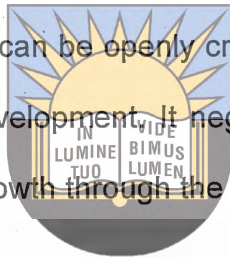
There is need for a development model that has the capacity to generate methods for reducing poverty. The model should also strive towards developing human potential within the present order, rather than to counteract or to oppose the dominant trend of neo-liberalism. Social development has been viewed as harbouring such potential.



Conclusion **University of Fort Hare**
Together in Excellence

The chapter focused on finding a theoretical framework for the research by reviewing the major shortfalls of mainstream development theories. The modernisation discourse, neo-liberalism, and the *basic needs* approach were reviewed with a critical eye. From the review, it has been established that mainstream theories had a major weakness of placing too much emphasis on economic development, the simulation of West European designs and aiming towards the reduction of poverty and not its eradication. These neglected the input that has to be put by the local people that have to be developed.

From this, a research agenda has been established: to find out how the public works programmes have tried to reduce the burden of poverty on rural dwellers and to what extent they have achieved this. It has been realised that public works philosophy of decentralisation does little to enhance the level of rural people's participation during policy formulation and implementation as intended beneficiaries of public works programmes. From the standpoint of social development, public works philosophy can be openly criticised for making economic growth the centre of development. It neglects the human being and puts him second after growth through the creation of infrastructure.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

This research investigated the extent to which the existing strategy through the provision of infrastructure that it brings helps to reduce the problems of food deprivation, unemployment and social exclusion in making important decisions in life in the Gutu District. It also attempted to establish how public works programmes have tried to overcome barriers of rural people's entry into wage labour, which seems to be one of the major problems in the rural areas. It also tried to uncover the levels at which people's participation towards their emancipation is considered. The next chapter looks at some critical questions that have been raised pertaining to the use of public works as a poverty reduction strategy. Two key issues have been identified as gaps in existing literature. Should the state participate in

development? Is there significant correlation between poverty and unemployment to justify the use of employment programmes towards poverty reduction?



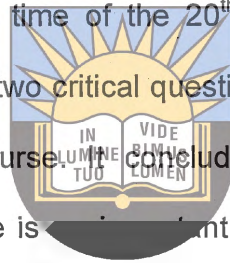
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Chapter 3

Critical Aspects of Public Works as a Poverty Reduction Strategy

Introduction

This chapter gives a background to the foundations of public works programmes during the time of the 20th Century Great Depression crisis. It then discusses two critical questions that have been raised in the public works discourse. It concludes with two positions: one position is that the state is an important stakeholder in development and poverty issues. Secondly, it concludes that employment creation through public works is a necessary but insufficient means of dealing with poverty.



University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

Background to Public Works Programmes

Public works programmes came a long way in the history of development. Today's industrialised countries used them as a counter cyclic policy instrument during the 20th Century Great Depression. The worldwide economic crisis of 1929-33 was so decisive about the subsequent events. It affected people's lives, shattered prevailing social structures and the stability of European and North American industrial societies. It had adverse effects on the world economy but well documented cases of its effects are available on Great Britain,

Germany, and the United States of America. Keynes suggested the use of labour-intensive public works programmes to try to rebuild the depression torn economies in his publication "*The Theory of Spending*." In response, government funds were being channelled into public investment programmes in order to create work for people. This in turn helped in the recovery of the economies of these countries like Germany and the United States of America, (Derjardin, 1996:1).



In Asian countries like China and India, such schemes have been used and advocated for alleviating chronic and transient poverty, (Ravallion, 1990:2). In Africa, the concept of public works dates back to the colonial period around 1903 where governments mobilised indigenous labour for road, dam, and land conservation. Most postcolonial states have implemented labour-intensive public works projects in regions of drought and famine as a tool for crisis mitigation (Webb, 1995:180). Teklu (1995:1) argues that employment programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly labour-intensive public works, have a long history dating back to the 1960s. The programmes expanded rapidly in the 1980s and early 1990s, especially in countries that experienced sharp declines in employment and real wages.

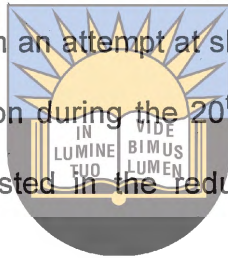
The rapid expansion of public works programmes has mainly been driven by concern about the increasing problem of labour absorption, which worsened in the 1980s. Teklu further outlines that the decline in real gross domestic product from an annual average of 5.9 percent in the 1960s and early 1970s to 2.1 percent in the 1980s contributed to a decline in the growth of employment from 2.6 percent in the 1970s to 0.5 percent in the 1980s. The decline in employment, combined with the rapid growth of the labour force, which averaged 2.4 percent a year in the 1980s, led to rising unemployment and underemployment and widespread poverty and food insecurity in Africa.



University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

Employment programmes were expected to protect the poor and the vulnerable from policy and weather-induced employment and income shortfalls. For example, public works programmes were expanded to serve as drought-relief intervention in Botswana, Ethiopia, and Zimbabwe in the 1980s and early 1990s. The programmes have passed through the stages of evolution from being merely a response to drought and crisis towards being a major policy instrument set at employment creation and poverty reduction (Derjardin, 1996:1). When the idea was adopted in Africa, it was conceived in modernisation thinking, where African society had to develop the same way that Europe had recovered from the scourge of the Great Depression during the first half of the 20th Century.

What becomes questionable is the realisation that amidst all efforts to intensify public works programmes in Zimbabwe, poverty continues to increase. This leads to some scepticism about the feasibility of the approach. Is it that Zimbabwe is just following a false paradigm that has never succeeded anywhere else in the world? Does Zimbabwe misread the success stories of other countries, if any? In this research, specific examples of the United States of America, Germany and Niger are reviewed in an attempt at showing how the public works programmes embarked on during the 20th Century Great Depression period and beyond assisted in the reduction of hardships that the populations were facing.



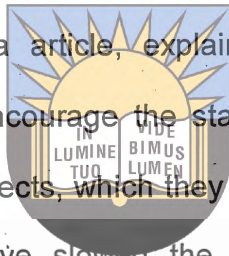
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

**A Preview of Public Works in the United States of America,
Germany and Niger**

The collapse of the United States of America (USA) stock market on October 29 1929 marked the beginning of a decade of poverty, deflation, and high unemployment. The Depression's damage to large cities, suburbs, towns, and rural areas was not uniform throughout the world; it varied according to each country's economic base. According to an online Wikipedia article entitled "The Great Depression", the disappearance of two million high paying jobs in the construction trades was one of the greatest pressures that the USA had to contend with. Unemployment was a problem in every part of the country, but it

was less severe among women as compared to men, among workers in non-durable industries (such as food and clothing), in services and sales, and in government jobs.

While some unemployed came to the cities looking for relief, it is argued that large numbers of unemployed returned to family farms. This suggests a new form of migration, from cities toward rural America. The Wikipedia article, explains that President Hoover's Administration had to encourage the state and local government to expand public works projects, which they did in 1930 and 1931. While this expansion may have slowed the rise in unemployment, the spending was resisted by investors who were not willing to put more money into municipal bonds.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

While local relief before 1932 focused on providing small sums of cash or baskets of food and coal for the neediest, the federal programmes launched by Hoover tried to use massive construction projects with prevailing wages to revive the economy and solve the unemployment crisis. Although much needed work was deferred, maintenance and repair of existing structures comprised over a third of the private sector construction budget in the 1930s.

The Wikipedia document claims that Hoover's strategy of public works was a success as public works programmes built and repaired public infrastructure in a dramatic fashion. However, the works did little to foster the recovery of the private sector. In sharp contrast to Britain, where private housing construction pulled the country out of depression, America was assisted towards recovery and reconstruction by huge investment in the public infrastructure.



The collapse of the American Wall Street stock exchange did not only affect the United States of America but gave rise to a worldwide depression, which hit Germany even harder than the rest. All loans to Germany from foreign countries were suspended, German industrial production slumped, and millions became unemployed. According to a Wikipedia article, in Germany, the depression reached its worst in 1932, with six million unemployed, spread throughout every city. From 1928 to 1932, there was an upsurge in unemployment in Berlin from 133,000 to 600,000. When Hitler came to power on 30 January 1933, official labour market statistics counted about 34 percent of the labour force jobless (Silverman, 1998: vii).

Silverman further claims that Hitler and the Nazis restored to the German people their work, their bread and their national dignity.

Rockwell in an online article entitled "The Violence of Central Planning" quotes economist Joan Robinson who argued that, "Hitler found a cure against unemployment before Keynes was finished explaining it". Rockwell explains that Hitler embarked on huge public works programmes and admits that the reforms of Hitler managed to keep unemployment low and to raise the GDP. Large public works programmes started to pull Germany out of the depression. Programmes included super highways, office buildings, gigantic sports stadiums, and public housing. By 1938, the standard of living for the average employed worker increased moderately and business profits rose sharply (*Oregon Coast Magazine Online*, accessed 20/06/2008).



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

It can be repeatedly emphasised that public works are not a new experience to Africa. In the 1960s, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria experimented with public works. The three experiments were considered successful with the Moroccan experience purported to have produced a 3.6 percent rise in gross national product. It is also estimated that the programme produced jobs for 85 000 workers per month (Jara, 1971). All the three experiments are considered to have been successful in enhancing the lives of the unemployed especially those in rural areas.

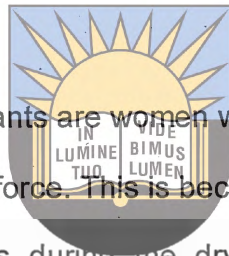
Niger also embarked on public works programmes in a bid to secure food for its populations. Most of Niger's labour-based work programmes are reported to have grown as a response to the 1973-74 droughts and famine. By the late 1970s, the projects had gained a development focus. In 1980, 180 small projects were being implemented under Non-Governmental Organizations (Webb, 1985:176). Most of them used food as an incentive for mobilising labour. A large number of them were funded by the World Food Programme.



Brown, Yohannes, and Webb explain that these projects involved the prevention of soil erosion, irrigation, and water management in the semi arid region. Examples of these projects include tree planting, gully control, land terracing, road and weir construction, and urban sanitation (*American Journal of Agricultural Economics* vol., 76:1215). Above all, the Niger public works aimed at generating short-term employment, stimulating the private sector by funding projects through small local enterprises as well as generating public goods and it has repeatedly been echoed that they have been a success.

Webb explains that there is a distinct rural bias in Niger's public works projects. Most of these projects are located in remote semi-arid parts of the country. He explains that this bias follows areas previously

affected by disaster. The predominance of public works in the rural areas also reflects the fact that urban poverty has only recently become a public concern. Only in recent times has the balance shifted in support of urban activities. In Niger, generally, rural projects concentrate on resource conservation rather than road building, livestock projects or irrigation development.



