

# An Examination of the Ipelegeng Programme as Poverty Eradication Strategy in Botswana

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## Abstract

Since independence, Botswana's economic growth has been impressive. However, there remains concerning levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment. The government has introduced various programmes and policies to reduce or eradicate poverty, but these programmes use up a significant portion of the annual national budget that is allocated for eradicating poverty and creating employment for beneficiaries. Academic literature assessing the government's poverty eradication programmes and policies is limited, therefore this article sets out to assess the sustainability of one of the popular poverty eradication programmes, the Ipelegeng programme. In assessing this programme, the authors undertook a desktop review of available literature ranging from government policy documents and official reports to journal articles. They argue that the said programme, due to its temporary, untargeted nature, does not resolve the problem of unemployment. The Ipelegeng programme does not equip the beneficiaries with long-term life skills but is only a source of cheap labour for the government. The article concludes that this programme is financially unsustainable and has none of the tangible trade-offs expected from a programme of its magnitude.

**Keywords:** poverty; poverty alleviation; poverty eradication; sustainability; Botswana



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## **Introduction**

Botswana is a success story when measured in terms of its democratic and economic status, one of the very few in post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa. It was one of the poorest countries in the world when it gained independence over 50 years ago. The economy grew impressively following the discovery of diamonds, transforming the country into an “upper-middle-income country” (Martin 2008).

Botswana’s economy has enjoyed rapid growth through the exploitation of minerals and the use of revenues derived from mineral production for investment in economic and social infrastructure. The country has also been the world’s largest producer of gem diamonds (Maruatona 1996). Notwithstanding the sustained economic growth over the last few years since the discovery of diamonds, such growth can rightly be termed as “jobless growth” (Mogalakwe 2003). The economic growth has been consistently accompanied by growing unemployment, poverty and social inequality (Mogalakwe 2008). For the purposes of this paper only poverty and the attempts of the Government of Botswana to address it, are discussed.

Issues of poverty, including other related issues such as unemployment and/or equality, are relevant in developing countries such as Botswana. Persistent poverty in Botswana is a major policy and socio-economic challenge (Kaboyakgosi and Marata 2013). It is rather difficult if not impossible to engage in any discussion on development or economic growth without mentioning these issues. Botswana, despite having achieved rapid economic growth, is still faced with high incidences of poverty coupled with unemployment, which in the past few years have increased also amongst the educated youths. Poverty is a sign of underdevelopment. It is intertwined with development or lack of it, therefore issues of poverty will continue to be discussed in the future as they have been since time immemorial. Until the point where poverty is eradicated, humankind will be engaged in debates about it whenever they discuss development. Whether it is possible to totally eliminate poverty is a topic for another day and not the subject of the current article.

In the recent past, the Government of Botswana has not been creating sustainable jobs. As a result of the failure to create permanent jobs and to decrease the high rate of poverty, the government introduced some programmes in an attempt to alleviate poverty, or rather, to use terminology preferred by the Government of Botswana, to “eradicate” poverty.

The discussion in this paper is divided into six main parts: (i) introduction and background; (ii) statement of the research problem; (iii) methods and materials; (iv) discussion of the concept of poverty; (v) assessment of poverty incidence in Botswana; (vi) background discussion of the Ipelegeng programme (hereafter also referred to as Ipelegeng); (viii) in-depth assessment of Ipelegeng; (vii) discussion of the concept of poverty alleviation; (viii) sustainability review of Ipelegeng; and (ix) conclusion.

## **Statement of the Research Problem**

The Government of Botswana has committed itself to alleviating poverty. As a result, it established a number of social protection initiatives intended to contribute to the eradication of poverty in the country. Botlhale (2015) reports that about 30 packages or poverty eradication programmes have been implemented by the Government of Botswana. However, there is a dearth of academic research that assesses and analyses these social protection initiatives. It is therefore important to assess the implementation processes and sustainability of these initiatives so as to test their actual contribution to the eradication of poverty. This article focuses on the sustainability of the Ipelegeng programme, which is one of the many programmes forming part of existing poverty eradication initiatives.

