

**THE RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY EFFECTS OF SOCIAL GRANTS ON POVERTY
ALLEVIATION IN THE POLOKWANE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY, SOUTH AFRICA**

By

Edwin Mwasakidzeni Mutyeniyoka

Dissertation

Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree

Masters of Development (Planning and Management)

to the

Department of Development Planning and Management,

in the

**Faculty of Management and Law
(School of Economics and Management)**

at the

University of Limpopo

Supervisor: Professor J.P. Tsheola

2016

Declaration

I declare that **The Rural-Urban Dichotomy Effects of Social Grants on Poverty Alleviation in the Polokwane Local Municipality, Limpopo Province** hereby submitted to the **University of Limpopo**, for the degree of **Master of Development (Development Planning and Management)** has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university; that it is my own work in design and in execution, and that all material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.

Mutyenyoka, E.M. (Mr)

Date...06 July 2016

Signature:

Acknowledgements

The journey to deliver this project has not only been a concoction of sweat, joy, stress, lessons, revelations, frustration and mental development, it has left me forever indebted to many a people and the Almighty God.

Secondly, I wish to take my hat off to the personified wisdom that my supervisor, **Professor J.P. Tsheola**, is. Sessions with him throughout this project were guaranteed of the same process which crafted the academic I regard myself as today. The process systematically, and yet always dynamic, started with lashes which would gradually graduate into robust motivation. Indeed, “wisdom is a non-grey self-selection and self-determination.”

Thirdly, I would like to appreciate my family, **Akomenemwi**, for setting academic and behavioural standards and values high enough to challenge me and provisioning complementing moral support and financial resources to help me match them.

Last, but by far not least, the support structures of the **University of Limpopo**, through mainly the **Department of Development Planning and Management** and its vibrant cohort will remain major stakeholders in this research project and many other academic works they inspired out of me.

Dedication

This milestone would have made my late father, **Enock Mutyenyo**, a very proud man. Baba, you saw my potential to achieve this and more before I could even imagine it myself and for that, this dissertation is dedicated to your prophetic vision about my life journey.

Abstract

The purview of this project is to interrogate the alleged rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants on poverty alleviation. One major problem that sophisticates rural-urban comparative studies is that there is no universally agreed upon definition of "urban" or "rural". By virtue of their contrasting contexts, rural and urban areas are diametrically divergent in terms of their characteristics. These inherent contrasts are critical to the applicability and effects of concerted interventions due to the diversity of actors, agendas, underlying intentions and so on. On one hand, people in rural areas are characterized by socio-economic homogeneity and thus they enjoy communitarianism. On the other, urbanites generally belong to different castes, creeds, religions and cultures, thus they rarely share same social statuses, norms and values. Socio-economic narratives are thereby intrinsically distributed among rural and urban households as well as societies and so are the effects of intervention strategies such as social grants. Literature documents increased blurring of urban-rural distinctions in developed countries, but a multidimensional characterization of settlement type based on style and density of housing, predominant commercial and agricultural activities, and access to services still vividly demonstrates the rural-urban dichotomy in South Africa. The study, thereby, puts the Polokwane Local Municipality on the spotlight to argue that by virtue of contrasting contexts and divergent characteristics between rural and urban areas, social grants have dichotomous effects as strategy for poverty amelioration. The study engages on a scholarship synthesis of characteristics and contexts of the rural-urban dichotomy, roles and types of social grants and dimensions and dynamics of poverty in rural and urban areas prior to a presentation a resume of theoretical and empirical findings from the cross-sectional survey in the Municipality. Employing snowballing to sample a total of a hundred grant-receiving households, the study qualitatively and quantitatively analyses and interprets data from the two study areas. The key finding emanating from the core of the research problem was that despite arguments about modern rural areas across the globe experiencing factors traditionally associated with the urban environment and the ensuing increased blurring of urban-rural distinctions, a multidimensional characterization of settlement type based on style and density of housing, predominant commercial and agricultural activities, behaviour and access to services in South Africa still vividly demonstrates the rural-urban

dichotomy. In the same line of thought, the study concludes that not only are the effects of social grants dichotomous between rural and urban grantees but the effects empirically show dissimilarities at different levels of analysis, including individual, household, location and cash values of various grants. The conclusion also consolidates recommendations revolving around the augmentation of rural-urban effects of social grants so as to synchronize poverty alleviation.

Table of Contents

| ITEM DESCRIPTION | PAGE |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| <i>Declaration</i> | ii |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | iii |
| <i>Dedication</i> | iv |
| <i>Abstract</i> | v |
| Table of Contents | vii |
| List of References | xii |
| List of appendices | xii |
| List of Tables | xii |
| List of Figures | xiii |
| Acronyms | xv |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH DESIGN FOR THE RURAL- URBAN DICHOTOMY AND SOCIAL GRANTS

| Contents | Pages |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1.1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND | 1 |
| 1.2. STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM | 3 |
| 1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS | 4 |
| 1.4. RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES | 4 |
| 1.5. DEFINITION OF TERMS | 5 |
| 1.6. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY | 5 |

| | |
|---|----|
| 1.6.1. Research Design | 6 |
| 1.6.2. Kinds of Data Required | 6 |
| 1.6.3. Description of Study Area | 7 |
| 1.6.4. Target Population and Unit of Analysis | 8 |
| 1.6.5. Sampling Design | 9 |
| 1.6.6. Data Collection Methods | 10 |
| 1.6.7. Data Analysis Methods | 10 |
| 1.6.8. Validity and Reliability | 11 |
| 1.7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY | 12 |
| 1.8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS | 12 |
| 1.9. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION | 13 |
| 1.10. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY | 14 |

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY EFFECTS OF SOCIAL GRANTS ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION

| Content | Page |
|---|-------------|
| 2.1. INTRODUCTION | 15 |
| 2.2. CHARACTERISTICS AND CONTEXTS OF THE RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY | 16 |
| 2.3. THEORIES, ROLES AND TYPES OF SOCIAL SECURITY STRATEGIES | 18 |

| | |
|--|----|
| 2.3.1. The Esping-Andersen Theory of Welfare State Regimes | 18 |
| 2.3.2. Roles of Social Protection Policies | 20 |
| 2.3.2.1. <i>Elevation of Welfare, Consumption and Access to Basic Services</i> | 21 |
| 2.3.2.2. <i>Economic Gains: Risks Management, Savings and Investments</i> | 22 |
| 2.3.2.3. <i>Empowerment of the Poor</i> | 23 |
| 2.3.2.3.1. <i>The Empowerment Theory</i> | 24 |
| 2.3.3. Types of Social Security Strategies | 27 |
| 2.3.3.1. <i>Children-Oriented Grants</i> | 27 |
| 2.3.3.2. <i>Grants/Pensions for the Old Age</i> | 29 |
| 2.3.3.3. <i>Grants for the Disabled</i> | 30 |
| 2.4. DIMENSIONS AND DYNAMICS OF POVERTY IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS | 31 |
| 2.4.1. Income Based Approaches | 32 |
| 2.4.2. The Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) | 34 |
| 2.5. RURAL-URBAN EFFECTS OF SOCIAL PROTECTION STRATEGIES | 36 |
| 2.5.1. Social Grants and Human Welfare | 40 |
| 2.5.2. Economic Effects of Social Grants in Rural and Urban Areas | 43 |
| 2.5.3. Social Empowerment through Social Grants | 44 |
| 2.6. CONCLUSION | 46 |

CHAPTER THREE
SOCIAL GRANTS AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

| Content | Page |
|--|-------------|
| 3.1. INTRODUCTION | 48 |
| 3.2. RURAL AND URBAN AREAS: CHARACTERISTIC AND CONTEXTUAL DICHOTOMIES | 48 |
| 3.3. ROLES AND TYPEDS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL GRANTS SYSTEM | 50 |
| 3.3.1. Child Support Grant (CSG) | 52 |
| 3.3.2. State Old Age Grant (SOAG) | 55 |
| 3.3.3. Disability Grant (DG) | 57 |
| 3.4. DIMENSIONS AND DYNAMICS OF POVERTY IN RURAL AND URBAN SOUTH AFRICA | 58 |
| 3.4.1. The Income Perspective of Poverty | 60 |
| 3.4.2. Dynamics of Poverty: Rural versus Urban Poverty | 64 |
| 3.4.3. Dimensions of Poverty: Chronic versus Episodic Poverty | 67 |
| 3.5. RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY EFFECTS OF SOCIAL GRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA | 68 |
| 3.5.1. National and Provincial Social Grant and Poverty Profile | 69 |
| 3.5.2. Food Security and Health | 72 |
| 3.5.3. Social Capital | 74 |
| 3.5.4. Gendered Effects of Grants in Rural and Urban Areas | 76 |
| 3.5.5. The Efficacy of Grants in Rural and Urban South Africa | 78 |

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| 3.6. CONCLUSION | 79 |
|-----------------|----|

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE POLOKWANE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY EMPIRICAL DATA

| | |
|--|----|
| 4.1. INTRODUCTION | 81 |
| 4.2. RURAL-URBAN BACKGROUND OF THE POLOKWANE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY | 82 |
| 4.2.1. Seshego Township (Ward 8) | 82 |
| 4.2.2. Ga-Maja Village (Ward 3) | 83 |
| 4.3. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF GA-MAJA VILLAGE AND SESHEGO TOWNSHIP | 83 |
| 4.3.1. Household Population Size, Age and Grantee-Non Grantee Ratios | 84 |
| 4.3.2. Educational Levels | 87 |
| 4.3.3. Employment statuses in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township | 89 |
| 4.4. CHARACTERISTICS AND CONTEXTS OF THE RURAL URBAN DICHOTOMY | 91 |
| 4.4.1. Distance and Expenses to Access and Utilise Grants | 91 |
| 4.4.2. Gender issues | 93 |
| 4.4.3. Measuring Social Capital in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township | 95 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 4.5. TYPES AND ROLES OF SOCIAL GRANTS | 97 |
| 4.5.1. Non-Grant Income among recipient households | 98 |
| 4.5.2. Overarching Utilization of Grants Beyond Grantees' Needs | 99 |
| 4.5.3. Gendered Role of Social Grants | 101 |
| 4.6. DIMENSIONS AND DYNAMICS OF POVERTY IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS | 105 |
| 4.7. RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY EFFECTS OF THE SOCIAL GRANTS ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION | 108 |
| 4.7.1. Social Capital | 108 |
| 4.7.2. Empowerment | 112 |
| 4.7.3. Dependency | 115 |
| 4.7.4. Fertility Rates | 118 |
| 4.8. CONCLUSION | 124 |

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION ON THE RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY EFFECTS OF SOCIAL GRANTS ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION

| | |
|------------------------|-----|
| 5.1 INTRODUCTION | 125 |
| 5.2. RESEARCH FINDINGS | 126 |
| 5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS | 130 |
| 5.4. CONCLUSION | 131 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| List of References | 132 |
| Appendix 1. Semi-Structured Questionnaire | 141 |
| Appendix 2. Interview Schedule | 156 |
| Appendix 3. Ethics Clearance Letter | 158 |
| Appendix 4. Data Collection Permission Letters | 159 |

List of Tables

| Description | Page |
|---|-------------|
| Table 1: Distance and Expenses to Access and Utilise Grants | 92 |
| Table 2. Ranked Expenses and Utilization of Grant Income | 103 |

List of Figures

| Description | Page |
|--------------------|-------------|
|--------------------|-------------|

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 4.1. Distribution of Social Grants: Gender, Age, Eligibility | 85 |
| Figure 4.2. Educational Levels in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township | 88 |
| Figure 4.3. Employment Statuses Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township | 90 |
| Figure 4.4. Gendered Decision Making on the Utilisation of Grants | 94 |
| Figure 4.5. Sharing Habits between Households | 96 |
| Figure 4.6. Types of Social Grants | 97 |
| Figure 4.7. Social Grants as the Only Source of Household Income | 99 |
| Figure 4.8. Utilization of Social Grants | 100 |
| Figure 4.9. Gendered Effects of Social Grants | 102 |
| Figure 4.10. Hierarchies of Needs in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township | 106 |
| Figure 4.11. Grant Income as a Main Determinant of Household Welfare | 107 |
| Figure 4.12. Sharing of Resources and Communitarianism | 110 |
| Figure 4.13. Social Grants and Social Capital | 111 |
| Figure 4.14. Non-Grant Income Dynamics in Grant-Receiving Households | 113 |
| Figure 4.15. Frequency of Borrowing Money | 114 |
| Figure 4.16. Grants as the Main Source of Income | 116 |
| Figure 4.17. Non-Grant Income in Households | 117 |
| Figure 4.18. Age Constitution of Child Support Grant Recipients in Ga-Maja Village | 118 |
| Figure 4.19. Grant Income and High Fertility Rates | 120 |
| Figure 4.20. Social Grants, Savings/Investment and Employment Ratios | 121 |
| Figure 4.21. Effects of Social Grants on Poverty Alleviation | 123 |

Acronyms

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

| | |
|-----------|---|
| CSG: | Child Support Grant |
| CDM: | Capricorn District Municipality |
| DA: | Disability Grant |
| DCG: | Dependency Care Grant |
| DSD: | Department of Social Development |
| LEAP: | Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty |
| FBS: | Free Basic Services |
| FCG: | Foster Care Grant |
| GEI: | Gender Equality Index |
| GHS: | General Household Survey |
| HIV/AIDS: | Human Immunodeficiency Virus |
| IES: | Income and Expenditure Survey |
| IMF: | International Monetary Fund |
| KZN: | KwaZulu Natal |
| KIDS: | KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study |
| MDG: | Millennium Development Goal |
| NSPS: | National Social Protection Strategy |
| ODI: | Overseas Development Institute |
| PPP: | Purchasing Power Parity |
| PSDF: | Polokwane Spatial Development Framework |
| RSA: | Republic of South Africa |

SASSA: South African Social Security Agency
StatsSA: Statistics South Africa
SOAG: State Old Age Grant
SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UN: United Nations
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF: United Nations International Children Fund
WHO: World Health Organisation

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH DESIGN FOR THE RURAL- URBAN DICHOTOMY AND SOCIAL GRANTS

1.1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

A combination of social, economic and environmental factors has collectively compounded the scourge of poverty in developing countries (World Bank, 2013; Christiaensen and Todo, 2014). Whilst the incidence, depth and severity of poverty has gradually become identical between rural and urban areas (Pasha, 2014), there remains sets of plights which are unique to each of the two geographical contexts (Alem, 2015). With surveys showing that low income households are more vulnerable to poverty, income has substantially earned acceptability as the proxy for welfare both in rural and urban areas especially in free market economies (Pan and Yang, 2011; Cheng, 2014). Subsequently, income-based poverty lines and consumption thresholds have been orthodox denominators in the identification of “deserving” beneficiaries of public and private relief strategies such as social grants in welfare states. However, the solicited uniformity of goals and output off the social security system is allegedly compromised by rural-urban dichotomous effects of social grants on poverty alleviation (van der Berg, 2010). Baker and Schuler (2009) postulate that the social grant approach tends to turn a blind eye on the fungibility of relief funds (cash, food vouchers) and unsolicited distribution of benefits per capita within households, mostly among urban recipients. Furthermore, there is relentless allusion to pitiable rates of beneficiaries’ graduation from “indigence status” and generational overlaps of dependency on free basic services and social grants, especially in rural areas (South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), 2015). This could be viewed as the root of chronic poverty and as testimony to the failure and unsustainability of the means-tested cash transfers (Reddy and Sokomani, 2008; van der Burg, 2010; Stren, 2014). The study, thereby, argued that virtue of contrasting contexts and divergent characteristics, social grants have dichotomous rural-urban effects as strategy for poverty amelioration.

Regardless of the aforementioned, social relief in form of cash transfers and food programmes have been exponentially improved over the years to counter global financial crises and income inequalities especially in (aspirant) welfare states such as Brazil, the Gulf region, Ghana and South Africa, to mention a few (Finmark, 2009; Neves, 2013; World Bank, 2013). The Ghanaian National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS) acknowledges that economic growth alone is not sufficient for the fight against, especially, rural poverty (NSPS, 2007). The main component of the NSPS is a social grants programme called the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme which provides social grants to beneficiaries chosen from extremely poor households in Ghana to supplement the basic subsistence needs of the target groups and link them up with complementary services. Since poverty in Ghana is noted to be a predominantly rural phenomenon with about two-thirds of the poverty-stricken population living in rural areas, the LEAP has proportionally committed a bigger fraction of its safety net to rural Ghana (Osei, 2011). In her own part, South Africa recently announced an additional R7.2 billion (to the already apportioned R120 billion) to upsurge the monthly social grant per capita and to subsequently reduce a fairly high economic inequality rate (0.7 Gini coefficient). These efforts are regardless of apparent dichotomous rural-urban effects of these safety net programmes on poverty alleviation being consistently recorded in South Africa. The study methodologically examined social grant policy designs in tandem with poverty dimensions in one of the country's most indigent provinces. (Chowdhury and Mukhopadhyaya, 2012; Republic of South Africa (RSA), 2015; South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), 2016).

Limpopo Province, being the poorest and predominantly a rural region, has prominently featured as a priority target of public and private anti-poverty initiatives (Gyekye and Akinboade, 2003; Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), 2015). The majority of the population in the province resides in rural and underdeveloped areas, whilst rampant (e)migration has transferred poverty onto its urban peripheries, slums and townships. The Polokwane Local Municipality is deeply marked by multi-dimensional and spatially-unique deprivations all revolving around low quality, scale and speed of service delivery,

crime, illiteracy, spatial injustices among other ills. As such, social grants have been traditionally a principal intervention strategy and the main income source for indigent households which are “fortunately” home to either children, old people and/or the disabled (Todaro, 2013). Whilst the indicators and processes used to determine eligibility to various social grants do not only under-count the deserving poor in rural areas, the aggregation of rural-urban poverty profiles have allegedly left vast non-monetary, incalculable and yet intractable dimensions of poverty unrelieved in the Polokwane Local Municipality (Tacoli, 2012; Polokwane Local Municipality, 2010). Hence, the Polokwane Local Municipality is no exception to the rural-urban dichotomous effects of social grants. This study sought to contextualize and disaggregate socio-economic narratives intrinsically distributed between rural and urban households as well as the rest of the societies in order to evaluate and appraise the effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation in the municipality (Seshego Township and Ga-Maja Village).

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

High incidence of poverty in Limpopo Province aggravates entrenched complexities in the measurement of the efficacy of public and private concerted intervention action, let alone juxtaposing the imbedded rural-urban narratives (Todaro, 2013). As one of the poorest provinces in South Africa, Limpopo’s poverty profile is epitomized by only 24 per cent of its population attaining a grade 12 qualification or more and only 5.7 per cent having a tertiary qualification, the highest population growth rate (3.9 per cent per annum) in the country and socio-economic development in the province being poorer and slower than elsewhere (Polokwane Municipality, 2010; Polokwane Spatial Development Framework (PSDF), Statistics South Africa, 2013). It is, therefore, not surprising that the Polokwane Municipality is home to up to 60 per cent (2 315 499) of its population depending on various types of social grants as the main source of household income (1 699 494 on the Child support Grant, 430,368 on the State Old Age Grant, 93 428 on the Disability Grant) (SASSA, 2016). Meanwhile, the Socio-Economic Impact Assessment Study of the Integrated Development Planning in the Capricorn

District Municipality (2010) and the StatsSA (2015) documented spatially-spread household welfare status quos, income levels and socio-economic behaviors between rural and urban clusters in the Municipality. Whilst these contextual variances underline the rural-urban dichotomy, evaluations of the effects of social grants on poverty alleviation in the Polokwane Local Municipality are seemingly superficial and largely aggregated rather than dissected into rural or urban contexts. The study, thereby, argued that by virtue of contrasting contexts and divergent characteristics, social grants have dichotomous rural-urban effects as strategy for poverty amelioration. The study made a comparative appraisal of the effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation through normative cross-sectional surveys in Seshego Township (urban) and Ga-Maja Village (rural), both under the Polokwane Local Municipality.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The general research question of this study was: How does the social grant strategy affect poverty alleviation in rural and urban contexts?

Specific research questions drawn from the general research question were:

- What are the characteristics and contexts of the rural-urban dichotomy?
- What are the roles and types of social grants?
- What are the dimensions and dynamics of poverty in rural and urban areas?
- What are the rural-urban dichotomy effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation?

1.4. RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of the study was to investigate the rural-urban dichotomy effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation.

Objectives formulated from the aim were as follows:

- To expose the characteristics and contexts of the rural-urban dichotomy;
- To establish the roles of the social grant strategy in rural and urban areas;
- To investigate the dimensions and dynamics of poverty in rural and urban areas;

- To evaluate the rural-urban dichotomy effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation; and
- To recommend measures which can enhance and synchronize rural-urban effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation.

1.5. DEFINITION OF TERMS

This section defines concepts which were frequently used in the study. Whilst the definitions are drawn from a global literature base, they were inclined towards the contextual bias of the study.

Social Grants: Globally and consistent with this study, social grants and their equivalents are viewed as means-tested cash transfers targeted at the poor, vulnerable and marginalized citizens who are deemed unfit to fully participate in the labour market or undertake remunerative work (particularly children, old people, the disabled and the unemployed) (Overseas Development Institute (ODI), 2005; SASSA, 2015).

Poverty Alleviation: Whilst poverty is generally understood as deficiency in an individual's socio-economic capabilities. Its manifestations include factors such as income, access to basic services, access to assets, information, social networks or social capital (Department of Social Development (DSD), 2015). This study refers to **poverty alleviation** as a process of enabling the largest number of poor people to achieve better quality of life in their social, economic, political and environmental realms (Gyekye and Akinboade, 2003; Bread For The World Institute, 2015).

1.6. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A research design is a plan, structure and strategy for a study which provides the overall framework for data collection and the subsequent presentation and analysis. Thus, a research design provides a format for the detailed steps taken in the study. The function is to provide for the collection of relevant data with minimal expenditure of

effort, time and money, whilst comprehensively responding to research questions (Creswell, 2009). A research design allows for the specification of methods and procedures to be applied in gathering and analysing data, with a vision set on optimising the validity of research findings and conclusions. This segment discusses methods and tools employed in this study namely; the research design, description of the study area, kinds of data required and unity of analysis, target population, sampling design, data collection methods and data analysis methods.

1.6.1. Research Design

Based on a normative design, the comparative study evaluated: firstly, several characteristics and contexts of the rural-urban dichotomy; secondly, roles of social grants in rural and urban areas; thirdly, the multi-dimensional nature of poverty; and finally, rural and urban effects of social grants as a strategy for poverty alleviation. The quest to acquire raw perceptions and appraisal from the stakeholders of the social grant programme on the ground prompted a cross-sectional field survey to be taken. Whilst both quantitative and qualitative approaches were utilized in the collection and analysis of data, the study was more biased towards the latter so as to cater for a spectre of confounding variables which were at work simultaneously with social grants in society. This approach thrived to moderate the conundrum around explicitly pin-pointing correlational and causal relationships between the cash transfers and poverty alleviation. Ultimately, elicited and appraised data on the effects of social grants on poverty alleviation in Seshego Township and Ga-Maja Village were juxtaposed so as to affirm or deny the alleged rural-urban dichotomy effects of the grants as a poverty alleviation strategy.

1.6.2. Kinds of Data Required

The study required a concoction of primary and secondary sources from which facts, opinions, experiences and perceptions were acquired through literature review, grants stakeholders and key informants. Characteristics and contexts of the rural and urban

dichotomy were drawn from documented Polokwane Local Municipality empirical surveys such as the 2010 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment Study of the Integrated Development Planning. SASSA annual reports provided secondary qualitative and quantitative data on the roles, the geographical distribution and the disaggregated effects of social grants in rural and urban Polokwane Local Municipality. Whilst poor prior knowledge of the study areas and the subjects exacerbated vulnerability to unequivocal intentions of the latter (lies, self-deceptions, delusions), covert observations allowed for the acquisition of contextual and complementary data. Not only did intuitive, contextualised and covert observations of the living conditions and general welfare of designated beneficiaries enhanced careful interpretation of the underlying implicit and explicit meaning of factual and opinion data solicited from the grants stakeholders, they further satisfy the qualitative bias of the study.

1.6.3. Description of the Study Area

The Polokwane Local Municipality is located at the heart of Limpopo Province within the Capricorn District Municipality. It hosts a fast-growing capital city of the Limpopo Province (Polokwane City), along the N1 which extends from Pretoria to Zimbabwe. In terms of its physical composition Polokwane Municipality is 23 per cent urban and 71 per cent rural. (SASSA, 2014). Since data about the Polokwane Local Municipality is aggregated in terms of wards, the comparative study juxtapose precisely Ward 8 of Seshego Township (urban) and Ward 3 of Ga-Maja Village (rural). These areas are visibly marked by rural-urban dichotomous social, economic and environmental status quos as well as behaviours (Polokwane Municipality, 2010).

Seshego Township lies 10km directly northwest of Polokwane CBD although the development of the Seshego Complex almost makes the Township autonomous and self-sufficient in terms of the provision of most goods and services to the residents. According to the Polokwane Local Municipality the Basic Level of Services in the township is Category 2 which implies that there is piped water inside dwellings, flush toilets connected to sewage system or ventilated pit latrines, refuse removal at least

once a week and houses are connected to the electricity grid. Whilst up to 35 per cent of the Seshego Ward 8 population completed grade 12/standard 10 and the official unemployment rate is in the regions of 45 per cent, up to 52 per cent of the residents earn no remuneration income (Polokwane Municipality, 2015). The 2015/16 SASSA Annual Report recorded about 3500 Old Age Grants, 450 DG and 6000 CSG recipients in the ward who travel an average of 3km to the pay points (SASSA, 2016).

Ga-Maja Village is remote area located around 45km away from Polokwane City with fares for one trip ranging between R30 to R60 depending on whether it is a public or private transport mode. With only 7 per cent residents of the village possessing post-high school qualifications and an expanded unemployment rate in the regions of 86 per cent, it is not surprising that only 20 per cent of Ga-Maja Ward 3 live above the upper-bound poverty line (Polokwane Municipality, 2012). Rurality of the village is reflected by the poor basic level of services such as water sources being a river and communal taps which are located further than 200m from most households, poor and few sanitation facilities, wood and paraffin as the main energy sources and long distances to main service centres (45kms). Around 5 000, 700 and 11 000 people receive the Old Age Grant, Disability Grant and the Child Support Grant in the ward, respectively (SASSA, 2015). Monthly, mobile pay points are stationed for three days to allow villagers to collect grants, however, reports of poor sanitation and facilities have been recorded.

1.6.4. Target Population and Unit of Analysis

The target population of the study are the total groups of individuals who receive various types of social grants. Whilst registered individual social grant recipients would be ideal units from which data would be elicited, some of them are children, old age people and physically or mentally impaired people who may be unable to fully participate in the study. Moreover, effects of various grants go beyond designated recipients to encompass entire households to which they belong. This prompted the study to include registered recipients themselves and also primary caregivers (parents, custodians and

guardians), household representatives and/or key informants as individual units of the population. Having primary caregivers as the majority of the units of analysis aggravated the risk of deceptive, dishonest and paranoid responses especially in societies where the fungibility of social grants has been implicitly attributed to them (Reddy and Sokomani, 2008; Narsey, 2012). There are around 9 000 and 15 600 recipients of various grants in Seshego Township [Ward 8] and Ga-Maja Village [Ward 3]), respectively.

1.6.5. Sampling Design

The grant-receiving population is too large for the study to exhaust, however, a small but carefully selected sample was used to represent the population from which they were selected. Since the study sought to appraise rural and urban data, quotas were purposively created from two of the five clusters in the Polokwane Local Municipality - thus Seshego Township and Ga-Maja Village (selected based on rural-urban categorisation by the Polokwane Local Municipality). Wards 8 of Seshego Township and Ward 3 of Ga-Maja Village were then purposively selected also based on their higher composition of grant recipients in each of the rural and urban contexts. Within the wards, snowball sampling were employed to identify and survey grant recipients. It is noteworthy that; firstly, poor prior knowledge of both the subjects and the study area as well as unavailability of the grant recipients' database made it virtually impossible to use probability sampling designs in the study. Instead, snowballing (non-probability) helped in the identification of grant recipients in close proximity of other subjects. However, the level of social capital in the study areas determined the chances of success of the snowball. This is so because, generally, African cultural beliefs make it taboo to talk about or refer strangers to neighbouring households without their knowledge. Secondly, whilst a probability sampling approach such as stratified sampling would enhance equitable chances of units being in the sample, quota sampling is its "non-probability version" allowed the creation of homogeneous strata grouped in terms of the types of social grants (OAG, DG and CSG). Moreover, considering the time constraints of the cross-sectional study, poor prior knowledge about the subjects and the imperativeness

of intuitions and observations in describing, interpreting and making meaningful connections, non-probability sampling best suited the qualitative approach taken in the cross sectional study.

1.6.6. Data Collection Methods

The study collected combinations of primary, secondary, quantitative and qualitative data using, predominantly, literature review (documentations), semi-structured questionnaires, interviews and observations. Literature review (academic journals, books, government and institutional publications, conference presentations and speeches) were the main source of the theoretical background, frameworks and guidelines on past and contemporary discourses on the rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants on poverty alleviation. Non-arbitrary observations were done to gather qualitative primary data from interview sessions and own-direct observation of behaviours, actions, circumstances and/or physical characteristics of relevant grant stakeholders in their natural settings. In the study, questionnaire and interviews conducted in gathering primary data from social grants stakeholders thus institutions and household representatives. Instant response and face to face nature made the interview the most ideal qualitative, comprehensive and exhaustive tools of soliciting information from the SASSA official who preferred to remain anonymous. Merits of the interview revolved around their overlapping leverage to probe or ask follow up questions or to use vernacular language especially in interacting with subjects with low level of education when administrating semi-structured questionnaires (especially Child Support Grant and Old Age Grant recipients).

1.6.7. Data Analysis Techniques

The process of data analysis involves structuring and bringing logical order to the large amount of data collected. Qualitative (descriptions, classification and making connections) and quantitative (statistical description, analysis and prediction) approaches, in tandem, were applied to analyze the collected data. Whilst most data on

the effects of grants on rural and urban recipients were qualitatively resolved into constituent components to reveal characteristic elements and structure, this study also analysed quantitative data using a coding process. Quantitative data was coded using a combination of the IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software, the 2010 Microsoft Excel Software and manual tallying. Software was used to present and analyse data through frequencies, descriptive statistics, generating graphs, charts and tables. These supplemented qualitative intuitions and provided adequate basis for objective descriptions, classifications and making connections off elicited comparative perceptions and narratives on the effects of social grants as strategy for poverty alleviation in rural and urban Polokwane. The evaluative-comparative nature of the study required unequivocal quantification of two sets of rural and urban data ensued by substantive appraisal and objective qualitative interpretation of underlying meaning of the data in relation to the alleged dichotomous effects of social grants in rural and urban societies. Various household surveys, Statistics South Africa (Poverty Profiles) and the Capricorn District Municipality (CDM) data collected for The Socio-Economic Impact Assessment Study of the Integrated Development Planning in 2010 was analyzed and synthesized to account for poverty measures, statuses and projections in the study areas.

1.6.8. Validity and Reliability

Validity questions the research instruments and tools to gauge the results' sufficiency and truthfulness in relation to the requirements of the scientific research methods. Reliability refers to the consistency, accuracy and dependability of instruments and the subsequent results and whether they can remain representative of the target population over time (Dey, 2003). The validity and reliability of the study were drawn from concept use, data collection and analysis methods. Whilst there has not been wealth of literature on the rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants as strategy for poverty alleviation, much has been written about social grants and poverty alleviation by well-established scholars and institutions such as van der Burg (1997), Case, Hosegood and Lund (2003), Barreintos (2008), Armstrong and Burger (2009) and The World Bank

(2014) using research designs and methodologies which are similar to the ones employed in this study, such as the normative approach, cross sectional and evaluation research or appraisals. This study has confirmed consistency and systematic eliciting of results through thorough analysis of monographs and longitudinal studies by monographers and seasoned researchers such as Reddy and Sokomani spanning the period post 2003, Bhorat and van der Westhuizen over the period since 2006 and The World Bank since at least 1990. The reliability of the comparative study, or its consistency, is therefore a hallmark of the validity of the measurements and methods applied. The above mentioned authors and more have embraced the complementary application of qualitative and quantitative approaches in the collection and analysis of comparative data.

1.7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study, theoretically, was targeted at substantially contributing to the social grant-poverty alleviation discourse and literature base. General paucity of disaggregated effects of individual social grants to various units of society would benefit from this study. Pragmatically, the contribution exposes rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants on poverty alleviation in order to understand whether the rural-urban dichotomy effects of grants is a myth or a reality. Such understanding has, not only, the potential to adequately, exhaustively and dynamically conceptualize rural-urban status-quos, but also to enhance and synchronise the efficacy of social grants.

1.8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The nature of this study warranted serious consideration of ethical issues. Resultantly, respondents from the targeted population were guaranteed anonymity and the freedom to choose as to whether to offer interviews and/or answer questionnaires or not. The data collection process ensured that neither emotional harm was caused nor devious means was used to elicit data. Employment of the normative research design also warranted that social research ethics were adhered to by neither controlling nor

influencing social grant recipients' behaviour and responses prior or during the survey. The plan is to also share the results of the study with various stakeholders, especially the beneficiaries, government agencies (SASSA) and Non-Governmental Organizations which are actively involved in social welfare and human development.

1.9. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation consists of five chapters including this introductory one, these chapters are structured as follows:

Chapter 1: Through the Introduction and Background, Statement of the Research Problem, Research Questions and Aim and Objectives, the chapter introduces and outlines the concern and purpose of the study. To map out a systematic investigation into the social grants-poverty alleviation discourse, the chapter structures a detailed Research Design and Methodology which is attentive and sensitive to Ethical Considerations and Limitations of the Study.

Chapter 2: Sprouting from the introductory chapter (1), this chapter engages international and local literature with the aim of conceptualizing and analyzing theories and models which guide the social welfarism. The chapter probes the rural-urban dichotomy, roles and effects of social security across the globe.

Chapter 3: With the conceptual framework set in the preceding chapter, chapter 3 accounts for the contextual rural-urban dynamics, background, roles and effects of the South African social grants system.

Chapter 4: This chapter provides a robust engagement with the empirical data collected from samples in the Polokwane Local Municipality. Key debates in the discourse are tested against pragmatic responses elicited from the study areas in a bid to affirm or deny the thesis statement expressed in chapter 1 and theoretically debated in chapters 1 and 2

Chapter 5: After the triangulation of primary and secondary data in the preceding conceptual and empirical analyses of the rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants on poverty alleviation prompts this closing chapter presents findings, recommendations and a conclusion.

1.10. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The limitations of this study are two-fold. Firstly, a spectre of confounding variables which were at work simultaneously with social grants in society compound the conundrum around explicitly pin-pointing correlational and causal relationships between the cash transfers and poverty alleviation. Secondly, the effects of various grants go beyond designated recipients to encompass entire households to which they belong. This prompted the study to include registered recipients themselves and also primary caregivers (parents, custodians and guardians), household representatives and/or key informants as individual units of the population. Having primary caregivers as the majority of the units of analysis aggravated the risk of deceptive, dishonest and paranoid responses especially in societies where the fungibility of social grants has been implicitly attributed to them. However, triangulation of the debate through theoretical and empirical consolidation thrived to enhance the validity and reliability of the results and findings of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY EFFECTS OF SOCIAL GRANTS ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION.

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter introduced the broader background of the discourse revolving around social security and poverty alleviation. Beyond clarification and adoption of the conceptualization and contextualization of concepts employed, the previous chapter exposed the knowledge gap to be tentatively filled by the study. In order to operationalize the testing of the research gap (which motivates this investigation) and the thesis statement (which spearheads the enquiry), chapter one drew research aim and objectives of the study. To maximize the chances of success and minimize risks concomitant with typical normative studies, a research design provided the plan, structure and strategies as methodological data collection and analysis mechanisms. The chapter also located the significance of this study in the discourse without turning a blind eye on ethical considerations and research ethics.

With the overall framework of the study well set out in the first chapter, this one interrogates narratives, models and theoretical discourses around the rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants on poverty alleviation. Themes will be developed courtesy of the aim and objectives outlined in the preceding chapter so as to engage in a detailed discussion on the characteristics and contexts of the rural-urban dichotomy, the roles and types of social grants, the dimensions and dynamics of poverty in rural and urban areas and the rural-urban dichotomy effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation. The conclusion to this chapter remains preliminary and subject to confirmation or rejection by the contextual and empirical evidence embodied in chapters three and four, respectively.

