



**AgEcon** SEARCH  
RESEARCH IN AGRICULTURAL & APPLIED ECONOMICS

*The World's Largest Open Access Agricultural & Applied Economics Digital Library*

**This document is discoverable and free to researchers across the globe due to the work of AgEcon Search.**

**Help ensure our sustainability.**

Give to AgEcon Search

AgEcon Search  
<http://ageconsearch.umn.edu>  
[aesearch@umn.edu](mailto:aesearch@umn.edu)

*Papers downloaded from **AgEcon Search** may be used for non-commercial purposes and personal study only. No other use, including posting to another Internet site, is permitted without permission from the copyright owner (not AgEcon Search), or as allowed under the provisions of Fair Use, U.S. Copyright Act, Title 17 U.S.C.*

WKKF funded project

Post-Graduate School for Agriculture and Rural Development  
University of Pretoria

Report on theme #1: Strategies for poverty alleviation and food security

**Poverty and livelihoods in rural South Africa:**  
Investigating diversity and dynamics of livelihoods.  
Case studies in Limpopo



**Contributors:**  
S. Perret, W. Anseeuw, F. Mathebula

October 2005

## Foreword:

The authors thank the Kellogg's Foundation (WKKF) for its financial support, which made this research possible.

The authors also wish to express gratitude towards Prof. C. Machethe, project leader at the Post Graduate School for Agriculture and Rural Development at The University of Pretoria, for his overall guidance and management during the project. Also, Lebohang Sekhokoane, research assistant on the project, prepared nice maps for that report, and for the project overall. The authors thank him for this.

*The authors are:*

*Dr. Sylvain Perret, associate professor at the University of Pretoria, attached to the Post Graduate School for Agriculture and Rural Development. S. Perret is an agronomist and socio-economist specializing in rural livelihoods and the contribution of natural resource based activities thereto. S. Perret is a senior researcher at CIRAD, a French research and co-operation organisation specialized in agricultural and rural development.*

*Dr. Ward Anseeuw, fellow researcher at the University of Pretoria and CIRAD, attached to the Post Graduate School for Agriculture and Rural Development. W.Anseeuw is a socio-economist and policy analyst, specializing in land reform and agricultural policies in Africa.*

*Ms. Ntombifuthi Mathebula is a research assistant at the University of Pretoria, attached to the Post Graduate School for Agriculture and Rural Development.*

## Disclaimer

The present report does not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of the Kellogg's Foundation, neither of the University of Pretoria. The authors bear the responsibility of the opinions and conclusions presented in the report. Comments are welcome and may be sent to the authors: [sylvain.perret@up.ac.za](mailto:sylvain.perret@up.ac.za) / [ward.ansseeuw@up.ac.za](mailto:ward.ansseeuw@up.ac.za) / [ntombi.mathebula@up.ac.za](mailto:ntombi.mathebula@up.ac.za)

## Citation

The present report should be referred to as follows:

Perret, S., Anseeuw, W. & Mathebula, N. (2005) *Poverty and livelihoods in rural South Africa. Investigating diversity and dynamics of livelihoods. Case studies in Limpopo.* Unpublished Project report num.05/01, Kellogg's Foundation / University of Pretoria, 65p.

## 1. Executive summary

The present report partakes to an overall study of the socio-economic and institutional circumstances in rural areas of South Africa, after 10 years of democracy and efforts towards rural development. The project aims to contribute to establish a state of the situation, on a case study basis, and an analysis thereof. Special emphasis is put onto two rural communities of the Limpopo Province, as case study areas: Makgato and Sekgopo.

The report first introduces and discusses the concepts of poverty and livelihood; especially the controversy around the former is presented. The report then briefly describes the policy frameworks at play in post-apartheid South Africa, which impact upon poverty features and livelihood systems (*inter alia* macro-economic frameworks, rural development policies, local governance).

The report then presents the case study areas, and then focuses onto factual socio-economic features as observed at household level. Data collection took place after sampling, in the form of individual interviews and questionnaires. Long detailed questionnaires were first applied (35 per communities), and then shorter questionnaires (237) were applied to complement the approach, and strengthen representativity.

Analysis has first been done as per community. It was found that the two communities were reasonably similar enough to allow for amalgamating data. Then, income group analysis took place, in order to unveil the key socio-economic features as per poverty group (i.e. the 30% better-off, the 30% poor, the 40% ultra poor). The average monthly income that separate better-off and poor households is R1 700, while the income that separate the poor from the ultra poor is R940. It was found that better off households are mostly men-headed, and accommodate more members, especially adult members than the poor, and the ultra poor. The latter are mostly women-headed, smaller households, with significantly less adult members, and more children. For the three groups, average monthly income is R3 905, R1 300, and R495 respectively. All three groups seem to rely on a broad portfolio of livelihood options; yet employment is resorted to by a majority of better-off households, while is hardly ever an option for the ultra-poor. Another finding is that (income-oriented) farming is hardly an option, especially for the ultra-poor.

Analysis has then particularly investigated the different livelihood systems that people have developed, how these systems perform, and what are the explanatory factors thereof. A household typology has been developed; it includes 9 socio-economic types. Such approach helps unveil the real nature of poverty, and the strategies at play. The two prevailing types are the pension-transfer dependants (24% of all households), and the social grants dependants (18%). Permanent employees (pluriactive or not) are the better-off households, while female-headed dependant households (isolated or with some remittances) are the poorest households, and represent together 13% of all households. Overall, such analysis disqualified the impression of broad portfolio in livelihood options. Actually, most types show some form of specialization. Yet, it seems that diversity in livelihoods, possibly including permanent employment or serious self-employment, is the way out of deep poverty.

The report finally discusses the key findings of the study: *inter alia*, the crucial role of employment in poverty relief, some alarming elements showing that social services may not reach out for the poorest, most isolated households, the very limited effect of welfare alone, as a single safety net against poverty, the important role of old-age pensions, the apparently decreasing importance of remittances in livelihoods, the very limited role of income-related

farming, and finally the bitter confirmation that poverty is correlated to certain vulnerable groups, namely women and children, who are disproportionately over-represented among the ultra-poor.

Overall, the figures drawn from the research are very alarming: in Sekgopo and Makgato, 70% of all households survive with less than 2US\$ a day per individual; among those, the poorest 40% of all households survive with less than 1US\$ a day per individual. For those 40%, the average daily income is actually about R4. Such figures are as harsh and appalling as those of many very poor countries around the world.

## 2. Table of content

Foreword .....	2
Disclaimer .....	2
Citation .....	2
1. Executive summary .....	3
2. Table of content.....	5
3. Introduction .....	7
4. Rural livelihoods in post-apartheid South Africa: a review .....	8
4.1. Discussion of terms, conceptual positioning, and relevance of the research .....	8
Poverty .....	8
Livelihood .....	9
4.2. Policy frameworks: evolution and current situation .....	11
Decentralising governance .....	12
Rural development policies .....	12
Rural development and local government: issues and challenges .....	13
A sectoral example: water and sanitation.....	16
4.3. Rural semi arid Limpopo: past research on livelihoods .....	17
Livelihoods in former Lebowa in 1994-95 .....	17
Farming and livelihoods .....	18
Small and local businesses, non-farm activities, and livelihoods .....	18
Diversified livelihoods and growth .....	19
5. Objectives, hypotheses and methodologies.....	20
5.1. Research questions and background hypotheses.....	20
5.2. Presentation of objectives, expected outcomes .....	20
General objectives .....	20
Specific objectives and outcomes .....	20
5.3. Presentation of approach for primary data collection .....	21
Site selection .....	21
Sampling procedure.....	21
Questionnaires .....	22
5.4. Presentation of approach for data analysis .....	22
Overall approach .....	22
Descriptive statistics.....	22

Poverty lines .....	23
Household typology .....	23
6. Description of the case study areas .....	24
6.1. Limpopo Province, Capricorn and Mopani District Municipalities, Molemole and Greater Letaba Local Municipalities .....	24
6.2. Ga-Makgato and Sekgopo Area .....	26
Description of Makgato locality .....	26
Description of Sekgopo locality .....	27
7. Results and analysis .....	29
7.1. Demography and livelihoods in Ga-Makgato and Sekgopo communities.....	29
Demography .....	29
Livelihood systems and sources of income.....	29
7.2. Investigating poverty: profiling income groups .....	31
Demography .....	31
Livelihood systems, sources of income, expenditures .....	32
Conclusion on income groups .....	34
7.3. Household typology: profiling household types .....	34
Household typology .....	34
Demography as per type.....	36
Livelihood systems and income .....	36
8. Conclusion, recommendations .....	39
Employment .....	39
Welfare, social transfers .....	39
Remittances .....	39
Farming .....	40
Livelihood diversification .....	40
Poverty .....	40
9. References .....	41
10. Appendices: questionnaires.....	45

### 3. Introduction

*“For the black, and especially African majority, suddenly a new dawn broke. After these masses had cast their votes, **they still had nothing in their stomachs and their pockets...** but they yet had a spring in their step because they knew that a new dawn had proclaimed the coming of a bright day.”* (President Thabo Mbeki, State of the Nation Address, Feb. 2004).

Ten years of democracy in South Africa have seen active policy development, and massive financial efforts by the public sector towards rural development and poverty alleviation. A sizeable share of public spending is now devoted to social grants, improved public services, including healthcare, education, electricity, water, sanitation, and housing (the so-called “social wage”). Yet, in spite of visible achievements and successes (i.e. regarding service delivery, infrastructural development, local governance issues), one can still observe that, overall, few changes actually occurred in rural people’s life during those ten years, owing to both the legacy of apartheid (May, 1998), and the lack of efficiency of certain programmes or policies so far (e.g. on land reform, and smallholder agriculture, on rural development planning, on water management) (Greenberg, 2001; Anseeuw, 2004; Perret, 2004). Further, the controversial 2000 Income and Expenditure Survey released in 2002 provoked strident debate when it concluded that, *“South Africans, on average, became poorer between 1995 and 2000. Increases in social spending have not as yet translated into higher average incomes and expenditures”* (Stats SA, 2002).

The controversy on progress in poverty reduction (or worsening) is still on. Despite efforts, data come up intermittently, and not always timely. Further, the absence of an official national poverty line results in poverty estimates that fluctuate within quite a broad range (Roberts, 2005).

The present report partakes to an overall study of the socio-economic and institutional circumstances in rural areas of South Africa, after 10 years of democracy and efforts towards rural development. The project aims to establish a state of the situation, on a case study basis, and an analysis thereof. Special emphasis is put onto two communities of the Limpopo Province, as case study areas. Such project results into three different reports.