Most of the rural participants are women who constitute between 60 and 80 percent of the labour force. This is because most of the rural projects concentrate on activities during the dry season, a time when men migrate to the urban areas. The programmes also try to avoid direct competition with agricultural operations during the wet season. The mode and level of payment varies across projects. Food-for-work dominates the rural areas while cash-for-work has been associated with urban projects. Projects offer low wages that are, however, attractive to the rural women whose choice is limited since they cannot abandon their homes to seek employment in the urban areas.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

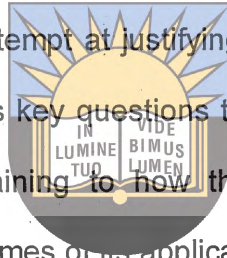
One of the major challenges that have been faced by public works programmes, especially in Africa, is that they focused on micro projects and are often without any links to national rural development and

infrastructural planning systems. However, the American and the German governments could contend with this hurdle. They embarked on a nationwide campaign for public works. Coupled also to this problem is the lack of balance between centralisation and effective involvement of local administrations and popular bodies in crucial programme decisions, planning, and implementation. Public works programmes in all the case studied followed a centralised system of planning with little done to incorporate the local people into the decision-making process.



Irrespective of the aforementioned challenges, it can be safely concluded that all the three cases of public works emanate from crises. The vision in all the cases was to redress the ills associated with poverty. Although the levels of the use of state sponsorship may have varied, it can be concluded that in all the cases active state involvement was visible and instrumental to the success of the programmes. The levels of success might have varied from one case to the other; it is, however, a safe conclusion to argue that public works programmes were very useful in addressing poverty by generating employment in the discussed cases and securing food in the case of Niger.

Notwithstanding the success stories exposed above, Mc Cord was quoted in an online IOL business report of 14 October 2007 in an article entitled, "Research shows public works projects are no panacea for poverty." arguing along the lines that public works fail to raise the quality of life for the poor. This conclusion was drawn from the South African case whereas in the previous cases successes were registered with more trade-offs to the poor. More questions are therefore raised in an attempt at justifying public works programmes. The next section reviews key questions that have been raised in this and other studies pertaining to how the public works strategy is viewed against the outcomes of its application.



University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

Key Questions Identified in the Public Works Discourse

Two major questions have been raised pertaining to the use of public works in trying to overcome the hurdles associated with poverty. During difficult times, people often look to the government to solve difficult socio-economic problems. What becomes the big question is; should the government take an active role to help the poor and underprivileged? Public works suggest that the state should be a participant in development and poverty reduction: is this a justifiable position especially in the light that neo-liberalism has become a dominant notion in development and attacks state intervention in public investment? Another question is; is there a correlation between

poverty and unemployment since public works experience suggests that poverty can be addressed through employment creation? This research tries to find out the answers to these questions in the discussions below.

Poverty Reduction: Whose Responsibility?

As a follow up to debates raised by neo-liberalism, questions have been raised about the involvement of the state in poverty reduction.

What role can the state play in poverty reduction? Is the state not part of the cause to this problem? It is quite helpful to justify why the state

involves itself in poverty reduction by identifying legitimate stakeholders in poverty reduction. Swanepoel and De Beer (1998: 18)

define a stakeholder as a person or institution who performs a certain task. They identify four stakeholders in rural poverty reduction, which are, the public sector represented by the state's organs, the private sector, the Non-Governmental sector and the popular sector (the local community).

Having the state as an actor in poverty reduction has been viewed with a degree of suspicion. Novak argues that,

...state intervention in the problem of poverty has never been intended to abolish poverty. It has rarely had the reduction of poverty as its primary aim (1988,vii).

Novak questions the authenticity of the role of the state in poverty reduction and suggests a hidden agenda, where state involvement

will be in most cases a political strategy by politicians to remain in power. According to Marx, in as much as the state would want to wear a social face it is capitalist in nature. He views the state as an executive secretary of capitalism whose ultimate goal is satisfaction of certain powerful individuals (Marx, 1974:507). Poverty is a direct by-product of capitalism, which continually recreates it.

However, state-led development is one of the most common forms of progress in developing countries regardless of the contestability of the matter. Scholars have tried to construct debates around the idea of state-led development canvassed within the rubric of the developmental state. Mbampazi and Taylor (2005:1) maintain that the definition of a developmental state runs the risk of being tautological since the evidence that the state is developmental is drawn from economic performance. They proceed to define it as one state whose ideological underpinnings are developmental and one that seriously attempts to deploy its administrative and political resources to the task of economic development.

What appears to be a general notion in neo-liberal debates is that the state should not take part in development. Against this, advocates of developmentalist states believe that it is the role of the state to invest in public institutions and to deploy its resources towards progress.

While this has been widely contested, the greatest bone of contention has been the fact that it is difficult to distinguish between state and government in Africa. The question of state intervention in poverty reduction is complicated therefore, by the need for this justification of the state.

Mafeje, has suggested that putting aside the question of whether we can, with level-headedness, speak of the state in Sub-Saharan Africa,

...it would appear what is at risk is poverty reduction and the role therein of the powers that be irrespective of whether they pass as states or governments (2001,:15)

The state and government in this discussion will be treated synonymously for the sake of upholding the focus of the discussion.

This research appreciates that most efforts at progress in the developing countries are led by the governments; be it social, economic, or political development. This has seen governments investing in projects aimed at improving the economy as well as uplifting the social standards of the general populace. Public works can also be located within this same context.

State intervention in poverty reduction has been pushed forward by the idea that economic growth will end poverty through trickle down effects. The claim of economic growth to be the basic objective of human endeavour is mainly based on this infamous trickle-down effect, magnified by the modernisation discourse. From a review of

modernisation models of progress, it has been concluded that the expectation to find growth in Gross Domestic Product and the Gross National Product leading to a trickle-down of benefits to the poor has been narrowly realised.

The cases of the 20th Century Great Depression in Europe and America however, have shown the involvement of the state in development bringing about socio-economic change. The Hoover administration advocated for the use of public works programmes in the United States of America. Massive investments in infrastructure led to the revival of the economy. However, the model used in this case is different from the one prescribed for Africa. In the African project, emphasis is laid on more allocation of funds to project equipment and less on salaries and wages. In America, the wages were high for the participants. The African model believes in cutting state expenditure by making the people responsible for their own development expenditure.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

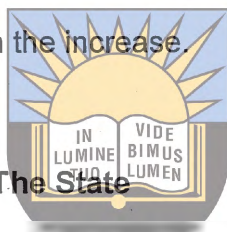
This research sees the model as exploitative since it argues that the participants should not have to have double benefits. Their main benefit is the infrastructure; the cash is just a token of appreciation. This disparity makes the African scholar suspicious about the perceived impact of public works on poverty. Public works expects the

people to benefit after taking a long route through a trickle down of benefits from the infrastructure; the wage is just a motivation for the labourer to return to work the next day. It is quite clear that while public works embrace the neo-liberal principles of decentralisation, it can be criticised for failing to be people-centred in its approach. Public works lays too much emphasis on the creation of infrastructure.

Public works' view of the relationship between the creation of infrastructure and poverty reduction is myopic. Rao et al (in Mellor and Desai, 1985:104) justify the correlation between the development of public infrastructure and poverty reduction. The establishment of irrigation in India has been used as the case to justify where a decline in poverty ratio occurred when irrigation schemes were established. Irrigation schemes led to a higher yield per hectare. While the effects of irrigation have been explained in a simple relationship, the effect of roads has been seen to be a complex one. This is an oversimplified affirmative relationship. While roads would help the people to get fair prices for their produce, they may also further widen the gap between the poor and the rich since the better off farmers may embrace more of the fruits of mechanisation.

Kohli (1987:1) declares that decades of planned economic growth have gone by in Africa, but have failed to improve the standards of

living of the poor. This research agrees that the poor have fed from crumbs falling from above and most of the times starved. Taking the deeper dimension of trickle-down, it suggests a discontinuous flow of droplets from the summit to the foot. This, therefore, justifies why sometimes the poor do not get anything. Johnston and Clark (1982:9) suggest that the poor have failed to benefit and even suffered from the development effort. Despite efforts, the number of people subjected to poverty is on the increase.



A Fundamental Actor: The State

State intervention in poverty reduction in the African context may be justified by looking at poverty reduction from a social policy perspective. World Bank publication (1997: 3) advocates that African governments must be at the centre of efforts to reduce poverty in their countries, yet their policies and strategies do not currently demonstrate sufficient political commitment to taking the necessary actions. Gaidzanwa, (2001:v) argued that African post colonial states are setting out development agenda that are out of step with the local needs and priorities, thereby widening the gap of power and wealth between the poor and rich. They have a problem of putting in place policies that are out of step with the people's *basic needs*.

However, Seidman and Ohiorhenuan (1992:47) reveal that the *basic needs* structuralists argue that to contribute to self-sustainable development the state has a role to play in the development process. Social policy must be centred mainly on the development of the rural areas which have been burdened with policies linked to the interests of a few possessing classes.



Schools of thought against neo-liberalism argue that the governments who accepted its principles are neglecting their responsibility towards the poor. They are frank in their criticism that the whole rationale of development as a reduction of poverty and the promotion of equity are overlooked if neo-liberalism is embraced. The state having failed to attend to the real structural parameters of poverty, it was decided to move forward towards wealth and to ignore the problems of poverty and pauperisation in which people are engulfed (Kothari, 1993:6 - 8).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Midgley (1985:5) gives a special place to the state in the vocation that "concerted and appropriate state intervention is required to deal with these social problems." Midgley argues that for state intervention to be meaningful, states must formulate appropriate policies and plans based specifically on the needs and circumstances of their societies. It is observed that if the priority of needs is not sorted out with the people, the state may be involved in spending money on rural

development projects that least satisfies the people's *basic needs*. Although the state is a vital actor in rural poverty reduction and development, the masses have been identified as fundamental partners. This researcher agrees that these masses are a fundamental partner in the processes of development and poverty reduction and should not be treated as the problem.

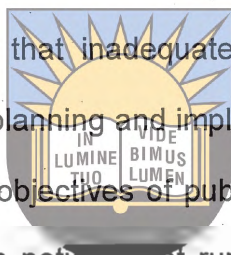
New Partners in Poverty Reduction: the Masses

Ensuing debates suggest that rural people have the potential to spearhead self-sustainable development. The local communities according to Swanepoel and De Beer (1998:18) are the most important stakeholder in poverty reduction for the community knows its needs, resources, and capabilities. This idea raises intellectual curiosity that, if the community possesses such capability why does it not simply go ahead with development on its own.

Swanepoel (1992:16) argued that any community programme that fails to derive opinions of the stakeholders is bound to fail. In a book entitled *The Tyranny of Participation*, Cleaver remarks that

...community in participatory approaches to development is often seen as a 'natural' entity characterised by solidaristic relations.... Development practitioners excel in perpetuating the myth that communities are capable of anything, that all that is required is sufficient mobilisation (through institutions) and the latent capacities of the community will be unleashed in the interests of development." (Cleaver, 2001: 44- 46).

This is probably an overstatement, yet the point remains that, if popular participation in development is seen as a new method of redressing most of the present problems, and if existing society imperfections are not appropriately taken into account, the government is bound to run into unexpected problems that will make its responsibilities even harder to achieve.



It can also be argued that inadequate consultation with the local communities in project planning and implementation leads to failure in achieving the intended objectives of public works programmes in the rural areas. It has been noticed that rural public works programmes involve a great deal of area specific projects that require the efficient involvement of local organisations in the conception of useful projects. These are also useful in mobilising people in the implementation of projects.

