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From Dormitory to Business Zone? A Case Study of Issue-Based Aid in Orlando East

LIAM MAGEE, JOHN VAN KOOY and DAVID LANSLEY

Abstract: Orlando East is one of the oldest, and remains one of the most economically disadvantaged, areas of greater Soweto. In spite of nearly two decades of ANC rule, local economic development options remain limited. Since 2008 World Vision has implemented a pilot project to promote local economic development in this urban area. It has engaged a range of community, business, government and NGO stakeholders to develop partnerships, facilitate greater financial literacy and advocate on behalf of the most disadvantaged. The project has been something of a departure for how NGOs attempt to tackle systemic economic problems in the region and, if successful, might point towards a more inclusive model for improving the delivery of aid through intentional learning processes.

Here we present findings based primarily on a series of interviews with community members involved in the project. We show several of the challenges facing urban economic development programming in Soweto. Economic options remain limited and heavily dependent upon government support. However, the NGO has been able to build a strong organizational network that provides a range of training, business development and employment-related services. Such networks can provide an important supplement to government authorities, and help build more sustainable economic development options for the target community.

Keywords: Local economic development.

1. Introduction

Local economic growth has received considerable recent attention in the international development literature (Cheng and Degryse 2010, Goetz *et al.* 2011, Mills *et al.* 2012). The shift towards *micro*-methods of fostering growth, through lending, savings, and investment schemes, has emphasized small-scale and community-oriented interventions (Archer 2012, Flory 2011, Shankar and Asher 2011). This shift has been accompanied by new approaches to project evaluation, notably the use of randomized control trials (Banerjee *et al.* 2013, Pitt and Khandker 2012, Romero and Nagarajan 2011, and many others) and systematic reviews (Duvendack *et al.* 2011, Mallett *et al.* 2012, van Rooyen *et al.* 2012), to better assess efficacy of these interventions. While not without their critics, so-called *randomistas* such as Banerjee and

Duflo have made a valuable contribution to identifying the benefits of specific financial and economic programs at a local level. Their work also highlights the context-specificity of economic development, showing that what works with one community group may not be appropriate to another (Banerjee *et al.* 2011). This points to the difficulties of proscribing generalized programs for economic development, and the importance of adaptive planning and flexibility in program design. At the very least, programs need to be carefully tailored to reflect the historical, political and cultural dimensions of the target community.

Randomized control trials work well when a development program is clearly bounded, spatially and temporally, and has well defined and quantifiable variables. Not all development programs and evaluations do, or should, exhibit these features (Barrett and Carter 2010, Deaton 2009). While well-understood economic variables such as income and employment levels are frequently relevant components of developmental theories of change, often the complexity of context means that researchers also need to discover specific variables of interest, as well as strategies and approaches that best allow those variables to be influenced (Bamberger *et al.* 2011, Ledermann 2012). Preemptory discovery or pilot programs can help to build relationships with and between local stakeholders, understand interests and priorities, foster organizational learning for aid agencies (Hovland 2009), and engage communities in forms of collaborative and participatory development and evaluation (Cullen 2009).

This is particularly true, we argue, in *urban* contexts. Cities are social and spatial examples of ‘complex adaptive systems’ (Batty 2012). Their complexity comes from the many functional and structural overlays that operate in relatively small geographic sites with high population densities. The adaptive capacity of cities is strongly driven by the collective memory, learning and responsive abilities of urban populations, and, we suggest, is not necessarily contingent on high level of formal economic development activity. As a large and growing body of urban ethnographic research suggests (Gowan 2009, Jacobs 2012, Karpiak 2010, Katz 2010, Ocejo 2012), cities at all levels of development exhibit highly sophisticated social structures, forms, relations and practices. This poses both opportunities and challenges for economic development programs. Especially in the anonymous and culturally eclectic spaces of cities, savings programs can fail due to lack of trust between co-operative members; training programs can build capacity where there is no demand; and direct financial investment can be appropriated or misused by corrupt officials. On the other hand, cities are natural drivers of economic growth: they attract populations due to training and employment opportunities; they offer ready-made skills, markets and the infrastructure for delivering a diversity of products and services; and they offer reservoirs for housing and dispensing surplus capital (Bettencourt and West 2010, Florida *et al.* 2012, Sassen 2011).

Cities such as Johannesburg epitomize these contradictions. As Turok (2012) notes generally about South African cities,

‘The low-density, fragmented form of South African cities has harmful social, economic and environmental consequences. It creates poverty traps on the periphery and favors road-based transport—private cars and minibus taxis. Cities are the dominant centres of economic activity and jobs, and continue to attract most foreign investment, but they are not performing to their potential or reaping the

benefits of agglomeration because of shortages of energy and water infrastructure, transport congestion and shortfalls in education and skills' (p. 1).

Here we examine a specific example of such an urban *poverty trap*, in the district of Orlando East, Soweto. In spite of several positive developments—the hosting of World Cup football games at the new Orlando stadium in 2010, and the gradual growth of tourism in neighbouring Orlando West—the area suffers from limited employment opportunities. An international NGO, World Vision, has been conducting a pilot urban development program in Orlando East since 2008. The aims of the pilot are to explore, through community partnering, government-oriented advocacy and network building, various options to develop the capacity of residents and workers. A key focus of the pilot was to investigate the kinds of conditions that can variously frustrate or amplify development efforts in urban settings. Towards this end, the authors were invited by World Vision to review the project, extrapolating where possible potential lessons for further city-based programs. In contrast to the sorts of targeted and controlled programmatic approaches described above, this project has not been particularly amenable to controlled experiments—there are no discernible experiments or control groups, nor a specific and measurable hypothesis defined in terms of program impact. Instead we conduct a series of interviews with community members, partner groups and NGO staff, to understand some of the impediments to economic development, and the roles that NGOs can play as partners and facilitators to find ways of addressing them.

In reporting our findings, we make the case that exploratory and discovery-based economic assistance programs have a place in developing country urban environments. Such programs can engage in a range of community-oriented activities, including community consultation, development of forums and youth groups, establishing partner networks, market research, and mobilization of government and corporate investment. We also argue that, for such programs, an open-ended qualitative approach to evaluation can make useful—although possibly interim and not definitive—contributions about ‘what works’ in a given urban context. These can then form the basis for follow-up development research and planning, and inform more directed and relevant evaluations combining action learning and operational research.