One report focuses on the features and impact of different land reform programmes at local level, and on the social determinants to success or failure thereof (Anseeuw & Mathebula, 2005). A second report investigates rural organisations and institutions, and their links with development features (Nkangweni & Paraliu, 2005).

The present report focuses onto socio-economic features at household level. It particularly investigates the different livelihood systems that people develop overtime, how these systems evolve, and what are the explanatory factors thereof. It also addresses the issues of poverty, and the contribution of resource-based activities (among which farming) to livelihoods and food security.



## 4. Rural livelihoods in post-apartheid South Africa: a review

### 4.1. Discussion of terms, conceptual positioning, and relevance of the research

This introductory chapter aims at defining and discussing the terms and concepts that are mobilised in the document. It does not only clarify the terminology but also forms the theoretical background and conceptual positioning upon which hypotheses and the rationale of the work are based.

#### **Poverty**

Poverty is defined in May (1998) as “*the inability to attain a minimal standard of living, measured in terms of basic consumption needs or the income required to satisfy them*”.

Indeed, poverty has many dimensions, among which low consumption is only one, linked to others: malnutrition, illiteracy, low life expectancy, insecurity, powerlessness and low self-esteem (IFAD, 2001). Poverty is also linked to frustrated capabilities due to asset deprivation (land, markets, information, credit, etc.), inability to afford decent health and education, and lack of power. It usually results in alienation from the community, food insecurity, crowded homes, usage of unsafe and inefficient forms of energy, lack of adequately paid and secure jobs, and fragmentation of the family.

Such definition finds a striking illustration in the case of South Africa, where no famine can be observed<sup>1</sup>, and where social and welfare grants often guarantee a minimum livelihood at household level<sup>2</sup>. Yet, black rural people have long been denied their birthright, i.e. decent houses, water, electricity and other services, during apartheid. Hemson & Owusu-Ampomah (2005) reminds that such situation supposes that service delivery in South Africa does not only include the ability to provide users with services needed or demanded, but also a sense of redress and of social inclusion. Indeed, standards of living have slightly risen in rural areas, owing to improved service delivery and infrastructural development (Hemson & Owusu-Ampomah, 2005). Yet, the question remains as **to what extent development policies and programmes have effectively and sustainably improved rural people’s life, out of poverty**.

In South Africa, rural poverty and chronic deprivation may be partly ascribed to the poor endowment in natural resources of former homeland areas<sup>3</sup>. More generally, poverty is rather seen as a political construct (such poor endowment having been forged and organised by the apartheid system) whereby rural poverty served the interest of dominant social groups by

---

<sup>1</sup> *Famine should not be mistaken with malnutrition and nutritional deficiencies, which are common issues in rural South Africa.*

<sup>2</sup> *South Africa, almost alone on the continent, provides broad social welfare to the population. For instance, women over 60 years and men over 65 years may earn monthly R780 with an old-age pension; households may earn monthly R180 per child under 14 years of age (at the time of the survey). Other disability grants also do exist.*

<sup>3</sup> *From the Natives Land Act of 1913 on, a number of homeland areas (also formerly called Native areas) were delineated according to ethnic, geographical and economic criteria, and formed “reserves” for black people. Such spatial discrimination was developed and implemented further under the apartheid regime. Reserves were granted some form of autonomy from central government. Some of them ultimately were declared self-governing independent states (Bantustans), although not recognized internationally. Homelands and the so-called independent Bantustans have all been re-incorporated into the country in 1994.*

assuring low-cost farm-labourers and workers for off-farm activities (mining and the industry, commercial and domestic service). In economic terms, economic rationality allocates household labour to its highest paying opportunity (Low, 1986). Owing to deprivation in natural resources (from enabling rainfalls to proper access to land) and lack of skills and markets, potential income from farming or non-farming rural activity remains very low and uncertain. Therefore, African rural dwellers have long been tempted (or forced rather) to join the relatively well-developed non-agricultural, non-rural labour market. Such off-farm labour market has dominated household work incentives and labour allocation. The crucial consequences of that process are (see Perret, 2003; Fraser *et al.*, 2003, for case studies in the Eastern Cape for instance):

- the massive adult-male migration out of the rural environment; most rural households are women- and/or pensioner-headed in former homeland areas;
- an overall collapse of the African peasantry (which existed until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, before the first discriminatory, land-related laws); farming is often a minor activity and a poor bread-winning activity in most circumstances;
- most entitlements (in the sense of Sen, 1981) fall into the “inheritance and transfer-based” category; households mainly depend on cash income given by others, including remittances and social / welfare grants; yet, livelihoods remain highly diversified.

A vicious circle towards sustained rural poverty and dependency has then developed (the so-called poverty trap, in the words of May, 1998).

Stats SA (2000) used the monthly expenditures of R800 or less in 1996 prices to define a household poverty line. According to that survey (based on data collected in 1995), 38% of Limpopo’s population is poor. According to May (1998), about 50% of South Africa’s population live in rural areas. Recent sources reckon that such percentage has decreased to about 40%. However, the population in Limpopo is more than 85% rural (Forgey *et al.*, 2000). According to May (1998), 72% of the poor population lives in rural places, and so do 81% of the ultra poor population (the poor defined as the 40% poorest households, and ultra poor the 20% poorest households). Furthermore, within the rural areas, 74% of the population lives in poor households, and 44% live in ultra poor households (Rural Development Strategy of RDP-1995). Hence there have been numerous attempts to address the poverty problem by introducing programs to improve economic growth.

*“It is very important that preconceptions about what the poor do, what their livelihood strategies are, should be put aside. It has been common in the past to make untested assumptions about the poor, and as a consequence, to misdirect support”* (DFID, 1999; DFID facts sheet 2.5.2).

It is against that background that the research has been initiated, to understand and explain livelihood strategies of rural households in a context of rural development support, land reform, decentralization of governance, and overall democratisation and liberalization.

## **Livelihood**

The term “livelihood” is used rather than “job” or even “source of income”. First, most rural people work in agriculture (as farmers or farm workers) or get non-farm or off-farm job opportunities only seasonally and often part time. Second, individuals and households create a living from various sources: production (farming, local craftwork, small-scale industries), own labour, trading, transfers (grants and remittances); this last form of entitlement often

forms the backbone of rural people's livelihood in South Africa, especially through old-age pensions (Anseeuw *et al.*, 2001; Perret, 2003).

In 1998, the government produced the Poverty and Inequality Report (PIR). This questioned whether the macroeconomic framework would actually deliver poverty eradication, and suggested a variety of ways to improve well-being through agriculture, employment creation and land reform. Such report illustrates the two strands of thinking that have dominated the debate about land reform and the restructuring of post-apartheid South Africa's rural economy, at least until 2000: (1) land restitution and redistribution will be conducive to poverty alleviation, and (2) support to smallholder agriculture is an effective mechanism for creating and enhancing rural livelihoods. McIntosh & Vaughan (1996) warned that "*neither of these populist paradigms is likely to generate practical and sustainable approaches to the problem of creating and enhancing livelihoods on a significant scale*". Almost ten years have past, yet the question remains sharply topical in rural South Africa.

In Sub Saharan Africa, rural people tend to move away from natural resource-based occupations (Ellis, 1998; Bryceson, 2000). South Africa makes no exception and such trend leads to the diversification of rural livelihood systems. Although 70% of rural households carry out some form of farming activity, only 2.7% of rural households in South Africa are relying primarily on this source of income (Forgey *et al.*, 2000). Actually, livelihood diversification appears to be a strategy (made by necessity or choice; Ellis, 2000) out of poverty, and towards more resilience and sustainability. According to Ellis (1998), livelihood diversification is more than activity and income diversification. It includes property right, social and kinship networks, and access to institutional support. Livelihood diversification is the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in order to survive and to improve standards of living.

*"Livelihood diversification is a pervasive and enduring characteristic of rural survival, reflecting the continuing vulnerability of rural livelihoods. The task of policy is to facilitate rather than inhibit diversity... Diverse livelihood systems are less vulnerable than undiversified ones"* (Ellis, 2000: 298-299). The present report will define, describe and analyse the diverse livelihood systems that have developed in the study areas.

Livelihood systems may include (Ellis, 1998):

- farming activities and income;
- non-farming activities and sources of income (e.g. gathering from the wild and local trade, food processing, local services –traditional healing, repairs...-, handcrafting)
- off-farm activities (e.g. permanent, seasonal or casual external jobs and wages, self employment in trade, small scale industry and businesses);
- non-income related activities (i.e. housekeeping, child / relative caring, fetching firewood and water for domestic use);
- non-activity related sources of income (i.e. remittances, welfare).

In recent years, a broad and comprehensive definition of the concept of livelihood has been developed, in connection to sustainability. Chambers & Conway (1992) stated that a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including tangible and intangible resources) and activities required for a means of living. "*A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base*" (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Scoones (1998) and research teams at DFID (e.g. Ashley *et al.*, 2003) further

developed the so-called Sustainable Rural Livelihood Framework, which will be mobilised for situation analysis in the present report.

## 4.2. Policy frameworks: evolution and current situation

Since 1994, the South African government has undertaken massive reforms aiming to address rural poverty and inequalities inherited from the past apartheid regime.

The African National Congress (ANC) government was first elected in 1994 mostly on a manifesto of social demands captured in the *Reconstruction and Development Programme* (RDP). This programme has addressed land restitution, housing, health facilities, water and sanitation. The RDP had poverty-related objectives, with a welfarist, supply-driven approach to development. The political defeat of social, progressive forces led to the dropping of the RDP, and to the adoption of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macroeconomic strategy from 1997 onwards. This implied a clear commitment by government to pro-market policies, an overall liberal stance, a globally competitive economy.

The RDP was the policy framework within which Government intended to create a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society. The RDP was aimed at a better life for all South Africans and the shared commitments between government and the people are:

- Meeting the basic needs of the people;
- Accelerating the basis for sustained economic growth, development and job creation;
- Development of human resources;
- Ensuring the safety and security of the citizen and the state; and
- Transforming the organs of government to reflect the development and people-oriented nature of democratic state.

The *Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy* (GEAR) replaced RDP after 1997, as one of the principal instruments for the realization of the policy objectives contained in the RDP. It is a macro-economic initiative to address the problem of poverty and inequality reduction, by addressing structural weaknesses inhibiting economic growth and empowerment.

While these strategies were well articulated, their implementation has not been very effective at local level. They largely were implemented with the exclusion of the local economic requirements.