## **Methods and Materials**

This research comprised a desktop review of available literature, which included various forms and types of literature such as books, journal articles, newspapers and government policy documents. The authors explored and examined data using various themes related to the research area, topic and research questions. Reviewing or systematically searching the literature refers to the identification, evaluation and interpretation of available research relevant to a particular research question or topic of interest (Kitchenham 2004; Kitchenham et al. 2009).

An in-depth literature review was undertaken, comprising a systematic search of academic databases (such as Google Scholar, EBSCO Discovery Service, and African Journal Archive), using keywords such as poverty alleviation, Ipelegeng, concepts of poverty, and Botswana. The selected papers were then screened and relevant papers were identified using an automatic snowballing method. The data were classified, organised and categorised into three main themes: (i) the concept of poverty; (ii) the incidence of poverty in Botswana; and (iii) the transitioning of Ipelegeng from being a drought relief programme into a poverty eradication programme. These themes are discussed in the following sections.

## **Conceptualisation of Poverty**

The concept of poverty has received the attention of stakeholders in various disciplines, especially during the last two decades. Notwithstanding this scholarly attention, there is no consensus on how best to define, quantify and even address poverty (Tenai 2016). The definition and measurement of poverty largely depend on who is asking the question, how the question is understood, and ultimately, who responds to the question (Tenai 2016). Because of the complexity and multidimensional nature of poverty, it has been difficult to formulate a universally acceptable definition of poverty (Sam 2014). According to McFallan, Stanley, and Fisher (2011, 30), complexity or a complex concept is “a system that shows emergence behaviour that is more than a sum of the parts of the system alone.” This is equally true in explaining and/or describing the

concept of poverty in that it never results from the lack of one thing but from a cluster of many interlocking factors relating to poor people's experiences and perceptions of poverty (World Bank 2015).

In noting the complexity of the concept of poverty, MacFadyen and Corcoran (2002) use a participatory approach in painting a picture of poverty. Such a participatory framework consists of some examples of poverty definitions based on or influenced by perceptions of the poor. It is argued that generally, when the poor are asked to define poverty, many of their criteria are based on assets rather than on income; additionally, some of the assets are intangible and at best difficult to quantify (MacFadyen and Corcoran 2002).

Poverty analysis is currently undergoing a multidimensional turn, due in part to a growing awareness of the limitations of relative income measures and the acceptance of multidimensional poverty applications (Hick 2014). This is consistent with an observation that poverty is a complex and a multidimensional socio-economic phenomenon, as illustrated by the approaches followed in, for example, the Human Development Index and the Capability Poverty Measure, whose definitions of poverty capture and emphasise the multidimensional nature of poverty (Gumedde 2008a). In this context, human development is the measurement or represents the conceptualisation of growth in terms of people as opposed to physical goods and services (Gumedde 2008b). In relation to development, the concept of human development categorises a country as developed only if its people are free and possess choices and entitlements (Gumedde 2008b). On the other hand, the approach of the Capability Poverty Measure is centralised around the concepts of functioning and capabilities, with the former referring to the various things a person succeeds in doing or being, and the latter referring to a person's real or substantive freedom to achieve such functioning (Hick 2014). Essentially, the capability approach focuses more on what individuals are able to become instead of on the material possessions they have. It proposes a shift away from "the means of living," such as income, to the "actual opportunities a person has" (Hick 2012).

This article defines poverty as the inability of an individual or a family to command sufficient resources to satisfy basic needs (Oladapo and Samuel 2014). When estimating poverty worldwide, this definition has been used for constructing poverty line values of income or consumption based on requirements to purchase the minimum standard nutrition and other necessities of life consistently (World Bank 2015). For the purpose of global aggregation and comparison, the World Bank uses reference lines set at US\$1.25 (World Bank 2015). That is to say, the World Bank considers anyone living below a daily income of US\$1.25 as poor. This is an economic measure accepted globally without necessarily implying that there are no controversies about the correctness of this measure.

For the purposes of this paper, such controversies will not be discussed; therefore the World Bank's threshold is adopted for the current discussion.