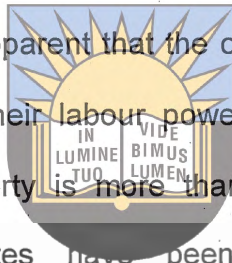
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

It can, therefore, be concluded that two major points have been raised here that the state is a legitimate actor in development and poverty reduction. However, the state as a custodian of social policy and not sole policy-maker should be considerate of other stakeholders, especially the communities that have to be developed. More emphasis should be centred on developing these people in a fashion that would positively affect all facets of their life. Midgley (1985: 5) believes that

social problems, poverty included, that are detrimental to development can be corrected by individuals in their personal capacities coming up with initiatives to meet their own needs.

Poverty, Unemployment and Public Works Programmes

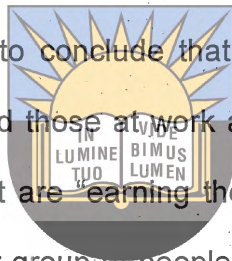
Another question that has been asked in public works discourse is that, how justifiable is it to create employment as a means of trying to reduce poverty? It is apparent that the only productive asset that the poor people have is their labour power. The relationship between wage labour and poverty is more than just a matter of historical interest. While debates have been ongoing concerning the relationship between poverty and unemployment, there is need to demystify the contribution of employment to poverty reduction.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Marx suggested that poverty has its roots in the freedom of the tenants from their masters which led to the rise in the free will to choose to sell one's labour or not. The freedom to choose brought competition among the labourers and the competition eventually led to the widening of inequalities (Novak, 1988: 4). Swanepoel and De Beer (1998:16) have identified a complex relationship between poverty and unemployment. To them, poverty can be both a cause and result of unemployment.

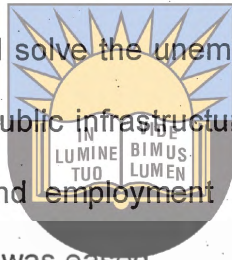
Novak argues that unemployment today, especially the growth of long-term unemployment is a major cause of poverty. He, however, denies the fact that poverty is confined to those excluded from the labour market only but can also affect those who are earning. Todaro (1989:204-205) also traces the relationship between poverty and unemployment. He echoes that the very poor are usually found among the unemployed but agrees with Novak on the notion that it would be an oversight to conclude that people without employment are necessarily poor and those at work are well off. Many individuals are full time at work but are "earning their poverty" if Novak's words are to be used. Another group of people may also be well off but are without wage employment. It has, however, been widely accepted that one of the major mechanisms of reducing poverty is through the creation of employment.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Referring the 20th Century Great Depression in Europe and America, the effects of unemployment on poverty were quite noticeable. The adoption of public works heralded significant changes to this situation. In the United States of America, unemployment was a problem everywhere during the depression period. While some unemployed came to the cities looking for relief, it appears that even larger numbers of unemployed returned to family farms and contributed to rural poverty.

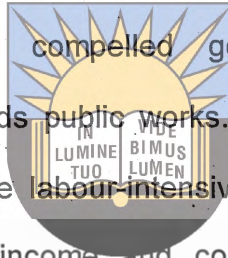
President Hoover's administration had encouraged state and local governments to expand public works projects, which they did in 1930 and 1931. Keynes had argued in his thesis that the use of labour-intensive public works would help in the speedy revival of the economy and ease the unemployment problem (Dillard, 2005:122). This expansion slowed the rise in unemployment, and poverty. Hoover tried to use massive construction projects with prevailing wages to revive the economy and solve the unemployment crisis. Public works built and repaired the public infrastructure in dramatic fashion. Since many poor people found employment in construction projects, the unemployment problem was eased.



University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

From the above case, it therefore, becomes apparent that it is possible to reduce poverty by tapping into the energy, skills, and motivation of the millions of poor people. America and Germany pulled out of the depression through labour-intensive public works. A question remains lingering, is it possible in a developing world context? Is this the correct pathway to Africa's development? Public works programmes are feasible in the context of cyclical unemployment (seasonal unemployment and underemployment) by stimulating counter cyclical labour demand. In several Asian and African countries public works programmes have been used in times of crises such as drought and famine.

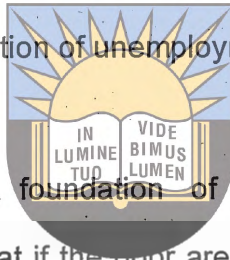
It is argued that while social and cultural barriers restrict the poor from entering into wage employment, public works programmes by virtue of their strategies and modalities facilitate their entry. Ranges of sources indicate that it is one of public works' objectives to approach poverty through employment creation. Derjardin (1996:1) has argued that the failure of economic growth to raise the levels of living of the poor and to tackle unsustainable levels of unemployment and underemployment has compelled governments of developing countries to lean towards public works. The assumption is that the income earned from the labour-intensive public works programmes will minimise serious income and consumption shortfalls among certain segments of the population.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Nayyar (2002:4) has affirmed that both rural works programmes and labour-intensive infrastructure projects have been instrumental to India. The former addresses concerns of current poverty through the provision of employment to those seeking normal work on public works, which also leads to the creation of community assets and rural infrastructure. These works include small irrigation tanks, ponds and wells, social forestry, village roads; culverts school buildings, which are critical for local level development.

The cases of Bangladesh (1982) and India in (1980) indicated that during the 1978-79 periods public works increased employment. The Food and Agricultural Organisation (hereafter referred to as FAO) produced statistics showing that in India, 20 Districts showed that employment had risen by 10.9 percent and income by 17.7 percent (FAO, 1984: 42). Garnier (1982:5-7) purports that public works programmes are a means of creating high volumes of employment in the short-term in a situation of unemployment and underemployment.



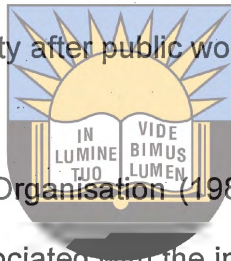
While the theoretical foundation of public works is plausible, considering the idea that if the poor are employed they are helped to escape their situation without creating a culture of dependency on philanthropic aid. It has been widely accepted that participation in public works programmes will enhance labour quality such that it will be possible to access the future skilled work opportunities arising from economic growth.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Islam (2007:50) also believes in the power of public works in transforming the lives of the poor but poses a fundamental question that public works have to rationalise. He writes that:

From the standpoint of poverty reduction, it is important to increase and improve the work options for the poor. However, the question that has increasingly been asked is; how efficient is it to provide employment with almost nothing done to alleviate the technological problem.

This question is intellectually inciting as it identifies one of the major gaps in the scope of public works. This research outlines pockets of intellectual vacuums that require to be filled. If public works programmes empower the rural poor with short-lived employment opportunities, do they also arm them with some technical skills that render them marketable on the job market after the life of public works? Are there any contingent measures to ensure that the people do not go back to poverty after public works?



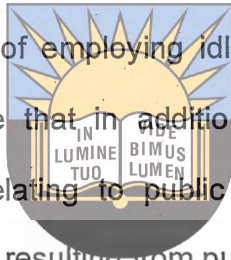
Food and Agricultural Organisation (1984: 44) argued that there are technical problems associated with the implementation of public works programmes. Rural unemployment and underemployment are affected mainly by seasonal changes. Resultantly public works programmes have to consider this seasonal element in their selection of projects. In the absence of this, programmes risk resentment by rural people who hold employment in agriculture in high esteem.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

While public works programmes are essentially meant to lessen the severity of short-term crises in the labour market, some long-term benefits can also be created. Assets may be created for future growth when participants in the public works programmes invest some of their income. This is expected to trigger a worthy cycle of growth through multiplier effects. Secondary employment is that which occurs

because of the creation of infrastructure like dams that result in the starting of irrigation projects.

Dillard (2005:105) supports the idea raised in the Keynesian thesis that public works advantages are not only realised in the immediate benefits but through multiplier effects. He, however, underscores that even if this multiplier effect were lacking, public works might be desirable as a means of employing idle resources. Discussions on public works recognise that in addition to the original or primary employment directly relating to public works there will be further secondary employment resulting from public works. However, this has only been seen as theoretically sustainable but practically deficient.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

McCord and Van Seventer (2004:5) argue that "In the context of sustained unemployment which is chronic and mass, rather than cyclical and acute is it not apparent that this prescription is inappropriate?" This research argues that public works, as a response to poverty is capitalist driven and lacks a human face. Optimistic predictions about the ability of wage labour to reduce poverty have not been fully realised. What has been fully manifested is the upholding of a capitalist non-people centred model of up keeping poverty.

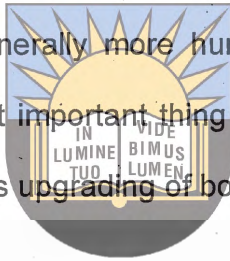
The creation of employment in both the developed world and developing worlds can be criticised for driving forward an economic model that proffers the exploitation of the labourer and ties him slavishly to his master. The idea creates serious dependence with the workers only thinking of looking for employment to earn and not inspiring them to create work for themselves. This is a challenge that is faced by public works, being able to remove the capitalist drive in its endeavour to create employment.



The research also criticises the model for being curative rather than being transformative. Transformation can be enabled by a change in perception where poor people are no longer viewed as the problem but essential partners in reducing poverty. Public works is one such model, which has a potential of adopting a people-centred participatory approach. Largely, the public works objectives as espoused in the various experiences reviewed herein draw from international policy experience. Considering the chronic nature of poverty and unemployment experienced in developing countries, public works as a policy response has been criticised for often increasing the hold of the rural elite over the poor. In most cases, programmes are channelled through associations controlled by these elites (FAO 1984: 44).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Here it should be noted that though these works are small in scale and meet only minimal local needs, they play an important role in the stabilisation of income and in poverty reduction, both through the creation of direct employment and through indirect effects. Sen (2003:4-5) conclusively argued that more and better jobs offer opportunity for upward mobility in the lifetimes of poor people and their children. This may foster freedom from hunger, long life, health, greater choice, and generally more human fulfilment. To the poor, finding a job is the most important thing in life. He adds that another pathway out of poverty is upgrading of both existing jobs and skills.



Conclusion **University of Fort Hare**
Together in Excellence

The chapter focused on discussing two crucial issues in the poverty reduction discourse that have also affected views on public works. The state has been seen as a legitimate stakeholder in poverty reduction but should not do it without fully involving the poor. Employment creation has also been seen a strong instrument for the reduction of poverty but should remove the capitalist exploitative drive. The next chapter presents and analyses data that has been gathered from the field using the two types of interviews.

Chapter 4

The Contribution Made by Public Works towards Poverty Reduction in the Gutu District

Introduction

This chapter presents, interprets, and analyses the data gathered through a focus group discussion, and structured questionnaires. Data gathered is mainly in the form of the perceptions of the participants. The personal attributes of individuals also form part of the data in order to make clear the nature of the sample, their demographic character, and how representative they are to the population. Data is analysed through largely descriptive inferential qualitative analysis. However, some data were analysed through quantitative techniques where mathematical calculations were involved on some simple statistics.

The research followed up on the following questions:

- Are public works employment programmes succeeding in reducing food deprivation, unemployment and social-exclusion poverty in the Gutu District?
- Have vulnerable households been targeted effectively and is the mechanism for targeting sustainable?

- Can employment schemes provide a useful mechanism for poverty reduction and sound social development?