Under these two successive macroeconomic frameworks, the government has developed two parallel policy streams since 1994 (Davids, 2001; Perret, 2004). On the one hand, local government (LG) has been gradually established and strengthened, as the third constitutional sphere of governance, in line with an overall decentralization process. On the other hand, rural development (RD) has taken a growing place into political discourses from 1994 onwards, and has been promoted or implemented through various policies, legislations and programmes, which has often been conceived and managed centrally, at the national and/or provincial levels.

In spite of the government's willingness to position local municipalities as the key providers and promoters of development in rural areas, these policy streams have long developed separately. They recently tend to converge, with the current attempt to better integrate the

Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) with local municipalities' Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) (Perret, 2004). (see footnote 4).

### **Decentralising governance**

In 1995, the first democratic local elections have taken place, establishing the transitional structures that would govern the local level until 2000. The Constitution of 1996 establishes the three co-operative spheres of government. It confirms the pivotal role of local government in social and economic development, enhancing democracy, the sustainable provision of services and the promotion of participation. Lack of practical guidelines, legislation gaps, strong urban bias, lack of skills and of experienced staff by local government hindered the implementation of such principles (Davids, 2001; Perret, 2004).

In March 1998, while the government was shifting from RDP to GEAR, the White Paper – WP- on Local Government established the way out of the transitional phase. It confirmed the constitutional and developmental role of LG, which would work with communities to find sustainable pathways to meet their needs and improve the quality of their lives. It aims at maximising impact on social development and economic growth, integration, co-ordination and alignment of public-private investments, democracy and pro-poor development. The expected outcomes include provision of services and infrastructures, creation of liveable, integrated urban and rural areas, empowerment and redistribution. The White Paper on LG promotes integrated development planning, budgeting and performance monitoring, performance management and participation of citizens and partners.

Observers consider the WP on LG as a radical re-orientation, a paradigm shift, since it promotes Integrated Development Planning (IDP) with community-based goals, clear reference to redistribution of income and opportunities towards the poor. It proposes to democratize development. It aligns developmental local government with key constitutional concepts (equity, human dignity and rights), yet with a clear neo-liberal background and inspiration.

Between 1998 and 2000, a series of acts follow the WP on LG, setting up the necessary legislation framework for implementation: The Municipal Structures Act (which mostly sets up the different categories of municipalities), the Municipal Systems Act (which defines processes and operational features such as IDPs), the Municipal Demarcation Act 5 (which sets up the Demarcation Board), the Municipal Financial Management Bill.

The Municipal Systems Act of 2000 sets up municipalities IDPs as points of departure for managing and evaluating performances, budgeting and allocating resources, changing organisations. Also, it makes community participation compulsory, in the content of IDPs, as well as in the process by which they are drafted. Hence a two-folded, capacity-building challenge that is identified: citizens should learn to participate in municipal affairs, and municipality staff should learn to foster such participation.

On paper, all what resulted from the WP on LG looked a coherent and rational system, yet with no specific rural focus or consideration.

### **Rural development policies**

The various texts underlying the RDP made repeated reference to rural development, but little emerged (Everatt & Zulu, 2001; Davids, 2001).

In 1995, a National Rural Development Strategy is drafted. It integrates considerations on the local government framework, with RDP objectives. It must be noticed that cost recovery concerns are set up since the outset, in spite of RDP's welfarist background.

At the time it was launched, the National Rural Development Strategy –NRDS- however ignored local government issues (e.g. the very uncertain role granted to traditional authorities, the learning and weak local transitional municipalities). Also, it did not address the key issue of the actual potential of rural economy, in areas left under-developed by the previous apartheid regime. Finally, it mixed up since the outset two approaches, on the one hand a right-based, gap-filling, supply-driven, and welfarist approach to development, and on the other hand, an approach based upon productivity, economic efficiency, and cost recovery.

Unlike initially planned, a White Paper on Rural Development never came to being after the NRDS was launched. In 1997, a revised Rural Development Framework (RDF, drafted after the NRDS) was proposed and driven by the RDP. When RDP came to an end, being followed by the GEAR macro-economic framework, such RDF was transmitted to the Department of Land Affairs. Overall, GEAR confirmed the “user-pays”, “containing costs”, and “market-driven” principles, in a general neo-liberalist line.

Before the general election of 1999, certain advocacy groups (e.g. the Rural Development Initiative) urged the government to address specifically and explicitly the rural development issue. After its election, President Mbeki made a clear step towards that end: in 2000-2001, the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy was drafted, drawing a lot from preliminary works done within Land Affairs and other key line Departments after the RDF.

Among others, some key principles led the ISRDS: a focus at the district level, LG being the key player and the locus of integrated rural development through the IDPs. It also acknowledges the weaknesses of local municipalities, hence a further focus on districts. Finally, the ISRDS acknowledges and emphasizes the differentiation of economic potential in rural areas.

It has been turned into a programme –ISRDP- in order to emphasize its operational purpose. The programme focuses efforts in 13 nodes, spread over developing rural areas of South Africa, 12 of them strictly superimposing districts' boundaries<sup>4</sup>.

ISRDP is presented as a spatial development framework, which tries to accommodate environmental, social and economic agendas. It is designed to provide national and provincial means at local level, since many local municipalities are ill-equipped to play a significant role by themselves. However, ISRDP is not aiming at replacing or duplicating any local initiative. It is supposed to fit into the local IDPs, and to be driven by local municipalities.

### **Rural development and local government: issues and challenges**

After several years of separation, it seems that ISRDP on the one hand, and IDPs on the other hand start being developed and implemented complementarily. The 13 development nodes of ISRDP are becoming the loci where local governance and rural development converge<sup>4</sup>. This chapter explores and describes synoptically the remaining challenges and issues regarding both policies, and their combination.

---

<sup>4</sup> The case study areas for this report, namely Ga-Makgato and Sekgopo Areas, however fall in the Capricorn and Mopani District Municipalities respectively, and locally in the Molemole and Greater Letaba Local Municipalities respectively, out of any existing delineated ISRDP node.

### *The prominent role of districts:*

The Municipal Structures Amendment Act of 2000 acknowledges the weaknesses of local municipalities (B) and re-allocated functions such as infrastructural development, bulk supply and services, from municipalities to districts (category C). As a consequence, districts are *de facto* confirmed as the main developmental and infrastructural operators and service providers in rural areas of South Africa (Perret & Lhopitalier, 2000; Davids, 2001).

Districts are given power over all municipalities under their jurisdiction, which includes ensuring the development of IDPs (their own and the municipal ones), and building capacity where necessary. This poses some issues in terms of:

- accountability, since district staff does not represent the local population, or the elected individuals at municipal level;
- dependency, from a B municipality view point (especially on capacity building);
- reversibility, since some economy of scale made at district level (large areas) might not be duplicable at municipal level (much smaller size), whereas the Act stipulates that the power should be gradually put back at municipal / local level, as capacity grows;
- participation, since increased distance and lack of communication do exist between districts and the local level.

Also, such design lies onto the assumption that districts do have the capacity in staff and skills to help local municipalities, which is not always the case (Davids, 2003).

### *Independence and the revenue of municipalities:*

Local rural municipalities derive about 40% of their income from national and provincial transfers (as compared to 8% for urban municipalities). Yet, their share of national revenue is 4%, in the form of the Equitable Share –ES– (Davids, 2001).

The Equitable Share is a mandatory, non-conditional, entitlement, which means that LG can allocate and use it with limited control from national and provincial levels.

Some observers insist that more ES being directed towards local rural municipalities would be instrumental in making them more autonomous and efficient, and would release the pressure onto impoverished populations (away from cost recovery objectives attached to water and electricity supply). The current situation reflects both a reluctant national government to actually decentralize, and the prevailing neo-liberal ideology (Naidoo & Veriava, 2003).

### *Actual participation:*

Participation has repeatedly been put forward by policy documents as a compulsory element of local governance and rural development as well, yet with various and discussable implementation features. Information, and sometimes consultation, has indeed been carried out (forums), but co-design, co-decision and actual partnership, as defined in Perret & Mercoiret (2003), have seldom taken place.

The 1994 RDP forums raised enthusiasm among communities and civil society organisations, which enthusiasm was not accommodated further by the then inexperienced local government (Davids, 2001). Even the recent ISRDP points out community participation as key, yet with little mention to rural NGOs and CBOs (community based organisations).

Besides obvious lack of capacity and skills to actually organise participation by local municipalities, some objective hindrances do exist. Unlike urban settings, rural areas lack an

active civil society (Greenberg, 2001). Furthermore, certain non-governmental initiatives were sidelined or ignored while drafting the ISRDS. Finally, participation of all rural areas meets physical and social hidden barriers (the poor cannot be easily reached, owing to remoteness and transportation issues, participation of women, the youth, the elderly may be socially sidelined) (Davids, 2001).

#### *Between welfarism and neo-liberalism:*

There are no doubts that rural South Africa, and more especially former homeland areas (Bantustans), still lacks basic services and infrastructures. Huge efforts and delivery have taken place since 1994, but there are still lots of needs left unattended. While the government tries to provide basic constitutional services (i.e. free basic water policy), it also tends to increasingly and contradictorily implement cost-recovery, “containing costs”, and “market-driven” principles (Hart, 2002; Naidoo & Veriava, 2003).

Rural people start to witness the shift away from mere “welfarism”, as a leading principle of emerging democratic South Africa, to a colder neo-liberal and deregulated approach (e.g. state withdrawal of agricultural support, subsidies and extension, “user-pays” principles applied to water supply, etc.). Certain private/public arrangements become uncertain, unsustainable and unattractive.

Key questions remain as to how to promote rural development with such contradictory objectives? How to avoid creating new forms of dependency for rural people, while also releasing pressure and unlocking opportunities for them? (Hemson *et al.*, 2004).

#### *Implementing ISRDP within IDPs: sectoral temptations*

The ISRDP Programme forms an opportunity for bridging rural development and local governance. It is supposed to harness and bring national and provincial means and capacity at local level. It is supposed to fit into the local IDPs, and to be driven by local municipalities.

In spite of such a clear and rational framework, the first implementation stages that have taken place in some of the 13 nodes show certain flaws and setbacks:

- IDPs are often seen as outputs or products by both local policy makers, line departments and development operators, whereas IDPs should be on-going processes, whereby participatory negotiation of development goals should play a major part;
- So far, many ISRDP bear no relation to the demands set out in local IDPs, but rather reflect potential deliverables from line departments, which often seem to compete with each other (for visibility purpose) rather than co-operate; hence some sectoral initiatives and projects that can be seen here and there, and which have little to do with an integrated, demand-driven approach (Davids, 2001);
- De facto, most nodes have been selected on the basis of needs (as perceived by external observers) and of political lobbying and pressure, and not of potential (if any) or level of readiness (Everatt, 2001);
- Furthermore, the 13 nodes fell into new municipalities; most initial time has been spent in capacity building at local government level, rather than on delivering;
- Finally, a cruel question remains: what to do in rural areas where no ISRDP node falls (meaning, of little interest or potential from an ISRDP perspective)?