## **Poverty Incidence in Botswana**

Botlhale (2015) notes that, notwithstanding the fact that Botswana is an upper-middle-income country, pockets of poverty remain among its citizenry. In contrast to Botswana's impressive economic growth, good governance and prudent macroeconomic and fiscal management, the country faces high levels of poverty and inequality and it shows low indicators of human development (World Bank 2015).

The overall incidence of poverty in Botswana fell from 60 per cent in 1985/1986 to 30 per cent in 2002/2003 (Central Statistics Office 2004). It was recorded that there was an overall reduction of 17.2 per cent in extreme poverty in rural Botswana between 2003 and 2010 (World Bank 2015). The most recent country poverty assessment report of the World Bank shows that there is a positive correlation between education and the probabilities of being employed (World Bank 2015). Consequently, those without education or little education are most likely to remain unemployed and have no chance of long-term and/or permanent employment. Thus, the possibility of their escaping poverty remains minimal.

The Government of Botswana has made a political commitment to alleviate the consequences of poverty amongst its people. Not only does it intend to alleviate poverty, but it also intends to eradicate it in the country. Botlhale (2015) argues that any reference that the Government of Botswana makes to eradicating poverty refers to abject poverty.

## **Unemployment and Inequality**

Unemployment in Botswana has remained persistent at nearly 17.8 per cent, and, as a consequence, income inequality in the country is among the highest in the world (World Bank 2015). Unemployment is identified by 58 per cent of citizens as one of the three key problems affecting Botswana (AfroBarometer 2014). It is identified mostly by urban dwellers at 65 per cent, followed by semi-urban dwellers at 58 per cent, and rural dwellers at 53 per cent.

It has been observed that notwithstanding the commendable economic achievements and growth of Botswana since independence, it finds itself amongst the top 10 of the world's most unequal countries (Mogalakwe and Nyamnjoh 2017). Further, out of these 10 most unequal countries in the world, Botswana occupies the third position with a Gini coefficient of 60.5. Of its national income, 50 per cent is confined to the richest 10 per cent of the population, whereas the poorest 10 per cent receive one per cent of the national income (Mogalakwe and Nyamnjoh 2017).

# **Ipelegeng: From a Drought Relief Programme to a Poverty Eradication Programme**

## **Brief Background to the Programme**

The Government of Botswana introduced the Ipelegeng programme, which was basically intended to make permanent what previous regimes used as a temporary relief scheme for those affected by periods of drought (Bakwena 2012). It is a reincarnation of the Drought Relief Programme to provide cheap labour for government development projects, such as roads maintenance and other projects at local government level, that require manual labour (Gwatiwa 2014). The Ipelegeng Programme, formerly known as the Labour Intensive Public Works Programme, had two components, being the Drought Relief Component and the Permanent Component. The Drought Relief Programme was intended to provide short-term employment support to citizens during years of drought, and as such the levels of wages paid were specifically set at a supplementary level and for a six-hour working day (Ministry of Local Government 2012).

Historically, the notion of Ipelegeng is premised on the spirit of self-help, self-reliance and people-centred development (UNICEF 2012). These three concepts have been an integral part of the culture and traditions of the Botswana society from time immemorial. Broadly speaking, Ipelegeng seeks to promote people-centred development, that is, the promotion of citizen participation in a decentralised and needs-oriented programme of planning and decision-making. Ipelegeng, as a formal policy and/or programme approach to poverty reduction and employment creation in the rural areas, was popularised by its founding member, President Sir Seretse Khama, immediately after the country attained independence in 1966.

The Permanent Component of the Drought Relief Programme had the same set-up and procedures that it had under the Labour Intensive Public Works Programme, except that it was funded during non-drought years and operated at a very low key, covering both rural and urban districts. Whereas the Permanent Component was implemented by all local authorities, the Drought Relief Component was confined to rural districts. Due to the recurrence of unfavourable hydro-climatic conditions and low employment opportunities, the government decided to run the Ipelegeng Programme on a permanent basis, covering both urban and rural districts and including all ministries. The Ipelegeng programme was declared a permanent programme and a poverty eradication strategy through a presidential directive in 2008.