Overview

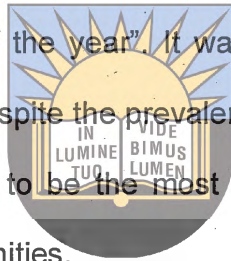
It can be emphasised that the adoption of public works, food-for-work and cash-for-work programmes in the Gutu district was an unavoidable development set out against the background of a degenerating economy that has weakened the social structures and maimed the society. Basera, Munyikwa, Chingombe, Chiwara, and Majada wards of Gutu District were selected for this study. Although personal attributes varied with respondents, the sample had a homogeneous socio-economic background.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Fieldwork established that the greater part of the population in Gutu lives in the rural areas and is engaged mainly in agriculture. The Gutu District has a rainfall that is lower than the country average. Summer is the main rainy season. This is also the peak agricultural season, which starts from October to April while the slack period is from May to September. Chambers (1983:20) upholds the opinion that most poor rural people in the world live in areas of marked wet-dry tropical seasons, mainly before the first harvest. This corresponds with the short supply of food, hard work, and high food prices.

Following the results of the focus group discussion, it was underscored that the main poverty challenge in Gutu has always been persistent food insecurity that is exacerbated by repeated drought. Discussant two responding to warm up discussion question three (see annexure four) explained that, "even in a normal year, many of the households cannot meet their food requirement from their produce and the majority of households survive on buying grains to feed their families until the end of the year". It was also learnt from the focus group discussion that despite the prevalence of other forms of poverty, lack of food stands out to be the most outstanding manifestation of poverty in these communities.



University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

The research discovered that food-for-work and cash-for-work programmes are common in the Gutu District. There is consensus with all the informants that the programmes have been in operation for some time now since political independence in 1980. Out of 60 interviewees who participated in the structured questionnaires 63 percent showed that, they had been involved in the programmes for more than a year. Fourteen percent of the sample had been involved in public works for between six months and a year while 23 percent was involved in the projects for between three to six months. None had the experience of less than three months. Following closely to

this, it is safe to conclude that public works had been with the people of Gutu for a long time.

Respondents stated in the questionnaires that, projects in the Gutu District mainly focus on natural resource rehabilitation. The people said they had participated in construction of ponds, soil and water conservation structures, rural access roads, and afforestation (when there is enough precipitation). Annexure three is a summary of some attributes of the people who responded to the household questionnaires. Their implications are discussed at length under the relevant sub-headings.



University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

Who is selected to Participate

From other world experiences reviewed in the literature, it is well recognised that public works food-for-work and cash-for-work programmes have a great potential of reducing food deprivation, unemployment and social exclusion poverty. It is, however, noteworthy, the fact that the impact of these public works programmes can be lessened if there is communion with inequalities and poor participatory practices in the identification and the selection of the participants. The most difficult stage of projects once localities receive funding for a project is the targeting process. This involves the making of decisions as to which people in a community receive jobs.

As highlighted above, it is more preferable that the process embraces equitable, democratic, and participatory values as suggested by the various works cited in the literature review. Although local government has, the ability to carry out this process, both in-depth accounts gathered through focus group discussion and the household questionnaires testified the use of community-based processes of worker selection.



In one method, all villagers wanting work put their names in a hat and names were selected in an open meeting, with the committee overseeing the process. Names selected from the hat became the final list of people hired on the project. Nevertheless, if a name of a person who had employment elsewhere came up, the person was asked to withdraw, and if more than one name per family was selected, one of them was withdrawn and a new name selected from the hat again (Discussant one3).

Another method involved putting the names of those wanting work on a list at a community meeting and a consensus reached on who should get the jobs. Under a third method, the committee interviewed applicants and made decisions. This was also considered a community process because selection criteria had been decided at a public meeting. The community members feel they are making

equitable decisions based on need. The villagers defended their position by arguing that they know who deserves to be given employment from their villages. They argued that it is easy to reach consensus on who should be helped. Usually by the time jobs become available, villagers would have already decided on which household needs assistance of what kind to survive (Discussant four).

Despite the fact that the majority of discussants were impressed with the selection criteria, 21.67 percent of the household questionnaires reported some cases of nepotism. Some scripts reported favouritism along political lines. The researcher feels this can happen especially in the case where the community leaders are the only ones on the selection panel. These leaders would be holding political positions in the village, cell, and ward and are not immune to favouring people from their own political formations.

Some participants in the focus group discussion felt that there are some rowdy elements among those in need of employment. These were supposed to be punished by exclusion from milking the benefits coming to the community. Further probing established that their unruliness was in the form of holding political sentiments divergent from the rest of the community. This is a shortcoming of public participation in deciding who must get jobs. The criteria may end up

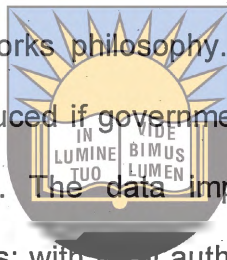
being manipulated and going at odds with participatory development and social development objectives.

Apart from this weakness, both focus group discussants and household interviewees criticised the same decision-making processes as slow, difficult, and sometimes unfair because of difficulty in describing who is the poorest of the poor. People sometimes do not want to agree on who the poorest of the poor are. Poverty targeting perspectives on equity claim that the poorest of the poor should get jobs. For example, the hat system cited by Discussant one³ implies that everyone gets an equal chance. This poses a threat of potential tension between the democratic participatory principles and poverty alleviation objectives as some better off are picked from the hat in a democratic process. Some community members felt more satisfied with this random rather than purposive, targeted selection others felt it left out some very needy people although it is a fair practice.

To the researcher the citing of nepotism, despite the general feeling that the process was fair, generated the feeling that community structures must have nothing to do with employing and firing people because that puts them exactly in conflict with their own communities. What they have to do is to be part of the decision in terms of what projects must be run and how must they be run and how should the

community benefit. On the part of taking those structures and making them part of the recruiting process, it creates problems of hatred as suspected.

Apart from the shortcomings mentioned, the selection process unveiled is a good example of a people-centred participatory process. It encompasses democratic decentralisation values that form the foundations of public works philosophy. UNCDF (2003:42) stresses that poverty can be reduced if government policy is more responsive to the people's needs. The data implies that, there are better responses to local needs: with local authorities tending to act more in line with local preferences and conditions. Projects have better chances of being sustainable since local people are more involved in their design, execution, and monitoring. The system minimises the prevalence of corruption while increasing transparency. Popular participation also decreases chances of sabotage by the local people since they do not isolate themselves from the projects.



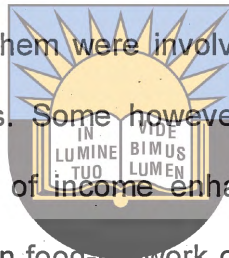
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Employment Creation

Pfeffermann and Fields (2003:3) argued that, "more and better jobs offer the best opportunity for upward mobility in the lifetimes of the poor people and their children." This study also believes in the same idea hence the conclusion in Chapter Three that employment creation

is a strong pathway out of poverty given the absence of a belligerent capitalist exploitative drive.

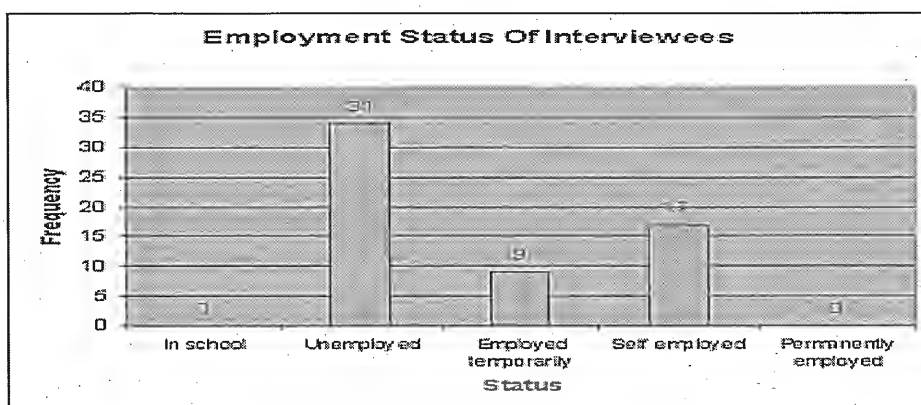
Participants in the focus group discussion cited the issue of unemployment as one of the poverty challenges faced by the villagers. The research also established that the majority of those who categorised themselves as self-employed are engaged in agriculture related work. Some of them were involved in growing of vegetables and rearing of chickens. Some however, processed peanut butter. Despite the mentioning of income enhancement as a predominant reason for participating in food-for-work or cash-for-work projects, this research argues that from the available data (annexure 3) unemployment is the major factor that led the participants to take up jobs in public works projects.



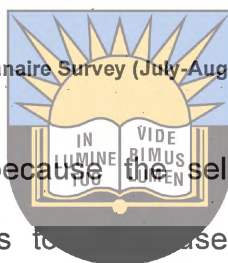
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The sixty respondents sampled in this study were asked to state their employment status. The graph below shows their employment status. Data from the questionnaires indicate that thirty-four out of sixty interviewees were unemployed. Nine were temporarily employed seventeen were self-employed while no schoolchildren and permanently employed were part of the interview.

Figure 4.1 Employment Statuses of Interviewees



Source: Household Questionnaire Survey (July-August 2008).



This distribution was because the selection criteria used for the sampling of participants to households included scouting for unemployed people who were selling their cattle for supplies.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

This also coincided with the fact that targeting of participants in public works projects in Gutu District has changed from households with less than ten herds of cattle to those without employment. This was because some rural people were reportedly selling their cattle to be acceptable for the community based public works programmes. This was further impoverishing them. The country's labour laws are also against the employment of children, that is why the school going did not participate in the programmes. Above all the activities do take the whole day which means one will have to dodge school or work (if they are employed somewhere else) to partake in public works projects.

The unemployed also seem to have more time at their disposal to commit themselves to community programmes. However, the researcher concludes that, during the time that the household interviews were completed; only those people who did not go to work were found in the homes. This was mostly during the day. Nevertheless, this was believed not to stage-manage the outcome of the study:

Social Exclusion

Social exclusion deprives people of choices and opportunities to escape from poverty and denies them a voice to claim their rights.

This research believes that social exclusion is one of the persistent forms of poverty in the rural areas. The study used demographic characteristics of participants in public works programmes to find out if there are any cases of social exclusion. These demographic characteristics included gender, age, and educational standards.

In this research, social exclusion refers to the inability of individuals to take part fully in any social, political, and economic functioning of the society (Buvinic, 2004: 5). People need the opportunity to participate fully in the life of their community if they are to flourish and realise their potential. Nevertheless, certain groups in society are excluded from opportunities that are open to others because they are discriminated



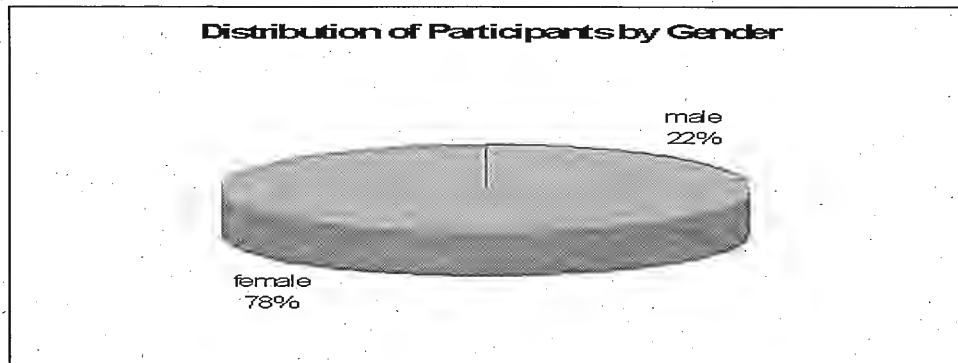
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

against based on their race, religion, gender, caste, age, disability, or other social identity. Relying on Gareth Thomas in the foreword to a Department for International Development Aid (DFIDA) Policy Paper, "people who are excluded like this are not 'just like' the rest of the poor, only poorer".