2.2. CHARACTERISTICS AND CONTEXTS OF THE RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY

One major problem that sophisticates rural-urban comparative studies is that there is no universally used definition of "urban" or "rural" (Ralston, 2016). It has since been noted that among 228 countries for which the United Nations has data, about half use administrative definitions of urban (e.g., living in the capital city), 51 use (population) size and density, 39 use functional characteristics (e.g., economic activity), 22 have no definition of urban, and 8 define all (e.g., Singapore) or none (e.g., Polynesian countries) of their population as urban" (Vlahov and Galea, 2002: 54; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2015). In the past, urban and rural environments were clearly different, but modern "rural" areas are now experiencing factors traditionally associated with the urban environment and the result is "increased blurring of urban-rural distinctions" (Champion and Hugo, 2004). Additionally, patterns of urbanization vary between regions (Kasarda and Crenshaw, 1991; Matz, David, Stieb and Brion, 2015), resulting in equally varied settlement types and a great deal of heterogeneity among urban areas across the globe and even within countries (Champion and Hugo, 2004). Some alternative measurements are worth noting here: the use of remote sensing to measure urbanicity (Tatem and Hay, 2004; Weeks, Getis, Hill, Gadalla, and Rashed, 2004); a survey instrument to measure the built environment (Weich, Burton, Blanchard, Prince, Sproston and Erens, 2001); an assessment tool for collecting information on urban neighborhood characteristics (Caughy, O'Campo and Patterson, 2001); and a multidimensional characterization of settlement type based on style and density of housing, predominant commercial and agricultural activities, and access to services (Adair, Vanderslice and Zohoori, 1993; Devereux, 2016).

By virtue of their contrasting contexts, rural and urban areas are diametrically divergent in terms of their characteristics. The inherent contrasts are critical to the applicability and effects of interventions due to the diversity of actors, agendas, underlying intentions and so on (Ellis and Freeman, 2015). On one hand, people in rural societies are characterized by socio-economic homogeneity and thus they enjoy communitarianism. On the other, urbanites belong to different castes, creeds, religions and cultures, thus

they rarely share same social statuses, norms and values. Socio-economic narratives are thereby intrinsically distributed among rural and urban households as well as societies and so are the effects of intervention strategies such as social grants (Chowdhury and Mukhopadhaya, 2012).

While the incidence, depth and severity of poverty in low income countries gradually became identical between rural and urban contexts, there remain economic, social and environmental plights which are uniquely endured in the two contexts (Reddy and Sokomani, 2000, 2008, 2014). Due to the capitalistic environment inherent in recession-hit cities, the urban poor are left out of the formal economic activities and receive low wages of which a bigger fraction is spent on food, and essential non-food commodities such as education, rates, health and socialising, which often go unfulfilled. Conversely, with agricultural livelihoods such as crop farming, gardening, wild gathering and livestock rearing representing the main sources of food within rural households, income often plays a complementary role in rural food security (Alem et al., 2015). Furthermore, assets possessed by an individual urban household determine its aptitude to enhance economic productivity and the transformation of these assets into income or other basic needs. In rural contexts, big household sizes seem to be regarded as an asset with which wealth can be accumulated, either through labour in agricultural activities or *lobola* payments or headcount safety nets (Todaro, 2013). Whilst urban female-headed households are more vulnerable to the prevailing antagonistic attitudes towards female employment, they have a superior chance of accessing and controlling income than their culturally-grounded rural cohorts (Stren, 2014).

Despite the length of urban residence being noted as a significant factor for urban adaptations, skills transfer and the eventual employability, educational levels between the rural and urban poor are similar (Heller, 2013). This common plight is seen to manifest in financial illiteracy and misuse of funds (wages, remittances and grants) by the rural and urban poor. Some studies have rushed to the defence of the literacy levels of the urban poor, however a lot of studies have confirmed that the urban poor are unable to live on their limited earnings and are often forced to take loans from various

sources (Hossain, 2007; Reddy and Sokomani, 2008; 2014). A study conducted by the World Bank (2015) in Senegal found that the urban poor have very limited access to formal sources of credit due to their unstable and vulnerable socio-economic status quo. As a result they mostly rely on credit from informal “loan sharks.” An estimated half of the urban poor in Dhaka City chronically relied on informal loans, on which they paid exorbitantly unregulated interest rates (Osei, 2011). This logic ostensibly confirms that whilst the depth, incidence and severity of poverty in low income countries gradually became identical between rural and urban areas, the risks as well as risk-spreading tactics which characterize the rural and urban poor are not only divergent and dichotomous but contextually parallel.

2.3. THEORIES, ROLES AND TYPES OF SOCIAL SECURITY STRATEGIES

Various types and roles of welfare state owe their origins to different historical forces and find explanation in a combination of different political, economic and ideological factors. Silva (2013) claims that social welfare policies are products of the histories of different countries. That each country has implemented this system in its own way, with its human and financial resource shaped by a specific culture and set of customs, based on its system of government and political institutions (Silva, 2013; Alves, 2015). Below the most common models upon which the roles of various social security strategies are formulated in welfare states will be critically discussed.

2.3.1. The Esping-Andersen Theory of Welfare State Regimes

The most usual way to compare different welfare systems has been the construction of typologies which try to differentiate and cluster countries according to specific criteria. Several authors have theorized the variations in social provision across countries by constructing models of social policy and welfare state typologies (Esping-Andersen 1990; Castles and Mitchell 1993; Ferrera, 1996; Devereux, 2016). One of the most influential contributions to comparative welfare state analysis was elaborated by Esping-Andersen (1990). Using statistical data from the 1980s, Esping-Andersen (1990)

developed a comparative empirical study of 18 European countries proposing a classification into three types of welfare regime: Liberal, Conservative Corporatist and Social Democratic. Two main dimensions underpinning his typology are as follows: variations in de-commodification, which refers to the ability to enjoy an acceptable standard of living independently of market participation and, therefore, without reliance on income earned in the market sphere; and, second, the type of stratification created by social policies. Even the ideologies that inspired the creation of the welfare states, as well as the relationships between the state and market in social provision were analyzed. The role of reciprocity or the mutual help provided by family and friends was disregarded by this model (Silva, 2002). Using these dimensions, and a main analytical focus on the three most important cash benefit programmes (pensions, sickness and unemployment), Esping-Andersen constructed three types: the liberal regime, the conservative corporatist regime and the social democratic regime, which will be briefly discussed below.

Firstly, the social democratic regime, with higher levels of de-commodification in access to social resources, is characterized by well-funded public welfare benefits and services that are universal and financed by taxes. Secondly, the liberal regime is characterized by reliance on the market showing the lowest level of de-commodification. It is also shaped by fragmented forms of social protection, and by moderate economic transfers, and is restricted to individuals with greater and means-tested needs. The conservative corporatist regime is identified as the intermediate level of de-commodification, in which the level of social protection is based essentially on the history of paid contributions (World Bank, 1990; Arts and Gelissen, 2002; Silva, 2002, Arcanjo, 2011; Devereux, 2016).

This “three worlds of welfare state” typology opened a new field for debate around the statistical data and methods used in processes of classification of the different country groups; the representativeness of each welfare state system in the welfare state regimes model, and the differences between the real and the ideal worlds of welfare state. On this matter, Palier and Martin (2007) argue that instead of trying to read

Esping-Andersen's typology as a description of real worlds of welfare capitalism, it is useful to conceptualize it as isolating ideal-types, differentiated both in terms of policy goals (logic of conception) and policy instruments (ways of doing, institutions) and rural-urban dichotomies (Palier and Martin 2007: 536; Ralston et al., 2015). An example of normative/ideational elements presented by the authors are equality as the central element of the Nordic welfare regime, security as the main aim of the corporative welfare systems, and poverty alleviation in the case of the liberal countries. However, Alves (2015) probes the applicability of this model, alluding to the longstanding discourses about contextual dichotomies between regions it succeeded (Europe) and elsewhere, just like all the other western ideologies. For example, the three dimensions of analytical focus of this model (pension, sickness and unemployment) tend to overlook the vulnerability and composition of children and the disabled in, especially, third world countries and that fuels debates on the comprehensiveness and applicability of the ostensibly Eurocentric models (Matz, et al., 2015). There continues to be paucity in ideological models of social policy that go beyond the traditional emergency food aid, public works projects, vulnerable group feeding programmes and cash transfers to encompass contextualised rural-urban social security systems. Moreover, whilst the model is consistent with the social welfarism as the epitome of "social contract and state of nature", it trivialises the significance of various levels of empowerment, thus – subjective, objective and competence empowerment. Overlooking these extends of empowerment tends to generalize roles of concerted action such as social protection in society.

2.3.2. Roles of Social Protection Policies

The roles of social protection policies are aligned to specific human, financial and cultural resources and contexts but yet commonly delineated into three domains in welfare states: firstly, the elevation of welfare, consumption and access to basic services (education, health); secondly, potential economic gains such as management of risks, insecurity and facilitating savings and investments; and lastly, empowerment of grantees in a social context thus - income redistribution through social grants is

perceived as a sign of post-colonial equality (for former colonies) and renewed social compactness between state and citizens (Barchiese, 2007; Osei, 2011; Neves et al., 2013; Oduro, 2015).

2.3.2.1. Elevation of Welfare, Consumption and Access to Basic Services

Most literature converge at the idea that social grants reap more welfare for the designated grantees and their household at large if a woman is the final decision maker on the utilization of the respective grants (Amis, 1995; Samson et al., 2008; Todaro, 2013; Narsey, 2014). Based on the school of thought that the probability of optimising the impact of grants at the household level is higher if the recipients were women, the level of autonomy and independency intrinsically inherent in literate urban women gives them and their households a superior aptitude to extract more out of a prism of social grants than their rural and often patriarchal cohorts (van Driel, 2009). Neves et al. (2009) assert that a larger proportion of rural and informal urban resident women indicate being involved in financial decision-making than women in formal urban areas, a dynamic that probably reflects the greater likelihood of resident male partners in the latter group. This assertion remains arguable especially when there ostensibly is historical and contemporary evidence that rural societies and households have been and remain more patriarchal societies than their urban cohorts (Todaro, 2013). Moreover, given the availability of grants, mothers may now more often prefer to keep children with them (rather than leaving them with their grandmothers in rural areas) and therefore to themselves receive the grant in the urban areas, with the result that more poor people may migrate to the urban areas. Whether this is better for welfare or not is ambiguous.

Comparative findings demonstrate that whilst social grants have positive effects on food security, access to services (education, health) human capital, social reciprocity and investments in rural agricultural livelihoods, the utilization of the same grants slightly differs in urban areas (Case and Deaton, 1998; Samson et al., 2008). Higher costs of living (accommodation, food, transport) and higher intensity of capitalism in urban areas

aggravate complexities and spatially distributed differentials in the expenditure of social grants (Case, Hosegood and Lund, 2003; Borat, Van der Westhuizen and Jacobs, 2009). With the rampant “migration of poverty” into city cores (Todaro, 2015: 145), grants have emerged to be almost solemn hope of welfare for the structurally, cyclically and chronically unemployed urbanites. In the process, recipient urbanites are prompted to invest in profit generating livelihoods such as vending, so as to supplement the grant, survive the highly capitalistic urban environment and ultimately boost their household (income) welfare (Posel, Fairburn and Lund, 2004; Arne and Abebe, 2014). Questions raised on the need to synchronize effects of social grants as a strategy for poverty alleviation between rural and urban areas also emanate from recounted evidence of rural households receiving social security being poorer, having lower educational attainment and higher unemployment levels than their rural counterparts (Neves et al., 2013; Poverty Trends, 2014; Booysen, 2015).

2.3.2.2. Economic Gains: Risks Management, Savings and Investments

Risk and vulnerability have been rediscovered as key features of, especially, rural livelihoods and poverty, and are currently a focus of policy attention globally. The poor themselves try to manage uncertainty using a variety of risk management strategies, and through community support systems, but these are both fragile and precarious (Devereux, 2001; 2016). Whilst economically damaging, one of the common objectives of social protection around the globe is to reduce the risk of poverty among groups which are not expected to participate fully in the labour market, and therefore vulnerable to low income: the elderly, those with disabilities, and children (Inter-Regional Inequality Facility (IRIF), 2006). Social security systems provide protection against risks of income loss due to contingencies such as old age, unemployment, disability, or injuries sustained at work. Moreover, the aptitude of social grants to redistribute income between generations, amongst the insured according to risk and vulnerability, and across time satisfies their consumption smoothing function.

The World Bank (2000) and the United Nations Development Programme (2009) promised to develop their own programme of work on social risk management. These agendas had vowed to advance the debate on appropriate interventions for livelihood shocks and instability beyond the conventional menu of emergency food aid, public works projects, vulnerable group feeding programmes and cash transfers. To date, however, the extension of social security or consumption-smoothing measures to the rural poor in developing countries remains – because of fiscal and administrative constraints, political instability or lack of political will – a distant ideal (Holzmann and Jørgenson, 2014; Devereux, 2015).

The old age pension fund, for example, cushions the risk of falling into the poverty trap as one ages and attritions. A household survey in Ghana reported 60% of persons over 65 years of age to be living more or less close to the upper-bound poverty line (Ghana Statistical Services (GSS), 2013). When the survey isolated rural from urban areas, figures on aging citizens being the poorest age group ostensibly increasing in the latter. Osei (2011) further juxtaposes the effects of Ghana's principal social grant called the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) between rural and urban poor and concluded that due to the general poor living conditions, higher prevalence of HIV/AIDS, poor legibility for pension funds (due to high unemployment rates in rural areas), the grant seems to cater for one too many household expenses. However, Alem, Kohlin and Stage (2013) counter this by asserting that the capitalistic nature of the urban context compromises the effectiveness of old age social protection funds in urban Ethiopia, bearing in mind that urban poverty in Ethiopia is projected to surpass rural poverty in the next half a decade (Reddy and Sokomani, 2014).

2.3.2.3. Empowerment of the Poor

Contemporary theories explicitly using the term empowerment continues to be fragmented. The loci of empowerment types are not consistent themselves and informs types and outcomes of strategies (Roch, 1997). Examples are community psychology and political sciences where they principally focus on change within an individual and

group processes such as voting and political representation. The rationale behind governing application of monetary social support in the mitigation of poverty in welfare states has been, understandably, the fact that as much as non-monetary macro approaches target long term economic growth and the subsequent trickle down to poverty alleviation (economic development), social grants precisely and more directly transfer resources into the hands of the poorest (Harvey, 2008). The primary goals of cash transfers are to instantly elevate welfare, redistribute income and enhance social reciprocity among the most indigent (Reddy and Sokomani, 2008; Narsey, 2012). Whilst social grants have a mutual goal (poverty alleviation) and their respective roles target specific age and physical state, this study argues that the geographical location along with divergent characteristics of the eligible rural and urban grantees should be given adequate attention if the social protection programme is to substantially empower the poor and alleviate poverty. Below the empowerment theory will be discussed so as to locate the alleged empowering role associated with social security systems across the globe

2.3.2.3.1. The Empowerment Theory

The emancipatory principle at the heart of empowerment theory was first articulated in the education field by Paulo Freire (1971, 1973). Currently, a broad spectrum of disciplines use empowerment theory as an explanatory basis for a diverse range of actions—from employer-employee dynamics to social policies and movements (Banducci, Donovan and Karp, 2004; Carson, Carson, Roe, Birkenmeier and Phillips, 1999; Himmelheber, 2014) Although there is no universally agreed-upon understanding of empowerment theory, differing conceptions are not necessarily problematic. Himmelheber (2014: 117) contends that attempts to distil empowerment theory into a singular understanding may result in “formulaic and ineffective efforts, thereby contradicting the core of the concept.” It is helpful that consensus does exist concerning several aspects of empowerment theory— namely, that empowerment is connected to the change process (Cheater, 1999; Laverack, 2005; Page and Czuba, 1999) and that empowerment can relate to either processes or outcomes. Additionally, there is

recognition that empowerment may occur at the individual, the interpersonal/group, or the community/collective level. The preamble to the American National Association of Social Workers (NASW, 2008: 3) Code of Ethics instructs social policy to pay “particular attention to the empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, or living in poverty.” Whilst this theory provides the overview of the ideal outcomes of empowerment through “coping and adapting”, it does little to account for change in the actual power of the grantee or households so that there can be notable indicators of transformation in human development. Anstein’s (1957) ladder of participation and empowerment has dominated empowerment literature and its locus shifts from focusing on individual to community wherein different experiences are combined to create individual and community outcomes.

The role of grants go beyond food security and ameliorating ultra-poverty to enhancing social empowerment through social reciprocity and deep rooted social networks on which the elderly hugely survive on especially in rural contexts. The incidence of rural grandparents taking care of their orphaned grandchildren has raised questions of the adequacy and effectiveness of the grant in many studies (Finmark Trust, 2009; StatsSA, 2015), however the trend “underwrites pensioners’ moral claims to support and protection within their own family networks both in urban and rural societies” (Neves et al., 2013:33). Rather than the intended empowerment of the rural poor, the involvement of the judicial system in the determination of eligibility to the Foster-Care Grant has been seen to alienate rural children whose traditional courts do not conform to fostering of children (van der Berg, 2010). Furthermore, evidence on the differential empowerment aptitudes of the Child Support Grant between rural and urban households is the number of children whose parents had reported that they are going hungry declining at different rates – thus, 3 to 5 per cent per year in rural areas and 1 to 2 per cent per year in urban areas from 2002 (van der Berg, 2014, UNICEF, 2015).

Regardless of the well-documented progress of the state welfare initiatives, perceptions on the adequacy, effects and sustainability of these pro-poor child grants remain anecdotal and contentious both in theory and practice as well as between rural and

urban areas. Whilst millions of children are being provided with various grants in welfare states world over, research identified a bigger fraction of approximately 2 million eligible children who are not receiving the child support grant to be residing in rural areas (StatsSA, 2013; Triegaardt, 2013). Beyond attracting calls for the need to lower the grant eligibility thresholds and the subsequent extension of the coverage of the safety net, the system is deeply marked by discrepancies in the value and impact of social grants between rural and urban grantees (Booyesen, 2003; Tacoli, 2012). In another twist to the discourse, there has been contentious inquiry on the medical models used to identify eligibility to the Disability Grant (DG), especially with the prevalence of HIV/AIDS compounding the complexities revolving around the measurement and establishment of disability indicators and thresholds (Booyesen, 2004), poor access to medical services and lack of supporting documentation such as identification booklets (ID) and birth certificates further abating the registration of eligible beneficiaries in rural areas. These overall persistence of these plight and failure to model specific structures to enhance equality between the rural and urban poor remain a manifestation of partial empowerment on the part of the most developing countries.

As mentioned already, ideal roles of state cash transfers are delineated into three domains revolving around, firstly; the elevation of welfare, consumption and access to basic services (education, health), secondly; potential economic gains such as management of risks, insecurity and facilitating savings and investments, lastly; empowerment of grantees in a social context and finally, income redistribution through social grants as a sign of post-colonial equality and renewed social compactness between state and citizens (Barchiese, 2007; Neves et al., 2013). These domains thrive to redistribute income and primarily target the most vulnerable and indigent members of the society, hence the prioritization of children, the disabled and the elderly (Narsey, 2012; United Nations International Children Fund (UNICEF), 2015). Varying from country to country, there are explicit conditionalities associated with the social grants, which are sometimes called conditional cash transfers.

2.3.3. Types of Social Security Strategies

Notwithstanding their discussed variances in terms of their specific political, social and economic contexts, social security policies across the globe tend to similarly categorize the vulnerability of groups in society and the subsequent prioritization of relief (Matz et al., 2015; Ralston et al., 2015; Devereux, 2016). Below, three common grants/cash transfers issued to various groups of vulnerable citizens in welfare states are discussed.

2.3.3.1. Children-Oriented Grants

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 27, states that every child has the right “to a standard of living adequate for his or her development” and obliges the state “in case of need” to “provide material assistance.” (UNICEF, 2014: 26-27). Article 26 guarantees “every child the right to benefit from social security”. These legally binding articles go on to command that “children – either through their guardians or directly – have the right to help from the government if they are poor or in need. Children have the right to a standard of living that is good enough to meet their physical and mental needs. Governments should help families and guardians who cannot afford to provide this, particularly with regard to food, clothing and housing” (UNICEF, 2014: Article 26-27). Regardless, consortiums of household surveys have recently used the upper-bound poverty line to record that an average of three in five children live in poor households both in rural and urban areas, especially in third world economies (GSS, 2013; UNICEF, 2014). Whilst the incidence, depth and severity of poverty has gradually become identical between rural and urban areas (Pasha, 2014), children living in rural areas are still more likely to be poorer than are those in urban areas. In some studies, uniform distribution of poor children in modern day third world countries has recently been recorded. A rural-urban aggregate of 30,000 children die of poverty related causes and diseases each day (World Health Organisation (WHO), 2015). These dynamics and trends have since been attributed to the emergence of the rural-urban migration of poverty, among other factors, which have ostensibly harmonised destitution between rural and urban areas. However, as identical as the incidence, depth and severity of

poverty in rural and urban areas may be, there remain economic, social and environmental plights uniquely endured in each of the two contexts (van der Berg, 2000; 2004; 2009; 2014, Alem, 2015).

Most child oriented grants in new democracies faced fierce resistance especially from the beneficiaries of the phased-out pro-colonialist programmes (Case, Hosegood and Lund, 2003). Whilst these child grants are a huge democratic step, the legacy of racism, gender imbalances and general inequality earlier in the post-colonial society hindered the identification and alleviation of the poorest children (Narsey, 2014). Perhaps the alarming global poverty-related child mortality rate of 30 000 deaths in every 100 000 births (WHO, 2014; World Bank, 2015) justified the urgent need to target poor children through child support systems in order to enhance their sustenance, education, health and overall welfare, especially in rural set ups (Harvey, 2008). Today, every 7th child in Ghana receives a social grant (NSPS, 2015). The purpose of introducing social grants for children was primarily to provide support in raising poor children. The principle behind this social grant was to “follow the child”, which means that the grant would be allocated irrespective of the child’s family structure (Triegaardt, 2004:234). The objectives of many support systems are to contribute to the costs of raising children; redistribute income over the life cycle; influence the birth rate; provide a degree of equity in taxation; relieve child poverty; enable parents to care for children independently of the labour market; boost low earnings; reduce demands for a minimum wage; increase incentives to work; and relieve unemployment or low income traps in an economically unequal economy (Case and Deaton 1998; Bertrand and Mullainathan 2000; Klasen and Woolard 2002; Triegaardt, 2004; UNICEF, 2015). The objectives of these support structures are commonly to contribute to the costs of raising children; redistribute income over the life cycle; influence the birth rate; provide a degree of equity in taxation; relieve child poverty; enable parents to care for children independently of the labour market; boost low earnings; reduce demands for a minimum wage; increase incentives to work; and relieve unemployment or low income traps.

Children oriented social grants in Bangladesh target orphans and vulnerable children particularly children affected by disease (AIDS) and severe disabilities (Hossain, 2014). To qualify for the child support grants in Brazil, parents must provide proof of immunisation where such services are available, and proof of efforts to secure employment or to join a development programme. In addition, if one parent is no longer living with the custodial parent and child, the custodial parent must provide proof of efforts to obtain private maintenance from the other parent. These features of the Brazilian Safety Net has since been criticised for alienating rural and slum residents who often lack proper documentation and/or relevant amenities (dos Santos, 2015). Perhaps the fact that children living in rural areas are more likely to be poor than are those in urban areas is the manifestations of the structural inferiority endured by the urban poor, chronically (Triegaardt, 2014).

2.3.3.2. Grants/Pensions for the Old Age

The role of these grants goes beyond food security and rescuing the impoverished from ultra-poverty to secure social reciprocity and deep rooted social networks on which the elderly hugely survive on especially in rural settings. Declining life expectancy and the prevalence of HIV/AIDS has reduced the number of beneficiaries of the old age grants over the years, however, the incidence of rural grandparents taking care of their orphaned grandchildren have raised questions of the adequacy and effectiveness of the grant in many studies (Finmark Trust, 2009; StatsSA, 2014). Providentially, this role of the grant “underwrites pensioners’ moral claims to support and protection within their own family networks both in urban and rural societies” (Neves et al., 2013:33). After the Mouton Committee and the Consultative Retirement Forum findings in common wealth countries, there were calls to abolish the means-test for the old age grants which were subsequently dismissed because a number of pensioners was growing more rapidly than economies (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004; Devereux, 2016). Consequently, there would have been strong pressure on the fiscus as a result of the expansion of the number of beneficiaries, especially in rural areas.

Since old age grants are well targeted to the rural areas and to women, who receive it at an earlier age and have longer life expectancy than men, and are less likely to receive a private pension (Ardington and Lund, 1995). Take-up rates and awareness of the grant are higher in rural areas (Van der Westhuizen and Van Zyl, 2002). Within most African countries, including Ghana, Nigeria and Zambia, old age grants are associated with larger household size and there is evidence of demographic effects, including attracting unemployed family members into the household. (Triegaardt, 2004; Alem et al., 2013). Paradoxically this serves to mask some of the grant's welfare effects, as per capita incomes are diluted (Neves et al., 2009). The War Veteran Grant is a fading social security relief fund paid out to the aging participants of the 2nd World War, the Korean War and the Zulu Revolution of 1906. Due to natural attrition, there has remained only 2000 and 29 recipients of this grant in South Africa and Limpopo respectively (SASSA, 2015), therefore, there is little attention given to the grant in modern literature since it has almost insignificant statistical implications. It has however, been documented that the beneficiaries of this special grant suffer from post-war mental, physical and psychological impairments and are closely relatable to the recipients of the Disability Grant (Neves et al., 2009).

Faye (2007) notes that the majority of African population remain uncovered by a pension scheme in spite of the evidence which shows that in countries without old age pension systems, the older people are over represented among the poor. Previous research has demonstrated that social pensions play a major role in poverty stricken households, and in particular in rural households (Ardington and Lund 1995; Möller and Sotshongaye, 1996; Vorster, Rossouw and Muller, 2000). For example, even though old age pensions are intended for pensioners, they also reach large numbers of poor children who live in the same household (Triegaardt, 2004; Alem et al., 2013)

2.3.3.3. Grants for the Disabled

Disability grants have since been central to concerted efforts aimed at alleviating and preventing poverty among the most vulnerable groups in welfare states world over.

Social Grants reduce the opportunity cost of not working for the disabled (Hossain, 2007). It is intended to supplement the basic subsistence needs of the target groups and link them up with complementary services to enable them leap out of poverty. Medical criteria are employed to test and approve eligibility of millions of recipients of the Disability Grant in world over (Hossain, 2007; SASSA, 2014; UN, 2014). Physically and mentally incapacitated citizens in the working age (18 to 65years) are subject to a means test before they can be considered temporary or permanent targets of the grant. Literature has since criticised the grant for recurring inconsistencies and obscurity in the processes of means-testing and establishing clear description and level of impairment of prospective beneficiaries. Whilst there has been contentious inquiry on the medical models used to identify eligibility, HIV/AIDS compounds the complexities revolving around disability thresholds (Booyesen, 2004). Although in literature and practice, probes into the effect of the disability grant have only yielded a paradox between proponents and antagonists of the grant, the baseline would perhaps be the remarkable progress made by the grant in reducing the incidence, depth and severity of vulnerability of the disabled in rural and urban areas. There, however, remains paucity of literature which disaggregates effects of the social grant strategy as strategy for poverty alleviation between rural and urban areas in the Limpopo Province and beyond.

2.4. DIMENSIONS AND DYNAMICS OF POVERTY IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

In the last decade multi-dimensional conceptions of poverty have come to the fore, which increasingly view poverty as marked by a series of interlinked deprivations. Sen's (1999) work, for instance, posits poverty as the product of a lack of various capacities, both intrinsic and instrumental, which include income, education, health and human and civil rights. Many of the poor are locked in poverty traps, with the cycle of low income, limited assets and opportunities constraining them from making the investments (in their health, education and livelihoods) to lift themselves out of poverty. Poverty, however, is not only defined by low incomes, consumption and capabilities – the poor have a heightened susceptibility to risk and the probability of catastrophic decline or death. Poverty is therefore also characterised by insecurity and an acute vulnerability to

income variability over time (Baulch and Hoddinott, 2000). Reddy and Sokomani (2008) acknowledged that, understanding the context, dimensions and dynamics of poverty in rural and urban areas is preponderant to conceptualising the setting within which state social security programmes are received and used.

2.4.1. Income Based Approaches

While the multi-dimensional nature of poverty cannot be ignored, most welfare states view poverty with income lenses (Oduro, 2015). Generally, income poverty alludes to the inability to acquire monetary resources for purchasing basic needs. Income poverty is as multidimensional and contextual as poverty itself. What is considered an indigent income to one setting can be a decent and in some cases, a fortune to another. It is against this backdrop that the thresholds of basic needs to a country, region, household or individual vary simultaneously with respective incomes accessed (National Treasury, 2016). As a basis of measuring poverty in monetary dimension, poverty lines are used as indicators. A poverty line is a monetary cut-off point below which a person is deemed to be poor (StatsSA, 2008). In recognition of diverse socio-economic classes in society, the United Nations categorizes poverty lines into lower and upper bound (\$1.08 per person per day), the upper bound (\$2) and the Purchasing Power Parity (\$1.25) (United Nations Human Development Index, 2015).

The rationale behind the dominant application of Income Based Approaches in the mitigation of urban poverty is, understandably, the fact that as much as non-monetary macro approaches eye long term economic development and the subsequent trickle down to poverty alleviation, income-based micro strategies precisely transfer and measure resources in and out of the hands of the poor respectively (Okonji, 2012). When the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Bangladesh and Srilankan governments partnered to commission the Pro-Poor Loan Program to provide start-up capital for entrepreneurial livelihoods, the yields proved positive and more importantly, sustainable (World Bank, 2013). Success stories of income driven strategies were also documented in the former Eastern Africa Community (Uganda,

Malawi, Kenya and Tanzania), as the region was called by the British colonial regime. In the post-colonial restructuring, these countries reached “decision points” on the adoption of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) as a statement of intent in poverty amelioration (Ellis and Freedman, 2004: 54). Whilst income and consumption oriented strategies such as the Social Safety Nets and Food-Based Programmes are central in the respective PRSPs, there has been little articulation of the sustainability of these initiatives and their ability to craft means for medium to long term exit routes for the targeted indigent so as to attain self-reliance and economic freedom especially in rural areas (Oduro, 2015). However, it remains a typical challenge of Income Based Metrics to attach the progress made by these welfare countries, as reflected by their Medium Human Development categorization in the 2015 Human Development Index, explicitly to their respective social security policies. This is so because the Index takes into cognisance non-material facets such as Gender Inequality Index, Maternal Mortality Ratio, adolescent birth rate, share of seats in parliament, population with at least some secondary education and labour force participation rate among others.

This convulsion revolving around the establishment of an adequate, exhaustive and consistent tool of measuring rural and urban poverty was also highlighted in the Urban China: Toward Efficient, Inclusive, and Sustainable Urbanization Report (2014). In this compilation the World Bank Group partnered the Chinese government to report that beyond measurement errors and poor accountability for private and informal income and consumption of own-produced food, there were social, political, environmental, and spatial disparities endured by the Chinese urbanites and yet were overlooked by the applied orthodox money metrics. Moreover, Cheng (2014) further confirmed the palpability of inconsistencies even within the money metric approaches themselves mainly because of dietary, pricing and economic variances between regions, households and individuals within China. Whilst most governments have not hidden their bias towards an income-based perspective (income poverty lines and consumption expenditures) in measuring and comparing rural and urban poverty, Unsatisfied Basic Needs Indexes, Asset Indicators, Vulnerability and Participatory approaches are often integrated with money metrics by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) world over

including in China, India, Ethiopia and Mozambique. Seldom juxtaposing of results from monetary and non-monetary metrics executed by NGOs and some government surveys consistently produce discrepancies on the profile of poverty both from the same and different samples (Maitra, 2009). Although Arne and Abebe (2011) found that discrepancies between subjective (participatory) or objective (income and consumption) tools cause minimum measurement errors and distortions on comparative poverty profiles in rural and urban Ethiopia, The World Bank (2014) and Alem (2015) have since attributed the failure of anti-poverty initiatives in the same country to rigid, one-dimensional, inadequate and generalized rural-urban poverty profiles differentials. Literature acknowledges the multidimensional nature of rural-urban poverty; however that ostensibly does not pragmatically translate into recognition of the need to shift measurement approaches and interventionism from solely income and expenditure indicators towards integrative measurement approaches such as the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) (Alkire, Roche and Seth, 2013; Devereux, 2016).

2.4.2. The Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)

The Multidimensional Poverty Index is an exhaustive tool which measures the nature and intensity of poverty, quantifying how many things poor people go without. The index creates a vivid picture of how poverty is being experienced within and across households, communities, countries, regions and the world (Alkire, Roche and Seth, 2013). Whilst health, education and overall living conditions are its umbrella guides, the index uses various specific indicators to identify and account for multidimensional deprivations and correlations between the deprivations. Such indicators use a high lens to assess deprivation in terms of nutrition, child mortality, years of schooling, school attendance, cooking fuel, sanitation, water, electricity, floor and assets. Whilst other tools have been marred by measurement errors and distortion of poverty profiles, the index disaggregates deprivation among population groups (ethnicity, race, age), geographical areas (rural or urban) and constituency (individual, household, community). The Multidimensional Poverty Index goes beyond being multivariate since it produces both the headcount ratios of the people who are disadvantaged (incidence)

and the average share of dimensions in which people are disadvantaged (intensity), to complement other approaches in measuring and mitigating rural and urban poverty.

Poverty is unevenly distributed between regions within countries globally (World Bank, 2015). Whilst the incidence, depth and severity of poverty in low income countries gradually became identical between rural and urban contexts, there remain economic, social and environmental plights which are uniquely endured in the two contexts (Reddy and Sokomani, 2000, 2008, 2014). Particularly, today's urbanites are hit harder by surging unemployment, higher dependence on income wages (which have consistently nosedived), global economic recession, spatially spread service delivery backlogs (separate development), rampant immigration and the subsequent higher cost of living than their rural cohorts (Pasha, 2014). Rapid growth of many cities around the globe is not commensurate with economic development leaving a bigger fraction of urbanites in peripheral economic activities such as street vending, rag packing, casual jobs and crime (Hossain, 2007). About one-third of Dhaka City's population is living in slums and squatter settlements where they experience the highest level of poverty and vulnerability (Islam, 1996; Hossain, 2004; 2007).

Meanwhile, higher fertility rates, the subsequent larger household sizes, higher illiteracy ratios and unemployment aggravate the vulnerability and indigence of rural dwellers (Champion and Hugo, 2004; United Nations Population Division, (UNPD), 2015). Early interventionist efforts which prioritised rural poverty alleviation were ostensibly nullified by dysfunctional rural economies failing to curtail the "migration of poverty" into urban cores through the migrant labour system (Todaro, 2013:145). This dynamic geo-spatial distribution of poverty fuels debates about the need to balance attention to indigence in rural and urban set ups and to rigorously consider respective socio-economic contextual variances. This fundamentally prompts the need to assess rural-urban dichotomy effects of the social grants strategy on poverty alleviation.

Income poverty is intrinsically inseparable with unemployment of individuals and members of households. The 24.7% unemployment rate recorded by the 2014

Quarterly Labour Force Survey is hugely ascribed to structural unemployment. Structural unemployment refers to a scenario with more labour force than available jobs leaving masses of labour forces jobless (Terreblanche, 2002). It can be further argued that the income plight goes beyond the unemployed to encompass those with very low hourly wages, those with inadequate monthly or yearly work hours, and those who have to work too long just to be able to eke out a meager livelihood. Moreover, according to international household surveys in middle income countries, an average of 50% of the employed labour force earns less than the upper bound poverty line (\$2,50 per day), provoking a longstanding dilemma in literature about whether to maintain lower wages in order to create more jobs or to improve earnings and maintain fewer workers (Fields, 2000; Amra, Hlatshwayo and McMilan, 2013). Therefore, as high as unemployment figures are, it is as imperative to focus on the unemployed as it is to elevate the earning of the working poor.

2.5. RURAL-URBAN EFFECTS OF SOCIAL PROTECTION STRATEGIES

A combination of social, economic and environmental factors has collectively compounded the scourge of poverty in developing countries (World Bank, 2013; Christiaensen and Todo, 2014). Whilst the incidence, depth and severity of poverty has gradually become identical between rural and urban areas (Pasha, 2014), there remains sets of plights which are unique to each of the two geographical contexts (Alem, 2015). With surveys showing that low income households are more vulnerable to poverty, income has substantially earned acceptability as the proxy for welfare both in rural and urban areas especially in free market economies (Pan and Yang, 2011; Cheng, 2014). Subsequently, income-based poverty lines and consumption thresholds have been orthodox denominators in the identification of deserving beneficiaries of developmentalism and neo-structuralist strategies such as social grants in welfare states (Lanivas, 2015). However, the solicited uniformity of goals and output of the social security system is allegedly compromised by the dichotomous effects of social grants on poverty alleviation between rural and urban grantees (van der Berg, 2010). On one hand, scholars such as Baker and Schuler (2009) postulate that the social grant

approach tends to turn a blind eye on the fungibility of relief funds (cash, food vouchers) and unsolicited distribution of benefits per capita within households, mostly among urban grantees. On the other, there is relentless allusion to pitiable rates of beneficiaries' graduation from indigence status and generational overlaps of dependency on free basic services and social grants, especially in rural areas (Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn, and Argent, 2010). The latter case could be viewed as a potential root of chronic poverty and as testimony to the failure and unsustainability of the means-tested cash transfers (Reddy and Sokomani, 2008; van der Burg, 2010; Stren, 2014). Despite the fact that modern "rural" areas are now experiencing factors traditionally associated with the urban environment and the result is increased blurring of urban-rural distinctions (Champion and Hugo, 2004), the study argues that social security has rural-urban dichotomy effects as a strategy for poverty alleviation due to the diametric divergence between rural and urban contexts and characteristics.