The specific case of the Orlando East project, we argue, demonstrates how an approach combining action learning and operational research can be a practical and useful way to develop a community program. We first profile the areas of Soweto, Orlando East, and the specific project, with a particular focus on economic activity and development in the region. We then describe our methodology for data collection, based primarily on desktop research and interviews. Next we present results from the interviews with community members, project partners and World Vision staff, highlighting economic development challenges in Orlando East. We conclude with a discussion of the specific obstacles encountered, and suggest several general principles for exploratory urban economic development in other urban environments.

2. Economic development in Soweto and Orlando East

2.1 Background

Soweto, an acronym for South Western Township, is a predominantly black urban area within the municipality of Johannesburg in Gauteng Province. It lies 23 kilometres south of Johannesburg, and covers an area of 106 square kilometres. Soweto developed from a cluster of townships created to house black miners and other workers. The 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act allowed the forced relocation of black people, and by 1936, 12,000 people had been relocated to Orlando East, an early Soweto township. Forced removals to Soweto accelerated after the start of apartheid in 1948 (South African History Online n.d.), and migration to Soweto has continued in the post-apartheid era.

Soweto is now the largest black urban area in South Africa, with its population rising substantially over the past decade. The 2001 census counted 858,644 people; by 2008 the population was estimated to be 1.3 million, and is currently believed to be more than 2 million (Soweto Vibe n.d.). Growth in Soweto's population is consistent with trends in Gauteng Province as a whole. Between 2001 and 2011, Gauteng's share of South Africa's population rose from 21.04 per cent to 22.39 per cent, and the province attracted a net inflow of 367,076 people over the five years to 2011. Only one other province, Western Cape, had a significant inflow of people over that period (95,556) (Statistics South Africa 2011). The influx of new residents from within South Africa, as well as new migrant populations from other African states and further afield, has grown the pool of largely unskilled labour in the local economy. At the 2001 census, population density was around 8,100 people per square kilometres, and is almost certainly higher now given the growth of prefabricated housing in the yards of existing dwellings. However, with the majority of housing being single and two-storied dwellings, density is not especially high by global city standards.

2.2 Income

Soweto is frequently referred to as a low-income area, although the spread of income and wealth is wide, with allegedly 50 resident millionaires.

Data in *Table 1* (Market Decisions 2004) confirms the north region (which includes Orlando East) is one of the poorer parts of Soweto. The proportion of households in the three lowest income categories was 43.6 per cent in the north, similar to the east's 44.0 per cent, and well above the south's 34.7 per cent. The north and east both had the highest proportion of households with 'limited and erratic income' (25.2 per cent), again well above the south's 15.9 per cent. Per capita income per annum in 2004, however, was lowest in the central area of Soweto. At R9,381 it was nearly 7 per cent below the north's level of R10,068, nearly 14 per cent below the east's R10,875, and more than 32 per cent below the South's R13,8758.

Table 1: Income ranges by region

Income Level	Central	East	North	South	Grand Total
Limited & erratic income	14,408	20,623	25,321	8,258	68,610
R1 - R4 800	3,165	4,357	4,356	3,603	15,481
R4 801 - R9 600	10,647	11,080	14,121	61,333	41,981
R9 601 - R19 200	13,602	16,893	20,134	8,965	59,594
R19 201 - R38 400	14,245	15,832	19,759	11,234	61,040
R38 401 - R76 800	7,822	8,180	11,060	8,502	35,564
R76 801 - R153 600	2,693	3,490	4,258	4,013	14,454
R153 601 - R307 200	470	1,030	1,033	846	3,379
R307 201 - R614 400	130	219	229	102	680
R614 401 - R1 228 800	24	60	42	60	186
R1 228 801 and more	143	123	154	136	456
Total	67,349	81,887	100,467	51,852	301,555
Per month 2001	R2,468	R2,409	R2,379	R3,342	R2,572
Per Household p.a. 2001	R29,308	R2,746	R28,387	R39,620	R30,622
Total Income p.a. 2001	R1,973,875,128	R2,353,915,702	R2,851,941,158	R2,054,368,364	R9,234,100,352
Per Capita p.a. 2001	R7,312	R8,476	R7,847	R10,814	R8,386
2004 Level	R3,166	R3,091	R3,052	R4,287	R3,300
Market share	296,081,269	706,174,711	427,791,174	308,155,255	1,385,115,053
Per month 2004	R3,166	R3,091	R3,052	R4,287	R3,300
Per Household p.a. 2004	R37,604	R36,882	R36,421	R50,834	R39,289
Total Income p.a. 2004	R2,532,560,744	R3,020,168,002	R3,659,154,583	R2,635,836,786	R11,847,720,115
Per Capita p.a.	R9,381	R10,875	R10,068	R13,875	R10,760

Source: Market Decisions (2004)

2.3 Housing

Soweto suffers from a chronic shortage of housing. The movement of people to Soweto—including those both forced, and more recently, those taking advantage of employment opportunities in the Johannesburg area—has meant that housing has been in short supply for many years (Gilbert and Crankshaw 1999). As noted recently by NGO observers in 2011,

‘Although the Department of Human Settlements reports that the government has built some 2.7 million low-cost houses over the past 15 years, there is still an estimated backlog of 2 million more. At an average of six people per family, that leaves some 12 million people in dire need of houses. Some currently live in sub-standard dwellings in the established townships, but many are in 2,700 informal settlements across the country’ (Harsch 2011).

Original four room *matchbox* houses dating back to before the Second World War remain an important source of housing in the older parts of Soweto, including Orlando, though many have been improved and extended. There are also significant areas of informal settlement (City of Johannesburg 2013). The introduction of a 99-year leasehold system in 1978 encouraged private home ownership among wealthier Soweto residents, and fostered privately developed

housing estates and infill housing, including in Orlando West and the various Protea suburbs. A collapse in the property market in the early 1990s saw banks largely withdraw from home lending. In the post-apartheid era the government has played a larger role in the provision of housing, but supply has failed to keep up with demand, and a significant back-log remains (Soweto.co.za 2003). Basic infrastructure, including paved roads, water and sewerage is also limited in parts of Soweto (Agence Française de Développement 2013).