It is worthwhile to note that public works programmes are popular policy instruments for poverty alleviation in developing countries, whereas some industrialised countries have used such programmes as intervention strategies (Mohapi 2016). In this regard, neighbouring South Africa has a similar programme called the Expanded Public Works Programme, which is intended to provide poverty relief through temporary work for the unemployed, allowing them to carry out socially useful activities and also to be

equipped with skills to enhance their ability to earn a living in the future (McCord 2005). It has been observed that these programmes should target a selected group of participants, in particular the poor and vulnerable, in order for them to be successful and benefit the beneficiaries (Museneke 2015).

### **Ipelegeng and Poverty Eradication**

The overarching objectives of the Ipelegeng programme are to provide relief from unemployment while at the same time to carry out essential development projects that have been identified and prioritised through the normal development planning process (Ministry of Local Government 2012). This programme is largely aimed at creating short-term or temporary relief for able-bodied, unemployed people to supplement their income from various other possible sources (Khama 2016; Ulriksen 2011).

Although the majority of poor people in the developing world have jobs, the problem is that these jobs are predominantly in the informal economy where conditions are usually insecure and incomes inadequate. Eradicating poverty is therefore not solely a question of generating economic growth and employment opportunities, but rather making sure that both the quantity and quality of available work can lead to poverty reduction (Bell and Newitt 2010).

The prioritisation of employment creation is informed by a prevalent assumption that employment has a positive impact on both poverty reduction and stability. It is assumed that employment creation reduces poverty directly by increasing household incomes, and indirectly by stimulating the economy through the creation of demand (Holmes et al. 2013). Sekwati, Narayana, and Raboloko (2012) argue that a wide array of these programmes, which have been introduced in place of long-term employment, provide only temporary relief that is not sustainable in the long term. In light of that, this article assesses and discusses one specific programme (the Ipelegeng programme) by critiquing (positively and negatively) the way the programme is managed or administered.

The targeted beneficiaries of the Ipelegeng programme are largely unskilled and semi-skilled people. They use simple tools and machinery to maintain public facilities such as drift fences, primary- and secondary-school facilities, health facilities, staff houses, government facilities, dams and storm-water drains (Bothale et al. 2015). Notwithstanding the fact that Ipelegeng offers beneficiaries only short-term employment and enrolls them only for alternate months, the programme is regarded as a permanent one and as part of the larger poverty eradication strategy (Hamer 2015).

### **Contribution of Ipelegeng to Household Economy and the Poverty Eradication Drive**

The Cabinet sets the programme wage rates, taking the cost of living into consideration. The wages are not regarded as payment, but as a supplement to beneficiaries' other

sources of income. Currently the rates are P23 per day for labourers and P28 per day for supervisors, which translate into P450 per month for labourers and P560 per month for supervisors (Mupedziswa 2018). The target of the Ipelegeng programme is to employ at least 40 000 people a month (Malema 2012). Largely due to the Ipelegeng public works programme, which has made a significant contribution to providing employment in the non-mining sector, unemployment has been gradually declining in Botswana for the past eight years (Malema 2012).

Poverty is more prevalent in female-headed households and is also greater in rural areas than in urban areas (Kapunda 2003). Ipelegeng has contributed immensely in addressing this problem in that the majority of the beneficiaries of this programme are women, constituting 82 per cent in both rural and urban areas (UNICEF 2012). As Ipelegeng has incurred greater expenditure with each passing year, the programme has come increasingly to characterise the public policy agenda of the president, Lt. Gen. Dr. Seretse Khama (Hamer 2015). Almost 48 per cent of the Ministry of Local Government's entire budget is allocated to take care of Ipelegeng's expenditure (Tlhalefang 2014). Ipelegeng's budget for the 2016/2017 financial year was P612, 964, 318, which is 91 per cent of the budget, and it goes towards paying the wages of the programme beneficiaries (Khama 2016).