Regardless of the aforementioned, social relief in form of cash transfers and food programmes have been exponentially improved over the years to counter global financial crises and income inequalities especially in (aspirant) welfare states in Latin America Brazil, the Gulf region and Ghana to mention a few (Finmark, 2009; Neves, 2013; World Bank, 2013). Echoing a successful experiment designed by Beveridge and Keynes (Lanivas, 2015), the International Labor Organization (ILO) promoted comprehensive social protection systems as not only essential poverty alleviation schemes but modern mechanism to enhance socioeconomic stability in market-oriented states. The Ghanaian National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS) acknowledges that economic growth alone is not sufficient for the fight against, especially, rural poverty (NSPS, 2007). The main component of the NSPS is a social grants programme called the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme which provides social grants to beneficiaries chosen from extremely poor households in Ghana to supplement the basic subsistence needs of the target groups and link them up with complementary services. Since poverty in Ghana is noted to be a predominantly rural phenomenon with about two-thirds of the poverty-stricken population living in rural areas, the LEAP has proportionally committed a bigger fraction of its safety net to rural Ghana (Osei, 2011).

These efforts are regardless of apparent dichotomous rural-urban effects of safety net programmes on poverty alleviation being consistently recorded globally. The study will methodologically examine the rural-urban effects of social grants in tandem with poverty dimensions in.

Third world communities are deeply marked by multi-dimensional and spatially-unique deprivations all revolving around low quality, scale and speed of service delivery, crime, illiteracy, spatial injustices among other ills. As such, social grants have been a traditional intervention strategy and the main income source for indigent households which are fortunately home to either children, old people and/or the disabled (Todaro, 2013). Whilst the indicators and processes used to determine eligibility to various social grants do not only under-count the deserving poor in rural areas, the aggregation of rural-urban poverty profiles have allegedly left vast non-monetary, incalculable and yet intractable dimensions of poverty unrelieved in many societies (Tacoli, 2012). However, pictures painted about juxtaposed rural-urban effects of social assistance on poverty alleviation show great variations between countries. This could be due to different measurement methodologies, poverty thresholds and other contextualised aspects (Dahl and Lorentzen, 2013). This study seeks to contextualize and disaggregate socio-economic narratives intrinsically distributed between rural and urban households as well as the rest of the societies in order to evaluate and appraise the effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation. The conventional social grant system has earned both exponents and critics in literature and practice over the years (Hughes and Irfan, 2007). This section consolidates a review of theoretical discourses, perceptions and findings revolving around rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants as a strategy for poverty alleviation.

The literature catalogues a range of negative effects potentially attendant to social grants, including creating opportunities for patronage and corruption, distorting markets and creating a range of perverse incentives such as disrupting remittances, disincentivizing work, displacing private savings, and elevating fertility rates. During the 1990s, as thinking on livelihoods, risk and vulnerability, and the multi-dimensional

nature of poverty became more nuanced, safety nets were increasingly criticised as residualist and paternalistic despite scant evidence of these negative effects upon the examination in welfare states (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004; Devereux, 2016). Instead, social grants are found to enable grantees to leverage and multiply their resources (including their time, energy and innovation in the task of maintaining a livelihood). Monographer van der Berg (2000, 2004, 2009, 2014) affirms positive impact of social grants and goes on to account for dissimilarities of the effects at different levels of analysis, including individual, household, location and cash values of various grants (World Bank, 2012; StatsSA, 2013).

Comparative studies demonstrate that whilst social grants have positive effects on food security, access to services (education, health) human capital, social reciprocity and investments in rural agricultural livelihoods, the utilization of the same grants slightly differs in urban areas (Case and Deaton, 1998; Samson et al., 2008). Higher costs of living (accommodation, food, transport) and higher intensity of capitalism in urban areas aggravate complexities and spatially distributed differentials in the expenditure of social grants (Case, Hosegood and Lund, 2003; Borat, Van der Westhuizen and Jacobs, 2009). With the rampant “migration of poverty” into city cores (Todaro, 2015: 145), grants have emerged to be almost solemn hope of welfare for the structurally, cyclically and chronically unemployed urbanites. In the process, recipient urbanites are prompted to invest in profit generating livelihoods such as vending, so as to supplement the grant, survive the highly capitalistic urban environment and ultimately boost their household (income) welfare (Posel, Fairburn and Lund, 2004; Arne and Abebe, 2014). Questions raised on the need to synchronize effects of social grants as a strategy for poverty alleviation between rural and urban areas also emanate from recounted evidence of rural households receiving the CSG and SOAG being poorer, having lower educational attainment and higher unemployment levels than their rural counterparts (Booyesen, 2007; Neves et al., 2013; Poverty Trends, 2014).

Contrary to what Neves et al. (2013) argue, most literature concur that the effects and impact of social grants are dissimilar at different levels of analysis, including individual,

household, location and cash values of various grants (World Bank, 2012; StatsSA, 2013). The study evaluates comparative socio-economic effects (negative and/or positive) of the three main components of the social welfare system in rural and urban areas without turning a blind eye on other relevant findings elsewhere. The challenge of this evaluation, however, lies in the spectre of confounding variables which are at work simultaneously with the grants which makes it difficult to explicitly pin point causalities and correlations with poverty alleviation.

2.5.1. Social Grants and Human Welfare

It is generally agreed that means-tested cash transfers to the most indigent members of the society have played a leading role in the reduction of extreme poverty and the ensuing enhancement of human welfare in welfare states across the globe (Chowdhury, and Mukhopadhaya, 2012; United Nation Development Programme (UNDP), 2015). Extreme poverty measured based on the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) calculations, measures the extreme poverty gap as the amount required for the extremely poor to reach the poverty line (World Bank, 2014). The reported estimated average of a 30% decline of the people below the food poverty line (Poverty Trends, 2014) and 20% improved school attendance (Department of Education, 2014) can be interpreted as testimony to the progress, accountability and justification of the social wage packages, particularly children and old age oriented grants. International household surveys have since confirmed positive effects of various grants on the consumption, health, nutrition and access to other services not only by the grantees but by their dependent families as well (Samson, Heinrich, Williams, Kanniki, Muzondo, Mac Qeune and van Nierkek, 2008). In a rural context, grandparents have been found to have an increasingly common extended role of taking responsibility of their often orphaned or fostered grandchildren. With this scenario usually translating into pooled and more income from grants for the child and the old age grants for the grandparent(s), it is no wonder some literature has lauded the social grants as a significant strategy for the human welfare not only for the designated recipient but for the whole household especially in rural areas (Chowdhury, and Mukhopadhaya, 2012).

The improvements in nutritional status associated with social grant receipt are a significant developmental outcome. Inadequate nourishment, particularly in preschool children, leads to lower levels of physical growth and impaired cognitive development (Narsey, 2012). Chronically undernourished children show higher levels of morbidity and disability, and lower levels of education. Not only are the deleterious effects of malnourishment largely irreversible, they also perpetuate poverty in the next generation. Furthermore, individual nutritional deficits ultimately exact aggregate social costs. When correlated with Zimbabwean employment data, Hoddinott and Kinsey (2001) compute that the affected children would experience a seven percent loss in lifetime earnings. These ills are usually visible in rural contexts.

International evidence documents that the direct costs of schooling (fees, uniforms, transport, school supplies) are frequently the second largest expenditure after food (StatsSA, 2014; UNDP, 2015). Investments in human capital development has been more associated with urban grantees, a trend which is more likely to break the chronic chain of poverty in an urban than a rural household (Todaro, 2013) In addition, research shows that social grants support investments in productive physical capital, such as improved housing and, particularly in rural areas, investments in smallholder agriculture, with concomitant increases in food consumption (Martinez, 2005). Moreover, infrastructure development using grants is more common in rural areas where structures do not necessarily have architectural supervision, thus less expensive. Agriculture being predominantly a rural practice, benefits more from grant money.

Although much evidence points to improvements in levels of wellbeing associated with grant receipt, these effects are not uniformly experienced across all contexts and households, even in the same geographical setting. Instead they are mediated by factors such as the extent to which income is pooled within the household, along with the gender of the grant recipient. Evidence of the extent to which income is pooled is strongly associated with improvements in the welfare of household members other than the formally designated grant recipient (Neves et al., 2013). Furthermore, pension

receipt by a female is durably associated with improvements in health status (and school enrolment) of grandchildren (Case, 2001). Duflo (2003) documents positive gains on granddaughters' anthropometric data when their grandmother receives the SOAG, with no commensurate effect for pension receipt by a grandfather. This is consistent with robust international evidence that grant receipt by women is associated with enhancing the welfare of children (Lund, 2002) From this logic it can be deduced that dichotomies revolving around the effects of social grants surpass rural-urbanity narratives to encompass individual household social capital status.

In the midst of heated discourses on rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants, there seems to be arguable consensus in literature that all social grants (CSG, FCG, CDG, SOAG and DG) reap more welfare for the designated grantees and their household at large if a woman is the final decision maker on the utilization of the respective grants (Amis, 1995; Samson et al., 2008; Narsey, 2012; Todaro, 2013). Van Driel (2009, 2015) has since supported this argument by asserting that the level of autonomy and independency intrinsically inherent in literate urban women gives them and their households a superior aptitude to extract more out of a prism of social grants than their rural and often patriarchal cohorts.

Questions raised on the synchronization of effects of social grants as a strategy for poverty alleviation between rural and urban areas also emanate from recounted evidence of urban households receiving the CSG and SOAG being poorer, having lower educational attainment and higher unemployment levels than their rural counterparts (Booyesen, 2007; Neves et al., 2013; Poverty Trends, 2014). There might have been a wide range of attributes to that paradox but the most highlighted perceptions on the dichotomous effects of the cash transfers on human welfare in literature were raised from two sets of reasoning – thus the social welfare system proponents and civil society sympathisers (Chowdhury and Mukhopadhaya, 2012). The latter set predictably pinpointed the insufficiency of the monetary value especially in urban areas, the former mainly alluded to the fungibility of the cash transfers whilst modest perceptions reiterated the longstanding need to restructure the social security system in order to

incorporate varying dynamics and dimensions of poverty in rural and urban areas so as to synchronise the grants' effects.

The logic of the poor being located in rural areas where colonial regimes restricted them seems to be continually defied by the rampant “migration of poverty” into urban cores (Finmark Trust, 2013; Todaro, 2015: 145). The World Bank (2014) further confirmed the trend and went on to forecast that the average income threshold of eligibility for urbanites being lower than that of their rural cohorts, implies that aggregate population being higher and the incidence of poverty rapidly escalating in urban areas, the larger proportion of national budgets for social security is projected to be consumed by the urban poor in the near future. Based on this line of thinking, determining the effects of social grants is firmly hinged on clear establishment of the geographical distribution of poor people either through robust employment of contextualised and multidimensional poverty measurement tools – thus acknowledging the rural-urban dichotomy narratives and a pre-requisite step towards social grant-driven human welfare.

2.5.2. Economic Effects of Social Security in Rural and Urban Areas

Allocations of enormous fractions of national budgets in welfare states to social security has recurrently fuelled accusations of cash transfers inhibiting economic growth despite the fact that economic growth is seldom an explicit objective of social security system (Pauw and Mncube, 2007 and Narsey, 2012). Moreover, there are countless factors, other than the alleged social grant system, which can hamper economic growth in a developing country. Whilst the positive implications of the grants on the national economy have been merely limited to long term economic gains off improved consumption, human capital and investments, home economics yield more from cash transfers (van der Burg, 2010). Social grants provide households with immunity to vulnerability such as morbidity, loss of employment, and drought through savings and investments, especially in urban areas. Furthermore, the child oriented and old age grants allow for poor urbanites to make entrepreneurial investments which can enhance financial and human capital (employability), livelihood diversification and the subsequent

accumulation of even higher value resources (Bigsten, and Shimeles, 2011). The World Bank (2000, 2010, 2015).acknowledges that reducing risk or protecting the poor against income and consumption variability will allow them to invest and accumulate – a “trampoline” out of poverty. However, this diversion of scarce resources to the economically inactive consumers has been pinpointed by the antagonists of the policy as counter-productive to economic growth and long term poverty alleviation (Devereux, 2016).

In similarly criticism, Oduro (2016) observes that the risk-spreading effect of social grants in rural areas is even more visible at household level where safety nets prevent makeshift sale of livestock (usually at depressed prices), cutting on school expenses by withdrawing children from school and eating seed stocks to enhance food security (van der Burg, 2010). Devereux and Sabel-Wheeler, (2004) had earlier argued that this fungibility and misuse of grants is a manifestation of the inadequacy and failure of social security systems to live up to their proclaimed credentials as a transformative social protection programme. Although there has been concerns about the dependable cash transfers discouraging savings in rural households (Pan, and Yang, 2011), there is immense paucity of empirical evidence. Instead, Santos (2013) and Goldman (2005) have presented evidence on social grants, especially when pooled, increasing savings in rural households where money merely plays a complementary role to subsistence farming. Keswell (2004) has since accounted for how grants avert households from inefficient insurance mechanisms although the credit eligibility enhanced by the grant-collateral often increases susceptibility of grantees to bogus financial and credit policies especially in less literate rural societies.

2.5.3. Social Empowerment through Social Grants

The most indigent members of the society and family are often marginalized and alienated from social networks-driven reciprocity, largely, due to their poor possession and control of tradable resources including labour (Barreintos, 2008). Whilst social grants do not directly translate into formal exchanges, family histories, gifts and favours,

they have been found to provide bargains and lubrication for sustainable social reciprocity. Sagner (2000) documents the role of the SOAG on the acquisition of informal networks by the elderly within poor households where they represent an asset with which the main household income is accessed. This effect of the state transfers is renowned for far reaching and sustainable social capital without which recipient individuals and households would be socially excluded (Barreintos, 2008; Sebates-Wheelers, 2009). Moreover, it is found that social grants have a considerable impact on poverty, and that this impact increases as the poverty measure being used becomes more sensitive to the severity of poverty. However a seemingly growing gini co-efficient (0.8) resembles that social grants have a negligible impact regardless of the fact that it is not solely their role to reduce economic inequality in liberal and social democracies (Armstrong and Burger, 2009).

A dependency syndrome has since been highlighted by critics of the social grant system whereas annual reports from the LEAP in Ghana seem to justify their concerns by reporting that the number of people receiving social grants increased from 12.7% in 2003 to 30.2% in 2013, while the number of households receiving at least one social grant increased from 29.9% to 45.5% over the same period. However, Surendera, Noblea, Wright and Ntshongwana (2010) countered that by concluding in their empirical findings that the key factors in reducing people's chances of finding employment are seemingly linked to the structural conditions of the labour market and the wider economy rather than the motivational characteristics of the unemployed, comfortable dependency on and the arrangements of the grant system (Alem, 2015).

It is generally agreed that means-tested cash transfers to the most indigent members of the society have played a leading role in the reduction of extreme poverty and the ensuing enhancement of human welfare (Chowdhury and Mukhopadhaya, 2012). Household surveys have since confirmed positive effects of various grants on the consumption, health, nutrition and access to other services, not only by the grantees but by their dependent families as well (Samson, Heinrich, Williams, Kanniki, Muzondo, Mac Qeune and van Nierkek, 2008; GSS, 2013). In rural contexts, grandparents have

been found to have an increasingly common extended role of taking responsibility of their often orphaned or fostered grandchildren. With this scenario usually translating into pooled and more income from child support grants and old age grants it is no wonder some literature has lauded the social grants as a significant strategy for human welfare not only for the designated recipient but for the whole household especially in rural areas (Chowdhury and Mukhopadhaya, 2012).

Whilst communitarianism influence spending habits in rural areas, the most indigent members of a society and family are often marginalized and alienated from social networks-driven reciprocity, largely, due to their poor possession and control of tradable resources including labour (Barreintos, 2008). Sagner (2000) documents the role of grants on the acquisition of informal networks by the elderly within poor households where they represent an asset with which the main household income is accessed. This upshot of social grants is renowned for far reaching and sustainable social capital without which recipient individuals and households would be socially excluded (Barreintos, 2008; Sebates-Wheelers, 2009). Largely, literature documents that social grants have considerable effects on poverty alleviation, and that there is a positive correlation between the impact of the grants and the sensitivity of the measure of poverty severity. However, a widening gap between the poor and the non-poor has been sometimes interpreted as resemblance of the negligibility of the effects of social grants regardless of the fact that it is not solely the role of safety nets to moderate economic inequality in urban areas and extreme poverty in rural areas (Armstrong and Burger, 2009; UNDP, 2015).

2.6. CONCLUSION

The chapter provided a theoretical framework for the discussion revolving around the rural-urban effects of social grants on poverty alleviation. The synthesis of the literature was aimed at a comparative appraisal of social security systems and their aptitude to and patterns of enhancing poverty alleviation. The chapter has highlighted multi-dimensional conceptions of poverty which have come to the fore over the years, which

increasingly view poverty as marked by a series of interlinked deprivations. However, while this study thrives to expose the social, economic and general characteristic dichotomies between rural and urban contexts, this chapter has recorded modern "rural" areas now experiencing factors traditionally associated with the urban environment and the resulting in increased blurring of urban-rural distinctions. The chapter also documented that the uniformity of rural and urban areas might be a reality from first to second world countries, but by virtue of their contrasting contexts, rural and urban areas in most third world countries continue to be diametrically divergent in terms of their characteristics. The chapter conceptually juxtaposes various social, economic, environmental and cultural narratives as well as disaggregated effects of the social security system on poverty alleviation in rural and urban areas around the world. With careful recognition of a spectre of confounding variables at work simultaneously with grants in society, the section provisionally concludes that whilst social grants are economically and socially empowering in both contexts, their effects are not only dichotomous between rural and urban households but are rather unique to individual welfare states and receiving households.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL GRANTS AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter has laid a foundation by synthesizing literature and theories which guide discourses revolving around the rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants on poverty alleviation. This conceptual framework was reinforced by practical international experiences, regardless of the contextual divergence embedded in different geographies. To enhance the relevance of the discourse, this chapter narrows down the discussion to South Africa in a bid to locate and expose the research problem locally.

The study now makes a comparative appraisal of the effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation through a scholarship synthesis of narratives, discourses, perceptions and findings revolving around characteristics and contexts of the rural-urban dichotomy, roles and types of the South African social grants, dimensions and dynamics of poverty in rural and urban South Africa and the rural-urban effects of social grants on poverty amelioration in contemporary South Africa.

3.2. RURAL AND URBAN AREAS: CHARACTERISTIC AND CONTEXTUAL DICHOTOMIES

Whilst there is "increased blurring of urban-rural distinctions" in developed countries (Champion and Hugo, 2004), characteristics of rural and urban areas are diametrically divergent, by virtue of their contrasting contexts in most developing countries (Hall, 2015). These inherent contrasts are critical to the applicability of interventions due to the diversity of actors, agendas, underlying intentions and so on (Ellis and Freeman, 2014). Whilst people in South African rural societies are characterized by socio-economic homogeneity and thus they enjoy communitarianism, people in urban areas belong to

different castes, creeds, religions and cultures, thus they do not consistently share same social statuses, norms and values. Socio-economic narratives are thereby intrinsically distributed among rural and urban households as well as societies and so are the effects of intervention strategies such as social grants in South African societies (Maitra, 2009; Chowdhury and Mukhopadhaya, 2013). The study finds it imperative to engage various discourses entangling characteristics and contexts of the rural-urban dichotomy in contemporary South Africa.

Inherent capitalism in free market South African urban economies implicitly manifest in the urban poor being left out of the formal economic activities and/or receiving poverty wages of which a bigger fraction is spent on food, and essential non-food commodities such as education, rates, health and socialising, which often go unfulfilled (Booyesen, 2013). Conversely, with agricultural livelihoods such as crop farming, gardening, wild gathering and livestock rearing representing the main sources of food within rural households, income often plays a complementary role in rural food security (Alem et al., 2015). Furthermore, assets possessed by an individual urban household determine its aptitude to enhance economic productivity and the transformation of these assets into income or other basic needs with the street vending and other small entrepreneurial ventures. In rural contexts, big household sizes seem to be regarded as an asset with which wealth can be accumulated, either through labour in agricultural activities or *lobola* payments or headcount safety nets (Todaro, 2013). Whilst urban female-headed households are more vulnerable to the prevailing antagonistic attitudes towards female employment, they have a superior chance of accessing and controlling income than their culturally-grounded rural cohorts. It is also understandable to argue classical separate migration (where usually a male household member of a rural household migrates to cities in pursuit of employment leaving female-headed households) in South Africa means females make expenditure on remittances received (Todaro, 2013; 2015).

Case et al. (2013) and Heller (2013) noted that despite the length of urban residence being a significant factor for urban adaptations, skills transfer and the eventual

employability, educational levels between the rural and urban poor are identical. Whilst the KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS), a longitudinal survey found that adult members of rural chronically poor households are less educated and have a lower level of literacy than their urban counterparts, the common plight is seen to manifest in financial illiteracy and misuse of funds (wages, remittances and grants) by both the rural and urban poor (Case et al., 2013; Aliber, 2014). Some studies have rushed to the defence of the literacy levels of the urban poor, however a lot of studies have confirmed that the urban poor are unable to live on their limited earnings and are often forced to take loans from various sources (Hossain, 2007; Reddy and Sokomani, 2008; 2014). A study by Bigsten and Shimeles, (2011) found that the urban poor have very limited access to formal sources of credit due to their unstable and vulnerable socio-economic status quo. As a result they mostly rely on credit from informal “loan sharks.” The trend of chronically relying on informal loans which charge exorbitantly unregulated interest rates was also recorded in South Africa, especially in urban township households (StatsSA, 2015). The Bophelong Survey confirms dire socio economic conditions prevalent for many urbanites in Bophelong Township. Many respondents (51 per cent) had incurred debt for furniture, clothes and school fees. Some (14 per cent) had turned to local moneylenders (who charge 50 per cent interest per month) to provide food (10 per cent), services such as electricity (5 per cent), schooling (6 per cent) and other (11 per cent) (Van Driel, 2015). This logic ostensibly confirms that whilst the depth, incidence and severity of poverty in low income countries gradually became identical between rural and urban areas, the risks as well as risk-spreading tactics which characterize the rural and urban poor are not only divergent and dichotomous but contextually parallel.

3.3. ROLES AND TYPES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL GRANTS SYSTEM

The South African Social Security Agency Act 9 of 2004 declares that “everyone has the right to have access to social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents, appropriate social assistance” (RSA, 2004). Notwithstanding a beleaguered history the contemporary South African social security

system is the chief post-apartheid initiative committing to the constitutional mandate and pragmatically tackling stark socio-economic ills. The first of its two main objectives is to immediately reduce poverty among groups who are not expected to participate fully in the labour market, and therefore vulnerable to low income - thus the elderly, those with disabilities, and children. The second objective is to increase investment in health, education and nutrition, so as to increase economic growth and development (Department of Social Development (DSD), 2003; 2015). These twin objectives are reflected in the Government's 1997 White Paper on Social Development, which states that "a social security system is essential for healthy economic development, particularly in a rapidly changing economy, and will contribute actively to the development process. It is important for immediate alleviation of poverty and is a mechanism for active redistribution" (Republic of South Africa, 1997: 1).

Whilst unique and contextual, the South African Social Security Agency Act resembles many a feature of The Esping-Andersen Theory of Welfare State Regimes. The similarity with the western model of social protection manifest in firstly, the South African approach being from a social democratic regime, with higher levels of de-commodification in access to social resources and characterized by well-funded public welfare benefits and services that are national and financed by taxes. Today, over 60 per cent of the South African national budget to social security (R127.2 billion) (National Treasury, 2016). Secondly, the liberal regime is characterized by reliance on the market showing the lowest level of de-commodification. The modern South African social security system sprouted from and are still shaped by fragmented forms of social protection inherited from the pre-democracy era and by moderate economic transfers, and prioritizes individuals with greater and means-tested needs (Arts and Gelissen, 2002; Silva, 2002, Arcanjo, 2011; SASSA, 2015; Devereux, 2016).

The post-apartheid government, just like other welfare states across the world has increasingly committed to a leading role in ameliorating the poverty burden from the most indigent citizenry through Social Support Grants and Free Basic Services which are both informed by the income statuses (means-test) of households. Literature has it

that the post-apartheid discourse about social grants has shifted away from racial parity of the system towards whether the cash transfers are effective as a strategy for poverty alleviation and if they are, do they have harmonised and consistent effects between rural and urban areas? (Todaro, 2011; Tacoli, 2015). Prior to engaging in the contestations revolving around their progress (or lack thereof), it is crucial to explore varying rural-urban roles played by different means-tested grants in South Africa.

The roles of the South African social grant programmes are commonly delineated into three domains: firstly, the elevation of welfare, consumption and access to basic services (education, health); secondly, potential economic gains such as management of risks, insecurity and facilitating savings and investments; and lastly, Es of grantees in a social context thus - income redistribution through social grants is perceived as a sign of post-colonial equality and renewed social compactness between state and citizens (Barchiese, 2007; Neves et al., 2013). The quest to redistribute income is primarily targeted at the most vulnerable and indigent members of the society, hence the prioritization of children, the disabled and the elderly in South Africa (Narsey, 2012). Grants redistribute income between generations, amongst the insured according to risk and vulnerability and across time – thus consumption smoothing (Van der Berg, 2007).

3.3.1. Child Support Grant (CSG)

Although it was launched in the post-democracy era (1998), the means-tested Child Support Grant (CSG) faced fierce resistance especially from the beneficiaries of the phased-out State Maintenance Grant (SMG) in South Africa (Case, Hosegood and Lund, 2003). Whilst the CSG was a huge democratic step, the legacy of racism, gender imbalances and general inequality earlier in the post-apartheid society hindered the identification and alleviation of the poorest children between 0 and 6 years of age (0 to 17years today) (Narsey, 2014). Perhaps the alarming global poverty-related child mortality rate of 41 deaths in every 1000 births (World Bank, 2015) justified the urgent need to target poor children through Child Support Grants in order to enhance their sustenance, education, health and overall welfare, especially in rural set ups (Harvey,

2008). Today, every 6th child in South Africa receives a social grant (SASSA, 2014). The purpose of introducing social grants for children was also primarily to provide support in raising poor children. The principle behind this social grant was, as is in most welfare states, to “follow the child”, which means that the grant would be allocated irrespective of the child’s family structure (Triegaardt, 2004:234). The objectives the South African support system were to contribute to the costs of raising children; redistribute income over the life cycle; influence the birth rate; provide a degree of equity in taxation; relieve child poverty; enable parents to care for children independently of the labour market; boost low earnings; reduce demands for a minimum wage; increase incentives to work; and relieve unemployment or low income traps in an economically unequal economy (Case and Deaton 1998; Bertrand and Mullainathan 2000; Klasen and Woolard 2002; Triegaardt, 2004; SASSA, 2008; 2010; 2013; 2014).

If the parent or primary care giver’s monthly income does not exceed 10 times the grant amount in rural areas or squatter camps and threshold of R3000 (for a single caregiver) in urban areas, the primary caregiver of the an eligible child is entitled to receiving R310 every month. Today, SOCPEN (an administrative data system of the SASSA) records 11 million and 1.7 million children being provided with the monthly CSG in South Africa and Limpopo Province, respectively (SASSA, 2014). Whilst these figures testify the remarkable progress, research identified approximately 2.35 million eligible children who are not receiving the child support grant, a bigger fraction of these residing in rural areas (Triegaardt, 2013; StatsSA, 2014). Beyond attracting calls for the need to lower the CSG eligibility thresholds and the subsequent extension of the coverage of the safety net, the system is heavily fraught with discrepancies in the value and impact of social grants between rural and urban grantees (Booyesen, 2007; Tacoli, 2012).

The South African Foster Child and Care-Dependency Grants resemble the thorough and exhaustive nature of the child support system in incorporating all dimensions of child vulnerability (Van der Berg, 2010). According to the Western Cape Government (2014) the former grant allows a foster parent to receive a monthly payment from the government only if the means-test confirms that the foster child has a monthly income

which is less than twice the value of the Foster Child Grant (R770). Its rapid expansion since 2003 coincides with the rise in HIV-related orphaning and an implied policy change by the Department of Social Development, which from 2003 started encouraging family members (particularly grandmothers) caring for orphaned children to apply for foster care and the associated grant. Over the following five years the number of FCGs increased by over 50 000 per year as orphans were brought into the foster care system (SASSA 2009; 2013; Hall, 2015). The increases were greatest in largely rural provinces with large numbers of orphaned children: the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and Mpumalanga. With advocacy for the undercounting of indigent children continually sprouting, especially in urban settings, court orders of approximately 300 000 children who are eligible for Foster Care Grant were initiated (SASSA, 2014). The introduction of the judicial systems and social workers in the determination and review of eligibility to the grant in South Africa has been seen to alienate rural children whose traditional courts do not conform to fostering of children (Lund, 2008; Van der Berg, 2010). Perhaps, these dynamics were ensued by the recent parity in the proportional distribution of foster care grantees in rural and urban settings (SASSA, 2014).

The Care-Dependency Grant (R1 260 per month) is given to a foster parent, guardian, parent or custodian of a child who has mental and/or physical disability. These initiatives remain the mainstream intervention strategies aimed at preventing and alleviating poverty in the proliferation of high incidence of various dimensions of vulnerability (SASSA, 2014). Empirical findings have highlighted that Child Support Grants (Foster and Care-Dependency included) enhance consumption, education and health of underprivileged children and their broader households both in rural and urban areas (Booyesen, 2015). Aggregate evidence to the impact of the Child Support Grant is the number of children whose parents had reported that they are going hungry declining, but at different rates between rural and urban households – thus, 3 to 5 per cent per year in rural areas and 1 to 2 per cent per year in urban areas from 2002 (Van der Berg, 2014; Makiwane and Udjo, 2015). Whilst it has been argued that these favourable trends cannot be explicitly attributed to social grants, high unemployment rates and

economic downturns in the same period have left cash transfers as the prime source of income in most indigent households – rural and urban (Kingdon and Knight, 2000; StatsSA, 2013). However, regardless of the well-documented progress of the state welfare initiatives, perceptions on the adequacy, effects and sustainability of these pro-poor child grants remain contentious both in theory and practice and diametric between rural and urban areas.

As the incidence of poverty in South Africa varies from one province to another, the provinces of Western Cape and Gauteng have the least incidence of poverty, while the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and Limpopo provinces have the highest rates. In the latter province, 78 per cent of the children live in poor households, while 20 per cent of the children do in Gauteng households (Lund, 2008; StatsSA, 2015). A scenario where Gauteng Province is more urbanized as compared to a dominantly rural Limpopo further gives credence to an apparent positive correlation between poverty levels with “rurality” in South Africa. It is therefore imperative to appraise the effects of the CSG in rural and urban areas in South Africa.

3.3.2. State Old Age Grant (SOAG)

The foundation of the contemporary State Old Age Grant (SOAG) was built on a racial basis since the initial Old Age Pension Act of 1928 only made elderly whites and coloureds eligible to state pensions until the mid-20th Century (Case et al., 2003). The attainment of racial parity see all elderly female and male citizens above 60 and 65years, respectively, receiving an average of R1400 per month, an amount which is relatively generous by the standards of a developing country. Today, 421,053 people receive the SOAG (SASSA, 2014). The role of this grant goes beyond food security and rescuing the impoverished from ultra-poverty to secure social reciprocity and deep rooted social networks on which the elderly hugely survive on especially in rural settings. Declining life expectancy and the prevalence of HIV/AIDS has reduced the number of beneficiaries of the SOAG over the years, however, the incidence of rural grandparents taking care of their orphaned grandchildren have raised questions of the

adequacy and effectiveness of the grant in many studies (Finmark Trust, 2009; StatsSA, 2013). Providentially, this role of the grant “underwrites pensioners’ moral claims to support and protection within their own family networks both in urban and rural societies” (Neves et al., 2013:33).

The role of the SOAG goes beyond food security and ameliorating ultra-poverty to enhancing social reciprocity and deep rooted social networks on which the elderly hugely survive on especially in rural contexts. The incidence of rural grandparents taking care of their orphaned grandchildren has raised questions of the adequacy and effectiveness of the grant in many studies (Finmark Trust, 2009; World Bank, 2014), however the trend “underwrites pensioners’ moral claims to support and protection within their own family networks both in urban and rural societies” (Neves et al., 2013:33). After The Mouton committee and the National Consultative Retirement Forum findings, there were calls to abolish the means-test for the Old Age Grant which were subsequently dismissed because a number of pensioners was growing more rapidly than the economy. Consequently, there would have been strong pressure on the fiscus as a result of the expansion of the number of beneficiaries, especially in rural areas.

Whilst take-up rates of the grant are higher in rural areas, there remain incredible challenges in terms of assessing how well the age-eligible targets are aware of and are reached by the grants. (Van der Westhuizen and Van Zyl, 2002; Ralston, Schatz, Menken, Gómez-Olivé and Toll, 2016). Using the Agincourt Health Demographic Surveillance System census data to conduct a multivariate logistics regression to predict the receipt of Old Age Grants, Ralston et al. (2016) found that 70 per cent and 96 per cent of the rural and urban age-eligible receive, respectively. This reservoir of older persons exists who meet eligibility criteria but who are not yet receiving pensions in rural areas has been attributed to poor access to information and communication systems compounded by low educational and literacy levels.

Within South Africa the SOAG is associated with larger household size and there is evidence of demographic effects, including attracting unemployed family members into

the household. Paradoxically this seems to mask some of the grant's welfare effects, as per capita incomes are diluted (Neves et al.,2009).The War Veteran Grant is a fading social security relief fund paid out to the aging participants of the 2nd World War, the Korean War and the Zulu Revolution of 1906. Due to natural attrition, there has remained only 2000 and 29 recipients of this grant in South Africa and Limpopo, respectively (SASSA, 2014), therefore, there is little attention given to the grant in modern literature since it has almost insignificant statistical implications. It has however, been documented that the beneficiaries of this special grant suffer from post-war mental, physical and psychological impairments and are closely relatable to the recipients of the Disability Grant (Neves et al., 2009).

3.3.3. Disability Grant (DG)

The logic for disbursing this grant sprouts from acknowledgement that poverty, disabilities and chronic health conditions are strongly related (Hall, 2015). Medical criteria are employed to test and approve eligibility of approximately 1.5million recipients of the Disability Grant in South Africa (Hossain, 2007; SASSA, 2014). Physically and mentally incapacitated citizens in the working age (18 to 65years) are subject to a means test before they can be considered temporary or permanent targets of the grant. 91,357 people receive the grant in rural and urban Limpopo (SASSA, 2014). According to regulations policed by SASSA (2009, 2015), disability grants are awarded either on a temporary basis (payments are provided up to 1 year, whereupon the individual has to reapply for further benefits) or on a permanent basis (renewed every 5 years). In order to be eligible to the DG, proof is required, normally from a physician or medical official, that the applicant is indeed too sick to work (Mitra, 2009). Such conditions are ensued by the alienation of disabled rural dwellers who either lack information, procedures and/or resources to fulfil the requirements of the Disability Grant in South Africa. However, the 2015 Budget Review allocated a significant R107.4 million for 2015/16, under agency and support services for medical assessment fees, which will pay medical practitioners contracted to perform medical assessments on those applying for disability

grants, as well as quality control practitioners to ensure that medical assessments are consistent, fair and accessible to rural prospective grantees (National Treasury, 2016).

Literature has since criticised the grant for recurring inconsistencies and obscurity in the processes of means-testing and establishing clear description and level of impairment of prospective beneficiaries. Whilst there has been contentious inquiry on the medical models used to identify eligibility, HIV/AIDS compounds the complexities revolving around disability thresholds (Booyesen, 2015). Whilst South Africa's government disability grants are considered important in providing income support to low income AIDS patients, anecdotal evidence suggests that some individuals may opt to compromise their health by foregoing Highly Active Antiretroviral Treatment (HAART) to remain eligible for the grant (Venkataramani, Brown, Nattrass and Ruger, 2009). Although in literature and practice, probes into the effects of the Disability Grant have only yielded a paradox between proponents and antagonists of the grant, the baseline would perhaps be the remarkable progress made by the grant in reducing the incidence, depth and severity of vulnerability of the disabled in rural and urban areas. There, however, remains paucity of literature which disaggregates effects of the Disability Grant strategy as strategy for poverty alleviation between rural and urban areas in the Limpopo Province and beyond. Questions about whether social grants in general develop a dependence syndrome remain partially addressed although consortiums of longitudinal studies have consistently reported that those receiving Disability Grants were less likely to report working in all survey waves. These findings should, however, avoid turning a blind eye on the structural and chronic unemployment prevalent in, especially, rural South Africa (Van der Berg, 2014; Booyesen, 2015).