2.4 Economy

The economy of Soweto has been shaped considerably by its history. The 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act, as well as legalizing forced relocation, imposed restrictions on the employment of African people unless approved by the local authority. Subsequent legislation, including the 1957 Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act limited employment in Soweto to specific activities—operating general shops, butcheries, eating houses, selling milk or vegetables, or hawking goods. These restrictions encouraged development of a substantial informal economy. While restrictions on economic activity were eased in 1977, giving rise to a local taxi industry, informal trading is still an important economic activity for some people in Soweto (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

The economy of Soweto is also influenced by its proximity to Johannesburg. Johannesburg is the biggest city in South Africa and the main financial centre of Africa. It is the base for South Africa's five TV stations, and is claimed to have the best telecommunications and technology on the African continent. There is also a range of manufacturing in and around Johannesburg including basic iron and steel, fabricated metal products, food, machinery, electrical machinery, appliances and electrical supplies, vehicle parts and accessories, chemical products, food processing and beverages (SouthAfrica.info 2012).

Despite its physical size and proximity to Johannesburg, the City of Johannesburg has estimated that, based on 2001 census and other data, Soweto's formal economy made only a small contribution to the overall Johannesburg metropolitan economy (City of Johannesburg 2008). While Soweto accounted for more than 40 per cent of the region's population, its unemployment rate was much higher than the rest of the region and its economic contribution was less than 5 per cent of total gross value added (City of Johannesburg 2008). Moreover, Soweto's economic contribution was heavily skewed towards the largely government funded community services sector (including clinics, schools and hospitals). The contribution of other areas of economic activity such as construction, transport and wholesale and retail trade was each in the range 3-4 per cent (City of Johannesburg 2008).

Within Soweto, small and micro businesses are the main type of private economic activity. A study by the Bureau of Market Research at the University of South Africa of small informal businesses in Soweto over the period 2007-2011 found 'relatively high mortality rates' (Ligthelm 2012). Just under 40 per cent of businesses were still operating at the end of the period, and survival rates were particularly low for street vendors and home-based businesses. Further, fewer businesses were started than failed, implying a net decline of almost 50 per cent in the number of small businesses in the study area. Failing to respond to an increasingly competitive environment was seen as a major reason for business failure. Entrepreneurs who

adapted to greater competitiveness, for example by changing or limiting their product range or reducing employment, were more likely to survive. Larger and incorporated businesses, those operating from permanent premises, those in older established business centres, and franchises were found to have better prospects for survival.

2.5 The Orlando East Project

World Vision South Africa established the Orlando East Project as one of six pilots designed to explore the specific challenges and opportunities of development in an urban context. According to the *Baseline Project Report*, the project,

‘began in 2008 with a particular focus in developing a Local Economic Development approach suitable for addressing issues of livelihoods in the urban context ... the Assessment and Design phase included the piloting of the Participatory Appraisal for Competitive Advantage (PACA) tool which resulted in a number of priority areas identified and task teams generated to promote local economic development within Orlando East. The task teams were formed around the following areas: Environment, Small and Medium Enterprises, Skills Development, Tourism, and Informal Traders.’

‘Through developing the capacity of the task teams and strengthening existing local governance mechanisms, the project aims to contribute towards improved economic conditions in Orlando East and ultimately enhancing the quality of life for children in Orlando East’ (World Vision South Africa 2010a).

Since the project’s inception, there has been a shift in focus towards what might be termed more *structural* areas of change: a greater emphasis on partnering with other community and business organizations, advocacy to government and facilitating networks. As our own findings below show, in spite of the significant role played by this NGO in the area, many of the challenges facing economic development need multilateral co-operation, between community, business, government and NGO sectors collectively. In such cases, where the social contractual relations between community and government have become strained, NGOs can play a pivotal role in mediating such co-operation.

3. Methods

We were invited by World Vision South Africa to review the project towards its conclusion. Unlike conventional project evaluations, the main purpose of our review was to examine the broader challenges and opportunities of urban development programming, to inform future work both in Orlando East, and more generally, throughout the South African urban context. A total of 27 semi-structured interviews were conducted with community members, partner organizations and project staff. We present here findings from the 13 interviewees conducted with community members, though our conclusions also reflect discussions with project partners and staff. This was supplemented with desk research on the economic condition on Soweto. For the interviews, we were assisted by five students from the Soweto campus of the University of Johannesburg, and by World Vision staff, who recruited participants and organized interviews.

Community participants represented a variety of professions, community roles and sectors. Three interviewees were small business operators, while the remainder were involved, formally or informally, in one of the many community forums in Orlando East. Some of the respondents also represented community organizations that were in partnership with World Vision.

The survey instruments included a range of both 10-point scales and open-ended questions. The full survey is included in *Appendix 1*. Questions were further grouped into three categories:

- *Introductory*: identify and introduce the interviewee, as well as the organization or department they represent.
- *Urban Context*: general themes of diversity, mobility, crime, health, poverty and vulnerability in the community.
- *Economic Development*: current and future challenges and opportunities for economic development.

Due to the frequently sensitive nature of discussions, and the difficulty of finding translators for the large number of languages spoken in the area, we decided against recording and transcribing interviews. After de-identifying interview notes, we employed descriptive statistics to describe scale item responses and thematic coding to group qualitative responses. Codes were constructed in a bottom-up fashion, to reflect prevalent and emergent themes from responses. In the case of the most relevant themes, such as partnering and economic development, a large number of second-level or sub-codes were added to discriminate responses to these issues. In our findings below, we focus especially on responses to *economic development* questions asked of *community* respondents.

Our findings are necessarily limited by issues of community sample size, selection bias—we could only speak to those with some prior connection to the host NGO, World Vision—and translation difficulties. However the facilitation of the NGO also granted us trusted access to community participants, and to hear about their specific challenges in working towards financial autonomy.

4. Findings

4.1 Quantitative results

In each of our interviews, community participants were asked 12 questions that could be scored quantitatively. In each case a ten-point rating scale was used to measure respondents' attitudes to a range of variables, with a midpoint of 5.5. These variables correspond to urban themes in nine cases, and relate to economic development in the remaining three. *Table 2* shows the codes and wording of each question, along with descriptive statistics of the responses. In all cases, the number of responses was less than the number of community participants; in many cases, interviewers felt the question were either not relevant to the participant, or there was insufficient time to cover that thematic area in the interview. Combined with the overall sample size, the

results are therefore at best, indicative of general community attitudinal trends, and need further exploration through larger studies, or with reference to other statistical sources.