Contrary to its literal meaning, which connotes self-reliance, Ipelegeng is generally seen as one of the government programmes that promote a dependency syndrome (UNICEF 2012). The programme is unsustainable, inconsistent with government development policy and does not address poverty eradication (UNICEF 2012). The programme's projects often do not generate any form of revenue or promote industrialisation in any way (Gwatiwa 2014). It is critical to note that Ipelegeng is neither a job creation programme nor a tool to provide the vulnerable with a stable source of income (Ulriksen 2011). Consistent with these findings, it has been argued that Ipelegeng, whose implementation costs approximately US\$66 million per annum for about 289 595 people, is not sustainable largely due to the fact that its benefits are not commensurate with the expenditure towards its sustenance (Jongman 2018). Similarly, it was found that Ipelegeng has failed to build capacity for the poor in respect of self-reliance and sustainable livelihoods, causing its beneficiaries to become more dependent on the government (Nthomang 2018). Another aspect of Ipelegeng that compromises its sustainability is the relatively low wages disbursed which do not reflect the costs of living in Botswana and do not assist its beneficiaries to no longer be trapped in poverty (Maundeni and Mupedziswa 2017). Beneficiaries have been reduced to doing menial jobs devoid of any skills (e.g. litter picking, de-bushing and street sweeping). There has been no emphasis on projects that promote sustainable livelihoods such as agriculture (UNICEF 2012).



## **In-depth Probe of the Ipelegeng Programme**

### **Planning and Implementation**

Ipelegeng is planned and budgeted for through the normal and/or usual government budgeting processes (Ministry of Local Government 2012). The projects are initiated by the communities through the assistance of the local authorities; funds permitting, approval of implementation is given by the ministry; and project implementation is supervised by the local authorities through programme coordinators (Ministry of Local Government 2012).

### **Evaluation**

Although one of the key objectives of the Ipelegeng programme is to provide support for unskilled and semi-skilled labour, the programme is faced with an array of challenges. The main challenges associated with Ipelegeng as a poverty alleviation and/or eradication strategy in Botswana include inadequate monitoring and evaluation, unsustainability of the programme as well as little or no value addition of the programme (Sekwati, Narayana, and Raboloko 2012). It is argued that the programme serves as a short-term solution to a bigger problem; hence it is unsustainable (Sekwati, Narayana, and Raboloko 2012).

Despite the fact that Ipelegeng provides temporary relief for the poor and the unemployed, it does not in any way contribute to their skills acquisitions and/or transfers: the programme only represents a focus on direct income distribution rather than on productive employment (Tlhalefang 2014). It is generally acknowledged that employment directly influences poverty reduction (Osei-Hwedie 2004). However, this is not true in the case of Ipelegeng. Although there is a high intake of employment in Ipelegeng, poverty rates remain high. An observation has been made that these poverty rates can be considered as very high, taking into account public expenditure on social welfare programmes and Botswana's per capita income (Koboyakgosi and Marata 2013).