#### *Some persistent myths: what potential? which role for agriculture?*

ISRDP policy and implementation guideline documents repeatedly emphasize the notion of potential for development of rural areas where the nodes have been located, i.e. in former



homeland areas. Observers raise a number of issues regarding that notion of potential, as a basis for development policy and efforts:

- Former homeland areas had been specifically and purposively delineated during the apartheid era for their lack of potential for development (poor endowment in most natural resource) (Hart, 2002)
- Furthermore, all efforts seem to have focused onto despoiling them from development assets (poor institutions and economic environment, poor infrastructures, etc.);
- Agriculture keeps been pointed out as the first potential mover for development in rural areas (Brooks, 2000), whereas rural people themselves do not see agriculture as an answer to their plight (May *et al.*, 1997);
- Urban areas absorb best-educated people and most energetic layers of rural society (Hemson *et al.*, 2004); women, children and the elderly are *de facto* key role players in rural areas;
- Putting forward the notion of potential for development (especially economic development as ISRDP implicitly puts it) relegates welfare and service provision to satisfy basic (constitutional) human needs as secondary matters.

Once again, the contradiction between welfarist and neo-liberal approaches is pointed out here (Davids, 2001; Naidoo & Veriava, 2003). In some instances in rural areas, it would be best to simply acknowledge the current lack of potential for economic development in the short term, and to focus on the severe backlogs in most infrastructures and services. Such idea also confirms the earlier warning by McIntosh & Vaughan (1996), who believed that unfounded expectations on economic development based on land reform and smallholder farming represent “*a danger that the social and poverty alleviation strategies which are really required to enhance livelihoods ... will be neglected*”.

### **A sectoral example: water and sanitation**

Land reform policy, programmes and implementation features have been addressed within the project, and are dealt with separately in another report (Anseeuw *et al.*, 2005). Another interesting sector for evaluating government’s policy and delivery in rural areas is the one of water supply and sanitation.

Water and sanitation received high priority in the RDP, and the scale of provision in the water sector has been hailed as a great achievement. However, improvement has been very modest in the neglected sector of sanitation. Furthermore, a large majority of achievements and provisions in water supply have not principally targeted rural households, which need basic services most desperately, but are least capable of paying for them (Hemson & Owusu-Ampomah, 2005). Piped water supply in remote rural areas is very costly, and the recovery of costs in itself implies costs. In the long run, schemes and programmes cannot be sustainable on the basis of cost recovery, without a considerable and consistent increase in rural incomes.

After an outbreak of cholera in august 2000 in Kwazulu-Natal, the government finally implemented the constitutional free basic water principle. Some authors (e.g. Cottle, 2003) argue that the outbreak happened as a direct result of the government’s cost recovery policies for water and sanitation services. Case studies have shown that the introduction of the free basic water service has expanded consumption in rural projects by an order of two to three times, hence increased costs and a loss in revenue. However, some costs have been reduced (less vandalism on metered standpipes).

All in all, after the 1997 Water Services Act, and the National Water Act of 1998, a lot has been delivered in terms of infrastructures and services, yet with a strong urban and peri-urban bias, while little has been effectively achieved in terms of institutional development: to date, only some Water User's Associations have been officially validated by the Department of Water Affairs, and two Catchment Management Agencies are currently being established. Such situation falls far short of promises, and of expectations and needs of rural areas for decentralised and effective water resource and service management, at both local and regional levels (respectively).

#### 4.3. Rural semi arid Limpopo: past research on livelihoods

The Limpopo province is one of the poorest in South Africa, with more than 85% of its population being rural (Forgey *et al.*, 2000; see also chapter 5). Former homeland areas covered a large part of the province, with namely former Lebowa, Gazankulu, Venda, Bophuthatswana, and Kwandebele.

This chapter takes stock of previous research done in Limpopo's former homeland, semi-arid areas, as benchmarks for the project.

##### **Livelihoods in former Lebowa in 1994-95**

A study by Barber (1996) in 1994-95 in two contrasting communities of former Lebowa (in the then Northern Province) is probably the most interesting study that can be exploited as a benchmark for this present project. It provides a detailed quantification of rural incomes and the contribution made by different income sources to livelihoods. It also investigates the variation in livelihood patterns (sources of income and types of activity) according to poverty levels.

Barber (1996) studied the two communities of Mamone and Rantlekane, both are in semi-arid areas with around 500mm of rainfall per annum. Mamone is located in the southern part of the province, just North Madibong, in the hearth of Sekhukhuneland. It's a long established community, which is more settled, deeply rooted than many others. Rantlekane is located about 100km West from Polokwane, and has been much more disturbed by forced settlements. At the time of the survey, two third of the households only settled there within the last three decades.

The study shows the importance of labour related out-migration in both communities. The migration ratio is defined as the ratio of migrants to all household members of working age. Such ratio is 0.38 for Mamone and 0.59 for Rantlekane. Unsurprisingly, remittances are the most important income source for resident households, comprising 33% of total income at community level in Mamone, and 51% in Rantlekane. Pension transfers comprise 13% of income in Mamone, and 17% in Rantlekane. Other sources are small businesses and formal local wage income. By contrast in both villages crop production make relatively small contributions to household livelihoods, being much more important in Mamone (9%) than in Rantlekane (0.4%). Mean monthly income is R702 in Mamone and R722 in Rantlekane (see tables 1-2).

A pertinent finding is that local activities are generally time-consuming but yield a small share of household income. Agriculture represents an extreme example of this disparity: in Rantlekane, 44% of livelihood time is devoted to agriculture but only 2% of income is generated from it. The study concludes that migration, hence remittances, is likely to remain the critical income source for families in such communities.

Amalgamating results from both communities, the study shows that only 34% of total household income could be categorized as local non-farm income, 6% is farm income and 60% external non-farm income.

Table 1. Composition and level of income in Mamone, Limpopo Province (1995) (Source: Barber, 1996)

Source:	Households with income from source (%)	Mean income for households with income from source (R/m)	Mean household income (% from source)
Remittances	66	359	37.1
Pensions	26	365	14.6
Other social transfers	30	146	11.7
Formal wage income	6	1169	4.1
Informal wage income	16	114	5.0
Informal activities	24	127	7.0
Businesses	8	1804	6.3
Cropping	74	71	9.2
Livestock	22	95	3.6
Other	2	155	1.3
All income	-	710	100

Table 2. Composition and level of income in Rantlekane, Limpopo Province (1995) (Source: Barber, 1996)

Source:	Households with income from source (%)	Mean income for households with income from source (R/m)	Mean household income (% from source)
Remittances	93	395	66.1
Pensions	30	404	16.3
Other social transfers	18	51	3.2
Formal wage income	5	3232	3.3
Informal wage income	11	130	2.8
Informal activities	20	109	4.6
Businesses	2	1200	0.4
Cropping	34	4	0.4
Livestock	20	8	0.8
Other	5	267	2.0
All income	-	710	100

### **Farming and livelihoods**

According to Meyer (1993, cited by Makhura & Rwelamira, 2000), rural households fall into four basic categories, in terms of access to resources and commercial orientation. Resource poor households consist of families who have no arable land or grazing rights (estimates range from less than 50% in former Lebowa, 36% in Venda and about 50% in Gazankulu). Smallholders have land but produce less than the food needed for subsistence, and usually do not sell produce. Progressive emerging farmers use some modern technology and sell produce/or livestock. Those most integrated into market activities are commercial farmers who make a substantial share of household earnings from farming.

Most black farmers fall into the first and second categories and are thus either landless and/or engaged in subsistence farming on individual farms of less than 1 to 5 hectares. The vast majority are dependent on non-farm incomes for their livelihood, either through commuter jobs, remittances from migrancy and/or pensions.

### **Small and local businesses, non-farm activities, and livelihoods**

A large number of informal enterprises in the rural areas and townships of Limpopo Province make a diverse range of products, both food and non-food, that are mainly used by the people of the areas. A survey conducted by Kirsten (1995), in sixteen rural villages in the former homeland areas of the Limpopo and North West Provinces, recorded a total of 747 businesses,

most of which were engaged in seasonal activities performed by unpaid family labour, using primitive technology and catering mostly for the local (surrounding) market. It was determined from that information that the largest number (47%) of enterprises was commercial and trading enterprises, including general dealers, cafes, spaza shops, bottle stores and butcheries. The second most numerous type (18%) was transport enterprises, consisting mainly of taxi operators and lorry drivers. About 11% of all recorded enterprises were providing personal and community service, while 21% were involved in value-adding activities, such as food processing (4%), construction (4%) and manufacturing (13%). A similar study conducted by Rwelamira & Mthethwa (1999), in twelve (different) villages of the North West Province confirms the above findings. 47% of the enterprises were trade related, 31% were small-scale agriculture type, 18% were in the manufacturing and processing industry, while only 4% were involved in construction.

Makhura, (1999) identified the mean income per adult equivalent (AE) from non-farm activities. Salaries or earnings from government employment contributed the highest mean income per AE estimated at R1268 monthly. Pensions or government pay out were second with mean earning per AE of R843, followed by wages (about R665). Self-employment activities (business and services) were least contributors with mean earnings of about R379 and R412 respectively. These results reflect that government supported non-farm activities contribute more to per capita income than independent activities. However, it is imperative to identify the pattern in which these non-farm activities link with farm activities to improve incomes of farming households.

### **Diversified livelihoods and growth**

Van Zyl, Kirsten & Ngqangweni (2000) argue that the rural poor spend a high proportion of their incomes on locally produced goods and services, and that interventions increasing incomes will have substantial spillover effects on growth beyond the sector of origin. The spillovers occur as growth is multiplied through expenditures on locally produced goods and services, thus generating additional employment and earnings. Existing literature (cited here above) documents and describes the array of non-tradable (i.e. locally produced) goods and services and the small businesses that provide them (e.g., shops, cafes, spaza shops, bottle stores, butcheries, taxi operators, etc.). Earnings from agriculture are not the primary source of income for the rural households surveyed, but they are significant, and they fuel some of the wages and salaries recorded as other items of income. Nonetheless, rural areas are still highly dependent on flows of income into the localities through wages generated externally and remittances. Net exports from the locality (through sales of products or services) and transfers in cash have equal multipliers through the expenditure side, and will increase demand for locally generated goods and services. The two sources of income differ importantly in two ways, however. Income transferred through payments or remittances does not generate additional activity through the backward linkages, as would locally produced output. Moreover, the prospects for growth in transfers or remittances are limited, highlighting the importance of increased locally produced output.