4.1.1 Community quantitative results summary

Despite these limitations, both item means and ranges offer useful points for further consideration in relation both to the Orlando East and other pilot reviews. Perceptions about the World Vision project (Q28, Q62, Q70, ED8) are consistently positive, i.e. above the mid-point; while perceptions about the community’s sense of rights and government accountability (Q60, Q63) are negative. Notwithstanding potential bias of those we spoke to, this could be taken as an indication that World Vision is viewed as a more trusted and beneficial authority in the community than government. Qualitative responses certainly confirm these suggestions. Another interesting result was that average responses to Q25 (perception of community poverty), were above the mid-point, but not by much. This is contradicted by the qualitative results. The wide ranges of responses to certain items (Q28, Q58, Q62, Q70, ED8) could be interpreted as indicating disagreement about these items. However this likely also reflects the lack of clear anchors (e.g. what is the meaning of ‘1’ and ‘10’ in each case) and ambiguity about the meaning of key terms (‘community’, ‘government’, ‘project’ in particular).

To explore any relationships, we conducted exploratory bivariate correlation tests on all variable pairs. Several significant results of interest emerged: for instance, ‘community’s ability to engage with government processes’ correlated extremely highly with ‘government accountability to the poor in the community’. While these are likely to be artifacts of extremely small sample sizes, they are also suggestive of relationships that could be tested with larger samples in future studies.

Table 2: Selected interview questions and results

Code	Question	# Responses	Mean	Min	Max	Range
Q25	On a scale of 1-10, how would you define your community’s level of poverty (1 = very low poverty and 10 = very high)?	10	6.50	4	8	4
Q28	Rate, on a scale of 1-10, the level of impact this project has had on the poor in your community (1 = very low impact and 10 = very high impact).	10	7.20	4	10	6
Q58	On a scale of 1-10, how would you rate your community’s ability to engage with government processes (1 = completely unable and 10 = highly able)?	8	5.63	1	8	7
Q59	On a scale of 1-10, how would you rate your community’s ability to engage with others in achieving a common goal (1 = completely unable and 10 = highly able)?	4	5.25	5	6	1
Q60	On a scale of 1-10, how would you rate your community’s awareness of its rights as citizens (1 = completely unaware and 10 = highly aware)?	8	3.63	2	6	4

<u>Code</u>	<u>Question</u>	<u># Responses</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>Range</u>
Q62	On a scale of 1-10, how would you rate your community's ability to participate in the World Vision project (1 = no ability and 10 = excellent ability)?	6	7.33	4	10	6
Q63	On a scale of 1-10, how accountable do you think government is to the poor in your community (1 = not accountable at all and 10 = highly accountable)?	5	3.80	2	7	5
Q70	On a scale of 1-10, how influential have children been in this project (1 = not influential at all and 10 = highly influential)?	5	6.80	3	10	7
ED8	On a scale of 1-10, Do you believe there has been a permanent improvement (despite temporary setbacks), your community since the project started? (1 = no improvement at all and 10 = substantial improvement)?	3	6.33	3	10	7
ED12	On a scale of 1-10, do you believe your community is in a position to change or influence these obstacles? (1 = not able to at all and 10 = highly able to)?	7	5.14	4	7	3
ED13	On a scale of 1-10, do you believe your community is in a position to create opportunities? (1 = not able to at all and 10 = highly able to)?	5	6.40	4	8	4

4.2 Qualitative results

The majority of community interviews employed open-ended questions and discussion covering the urban context and economic development. We have grouped responses to individual questions under urban and economic themes.

4.2.1 Situational assessment

Responses were somewhat split on questions concerning their current situation. Two respondents thought the situation had been improving, as people in the community were 'learning more things, skills' and 'people are improving because of this training. They try to stand for themselves'. Two respondents thought things were getting worse, due to a wide range of factors: use of drugs and alcohol, crime rates, poverty and unemployment, HIV/AIDS causing parents to go into prostitution. For one respondent, the community was characterized by 'lawlessness' and that children 'no longer have respect for elders'. Other respondents thought the situation remained the same.

Related questions brought out similar causal factors in relation to vulnerability and financial inequity (questions 25 and 26). Respondents talked about problems of 'crowded and poor quality housing, and the influx of people to Orlando', that it was 'particularly difficult for young people', and that children were frequently left with elderly carers due to the impact of AIDS. Education, skills and access to information were mentioned as strategies for mitigating

vulnerability. All but two responses agreed there was substantial inequality. Some suggested that as people grew wealthier they tended to move away, while one respondent said that more recently there has been a trend for the growing middle class in the region to stay and renovate their homes.

4.2.2 Attitudes towards Government

In response to questions 58a and 63a, respondents generally felt government had specifically ignored the plight of the poor. According to one respondent,

‘This government of ours—they are looking for riches. They are not looking out for the poor.’

Another respondent stated that,

‘other people are closer with the government but not those that are at the bottom.’

Yet another demanded that the government,

‘Stop looking after rich people. For example, the President meets with businesses in *Jo'burg*, but not with poor people in Soweto.’

Respondents also felt overwhelmingly that the government had failed to communicate effectively,

‘Hard for community to reach the government ... Many people in the Ward forums have been complaining about that.’

Another respondent linked this to a more general issue of accountability, arguing:

‘Government does not give feedback if they are delayed in delivering specific services. The government do not report back or do follow ups.’

Even when public meetings are held, outcomes are less than optimal,

‘Attendance is by chance. When notices are distributed they are met with negative comments, which affects attendance.’

Concerns about inequity and communication were clearly linked to the issues of corruption and nepotism. One respondent stated that ‘people who engage are those involved with political parties’, while another explicitly mentioned the issue of ‘nepotism—ANC members benefit each other’s families.’ A third respondent felt that the local government did provide jobs for the community—but this was frequently linked to the ‘ongoing problem of bribery.’

Against the generally critical trend, one respondent did feel the government had played a positive role, stating that ‘the community’s ability to engage with government was good’ and the government had ‘made itself accountable for failure to deliver on promises.’

4.2.3 Attitudes towards Community

Questions 59a, 60a and 61a asked about the community's ability to work together, its awareness of its rights as citizens, and its access to information. Respondents were divided about the levels of information in the community. Three thought there was sufficient information available on community matters, but that people did not utilize it effectively, due to 'ignorance' and lack of motivation. In the words of one respondent,

'There is a multi-purpose community centre (MPCC) that is responsible for providing information to people. Library provides a lot of information, but people do not go seeking information. They are ignorant.'