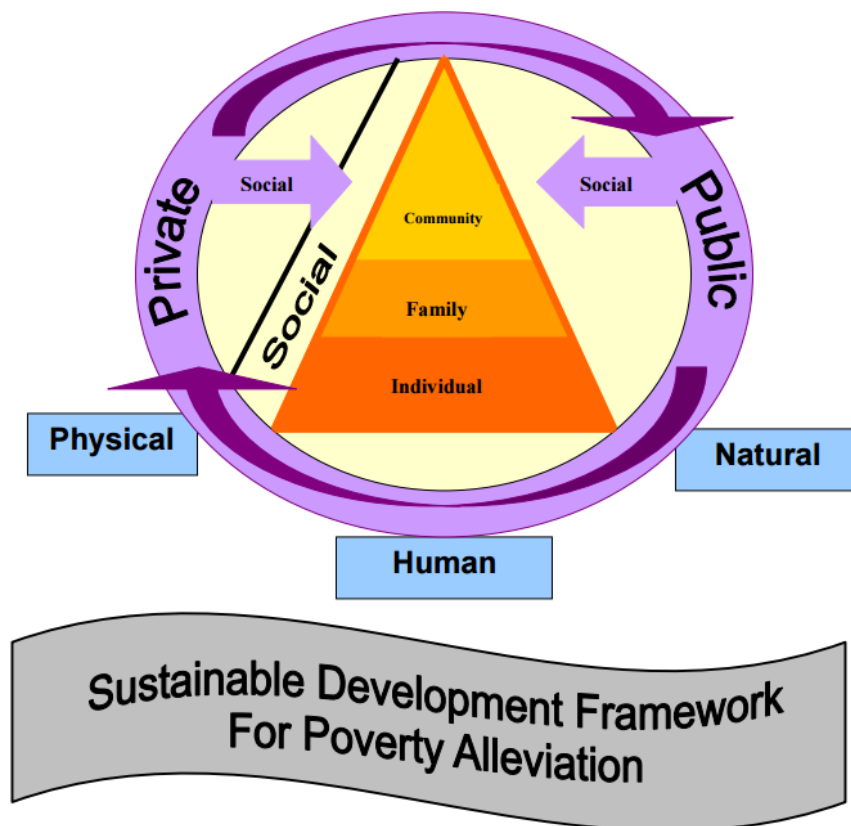
Monitoring and evaluation of this programme have been found to be weak, allowing the non-poor to push out the poor from employment (Tlhalefang 2014). This suggests that Ipelegeng does not only crowd out private sector activity by attracting labour away from it, but also re-distributes income not necessarily to the most needy (Tlhalefang 2014).

## **Participation and Sustainability of Ipelegeng**

### **Theoretical Framework of Sustainability**

Ending poverty requires more than economic growth. It also requires more than the inclusion of safety nets or programmes. It requires the crafting of sustainable pro-poor policies (Narloch 2014).

Figure 1 displays a graphic image of the sustainable development framework for poverty alleviation proposed by Duraiappah (2000).



**Figure 1:** Framework for poverty alleviation (Duraiappah 2000)

Duraiappah (2000) provides the following explanation of the proposed framework:

The analysis begins at the individual. His/her needs are evaluated and the inputs necessary for him/her to participate effectively in the economic system are evaluated. The first round of investigation looks at the three capital needs: physical, human and natural. The second round of analysis focuses on the social capital (formal and informal institutions) that is required in order for him/her to produce efficiently. This analysis then introduces us to the family. We next assess the inputs (H-human; N-natural; P-physical) that are needed for the family to operate effectively. Through this analysis, we try to capture issues relating to gender, children, etc. The second round also investigates the social links the family needs to use its resources effectively. Communities play an integral part in the daily chores of individuals and families in many developing countries. It is therefore critical to investigate and incorporate the formal and informal

institutions among the community, family and the individual. Once the community has been analyzed, we will turn our attention to the private sector. We suggest approaching the private sector through a sectoral perspective—as the World Bank does through its Comprehensive Development Framework and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers—and then linking the private sector to the previous three stakeholder groups. Inevitably, the private sector’s activities will also be determined extensively by the public sector.

The framework as proposed by Duraiappah (2000) adopts a bottom-up approach in devising any poverty alleviation policy, programme and/or intervention. It proposes the engagement of the beneficiaries of poverty alleviation strategies to be involved at the micro levels to come up with ways and means that the same poor believe will work for them to address their poverty. Before external stakeholders are engaged, the poor and their communities approve and take ownership of the strategies. This framework is the direct opposite of a top-down approach to the selection of and decisions about poverty eradication processes, an approach which is essentially based on what the ruling elites think and/or believe is what the poor needs. A top-down approach is too theoretical and abstract in the sense that the non-poor act and behave as if they know poverty better than those living in poverty.

The above framework is adopted in this paper for the purposes of assessing the sustainability of the Ipelegeng programme in Botswana.

### **Application of the Sustainability Framework to Ipelegeng**

Botswana has done extremely well in terms of commitment to state-led social protection initiatives; however, questions have remained regarding long-term sustainability of the initiatives (Mupedziswa 2014), and there are challenges relating to targeting, coordination, and implementation deficiencies (Mupedziswa and Ntseane 2012).