Gender studies show that traditionally women encountered discrimination, such that they acted under the guidance and consent of men. Historically, African men were opposed to the employment of women in formal jobs. This anchored partly on the fear that, women, with fewer financial commitments will accept lower salaries as compared to men, who will as a result be unable to find work. This opposition to the employment of women did not only mean that women did not generally have alternative sources of income, but this also meant that their role in socio-economic development was dangerously underestimated.

The study shows that more women than men were involved in community-based public works. It appears that, this is because women were deliberately encouraged to actively partake in the formal work force As shown in the chart below, of the 60 participants who took part in the household interviews, 47 were female (78.33 percent) and 13 were male.

Figure 4.2 Distribution of Participants by Gender



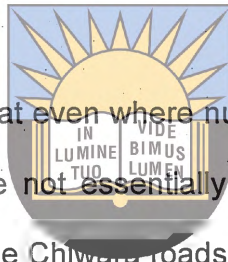
Source: Household Questionnaire Survey Gutu July-August 2008



The importance of providing work for women is emphasised by the remarks made by interviewees on the subject of the effect of seeing women working in eccentric roles. In the in-depth group discussion, comments were made that women work well in some cases better than the men do. Discussant four, a former councillor said that one of the new things that came out of the reservoir construction project in which he was part of the co-ordinating team was the message that “most of the women know how to do men’s jobs. You will not struggle and think because they are women they cannot push the wheelbarrow. I would even select more women than men because they do not quarrel a lot,” (Interviewee 4, former councillor).

From both data collection experiences, the researcher learnt that, women made up an undisputable majority in public works projects. The researcher had a chance to interrogate in depth the reasons why

women were or were not engaged in public works projects. The main factor, encountered in all the case studies, was the observation that the work activities, particularly the construction activities, were branded “men’s work”. Despite the promulgation and promotion of the doctrine of equity, the targeting of women converged with mixed feeling, promoted successfully by government in most cases, but simultaneously constrained by cultural bias within communities.

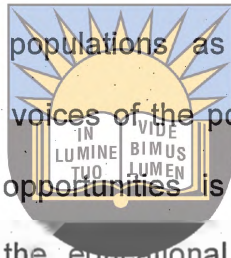


The researcher noted that even where numbers of women on projects were high, women were not essentially doing the same errands as men. For example, on the Chivara roads rehabilitation project, women were mainly doing lighter jobs, loading, spreading out of gravel on the filled-up potholes and at times alien vegetation clearing. It was explained that pushing a load full of rocks in a wheelbarrow would be difficult a job for women to handle. The above dataset also emphasises a finding of the study, which is that, public works programmes can be a successful platform for reaching women even where there is a bias against employing them in certain types of activities.

Regardless of this bias, this research concludes that public works in Gutu emancipated the position of women, and women were, therefore, not excluded in this respect. The research found that community-run

projects gave sufficient priority to women. Their participation helps to break down unfairness. Despite bringing equity, the provision of income earning opportunities to women was believed to provide many benefits to household welfare, over and above the benefits that would be derived from giving men an equal opportunity.

Another way in which social exclusion can be manifest is the discrimination of poor populations as per educational standards attained. In most cases, voices of the poorly educated are not heard and the spreading of opportunities is in most cases elitist. The following table shows the educational status of the people who participated in the household survey who claimed to have participated in public works projects.



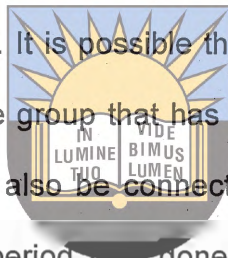
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Table 4.1 Educational Qualifications of Interviewees

Educational Qualifications	Frequency
Never went to school	7
Primary	38
Secondary	11
Other	4

Source: Household Questionnaire Survey (July-August 2008).

Table 4.1 shows that seven participants never went to school, 38 had attained primary education, 11 had gone through their secondary school, and only four participants had gone above secondary education. It was, however, not specified which levels they had attained. This could mean advanced level graduates, certificate, degree, or diploma holders. Primary level graduates had the highest number of responses indicative of their keenness to participate in community programmes. It is possible that this generation came from the forty to forty-five age group that has predominantly participated in the interview. This may also be connected to the history that during the pre-independence period was done to reverse the cultural bias against educating women. However, in this case, women had the highest frequency.

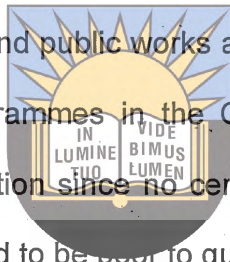


University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The data set above helps to explain the reason why the majority of the participants in public works projects are unemployed formally as was shown by the data on employment statuses. It appears that, one's educational qualification determines the type of employment one gets. In Zimbabwe, it is difficult for primary school graduates to get formal employment opportunities. Opportunities are more open for them in agriculture and other informal jobs that demand less skill. While the lowly educated formed the majority of the participants in the

programmes, it is very difficult to conclude whether this is a form of emancipation or exclusion.

The unemployed and lowly educated seem to have more time at their disposal to commit themselves to community programmes. A possible explanation favouring their participation could be that, because these people do not have qualifications to compete for gainful employment in the formal sector, they find public works attractive. It can be concluded that, public works programmes in the Gutu District did not exclude people based on education since no certificates were required to get the job. One only needed to be poor to qualify.



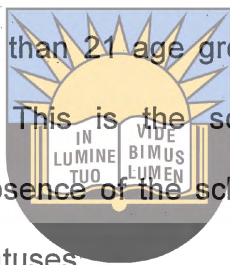
University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

Discrimination by age is also another way in which people are socially excluded and drawn into poverty. Annexure 3 shows the age groups that participated in the survey. All the respondents showed that they had participated in public works. Four respondents represented the less than 21 years age group; six were aged between 22 and 30 years. The age group of between 31 and 39 years had 16 participants. The 40 to 45 years age group had the highest frequency. The age group of above 45 years had nine participants.

The frequency distribution presented above is the possible result of interplay of factors. The dominance of the 40 to 44 age group

subsequently followed by the 31 to 39 age group could possibly have resulted from the fact that most of them are women heading their households in place of their husbands who have migrated to the urban areas in search of employment. Since they lived during a pre-independent era when their educational advancement was opposed, they naturally fall victim to unemployment. They are poorly educated and only find their chance in informal and self-job. The limited participation of the less than 21 age group is possibly linked to the issue of child labour. This is the school going age; the data corresponds with the absence of the school going age on the graph showing employment statuses.




University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

The absence of this age group and the limited participation of the above forty-five age group can be possibly related to social exclusion. On the contrary, this only corresponds with the nature of activities of public works projects. They need very active people to be involved. Aged people and small children will find the jobs difficult and painful. It can be argued that while child poverty cannot be ignored as negligible, public works projects catered for this through providing for households and not individuals. In the case of child headed households, it becomes an issue difficult to judge. This study did not find any of such nature in its sample.

Popular Participation

An opponent to social exclusion is the concept of participation. It advocates for the recognition of every person as an important partner in development. Several development stakeholders in Zimbabwe pushed the frontiers of participation which emanates from the social development theory, discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) argues:



People's participation is the engine for launching the process of economic transformation; it is the motor for accelerating the process of development; it diffuses power...and encourages people to make full use of their talents. (The UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) Executive secretary, *Participatory Development: The Case of Zimbabwe, 1996*)

As a sequel to this and other arguments in the previous chapters, the research asked the respondents in the household questionnaire if public works projects gave them chance to participate in making important decisions about project choice in their community.

The results show that 86 percent testified that they participate in coming up with projects. A further 14 percent denied having done so. The dominating explanation was that they did not participate because the elite leadership would have already chosen projects for them. They however felt these leaders know better and it is their responsibility. On the cost of participation, the predominant problem cited was the lengthening of decision making process. Respondents stressed that participation is useful as it educates on future

leadership, removes the chances of corruption, and brings projects that serve the majority and not the interests of a particular dominating group.

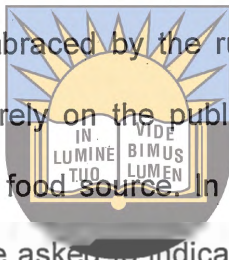
This research was more curious to know the level of emancipation that comes alongside public works programmes. Another question asked in the questionnaire was the role of participants in negotiating their wages. To this effect, all the respondents expressed the truth that they just take whatever comes their way. They never bargain for their wages. This may negatively affect the future potentialities of the people. They may end up settling for anything without bargaining when they get opportunities in formal or semi-formal jobs elsewhere. Although this has been defended in other works as a self-targeting practice for the poor, this work criticises it as a discriminatory practice that can strengthen the grip of social exclusion poverty.

In the light of the selection processes explained in the section above, it appears that public works programmes in the Gutu District were generally participatory and inclusive. This, however, does not isolate some cases that cited non-participation which include the lack of chance to negotiate wages exposed above. A possible explanation for the prevalence of such cases may be the type of leadership. Some leaders are patronising, they have poor leadership skills, they

believe in dictatorship. This does not auger well with participatory approaches and social development objectives.

Benefits of Public Works Projects

It was a finding of this research that although public works programmes have some shortcomings, they largely are associated with benefits warmly embraced by the rural beneficiaries. It appears that many rural people rely on the public works for both household incomes and household food source. In the household questionnaire survey, participants were asked to indicate their main sources of food and income. Below is a pie-chart showing the data for sources of income for the interviewees.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Figure 4.3 : Sources of Income

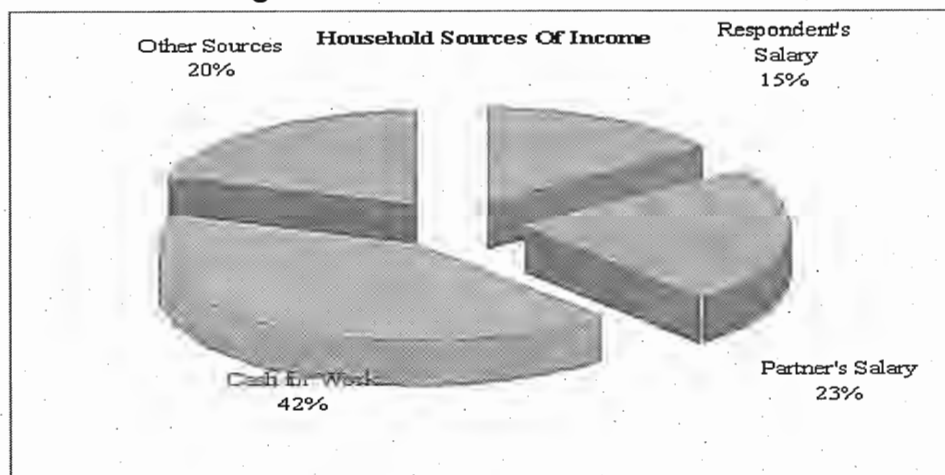
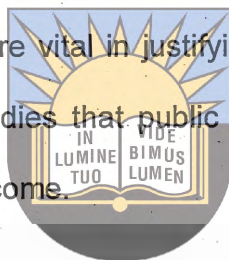


Chart Source: Household Questionnaire Survey (July-August 2008).