The other two respondents felt that while there was sufficient information, not all community members had adequate access to it. One complained that,

'Pamphlets handed out the day before meetings. Informed community too late. Invite them with time.'

This translated into similar ambivalence about the community's awareness of its rights. One respondent felt that 'people know their rights but not their obligations'; another agreed, but suggested that they 'don't know how they can practice their rights'. Others suggested again that there was a general problem of 'ignorance', both about rights and ways to express them. Respondents were divided about whether this related to the prior problem of information, or to a lack of general enterprise and hope in the community. In the words of one respondent,

'People are ignorant and reluctant to take advantage of what's being offered. They feel government is not doing anything good. People are resistant, don't want to find out information because of ANC.'

A number of respondents suggested potential remedies: more timely notification of public meetings; more widespread use of community boards and pamphlets; and growing use of the Internet and social media.

There were similar variances in responses to the ability of the community to work towards common goals. Some felt there was reasonable co-operation, but that this was compromised by lack of information and empowerment. A specific issue raised by one respondent was that a number of people lacked adequate identification and could not therefore vote (clearly an issue related both to information and expression of rights). Another respondent (a small trader from Mozambique) expressed a stark lack of community co-operation,

'People aren't working together and they are looking out for themselves ... Money and stereotyping are the main challenges that they are facing in the community.'

A further issue concerned low rates of volunteerism, which for one respondent also limited employment options,

‘People do not want to volunteer. They want jobs and so sometimes they don’t volunteer ... They don’t understand that volunteering can lead to getting a job—still trying to find a way.’

These particular difficulties had an obvious negative impact given the importance of community co-ordination: ‘[we have] high rates of crime so we need to involve communities in these issues’.

4.3 Economic development focus

We asked twenty-two open-ended questions specifically about economic development. These were further divided between questions about the present situation and future options.

4.3.1 Current options

In response to question *ED1*, responses suggested a range of possible business and employment options, including:

- Repairs and maintenance: Car washes, PC sales and maintenance;
- Education: Sports coaching, performing and teaching music;
- Hospitality and food: restaurants, Bed and Breakfast’s and kiosks, selling fast food (*bunny chows*), bakeries;
- Construction-related: Installing and maintaining energy and water facilities, recycling and buy-back centres.

Respondents also referred to characteristics important for finding jobs or earning income, mentioning skills, education and self-reliance or independence. In response to questions about finance, two small business owners expressed doubt about whether this would help expand their business. One respondent, a PC reseller, stated: ‘I believe I should save money for myself rather than taking loans because at the end it is difficult to repay them’. Curiously, some respondents did not refer to areas they themselves were employed in, such as hairdressing or administration—suggesting perhaps these were not viewed as ‘options’ as such.

In response to questions about sources of information on jobs and economic opportunities (*ED2* and *ED3*), responses mentioned:

- Print: press reports, newspapers, billboards, flyers and posters
- Radio;
- Agencies: government service providers, a local skills centre (since closed down), World Vision;
- Libraries;
- Websites.

One of the partners we interviewed, the SMME Forum, a group representing skilled tradespeople, believe 70-80 per cent of people they interview 'have the potential to run their own business', if they could acquire business and financial management skills. They were developing a member database to match CVs and skills with available opportunities. Such 'match-making' services could prove useful in improving communication between prospective employers and employees.

In responses to questions about prospects and challenges in their own line of business (*ED4*), most respondents were cautiously optimistic concerning prospects for growth. Six out of seven respondents felt their prospects were 'viable'. Two suggested this was linked to the need to be creative and flexible; as a PC reseller put it: 'businesses always need to be open and flexible which is why his focus is now more on selling parts than rebuilding computers'. When asked whether they felt they were in a 'better position', two respondents thought things had improved generally, due to reduced crime rates and higher levels of identity registration. Other respondents suggested things had *not* improved, stating factors like unemployment, cost of living and access to government services remained 'sources of pressure'.

In contrast, nearly all respondents (eight out of nine) were generally in agreement that the business-operating environment had not improved, or had become more difficult (*ED5*). The main reasons for this were increased competition; lack of business management skills; changing technology environment; and ongoing security issues. Of these, competition—particularly from recent migrants to Soweto—seems by far the most significant. One respondent felt,

'People from other countries [e.g. Pakistan, Somalia] are organized and displacing local residents.'

Another saw 'foreign' methods of business operation as something to learn from,

'[we] need to ask foreigners how best to run their business rather than complaining.'

Only one respondent mentioned security issues. This suggests perhaps crime has been diminishing as a threat to business operation, at least compared with other factors.

On the whole these responses indicate that improvement has been, as one respondent suggested, in 'dribs and drabs'. While generally optimistic, community respondents felt there was a considerable way to go to improve the broader economic outlook in the area.

4.3.2 Options for future improvement

Consistent with the general optimism expressed regarding current prospects (*ED4*), in response to a general question about the future (*ED9*) respondents were confident that 'things will pick up'. Various general and specific reasons were given,

- Volunteers at one of the co-operatives were developing skills and education, and were in a better position to gain full-time education;

- Improved management of HIV/AIDS meant those with the focus might be ‘more able to do something’ for themselves;
- A fully fledged, multi-party democracy ‘gives hope’, and would encourage large-scale national investment.

Concerning obstacles to economic development (*ED10, ED11*), again responses ranged from general and national concerns to local specific difficulties. Three main categories of obstacles emerged from the responses to both questions: those relating to gaining employment or starting up businesses; those relating to the general business environment; and those relating to the government. We list the complete set of obstacles in *Table 3*.