3.4. DIMENSIONS AND DYNAMICS OF POVERTY IN RURAL AND URBAN SOUTH AFRICA

Reddy and Sokomani (2008) acknowledged that, understanding the context, dimensions and dynamics of poverty in rural and urban South Africa is preponderant to conceptualising the setting within which state social grants are received and used. In

the last decade multi-dimensional conceptions of poverty have come to the fore, which increasingly view poverty as marked by a series of interlinked deprivations. Sen's (1999) work, for instance, posits poverty as the product of a lack of various capacities, both intrinsic and instrumental, which include income, education, health and human and civil rights. Many of the poor are locked in poverty traps, with the cycle of low income, limited assets and opportunities constraining them from making the investments (in their health, education and livelihoods) to lift themselves out of poverty. Poverty, however, is not only defined by low incomes, consumption and capabilities – the poor have a heightened susceptibility to risk and the probability of catastrophic decline or death. Poverty is therefore also characterised by insecurity and an acute vulnerability to income variability over time (Baulch and Hoddinott, 2000).

Without turning a blind eye on other perspectives of poverty, the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA, 2015: 6) “puts on the income lenses of poverty”. Be that as it may, poverty continues to be conventionally, principally and widely defined by and associated with low incomes and consumption, its alleged rural orientation and equivocal methodologies in measuring its chronic or episodic nature. On one hand, as a basis of measuring poverty in monetary terms, poverty lines are used as indicators regardless of arguments that poverty is multi-dimensional and can be non-material (Alkire, Roche and Seth, 2013). Indeed, poverty is not only defined by low incomes, consumption and capabilities – the poor have a heightened susceptibility to risk and the probability of catastrophic decline or death. Poverty is therefore also characterised by insecurity and an acute vulnerability to income variability over time (Baulch and Hoddinott, 2000; Oduro (2016). On the other, post-apartheid interventionist efforts are inclined towards the rural poor in former *Bantustans*, despite recent inquiry reporting that the incidence, depth and severity of poverty in low income countries has gradually become identical between rural and urban contexts.

Next up, debates on the dimensions and dynamics of poverty in rural and urban areas in contemporary South Africa are discussed with particular orientation on the rural-urban distribution of indigence. Whilst the post-apartheid government and other private

institutions operational in rural and urban South Africa employ various models and indices to measure poverty, this study interrogates, mainly, The Income Perspective of Poverty which represents the primary lenses used by the South African Social Security Agency Act to alleviate indigence (SASSA. 2015).

3.4.1. The Income Perspective of Poverty

The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), being the principle arm of the South African Social Security Agency Act 9 of 2004, its main goal is to fulfil “government’s overarching policy to address poverty via the provision of a social wage package intended to reduce the cost of living for the poor” (SASSA, 2015:4). This is an unequivocal manifestation of South Africa’s social welfarism credentials and her adoption of the Income Perspective of Poverty. However, Income poverty is as multidimensional and contextual as poverty itself. What is considered an indigent income to one setting can be a decent and in some cases, a fortune to another. It is against this backdrop that the thresholds of basic needs to a country, region, household or individual vary simultaneously with respective incomes accessed (National Treasury, 2007). As a basis of measuring poverty in monetary dimension, poverty lines are used as indicators. A poverty line is a monetary cut-off point below which a person is deemed to be poor (StatsSA, 2008). In recognition of diverse socio-economic classes in society, the United Nations categorizes poverty lines into lower and upper bound (Hoogeveen and Ozler, 2005). The South African National Treasury uses Living Standards Measurement Surveys and Income and Expenditure Surveys (IES) among others to stipulate the lower bound poverty line as \$1.08 per person per day, while the upper bound is pegged at \$2 (RSA, 2015). While money metrics and quantifications allow for the separation of the poor from the non-poor, location of the poor, identifying the most vulnerable groups (female-headed households, migrants, youths, etc.), variances between figures and approaches used in different countries, cities and households make income-based comparisons difficult over time. Moreover, Income poverty fails to capture other non-material dimensions of poverty such as access to services, health,

security and spatial conduciveness (economic opportunities, own-crop production) (Baker and Schuler, 2015).

The post-apartheid Government, just like other developmental states across the world has increasingly committed to a leading role in ameliorating the poverty burden from the most indigent citizenry. As mentioned already, income and consumption thresholds determine the demarcation between the poor and non-poor in South Africa (Arne and Abebe 2011). Without continually contesting the validity and adequacy of the conventional income bias, there remain loud outcries even from within the approach's proponents on the need to increase the ambit of the relief coverage by extending the R1500 monthly income cut-off used to identify beneficiaries of the main mitigation strategies in Polokwane City – thus the Free Basic Services, Social Support Grants, Scholarship Programmes and Food Programmes. The prioritization of these income driven strategies has seen Safety Nets in the form of (conditional) cash transfers, taking prominence in the futile attempt to enhance food security, child health, education and other basic needs of the poor. Being a developmental state, the South African government commits over R120 billion towards Social Support Grants and Free Basic Services which are both informed by the income statuses of individual households. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Finance announced, through the 2015 Budget Speech, an additional R7.2 billion as a positive adjustment to the monthly social grants (RSA, 2015). It is such government robust inclinations towards income driven measurement and strategic interventionism which envisage the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to sarcastically question in the Government Finance Statistics (GFS) why proponent countries of the Income Based Approach are mostly the ones with contemporary financial liabilities and the least resource bases to sustain it (IMF, 2015). Perhaps, there is need to put a spotlight on the Income Based Approach so as to highlight its major shortcomings.

Measuring rural and urban poverty in South Africa using, primarily, money metrics is similarly a conventional method regardless of buzzing queries from local and international scholars, aid agents and in some cases, victims of the plight themselves

(Pan and Yang, 2013). Despite higher dependency on cash income by urban residents in satisfying most of their needs, antagonists of the principal usage of an income based approach have pinpointed its underestimation of historical spatial injustices, social exclusion, racism, vulnerability and inequalities endured by post-apartheid urbanites. The Polokwane City, as poor as they it is, is deeply marked by multi-dimensional deficiencies closely linked to low quality, scale and speed of delivering services, safety and security as well as structural and cyclical unemployment and yet the Local Municipality employs predominantly average urban wages and overall level of infrastructure to determine the incidence of poverty in the city (Polokwane Local Municipality, 2012). Moreover, generalised income-based measurements tend to turn a blind eye on unequal entitlement to resources per capita within “prosperous households” and fail to account for the fluctuation of, especially private and informal income (Baker and Schuler, 2009: 60; Cheng, 2014). Such a trend has not only undercounted the urban poor in Polokwane but has left vast non-monetary elements of urban poverty unaccounted for, consequently drilling loopholes in the design of anti-poverty strategies in the capital city of the most poverty-stricken province in the country (Tacoli, 2012).

As much as Safety Nets offer instant and direct relief as well as averting corruption and incompetence in the process, targeting methods are always information intensive, cash transfers are fungible and therefore subject to unintended household uses. Moreover, the dent caused by safety nets on the National Treasury remains unsustainable especially with the growing coverage of the indigent beneficiaries and pitiable exit ratios out of the poverty trap (Beall et al., 2013). The Statistics South Africa Household Survey (2015) and the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA, 2015) recorded a mere 3% and 5% graduation rate from dependency on Free Basic Services and Social Grants, respectively, between 2008 and 2014 in Polokwane Municipality. It is those generational overlaps of dependency which can be pinpointed as attributes behind chronic urban poverty and, perhaps, testimony to the failure of income-based approach to substantially lift the boats in Polokwane City. These and other numerous pitfalls of the approaches rekindle the discourse that income-based measurements should be treated

as complementary rather than superior to other tools if social, political, environmental and economic dimensions of urban poverty are to be exhaustively accounted for. Vast literature acknowledges the multidimensional nature of urban poverty; however that ostensibly does not translate into recognition of the need to shift measurement approaches and interventionism from solely income and expenditure indicators towards integrative measurement approaches such as the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) (Alkire, Roche and Seth, 2013; Devereux, 2016).

However, with surveys showing that low income households are more vulnerable to urban poverty and that lack of income is more closely correlated to the causes and indicators of poverty, money-metrics have ordinarily earned acceptability as the proxy for welfare (Pan and Yang 2011; Cheng, 2014). Income poverty is intrinsically inseparable with unemployment of individuals and members of households. The 40 per cent expanded unemployment rate recorded by the 2015 Quarterly Labour Force Survey is hugely ascribed to structural unemployment (StatsSA, 2015). Structural unemployment refers to a scenario with more labour force than available jobs leaving masses of labour forces jobless (Terreblanche, 2002). It can be further argued that the income plight goes beyond the unemployed to encompass those with very low hourly wages, those with inadequate monthly or yearly work hours, and those who have to work too long just to be able to eke out a meager livelihood (Amra, Hlatshwayo and McMilan, 2013). Moreover, according to the October Household Survey by Statistics South Africa (2013), 46 per cent of the employed labour force (7million) earns less than the upper bound poverty line (\$2,50 per day/R800 month), provoking a longstanding dilemma in South African literature about whether to maintain lower wages in order to create more jobs or to improve earnings and maintain fewer workers (Fields, 2000; Amra et al., 2013). Therefore, as high as unemployment figures are, it is as imperative to focus on the unemployed as it is to elevate the earning of the working poor. However, SMMEs hold a statistical edge over social security in the resolve of the persistence of income poverty in middle income countries. (Haggblade, Hazell and Reardon, 2012). Oduro (2016) recognises that poverty alleviation through social grants and other anti-poverty initiatives could be rendered somewhat more effective both in rural and urban

context if government brought greater focus to its strategy against poverty, for instance, in making more distinctions between degrees of poverty, and then addressing the right initiatives to the problems for which they are best suited.

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set at the September 2000 United Nations Millennium Summit as the official global declaration against poverty expired coincidentally in the midst of buzzing local advocacy for the evaluation of progress, or lack therefore, made by various indigenous and exotic anti-poverty strategies twenty (20) years into South African democracy (Hughes, 2014). Whilst South Africa represents an island of substantial economic development and relatively lower levels of poverty in the Sub-Saharan region, her strategic bias towards income driven Safety Nets (social grants) has been tossed with cumulative criticism among local and international scholars and researchers. Vivid loopholes in the measurement, profiling and distinction of rural from urban characteristics of poverty embodied through money metrics often overgeneralise the effectiveness of interventionist strategies such as social grants (Bhorat, Oosthuizen and van der Westhuizen, 2011). With the preamble of the Social Security Act 9 of 2004 demanding that “the effective provision of social security services requires uniform norms and standards, standardised delivery mechanisms”, it becomes imperative to make more distinctions between degrees and contexts of indigence.

3.4.2. Dynamics of Poverty: Rural versus Urban Poverty

The Deprivation Index demonstrates that poverty is unevenly distributed in South Africa where around two-thirds of the poor are living in Eastern Cape (24 per cent), Kwazulu-Natal (21 per cent) and Limpopo Province (18 per cent) alone (Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn and Argent, 2010; StatsSA, 2014). Poverty is unevenly distributed in South Africa where around two-thirds of the poor are living in Eastern Cape (24 per cent), Kwazulu-Natal (21 per cent) and Limpopo Province (18 per cent) alone (Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn and Argent, 2010; StatsSA, 2014). Whilst the incidence, depth and severity of poverty in low income countries gradually became identical between rural and urban

contexts, there remain economic, social and environmental plights which are uniquely endured in the two contexts (Reddy and Sokomani, 2000; 2008; 2014). Particularly, today's urbanites are hit harder by surging unemployment, higher dependence on income wages (which have consistently nosedived), global economic recession, spatially spread service delivery backlogs (separate development), rampant immigration and the subsequent higher cost of living than their rural cohorts (Pasha, 2014). Rapid growth of many cities around the globe is not commensurate with economic development leaving a bigger fraction of urbanites in peripheral economic activities such as street vending, rag packing, casual jobs and crime (Hossain, 2007). Substantial differences in poverty rates across the provinces are still clear to see. Using the lower poverty line, over 70 per cent of children in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape are poor. Gauteng and the Western Cape have the lowest child poverty rates – calculated at 34 per cent and 32 per cent respectively. Hall (2015) reckons that it is no coincidence that there is a positive correlation between poverty rates and levels of urbanization among the paired provinces (Gauteng and Western Cape and Limpopo and Eastern Cape).

High degrees of urban poverty in Polokwane City do not only aggravate complexities in the conceptualization, quantification and design of concerted interventionist action (Gyekye and Akinboade, 2003) but challenge the notion of inclining social policy to rural areas. Whilst most data about the poverty profile of the Polokwane City has been descriptive and overly generalized, the 2010 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment Study of the Integrated Development Planning in the Capricorn District Municipality has gone an extra mile to account for often overlooked dimensions of poverty. Basing on *The Local Government: Municipal System Act (Act 32 of 2000)*, the Polokwane Municipality applies the Basket of Basic Free Services as the threshold and determinant of who is eligible to receive (deserving poor), for free, 60kl of water, 50KWh of electricity, waste collection and sanitation services on a monthly basis. The identification of beneficiaries of the categorized Free Basic Services (FBS) was left to the Income and Expenditure Survey which reported an average of 54% of Blacks, 25% of Coloureds, 8% of Asians and 0.5% of Whites in and around the city living below the contested R1500 monthly income threshold and should be targeted (Gyekye and Akinboade, 2003). This Socio-

Economic Impact Assessment Study of the Integrated Development Planning in the Capricorn District Municipality further epitomizes the incessant usage of money metrics as denominators for human welfare and urban poverty. Just like most data and literature, the study shows pitiable documentation of the scourge of incalculable and yet intractable dimensions of urban poverty such as nutrition, child mortality, years of schooling, assets, health and vulnerability in the post-apartheid Polokwane (Gyekye and Akinboade, 2003; Tacoli, 2012).

The legacy of separate development continually manifests in glaring racial disparities in term of income poverty: while two thirds (66 per cent) of African children live in poor households in 2011, only 2 per cent of White children live below the poverty line, and poverty rates for Coloured and Indian children were 30 per cent and 8 per cent respectively. However, there seems to be no significant variances in the gender distribution of poverty in most post-apartheid surveys in South Africa despite female-head households remain more likely to be trapped in chronic income-poverty (StatsSA, 2012; 2013; 2015). Whilst, perhaps, imperative to acknowledge these dynamics in the conceptualization of various dynamics of poverty, these variables are not the focal point of the study – rather rural-urban narratives are of precise preponderance.

Meanwhile, higher fertility rates, the subsequent larger household sizes, higher illiteracy ratios and unemployment aggravate the vulnerability of rural dwellers. Despite early post-apartheid interventionist efforts being inclined towards the rural poor in former *Bantustans*, dysfunctional rural economies saw the continuation of the migrant labour system, in a more liberal manner, consequently migrating poverty into urban cores (Todaro, 2013). This geo-spatial distribution of poverty fuels debates about the need to balance intervention to indigence in rural and urban areas and rigorously consider respective socio-economic contextual variances. This prompts the study to assess rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants as a strategy for poverty alleviation.

The national data on poverty and unemployment, together with some of the statistics derived from the KIDS data, indicate that, as a group, rural blacks have habitually had a

high chance of being poor. Back in 1998, over 51 per cent of the rural African workforce was poor, versus 43 per cent for Africans in urban areas (StatsSA, 1999). Over a decade later, there ostensibly is parity in the distribution of poor people between rural and urban areas in South Africa. Whilst this statistical similarity was more due to the concentration of black workforce in rural homelands than it is contemporarily due to urban poverty now, lack of access to employment is arguably the single greatest cause of rural poverty. On the flip side, Shackleton and Cousins (2000) posit that poor rural households' easier access to agricultural land and their intrinsic culture of communitarianism means an economic alternative to offset financial crises. Selling livestock, conventional land-based products such as grains, vegetables, meat and milk are numerous other valuable products that can be harvested or derived from the land, whether their own land or from the commons as antidote to ultra-poverty. However, Aliber (2003; 2014) and Reddy and Sokomani (2000; 2008; 2014) persistently highlight that, notwithstanding the make-shift economic options available to rural dwellers, lack of access to productive resources aggravate rural poverty in its chronic form.

3.4.3. Dimensions of poverty: Chronic versus Episodic Poverty

One dimension of poverty that has received increased attention internationally as well as in South Africa is the extent to which it is or is not chronic, that is, the extent to which households and individuals are mired in poverty traps over a period of time. The chronically poor are intuitively those who are most likely to remain in poverty in the absence of outside assistance such as social grants, but are also those who are likely to be most difficult to assist. It is reasonable to suppose, furthermore, that government interventions that do not heed the dichotomy between the chronically poor and the episodically poor are apt to waste precious resources (Aliber, 2003, 2014). It therefore behoves commentators to demonstrate how social grants and other anti-poverty initiatives should cater for this distinction.

At least in South Africa, this has not yet happened (Van der Berg et al., 2015). KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS, 2013), a longitudinal household survey found that

89 per cent of the chronically poor households in KZN are rural households. A consortium of studies including one by Roberts (2012) compare the different categories of households (chronically poor, transitorily poor, and never poor), in terms of rural versus urban residence, demographic characteristics, and a variety of other household characteristics. The main features which characterise the chronically poor, as found by Roberts (2012) are that 87 per cent of all chronically poor households in KwaZulu-Natal are from rural areas, 30 per cent of rural African households are chronically poor, chronically poor households tend to have more members and are more likely to be female headed with older household heads, adult members of chronically poor households are less educated and have a lower level of literacy than their counterparts from other categories of households and that chronically poor households are more likely to receive safety nets such as social grants (Aliber, 2014). These findings are of huge preponderance to the social support system and this study because one of the constraints to addressing poverty, perhaps, has nothing to do with delivery capacity or financial resources, but rather with policy-makers understanding of the dimensions and dynamics of the poverty they are trying to address as well as of the appropriate measures for the different types of poverty in different contexts (Bigsten and Shimeles, 2011).

3.5. RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY EFFECTS OF SOCIAL GRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The literature catalogues a range of negative effects potentially attendant to social grants, including creating opportunities for patronage and corruption, distorting markets and creating a range of perverse incentives such as disrupting remittances, disincentivizing work, displacing private savings, and elevating fertility rates. Examining the evidence in South Africa, the report finds scant evidence of these negative effects. Instead, social grants are found to enable grantees to leverage and multiply their resources (including their time, energy and innovation in the task of maintaining a livelihood). Monographer Van der Berg (2000; 2004; 2009; 2014) affirms positive impact of social grants and goes on to account for dissimilarities of the effects at different levels

of analysis, including individual, household, location and cash values of various grants (World Bank, 2012). This section evaluates comparative socio-economic effects (negative and/or positive) of the Child Support Grants in rural and urban South Africa without turning a blind eye on other relevant findings elsewhere. The challenge of this evaluation, however, lies in the spectre of confounding variables which are at work simultaneously with the grants which makes it difficult to explicitly pin point causalities and correlations with poverty alleviation. Disaggregating the effects of social grants in a society where the government has launched a miscellany of anti-poverty initiatives such as Free Basic Services, the Land Reform Program, Community-Based Public Works Programme, the Integrated Rural Development Programme and the Urban Renewal Strategy among others remains a wild-goose chase (Case et al., 2013). Moreover, since the previous regime had little or no interest in collecting data that depicted conditions in the former Bantustan areas, this contemporarily represents a fundamental adjunct to the prevalent paucity of credible and comprehensive national and provincial data upon which social security policies and other private interventionist strategies such as social grants can reap optimum results (Booyesen, 2015).

3.5.1. National and Provincial Social Grant and Poverty Profile

High incidence of poverty in South Africa aggravates entrenched complexities in the measurement of the efficacy of public and private concerted intervention action, let alone juxtaposing the imbedded rural-urban narratives (Todaro, 2013). Amstrong, Lekweza and Siebrits (2015), employing the Income and Expenditure Survey of households (IES2014) and the General Household Survey (GHS2014), recorded common plights revolving around deficient access to infrastructure services, high transport cost burdens, limited education attainments, and exposure to hunger in most South African households (Meyer and Sullivan, 2013; StatsSA, 2014). Notwithstanding a beleaguered history the contemporary South African social security system is the chief post-apartheid initiative committing to its adopted state welfarism and pragmatic alleviation of these stark socio-economic ills. The main arm of the country's Social Security System Agency Act 9 of 2004 (SASSA) account of over 16million individuals

receiving one or more non-contributory social grants highlights the level of indigence in a country hinged on consumerism despite having over a third of its labour force unemployed (SASSA, 2015; StatsSA, 2015).

However, literature continually documents spatially-spread household welfare status quos, income levels and socio-economic infrastructure and behaviors between rural and urban areas as the legacy of a social policy built on separate development (Devereux, 2016). Whilst these contextual variances underline the rural-urban contextual and characteristic dichotomies, evaluations of the effects of social grants on poverty alleviation in South Africa are seemingly superficial and largely aggregated rather than dissected between rural or urban narratives. Whilst modern rural areas across the globe are now experiencing factors traditionally associated with the urban environment and the result is 'increased blurring of urban-rural distinctions', a multidimensional characterization of settlement type based on style and density of housing, predominant commercial and agricultural activities, and access to services in South Africa still vividly demonstrates the rural-urban dichotomy (Champion and Hugo, 2004: 214; Matz, David, Stieb and Brion, 2015). Hence, the study maintaining that social grants have rural-urban dichotomy effects as a strategy for poverty alleviation due to the diametric divergence between South African rural and urban contexts and characteristics.

As one of the poorest provinces in South Africa, Limpopo's poverty profile is epitomized by only 24 per cent of its population attaining a grade 12 qualification or more and only 5.7 per cent having a tertiary qualification, the highest population growth rate in the country (3.9 per cent per annum) and socio-economic development in the province being poorer and slower than elsewhere (Polokwane Municipality, 2010; Polokwane Spatial Development Framework (PSDF), Statistics South Africa, 2014). It is, therefore, not surprising that the Polokwane Municipality is home to up to 60 per cent (2 315 499) of its population depending on various types of social grants as the main source of household income (1 699 494 on the Child support Grant, 430,368 on the State Old Age Grant, 93 428 on the Disability Grant) (South African Social Support Agency (SASSA), 2014). Whilst the Socio-Economic Impact Assessment Study of the Integrated

Development Planning in the Capricorn District Municipality (2010), Expenditure Survey of households 2013/14 (IES2014) and the General household survey 2014 (GHS2014) confirm dichotomous physical, social and environmental contexts and characteristics between rural and urban clusters in the Polokwane Local Municipality, accurate, reliable and robust comparative knowledge about whether the alleged rural-urban dichotomy translates into unsynchronized effects of social grants between rural and urban grantees remain meagre in the municipality and South Africa at large (Triegaardt, 2005; 2015).

Triangulated studies demonstrate that whilst social grants have positive effects on nutrition (food security), access to services (education, health) human capital, social reciprocity and agrarian investments among rural grantees, the utilization of the same grants slightly differs in urban areas (Case and Deaton, 1998; Samson et al., 2008; Van Driel, 2015). Higher costs of living (accommodation, food, transport) and higher intensity of capitalism in urban areas aggravate complexities and spatially distributed differentials in the expenditure of social grants (Case, Hosegood and Lund, 2003; Borat, Van der Westhuizen and Jacobs, 2009). With the rampant “migration of poverty” into city cores (Todaro, 2015: 145), grants have emerged to be almost solemn hope of welfare for the structurally, cyclically and chronically unemployed urbanites. In the process, recipient urbanites are prompted to invest in profit generating livelihoods such as vending, so as to supplement the grant, survive the highly capitalistic urban environment and ultimately boost their household (income) welfare (Posel, Fairburn and Lund, 2004; Arne and Abebe, 2014). Questions raised on the need to synchronize effects of social grants as a strategy for poverty alleviation between rural and urban areas also emanate from recounted evidence of rural households receiving the CSG and SOAG being poorer, having lower educational attainment and higher unemployment levels than their rural counterparts (Neves et al., 2013; Poverty Trends, 2014; Booysen, 2015). Up next, some of the main indicators of human welfare and alleged effects of various social grants on poverty alleviation in South Africa will be highlighted and comparative appraised.

3.5.2. Food Security and Health

According to the National Nutrition Report (2015) more than one in five children in South Africa stunted because of malnutrition and 70 per cent are rural children. On the other hand, evidence from the Human Development Index (2015: 228) records “health, education and general living standards as the main contributors to deprivation and overall poverty, especially rural areas and informal settlements.” Such trends have prompted scholars to question the net effects of the social grants as well as whether the grants have rural-urban dichotomy effects. Perhaps, an attempt to account for the sorry status-quo and significant discrepancy was the household survey by Meyer and Sullivan (2013) which showed that there has not been significant changes in an estimated 80 per cent of rural children eligible for the CSG who were not receiving respective child-oriented grants in 2012 (SASSA, 2013). These rural-urban discrepancies have been recorded regardless of annual commitments by SASSA to “payment eligible grantee anywhere in the country regardless of where they reside and to reduce the waiting period between application and receipt of grants from three months to fourteen working days” (SASSA, 2015: 15). Some studies have attributed this to the fact that the error of inclusion is more in urban areas whilst errors of exclusion are more in rural areas (Tacoli, 2012; Neves et al., 2013; Todaro, 2013). Whether these are deliberate error courtesy of higher corruption rates in urban areas adds to the rural-urban effects of social grants discourse. Further explorations have found that the targeting process is administratively complex, time and resource intensive and the lack of identity documentation, especially in rural contexts, compounds the synchronization of the effects of grants across South Africa. Moreover, the process of allocating Foster Care Grants is undesirable, particularly when weighted up against the relative ease (and lower administrative costs) of extending the unconditional CSG to larger numbers of poor and vulnerable children in rural areas (Meintjes, Budlender, Giese and Johnson, 2003; Graefe and Levesque, 2015). Van der Berg (2010) also found that the involvement of the judicial system in the determination of eligibility to the Foster-Care Grant alienates rural children whose traditional courts do not conform to fostering of children. However, some studies show glimpses of evidence about the impact of the

Child Support Grant as the number of children whose parents had reported that they are going hungry are gradually declining, although at different rates between rural and urban households – thus, 3 to 5 and 1 to 2 per cent per year in rural areas and urban areas from 2002, respectively (StatsSA, 2014). Notwithstanding their usefulness, cross-sectional surveys compromise understanding of dynamic processes underpinning the rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants. For example, while studies can tell whether food insecurity rates are decreasing, increasing or holding level, they cannot tell about the fate of individual households over the same period (Lund, 2008).

The conditions under which children are born, the disabled endure and the elderly age in rural and urban areas are not only dichotomous but also more complex for in the former context (Source). South Africans resident in rural areas experience “higher rates of income inequality, unemployment and an increasing burden of disease that includes endemic levels of HIV as well as a growing epidemic of non-communicable disease, particularly among those over 50 years of age” (Ralston, 2016:2). In this context, social protection grants play a critical role in the survival and livelihoods of individuals and households, especially in these rural set-ups (Lund, 2008; Mail and Guardian, 2015) “South Africa is one of the 12 countries in the world (where data was available) where stunting rates went up in the Millennium Development Goal period,” wrote Sheryl Hendriks, the director of the Institute for Food, Nutrition and Wellbeing at the University of Pretoria (Mail and Guardian, 2015:2). This occurred despite South Africa having a strong social grant system and dozens of food security programmes. As a possible explanation to these foregoing, Hettie Schonfeldt (2015:1) found that “low-income consumers (a bracket under which child grant recipients are categorized), especially in rural South Africa are eating a bleak diet, mostly containing starch, mealie pap and bread, with a little bit of milk, sugar and tea.” This further confirms the inadequacies of the child grant in significantly counter-stunting food insecurity and enhancing child wellbeing.

Studies by the World Health Organization (WHO) (2015) and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) (2013) found a positive correlation between levels of education and physical wellness. With literacy levels between rural and urban areas tilting on the latter (StatsSA, 2015), it can be deduced that the Child Support Grant has superior effects in terms of not only food security and nutrition but health education as well in urban areas. International and local findings have since converge in revealing that the CSG grant is used mainly for food, clothes and education both in rural and urban areas (CASE, 2000; Triegaardt, 2004; Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn and Argent, 2010; Pasha, 2014). A rare juxtaposition of results for fixed effects models evaluating the impact of disability grants in Khayelitsha Township, Cape Town and Umkhanyakude District (KZN) showed a dichotomy in terms of welfare measured using health as an indicator. Despite poorer health facilities in the largely rural Khayelitsha Township, greater health deterioration of the more urbanized Umkhanyakude patients was recorded against those from Umkhanyakude District after the loss of grants. These trends tend to continually affirm hypotheses which endorse rural grantees as better positioned to reap out of social grants.

3.5.3. Social Capital

Whilst communitarianism has a bearing on home economics and influences spending habits, especially in rural areas, the most indigent members of a society and family are often marginalized and alienated from social networks-driven reciprocity, largely, due to their poor possession and control of tradable resources including labour (Barreintos, 2013). Sagner (2014) documents the role of the CSG on the acquisition of household value by recipient children within poor households where they represent an asset with which the main household income is accessed. In a South African context where households often form around income, the upshot of the social grants is renowned for far reaching and sustainable social capital without which recipient individuals and households would be socially excluded (Barreintos, 2008; Sebates-Wheelers, 20014). Largely, literature converges at the fact that there is a positive correlation between the impact of the grants and the sensitivity of the measurement tools of poverty severity

(Pauw and Mncube, 2007 and Narsey, 2014). Generally, a continually surging Gini coefficient (0.7) has been interpreted as resemblance of the negligibility of the impact of social grants regardless of the fact that it is not solely the role of safety nets to moderate economic inequality in urban areas and extreme poverty both in rural and urban areas (Armstrong and Burger, 2014). These and other variables at work simultaneously with social grants in society aggravate the conundrum around explicitly pin-pointing correlational and causal relationships between the social security systems and poverty reduction in post-apartheid South Africa.

Recent household surveys have since confirmed positive effects of various grants on the consumption, health, nutrition and access to other services, not only by the grantees but by their dependent extended family members as well (Sabelhaus, Johnson, Ash, Swanson, Garner, Greenlees and Henderson, 2013; Samson, Heinrich, Williams, Kanniki, Muzondo, Mac Qeune and Van Nierkek, 2015). In rural contexts, grandparents have been found to have an increasingly common extended role of taking responsibility of their often orphaned or fostered grandchildren (Ralston, 2016). With this scenario usually translating into more and pooled income from the Child Support Grant, Foster Care Grant and State Old Age Grant, it is no wonder social grants have been lauded as a significant strategy for human welfare not only for the designated recipient but for the whole household and community, especially in rural areas where communitarianism forms basis for day to day rural interaction (Chowdhury and Mukhopadhaya, 2012; Barrientos, 2013). Whilst these rural trends have ignited relentless inquiry into the degree to which child-oriented grants are optimally used and well-targeted, the extended role of social grants is constitutionally acknowledged in that “everyone has the right to have access to social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance” (RSA, 1996: 378). Beyond their varied rural-urban effects, culture and religion have been documented to create patriarchal societies which in turn manifest in gender dynamics and imbalances in contemporary South Africa (Todaro, 2013).

3.5.4. Gendered Effects of Grants in Rural and Urban Areas

There ostensibly is consensus in literature that social grants, particularly the CSG, reap more welfare for the designated grantees and their household at large if a woman is the final decision maker on the utilization of the respective grants (Amis, 1995; Samson et al., 2008; Todaro, 2013; Narsey, 2014). Based on the thinking that the probability of optimising the impact of the CSG at the household level is higher if the recipients were women, the level of autonomy and independency intrinsically inherent in literate urban women gives them and their households a superior aptitude to extract more out of a prism of social grants than their rural and often patriarchal cohorts (Van Driel, 2009). Ardington and Lund (1995;) and Ralston (2016) go further to post that the SOAG, for example, is more well targeted to the rural areas and to women, who receive it at an earlier age and have longer life expectancy than men, and are less likely to receive a private pension.

Makgetla (2004) and Hassim (2005) earlier noted that the patterns of social reproduction in post-apartheid South Africa reinforces patterns of patriarchy inherited from apartheid, and reinforces the subordinated position of women, especially in rural societies. The role of women as carers hampers black women's mobility to urban centres to seek work and/or educational opportunities. Neves et al., (2009) later asserted that a larger proportion of rural and informal urban resident women indicate being involved in financial decision-making than women in formal urban areas, a dynamic that probably reflects the greater likelihood of resident male partners in the latter group. This assertion remains, however, arguable especially when there is historical and contemporary evidence that rural societies and households have been and remain more patriarchal societies than their urban cohorts (Todaro, 2013). Moreover, given the availability of grants, mothers may now more often prefer to migrate with children (rather than leaving them with their grandmothers in rural areas) and therefore receive the grant in the urban areas, with the result that more children may migrate to the urban areas. Whether this is better for children's welfare or not is ambiguous (Van Driel, 2015).

Meanwhile, an allocation of over 60 per cent of the national budget to social security and precisely R127.2 billion to social grants has recurrently fuelled flames of debates social grants inhibiting economic growth despite the fact that it is seldom an explicit objective of the social security system (Pauw and Mncube, 2007; Narsey, 2014; Nene, 2015). Neves et al. (2013) argue that there are countless factors, other than the alleged social grant system, which can hamper economic growth in a developing country like South Africa. Above and beyond, there actually are positive implications of the grants on the national economy regardless of the returns being limited to long term economic gains from improved consumption, human capital, investments and direct and indirect tax revenue. However, home economics yield more from cash transfers since the grants directly provide households with financial immunity to opportunity cost of unemployment, educational, sustenance, health outlays and risk-spreading effect, particularly in capitalistic urban contexts (Van der Burg, 2010). Furthermore, the CSG and SOAG allow grant-receiving urbanites to make entrepreneurial investments which can enhance financial and human capital (employability), livelihood diversification and the subsequent accumulation of even higher value resources (Bigsten and Shimeles, 2011).

Similarly, the risk-spreading effect of the CSG and other grants in rural areas is also more visible at household level (rather than societal level) where, beyond health security, safety nets prevent makeshift sale of livestock (usually at depressed prices), cutting on school expenses by withdrawing children from school and consuming seed stocks to enhance food security in the event of sudden economic and/or environmental mishaps (Madzivhandila, 2010; Van der Burg, 2010). “Although there has been concerns about the dependability of the cash transfers dispiriting rural households from saving habits, patronage and elevation fertility rates and early pregnancies (Pan and Yang, 2011), there is immense paucity of empirical evidence. Instead, Goldman (2005) and Santos (2013) have presented evidence on social grants, especially when pooled, accumulating savings in rural households where money merely plays a complementary role to on-farm and off-farm livelihoods. However, Van Driel (2009), employed

triangulation to conclude that the social grants are the sole income for many family forms, especially single women with children, in Bophelong and SA nationally, and barely keep hunger at bay both in rural and urban areas.

3.5.5. The Efficacy of Grants in Rural and Urban South Africa

Van Driel's study (2015) found that the effects of grants cannot be generalised since grantees on the Old Age Grant, Disability Grant and Foster Care Grant - who get 3 to 4 times the Child Support Grant amount – use moneylenders, have clothing accounts at Edgars Stores/Jet, bought furniture/appliances on hire-purchase at Lubners, and participate in funeral societies. On the contrary, Statistics SA (2015) confirms that grantees on the lower end spend 50 per cent of their income on food. Besides, “the Government's Value Added Tax of 14 per cent is charged on everything - including most foodstuffs (some foods are zero rated), transport, clothes and electricity - reducing the real disposable income of recipients” (Patrick and Stephen: 2005: 7). The result is that many black children under five years suffer serious malnutrition, especially among CSG receiving household who cater for disease-prone individuals with the least amounts of the social grant system. Such trends give credence to the observation that the effects of social grants are not only dichotomous between rural and urban households but are rather unique to individual receiving households.

Whilst the discourse about the breeding of dependency syndrome among grantees has been fueled by lack or low skills and unemployment of the labour force in the contemporary South African society, results from longitudinal/panel studies have shown that individuals and/or households in rural areas seem to cope better after the loss of grants than their urban cohorts (Van Driel, 2015). From this logic it is reasonable to deduct that there is more reliance – thus dependency, on grant income among urban grantees than their rural counterparts whose aptitude to reap out of communitarianism-bound social networks gives them a risk-spreading edge. Perhaps, poor access to agricultural land shrinks poor urbanites' non-grant livelihoods, a similar predicament

they endure in terms of rates and other expenses paid for urban amenities (Van Der Berg, 2014).

Availability, or lack thereof, of amenities and service centres has substantial implications on the distance travelled and resources spent to and from access and utilising various social grants. A cross-sectional study done in Bophelong Township, found that the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA, 2014) pays the social grants over a three-day period every month. Grantees queue for 3-4 hours at the Bophelong Community Hall. Although safer, a minority, is paid through commercial banks, as recipients need transport (R28 or US\$1.80 per return fare), to access commercial banks in the FWTs, and because bank charges will decrease their grants (Van Driel, 2015). Whilst this urban scenario is unfortunately adjunct to the already strained cash flows, Hunters (2014) depicts that the status quo is worse off in rural settings, where hours spent in queues, distance travelled and subsequently resources spent are virtually double, let alone the distance to shopping centres.