It was found out that 42 percent of the sample relied on cash-for-work projects for their income. Similarly, 23 percent used their partner's salary. It was also found out that 15 percent used their own salary. A further 20 percent responded that they used other sources. They specifically cited sell of garden produce like cabbages, tomatoes, and onions. Some of them cited that they relied on selling livestock and poultry. Of more interest, however, are those households relying on cash-for-works. These are vital in justifying one idea raised earlier in this study and other studies that public works projects are useful in enhancing household income.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Interest was generated from the results of the household questionnaires as to what relationship was there between the households that relied on public works programmes for income, and those that relied on the same source for food. All respondents who relied on public works for income also indicated that they rely on the same source for food although the number of those who rely on the programme for food had increased.

Figure 4.4: Sources of Food

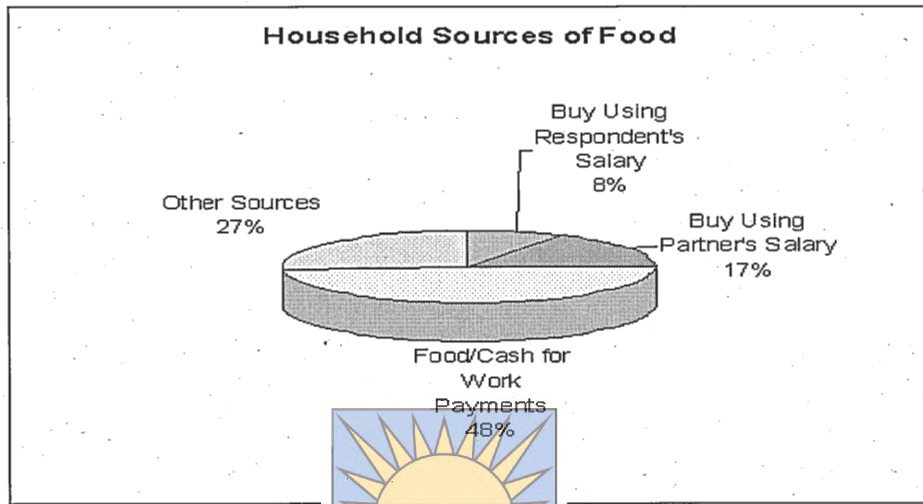


Chart Source: Household Questionnaire Survey (July-August 2008).

The pie chart in figure 4.4 shows the various sources that have been used by the sample households to secure their food. As displayed in Figure 4.4 above, 48 percent of respondents relied on public works payments for their food security. They used both food and cash payments to secure their food. Cash transfers from spouse's salaries accounted for 8 percent while 17 percent said they used salaries from their temporary employment. Other sources also accounted for 27 percent. The other sources specified were similar to the sources for income save for relief food from government and non-governmental organisations.

Among the benefits listed in the questionnaires, it was echoed that public works projects are useful as a move towards poverty reduction as they increase household food security as well as cash inflow. The

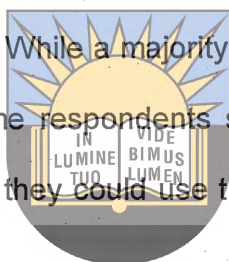
latter would allow beneficiaries to spend their incomes on any combination of food and other necessities of their choice. In the event, the cash-for-work scheme would guarantee minimum income to the most vulnerable while encouraging able-bodied individuals to be gainfully employed. It would also maintain the incentive to work and would eliminate the tendency to be continually aid dependent.

Discussion interviewee 12, speaking of the benefits of public works said that many rural people had begun to see food aid as a permanent factor in their life. This, in turn nurtured lassitude towards work or expectations of leading a life through social/relief aid support giving rise to debilitating idleness and unemployment. The respondent believed public works programmes to be a method of reviving the industriousness and hard work ethics of the communities.

Both questionnaires and focus group discussion exposed mixed feelings concerning the benefits of the cash-for-work projects. The dominant idea was that, money from cash-for-work wages was spent for the overall benefit of the household. For the majority of beneficiary households the money went towards the purchase of household items such as salt, soap, clothes and other foodstuff such as cooking oil and dried fish (the latter leading to a diversification of diets). A number of households also invested in school fees for their children and the

purchase of small livestock and were able to pay for health costs. Some few respondents talked about the rehabilitation of their homes.

Public works were also credited for enhancing socio-economic development through vital contributions to the creation of essential infrastructure. Some respondents expressed that even if at times they are not participating in the projects, the benefits also reach them through the ripple effect. While a majority expressed the importance of having good roads, some respondents said they benefited from the reservoirs created since they could use them for gardening as well as for their livestock.

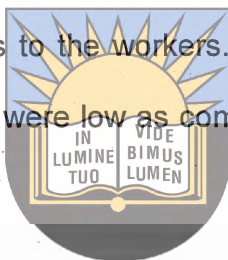


University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

Shortcomings of Public Works Employment Programmes

The implementation of public works (food-for-work/cash-for-work) programmes in the Gutu District has not been immune to problems. In this research, the programmes have scored several positive outcomes amidst shortcomings. Although the programmes have been so instrumental towards the disbanding of the poverty reinforcing forces, it was a finding of this research that the scale of job creation was too low as compared to the levels of unemployment. Given that the number of participants hired in the programmes was limited, not every job seeker had an opportunity to be employed.

Most respondents expressed concern that the outstanding weakness of public works programmes is the scale of coverage of programmes. Many poor people were left out because the number of people needed for the work was limited. This is possibly an outcome of limited funding by the government. Although rotating participants covered this up, it only worked to a limited extent in assisting the poor. The previous chapters noted that public works programmes allocate more to the projects and poor wages to the workers. It was also a finding of this research that the wages were low as compared to formal employment and other alternatives.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

While it is vital for the wages to be adequate to satisfy minimum needs, it was discovered that communities are expected to benefit more from the infrastructure than they get from wages. This possibly is the reason why the wages are very low. This further widened the gap of inequality among poor communities. The general argument is that the wages should only be at subsistence level to prevent better off citizens from manipulating the programmes. This is naïve if the poverty reduction objective is taken into consideration. It can be argued that the wage should be seen beyond this in order to pull the participants out of poverty to beyond the 'poverty line' and this invalidates the low wage argument.

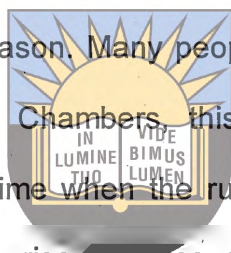
The payments made by public works projects have been criticised as mere tokens of appreciation and not worth of any recognition as wages. This was possibly because the workers were comparing themselves to those who are permanently employed. This, also, reinforces one criticism levelled against the programmes. While the people are given a chance to come up with the lists of who are to participate, they are never given the chance to negotiate on what they get as their wages. Despite emancipation in other areas, this could cause serious problems. It is associated with corrupt practices. The programme directives can claim any amount from those above while they come down and pay the workers very little amounts. This happens especially where food is used as payment.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Many respondents raised a significant shortcoming of public works programmes; although the programmes were no longer a response to drought, they were seasonal and temporary. This implies that during the season when the projects are not operational the people will go back to their suffering and poverty. Most of the respondents expressed concern that public works had failed them on the part that it had failed to provide permanent jobs for them. There is generally a feeling that that someone permanently employed is better off as compared to seasonally employed workers. There is fear of being dropped out in the next round of projects if one has not signed a permanent contract.

It is, however, a finding of this research that this seasonal element although met with mixed feelings was seen by the rural people as important. It avoided a direct clash of interests with agriculture. Despite the fact that their small-scale agriculture is not doing much in terms of poverty reduction, it was learnt from the discussion that the people are inseparable from the growing of crops, as it is a tradition passed on from their ancestors. Few people were likely to sign up for jobs during the rainy season. Many people will be pre-occupied with their fields. Relying on Chambers, this research agrees that this growing season is the time when the rural people face the worst of challenges. Food prices rise because of scarcity posing a serious threat on the lives of those relying on the cash payments or food handouts from the projects.




University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Apart from this, where food is used as payment, the participants complained that, the normal food payments are packets of maize-meal and beans. These people having no other income-generating projects find it difficult to get essentials as cooking oil, salt, and sugar. Thus, food payments have been criticised for lack of diversity in the foodstuffs. Some respondents also complained that where food is used as payment it takes long to be paid. This is possibly resulting from the logistical problems involved in organising the carrying of food around to the payment points.

Another weakness that was mentioned by the respondents was the inability of projects to continue after the end of the major programmes. Some micro-irrigation projects kick-start after creation of the necessary infrastructure but are neglected due to insufficient monitoring. The sustainability of the projects is then jeopardised. This then translates to no improvements as far as the deprivation situation is concerned.

Conclusion



Data presented in the above chapter has shown some correlation between public works employment and several variables associated with poverty. The data has shown that there are benefits associated with public works employment programmes that have been embraced by the people of Gutu district. Some of these benefits include the creation of short-term employment, the provision of much needed food to the rural people, provision of income, which has been used for several purposes, and the creation of infrastructure. It was also presented in the chapter that, the projects aligned to public works programmes have a potential of reducing social exclusion poverty while emancipating the poor and previously marginalised societies. Despite these positive outcomes, it was also learnt in the same chapter that several shortcomings are also associated with the public works programmes.

The next chapter provides a conclusion to the whole research project and the researcher's opinion on the data that has been supplied. In the chapter, the researcher believes this research like any other work is open to debate and not supreme and therefore suggests directions for future research.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

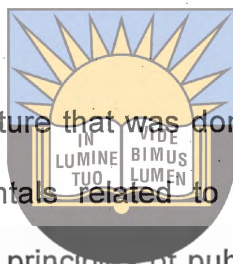
This chapter is a summary to the whole study in which conclusions are drawn. It recommends on possible action by policy-makers as well as the rural communities towards improving the face of public works. The assessment of the use of food-for-work and cash-for-work in the Gutu district has allowed the improvement on the understanding of the potentialities and limitations of public works programmes as a poverty reduction strategy. This last section is devoted to the discussion of few but critical issues that can be concluded from the findings.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The objectives of the study as spelt out in the first chapter were to assess the successes and failures of public works programmes in the Gutu District using five wards. In the first chapter, the position maintained was that, it was acceptable that the public works strategy has a potential of reducing poverty as had occurred with other countries. It was however maintained that, public works in the Gutu District were burdened with a share of shortcomings that militated against the full realisation of the projected outcome. It became an objective of this research to prove the validity of such claims.

The primary and general conclusion is that the public works strategy in the Gutu District has neither fully brought all the benefits its proponents had anticipated nor adversely affected the poor people as its critics had foreseen. From the fieldwork, some positive outcomes have been realised, although it needs to be emphasised that the shortcomings were not negligible. This concurred with the literature review.