Table 3: Economic Development Obstacles

Employment or Business Start-up Obstacles
Lack of resources to upgrade buildings and equipment
Lack of technical and business management skills
Lack of information
Lack of market preparedness and research
Lack of work experience
Unemployment
Past criminal records
Age
Lack of education
Business Environment Obstacles
Costs
Increased competition
Unavailability of skilled labour
Generating cash flow
Changing customer preferences
Company liquidations and bankruptcies
Governmental Obstacles
Difficulties of compliance with government schemes
Government expenditure in the wrong areas
Complexity of bureaucracy
Poor communication
Corruption
High taxation
Unequal provision of services
High dependency on government funding for investment

These themes echo those we drew out through coding of responses to questions overall. The diversity of difficulties faced by one group of businesses, small contractors, is captured well by one of the managers we interviewed from the SMME Forum,

‘A lack of skills is a major obstacle facing small businesses ... Mobility is also a problem, particularly in the building sector [where] there is a constant need for training ... There is the problem of the need for businesses to expand out of Soweto and even beyond South Africa. This requires skills and finance. And competition has become more intense, forcing businesses to become more creative, e.g. the development of a new green fields township ... ’

Many small business respondents echoed these concerns. A hairdresser discussed the difficulties of retaining customers,

‘[It is] hard. Unemployed people love [my] salon; but if they are working, they prefer to go up-market. To be more attractive, would love to improve structure of building. Renovate with brick construction; get proper salon equipment.’

Another respondent focused on the issue of corruption,

‘People are unemployed; when community leaders are employed, they become rich for families, not for the whole community; they sell some work, a form of bribery, only helping their friends to go up (particularly in government) ... bribery is *rife*.’

The PC reseller complained of more conventional economic difficulties,

‘The main obstacles are taxation and prices that are too high for many people.’

In response to questions about how obstacles could be removed and opportunities created (*ED12a*, *ED13a*), respondents replied that the community needed both attitudinal and behavioural change. One respondent thought that the community needed ‘to give him a chance to show his work’, while another stated:

‘Motivation must be provided to people to encourage them and show appreciation of what they are doing ... People don’t appreciate a good thing until something wrong happens.’

A common material requirement, particularly among those working in the informal and community development sector, was for better basic equipment for gardening, hairdressing and other small business opportunities. One respondent pointed to the ability of government to create opportunities through investment in ‘infrastructure, music festivals, new stadium’.

Question *ED14* focused on the relationship between economic development and the urban environment. Responses were roughly split. Several respondents mentioned the greater availability of work,

‘In Johannesburg, it’s easier to get *petty money* compared with rural areas. You can make a living if you put your pride aside.’

‘Urban opportunities are much better than opportunities in rural areas, although city by-laws are restrictive and can make life difficult.’

Two respondents mentioned downsides of the urban environment: high crime rates and the fact that it was a ‘dog eat dog’ world.

Questions *ED15* and *ED16* focused on future options for economic development. Most responses focused on small business opportunities, including:

- Waste management;
- Food produce and urban agriculture;
- Bricklaying, painting, paving;
- Information Technology (IT);
- Tourism;
- Working in their own businesses;
- House renovations;
- Car washing;
- Health;
- Sport (and associated industries);

The SMME Forum again provided a useful overview of potential areas of economic growth,

‘People’s own businesses provide the best economic opportunities. Local businesses keep more people and money in Soweto. Lack of local shopping complexes ... Bigger organizations have the advantage of providing more training. It’s possible for large multinationals and local home-grown businesses to work together.’

Questions *ED18*, *ED19* and *ED20* examined broader and longer-term trends affecting economic options. One respondent who worked as a hairdresser replied that, they ‘don’t want to stay in the same work but would not give up on it’. Another person, working at the community environmental forum, was optimistic that this was a growth area, since ‘our levels of understanding on environmental issues is increasing’. To improve prospects, two respondents reaffirmed the need for ‘modernized equipment’ and infrastructure, while a third mentioned he would like to see ‘changes in local regulations to make them less restrictive’. A member of a partner organization felt that foreign ‘investors’, including NGOs, were playing an important role in providing funds for ‘sports, education, and health’.

Question *ED21* examined the specific context of Orlando East. Two themes stood out: the vital role of Orlando East in the political history of South Africa, and the recently built Orlando Stadium, which hosted games for the 2010 World Cup. In relation to its historical role, several respondents pointed to its importance as a draw-card for tourism. The SMME forum manager replied,

‘Orlando East [OE] has the unique feature of its historical role in the apartheid era. This has provided the basis for tourism, OE’s biggest industry. Tourism could be expanded much more.’

Another respondent also pointed to the importance of key events in the area,

‘Politics is number one. Orlando Communal Hall is where the break between the ANC and Pan-Africa Congress parties happened—a major political event in the 1950s. 1960s race riots—apartheid is the *history of Orlando East*.’

Closely related to the area’s history is the prominence of sport—highlighted by the Orlando Stadium, the largest and most clearly visible building in the area. As one respondents put it,

‘Things that attract people are the soccer stadium. For example the Williams sisters were here. Used to have a tennis court—caretaker did not allow practices there. Swimming pool. Could be a diversity of sports interests.’

Other respondents gave mixed responses. Some pointed to the lack of change and closure of facilities motivating people to leave, to ‘go to greener pastures’. On the other hand, Orlando East continued to attract migrants from the rest of Africa and parts of South Africa. Several respondents referenced the quality of *Ubuntu*, a concept that references the importance of community and ‘love for one another’ as a feature of Soweto that brings people back to visit or stay in the community.

Question *ED22* asked: ‘If you had R 1000 to invest, how would you use this to maximize the benefit for you and your family? Has the World Vision project changed how you would use this money now compared to 3 years ago?’ The small business operators we asked suggested they would invest the money in their business, buying new equipment or experimenting with new products. One respondent suggested he would ‘put 500 in bank; [and use the] other 500 to improve business.’

4.4 Coding Results

We coded each of the interviews notes, using a total of 97 codes. 418 excerpts had at least one code applied to them, while we applied 895 codes in all. *Table 4*, shows the top twenty most frequently applied codes. Both ‘Employment and Business Opportunity’ and ‘Partnering and Networking’ are unsurprisingly prominent, given these concerns motivated the line of questioning to begin with.

In spite of this expected overall correspondence, the relative frequency of certain themes is of interest. Both ‘Youth and Children’ and ‘Government Services and Engagement’ themes, for instance, are reflected in the questions but features heavily in the responses. Nearly all respondents referenced various kinds of government engagement, whether explicitly prompted to or otherwise, and the need to train and encourage youth also featured prominently. Similarly, the themes of ‘Information and Communication’ and ‘Education, Skills and Training’ featured very prominently and often in connection with economic development. Certain themes were also often mentioned in the context of constraints on economic development. Here, ‘Mobility and Transport’, ‘Food and Housing Security’, ‘Health and Wellbeing’, ‘Accountability and Corruption’ and ‘Security, Safety and Crime’ stand as abstract codes to represent a series of practical issues that arose again and again: lack of transport routes to work sites; poor food and housing conditions (particularly over-crowding in backyard *shacks*); the devastating impacts of HIV/AIDS, particularly on Soweto residents of working age; government corruption; and basic personal security.