## 5. Objectives, hypotheses and methodologies

### 5.1. Research questions and background hypotheses

After ten years of democracy and rural development efforts in South Africa, the question remains as to what extent the new dispensation has effectively and positively impacted upon the life of the rural poor.

In the light of existing literature, a series of key features were characterizing rural settings during the early years under the new dispensation:

1. Rural livelihood systems tend to diversify away from the usual natural resource basis;
2. Adult male migration significantly impacts onto the actual composition and labour availability in households, and generates remittances as crucial sources of income;
3. Women and pensioners are de-facto often heading households;
4. External sources of income, including social and welfare grants, remittances play a major role in livelihoods;
5. Local sources of income, including farming and local non-farm activities and wages, play a minor role in livelihoods, owing to lack of skills, opportunities, markets and resources;
6. Rural poverty refers to poor, less diversified, and local income basis.

Results from other recent research indicate that such features are still prevailing in rural South Africa (Perret, 2003; Fraser *et al.*, 2003). These features serve as background hypotheses, to be verified, in the current research.

### 5.2. Presentation of objectives, expected outcomes

#### **General objectives**

Although research has been carried out in different places and communities of Limpopo, the idea was to identify the current trends in livelihoods, to identify and analyse possible changes in the features listed here above. A first objective is to investigate the diversity of livelihoods, at household level and at community level. A second objective is to investigate the dynamics of livelihoods and to identify the opportunities for change and improvement at household level, and the factors and risks thereof. Finally, recommendations for policy-making and development-support should be drafted from the research.

First, the focus level for research is the household, including the family unit. Second, the research intended to rely upon primary data. Therefore, data collection and analysis have been performed mostly at household level, as described in chapter 5.3.

#### **Specific objectives and outcomes**

- to develop and describe a typology of rural household, applying to the communities investigated, in order to examine the diversity in livelihoods at both household and community levels;

- to investigate the nature, the extent and determinants of livelihood diversification, and the interplay between diversification, poverty at household level, and selected household characteristics;
- to investigate the dynamics of livelihood behaviour and decisions at household level, and the factors influencing such changes;
- to examine the links between certain livelihood characteristics and land reform projects;
- to draft some recommendations for policy-making and development-support.

### 5.3. Presentation of approach for primary data collection

#### **Site selection**

Sites have been selected according to several criteria (not specific to the livelihood analysis):

- relative representativity of the overall prevailing situation of former Bantustan, semi-arid rural areas of the Limpopo Province;
- choice of two communities, for diversity, representativity and comparison purposes;
- existence of land reform projects and schemes (restitution claims, redistribution projects) in the selected area;
- existence of a network of local organizations, representing the usual institutional situation in rural Limpopo;
- reasonably good accessibility for research teams from University of Pretoria and University of Limpopo;

The two communities of Ga-Makgato and Sekgopo have ultimately been selected, located in the Molemole and Greater Letaba Local Municipalities, and in the Capricorn and Mopani District Municipalities, respectively. The case study areas are further described in chapter 6.

#### **Sampling procedure**

Ga-Makgato includes about 1000 households, and Sekgopo about 4600 households. Carrying out detailed primary data collection at household level supposes sampling.

It has been initially decided that a total of 70 detailed livelihood questionnaires, to apply then to analyse, would allow for sufficient representativity, feasibility (considering the timeframe and availability of means), and the development of a typology. For that purpose, 35 households have been selected for data collection in both communities, in a mixed systematic stratified-random basis for Sekgopo, and only on a random basis for Makgato (which includes one single ward). Sekgopo has been first divided into existing sub-villages / wards, then proportional systematic random sampling was applied on each of the strata.

In addition, owing to the size of the communities, 50 short questionnaires have been further applied in Makgato, and 165 in Sekgopo, in order to better cover the population.

All in all, 85 livelihood questionnaires have been applied in Makgato (8,5% of the population), and 200 in Sekgopo (4,35%). Ultimately a total of 237 questionnaires were accurate and documented enough to be exploited for analysis.

## **Questionnaires**

For data collection at household level, livelihood questionnaires (detailed and short ones) have been developed in May 2005, then applied during 3 successive fieldwork sessions between mid June and mid July 2005. Detailed questionnaires included domains such as:

- household demographic characteristics,
- livelihood assets (tangible and intangible),
- livelihood activities,
- decision making and labour allocation features,
- income structure and features,
- farming activities and budgets,
- markets and finance aspects,
- social capital, and organizational aspects,
- perceived issues and constraints.

Application of a questionnaire required about one hour per household, and two interviewers.

Short questionnaires, aiming at complementing and validating initial findings from the detailed questionnaires, only addressed basic demographic, livelihood and social capital features. Application of a short questionnaire required about 15 minutes per household.

Examples of both detailed and short questionnaires are displayed in the annexe section of the report (see from page 44 onwards).

Data collection primarily relied on individual interviews (the head, most of the time) at household level. However, group discussion, and maximum community involvement and participation has been much sought-after and promoted since the outset. Similarly, the awareness and involvement of public and private local actors have been promoted (local government, private sector, cooperatives, neighbouring commercial farmers, etc.).

### **5.4. Presentation of approach for data analysis**

#### **Overall approach**

Figure 1 captures the overall framework for data collection and data analysis for the livelihood component of the project.

#### **Descriptive statistics**

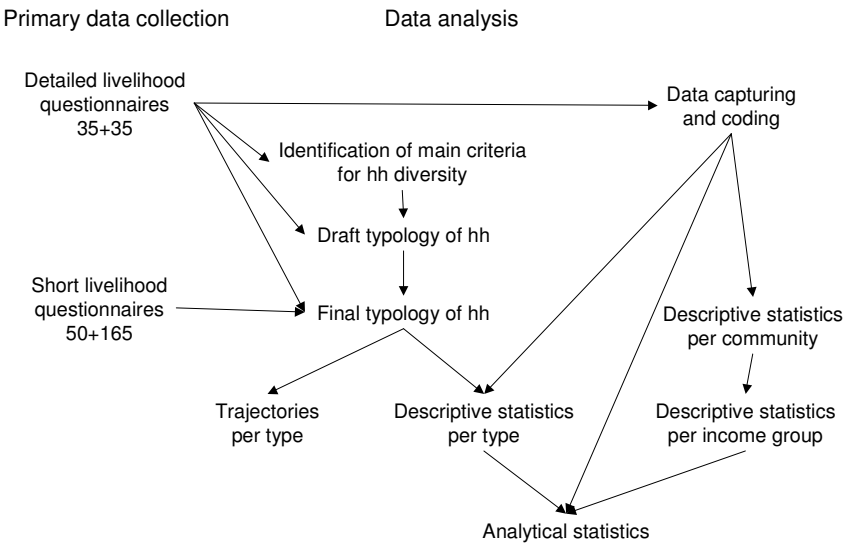
Descriptive statistics have been performed. It first basically compared both communities in terms of demographic then livelihood profiles.

Data from both communities were then amalgamated (into 70 households), and a closer look was given to the characteristics of three income groups: the 30% better-off (21 over 70), the 40% poorest (28), and the middle income group (21). The three groups were scrutinised and compared in terms of demographic and livelihood profiles. The next sub-chapter on “Poverty line” justifies that choice on the 40% poorest.

Finally, after the typology scheme was developed (see here below), types were also studied and compared in demographic and livelihood terms.

Statistical tests were systematically performed to check whether any difference observed between averages were significant or not. Owing to the small size of samples in each group, it was chosen to perform bilateral Student’s *t* test. Only positive testing (meaning a significant difference at 0.01) is highlighted in tables when such case occurs, i.e. a figure that is significantly different from any other<sup>5</sup> is granted a different letter than that other.

Figure 1. Framework for data collection and analysis.



**Poverty lines**

Incidence of poverty in rural areas slightly differs according to sources. For May (1998, citing the Rural Development Strategy of RDP-1995), 74% of the rural population lives in poor households, and 44% live in ultra poor households. Forgey *et al.* (2000) reckon that about 72% of the rural population lives in poor households.

For analysis purposes, a poverty line has been set at 70% of the poorest households (meaning that the households classified as poor are defined as the 70% poorest households). The ultra poor households are the 40% poorest households.

**Household typology**

Data analysis will aim at a better understanding of livelihood systems in rural poor areas of South Africa, in an attempt to move away from average figures and amalgamation at community level. Special emphasis has been put in identifying the main different livelihood strategies that are taking place within the communities. To that end, a typology of households have been established, based on some critical features that differentiate households

<sup>5</sup> Rejection of the hypothesis H0: no difference between data, when t not being in the interval [-0.995 ; 0.995]



livelihoods, e.g. source and level of income, social linkages and capital. Ultimately this should support the drafting of differentiated policy recommendations.

According to Jary & Jary (1995), a typology designates “*Any classification [conceptual] scheme. It may or may not be exhaustive within its empirical frame of reference. The role and utility of any typology is relative to the theoretical or practical perspective within which it is formulated*”.

The use of typologies has a long lineage in sociological analysis. Typologies have been used in rural sociology primarily to distinguish the social and economic characteristics of rural households (Whatmore, 1994). Capillon (1986) introduced the methodology for investigation at farm level. Typologies may differ in terms of (i) unit of analysis, (ii) criteria for classification, or (iii) analytical purposes.

In recent works on agricultural systems (Perrot & Landais, 1993; Landais, 1998), the term typology designates both (i) the procedure that leads to building-up household types, and (ii) the system of types itself resulting from this procedure. Van der Ploeg (1994) favoured the term *styles of farming* instead of *types*. A typology is usually an attempt to group activity units according to their main modes of operation and their common characteristics, i.e. in types.

Within the framework of rural development support projects, designing a typology implies grouping, then describing households with similar characteristics and needs, with regards to the project’s objectives. Typology schemes represent formalisations of the complexity of the rural world at local level, and analytical ways of making sense of this world.