There is a need to introduce training and to harmonise the interventions with some of the existing policies geared towards enhancing citizens’ economic empowerment, which will enable the beneficiaries to become economically empowered and to consequently reduce their heavy dependence on government (Botlhale et al. 2015). This observation tallies well with the sustainability framework as proposed by Duraiappah (2000) and as adopted for the current study.

Ipelegeng, like many other poverty eradication and/or alleviation programmes in Botswana, was formulated and introduced using a top-down approach. Much as the actual projects to be executed under Ipelegeng are discussed and identified at village level, the programme itself is bureaucratic and devised at an executive level, with no evidence of public engagement before it was announced for implementation. This might explain the failure to significantly decrease the statistics of the poor and the unemployed despite substantial amounts of money being channelled into the programme. It is

submitted that had there been public engagement before coming up with Ipelegeng for the purposes of reducing poverty, the outcomes might have been different.

As stated earlier in the evaluation section of this article, there are no clear strategies detailing how beneficiaries of Ipelegeng are intended to eventually graduate from this short-term programme. Without any clear strategies to exit from Ipelegeng, most of the beneficiaries will remain dependent and trapped in this kind of ad hoc employment for years to come, necessitating the growing unsustainable budget of a programme that makes people dependent on government instead of self-reliant, which is the literal meaning of the word *ipelegeng*.

Over the years, the wage bill of the Ipelegeng programme will increase, and the authors of this article argue that public money circulates without necessarily having any benefit through the execution of quality projects. It is disconcerting to imagine what will happen to those dependent on this programme if they do not gain any professional skills or experience to improve their lives. In the rush to address poverty, there is usually pressure to disregard the basic tenets of sustainable development, which is a strategy that tends to be self-defeating in the narrow delivery of objectives, of which the trade-offs are sometimes rather illusionary than real (Aliber 2002). It is submitted that Ipelegeng is nothing but a populist programme that has not been well thought out and that it is far from being financially sustainable. Similarly it has been observed that Ipelegeng does not add any value in terms of returns on investment by the government and therefore the programme is not likely to achieve stated objectives but perpetuate a culture of dependency, which is not sustainable in the long term (Sekwati, Narayana, and Raboloko 2013). This is a significant departure from a conclusion that Botlhale (2015) reached that the Government of Botswana was sincerely committed to its anti-poverty policies, statements, and declarations, thus exhibiting a significant political will to address poverty in the country.

Notwithstanding the numerous programmes that have been and are being implemented to address poverty in Botswana, it cannot be said that they are financially sustainable or that their intended objectives have longevity in addressing poverty. No real trade-offs are to be derived from Ipelegeng and/or any other poverty eradication programme currently in place in Botswana.

## **Conclusion**

One of the main objectives of Ipelegeng is to provide a stable income for the unemployed or underemployed. However, as a result of its alternating enrolment of beneficiaries, it is an inherently unstable programme as the earning of income is not sustained throughout the year. Further, it does not equip the beneficiaries with any skills to use in improving their lives in order to escape from poverty. It is essential to point out that Ipelegeng does not provide any long-term solution to unemployment and poverty; it is largely just a term scheme to deflect real attention away from issues of

poverty and unemployment. This has never been the intention behind its design and conceptualisation. The opposite of the Ipelegeng programme is its South African counterpart that is intended to impart skills to its participants for eventual graduation from the programme and poverty itself.

Considering the fact that it takes considerable amounts of money from the implementing ministry's budget, it is submitted that Ipelegeng poses a funding problem in a struggling economy with increasing joblessness. It is recommended that Ipelegeng should be overhauled and replaced with a sustainable and financially viable programme that offers permanent and secure jobs. The meagre wages paid to Ipelegeng beneficiaries are not enough to sustain individuals, let alone when they have dependants. Under the current framework, the beneficiaries of Ipelegeng are trapped in poverty and hopeless unemployment. However, there appears to be little or no commitment by the current regime to resolve unemployment using long-term solutions.

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