Table 4: Top 20 Codes

<u>Code</u>	<u>Total</u>
Employment and Business Opportunity	191
Partnering and Networking	163
Government Services and Engagement	86
Education, Skills and Training	64
Youth and Children	54
Information and Communication	53
World Vision	53
Community Engagement and Cooperation	43
Organizational systems and structures	34
Urban program effectiveness	33
Mobility and Transport	28
Perception and Behaviour Change	24
Food and Housing Security	22
Accountability and Corruption	22
Health and Wellbeing	22
Urban Environment and Infrastructure	22
Resourcing	21
Poverty	18
Security, Safety and Crime	18
Change over time (Positive/Negative)	16

Conclusion

As Turok (2012) and many others have suggested, major cities like Johannesburg are powerful attractors of financial, human and social capital. Soweto, considered as part of the greater Johannesburg metropolitan area, contributes little to the economic output of the city and also suffers a disproportionate share of urban *blights*: high unemployment, crime, perceptions of

government corruption, greater exposure to HIV/AIDS and other transmitted diseases, skills and service shortages and general poverty. In short it enjoys little of the benefits of spatially agglomerated populations, while it has inherited many of the costs. These are further accentuated in the pocket of Orlando East, which has seen several of the development benefits in Soweto generally pass it by.

Our interviews identified three main areas of difficulty for economic development in the area. First, it is currently difficult to enter the formal economy—to gain employment or to start up a business—in Orlando East. There is a lack of physical infrastructure and financial capital to incentivize businesses to locate to the area. For many industries, specific skills in areas of finance, law, management, engineering and health are also in short supply. This *catch-22* situation is made worse by the consequences of the second area we identified: the difficult business-operating environment. Respondents mentioned factors including fluctuating demand and fickle customer preferences, heightened competition in low-skilled service sectors, lack of investment, low formal education levels and the complexities of business registration as impacting adversely on the usual incentives that motivate business formation and development. The third area of difficulty concerned institutional weakness. Respondents noted a number of concerns in dealing with government agencies: poor and infrequent communication; the complexities and difficulties of business compliance; corruption, particularly concerning government funding and job vacancies; and, conversely, the high degree of reliance upon government investment.

Each of these areas has, as our findings suggest, a complex set of determinants. Development projects cannot hope to resolve all of the issues identified. Nevertheless the Orlando East project has made a number of useful practical contributions. For example, community participants and partners spoke of the importance of World Vision's status as a trusted authority, with international sources of funding and accountability. Concrete programs for training and equipping communities with financial literacy, business management and practical skills address some of the difficulties with finding employment and operating businesses. Partnering was also significant aspect of this development project, as it connected staff with diverse skills, resources and networks available through other organizations. So-called *soft* advocacy—developing relationships and influence with local government officers—also are critical to a context in which government actors at various local, city, state and national levels play significant roles in increasing economic opportunity in the short term. As our findings show, a multilateral, multi-dimensional and cross-sectoral approach to addressing the interconnected issues of economic development is vital, and these contributions deserve further detailed research exploration and focus in the South African urban context. Our findings also suggest that international NGOs like World Vision can play a critical mediating role between other commercial, community and government actors, building trust where institutional distrust has become normalized. This poses in turn questions about the dilemma of operating fixed-term projects in such contexts—the strong reputation of World Vision in this instance suggests much of its efforts could be diffused if it were to exit the Orlando East environment prematurely. This is particularly true with regard to one of the project initiatives, to build a sustainable partner network. While we saw evidence of this network, and could trace its impacts on the economic conditions of the community, World Vision seemed to play a central role in its establishment and maintenance. How international NGOs can diffuse and disseminate their expertise, and help

local community networks to scale-up their impact and efficacy, in fragile and vulnerable urban environments like Orlando East remains an open question.

We conclude by noting that Turok's (2011) appraisal of South African cities, amply confirmed by our own findings, suggests aid development needs to be adapted for addressing the economic dilemmas of the urban poor. The stark inequity of Johannesburg's wealth distribution demonstrates that urban poverty traps can be less determined by natural disasters than by social structures, reinforced by spatial disadvantage. We suggest this means development efforts cannot remain limited to the current stream of *micro*-oriented programs, however amenable these may be to more rigorous forms of evaluation; some, at least, must be supplemented by attention to, and attempts to intervene in, strategic macro-systems that reside at the urban and regional levels. Similarly, as our respondents noted frequently, urban economic development is intimately connected with health, security, governance and planning policy. Such relational aspects of different urban dimensions require close attention to context—to the specificity of urban life in each city, district and zone. Exploratory-styled programming design and evaluation, of the sort we outline here, has a place, therefore, in the spectrum of aid developmental approaches, as a means both of building trust and relationships with urban communities, and of identifying the kinds of specific programs, outcomes and measurable variables that might prove useful to them.

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Appendix 1: Community survey

Instructions for Interviewers

These surveys can be administered in a number of ways:

- As self-administered questionnaires (eg. completed by the participant in writing or online)
- As prompting questions for semi-structured and key informant interviews
- As prompting questions for focus group discussions
- As guiding questions or themes for content analysis and statistical analysis

One purpose of the Orlando East Pilot Review will be to test these instruments and refine where necessary. Notes on difficulties interpreting or answering questions should therefore be kept during their administration.

Interview Purpose and Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to talk with us about your involvement with the Orlando East urban project.

We are researchers working with World Vision International to learn more about economic development in cities. World Vision of South Africa has been implementing a project in Orlando East since 2008, and we are conducting interviews to update our knowledge about this location and the important activities that can create economic opportunities for people living in informal settlements.

During this interview we will ask a series of questions about Orlando East, about working in partnership with World Vision and about economic development in Johannesburg. This information will be used to improve our Orlando East project, and to help World Vision design better urban projects with people in other informal settlements around the world.

We expect the interview will take approximately 1 hour. Of course you can withdraw at any point of the interview should you choose to do so.

With your permission, a note taker will make a detailed record your responses for our research. The information will be available to the project team to be used to improve the project, and findings that emerge from these interviews may be used in publications internal and external to World Vision. We would also like to assure you that your confidentiality will be maintained. You will not be referred to by name in any reports, discussions or documents.