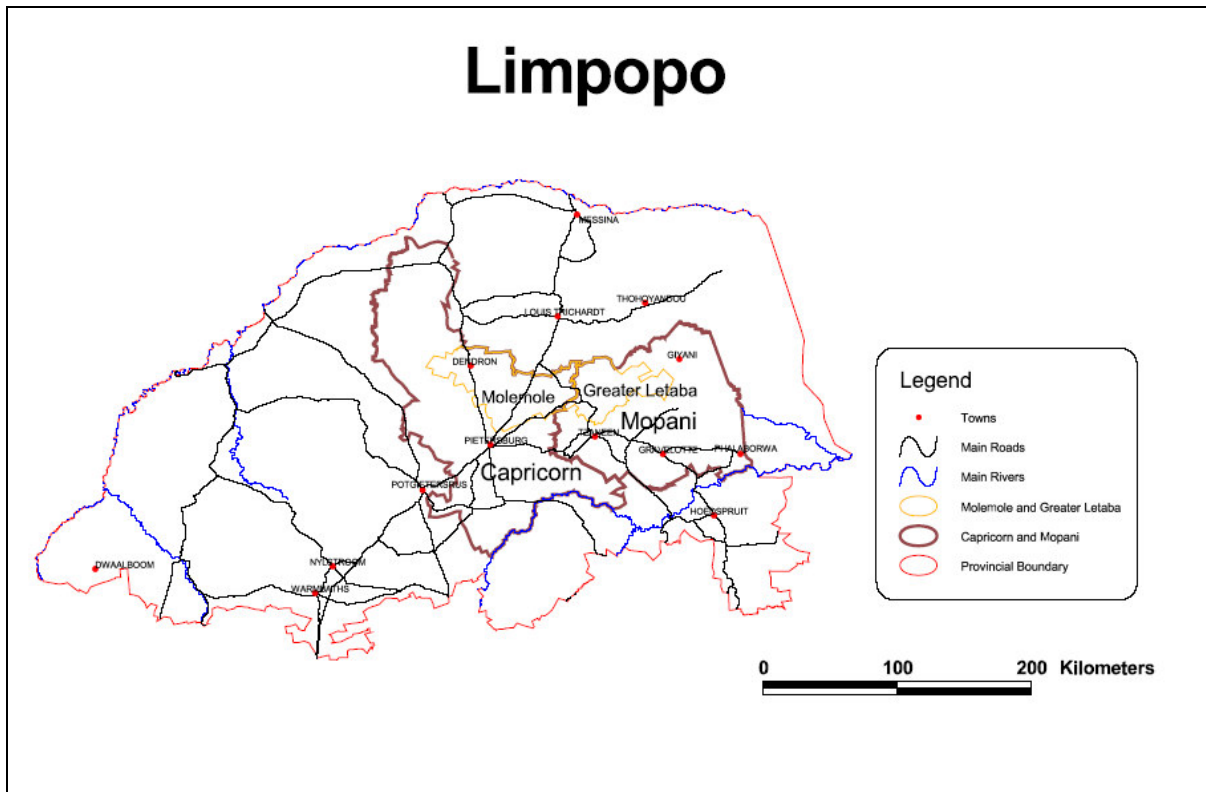
The essential steps of the procedure and their adaptations have been detailed by Capillon (1986), Perrot & Landais (1993), Mettrick (1994), van der Ploeg (1994), Landais (1998), Perret (1999) and Tefera (2003).

Types will first be defined through a manual classification, after key factors for differentiation between households have been identified. Primary data collected with detailed and short questionnaires will be used for that purpose. Once types are established, descriptive and analytical statistics will be carried out to validate the types and to identify further factors for differentiation and dynamics.

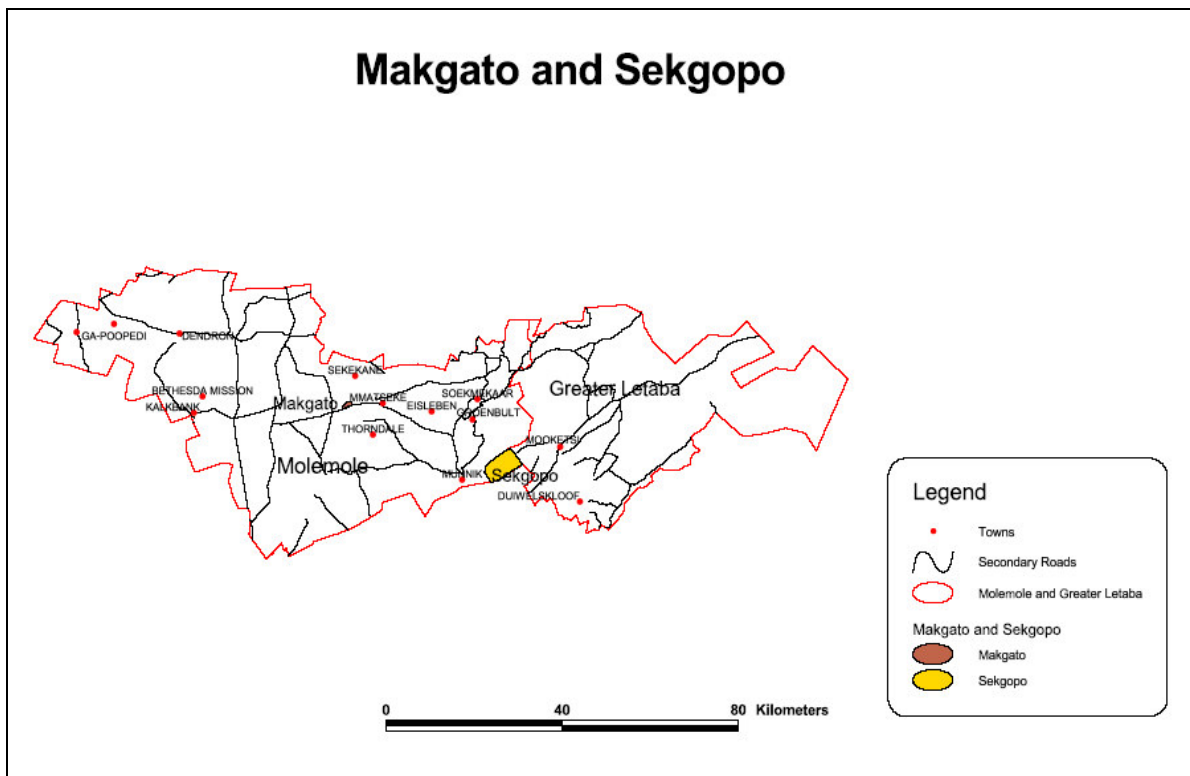
## 6. Description of the case study areas

### 6.1. Limpopo Province, Capricorn and Mopani District Municipalities, Molemole and Greater Letaba Local Municipalities

The two communities of Makgato and Sekgopo have been selected upon criteria and procedures outlined in section 5. Makgato is located in Molemole Local Municipality in Capricorn District while Sekgopo falls under Greater Letaba Local Municipality in Mopani District. Map 1 shows the location of these local and district municipalities within Limpopo province. Map 2 shows the location of Makgato and Sekgopo within the two local municipalities.



Map 1: Location of district and local municipalities in the study



Map 2: Location of Makgato and Sekgopo

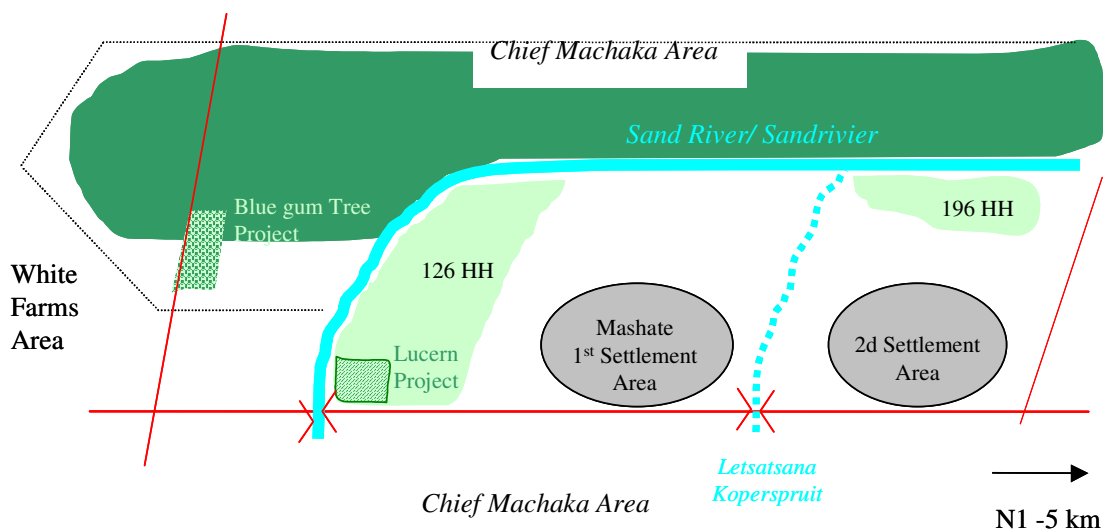
## 6.2. Ga-Makgato and Sekgopo Area

### Description of Makgato locality

#### *History, location and governance*

Makgato community is composed of over 1000 households, making up a single village situated on land given by Lebowa Government during the late 1950s. The community has had a long history of forced removals. Their original kingdom was dismantled during the Apartheid regime. They have submitted a land claim to get their original land back (restitution).

Makgato is situated on dry land, adjacent to the N1 national road, and neighbouring the biggest settlement in Molemole Municipality called Matoks. It is right at the centre of Molemole Municipality (see maps 1-2-3).



Map 3: Map of Makgato (reproduction of a hand-drawn sketch by some key informants).

The area Makgato came about from successive forced removals. The name Makgato is a surname of the tribal chief. The village stands on the so-called Klipplaad drift farm that was under the former Lebowa self governing territory. Originally, the people lived at Makgatospruit from where they had been forcefully removed to the present locality (Klipplaad drift) in 1958. In 1979 they were removed again from Klipplaad drift (study area) to Kromhoek (under current Blouberg Municipality). They have tried to rebuild Makgato in 1981 in Klipplaad drift as most of the houses were demolished when some residents resisted removal. The ones who were left in Makgato are the ones who resisted the removal. They are a minority. The majority of the community forcefully removed from Makgato ended up in Kromhoek. The two villages (Makgato and Kromhoek) still have contacts and their land claim submitted in 1995 is in progress.

Makgato village is divided into three parts. The first part is adjacent to Letsatsana River. The second (Moshate) and third parts are divided by the Sand River. North of Sand River is a

grazing area. Letsatsana has been completely dry for more than ten years now. This is due mostly to drought.

Currently, the village is located under Ward 6 of Molemole Local Municipality. The elected municipal councillor is not active in this village. The community is served only by tribal authorities, with little or no involvement with the local municipality.