3.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter has synthesized scholarly debates probing the rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants on poverty alleviation in a South African context. The review has consolidated various literature and exposed continual documentation spatially-spread household welfare status quos, income levels and socio-economic infrastructure and behaviors between rural and urban areas as the legacy of a social policy built on separate development approaches in South Africa. This sought to demist a phenomenon recorded in some parts of the world where the 'rural' areas across the globe are now experiencing factors traditionally associated with the urban environment and resulting in increased blurring of urban-rural distinctions. Upon a national, provincial and local enquiry into social, economic, environmental and cultural narratives the chapter adopts the fact that by virtue of their contrasting contexts, rural and urban areas are diametrically divergent in terms of their characteristics. Literature finds these inherent contrasts to be critical to the applicability of social grants due to the diversity of

actors, agendas, underlying intentions and so on. Whilst the chapter has also acknowledged that literature catalogues a range of negative effects potentially attendant to social grants, including creating opportunities for patronage and corruption, distorting markets and creating a range of perverse incentives such as disrupting remittances, disincentivizing work, displacing private savings, and elevating fertility rates, surveys and reports find scant evidence. Assessments of concerns about the fungibility of grants and a surging dependency syndrome have been found to be a general reflection of the inadequacy of the grant amounts and attributes of high unemployment rates, especially in urban areas where these negative effects of social grants are more prevalent. Dominant in the chapter and the body of knowledge are rural-urban accounts of means-tested cash transfers to the most indigent members of the society playing a leading role in the reduction of extreme poverty and enhancement of human welfare in post-apartheid South Africa. The chapter concludes by preliminarily affirming the standpoint of the study which posits that not only are the effects of social grants dichotomous between rural and urban grantees but vary between individual households.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE POLOKWANE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY EMPIRICAL DATA

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Having discussed the conceptual and contextual background documented in literature around the rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants on poverty alleviation in the preceding chapters, chapter four comparatively analyses qualitative and quantitative primary data solicited from a rural (Ga-Maja Village) and an urban (Seshego Township) cluster. A semi-structured questionnaire (Appendix A) was used to solicit data from 100 households in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township whilst an Interview (Appendix B) was employed to elicit information from a South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) official. With the study areas purposively sampled (basing on rural-urban characteristics) and the targeted population (Child Support, Disability and Old Age Grantees) simple-randomly sampled, the sample neither has precise representation of the diversity of rural-urban dichotomies nor equal representation of social grants' types and characteristics. As such, the findings of the study may not be representative of the entire country, more so because the sample constituted of a total of only 100 grantees in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township combined.

Since the target population is all individuals who are eligible to receive various types of social grants in the Polokwane Local Municipality, the unity of analysis for this would have been ideally these individuals. However, taking into the fore that most of the recipients, on the ground, are either too young, old or disabled to participate in the study themselves, the study used households to comparatively investigate the effects of social grants on poverty alleviation. Besides, literature documents that household structures and income patterns dilute the ideal measurement of per capita effects of social grants on individual grantees within households. To avert masking and generalising the effects of grants, the next section presents the demographic profiles of Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township.

4.2. RURAL-URBAN BACKGROUND OF THE POLOKWANE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

The Polokwane Local Municipality is located at the heart of Limpopo Province within the Capricorn District Municipality. It hosts a fast-growing capital city of the Province (Polokwane City), along the N1 which extends from Pretoria to Zimbabwe. In terms of its physical composition Polokwane Municipality is 23 per cent urban and 71 per cent rural. (SASSA, 2014). Since data about the Polokwane Local Municipality is aggregated in terms of wards, the comparative study will juxtapose precisely Ward 8 of Seshego Township (urban) and Ward 3 of Ga-Maja Village (rural). These areas are visibly marked by rural-urban dichotomous social, economic and environmental status quos as well as behaviours (Polokwane Municipality, 2010).

4.2.1. Seshego Township (Ward 8)

Seshego Township lies 10km directly northwest of Polokwane CBD although the development of the Seshego Complex almost makes the Township autonomous and self-sufficient in terms of the provision of most goods and services to the residents. The complex houses banks, retail shops and chemists among other business entities. From the estimated central point of Ward 8, the Seshego Complex is a walking distance of just over a kilometre away. According to the Polokwane Local Municipality the Basic Level of Services in the township is Category 2 which implies that there is piped water inside dwellings, flush toilets connected to sewage system or ventilated pit latrines, refuse removal at least once a week and houses are connected to the electricity grid. Whilst up to 35 per cent of the Seshego Ward 8 population completed grade 12/standard 10 and the official unemployment rate is in the regions of 45 per cent, up to 52 per cent of the residents earn no remuneration income (Polokwane Municipality, 2016). The 2013/14 SASSA Annual Report recorded about 3500 Old Age Grants, 450 DG and 6000 CSG recipients in the ward who travel an average of 2km to the paypoints (SASSA, 2014).

4.2.2. Ga-Maja Village (Ward 3)

Ga-Maja Village is a remote area located around 45km away from Polokwane City with fares for one trip ranging between R30 to R60 depending on whether it is a public or private transport mode. With only 7 per cent residents of the village possessing post-high school qualifications and an expanded unemployment rate in the regions of 86 per cent, it is not surprising that only 20 per cent of Ga-Maja Ward 3 live above the upper-bound poverty line (Polokwane Local Municipality, 2016). Rurality of the village is reflected by the poor basic level of services such as water sources being a river and communal tapes which are located further than 200m from most households, poor or no sanitation facilities, wood and paraffin as the main energy source and long distances to service centres (45kms). Around 5 000, 700 and 11 000 people receive the Old Age Grant, Disability Grant and the Child Support Grant in the ward, respectively (SASSA, 2015).

4.3. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF GA-MAJA VILLAGE AND SESHEGO TOWNSHIP

In quest for general alignment of literature on demographic profiles of the two study areas with the pragmatic status quos, the study enquired household population sizes, gender distribution, educational levels and income flows. Paucity of recent surveys on related, or any other organisational, research projects in both Ga-Maja and Seshego prompted the study to settle for 5 years old Census data from StatsSA and SASSA Annual reports as points of reference. However, Community Development Workers and Home-Based Care givers were instrumental key informants in Seshego Township. Perhaps, signs of dichotomous contexts and playgrounds had already exerted influence on, not the effects of social grants on poverty alleviation as yet, but on the conditions and services accessed in the two study areas.

4.3.1. Household Population Size, Age and Grantee-Non Grantee Ratios

As hinted above, Figure 4.1 illustrates two sets of household compositions in terms of gender, age and ratios of recipient and non-recipient household members in Ga-Maja and Seshego. With 50 households represented in each of the two study areas, total household sizes were 262 and 167 in Ga-Maja and Seshego. Generally, higher fertility rates and subsequent bigger household sizes in rural areas were well documented in literature (StatsSA, 2012; Polokwane Municipality, 2016) and this survey confirmed it. On average, Ga-Maja households have 5 persons while households in Seshego have 3. These household population sizes are preponderant in determining the amount of attention household grants are given by, especially unemployed members of grant-reliant households. With the aggregate of grants recorded to be accessed in Ga-Maja and Seshego amounting to 124 and 114, respectively, the researcher noted only 3 grantees who receive 2 different grants each. That scenario makes it acceptable to calculate the ratios of non-receiving members reliant on grant income in each household. Ga-Maja households have an average of 2.1 persons sharing a single grant while the ration in Seshego is lower at 1.5 persons. As Van Driel (2015) had documented, these are direct effects of household sizes on the efficacy of grants as strategies for poverty alleviation.

As indicated in Figure 4.1, demography between the two areas shares very little similarities even in terms of age distribution within households. The Seshego sample had 39 children (0.8 children per household) of 18 years and below on the other hand Ga-Maja's sample had 70 (1.5 children per household). The documented superior fertility among rural households could be justified here. Still on age distribution between these two sets of contexts, urban households house fewer older individuals (70) than their rural counterparts (91). Desktop studies had since projected better accessibility of health facilities and other amenities to translate into prolonged lifespans for urbanites.

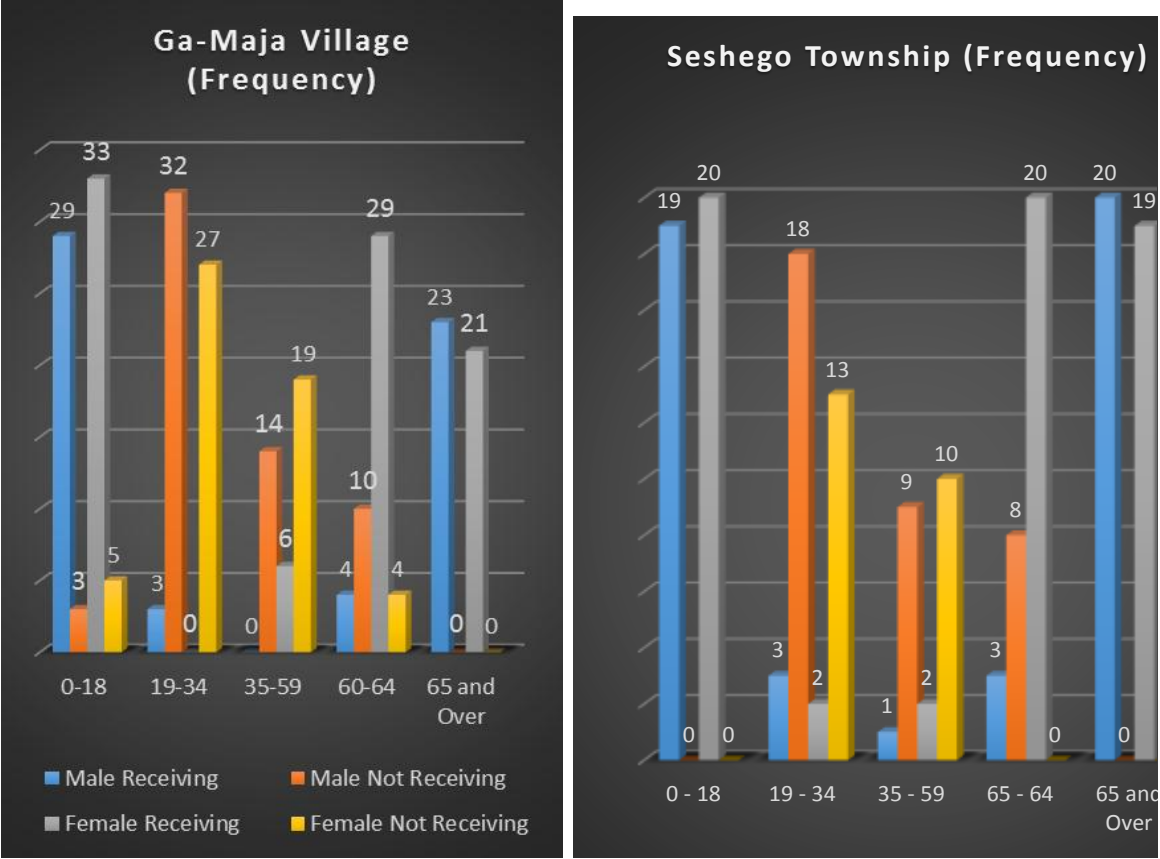


Figure 4.1. Distribution of Social Grants: Gender, Age, Eligibility

However, typical separate migration which characterises rural South African households (where the male head of the house usually migrates to cities in pursuit of employment in order to send back remittances before they go back to retire in their rural homes), could perhaps best explain why Ga-Maja Village has more persons older than 60 years than in Seshego Township.

The survey also recorded 5 girls and 3 boys who are age and economically eligible but are excluded from the Child Support Grant in Ga-Maja Village. There were no similar cases in Seshego Township. With 5 of these Ga-Maja children being around 3 years old already the prominence of the error of exclusion in rural areas as argued by Tacoli (2012) and Neves et al. (2013) was confirmed here. Some of the parents and care givers of these excluded children claimed to have applied for the grant as far as 10 months back without any feedback, raising questions on the declaration by SASSA (2015:4) to “reduce waiting period to receive your grant from 3 months to 14 working

days.” Consistent with the response given by the key informant (a SASSA official), other parents and care givers admitted to possess no identity documents such as birth certificates either because they had misplaced or never acquired them from the Home Affairs Department. Such narratives reminded the researcher of the difference made by the absence and presents of Community Development Workers (CDW) in rural and urban areas, respectively. Primary duties of CDWs revolve, among others, around facilitating the documentation and registration of otherwise illiterate and/or vulnerable members of the society. The Ward Councillor denied the availability of such entities in the village.

Gender issues are deemed crucial in this study and in the appraisal of concerted intervention such as grants. Authors such as Makgetla (2004), Hassim (2005) and Ralston (2016) argue that the patterns of social reproduction in post-apartheid South Africa reinforces patterns of patriarchy inherited from apartheid, and reinforces the subordinated position of women, especially in rural societies (Gender Inequality Index, 2016). Figure 4.1 illustrates that the average distribution of gender is more or less equitable in Ga-Maja and Seshego households. Women form 51 percent of the rural households in the sample and 55 percent of the urban sample. The latest Census and SASSA annual report had similarly recorded the general slight gender superiority of females in households, a trend which is also apparent on a global scale (StasSA, 2012; SASSA, 2015; UNDP, 2015). This narrow discrepancy in gender distribution between Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township households ostensibly trivialises the accuracy of the theory of migration by Todaro (2012) in explaining gender demography (see chapter 2). The theory sprouts from the assumption that traditional separate migration trends in African societies and households leave female-headed households in rural areas since male breadwinners migrate to city cores in pursuit of employment opportunities. Gendered distribution of opportunities such as education and other resources within Ga-Maja and Seshego households will be discussed.

4.3.2. Educational Levels

Educational levels and the subsequent literacy or illiteracy are an imperative variable in the determination of the net effects of social security, not only on poverty alleviation but also, on human development. (UNDP, 2015). This study's theoretical foundation laid that education is a disaggregated indicator of effects of social security as such the levels of education acquired or being pursued by grant-receiving household members simultaneously became indispensable data for the study.

Generally, low household income was a key part of the criteria for one household to be in the sampling frame, rather than educational levels. However, there is recounted evidence of households receiving social security having lower educational attainment, higher unemployment levels and low incomes (Neves et al., 2013; Poverty Trends, 2014; Booysen, 2015), making the comparison of the former an imperative narrative in this study. As broadly portrayed by Figure 4.2, educational levels between the two study areas are largely dissimilar. Whilst tertiary qualifications among grant-receiving household members were expected to be as few as Figure 4.2 shows (average of 9 percent of the two samples combined), paucity of this educational level is more in Ga-Maja Village (3 percent of the rural sample) than in Seshego Township (16 percent of the urban sample).

Low tertiary levels in both study areas, perhaps, emanate from general low attainment of primary and secondary education and in many cases, no formal educational background at all. Up to 37 percent and 11 percent of grant-receiving members of Ga-Maja and Seshego households indicated to have no formal education their belts, respectively. This discrepancy in educational status quos between the two study areas is consistent in primary and secondary education.

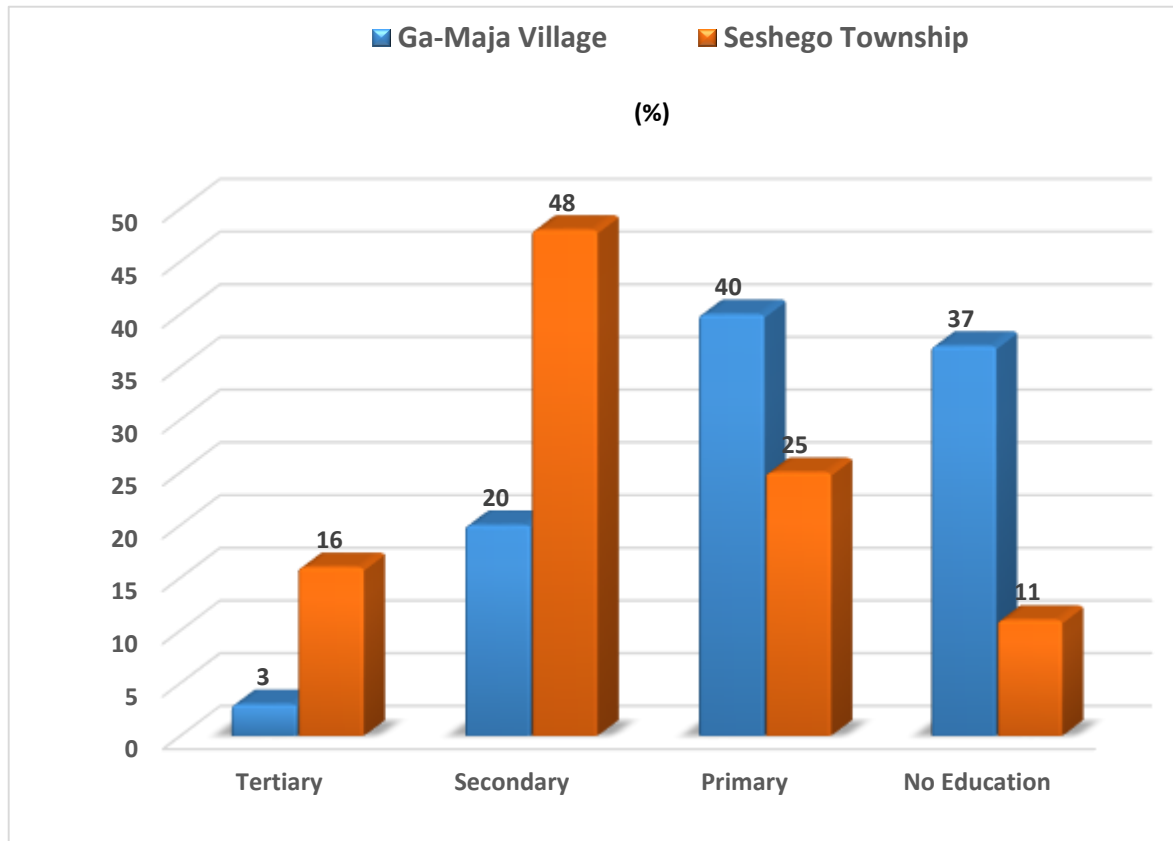


Figure 4.2. Educational Levels in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township

The climax of the dichotomy in the levels of education is secondary education where only 20 percent of the Ga-Maja sample and up to 48 percent of the Seshego sample have matriculated. The researcher recorded 10 children who were reported to have dropped out of school in the village, a trend which could be preliminarily interpreted, not only as one of the root causes of lower higher educational ratios but, as a failed attempt by the South African Social Security System to fully enhance education within rural households.

Case et al. (2013) and Heller (2013) had found that despite educational levels between the rural and urban poor being identical in some cases, the length of urban residence is a significant factor for urban adaptations, skills transfer and their eventual employability. The study therefore shifts its attention to employment statuses and dynamics within Ga-Maja and Seshego households.

4.3.3. Employment Statuses

Literature had noted that as much as unemployment is intrinsically inseparable from levels of education attained and skills acquired, household income poverty is equally hinged on employment statuses of members of a particular household (Terreblanche, 2002; Amra, Hlatshwayo and McMilan, 2013). Whilst the researcher was aware of overall high unemployment rates among grantees in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township, the study found it imperative to investigate the employment statuses of members of grant-receiving households. This is so due to the documented household-income role played by grants, inaccurate targeting of poor persons (payment of the grant to economically ineligible individuals) and the quest to investigate allegations revolving around social grants promoting complacency among the jobless. Figure 4.3 demonstrates the juxtaposed employment statuses in Ga-Maja and Seshego.

Figure 4.3 shows that, regardless of different extents, the unemployed are way more than employed members of grant-recipient Ga-Maja (59) and Seshego (32) households. The narrowed unemployment rates for the urban study area does not fall far away from the national estimates by StatsSA (2015) which are in the regions of 26 percent. Self-employed is rates are relatively identical at 24 percent and 28 percent in Ga-Maja and Seshego, respectively. The dichotomy in terms of informal employment is clear with Ga-Maja having half the number of informally employed persons than in Seshego. The evolution and rapid expansion of urban poverty and informal economy has been documented in literature as the best explanation to the growing number of informal traders and employees in urban cores (Amra et al., 2013).

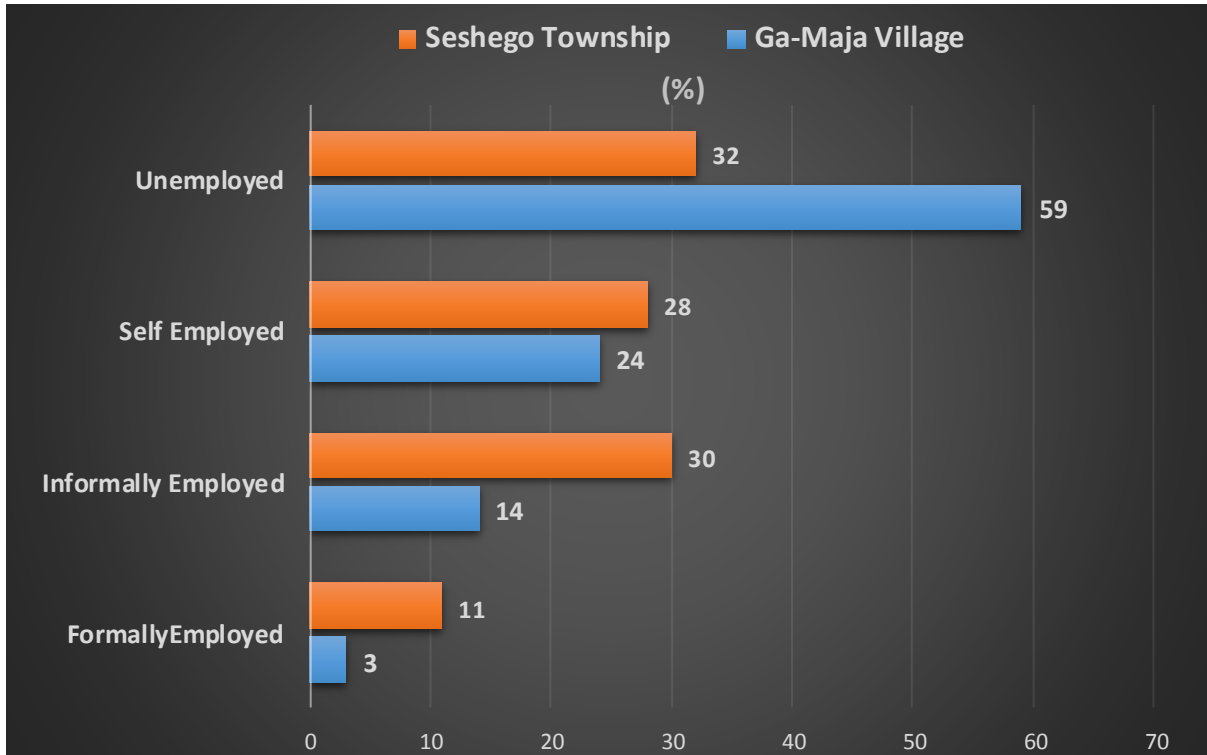


Figure 4.3. Employment Statuses in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township

Similarly, the dormancy of the Ga-Maja local economy is by observation unlikely to neither create substantial informal and formal employment opportunities nor present a conducive environment for entrepreneurial manoeuvres (self-employment). Self-employed and Informally employed members in both study areas indicated that an average of 67 percent are engaged in vending in the neighbourhood whilst the other 33 percent indicated to be tied to the generalised livelihood of *piece jobs* (a variety of general and small household chores, freelance services and mini-projects in neighbouring households and local entities). Through overt observations of surroundings, living conditions and socio-economic statuses and contexts, the researcher found little substance in over half of respondents and household members who claimed to be actively self-employed and informally employed, especially in the village. If these observations held any water, the unemployment rates in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township would drastically rise, more so in the former context.

Females do not only make up a bigger fraction of the samples in both study areas (53 percent), they are more active in especially self-employment and informal employment activities. Of the 214 persons who are involved in self-employment activities informal employment, 128 (60 percent) of them are women. Logically, the slight superiority of women in demography cannot entirely explain their dominant leading role in remunerative work within the households in question. Whilst literature had generally associated gendered roles within households with rural patriarchal societies, the attainment of the tertiary qualifications by only men in both study areas in the survey seemingly counters perception. These substantially similar status quos between Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township have the aptitude to refuel discourses revolving around whether the rural-urban dichotomy is incrementally blurring.

4.4. CHARACTERISTICS AND CONTEXTS OF THE RURAL URBAN DICHOTOMY

Whilst literature acknowledges the gradual uniformity of some socio-economic statuses (poverty levels, unemployment rates and distribution, educational levels, gender issues) between rural and urban settings, it has also recorded inherent characteristic and contextual dichotomies stark especially in access to facilities and amenities, spatial frameworks, social capital, social and economic behaviours among other highlights. Next up are some of the indicators aimed at locating the above mentioned contexts and characteristics in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township.

4.4.1. Distance and Expenses to Access and Utilise Grants

Van Driel (2015) noted the availability, or lack thereof, of amenities and service centres to have substantial implications on the distance travelled and resources spent to and from access and utilising various social grants. A SASSA official accounted for progress made in terms of the accessibility of the monthly grants through increasing the days for collection of grants from mobile pay points from 2 to 3 days and providing options of bank deposits and cash outs from selected retail outlets across the country. These options appeal differently to rural and urban grantees due to diametric divergence of

contexts in the two study areas of the survey. Table 1 outlines varied distances and costs endured by the two sets of grant recipients in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township in accessing and utilising grants.

| | Ga-Maja Village | | Seshego Township | |
|---------------------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| | Average Distance | Average Cost | Average Distance | Average Cost |
| Pay Point | 2km | – | 1km | – |
| Banks and Shopping Centre | 45 km | R45 | 1km | – |

Table 1. Distance and Expenses to Access and Utilise Grants

According to Table 1, Ga-Maja Villagers have to travel 45 kilometres and pay up to R45 for the trip to either Polokwane City Centre or Lebowakgomo town in order to access banks and a descent shopping centre (with shopping and service varieties). Pay points are stationed much closer with the average distance walked by Ga-Maja grantees ranging in the regions of 2km on average. On the other hand, the distances walked by Seshego grantees to the shopping complex where they access and supposedly utilise grants is around 1kilometre. Whilst SASSA’s initiative to cut cost of travelling to access grants through various means discussed above, poor local economic development which manifests in a dormant economic activities did not help the cause. Whilst globalisation and local economic development forces have paved way for multinational and retail outlets (well-stocked spaza shops usually owned by foreign nationals) to avail goods and services to the most remote grantees, Ga-Maja spatial patterns are still characterized by households scattered further and further from the few available entities.

Over 80 percent of Ga-Maja Villagers indicated being stuck between tensing to transport cost for accessing banks, which also charge them for the service, and enduring 2 to 5 hours of queuing at locally stationed mobile pay points. With only 3 spaza shops on the outskirts of the village, up to 86 percent of the villagers in the sample prefer to travel to Polokwane City Centre where *“Re humana thusho yaka pela*

ka mphiwafela wa rena, ebile re kgona goya mabenkeleng ago bitsa ka theko ya fasa go nale mabenkele a macula” (we can quickly access grants and are presented with more and cheaper shopping options than these expensive foreign-owned shops), says one parent of a CSG recipient. These accessibility dynamics are the least of Seshego recipients’ worries in a way that gives them lesser expenses than their rural cohorts. Municipality rates, and rentals in some cases, have been raised by urbanites in virtually all households but, similarly, rural dwellers cite levies and “*diphiri*” (rates) as outlays they are also obliged to cater for.

4.4.2. Gender issues

Comprehensive poverty alleviation encompasses non-material facets of human welfare which prompts the usage of the Gender Equality Index (GEI) as one of the indicators among others. With global and national social security programmes targeting the most vulnerable members of the society, women and female children become central to the initiatives. However, literature has documented culture and religion as, in some parts of the world, barriers to the empowerment of women through these concerted efforts. Furthermore, although situations are unique to individuals and individual households, patterns of woman vulnerability have been generally associated with rural contexts where patriarchal societies remain deeply entrenched in cultural beliefs (Todaro, 2013; Ralston, 2016). Whilst cultural values influence gender inequality in rural areas, resource control, religion and general male superiority complexities have been linked to gender oppression in both contexts. In the same line of argument, the study investigated the control of resources within Ga-Maja and Seshego households with the view of understanding trends revolving around decision making on the utilization of grants. With no record of child-headed households in the two samples, Figure 4.4 illustrates the gender of the main decision makers on the utilisation of grants in Ga-Maja and Seshego households.

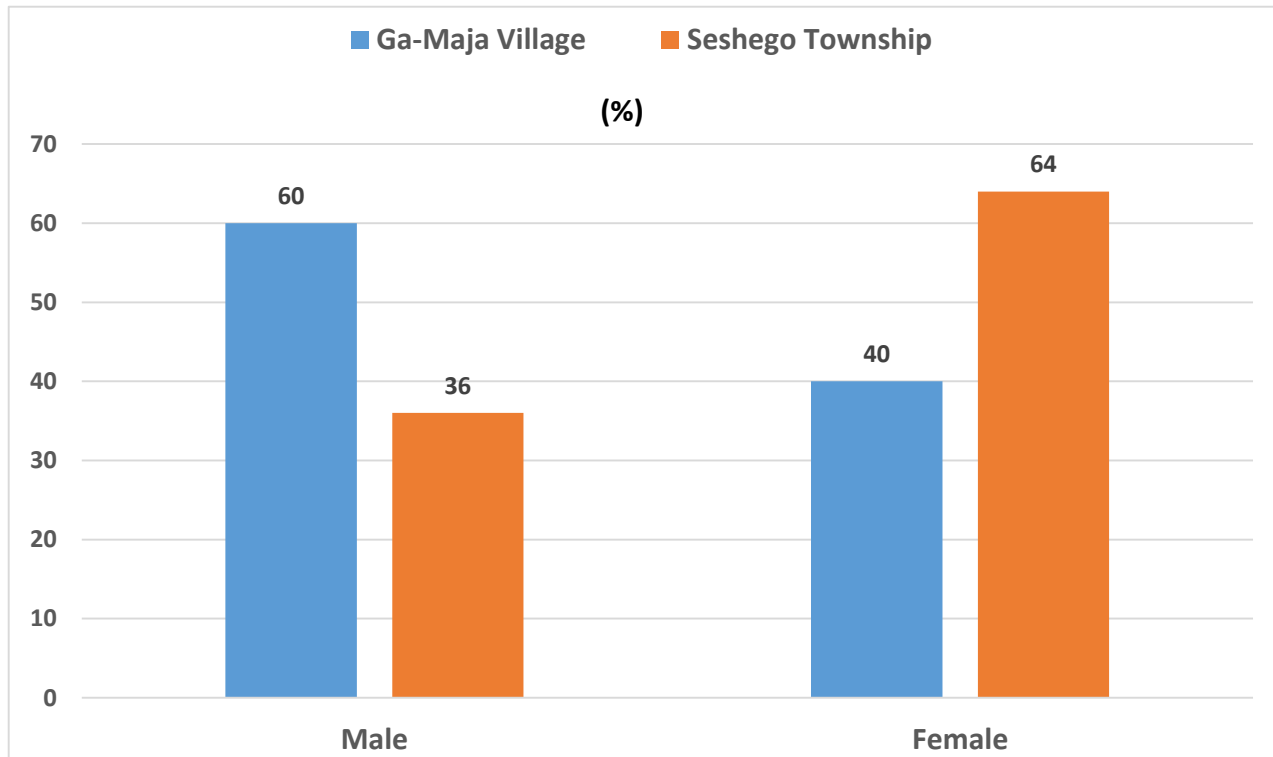


Figure 4.4. Gendered Decision Making on the Utilisation of Grants

Figure 4.4 shows that 40 percent and 64 percent of persons responsible for the grant budget are female in Ga-Maja and Seshego, respectively. With adult women making up 51 percent and 57 percent of the rural and urban samples, respectively, the dominance of women in household decision making tends to back up the autonomy enjoyed by urban women as documented by Narsey (2014). The leading role of urban women in handling grants would have been implicitly associated with their relatively higher educational levels as documented by StatsSA (2015) and the Capricorn District Municipality (2011), however, Ga-Maja and Seshego women in the sample share similar educational levels. Whether these trends are because 58 percent of adult women in the Seshego sample are single, black and over 60 years old implying that their educational development might have been compromised by racial Apartheid educational systems, was not interrogated by this study. It is thereby not as blurry that the autonomy enjoyed by urban women cannot be attributed to their educational edge over their rural counterparts.

In Ga-Maja Village, just like in most South African rural area, it is unfortunate but expected that women are relatively more voiceless and powerless given the patriarchal environment which persists to date. Under these patriarchs, 40 percent of women in the Ga-Maja Village making final decisions on how and what to spend on in grant-receiving households is quiet a descent ratio, however, this could also be due to the fact that over 50 percent of households in the sample were female-headed. With this logic, the patriarchal footprints can still be traced and questions asked about how then can the other 10 percent difference between 50 percent female-headed households and only 40 percent making the final decision on the utilisation of the grant be accounted for. Perhaps, the 8 percent which indicated collective decision making as a household could best explain the shortfalls, although such household democracy has not been testified for in literature. Network-driven social capital, harmony and reciprocity at household and community levels were therefore interrogated in a bid to establish more effects of grants and their distribution and degrees between rural and urban areas.

4.4.3. Measuring Social Capital in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Townships

The traditional rural-urban variances which have been centrally pinned on stark divergent characteristics and contexts have been recently countered by arguments revolving around the “increasingly blurring rural-urban dichotomy” (Champion and Hugo, 2004: 214). Literature documents that on one hand, people in rural societies are characterized by socio-economic homogeneity and thus they enjoy communitarianism. On the other, urbanites belong to different castes, creeds, religions and cultures, thus they rarely share same social statuses, norms and values. These elements potentially make or break social capital among communities. Figure 4.5 presents compared responses when Ga-Maja and Seshego respondents were asked whether they share their households’ resources with either neighbours and/or non-resident relatives.

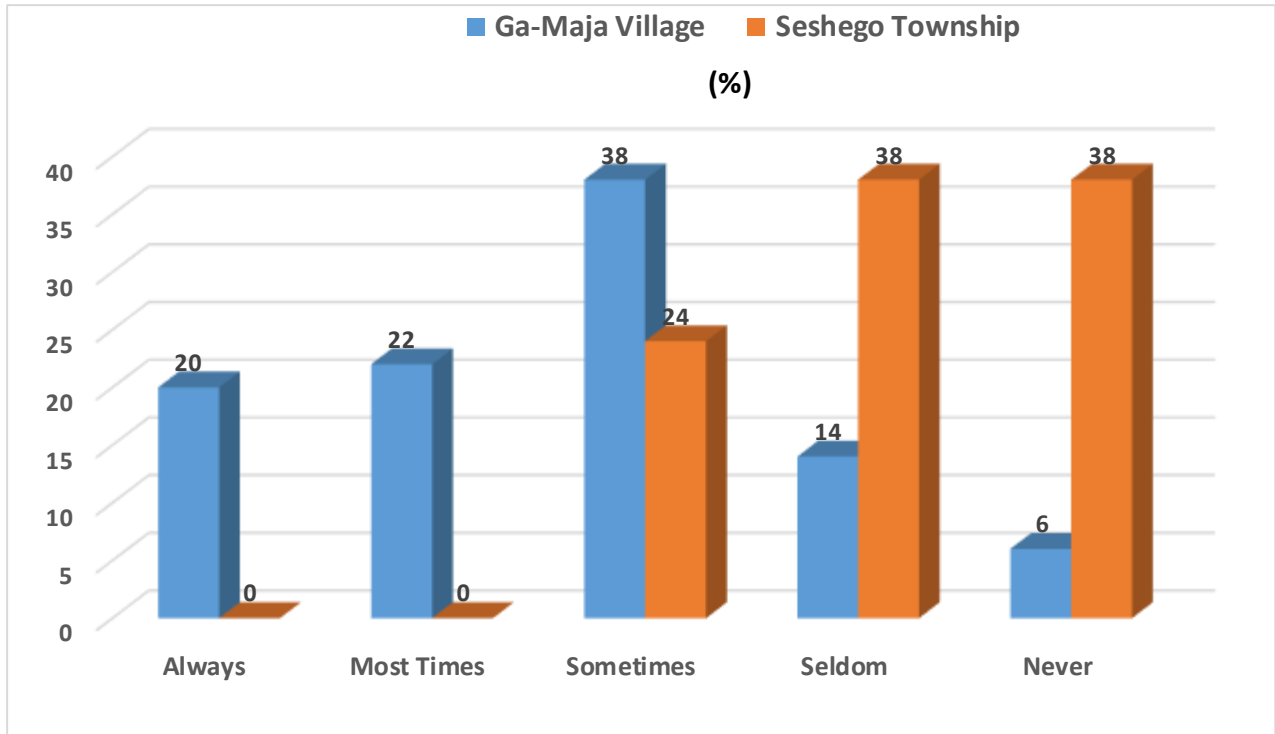
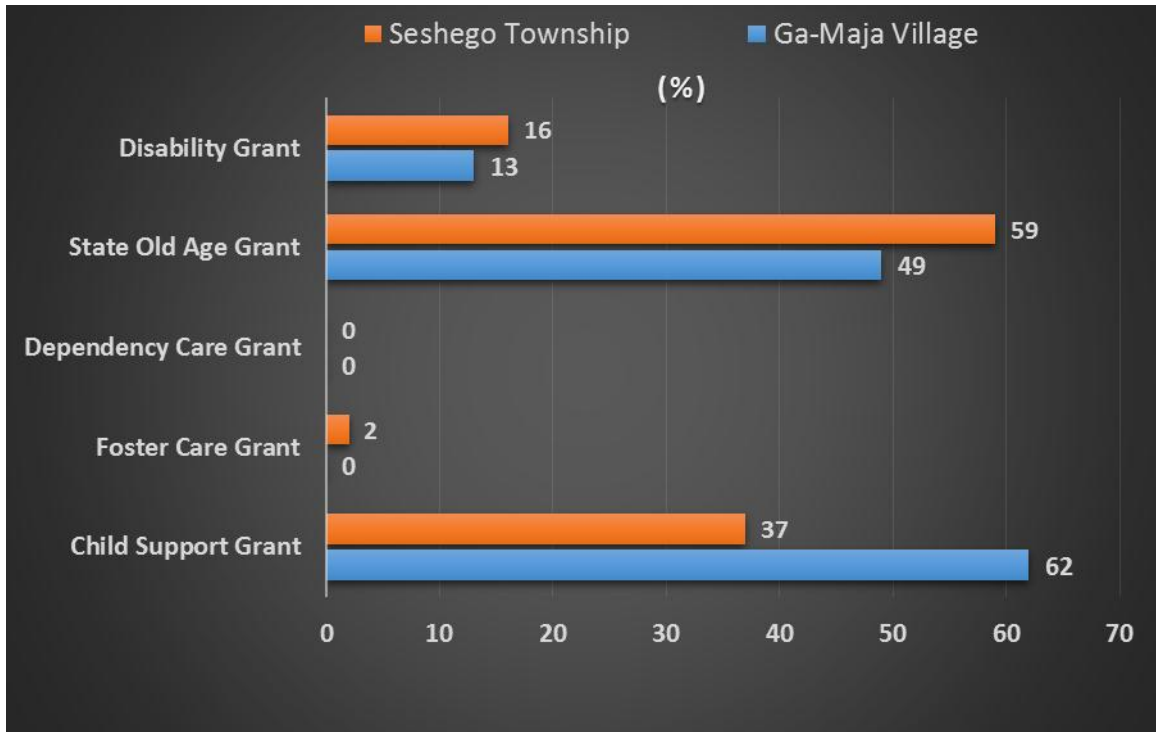


Figure 4.5. Sharing Habits between Households

According to Figure 4.5 around 76 percent of the Seshego grant-receiving households never and seldom share their household resources with neighbours and/or non-resident relatives whilst contrastingly, up to 80 percent of the Ga-Maja households share the grant either always, most times and sometimes. This paints communitarianism and individualism between Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township, correspondingly. Citing the inadequacy of the grants even for the receiving households themselves, 38 percent of the urban sample had never directly shared portions of the grants with their neighbours and/or non-resident relatives regardless of the fact that 10 percent of them claimed to manage to save and invest some of the grant income in other livelihoods. These dynamics confirm the documented superior social capital in rural than in urban areas.