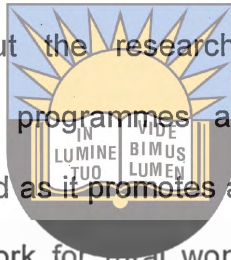
This review of the literature that was done in chapters two and three, explored the fundamentals related to public works philosophy. A critique to the founding principles of public works is detailed in these chapters. The genesis of public works philosophy in modernisation principles of growing the economy first and reaping the benefits through trickle down was criticised as one major shortcoming in the conceptual framework. Supposedly, this has to be countered through the adoption of social development paradigm advocating for the emancipation of the human being.

Questionnaires and a focus group discussion were used in this research to collect data. Data were arranged, presented, and analysed with the use of some simple statistics. This was assisted by the use of pie charts, tables, and bar graphs. Besides use of such quantitative techniques, descriptive inferential analysis was also utilised. In the

study, 22 percent were male while 78 percent were female most of them married women. All 60 participants had participated in the public works programmes with some still participating in the current programmes.

Successes of the Public Works Programmes

It can be concluded that there are positive outcomes of the projects underscored throughout the research. Women were the main beneficiaries to these programmes as outlined in the research findings. This was hailed as it promotes a culture of gender sensitivity.



Generally, providing work for rural women has seen more benefits trickling into the households as compared to providing work for men.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

This is because most of the income is used for household use, which rarely occurs with most men who reduce their families to poverty by using the money on beer. The involvement and participation of women in the decision-making process has also been instrumental, as it has seen the suggestion of very useful projects. Infrastructure like village tracks and water weirs have helped to reduce the day-to-day hardships faced by these women and their communities at large.

The creation of water storage facilities like dams and weirs created a good platform for self-sufficiency as gardening activities could be carried out. The projects played an instrumental role in the expansion

and development of rural road network. These roads are very important to the general development of the rural areas, which is strongly linked with poverty reduction. However, relative neglect of the created infrastructure created militated against the comprehensive harvests of benefits brought therewith.

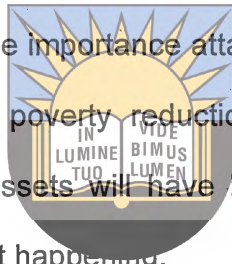
Negative Outcomes

While the public works programmes were hailed for the positive outcomes, it appears they are burdened with a load of negative outcomes as well. Of the outstanding negative outcomes, public works programmes have been criticised of micro focusing. Few people end up benefiting from the programmes, which pay little dividends. The reduction of food payments to mere tokens of appreciation has been defended as a targeting method to encourage self-selection and discourage the well to do from entering the programmes.

The above means that, only those in need end up participating. This increases poverty as the people will spend valuable time on a poorly paying job that consumes their time, which could be utilised in other activities that can increase their incomes. However, this reduction in the amounts paid off to individuals has been praised as it increases the number of participants in the programmes. This does not reduce

poverty but equalises poverty with every person having an equal share with the other while remaining deprived.

The choice of assets in public works schemes has tended to be poor because of public participation. This is connected to poor literacy of the beneficiaries, which can be confirmed by the educational levels attained. The same goes with the lifespan of the assets, which is heavily dependant on the importance attached by the community. This has seriously affected poverty reduction as it ends up not being realised because the assets will have been poorly managed hence trickle down ends up not happening.



University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

Overwhelming was the criticism on corruption. Public participation with community leaders being in charge increases the grip of the community on the projects. This however has been criticised to be one factor increasing corruption. With the low levels of literacy, inequitable power structures allow corruption to flourish.

It was also realised that no long-term employment has been generated and no effort towards doing this has been exerted. It was learnt that there is too little or no training that is associated with the programmes hence no building of capacity to get formally employed. This was concluded to be one reason why the people of Gutu remain deprived

of employment. They are technically handicapped and programmes do little to foster their emancipation.

Poverty persists in the district because public works aims at curing symptoms of poverty. There is no effort at transforming the present conditions but emphasis is laid on improving the situation, which ends up in an equalisation of poverty among the poor communities. This means that poverty remains in place but with little inequalities if the poor people are compared.



Many of the projects and assets are neglected as soon as the programme directors leave. Funding also stops coming towards the projects. This has been associated with politicisation of programmes where projects come as campaign tools. After elections, they disappear. In this respect, there is need for self-regenerating and self-financing projects. It can therefore be concluded that although the public works programmes have not been significantly active at reducing some effects of poverty in the study district, they were also instrumental as they brought some useful outcomes.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Recommendations

The final objective of the study was to suggest options for the adoption and management of sustainable poverty reduction strategies. In view

of the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made following the analysis of the results:

- There must be a comprehensive integration of rural development and poverty reduction. This must happen from the conception of policies, planning, and implementation. This combination can produce favourable results in the rural areas. Any effort aimed at rural development must have an implicit objective of reducing poverty.
- It is beseeching to set up an effective, decentralised system of delivery that is capable of translating the perceived goals into reality.
- The system of delivery needs to put its weight on the planning framework, work force development, constant impact assessment, and feedback in order to produce an efficient system.
- There is also need to create an environment that enables easy access to the available options. Although decentralisation has been at the fore, it is perceived there is need for effective decentralisation. This must do away with the top down ethnocentric approach and embrace fully a people centred development paradigm.
- While government cannot go it alone due to inadequate personnel and financial resource constraints, there is need for close connection with the non-governmental organisations. They must



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

be equal partners in poverty reduction since more funding can be mobilised this way. This can help to do away with the short life of the projects and bring in more self-sustaining projects.

Directions for Future Research

This research realises that there was no comprehensive coverage of the area hence the outcome of the research needs further strengthening through more inquiry. More wards need to be covered with the use of diversified methods of data collection.

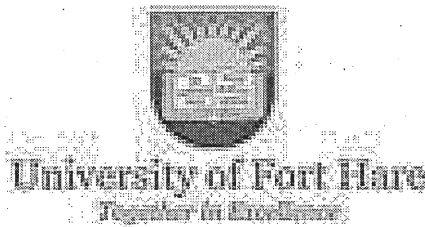


It was also realised that public works are not the only intervention that has been used towards poverty reduction in the area; there is need also to research on these interventions. This must be in the light of coming up with one sustainable integrated approach which encompasses all the other ideas.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Appendices

Annexure 1 The Questionnaire



I am Blessing Josiah Zindoga a Masters in Development Studies student at the University of Fort Hare in South Africa. I am carrying out a study aimed at finding out the successes and failures of public works; food-for-work /cash-for-work programmes in reducing food deprivation, unemployment, and social exclusion poverty in Gona District. I request your assistance in answering some questions, which I think, will assist me in reaching the objectives of my study. If you take part in this interview, you are assured that this is a purely academic research that regards your anonymity as an issue of greatest priority. Results from this study will only be used for academic purposes and as a result, you are therefore requested to suppress any politically motivated sentiments when you supply information. If time allows, I will be free to share with you the results of this study.

Thank you

J. Zindoga

J.B Zindoga

Personal Details

Gender: Male

Female

Age:

Place of Residence (Name of Ward):.....

Marital Status: Single

Married

Staying in

Separated

Divorced

Widowed



Educational level attained

Never went to school	Primary school	Secondary school	Other
	<i>University of Port Harcourt Together in Excellence</i>		

Employment Status

In school	Unemployed	Employed temporarily	Employed Permanently	Self Employed

Sources of income

Employment	Cash-for-work projects	Husband/Partner	Other

Sources of food

Buy from Salary	Food/Cash-for-work	Husband /partner's salary	Other

1 Do you know anything about public works (food-for-work/cash-for-work) programmes?

Yes

No

2 How did you learn about the existence of the programme?

From a relative

From a friend

The chief/ village heads

Poster



3 Which type of programme were you involved in?

Food-for-work

Cash-for-work

Both

None

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

4 For how long have you been involved in the programme?

Less than 3 months

Three to six months

Six months to one year

More than a year

5 Why did you choose to participate in the programmes?

Wanted to enhance income

Was selected by the community

Other
(specify).....

6 How would you judge the selection process that was used to identify participants into the programme?

Fair

Unfair

Reason:.....
.....

7 What type of projects were you involved in?

.....
.....

8 Did you receive any training to carry out the tasks?

Yes

No

9 Did you use the knowledge from the training to gain entry into other jobs afterwards?

Yes

No



10 In what ways has the programme helped you?

.....
.....

11 In what ways, has the programme helped to help you?
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

.....
.....

12 Do you have any chance to negotiate the payment that you receive?

Yes

No

13 Do you participate in suggesting projects?

Yes

No

If no why?

14 In general, what can you say are the advantages of having such programmes in your community?

.....
.....
.....

15 What weaknesses do you see in the food-for-work/cash-for-work as they operate in your area?

.....
.....
16 Have you ever heard of people abusing the food/cash-for-work programmes?

Yes

No

How does this abuse occur?.....
.....

17 Do you have any suggestions to make public works effective in meeting the needs of the deprived?



Date.../07/2008

University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

Interviewer: *ibzindoga*

Annexure 2 Application for Police Clearance to hold Discussion



J.B. Zindoga
Room 2A 14
Iona 2
University of Fort Hare
Alice
Republic of South Africa

The Member in Charge
Basera Police Station
PA Basera
Gutu
27-06-2008



University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

RE: Application for Clearance to Hold an Academic Focus Group Discussion.
As provided for by the laws of the Government of Zimbabwe, under the Public Order and Security Act, I hereby present my application to hold an academic discussion with some members of ward 36 and 17 communities. It is proposed that the rendezvous be Alheit Mission and the group consists of a maximum of 15 people. The date of discussion shall be the 4th day of July 2008. Forming part of the discussion shall be questions pertaining to the use of cash and food for wok programmes in reducing food deprivation poverty, unemployment and social exclusion in making important decisions in life in the Gutu District. It is emphasized that this is a purely academic discussion whose results are intended for use in the compilation of a research report to the effect of the award of a master of social sciences degree by the University of Fort Hare South Africa.

I am hoping you will consider my application.

With thanks

J. Zindoga

Blessing J. Zindoga (200706156)



Annexure 3 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

~~Let knowledge grow from more to more and thus humankind be enriched~~

Variable	Responses	
Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	13	21.7
Female	47	78.3
Total	60	100 percent
Ages in years		
Under 21 years	4	6.67
22-30	6	10
31-39	16	26.67
40-45	25	41.7
Above 45 years	9	15
Total	60	100 percent
Marital status		
Married	40	66.7
Single	7	11.7
Staying in	0	0
Widowed	11	18.3
Divorced	2	3.3
Total	60	100 percent
Level of education		
Never went to school	7	11.7
Primary school	38	63.3
Secondary school	11	18.3
Other (advanced level, College, University)	4	6.7
Occupational Status		
In school	0	0
Unemployed	34	56.7
Employed temporarily	9	15
Self employed	17	28.3
Employed	0	0

permanently		
Total	60	100 percent

Source: Fieldwork

Annexure 4 The Focus Group Discussion Details

Introduction:

Good afternoon and welcome to our focus group session on the role of public works (food-for-work and cash-for-work) programmes in the reduction of food deprivation, unemployment and social exclusion poverty in the Gutu district. Thank you for taking your time to have lunch with me and to discuss the usefulness of public works programmes in reducing poverty. My name is Josiah Blessing Zindoga and I am a master of development studies student with the University of Fort Hare South Africa. I am attempting to gain information that would help to develop strategies to increase the usefulness of public works programmes in reducing poverty. As you may know, as a researcher I cannot reach... fulfil... accomplish... my goals and mission without your support. You have been invited to share your ideas on how useful have the projects been to your society and how they can be made more useful as a development initiative.