In the next few weeks, when we are analyzing all the interview responses, we may need to come back to you with follow up questions. Would you consent to this?

Before we start, do you have any questions about the interview process? Do you consent to continue with the interview and proceed with recording?

Community Survey

Introductory Questions

Would you describe yourself as belonging to a particular community group or network (either a formal association or an informal gathering of people)?

If so, could you broadly describe this community in terms of:

- does it belong to a geographical area
- how many people
- does it have regular meetings
- is it formal (does it have a charter, board, minutes, etc.)
- does it have an economic function (does it raise, distribute or spend money on behalf of others)?
- does it have a political function (does it advocate or claim to represent a broader group of people)?
- what other characteristics distinguish the group

What is your role within the community?

What activities are you responsible for in your community?

Questions about Urban Context

The next set of questions relate to the theme of mobility.

Q11 How many years have you lived in your current house?

Q11a How many people live in your current house?

Q12 How many months in a year do members of your household typically live in this house?

Q13 Have you had to move or relocate? If so, What are the main reasons that you may have for moving or relocating?

Examples might include:

- Legal status/registered
- Level of property ownership
- Socio-economic status
- Seasonal or environmental patterns
- Part of formal or informal sector
- Types of vulnerabilities experienced

The next set of questions relate to the theme of poverty and associated risks.

Q24 Please indicate whether, over the past year, you believe your community's situation has been improving, staying the same, or getting worse *

Q24a What do you think are the main reasons for this change? *

Q25 On a scale of 1-10, how would you define your community's level of poverty (where 1 = very low poverty and 10 = very high)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Please explain the reasons why.

Q25a Please identify the main causes of community vulnerability. Such causes may include: income, lack of material items, ability to respond to shocks, social networks, level of risk, access to rights and services *

Q26 In your community, is there a big difference between the richest and poorest members? *

Q27 Do you think these issues influence how much people move (e.g. from rural areas to the city)?

Perceived current situation and options

ED1 What are the currently available options for jobs or earning income?

ED2 How would you find out about employment and access better economic opportunities?

ED3 What are the sources of information on employment, business opportunities, skills training etc.?

(If no answer, provide the following examples):

- Tourism boards
- Job placement agencies etc
- Government services
- Informal networks

ED4 Do you think you are in a viable activity/business/employment that has good prospects, even if currently there are economic challenges?

ED5 What have been the changes over time to your business or employment? - is it now harder, more dangerous? Has it improved etc.?

ED6 Would you be happy to see your children working in this sector? And why?

Perceived improvements resulting from the project

ED7 Do people perceive that they are in a better place now despite any shorter term economic fluctuations that may have occurred ?

ED8 On a scale of 1-10, Do you believe there has been a permanent improvement (despite temporary setbacks), your community since the project started? (with 1 = no improvement at all and 10 = substantial improvement)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Please explain why.

ED9 Do you feel things are looking better when you look into the future? Why/why not?
Obstacles to improvement/further improvement

ED10 What are the obstacles to people realising economic goals?

ED11 What are some of the obstacles to employment or business opportunities?

(If no answer, provide the following examples):

- Corruption
- Government policy
- Social factors

ED12 On a scale of 1-10, do you believe your community is in a position to change or influence these obstacles? (with 1 = not able to at all and 10 = highly able to)? Why?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ED13 On a scale of 1-10, do you believe your community is in a position to create opportunities? (with 1 = not able to at all and 10 = highly able to)? Why?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ED14 Could you describe ways in which being in a city makes it easier to earn your livelihood?
How does the city make it harder to earn your livelihood?

Perceptions of / preferred options for future improvement

We have asked some questions about your current economic situation. We now want to ask a few questions about the options for economic development in the next 5 years.

ED15 What are the desired future options for?

ED16 What do people see as their best options for economic development?

ED17 In your view, do you think you are able to influence the economic options available to you? Or is the context too dynamic and changing too rapidly?

ED18 Do you see yourself as still working in this type of work in five years' time? If not, why not?

ED19 What changes to this sector would you like to see?

(If no answer, use these examples):

- advocate for changed regulations
- better government protection

ED20 Do you expect national or international economic trends to limit your ability to raise income in the future?

Other

ED21 What aspects of Orlando East do you feel attract people? What aspects of Orlando East either deters people from coming here or encourages them to leave?

ED22 If you had R 1000 to invest, how would you use this to maximize the benefit for you and your family? Has the World Vision project changed how you would use this money now compared to 3 years ago?

Q28 Rate, on a scale of 1-10, the level of impact this project has had on the poor in your community (with 1 = very low impact and 10 = very high impact) *

Q28 Rate, on a scale of 1-10, the level of impact this project has had on the poor in your community (with 1 = very low impact and 10 = very high impact) *

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Q29 Do you believe the World Vision project has had a significant impact on the poor in your community? *

The next set of questions relate to the theme of governance (i.e, how effective government is), power structures and accountability.

Q58 On a scale of 1-10, how would you rate your community's ability to engage with government processes (with 1 = completely unable and 10 = highly able)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

How could the community's ability to engage with government be improved? *

Q59 On a scale of 1-10, how would you rate your community's ability to engage with others in achieving a common goal (with 1 = completely unable and 10 = highly able)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

How could this ability to engage with others be improved? *

Q60 On a scale of 1-10, how would you rate your community's awareness of its rights as citizens (with 1 = completely unaware and 10 = highly aware)? *

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Please describe how this could be improved *.

Q61 On a scale of 1-10, how would you rate your community's access to information (with 1 = no access and 10 = excellent access)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

How could your community's access to information be improved? *

Q62 On a scale of 1-10, how would you rate your community's ability to participate in the World Vision project (with 1 = no ability and 10 = excellent ability)? *

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

How could your community's participation in the World Vision project be improved?

Q63 On a scale of 1-10, how accountable do you think government is to the poor in your community (with 1 = not accountable at all and 10 = highly accountable)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

In what areas do you think the government could improve its accountability? *

Q70 On a scale of 1-10, how influential have children been in this project (with 1 = not influential at all and 10 = highly influential)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Describe specific ways children have been involved or influential in this project.

Thank you

On behalf of World Vision, we thank you for your participation in the interview. If you have any concerns or questions now or at any time in the future, please contact your local World Vision representative.