4.5. TYPES AND ROLES OF SOCIAL GRANTS

Literature has delineated roles of different grant types into various domains between rural and urban areas. Figure 4.6 shows the constitution of various types of the main types of social grants in South Africa as they are distributed between Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township.



4.6. Types of Social Grants

Of the 238 total grants received in Ga-Maja Village (Ward 8) and Seshego (Ward 3) combined, State Old Age and Child Support Grants make up 87 percent. On the other 31 grants Disability and Foster Care Grants, take up 94 percent and 6 percent, respectively. No Dependency Care grant was recorded both in Ga-Maja and Seshego. Whilst van der Berg (2010) had argued and documented the rarity of Dependency Care grantees due to traditional courts, cultural unacceptability of living with a “stranger child” and poor access to information in rural set ups such as Ga-Maja Village, paucity of the grant in Seshego Township (urban) could reopen that debate. Antagonists of the rural-

urban dichotomy would interpret the foregoing as incremental evidence of blurring urban-rural distinctions.

The error of inclusion is more in urban areas whilst errors of exclusion are more in rural areas (Tacoli, 2012; Neves et al., 2013; Todaro, 2013). Further explorations have identified that the targeting process is administratively complex, time and resource intensive and lack of identity documentation especially in rural contexts. However, glaring differentials between rural (62) and urban (37) Child Support grantees could still be a significant factor in arguing a reproduction dimension of the rural-urban divide in Ga-Maja Village and beyond. Whilst this is proportional to household sizes in these two areas, Ga-Maja household sizes are generally bigger (5 person per households and 1.4 children per household) than Seshego's (3 persons per household and 0.8 children per household). These rural-urban fertility discrepancies do not only testify the household demographic variances between rural and urban areas but go beyond to explain unsynchronized effectiveness of social grants across all geo-spatial contexts.

4.5.1. Non-Grant Income among recipient households

In a Municipality where only one in every five persons is employed, it is not surprising that literature recorded social grants to be the primary source of household income in South Africa. Such a role is confirmed in the Polokwane Local Municipality where on average 96 per cent of the sample acknowledged various grants as their salvation. However, the dichotomy shines through as reflected by the rural-urban discrepancy in terms of the availability of other income avenues and sustainable livelihoods with the aptitude to add into the household income pool. Figure 4.7 demonstrates the responses of Ga-Maja and Seshego grantees when asked whether their households entirely rely on grants as the only source of income.

Whilst 96% of the sample indicated social grants to be the main sources of income, up to 40% of urban grantees only have grants to look forward to as the sole income source against a mere 8% in rural Ga-Maja.

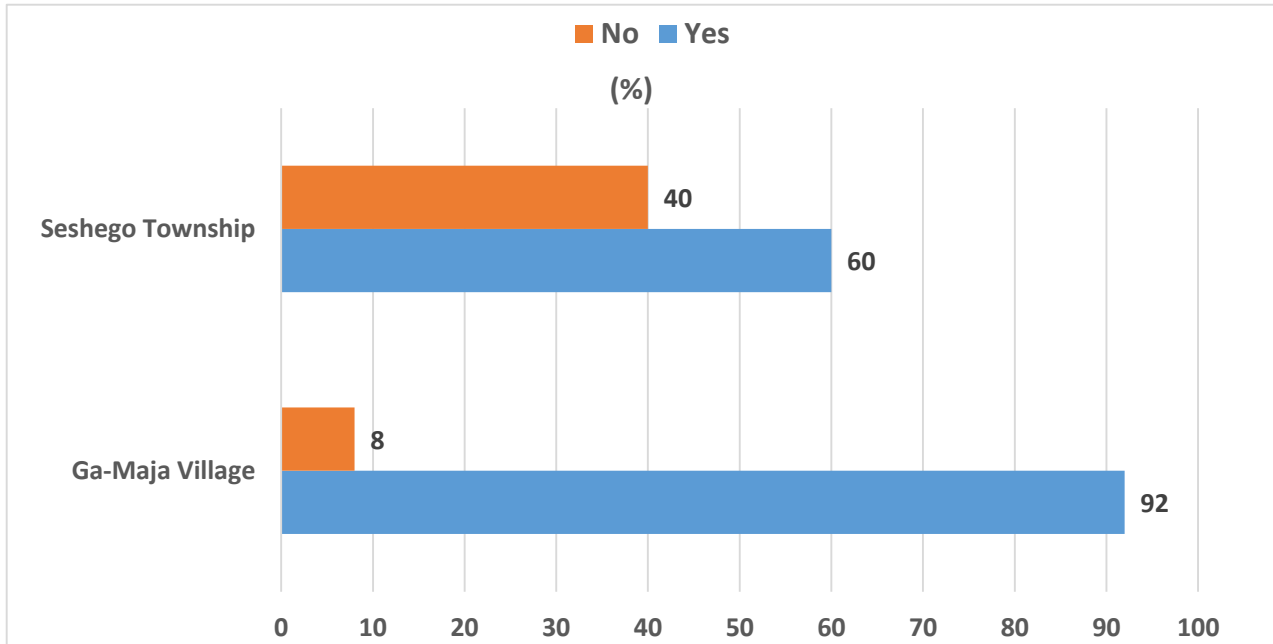


Figure 4.7. Grants as the Only Source of Household Income

Almost all the households in this village (92%) utilize the grant to cater for all the household needs regardless of the ideal prioritization of the registered member of a particular household. Literature might have accounted for this overarching role of grants within households inhibiting the ideal targeting of the most vulnerable members of the society but the socio-economic status quos and the ensuing pragmatic household dependency on the grant masks and dilutes the real time role of the grants on intended targets especially in Ga-Maja Village where an average household membership is 5 persons.

4.5.2. Overarching Utilization of Grants Beyond Grantees' Needs

Figure 4.8 presents comparative responses about the usage of grants for the benefit of registered beneficiaries only within households. Predictably, virtually all grantees (rural-urban) affirmed Oduro's (2015) assertion that the role of grants goes, undeniably, beyond registered recipients to encompass all members resident within grantees' households.

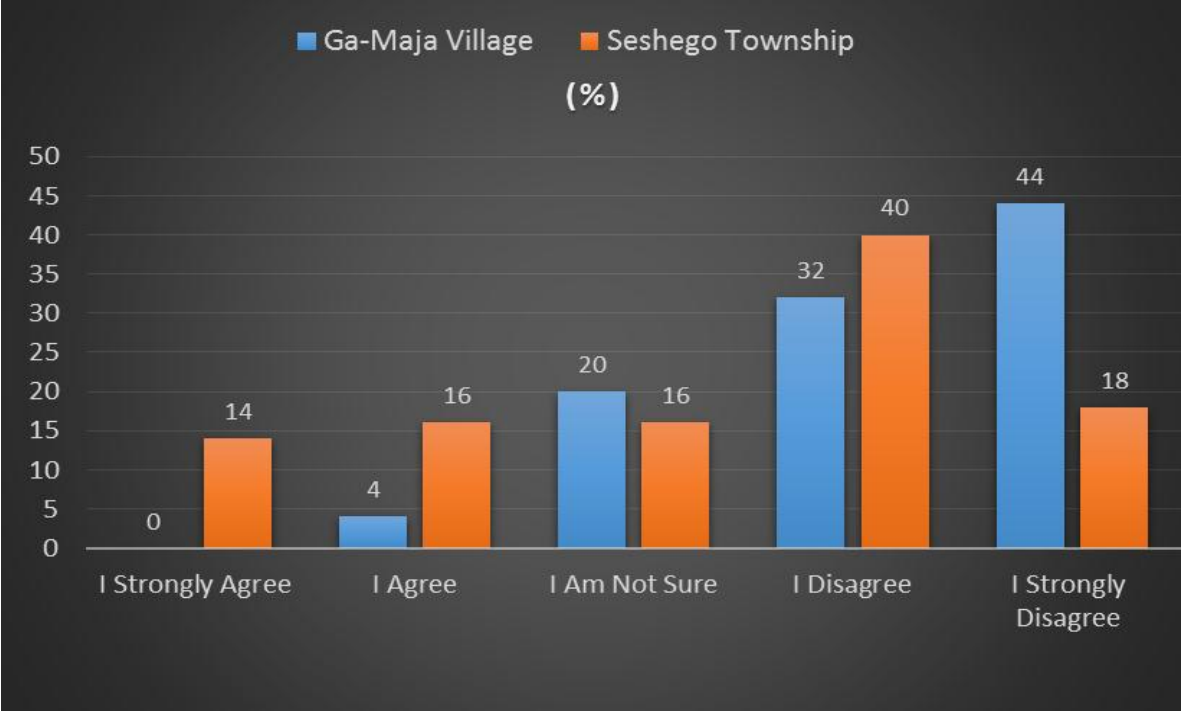


Figure 4.8. Utilization of Social Grants

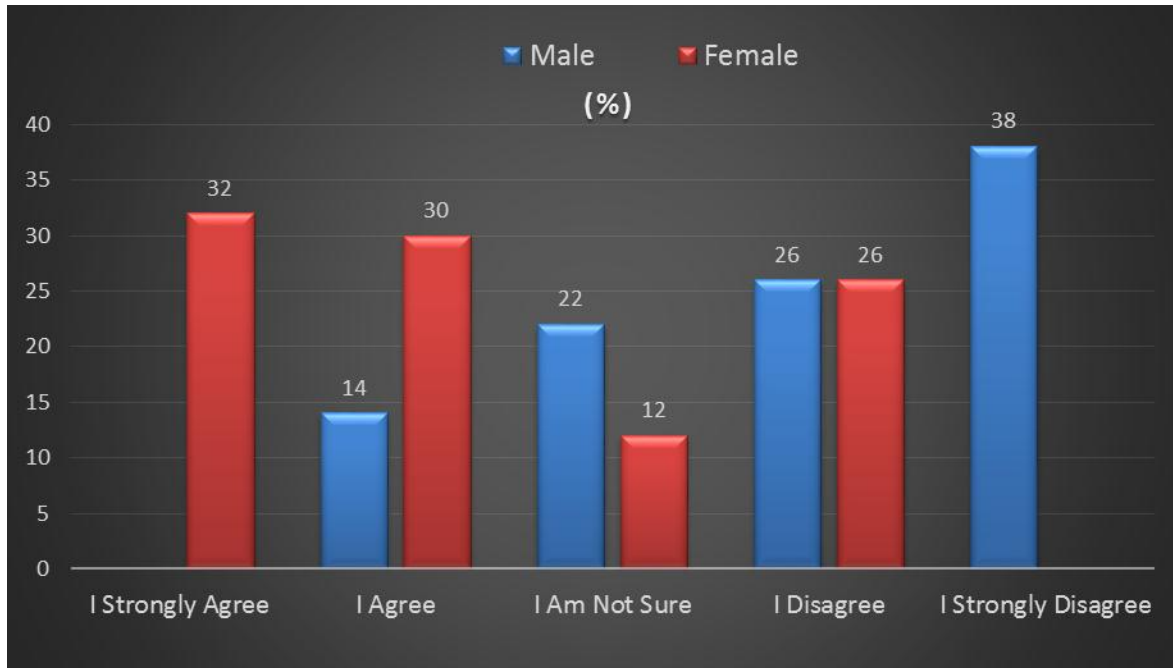
While the majority of responses denied the utilization of grants for the welfare of only the recipient, an average of 13% of urban respondents denied Oduro’s (2015) assertion. If all of these units in the 13% had extra or other sources of household income their discipline in utilising the grant for the needs of the registered grantees would have been more logical and tenable. Instead, only 40% of them have other avenues of regular income outside grants. Alarmingly, all of those who claimed to use the grant money for the benefit of the grantees only were parents receiving the Child Support Grant (CSG) and, according to the SASSA official who preferred to cooperate incognito, “*their questionable honesty could be attributed to the typical accusations they receive from society about fungible utilisation of child-intended money.*” Whether the roles played by grants are dichotomous themselves between rural and urban households or not remain a mystery but if what the Official said is to be considered, the behavioural dichotomies between rural and urban parents and caregivers have a substantial bearing on the real time role and effect of Child Support Grants, Foster Care Grants and Dependency Grants.

An extension or influence to such variance in behaviour and the ensuing utilisation of grants also manifests in paradoxical cultural and characteristic principles governing households and societies between rural and urban areas. Todaro (2013) had noted that beyond their varied rural-urban effects, culture and religion create patriarchal societies which in turn manifest in gender dynamics and imbalances, especially in rural areas. While Figure 4.4 illustrated patterns of variability in terms of the decision makers on the utilisation of grants, Figure 4.9 goes further to present conditional effects of the grants on various poverty indicators between and intra rural and urban households when the decision making on the utilisation of grants is left to females.

4.5.3. Gendered Role of Social Grants

Beyond urban women (64%) taking more part in the decision making on the utilization of the grants than their rural counterparts (36%), households whose grants are handled by women generally responded more positively on the effects of the grants on various indicators of poverty both in rural and urban areas. The next graph juxtaposes gendered responses on the effects of grants between households whose decision makers on the utilisation of grants were male and female.

Figure 4.9 shows contrasting opinions about the effects of grants in terms gender. Up to 64% of the participants who indicated that men handled grants either strongly disagreed or disagreed that social grants have a substantial positive effect on poverty reduction in their households against 64% of responses from those in female headed households who either strongly agreed and agreed that grants have significant effects in their living standards. This portrays that, at least in the Polokwane Municipality, benefits from social grants for the registered beneficiary and the household at large are therefore superior when females take charge of the grants, regardless of their rural or urban residence.



4.9. Gendered Effects of Social Grants

Further enquiry into these dynamics showed that the grants might not have had the same effects in households in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township when managed by a different gender but the study did not record any gender bias in the distribution and access to whatever level of benefits concomitant with them.

However, spending habits and the nature of expenses are variant between the two study areas. Table 2 illustrates and ranks the main expenses incurred in the two settings so as to assess the alleged divergent behaviours, needs and contexts. The table attempts to confirm the rural-urban dichotomy, or possibly deny it, by highlighting contrasting and inherent spending habits, needs and contexts which characterise and distinctly separate rurality from urbanity.

Employing permutations to indicate the spending habits and share of expenditure of the grant income on goods and services, households in both Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township indicated that food expenses take up the largest shares of their grants. Narsey (2012) documents that the nutritional status associated with social grant receipt is a significant developmental outcome. Whilst Table 2 confirms and highlights the importance of grants and social security at large in enhancing food security, the types

and volume of food afforded by, especially rural grantees does not meet the nutritious requirements to qualify these households food secured.

| Rank | Expenses | |
|------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Ga-Maja Village | Seshego Township |
| 1 | Food | Food |
| 2 | Clothing | Energy |
| 3 | Health | Water |
| 4 | Costs of schooling | Health/ Costs of schooling |
| 5 | <i>Diphiri</i> (Rates) | Rent/Rates |
| 6 | | Clothing |
| 7 | | Leisure/Entertainment |
| 8 | | Savings/Investments |

Table 2. Ranked Expenses and Utilization of Grant Income

With rural recipients indicating that they use up to 60 percent of their food budget on maize meal, baking flower, salt and vegetable oil, the nourishment, particularly in preschool children, is likely to be the best explanation for lower levels of visible physical growth and impaired cognitive development which, perhaps, manifests in 70 percent of the sampled households having only primary school education or no formal education at all.

Notwithstanding the fact that Ga-Maja households might have a superior aptitude to supplement their food volumes through off farm produces (crops, livestock, poultry), the food types on the menus of their urban counterparts have substantially more nutritional composition. Perhaps, studies by The International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) (2013) and The World Health Organization (WHO) (2015) which found a positive correlation between levels of education and physical wellness were validated by this study.

International evidence documents that the direct costs of schooling (fees, uniforms, transport, school supplies) are frequently the second largest expenditure after food

(DFID, 1999; UNDP, 2015). However, heavily subsidised primary and secondary school fees explain why none of the two study areas rank Costs of schooling as the second biggest expense incurred. Nevertheless, the uniformity of these ranking cease with food costs as urbanites are hit harder by their reliance on commercialised energy (electricity and gas) and water supply. An documented combination of exorbitant and exaggerated charges for these services have also compounded on the socio-economic misery of the urban grantees who claim to be simultaneously overcharged and underserved by the Municipal lords. On the contrary, such grievances do not form part of the rural plight considering the availability of alternative and more affordable sources of energy (paraffin and wood) and free water supply. However, WHO (2015) highlighted the embedded health costs which are concomitant with carbon monoxide from wood and paraffin fires used for cooking and lighting in rural areas. Moreover, some of the Ga-Maja grant-receiving households endure up to 1000m (1 kilometer) in order to access water and wood.

Prioritisation of clothing over health and education by rural recipients not only does it symbolise variant hierarchy of needs and welfare but an expression of low regard for long term investment in human development. If that is the case then Todaro's (2013) assertion that investments in human capital development has been more associated with urban grantees, a trend which is more likely to break the chronic chain of poverty in an urban than a rural household. Table 2 shows that not only do urban households rank costs of schooling (uniforms, books, transport) higher than clothing, they equally spend on health as well despite the fact that they have the burden of rates or rent to pay to Municipal lords. Whilst superior educational and literacy levels could explain nutrition and health consciousness, ranking entertainment higher than savings and investment could still be interpreted as evidence for the fungibility of grants especially because up to 30 percent and 84 percent of urban recipients claimed to use the grant solely for the benefit of the registered grantees and highlighted the inadequacy of the grant for grantees' needs, respectively. Whilst food is unanimously a common need among rural and urban spending on other types of needs is hugely determined by the hierarchy of needs within a certain context and household. Tacoli (2012) had posited that the overall ranking and arrangement of the hierarchy of needs could be unique to individual

households but there is overall uniformity as well as demarcations to the order and hierarchy among rural and urban households.

4.6. DIMENSIONS AND DYNAMICS OF POVERTY IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

Literature has documented that poverty is not only defined by low incomes, consumption, resources and living standards (Physiological needs – the poor have a heightened susceptibility to risk and the probability of catastrophic decline or death (Safety needs), Social exclusion (Love and belonging), Self-confidence (Esteem) and Creativity and Acceptance (Self Actualization). Reddy and Sokomani (2008) acknowledged that, understanding the context, dimensions and dynamics of poverty in rural and urban areas is preponderant to conceptualising the setting within which state social security programmes are received and used. Figure 4.10 juxtaposes the average rankings of the main five types of needs (UNDP, 2008) which also represent indicators employed to calculate the human development index.

Asked to indicate their order of priority if the given five types of needs were to be alleviated in a certain sequence, responses from households in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township produced hierarchy of needs as presented in Figure 4.10.

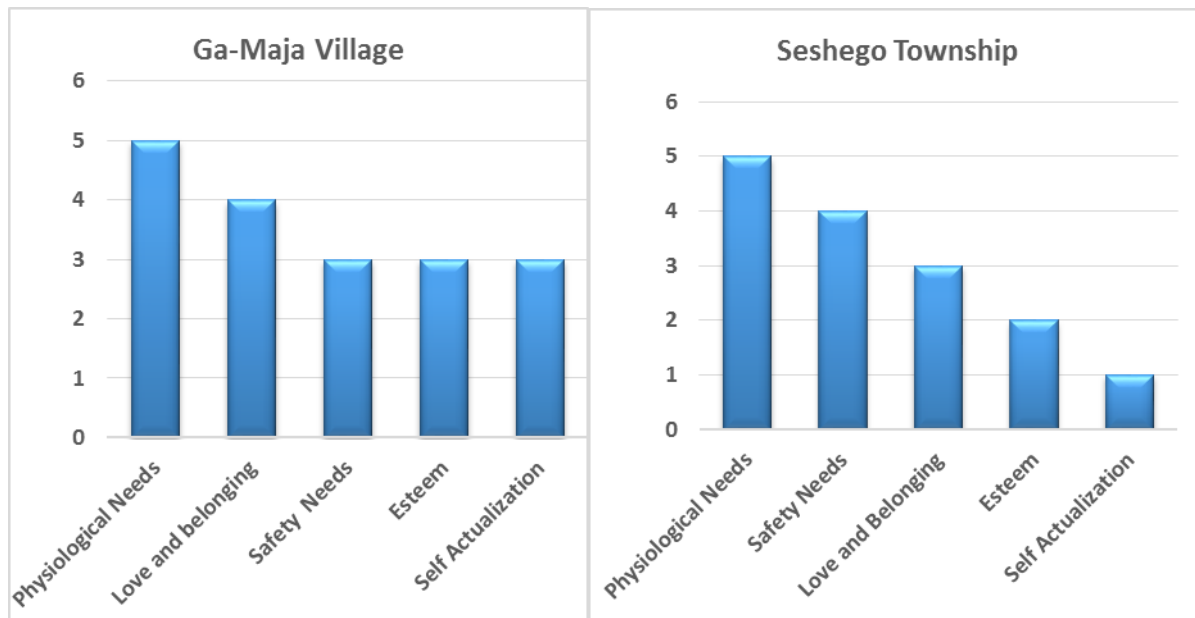


Figure 4.10. Hierarchies of Needs in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township

The ladders of their respective needs confirmed both extents of uniformity and dichotomy. As presented in Figure 4.10, physiological needs are consistently prioritised and understandably ranked first not only in rural and urban areas but in each household. Whilst urbanites seemingly confirm the original understanding of the theory of the hierarchy of needs as postulated by the United Nations Development Programmes, rural households not only do they prioritise Love and Belonging more than they do Safety Needs as is on the original ladder they rank the remaining needs equally (Safety Needs, Esteem, Self-Actualization). Perhaps their prioritization of Love and Belonging can be best explained by their expressed level of trust with their neighbours and community as well as low crime rates in the study area. This is despite the fact that the nearest South African Police Service Station (SAPS) is three times the distance it is located from the central house in Seshego Township. Whether these equilibriums in the ranking the other three types of needs in Ga-Maja can be attributed to their lack of understanding of their own needs cannot be stated although the rural-urban division could be as easy to observe as Figure 4.10 shows. Accordingly, these variances are likely to have an explicit bearing on the effects of social grants on key indicators of poverty alleviation and human welfare such as empowerment, level and rate of human development and sustainability. The study therefore found it imperative to extend the

enquiry beyond the generality of their most prioritised types of needs to question the extent to which income is central to their overall household welfare. Figure 4.11 presents the extent to which Ga-Maja and Seshego households agree or disagree to monetary income being the main determinant of their household welfare

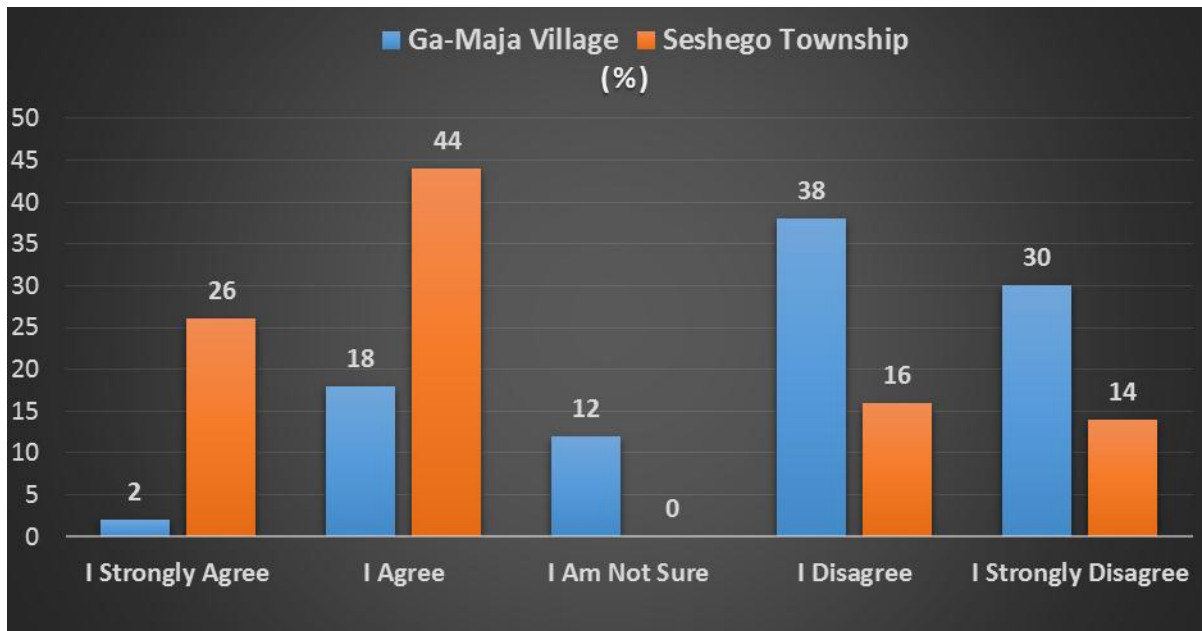


Figure 4.11. Grant Income as a Main Determinant of Household Welfare

As indicated by Figure 4.11, there are contrasting positions taken by rural and urban recipients in this study in terms of the centrality of the role played by money in their welfare. Up to 80 per cent of the urban sample either agreed or strongly agreed to income being the primary determinant of their household wellbeing against only 20 per cent of their rural cohort attesting the same position. Alem et al. (2015) had asserted that with agricultural livelihoods such as crop farming, gardening, wild gathering and livestock rearing representing the main sources of food within rural households, income often plays a complementary role in rural food security in KwaZulu Natal Province. There might not be much substantial returns from agricultural activities engaged in by the Ga-Maja Villagers but livestock rearing still remains a key effort to enhance food security in the area which is not practical in Seshego Township. This proves that whilst commercialisation, capitalistic nature, free market orientation and dormant agrarian livelihoods in urban contexts require that virtually all goods and services are bought or

paid for are converse to the relative de-commodification of most services in rural areas. Simultaneously, these contextual status quos are the same yardsticks which place urban living conditions and life spans higher than rural ones. Whether welfare is contextualised between rurality and urbanity is a separate but imperative debate. With reference to comparative data from Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township, these will be discussed and analysed in the next section.

4.7. RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY EFFECTS OF THE SOCIAL GRANT STRATEGY ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Next, various disaggregated indicators upon which the rural urban dichotomy effects of social grants on poverty alleviation can be appraised will be discussed basing on data collected from the Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township..

4.7.1. Social Capital

Literature has documented that in South Africa, where households often form around income, the upshot of social grants is renowned for far reaching and sustainable social capital without which recipient individuals and households would be socially excluded (Barreintos, 2008; Sebates-Wheelers, 20014). Ga-Maja and Seshego receiving households members were asked how they value registered grantees as assets responsible for the welfare of the household and a factor without which the household would struggle to connect ends. All households in Ga-Maja Village acknowledged the essence of grantees for socio-economic dynamics whilst around 64 percent of urbanites did. The 36 percent that did not entirely express appreciation of the grantees status within their households does not fall far away from the amount of households who either claimed the grant to be utilized only for the grantees' needs (see figure 4.3.) and those who have sources of income other than grants (see figure 4.3.). From this logic, it can be deduced that there is a correlation between the value of grantees within households and the availability of other alternatives to household income.

The extension of the debate on the aptitude of social grants to determine social capital, the effects of social grants on relationships of recipient households with their neighbours and/or relatives were probed in Ga-Maja and Seshego. With social capital sprouting from shared norms, values and spaces, grant recipients and their caregivers from geographical vicinities were always going to share the latter component of social capital (space). Even with the recent availability of different methods of accessing grants implying that neighbouring grant recipients do not necessarily meet and queue at the same pay points on specific days, the South African Social Security Agency convenes meetings for grantees. *“These meetings allow us to mingle with each other and ofcourse we communicate as friends to go collect our mudende”*, says one State Old Age Grant recipient from Seshego Township. Therefore, debates have understandably gone beyond whether social grants create social capital among recipients in communities to encompass whether this social capital translates into collective fights against poverty through communitarianism. Moreover, literature had recorded rural-urban variances in terms of behaviour, culture and general contexts (Champion and Hugo, 2004). The most indigent members of a society and family had been found to be often marginalized and alienated from social networks-driven reciprocity, largely, due to their poor possession and control of tradable resources. Asked whether households share some of the benefits from the grant with their neighbours and/or relatives, Figure 4.12 presents aggregated responses from Ga-Maja and Seshego recipient households.

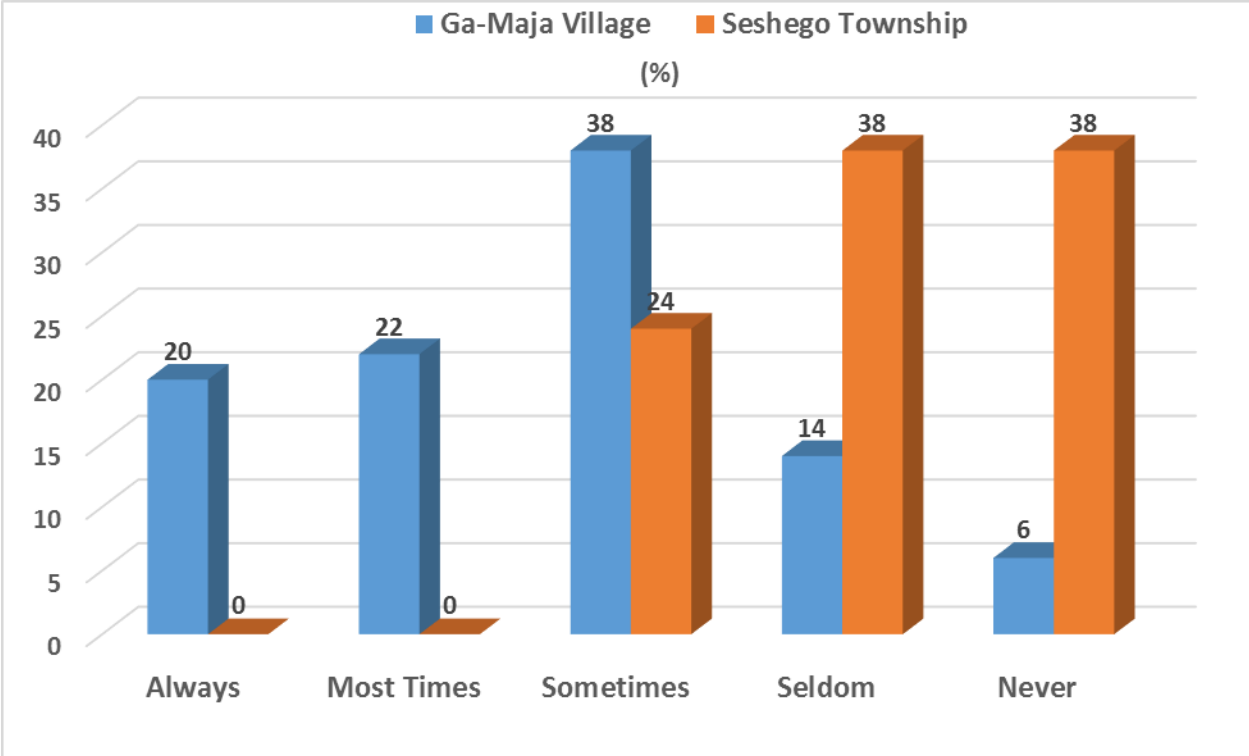


Figure 4.12. Sharing of Resources and Communitarianism

As already alluded to in Figure 4.5., Figure 4.12 demonstrates juxtaposed responses which reflect that indeed grant-earned social capital manifests in sharing of resources between households in rural areas whilst the same cannot be said among their urban cohorts. Up to 74 percent of rural households either share benefits with their neighbours and/or relatives sometimes, most times and always whilst conversely, 68 percent either seldom or have never shared grant related benefits with their neighbours in Seshego. Whether long term ties driven by age produce certain levels of social capital and communitarianism either in rural and urban areas is beyond the purview of this study but the fact that the majority (80 percent) of the 12 urban grantees who indicated to sometimes share the grant were all elderly respondents of 60 years and above. However, using the yardstick of sharing of spaces, public and private resources, there is ample evidence of communitarianism in Ga-Maja Village as much as there is bounteous levels of individualism between rural and urban areas. Whilst this status quo could be attached to the variances of creeds, castes and backgrounds among urbanites (with exception of elderly and probably cultural urbanites), dependency on shared natural

(woods, rivers), public (communal taps, pay pay points) and private (social grants, household assets) resources can best explain the inherent social reciprocity in rural set ups.

Asked directly whether they agree or disagree that social grants enhance social capital, Figure 4.13 confirms the rural-urban divergent perspectives.

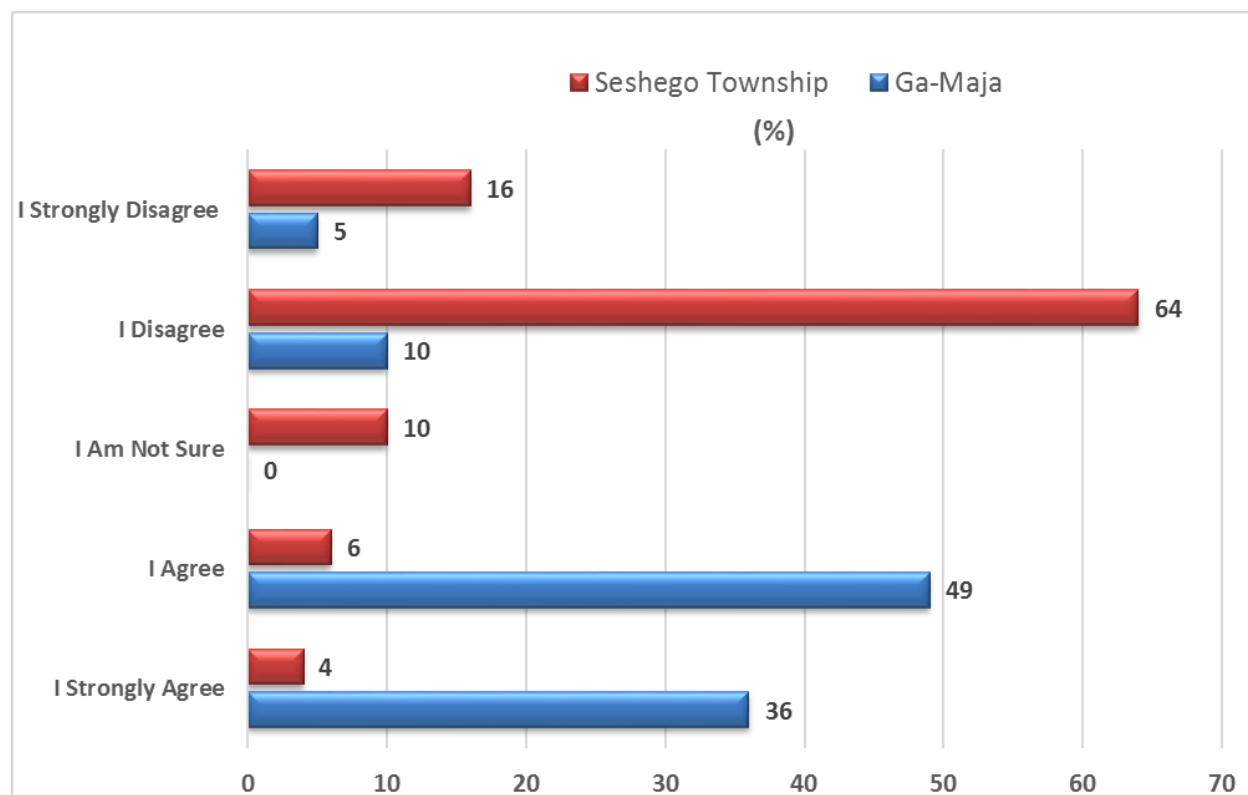


Figure 4.13. Social Grants and Social Capital

Up to 84 per cent of the rural households believe social grants improved their standing in community in ways which allow them to reap more out of the prism of mere home economics but social too. On the other hand, urbanites disagree and strongly disagree with the assertion that there is a correlation between social grants and social networks. Perhaps, an attempt explain their position is that 60 percent of the Seshego sample was SOAG recipients who are likely to socially relate with fellow *mudende* recipients thereby not attributing this association to the grants they would have been receiving for a long time. However, it is noteworthy that all Disability Grant recipients in the same urban

context acknowledge the social enrichment concomitant with the grant. With the disabled generally more vulnerable to social exclusion (Hossain, 2007), the propensity of the DG to neutralise their vulnerability as they acknowledged is imperative to poverty alleviation. The social security system as a whole targets go beyond individual benefits to encompass combined experiences which create community outcomes – thus, empowerment.