#### *Infrastructure and amenities*

The village has three schools - a lower primary, higher primary and a secondary school. A clinic is located in the village and the hospital is in Dendron, several kilometres away. There is the agricultural office, as well as a post office. There is public telephone facilities at the office of the Tribal Authority.

The village is connected to an electricity grid (via pre-paid meters) since 1996 and has access to free in-yard piped water (albeit not always flowing) since 2001. Five kilometres away, along the N1 national road, there is a service complex supplying the greater area of Makgato, Ramakgopa and Machaka (after the surnames of the three chiefs of these areas). There is a commercial bank facility and a big brand-new supermarket since 2004 as well as a hardware shop, a filling station and a taxi rank. The villagers use taxis to transport them to the four main towns in the area (Polokwane, Louis Trichard, Dendron, and Soekmekaar). Three taxi owners in the local taxi association come from Makgato.

#### *Agricultural activities and land management*

Farm work appears to be the main economic activity for many villagers. Since the village is very dry, only a few people cultivate. Those who do, plant maize, cow pears and choco beans. The communal grazing area has four boreholes and is about 13 hectares in size. Grazing is managed through rotation.

The village has a number of agricultural projects, for example, a blue gum tree project that is currently not operating, a livestock project, greenery project at school, and individual poultry projects. There are ten boreholes for human drinking, but six of them are dry. All agricultural projects seem to be experiencing difficulties in being productive.

People who want to obtain residential plots at the village must put a request to the tribal council. If the person is from Makgato he/she pays a fixed rate of R2 per year for the land. It can take up to three years to secure a residential plot. If the person is not from Makgato he/she must come in via the council and he/she must have a profile from the village where he/she is coming from. The council then verifies the profile with the council from the village where he/she is coming from. The person then has to pay R200 as an application levy.

### **Description of Sekgopo locality**

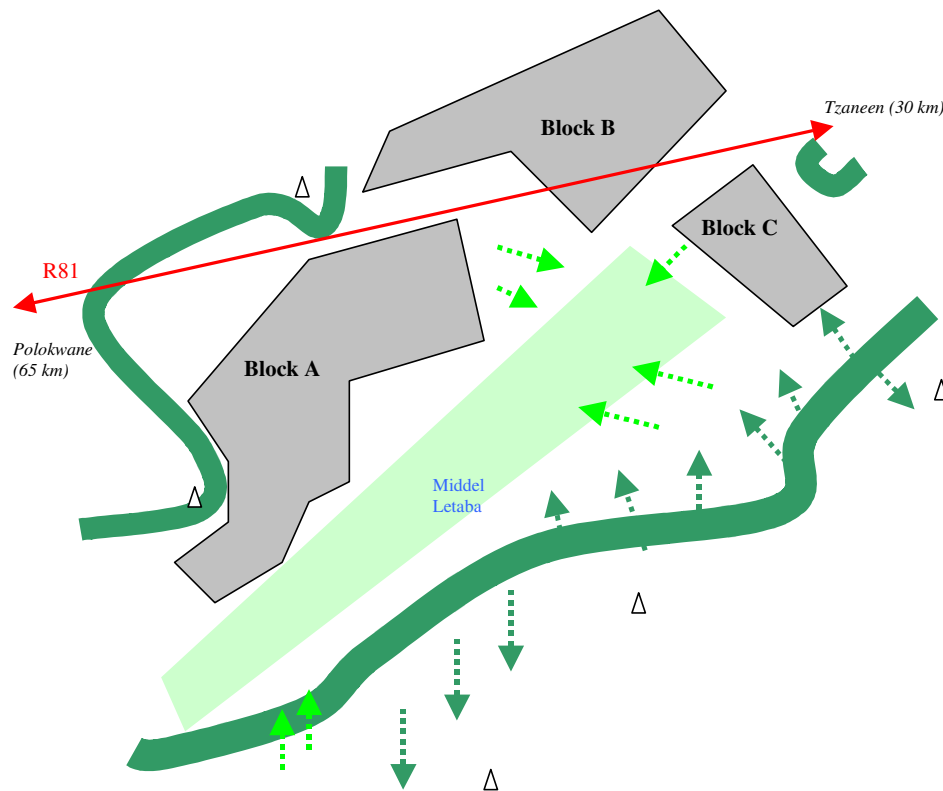
#### *History, location and governance*

Sekgopo is situated on a basin surrounded by mountains, which are part of the Drakensberg escarpment. Its area is a western extension of Greater Letaba Local Municipality (under Mopani District Council) and is sandwiched between Molemole on the north, and Greater Tzaneen Local Municipality on the south (see maps 1-2-4).

Sekgopo is composed of over 4500 households spread over 11 sub-villages, all under one chieftaincy. Each sub-village is under a headman who is accountable to the chief. The

community is settled on traditional lands. Although it has not had any history of forced removals, it has slightly grown over the years through the accommodation of displaced populations from Munnick, Mooketsi, and Groombelt in 1982-83.

This movement has created mixed villages. Sekgopo was part of Lebowa homeland. The eleven villages are aggregated into three blocks, Block A, Block B and Block C (See Map 4). Block A is the largest with four headmen.



Map 4: Map of Sekgopo (extracted from the topo-cadastral maps of 1983 and 1996 ; it is also based on the information given by the Secretary of the Sekgopo Tribal Authority)

At the municipality level Sekgopo village is represented by two councillors: one for Ward 1 including Block A and half of block B, another for Ward 2 including Block C and the other half of block B. The councillors are very active in this community and try to work together with the tribal authority. Tribal authority council meetings occur once a week and village council chaired by the headman also occurs once a week.

#### *Infrastructure and services*

There are nine primary schools and four secondary schools in the village. There are two clinics; the bigger one is in block A and a small one in block C. There is one recreation area. Cafés, tuck shops, general markets and retailers, a post office, a small police station and a petrol station are present in the area. Banking facilities are lacking.

The community in Block A has access to prepaid electricity, while the rest do not have access to electricity whatsoever. Water is communal, and usually free of charge. Not all households

have in-yard piped water access, but public taps are found on the streets. Water access is also unequal, as some families have to pay for it (transport), and others not, and some close to it, and others far. Villagers use collective taxis for transport to the nearest national road and towns.

### *Agricultural activities*

Many people in the village are farm workers. Many households practise subsistence agriculture and livestock, and some of them sometimes produce surplus, which is marketed within the community. A river runs through the village and facilitates gardening. Tomatoes, green beans, spinach, cabbages and maize are the main crops cultivated. Goats and cattle are the main livestock. The grazing area lies on top of the mountain and appears to be over grazed. Access to water is seen as the main constraint towards development of commercial agriculture in the village. There is general lack of employment in the village. Many villagers benefit from social grants. Food plots are available for the very poor, mostly sick people unable to work.

## 7. Results and analysis

### 7.1. Demography and livelihoods in Ga-Makgato and Sekgopo communities

#### **Demography**

Table 3 recaps basic demographic features in both communities.

Table 3. Demographic profile in Ga-Makgato and Sekgopo communities (standard deviation in between brackets)

Features:	Ga-Makgato (n=35)	Sekgopo (n=35)
Male-headed households (%)	40	48.6
Average age of head (years)	53.5 (15.2)	53.2 (15.7)
Average number of household members	6.3 (2.1)	7.1 (3.1)
Average number of adult household members (> 15 years old)	4.1 (2)	4.6 (2.4)

Figures prove very similar. Average age of head is almost the same. The percentage of female-headed households is markedly higher in Makgato though, while the number of dependants (adults and children) per household is higher in Sekgopo (although the difference is not statistically significant).

#### **Livelihood systems and sources of income**

Table 4 shows the livelihood profile in both communities. In both communities, families rely on a diversified portfolio of sources of income. A majority benefits from social welfare grants in the form of childhood allowance and/or old-age pension. Significantly less households are benefiting from employment wages in Sekgopo, as compared to Makgato. Even more marked is the difference in households benefiting from remittances, far lesser in Sekgopo. A striking figure is the low percentage of households benefiting from either crop-farming income or stock-keeping income.

Table 4. Sources of income in Ga-Makgato and Sekgopo, shown as percentage of households relying onto given sources

Sources of income:	Ga-Makgato (n=35)	Sekgopo (n=35)
Childhood allowance	57.1	62.9
Old-age pension	51.4	45.7
Employment	40.0	25.7
Self-employment	20.0	20.0
Remittances	31.4	17.1
Health allowance	0.0	5.7
Crop farming	0.0	5.7
Stock keeping	5.7	0.0
No source of income	0.0	0.0
Other sources	5.7	0.0

The livelihood profiles in both communities differ markedly from the ones identified by Barber (1996) in two other communities of Limpopo (see tables 1-2). Percentages of households benefiting from remittances, from farming income, are far higher there, while percentages of households benefiting from pensions and other social transfers, and from employment wages are much higher in Sekgopo and Makgato.

The communities are different; therefore it is impossible to formally compare figures. However, hypotheses may be formulated. Such a dramatic drop in the proportion of households benefiting from remittances (from 93% and 66% in Barber's communities in 1995 to 31% and 17% in the studied communities in 2005) might be ascribed either to lower number of households with migrants today, or to a declining ratio of migrants actually sending back money to their original households. High unemployment, massive retrenchment plans in the mining sector, and prevalence of Hiv-Aids among migrants may be explanatory and may favour the former hypotheses.

The high proportion of households benefiting from social transfers today is easily explained by an improved service organization and delivery by post-apartheid South Africa (especially childhood grants, which hardly existed 10 years ago), as well as by an aging rural population. More households have pensioners nowadays.

Finally, the two situations show a striking difference in the proportion of households benefiting from farming income. Only a couple of households actually benefit from it in Sekgopo and Makgato, while 74% and 34% of households benefited from crop farming income in the two Barber's communities.

Table 5 presents the average income earned by households benefiting from a given source. Such figures complement the ones gathered in table 4. The average monthly income is higher in Sekgopo, although being highly variable among households in both communities (as standard deviation shows). Although not statistically significant (owing to high dispersion), such difference is striking since less households in Sekgopo benefit from employment wages, from remittances, and from pensions (as seen in table 4). Actually, it seems that the difference results from a much higher average income from employment in Sekgopo (more than twice as much as in Makgato).

Other figures very much compare with each other. Strikingly, farming activities are among the most profitable ones, yet only few households benefit from such income (as seen in table 4). The situation is completely opposite to the one studied by Barber (1996). In this community, a large majority of households would rely on farming, yet earning meager

income from such activities. Nowadays in Segkopo and Magkato, very few families do rely on farming, yet with a high income. Such income is much more variable in Segkopo than in Makgato.