You were selected because you are legitimate residents of Gutu District who have been benefiting and are supposed to benefit from the initiative. I am particularly interested in your views because, collectively, you will provide ideas on what it would take for the public works to be a success in reducing poverty. We will be discussing this important issue with reference to your experience.

I will conduct the focus group with a series of questions. There are no right or wrong answers but rather differing points of view. Please feel free to share your point of view even if it differs from what others have said.

Before we begin, let me remind you of some of the ground rules. Please speak up – only one person should talk at a time. I will be taking down notes of your ideas during the session because we do not want to miss any of your comments. If several people are talking at the same time, it will be difficult to transcribe and we will miss your comments. We will be on a first name basis for this discussion. In any of my later reports, no names will be attached to comments. You may be assured of complete confidentiality. Please keep in mind that I am just as interested in negative comments as positive comments, and at times, the negative comments are the most helpful.

This session will last about an hour and we will not be taking a formal break. Well, let us begin. We will try to remember each other's names.

Focus Group Questioning Route

Warm-up questions

Think back over the past several years, how were you initially contacted to become a worker in the public works food/cash-for-work projects?

Again thinking back, what motivated you to become a participant?

When you think of a poor person, what comes to mind?

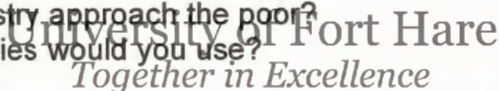
Reviewing the efficacy of public works

Consider yourself as a consultant to the Government Ministry of Public works. We are reviewing the effectiveness of the food-for-work/cash-for-work strategy in reducing poverty effects in the rural areas.

What advice do you have for the Ministry?

How should the Ministry approach the poor?

What specific strategies would you use?



Thinking back over your own experience, tell us about the things food/cash-for-work programmes have tried in the past that should not be repeated or continued doing.

Tell us about the things that have been tried in the past that should be repeated or continued doing.

Again, thinking back over the years, what kind of barriers have you encountered in making the decision to become a participant in public works and how did you deal with it?

Probes: Marketing, Attitudes, Values, Resources, Policies, Politics

What do you feel are the benefits to participants, especially poor people?

Have we missed anything you consider important to increasing the usefulness of food-for-work and cash-for-work programmes?

End Question

What would motivate you to continue participating in these programmes?

References

- African Centre For Applied Research and Training in Social Development (ACARTSOD) (1980), *Report of the Expert Group Meeting on the African Centre for Applied Research and Training in Social Development* (Tripoli).
- Ake, Claude (1996) *Democracy and Development in Africa*. Washington D.C: The Brookings Institution.
- Bird, Kate and Shepherd, Andrew (2003) "Chronic poverty in semi arid Zimbabwe." CPRC Working Paper 18 June (2003) Overseas Development Institute.
- Buvinic, Myrah (2004) *Social Inclusion and Economic development in Latin America*. Baltimore, Inter American Development Bank.
- Chipika, Jesimen. T, Chibanda Stanford, Kadenge Phineas. G, (2000) *Effects of Structural Adjustment in Southern Africa: the Case of Zimbabwe's Manufacturing Sector During Phase 1 Of ESAP: 1991-1995*. Harare: SAPESS.
- Cheema Sheeber.G and Rondinelli Dennis. A. (eds) (1983). "Implementing Decentralization Policies" in *Decentralization and Development: Policy Implementation in Developing Countries*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications.
- Cleaver, Frances (2001) "Institutions, Agency and the Limitations of Participatory Approaches to Development", in Cooke, B., and U. Kothari (eds), *Participation: The New Tyranny?* London & New York: Zed Books, pp. 36- 55.
- Dashwood, Hevina.S. (2000) *The Political Economy of Transformation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- De Beer, Frik. and Swanepoel, Hennie. (2000) *Introduction to Development Studies*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

- Derjardin, Amelita.K. (1996) *Issues in Development Discussion Paper 10 'Public Works, A Strategy for Poverty Alleviation: The Gender Dimension'* ILO.
- Dillard, Dudley (2005) *The Economics of John Maynard Keynes: Theory of a Monetary Economy*, Kessinger Publishing.
- Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), (1984) *Economic and Social Development paper 44 Development Strategies for the Poor*.
- Gabriel, Tom. (1991.) *The Human Factor in Rural Development*. London: Belhaven.
- Gaidzanwa, Rudo (2001) *Policy Making Issues in Southern Africa*. Harare: SAPES
- Garnier, Philippe and Marjeres, Jean (1992) "Fighting Poverty by Promoting Employment and Socio-Economic Rights at the Grass Roots". *International Labour Review*, Vol.131.No. 1 (1992).
- Gaude, J. and Waltzwick, H. (1992) "Employment Creation and Poverty Reduction through Labour-Intensive Public Works in Least Developed Countries." *International Labour Review*, Vol.131.No. 1 (1992).
- Government of Zimbabwe (1991) "The Second Five Year Development Plan 1991-1995".
- Hague, William. (2007) "International community has a moral responsibility to speak." *Mail and Guardian*, April 20-25 (2007) P1
- Hardiman, Margaret, and Midgley, James (1982) *The Social Dimensions of Development: Social Policy and Planning in the Third world*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Hunt, D (1989) *Economic Theories of Development: An Analysis of Competing Paradigms*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Huysamen, G.K (1994) *Methodology for the Social and Behavioural Sciences*. Bloemfontein: Southern Book Publishers.

- Jacobs, Garry and Asokan N., (1999) "Towards a Comprehensive Theory of Social Development" in: *Human Choice*, USA: world Academy of Art & Science.
- Jara, R.A. (1971). *Labour Mobilisation and Economic Development: The Moroccan Experience*. Ann Arbour, Center for Economic Development, April.
- Johnson, Stanley (ed.) (1993) *The Earth Summit: The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development*. London: Graham and Trotman.
- Johnston, Bruce F and Clark William C. (1982) *Redesigning Rural Development a Strategic Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Kohli, Atul (1987) *The State of Poverty in India: The Politics of Reform*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kothari, Ranjini (1993) *Poverty, Human Consciousness and the Amnesia of Development*, London: Zedbooks.
- Layder, Derek (1993) *New Strategies in Social Research*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Marx, Karl (1974) *Capital Vol 1*. Lawrence and Wishart.
- McCord, A and Van Seventer, D. E. (2004) *The Economy-wide Impacts of the Labour intensification of infrastructure Expenditure in South Africa*. Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR). University of Cape Town (UCT).
- Mellor, John .W and Desai, Gunvant, M. (1985) *Agricultural Change and Rural Poverty* Johns Hopkins University Press: London
- Merriam, J.H and Simpson, E.L. (1984) *A Guide to Research for Adult Educators and Trainers*. Florida: Kreiger Publishing Company.
- Mwanza, Allast (1999) *Social Policy in an Economy under Stress: The case of Zimbabwe*. Harare: SAPES Books.
- Nayyar, Rohini. (2002) *Issues in Employment and Poverty Discussion Paper 3. 'The Contribution of Public Works and Other Labour-*

- Based Infrastructure to Poverty Reduction: The Indian Experience.' Geneva: International Labour Organisation.
- Ndongko, T.M (1991) "The Lagos Plan and Social Development in Central Africa: an Evaluation" in Mohammed, Duri (ed.) *Social Development in Africa: Strategies, Policies and Programmes after the Lagos Plan*. England: Hans Zell Publishers
- Novak, Tony. (1988) *Poverty and the State*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Patton, Michael Q. (1990) *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. California: Sage Publications.
- Ranger, Terrence. O (1985) *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe*. London: James Currey.
- Ravallion, Martin. (1990) *Reaching the Poor through Rural Public Employment, A Survey of Theory and Evidence*. World Bank discussion papers 94. The World Bank, Washington D.C.
- Rondinelli, Dennis. (1993) *Development Projects as Policy Experiments: an Adaptive Approach to Development Administration*. London: Routledge.
- Sachikonye, Lloyd "Industrial relations and labour relations under ESAP in Zimbabwe" in Gibbon Peter (ed) (1995) *Structural Adjustment and the Working poor in Zimbabwe*. Uppsala :Nordic Africa Institute.
- Schuurman, Frans J. (ed). (1993a) *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*. London: Zed.
- Seidman, Ann and Anang, Fredrick (eds.) (1992) *Twenty first century Africa: Towards a New Vision of Self-Sustainable Development*. New Jersey: Africa world Press.
- Sen, Amartya "Reducing Poverty; The Overall Framework" in Field Garry S, and Pfeffermann (eds.) *Pathways Out of Poverty: Private Firms and Economic Mobility in Developing Countries*. Boston: Wuer Academic Publishers.

- Silverman, Dan. P (1998) *Hitlers Economy: Nazi Work Creation Programs, 1933-1936* Harvard University Press
- Swanepoel, Hendrik, Jacobus. (1992) *Community Development: Putting Plans into Action*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Swanepoel, Hennie and De Beer K. (1996) *Community Capacity Building: A Guide for Field Workers and Community Leaders*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Tuckman, B.W. (1997) *Conducting Educational Research*, New York, Harcakt Brace Press.
- Webb, Patrick. (1995) In Von Braun, Joachim. (ed) *Employment for Poverty Reduction and Security*, "Employment Programmes for Food Security in Rural and Urban Africa: Experiences in Niger and Zimbabwe": International Food Policy Research institute.
- Wilson, Francis; Kanji, Nazneen; Brathen, Einar (2001) *Poverty Reduction: What role for the State in Today's Globalised Economy* Cape Town, New Africa Educational Publishing
- World Bank (2006) *World Development Indicators*. The World Bank: Washington D.C.
- World Bank (2003) *Reaching the Rural Poor: A Renewed Strategy for Rural Development*. Washington D.C: The World Bank.
- World Bank (2000) *Can Africa Reclaim the 21st Century?* Washington D.C: The World Bank.
- World Bank (1997) *Taking Action to Reduce Poverty in Sub Saharan Africa*. Washington D.C: The World Bank.

On-line resources

Government of Zimbabwe (July 2003) "Policy on operations on Non-Governmental Organisations in humanitarian and development assistance in Zimbabwe" Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare <http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0000520/index.php>

IOL News for South Africa, "Research shows public works projects are no panacea for poverty." 14 October 2007 accessed 13/06/2008 at 15:21 hrs on

(www.busrep.co.za/index.php?fArticleId=4077641).

Oregon Coast Magazine Online "Foreign Affairs of Adolf Hitler 1889-1945 accessed 20/06/2008 at 18:20hrs on

(<http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h1695.html>).

Martinez, Elizabeth and Garcia, Fernando "What is Neo-liberalism? A Brief Definition for Activists." National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights <http://www.cordwatch.org/article.php?id=376>

World Bank April 21, (1995) Zimbabwe Achieving Shared Growth Country Economic Memorandum. Main report volume II: Report no.13540-

Zim www4.worldbank.org/afr/poverty/measuring/country/profiles.cfm?Country=ZWE

Wikipedia "Great Depression" accessed 15/08/2007 at 09:33hrs on

Wikipedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Depression