4.7.2. Empowerment

One of the roles as indicated by SASSA (2015) is to empower grantees in a social context thus - income redistribution through social grants is perceived as a sign of post-apartheid equality and renewed social compactness between state and citizens in South Africa (Barchiese, 2007; Osei, 2011; Neves et al., 2013; Oduro, 2015). The study regards empowerment as one of the most crucial dimensions and extents of poverty alleviation, as such the degree to which social grants empower grantees was investigated in Ga-Maja and Seshego. Bearing in mind that empowerment can be objective, subjective and competence, the weight of empowerment concomitant with grants has varying potential on poverty alleviation. Figure 4.14 shows an account of dynamics around the aptitude of grants to turn around grantee's socio-economic status quos after at least 2 years of being on the SASSA payroll.

Figure 4.14 illustrates that in Ga-Maja Village, 86 percent of the recipient households indicated that their non-grant income had not change at all. Whether there have been efforts to effect the ideal change remains untraceable. Figures slightly vary in Seshego Township where 38 percent indicated that there was no change and the other 38 percent registering A Little More Income in the last 2 years of being on the SASSA payroll. The static non-grant income status and the ensuing generational dependence syndrome is again more common in and attached to rural households although paucity of substantial success stories fuels more antagonism on the propensity of grants to significantly empower individuals and communities.

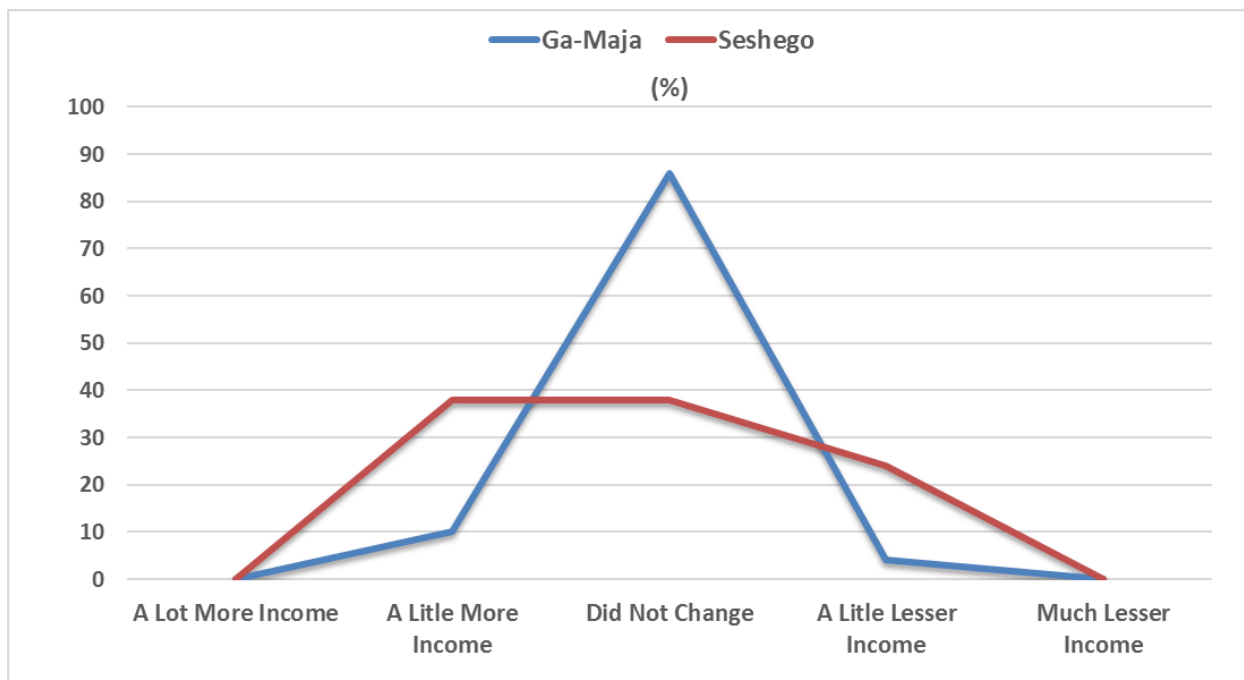


Figure 4.14. Non-Grant Income Dynamics in Grant-Receiving Households

As confirmed by one of the Polokwane based SASSA official, “*objective empowerment from the grant remains a long short if not a myth. Grant recipients who are not on our payroll anymore were all cancelled due to either age ineligibility or death.*” This was in response to the question whether the agency had scenarios of grantees graduating from eligibility because of economic and health turnarounds rather than age eligibility.

In another dimension of the enquiry, the researcher probed the alleged use of the *SASSA Card* as collateral catalytic in accessing services such as loans and other credit services which without the grant they would not access. Figure 4.15 reflects compared borrowing behaviours between Ga-Maja and Seshego.

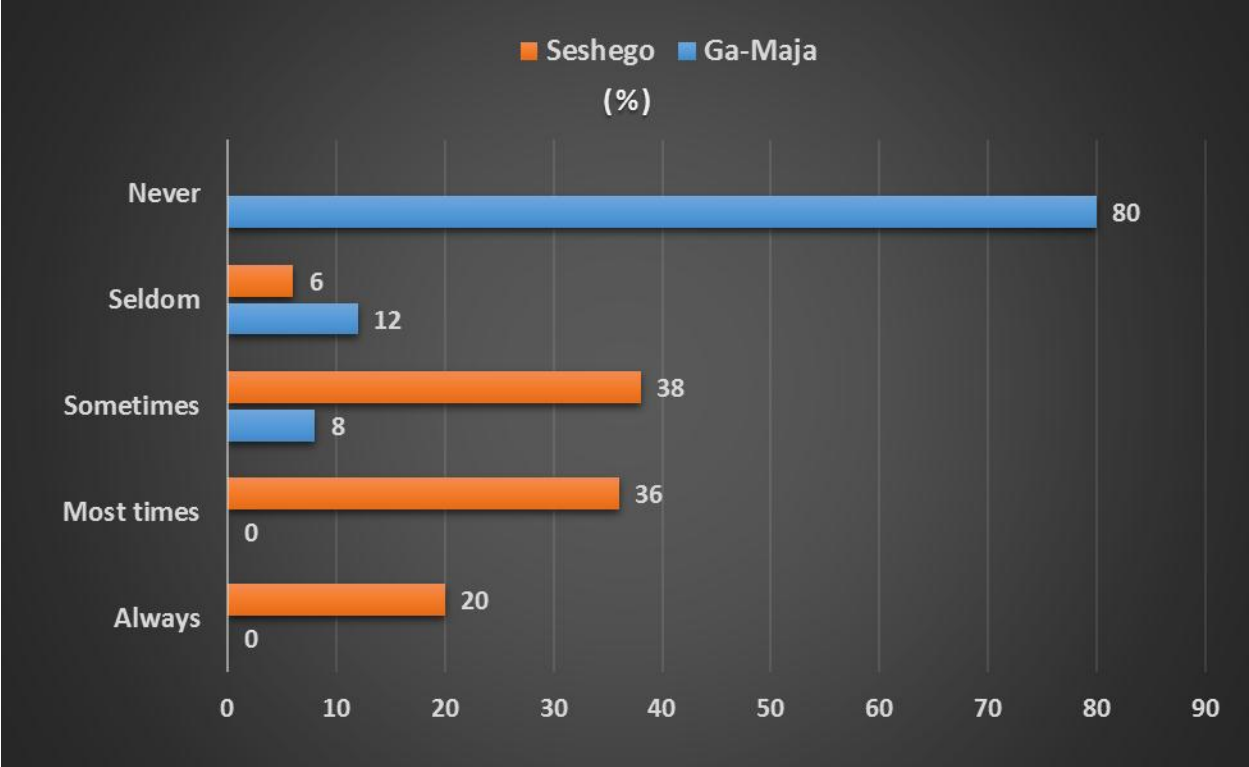


Figure 4.15. Frequency of Borrowing Money

The graph shows that 92 percent of Ga-Maja Villagers who receive grants either seldom or never use money lenders to access loans whilst 94 percent of urbanites borrow money sometimes, most times and always. Citing their ability to secure food from shop owners with the guarantee of receiving a grant as collateral as a significant factor to food security, loans and overall wellbeing, rural and urban households who had only started receiving the grant recently further acknowledge the essence of the “SASSA Card”. It was also observed that the use of “loan sharks” (creditors) is more prominent in Seshego where the context understandably is more market oriented than in Ga-Maja Village where the buying power for food and household essentials from local “Makhula spazas” (retail shops belonging to foreign nationals – mostly Ethiopians, Somalians and Pakistanis) on credit is also variable of the grant collateral. However, the SASSA official brought to light the trend of creditors confiscating SASSA Cards belonging to grantee’s in bids to recover debts. As empowering as grants are as collateral, the residual consequences ostensibly inflates financial indiscipline and dependency syndrome among grantees, especially in urban settings.

4.7.3. Dependency

One of the most debated effects of social grants on the indigent is their aptitude to promote a dependence syndrome which manifests in either bearing more children for the Child Support Grant, moving in to live with, especially elderly relatives so as to feed off the State Old Age Grant or reluctance to actively participate in remunerative job markets or livelihoods (Ntshongwana 2010; Chowdhury and Mukhopadhaya, 2012). As reaction to the latter concern, key factors in reducing people's chances of finding employment are seemingly linked to low educational, skills levels and the subsequent structural conditions of the labour market and the wider economy rather than the motivational characteristics of the unemployed and comfortable dependency on the grant system especially in rural areas and urban informal settlements. Figure 4.16 demonstrates the dependency levels on the grant compared between Ga-Maja Village (where up to 84% of the sample did not have secondary education and narrowed unemployment rate is as high as 58%) and Seshego Township (where 30% of the sample had tertiary education and narrowed unemployment rate of 34%). As Figure 4.16 indicates, social grants are the only source of income for over 90 per cent of the Ga-Maja sample whilst around 60 per cent solely rely on the grant in Seshego.

Figure 4.16 shows that as much as this dependence on grants is generally high both in rural and urban settings, the plight is more spread in Ga-Maja Village where very little economic activities and employment opportunities to supplement household income could be the best explanation.

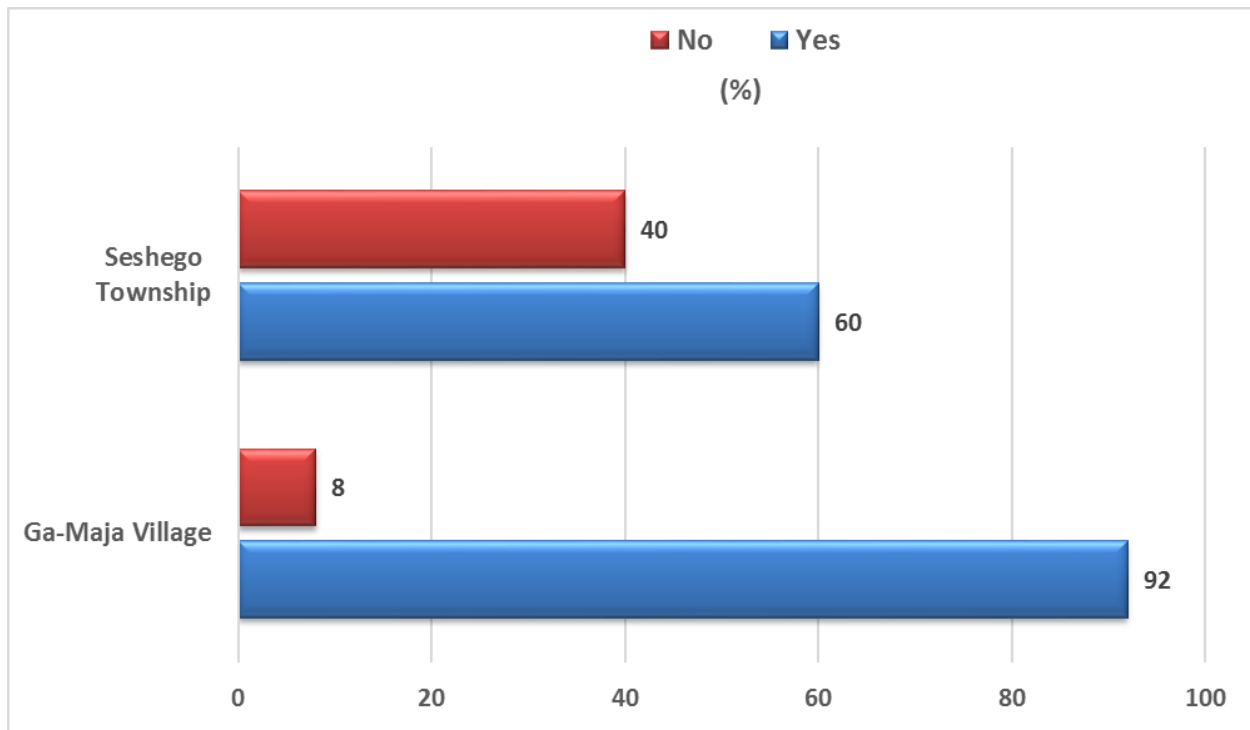


Figure 4.16. Grants as the Main Source of Income

Overt observations correspond with the documented dormant economy to justify the reliance on grants as the main source of income for 46 out of the 50 households in the Ga-Maja sample. A relatively functional and yet extremely competitive local economy in Seshego Township overtly show potential remunerative opportunities.

These observations tended to be verified by the income accessed by households in these two samples. Figure 4.17 shows averages of non-grant income so as to comparatively determine the extent of dependency between rural and urban households. As indicated in the graph preceding, the majority of all the households (Ga-Maja and Seshego) live below the lower bound poverty line. Considering the participants were honest with their non-grant incomes for the fear of losing eligibility for the grant, the debate on whether grants are well targeted could reap from these findings. However, rural-urban discrepancies on non-grant income patterns persistently shine as demonstrated in the graph.

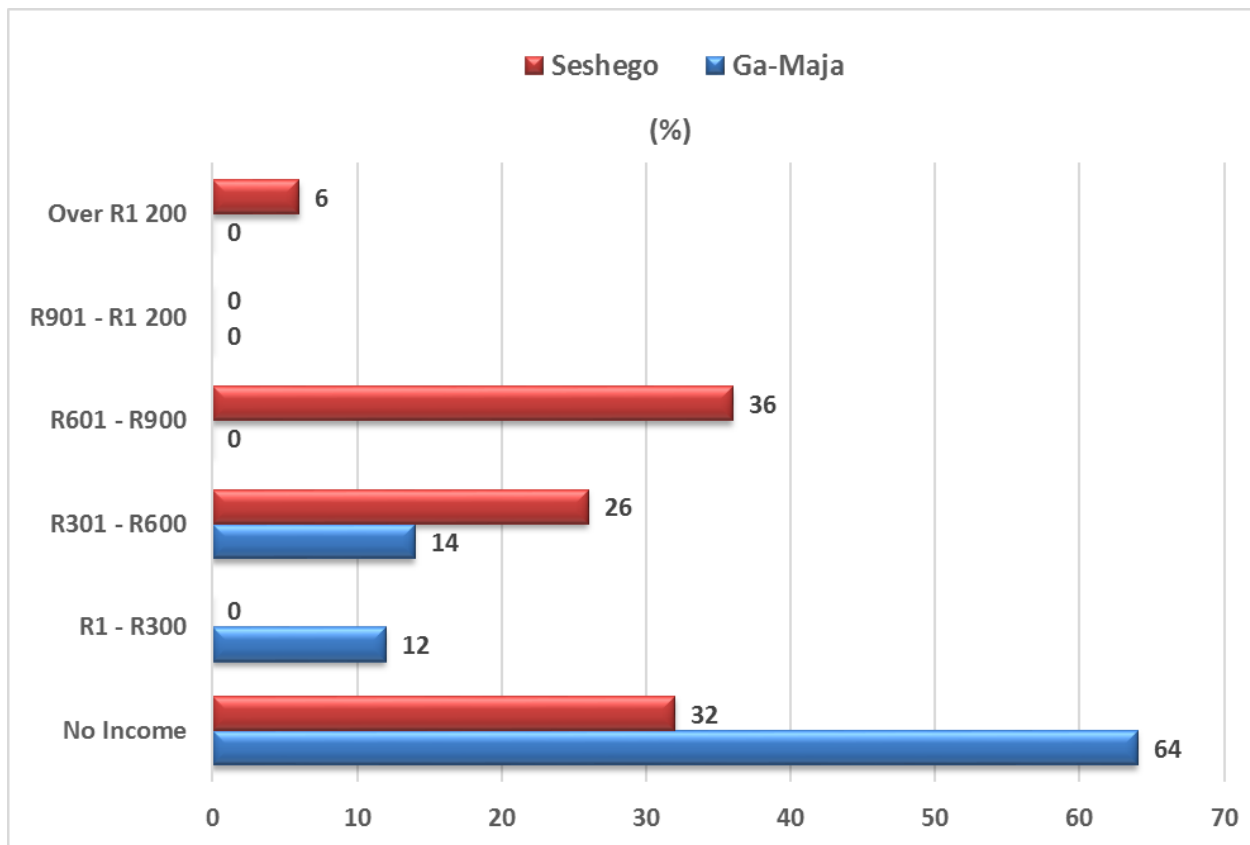


Figure 4.17. Non-Grant Income in Households

Whilst up to 64% of households in the Ga-Maja sample does not have any other sources of income but social grants, only half of them are in the same predicament in Seshego Township. Although this could easily be logically pinned to dependency on grants (whether deliberate or circumstantial dependency), by rural recipient households, educational levels of these individual households with no income tends to spread the dependency syndrome on to urbanites. Of the 30 rural households which indicated to have no non-grant income, only 7 percent acquired secondary education or more on one hand. On the other, out of the 16 urban households which indicated to have no non-grant income, 10 households had at least one member with either secondary education or tertiary education. Against such a background, it can be deduced that levels of and reasons behind not securing alternate sources of income are dichotomous between rural and urban households, however, the subsequent dependency on grants is clear to see, although on different degrees between rural and urban areas.

4.7.4. Fertility Rates

Allegations of Social Grants elevating fertility rates have been heavily linked to the Child Support Grants and antagonists pin point this dimension of dependency not only as an off-spring of social security but an incentive to promote drastic population dynamics and over-population. SASSA had since recorded rapid increase of the number of CSG recipients rising from 7 000 in 2008 to 11 000 in 2015. Of course the extension of the age eligibility threshold had a significant upshot on the trend but the majority composition of the CSG is children with 7 years and younger (SASSA, 2015). This dominance of new born babies in the Ga-Maja Village further confirmed the national trend (see also figure 4.1). Figure 4.18 shows the age-composition of children receiving the CSG in Ga-Maja.



Figure 4.18. Age Constitution of Child Support Grant Recipients in Ga-Maja Village

Figure 4.18 shows that of the children who are receiving the CSG in Ga-Maja Village 70 percent are 7 years and younger whilst only 30 percent are more than years. The graph, perhaps, shades more and pragmatic light on whether there is a positive correlation on

the nationally recorded abrupt increase of the CSG recipients and fertility or those dynamics are mainly rooted to the age eligibility threshold adjustment of 2008. There were more new babies born and registered for the CSG than children who were out of the pre-2008 child grant scope who got registered upon the extension of age eligibility. This confirms the alleged effects concomitant with the guarantee of receiving a child grant especially in rural areas.

Compared attitudes and opinions between Ga-Maja and Seshego caregivers and/or parents reflected variances in terms of whether they would consider having another grant eligible member of the household to increase the household income pool. The researcher acknowledged the sensitivity of explicitly asking respondents if they would have another baby just to acquire more social security and constructed the question in a more generic manner. However, since this question was only directed to care givers and/parents of children on the social security payroll, their responses would still equally imperative leads in establishing the extent to which the CSG promotes fertility. Figure 4.19 illustrates the responses of when asked if the child grant makes recipients wish there was another eligible recipient in the household.

As illustrated in Figure 4.19, up to 73 percent of Ga-Maja Villagers either strongly agree or agree that the grant makes them wish there was another grantee in the household against a massive 90 percent of urbanites who strongly disagree and disagree with the assertion. There might have been 10 percent of urban respondents who wish they had another grantee in their households but that minority does not possibly defy the rural-urban dichotomous fertility rates as recorded in literature and confirmed in this study.

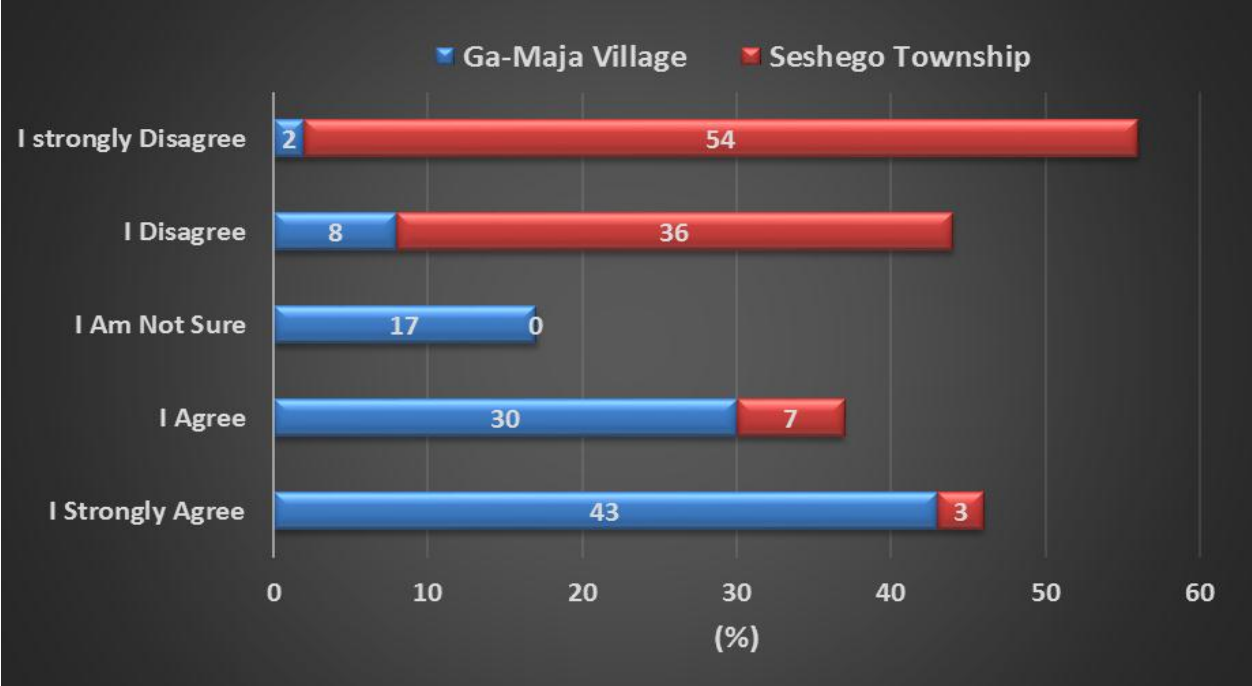


Figure 4.19. Grant Income and Fertility Rates

While The World Health Organisation had already linked high fertility among rural dwellers to poor access to contraceptives, low educational levels and lack of entertainment, the quest to secure more social security has been recorded in this study as not only a dimension of dependency but an incentive to overpopulation, especially among rural households.

As discussed already, it remains obscured whether the spread dependency on social grants between rural and urban areas is deliberate complacency and concerted livelihoods or mere victimisation by poverty shackles embedded in low/no education, generational destitution and high structural unemployment rates (Oduro, 2015). To affirm or deny these myths, the researcher asked grant recipients from Ga-Maja and Seshego whether the guarantee of receiving monthly grants reduces their need to look for employment opportunities, get educated and/or make savings/investments. Figure 4.20 presents the comparative responses as solicited from the two study areas.

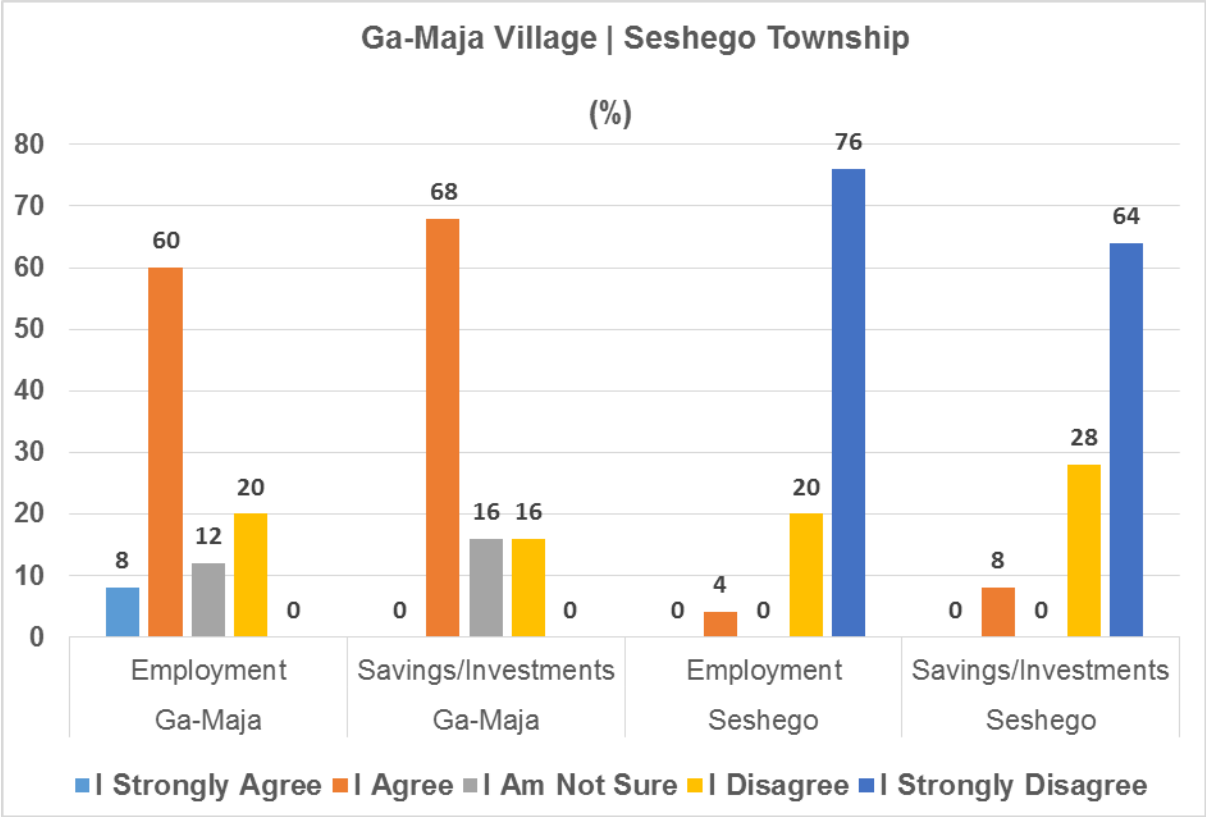


Figure 4.20. Linking Social Grants with Savings/Investment and Employment Ratios

Figure 4.20 shows that the responses recorded in Seshego did little to match the pre-conceived high degree of complacency and dependency syndrome which had been deduced from the fact that the sample embodies scores of urbanite households with members of substantial educational levels and yet solely rely on grants for income (see figure 4.7). An average of up to 84 percent of the Seshego respondents strongly disagreeing with the assertion that grants make them reluctant to seek employment opportunities, make savings or invest. Beyond citing their discouraged labour status, 30 percent of urban households had already indicated entrepreneurial investments in backyard rental rooms, vending and *stokvels* as a way of enhancing their household income beyond the grant. As one of the commonly recorded role and outcome of social security in state welfarisms, by observation, grants tend support the development of local markets in urban areas. Whilst the incredible dependency on grants as sole household income (90 percent) has already been documented in Ga-Maja, the reasons provided by Seshego respondents would have naturally carried more weight

considering a virtually dormant local economy and extremely low levels of education. Instead, an average of 64 percent of Ga-Maja respondents agreed that they neither look for jobs, make savings nor invest some of their money into anything with short-term returns. This seemingly confirms, not only the level of dependency by rural recipients but, the root cause of chronic rural poverty and the rural-urban dichotomous effects of grants on poverty alleviation.

Scholarship synthesis had linked social grants with concomitant negative and positive effects. With the former effects popular among economists and social security antagonists, most effects deduced from the empirical survey addressed the concerns. The propensity or incompetence of social grants to nurse a dependency syndrome, discourage job search, displace private savings, elevate fertility rates, competently, subjectively and objectively empower the indigent has already been engaged in this chapter. Figure 4.21 illustrates overall views about whether social grants have a positive effect on positive alleviation in general.

Up to 74 percent of Ga-Maja recipients either strongly (36) agree or agree (38) that social grants have positive effects on poverty alleviation. With up to 92 percent of Ga-Maja Villagers in the sample indicating social grants as the main and only source of income, it is not surprising that the majority spoke of social grants in high regards. The researcher noted that the 18 percent (9 households) that disagreed with social grants having positive effects on poverty alleviation in Seshego Township had an average of 5 members in each household sharing 1.2 grants. Moreover, all 14 urban households (28 percent) which either strongly agreed or agreed that social grants have significantly positive effects on poverty alleviation had either more than one grant (pooled), less than 3 household members or recipients of the State Old Age Grant (which is triple the amount of the Child Support Grant).

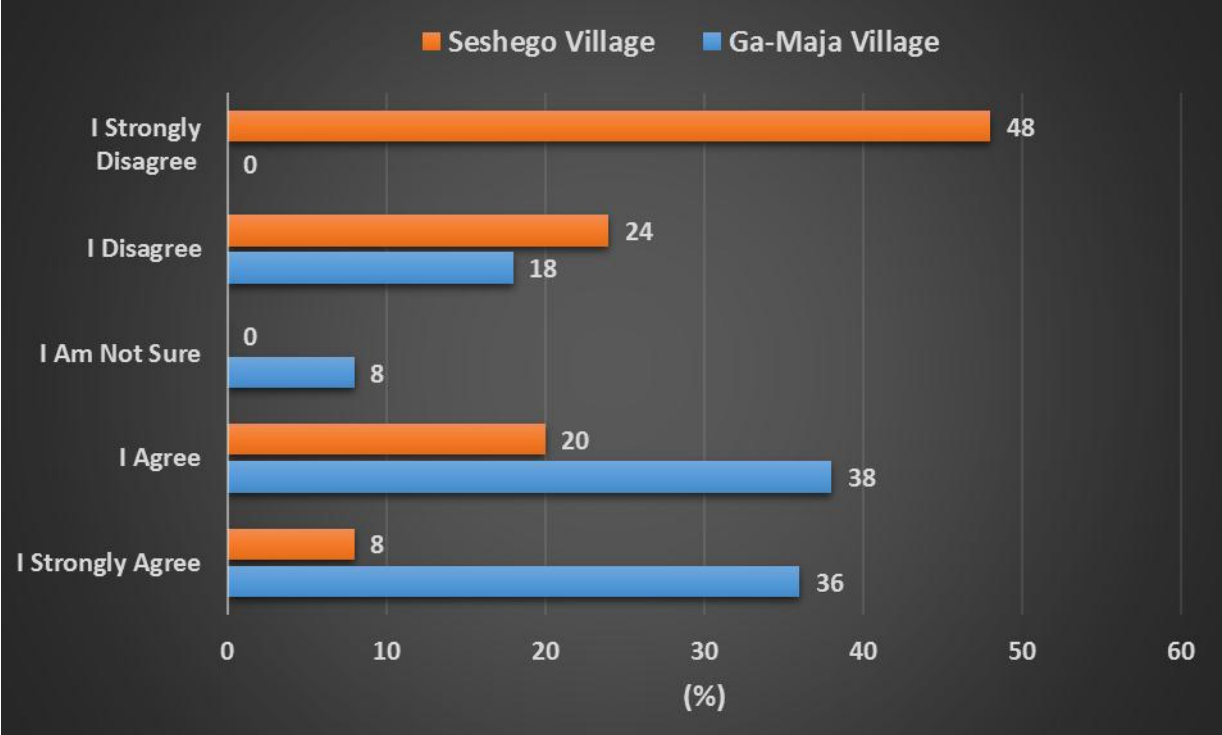


Figure 4.21. Effects of Social Grants on Poverty Alleviation

In another twist to it, elderly persons in both rural and urban areas seem to regard income as lesser of a priority on their rungs of needs. This could be explained by the fact that over 70 percent of those who had indicated that grants are of lesser priority have alternative sources of income (see Figure.11 and Figure 4.7), had indicated that income is not the main determinant of their household welfare and were parents to unmarried children. Their responses were also matched by the general ranking of Love and Belonging on the hierarchy unconventionally surpassing other needs. Notwithstanding these scattered dynamics, a bigger fraction of the data painted a picture that there tends to be a positive correlation between levels of dissatisfaction with the grant performance towards poverty alleviation and sizes of households and value of grants.

Views on the prowess of social grants as a strategy for poverty alleviation seem to take an opposite projection among urban respondents. Close to half (48 percent) of the Seshego sample strongly disagreed that social grants have positive effects on the amelioration of indigence whilst up to 24 percent disagreed as well. Regardless of better

access to services in the Category 2 of living standards (piped water inside dwellings, flush toilets connected to sewage system or ventilated pit latrines, refuse removal) than their rural cohorts and relatively more inflow of non-grant income, urban households still express robust dissatisfaction with the effects of grants on poverty alleviation. With urban areas characterized by neighbourhoods of mixed-income households and heterogenic socio-economic statuses, the inferiority of grant-eligible households can still be observed. Perhaps, what informs the dissatisfaction is not the lesser effectiveness of grants in enhancing living standards in urban areas than in rural areas but inevitably direct comparison of socio-economic status quos with well spread non-poor and otherwise well-off households in Seshego Township - relative poverty.

4.8. CONCLUSION

The results of the study do not fall far from the discourses in literature, neither do they respond to all entanglements documented. Characteristic and contextual variances recorded between Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township tend to trivialise the increased blurring rural-urban dichotomy recorded mostly in developed countries. Similarly, the roles played by social grants are not only divergent between Ga-Maja and Seshego households but various types and roles of grants owe their origins to different contextual forces and find explanation in a combination of different socio-economic, behavioural and cultural factors within individual households. Empirically, the effects of social grants in Ga-Maja and Seshego grantees are largely as dichotomous as recorded in some literature, however, these effects show significant dissimilarities at different levels of analysis, including individual, household, location and cash values of various grants. Triangulation of primary and secondary data in the preceding conceptual and empirical analyses of the rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants on poverty alleviation prompts this study to present findings, recommendations and a conclusion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION ON THE RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY AND SOCIAL GRANTS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The purview of the previous chapter was to present and analyse empirical data solicited from Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township in a bid to interpret it and make connections towards responding to the research questions of this study. In this last, and yet not least, chapter of the study, research findings will be presented with direct allusion to the research aim and objectives in Chapter One, the compilation of both theoretical and pragmatic discourses will facilitate the development of a general conclusion from the preliminary thesis statement of the study and informed recommendations will be suggested as a way of highlighting and reinforcing the significance of this study in both the academic and cooperate fraternities. As a point of departure, the researcher found it imperative to re-outline research objectives upon which the three aforementioned elements (Research Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations) of the chapter will be hinged.

The aim of the study was to investigate the rural-urban dichotomy effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation. Objectives formulated from the aim were as follows:

- ❖ To expose the characteristics and contexts of the rural-urban dichotomy;
- ❖ To establish the roles of the social grant strategy in rural and urban areas;
- ❖ To investigate the dimensions and dynamics of poverty in rural and urban areas;
- ❖ To evaluate the rural-urban dichotomy effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation; and
- ❖ To recommend measures which can enhance and synchronize rural-urban effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation.

Next up, research findings which offshoot from these set objectives will be presented.

5.2. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Findings of this study are based on primary and secondary data solicited from a rural (Ga-Maja Village) and urban (Seshego Township) context as well as literature on international, national as well as local discourses and databases. Whilst the study aimed at and adhered to research ethics and thrived to ensure validity and reliability in the collection and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data, the research findings of this study are deemed logical and acceptable but are not meant to represent the national scope of social grants and poverty alleviation in rural and urban areas. Research findings will be presented next as theoretical, empirical and synthesised accounts of the set research objectives.

Theoretically, the study sprung from the discourse around whether the rural-urban dichotomy is a gradually fading and blurring phenomenon or whether it is a reality of permanently fixed and inherently contrasting characteristics and contexts. The thesis statement of the study was anchored on the latter argument. The scholarship synthesis then highlighted a number of positive and negative roles and effects of various cash transfers delivered to impoverished and vulnerable people in welfare states. As commonly delineated in state welfarism, the following domains were found:

- Despite arguments about modern rural areas across the globe experiencing factors traditionally associated with the urban environment and the ensuing increased blurring of urban-rural distinctions, a multidimensional characterization of settlement type based on style and density of housing, predominant commercial and agricultural activities, behaviour and access to services in South Africa still vividly demonstrates the rural-urban dichotomy.
- As their ideal common role is designed, grants support consumption and improve the welfare of recipients and their broader households both in rural and urban

areas. However, measuring welfare is obscured by the contextual dichotomies recorded in rural and urban South Africa and beyond. Apart from the hugely generalised and cross-sectional reports by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), literature offers meagre data on disaggregated indicators of welfare and consumption such as access to social services (health, education). The paucity of such data in rural areas is compounded by poor infrastructural development and administrative overlaps between traditional leaders and local government whilst rampant rural-urban migrations exacerbates the plight in urban areas.

- The generation of potential economic benefits, such as improving recipients' ability to manage risk and insecurity, facilitating savings and investments and supporting the development of local markets is documented, equally abstract and unsynchronised between rural and urban areas. Social grants indeed provide an important material basis for recipients and their households to engage in livelihood-supporting activities such as vending and *stokvels* as explorations of options of making a living in capitalistic urban areas. With frequent climate change-driven droughts virtually eliminating agrarian livelihoods in rural households, social grants also provision for the flexibility to mitigate shocks such as unemployment, water and food insecurity.
- Abstractly, reports pin point low graduation of grantees from the SASSA pay roll, a swelling grantee population (especially due to the Child Support Grant) and calls for increase in the monetary value and scope of social grants as the springboard from which the #FeesMustFall Campaign acquired its impetus.
- At an aggregate macro-social level, cash transfers have an important political effect in high-inequality and post-repression contexts such as South Africa. The fact that they are an effective redistributive mechanism which moderates social unrest was also documented in most welfare states. Together with other social security programmes like housing (RDPs), there is widespread empirical evidence which demonstrates consensus that social grants have symbolically

served as an important part of the renewed social compact between citizens and the post-apartheid government.

- The empowerment of recipients in a social context allows people to enter into existing systems of social reciprocity on which the impoverished and vulnerable often depend for their survival, especially in rural areas. The aptitude of strengthening existing, deeply rooted informal social protection systems and social networks has been associated with rural areas where societies reap more from the prism of socio-economic homogeneity and communitarianism.
- Weighing in the three levels of empowerment, thus – competence, subjective and objective, there is more evidence of social grants enhancing objective empowerment in urban than in rural areas. Low educational levels among rural grant-recipients, *inter alia*, reduce their propensity to transform social security into their own competence and human development. Whilst the rural-urban migration of poverty and surging structural and chronic unemployment among urbanites blur orthodox poverty profiles dichotomies, the empowerment prowess of social grants still manifests in islands of investments and entrepreneurial ventures.
- Practically, grants empower otherwise marginalised rural-urban household members such as the elderly and disabled, enabling them to participate in systems of social reciprocity in that their control of the resources of the grant inserts them more firmly into systems of mutual assistance and reciprocity, than they might otherwise have. Grants, however, construct more communitarianism in rural contexts where social capital is embedded in shared culture, facilities and resources (Communal taps, rivers, grazing pastures and grant pay points).

With literature documenting a catalogue of a range of negative effects potentially attendant to social grants including social grants precipitation of dependency, displacing private savings and elevating fertility rates, pragmatically there was scant evidence to

substantially back that up. Beyond confirming the rural-urban dichotomy within the Polokwane Local Municipality, empirically examining the alleged creation of opportunities for patronage and corruption, distorting markets and creating a range of perverse incentives such as disrupting remittances, disincentivising work, in Ga-Maja Village and Seshego Township produced scant evidence. With jaundice optimally suppressed, the study found that on the ground:

- Social grants empower, especially urban recipients to leverage and multiply their resources (including their time, energy and innovation in the task of maintaining a livelihood) than their rural cohorts. Social grants therefore contribute to and strengthen existing systems of livelihood and productive activity. Grants provide an important material basis for recipients and their households to engage in livelihood-supporting activities. They also introduce the flexibility to capture opportunities as well as mitigate shocks. The cash value of social grants allows recipients to explore options and even find other ways of making a living. However, the study finds that savings and investments are almost non-existent because younger recipients only have access to the CSG which is meagre whilst bigger grants are accessible to lesser energetic recipients who are not as entrepreneurial as the former
- Social grants allow, especially rural people to enter into existing systems of social reciprocity on which the impoverished and vulnerable often depend for their survival. Grants therefore create and strengthen existing, deeply rooted informal social protection systems and social networks.
- Urban women are more involved in self-employment activities and informal employment, than their rural counterparts and urban men. Logically, the slight superiority of women in demography cannot entirely explain their dominant leading role in remunerative work within the households in question but the ratios of female-headed households, the engagement of urban men in formal and informal employment and investments in vending livelihoods could justify the dominance of women in these remunerative livelihoods. Whilst literature had generally associated gendered roles within households with rural patriarchal

societies, the notion of tertiary qualifications being attained by only men in both study areas in the survey seemingly counters perception.

- Balanced decision making gender ratios in rural areas could be due to the migration trends which see men migrating to urban cores leaving female headed households with women getting the autonomy to decide on the usage of income including grants and remittances, rather than fading patriarchal societies. Similarly, dominant decision making for urban women could not be entirely due to their inherent suburban independency but the dominance of female-headed households.
- The assertion that social grants should be avoided as far as possible unless if people are at the precipice of death did not hold ground since the empirical survey found that grants are largely well-targeted and are received by the deserving poor.
- The SOAG seems to be more distributable among the whole household, could because it is relatively more or the decency compromised by acknowledging usage of the CSG, FCG and DCG beyond the recipients' needs.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

- The empirical study affirms documented positive developmental effects of social grants and concurs with the theoretical assertion that social grants are economically and socially empowering. This strengthens the already considerable case for sustaining them, and also lends impetus to the need to consider expanding the social grants programme through scaling-up benefits and/or expanding eligibility, especially in rural areas without turning a blind eye on urban poverty.
- The study also identified cases of the fungibility of grants both in rural and urban areas, however, that could be interpreted as the flexibility of the cash value and unconditional nature of social grants which needs to be recognised. This is an

advantage of the current system. It enables recipients and their households to use grants in highly flexible ways, and allows them to respond to their often-changing circumstances.

- The research also identified the need to continue to strive to make social grants accessible. In the past, the effectiveness of social grants has been underpinned by administrative inefficiencies and unsanctioned eligibility practices. Although many of these negatives have been addressed and contained in post-apartheid South Africa, an on-going challenge remains to make social grants accessible to eligible applicants, especially in rural areas and informal settlements where Community Development Workers' dormancy does not do any favours for the largely illiterate, uninformed and yet eligible grant target population.

8. CONCLUSION

The study has provided a conceptual and pragmatic investigation into the rural-urban dichotomy effects of social grants as a strategy for poverty alleviation. Backed by critical engagement of scholarship syntheses on the discourse at hand from international, national and local lenses, empirical evidence was solicited from the Polokwane Local Municipality. Chiefly, paucity of universally agreed upon conceptualization of rurality and urbanity in literature epitomize the challenge of this comparative study. However, despite arguments about modern 'rural' areas across the globe experiencing factors traditionally associated with the urban environment and the ensuing increased blurring of urban-rural distinctions, a multidimensional characterization of settlement type based on style and density of housing, predominant commercial and agricultural activities, behaviour and access to services in South Africa still vividly demonstrates the rural-urban dichotomy. Establishing the roles of social grants met similarly superficial and largely aggregated data rather than contextually dissected rural-urban indicators of grant-driven human and community development. As an extension to the rural-urban dichotomy discourse, an investigation into various dimensions and dynamics of poverty proved that whilst the incidence, depth and severity of poverty has gradually become

identical between rural and urban areas, there remains sets of plights which are unique to each of the two geographical contexts. With a few recommendations, the contribution concludes by ostensibly affirming the thesis statement of the study which posits that not only are the effects of social grants dichotomous between rural and urban grantees but the effects empirically show dissimilarities at different levels of analysis, including individual, household, location and cash values of various grants. With a spectre of confounding variables at work simultaneously with social grants in households and society, research work aimed at moderating the conundrum around explicitly pinpointing correlational and causal relationships between social grants and poverty alleviation remains imperative.

List of References

Alem, Y. (2015). Poverty persistence and intra-household heterogeneity in occupations: evidence from urban Ethiopia. *Oxford Development Studies*, 43(1): 20-43.

Alkire, S., Roche, J. M., & Seth, S. (2013). Identifying the “Bottom Billion”: Beyond National Averages. *OPHI Policy Briefing*, 14.

Amis, P. (1995). Making sense of urban poverty. *Environment and Urbanization*, 7(1): 145-158.

Armstrong, P., Lekweza, B. & Siebritz, K. (2008). Poverty in South Africa: A profile based on Household survey. University of Stellenbosch: BER

Arne, B. & Abebe, S. (2014). The persistence of urban poverty in Ethiopia: a tale of two measurements. *Applied Economics Letters*, 18: 835–839.

Arts, W. & Gelissen, J. (2002). Three worlds of welfare capitalism or more? A state-of-the-art report. *Journal of European social policy*, 12(2), 137-158.

Barrientos, A. (2013). *Social Assistance in Developing Countries*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Baulch, B. & Hoddinott, J. (2000). Economic mobility and poverty dynamics in developing countries. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 36(6), 1-24.

Bhorat, H. Van der Westhuizen, C. & Jacobs, T. (2009). Income and non-income inequality in post-apartheid South Africa: What are the drivers and possible policy interventions? *Development Policy Research Unit, Working Paper 09/138*.

Bhorat, H., Oosthuizen, M. & van der Westhuizen, C. (2012). Estimating a poverty line: an application to free basic municipal services in South Africa. *Development Policy Research Unit, Working Paper 12/142*.

Bhorat, H. & van der Westhuizen, C. (2013). Non-monetary dimensions of well-being in South Africa, 1993–2004: a post-apartheid dividend? *Development Southern Africa*, 30(3): 295-314.

Bigsten, A. & Shimeles, A. (2011). The persistence of urban poverty in Ethiopia: a tale of two measurements. *Applied Economics Letters*, 18: 835–839.

Booyesen, F. (2004). Social grants as safety net for HIV/AIDS-affected households in South Africa. *Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS Research Alliance*, 1(1): 45-56.

Budlender, D., Rosa, S. & Hall, K. (2005). *At All Costs? Applying the Means Test for the Child Support Grant*. Cape Town: Children's Institute & Centre for Actuarial Research, UCT.

Carter, M.R. & Barrett, C.B. (2006). The economics of poverty traps and persistent poverty: an Asset-Based Approach. *Journal of Development Studies*, 42(2): 178–199.

Caughy, M. O., O'Campo, P. J. & Patterson, J. (2001). A brief observational measure for urban neighborhoods. *Health & place*, 7(3), 225-236.

Case, A., Hosegood, V. & Lund, F. (2003). The reach and impact of Child Support Grant: evidence from KwaZulu Natal. *Development Southern Africa*, 22(4): 267-482.

Casey, A. & Deaton, A. (2008). Large cash transfers to the elderly in South Africa. *Economic Journal*, 108(450): 1330-1361.

Champion, T. & Hugo, G. (2004). *New Forms of Urbanization: Beyond the Urban-Rural Dichotomy*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Cheng, Z. (2015). Layoffs and urban poverty in the state-owned enterprise communities in Shaanxi Province, China. *Social Indicators Research*, 116(1): 199-233.

Chowdhury, T.A. & Mukhopadhyaya, P. (2012). Assessment of multidimensional poverty and effectiveness of microfinance-driven government and NGO projects in the rural Bangladesh. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 41: 500– 512.

Devereux, S. (2015). Social protection for enhanced food security in sub-Saharan Africa. *Food Policy*, 49(1), 67-86.

Devereux, S. & Sabates-Wheeler, R. (2015). Graduating from Social Protection? Editorial Introduction. *IDS Bulletin*, 46(2), 1-12.

Devereux, S. & Solórzano, A. (2016). Broadening Social Protection Thinking. *IDS Bulletin*, 47(2), 130-148.

Dey, I. (2003). *Qualitative data analysis: A user friendly guide for social scientists*. London: Routledge.

Du Toit, A. & Neves, D. (2009). In search of South Africa's second economy. *Africanus*, 37(2): 145-174.

Ellis, F., & Freeman, H.A. (2005). Comparative evidence from four African countries. *Rural livelihoods and poverty reduction policies*, 31-47.

Ellis, F. & Freeman, H.A. (2009). Rural livelihoods and poverty reduction strategies in four African countries. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 40: 1-30.

Esping-Andersen, G. (2013). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

Farrington, J. & Slater, R. (2006). Introduction: cash transfers: Panacea for poverty reduction or money down the drain? *Development Policy Review*, 24(5): 499-511.

Ghana. Statistical Service, Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research, & ORC Macro. MEASURE/DHS+ (Programme). (2004). *Ghana demographic and health survey, 2003*. Ghana Statistical Service.

Graefe, P. & Levesque, M. (2015). Accountability and funding as impediments to social policy innovation: Lessons from the Labour Market Agreements for Persons with Disabilities. *Canadian Public Policy*. 5: 235-260.

Hall, K. & Proudlock, P. (2011). Orphaning and the Foster Child Grant: A Return to the "Care or Cash" Debate. Children Count brief, July 2011. Cape Town: Children's Institute, UCT.

Harvey, P. (2008). Poverty reduction strategies: opportunities and threats for sustainable rural water services in sub-Saharan Africa. *Progress in Development Studies*, 8(1): 115–128.

Kingdon, G.G. & Knight, J. (2000). Unemployment in South Africa; the nature of the beast. *World Development*, 32(3): 391-408.

Lund, L. (2008). Changing social policy: The Child Support Grant in South Africa. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press.

Maile, S. (2013). "Getting Out Of the Poverty Trap in South Africa." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 2(11): 40-53.

Makiwane, M., & Udjo, E. (2015). Is the child support grant associated with an increase in teenage fertility in South Africa?: evidence from national surveys and administrative data.

Matz, C. J., Stieb, D. M. & Brion, O. (2015). Urban-rural differences in daily time-activity patterns, occupational activity and housing characteristics. *Environmental Health*, 14(1), 1-11.

Meyer, B. D. & Sullivan, J. X. (2013). Consumption and income inequality and the great recession. *The American Economic Review*, 103(3), 178-183.

McDade, T.W. & Adair L.S. (2001). Defining the "urban" in urbanization and health: a factor analysis approach. *Soc Sci Med*. 53(1):55–70.

Mitra, S. (2009). Disability screening and labor supply: Evidence from South Africa. *Am Econ Rev: Papers & Proceedings*. 99(2): 512–6.

Mitra, S. (2009). *Urban Poverty Report for the Indian Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Narsey, W.L. (2012). Poverty analysis in Vanuatu: a critical review and alternative formulation. *South Pacific Studies*, 33: 1.

National Planning Commission. (2013). *National Development Plan Vision 2030*.

Nene, N. (2015). Budget speech. Republic of South Africa. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Oduro, R. (2015). Beyond poverty reduction: Conditional cash transfers and citizenship in Ghana. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 24: 27–36.

Pan, C. & Yang, B. (2011). Solutions to urban poverty from the perspective of the inclusive growth. *Modern Management*, 1: 287-293.

Pauw, K. & Mncube, L. (2015). *Expanding the social security nets in South Africa. Opportunities, Challenges and Constraints*. International Poverty Centre. Brasillia: United Nations Development Programme.

Polokwane Municipality (2006). *Water Services Development Plan*. Retrieved April 16, 2016.

Polokwane Municipality (2011). *Socio-Economic Impact Assessment Study of the Integrated Development Planning in the Capricorn District Municipality*. Retrieved, May 25, 2016.

Reddy, T. & Sokomani, A. (2008). Corruption and social grants in South Africa. *Institute for Security Studies Monographs*, 154: 94.

Republic of South Africa. (1996). Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. *Government Gazette*, 378.

Republic of South Africa. Department of Social Development. (2012). *The South African Child Support Grant Impact Assessment: Evidence from a survey of children, adolescents and their households*. Department of Social Development.

Sabina, A. (2011). "Multidimensional Poverty and its Discontents," OPHI Working Papers ophiwp046. University of Oxford: Queen Elizabeth House.

Sagner, A. (2002). Ageing and social policy in South Africa: historical perspective with particular reference to the Eastern Cape. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26(3): 523-553.

Sabelhaus, J., Johnson, D., Ash, S., Swanson, D., Garner, T., Greenlees, J. & Henderson, S. (2013). *Is the Consumer Expenditure Survey representative by income?* (No. w19589). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Santos, M. E. (2013). Measuring multidimensional poverty in Latin America: previous experience and the way forward. OPHI working paper 66.

Schonfeldt, H. (2015). <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-10-01-malnutrition-rises-despite-social-grants>, (Accessed 19 October 2015).

Sen, A. (2001). *Development as freedom*. Oxford Paperbacks.

South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) (2014). *Annual Report, 2013/14*, Pretoria: Government Printers.

South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) (2015). *Annual Report 2014/15*, Pretoria: Government Printers.

South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) (2015). *Annual Performance Plan 2015/16*, Pretoria: Government Printers.

South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) (2016). *Annual Performance Plan 2016/17*, Pretoria: Government Printers.

Statistics South Africa (2011). *Quarterly Labour Force Survey: Quarter 3, 2011*. Statistical release P0211. Pretoria: StatsSA.

Statistics South Africa (2012). *General Household Survey Metadata*. Pretoria: StatsSA.

Statistics South Africa (2013). Quarterly Labour Force Survey <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publication/find_publication.asp>. (Accessed 28 April 2015).

Statistics South Africa (2014). *General Household Survey Metadata*. Pretoria: StatsSA.

Statistics South Africa (2014). Poverty trends in South Africa: an examination of absolute poverty between 2006 and 2013. <http://www.statssa.gov.za>. (Accessed 20 April 2015).

Statistics South Africa (2015). *Quarterly Labour Force Survey: Quarter 3, 2015*. Statistical release P0215. Pretoria: StatsSA.

Surendera, R., Noble, M., Wright, G. & Ntshongwana, P. (2010). Social assistance and dependency in South Africa: an analysis of attitudes to paid work and social grants. *Journal of Social Policy*, 39(2): 203-221.

Tacoli, C. (2012). *Urbanization, gender and urban poverty: paid work and unpaid carework in the city* (p. 48). Human Settlements Group, International Institute for Environment and Development.

Tatem, A.J. & Hay, S.I. (2004). Measuring urbanization pattern and extent for malaria research: a review of remote sensing approaches. *Urban Health*, 81:363-76.

Todaro, M.P. (2012). "Migration, unemployment and development: a two-sector analysis." *American Economic Review*, 60(1): 126–142.

Triegaardt, J. D. (2003). The Child Support Grant in South Africa: a social policy for poverty alleviation? *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 14: 249–255.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2015). The Millenium Development Goals Review. New York. Retrieved from <http://www.undp.org>

Van Der Burg, S. (1997). South African Social Security System under apartheid and beyond. *Development Southern African*, 14(4): 481-503.

Vlahov, D. & Galea, S. (2002). Urbanization, urbanicity, and health. *J. Urban Health* 79 (4 Suppl. 1), S1eS12.

World Bank Group (Ed.). (2012). *World Development Indicators 2012*. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.

World Bank, (2014). *Toward Efficient, Inclusive and Sustainable Urbanization*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

Weich, S., Burton, E., Blanchard, M., Prince, M., Sproston, K. & Erens, B. (2001). Measuring the built environment: validity of a site survey instrument for use in urban settings. *Health Place*, 7(4): 283–92.

Semi-Structured Questionnaire



This questionnaire is designed to survey individuals for a research project on, “The Rural-Urban Dichotomy Effects of Social Grants as a Strategy for Poverty Alleviation in Polokwane Local Municipality” The research project is registered with the Department of Development Planning and Management, University of Limpopo, Turfloop Campus. Please assist by providing information required in this questionnaire.

Please bear in mind that:

1. No information will be used against you.
2. Anonymity of the respondents is guaranteed.
3. You do not need to write your name on this questionnaire.
4. The questionnaire is designed to collect information on the opinions of the people.

.....
Signed: Mutyeniyoka, E.M.

Section A: Demographic Profile of a Household

1. Please indicate the age ranges of members of your household, their genders as well as whether they receive social grant(s) or not.

| Age Range (years) | Male | | Female | | Total |
|----------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|---------------|-------|
| | Receiving | Not receiving | Receiving | Not receiving | |
| 0 – 18 | | | | | |
| 19 – 34 | | | | | |
| 35 – 59 | | | | | |
| 60 - 64 | | | | | |
| 65 and Over | | | | | |
| Total | | | | | |

2. Which one of the following categories best describes the educational level reached by the respective members of your household?

| Educational Level | Male | | Female | | Total |
|----------------------|--------------|---------|--------------|---------|-------|
| | 18 and below | Over 18 | 18 and below | Over 18 | |
| Primary | | | | | |
| Secondary | | | | | |
| Tertiary | | | | | |
| No Education | | | | | |
| Total | | | | | |

3. Please indicate the employment status of members of your household who are between 16 and 65 years of age.

| Employment status | Number of household members |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Formally employed | |
| Informally employed | |
| Self-employed | |
| Unemployed | |
| Student | |

Section B: Characteristics and contexts of the rural-urban dichotomy

1. What are your sources of household income?

| Sources of income | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Formal employment | |
| Informal employment | |
| Self-employment | |
| Social grants | |
| Remittances | |
| Agricultural activities/returns | |

2. Indicate if there are any other livelihoods upon which your household relies for income

.....

.....

.....

3. How often does your household acquire loans from money lenders?

| | |
|------------|--|
| Always | |
| Most times | |
| Sometimes | |
| Seldom | |
| Never | |

4. What does your household pay to the community/local authorities?

If you pay, how much do you pay?.....

5. Do you incur any transport costs in order to access the grant(s)?

| | | | |
|-----|--|----|--|
| Yes | | No | |
|-----|--|----|--|

If yes, how much do you spend?

6. Do you incur any costs in order to access service centres or shops?

| | | | |
|-----|--|----|--|
| Yes | | No | |
|-----|--|----|--|

If yes, how much do you spend?

7. Who is the main decision maker on the utilization of the grant in your household?

| | |
|--|--|
| The registered recipient of the grant | |
| The parents/guardian of the recipient of the grant | |
| The eldest in the household | |
| Every member of the household | |

8. What is the gender of the main decision maker(s) on the utilization of the grant?

| | | | |
|------|--|--------|--|
| Male | | Female | |
|------|--|--------|--|

9. *Indicate as to whether you agree or disagree to the following statement: Male and female members of your household benefit equally from the grant.*

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am neutral | |
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

Please explain the response above

.....

.....

.....

10. How fair is the grant(s) is distributed within the household?

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Very fair | |
| Fair | |
| Neutral | |
| Unfair | |
| Very unfair | |

11. How satisfied are you with the utilization of the grant within your household?

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Very satisfied | |
| Satisfied | |
| Neutral | |
| Unsatisfied | |
| Very unsatisfied | |

Please explain the response above

.....

12. Do you share benefits off the grant(s) with your neighbours and/or non-resident relatives?

| | |
|------------|--|
| Always | |
| Most times | |
| Sometimes | |
| Seldom | |
| Never | |

Section C: Roles of Social Grants

1. How many of the following grants are being accessed by your members of your household?

| Grant type | Number of grants |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Child Support Grant | |
| Foster Care Grant | |
| Dependency Care Grant | |
| State Old Age Grant | |
| Disability Grant | |
| Total | |

2. Is the grant(s) the main source of income in your household?

| | | | |
|-----|--|----|--|
| Yes | | No | |
|-----|--|----|--|

3. The grant is used for the welfare of the registered beneficiary(ies) only.

| | |
|------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

4. Where 1 represents the largest and 11 the smallest share of expenditure, rank the usage of the grant income on these and other goods and services in your household.

| Expenses | | Rank |
|---------------------------|--|------|
| Food | | |
| Education | | |
| Rent and/or rates | | |
| Energy | | |
| Health | | |
| Clothing | | |
| Leisure and Entertainment | | |
| Savings/Investments | | |
| Water | | |
| Other(s) | | |
| | | |

5. *Indicate as to whether you agree or disagree to the following statement: The grant recipient(s) is a big asset to your household.*

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

Please explain the response above

.....

.....

.....

6. *Indicate as to whether you agree or disagree to the following statement: Social Grants improve in the following aspects of your household's welfare:*

| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|--------------------|----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------------------|
| a) Health | | | | | |
| b) Food | | | | | |
| c) Education | | | | | |
| d) Social Networks | | | | | |
| e) Savings | | | | | |
| f) Investments | | | | | |
| g) Safety/Security | | | | | |
| h) Equality | | | | | |
| i) Empowerment | | | | | |
| j) Respect | | | | | |

Section D: Dimensions and Dynamics of Poverty in Rural and Urban Areas

1. What is your average monthly non-grant income?

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| No income | |
| R1 to less than R300 | |
| Between R301 and R600 | |
| Between R601 and R900 | |
| Between R901 and R1 200 | |
| Over R1 200 | |

2. How has your household non-grant income changed in the past 2 years?

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Very much | |
| Much | |
| Did not change | |
| Little | |
| Very Little | |

3. Income is the main determinant of your household's welfare.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

Please explain the response given above

.....

.....

.....

4. Compared to other free welfare material and services accessed, social grants are the most valued in your household.

| | |
|------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |
| I disagree | |

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly disagree | |
|---------------------|--|

Please explain the response given above

.....

.....

.....

5. Where 1 represents the most important and 5 the least important on the list, rank the following dimensions of needs in terms of how your household prioritises them.

| Types of Needs | Rank |
|--|-------------|
| Physiological needs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food, Shelter, Clothing | |
| Safety needs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal and financial security, Health and Well-being, Safety net against accidents/illness | |
| Love and belonging <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friendship, Intimacy, Family | |
| Esteem <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competence, Mastery, Self-confidence Independence | |
| Self-actualization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Morality, Creativity, Acceptance | |

Section E: Rural-Urban Dichotomy Effects of the Social Grant Strategy on Poverty Alleviation

1. How do you spend most of your grant income? Indicate in terms of how you frequently spend on the following:

| Costs | Always | Most times | Sometimes | Seldom | Never |
|--------------------|--------|------------|-----------|--------|-------|
| Education | | | | | |
| Food | | | | | |
| Clothing | | | | | |
| Health | | | | | |
| Rent | | | | | |
| Rates | | | | | |
| Investment/Savings | | | | | |
| Energy | | | | | |
| Water | | | | | |
| Other..... | | | | | |

On the following questions, please indicate on how much you agree or disagree to the statements about your household.

2. The child grant makes your household wish there was another eligible recipient?

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

Please explain your response above:

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

3. The guarantee of receiving a grant(s) influences life-changing decisions in your household.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

Please explain your response above:

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

4. The guarantee of receiving a social grant monthly reduces the need to make savings.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

Please explain your response above:

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

5. Your household does not worry about unemployment because you receive a social grant(s).

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

Please explain your response above:

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

6. Social grants help in creating or strengthening social networks with your neighbours and/or relatives?

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

Please explain your response above:

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

7. The grant money is enough for the needs of the recipient.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

Please explain your response above:

.....
.....

8. Social grants have a positive effect on poverty alleviation.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| I strongly agree | |
| I agree | |
| I am not sure | |
| I disagree | |
| I strongly disagree | |

Please explain your response above:

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

9. Your household will de-register the grant(s) beneficiary(ries) when/if its socio-economic status improves sufficiently.

| | | | | | |
|-----|--|-------|--|----|--|
| Yes | | Maybe | | No | |
|-----|--|-------|--|----|--|

SECTION F: Recommendations

1. In your perspective, what are the problems or complains you have with the social grant strategy, if there are any?

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

2. Are there any special conditions or situations which you think affect particularly your rural/urban household more than you think they do on rural/urban households?

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

3. What do you think needs to be improved in order for social grants to have better effects on rural/urban households?

.....
.....

Thank you

Interview Schedule



This interview schedule is designed to survey individuals for a research project on, “The Rural-Urban Dichotomy Effects of Social Grants as a Strategy for Poverty Alleviation in Polokwane Local Municipality” The research project is registered with the Department of Development Planning and Management, University of Limpopo, Turfloop Campus. Please assist by providing information required in this questionnaire.

Please bear in mind that:

5. No information will be used against you.
6. Anonymity of the respondents is guaranteed.
7. You do not need to write your name on this questionnaire.
8. The questionnaire is designed to collect information on the opinions of the people.

.....

Signed: Mutyenyo, E.M.

1. Do all recipients consistently collect their grants on a month to month basis?
2. Which social grant(s) is mostly collected on collection points?

3. Are the figures of grant recipients collecting from collection points decreasing or increasing over the last few years, five (5) perhaps?
4. How many recipients have graduated from the receipt of grants during the same period of time? (Mainly before their age eligibility expires)
5. Do rural and urban recipients walk/travel the same distance to and from collection points? How close are the collection points to recipients?
6. Does the government (through the agency) recognize the need to differentiate values of payouts for the same grant category between rural and urban recipients?
7. In your view, what are the main challenges facing the grant recipients in rural and urban areas?
8. According to your experience (based on your quantitative and/or qualitative data), are there any notable differences between characteristics of rural and urban recipients of grants?
9. Do you think social grants alleviate poverty? If yes, do they alleviate equally between rural and urban areas?
10. Do you think social grants have the same effects in rural and urban contexts?

Thank You

Ethics Clearance Letter



University of Limpopo
Department of Research Administration and Development
Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa
Tel: (015) 268 2212, Fax: (015) 268 2306, Email:noko.monene@ul.ac.za

05 February 2016

Mr EM Mutyenoka
Department of Development Planning and Management
UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO

Dear Mr Mutyenoka

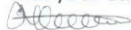
APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

Researcher: **Mr EM Mutyenoka**
Title: **The rural-urban dichotomy effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation in Polokwane Local Municipality**
Supervisor: **Prof JP Tsheola - University of Limpopo**
Co-supervisor: **Dr AA Asha - University of Limpopo**
Served at TREC on: 27 January 2016
Decision of TREC: **Conditional Approval**

Conditions:

- (i) The researcher should expand on ethical considerations e.g. informed consent, right to privacy, voluntary participation, etc. and own it.
- (ii) The researcher should indicate how he/she will address potential harm to the participants.

Kindly make the necessary correction and submit the required information as soon as possible so that your ethical clearance certificate can be processed.



N Monene

Secretary: Turfloop Research Ethics Committee

CC: Prof TAB Mashego: Chairperson - Turfloop Research Ethics Committee
Prof JP Tsheola: Faculty of Management and Law
Prof MP Sebola: School of Economics and Management

Finding solutions for Africa

Data Collection Permission Letters



University of Limpopo

Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa

Tel: 015 268-3198, Fax: 015 268-2215, Email: johannes.tsheola@ul.ac.za

TO: Mr Samuel Motseo, Councillor, Ward 13
Polokwane Local Municipality

Cc.: Mr EM Mutyenyoka (201112282), Lecturer & Masters Candidate, University of Limpopo

From: Professor Johannes Tsheola, Executive Dean & Supervisor

Subject: Request for Permission that Mr EM Mutyenyoka Conducts Surveys in Ward 13, Seshego

Approved.
19/01/2016

As Supervisor, I herewith make a sincere request to you to allow Mr Mutyenyoka to conduct fieldwork, questionnaire and interview surveys in Ward 13, Seshego, during January 2016. This request is referenced hereunder:

Mr EM Mutyenyoka (201112282) is a Lecturer in the Department of Development Planning & Management at the University of Limpopo and is currently registered for a Masters Qualification with the same Department and University as follows:

Title: *The rural-urban dichotomy effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation in Polokwane Local Municipality*

Candidate: Mr EM Mutyenyoka (201112282)

Supervisor: Professor Johannes Tsheola

Tsheola
22/12/2015

Mr Mutyenyoka's Masters Research Proposal has been approved by the University of Limpopo's School of Economics & Management as well as the Faculty of Management & Law Higher Degrees Committees (HDCs); and, the Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) requires that he secures a letter of permission for his fieldwork and survey in Ward 13, Seshego Township.

His fieldwork and survey will include observations, photographic information, administration of questionnaires among selected households as well as interviews with Committee Members and

Finding solutions for Africa

Ward Councillor. The purpose of the surveys is to establish effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation in the context of the rural-urban dichotomy. The relevant data collection tool, questionnaire and interview questions, will be made available to the Councillor.

Mr Mutyenyoeka will be assisted by four of his Colleagues and Postgraduate Students: Ms Mmakgoshi Maloa, Ms Rejoyce Ngoepe, Mr Kevin Meso and Mr Andani Madzivhandila.

Mr Mutyenyoeka would be greatly assisted if he could be allowed permission to conduct fieldwork and survey as requested; and, shall observe all relevant research ethics in keeping with the University of Limpopo's standards and requirements. He is thoroughly trained as a researcher and he knows that he has to uphold the values, principles and guidelines applicable to the Seshego Township Community.

Also, all information to be collected will be kept confidential and made available to the Councillor.

I herewith kindly request you to allow Mr Mutyenyoeka and his Assistants the opportunity to conduct the fieldwork, questionnaire and interview surveys as requested.

I look forward to your favourable decision.

Signed:

J. Tsheola 22/12/2015

Professor Johannes Tsheola, Executive Dean
Professor in Development Planning & NRF C3 Rated Researcher
Faculty of Management & Law



University of Limpopo

Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa

Tel: 015 268-3198, Fax: 015 268-2215, Email: johannes.tsheola@ul.ac.za

TO: Mr Langa Solly Nkoana, Councillor
Dihlophaneng Village

Cc.: Mr EM Mutyenyo (201112282), Lecturer & Masters Candidate, University of Limpopo

From: Professor Johannes Tsheola, Executive Dean & Supervisor

Subject: Request for Permission that Mr Mutyenyo Conducts Surveys in Dihlophaneng Village

N. Tsheola
19/02/2016

As Supervisor, I herewith make a sincere request to you to allow Mr Mutyenyo to conduct fieldwork, questionnaire and interview surveys in Dihlophaneng Village, during January 2016. This request is referenced hereunder:

Mr Mutyenyo (201112282) is a Lecturer in the Department of Development Planning & Management at the University of Limpopo and is currently registered for a Masters Qualification with the same Department and University as follows:

Title: *The rural-urban dichotomy effects of the social grant strategy on poverty alleviation in Polokwane Local Municipality*

Candidate: Mr EM Mutyenyo (201112282)

Supervisor: Professor Johannes Tsheola

Tsheola
22/12/2015

Mr Mutyenyo's Masters Research Proposal has been approved by the University of Limpopo's School of Economics & Management as well as the Faculty of Management & Law Higher Degrees Committees (HDCs); and, the Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) requires that he secures a letter of permission for his fieldwork and survey in Dihlophaneng Village.

His fieldwork and survey will include observations, photographic information, administration of questionnaires among households and purposively selected Community Leaders in Dihlophaneng Village. The purpose of the surveys is to establish effects of the social grant

Finding solutions for Africa

strategy on poverty alleviation in the context of the rural-urban dichotomy. The relevant data collection tool, questionnaire and interview questions, will be made available to the Councillor.

Mr Mutyenyoeka will be assisted by four of his Colleagues and Postgraduate Students: Ms Mmakgoshi Maloa, Mr Kevin Meso, Mr Andani Madzivhandila and Ms Rejoyce Ngoepe.

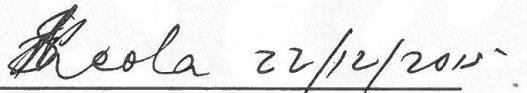
Mr Mutyenyoeka would be greatly assisted if he could be allowed permission to conduct fieldwork and survey as requested; and, shall observe all relevant research ethics in keeping with the University of Limpopo's standards and requirements. He is thoroughly trained as a researcher and he knows that he has to uphold the values, principles and guidelines applicable to Dihlophaneng Community.

Also, all information to be collected will be kept confidential and made available to the Councillor.

I herewith kindly request you to allow Mr Mutyenyoeka and his Assistants the opportunity to conduct the fieldwork, questionnaire and interview surveys as requested.

I look forward to your favourable decision.

Signed:

 22/12/2015

Professor Johannes Tsheola, Executive Dean
Professor in Development Planning & NRF C3 Rated Researcher
Faculty of Management & Law