Table 5. Average monthly income as per source or activity, for households benefiting from such source, in Ga-Makgato and Segkopo, in Rand (standard deviation in between brackets)

Source of income:	Ga-Makgato	Segkopo
Total income	1591.7 (1986.3)	1926.9 (2211.1)
Crop and stock farming	2150.0 (495)	1616.7 (1666.3)
Employment	1071.4 (583.6)	2359.8 (1479.0)
Self-employment	1714.3 (3245.2)	1957.1 (2452.8)
Old-age pension	797.8 (341.3)	858.8 (379.9)
Remittances	302.7 (267.4)	316.7 (299.0)
Childhood allowance	355.0 (279.8)	309.1 (245.3)

Since both communities compare much with each other, and owing to the small size of samples, it was decided to merge data and to carry out the rest of the analysis with a unique sample amalgamating both communities (70 households).

## 7.2. Investigating poverty: profiling income groups

Following the hypotheses made in 5.4 (Poverty lines), income groups could be defined in both communities. The maximum monthly total income that defines the 70% poorest households (the poor) is R1 636 in Makgato, and R1 772 in Segkopo. The maximum monthly total income that defines the 40% poorest households (the ultra-poor) is R940 in Makgato and R934 in Segkopo.

### Demography

Table 6 displays the demographic features of all three groups.

Table 6. Demographic profile of poverty groups in Ga-Makgato and Segkopo communities (standard deviation in between brackets)

Features:	Better off (n=21)	Poor (n=21)	Ultra-poor (n=28)
Male-headed households (%)	81.0	42.9	17.9
Average age of head (years)	56.3 (15.6)	54.1 (16.2)	53.0 (14.7)
Average number of household members	8.0 <sup>a</sup> (3.0)	6.8 <sup>ab</sup> (3.0)	5.7 <sup>b</sup> (1.8)
Average number of adult per household (>15 years old)	5.7 <sup>a</sup> (2.3)	4.2 <sup>ab</sup> (2.0)	3.4 <sup>b</sup> (1.7)
Average number of children per household (<15 years old)	2.5 (1.8)	2.7 (1.9)	2.8 (1.3)
Ratio: average number of adult / average nb. of children	2.3	1.6	1.2
Household membership index <sup>6</sup> (from averages)	5.73	4.68	4.1

Two figures attached with different letters are significantly different, as tested with a bilateral Student *t* test at 0.01.

<sup>6</sup> The Household Membership Index is a demographic unit. It allows for demographic comparison between households with different sizes, number of adults and children as members. It's especially useful as a unit for evaluating economic or nutritional features per individual. It is calculated as  $HMI = (\text{number of adult members} / \frac{1}{2} [\text{number of children}])^{0.9}$ . Such algorithm takes account of economy of scales in larger families in terms of food, goods, and income use and distribution among members.



The better-off households are mostly male-headed, while ultra-poor households are mostly female-headed, confirming a common, yet very concerning trait of rural communities: poverty strikes more women than men (Forgey *et al.*, 2000; Roberts, 2005). Average age of the head is not different between groups. Household demography shows a striking difference between groups, in terms of overall members, and adult members. Better-off households host more people than poor and ultra-poor ones. The difference is even statistically significant between the two extremes. It seems that it's mostly adult demography that differentiate groups: better-off households host more adult members (with a high ratio adults / children), while ultra-poor host less adults (with a two times lower ratio adults / children).

First, ultra-poor households are mostly female-headed, and most probably single female headed, which explains a lower number of adult. Second, those households might also include less old members (on average), since table 7 shows that they are fewer accessing old-age pensions.

### Livelihood systems, sources of income, expenditures

Table 7 shows the livelihood profile in the three income groups. Quite amazingly, all three groups display a diverse portfolio of sources of income. The only marked differences are about the following elements:

- Farming as a source of cash income is not resorted to by any ultra-poor households (still, not being very popular neither in other groups);
- Salaried employment, and self-employment show a sharp decrease as a possible livelihood from better-off households to poor, then ultra-poor ones; especially employment is the most common source of income for better-off households, while it is hardly resorted to by ultra-poor households; this confirms that there's a strong relationship between employment, poverty (poor do not get jobs), and inequality (women do not get jobs) (Roberts, 2005);
- As compared to other groups, a fewer proportion of ultra-poor households access childhood allowances; table 6 showed that they have more children per household on average, with lower dispersion; such situation might be questioning the capacity of welfare services and facilities to reach ultra-poor households;
- Remittances seem evenly resorted to by all groups; although Roberts (2005) shows that nationally, such source of income is mainly featured in households below the poverty line.

Table 7. Sources of income, as per poverty group, in Ga-Makgato and Sekgopo, shown as percentage of households relying onto given sources

Sources of income:	Better off (n=21)	Poor (n=21)	Ultra-poor (n=28)
Childhood allowance	57.1	81.0	46.4
Old-age pension	57.1	42.9	39.3
Employment	66.7	38.1	3.6
Self-employment	33.3	19.0	10.7
Remittances	14.3	31.8	21.4
Health allowance	4.8	0.0	3.6
Crop farming	4.8	4.8	0.0
Stock keeping	14.3	14.3	0.0
No source of income	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other sources	0.0	4.8	3.6

Table 8 presents the average income earned by households benefiting from a given source, as per income group. The three income groups show markedly and statistically significantly different in terms of total income. On a daily basis, per household membership unit (see footnote 6 on previous page), such total income corresponds to R22.71, R9.25, and R4.02 for the three income groups respectively. The poor get just above 1.5US\$ daily per household member (on average). More alarming is the average daily income per household member in ultra-poor households, which amounts less than 1US\$. Such situation is not acceptable in a country such as South Africa where social safety nets and welfare do exist.

Table 8. Average monthly income as per source or activity, for households benefiting from such source, in the 3 poverty groups, in Rand (standard deviation in between brackets)

Source of income:	Better off (n=21)	Poor (n=21)	Ultra-poor (n=28)
Total income	3904.8 <b>a</b> (2766.8)	1300.0 <b>b</b> (246.6)	494.6 <b>c</b> (281.5)
Crop and stock farming	2575.0 (1728.9)	925.0 (217.9)	-
Employment	2085.6 <b>a</b> (1240.0)	805.0 <b>b</b> (491.3)	600.0 (0.0)
Self-employment	3300.0 (3396.1)	400.0 (270.8)	333.3 (152.8)
Old-age pension	743.1 (617.5)	513.3 (474.4)	438.2 (306.4)
Remittances	510.0 (475.7)	264.4 (110.7)	264.3 (143.6)
Childhood allowance	320.0 (233.5)	363.3 (272.9)	298.5 (281.1)

Two figures attached with different letters are significantly different, as tested with a bilateral Student *t* test at 0.01.

Also, the following trends can be observed:

- Those who are farming in the better-off group make it a much more profitable business than the poor who farm;
- As shown in table 7, employment and self employment are resorted to by households in all groups; still, they are much more profitable earning options in better-off households than in the two poorer categories;
- All livelihood options are slightly more profitable in better-off households anyway, except for childhood grants, which are similar across groups.

Table 9 features the average monthly expenditures as per income group. Expectedly, with regard to average total income, better-off households spend significantly more for food than other groups, especially than ultra-poor. Yet, the proportion of expenditures for food as part of overall expenditures remains amazingly stable across groups.

Table 9. Average monthly expenditures in the 3 poverty groups, in Rand (standard deviation in between brackets)

Expenditures:	Better off (n=21)	Poor (n=21)	Ultra-poor (n=28)
Food costs	565.2 <b>a</b> (439.5)	378.9 <b>ab</b> (143.2)	287.3 <b>b</b> (130.6)
Non-food costs	702.1 (758.3)	430.6 (616.2)	405.7 (446.9)
Farming costs	121.3 (101.5)	70.8 (67.3)	56.3 (73.7)
Other costs	128.9 (156.7)	180.5 (280.8)	113.2 (166.1)
Ratio: Food costs / all costs	0.36	0.36	0.33
Daily food expenditure per household member (HMI)	3.29	2.70	2.34

Certain figures have different letters attached to them, meaning a significant difference between them, tested with a bilateral *t* test at 0.01.

On a daily, household membership unit basis, ultra-poor households spend R2.34 for food. That's another very alarming figure, which supposes that food security issues do occur in the communities, unless informal, non-monetarized food transfers exist and remained undisclosed to interviewers. More puzzling is the fact that ultra poor declare spending overall more than

they actually declared as total income (on average). Some form of donation, gifts, informal supply in cash or kind, by relatives or neighbours, might be taking place, but were also undisclosed to interviewers. As a matter of fact, interviewees never spontaneously mentioned food scarcity or lack of food whatsoever during the interview phases, no matter which group they would belong to. However, Roberts (2002) reckons that about 32% of children under the age of 17 have experienced hunger at some times, owing to lack of food (Limpopo).

### **Conclusion on income groups**

Investigation on poverty, through the analysis of income groups, indeed provides valuable information. Considering the income thresholds that define the income groups for both communities, it appears that 70% of households live with less than R1700 per month, and that 40% live with less than R940 per month. Such amount represents less than the globally recognised limit for income-related poverty, i.e. 1US\$ per day and per adult-equivalent unit.

Such figures pessimistically confirm that ultra-poverty is rather defined by the situation facing the 40% poorest (Rural Development Strategy of RDP, 1995) than by the 20% poorest (as suggested by May, 1998).

However, income-groups data provide a blurred picture as far as livelihood systems and strategies are concerned. All income groups seem to resort to the same wide range of sources of income, whereas observations in communities indicate that some form of livelihood specialization does exist, and even often prevails. Indeed rural people do not all have the same livelihood portfolio. In order to unveil probable more specific or specialized strategies and livelihood systems, and also to ease policy recommendations, it proved necessary to proceed with more detailed stratification. As seen here after, it has been chosen to develop a typology of households based upon livelihood strategies.

## **7.3. Household typology: profiling household types**

### **Household typology**

A household typology has been developed from data of both communities put together. Socio-economic features, source and level of income, and livelihood system were mostly used as criteria for differentiation.

The following 9 types were ultimately identified, from the 70 in-depth questionnaires:

1. Type 1: Pension transfer dependants (n=24, 34%); mostly female pensioner-headed households, with a limited livelihood portfolio, some benefiting from other social transfers or remittances.
2. Type 2: Pluriactive fixed salaried (n=3, 4%); permanently employed head or spouse, with spouse being self-employed / business, with no social transfers other than a pension for some.
3. Type 3: Irregular salaried (n=4, 6%); casually employed (mostly female) head, benefiting from childhood grants, and remittances for some.
4. Type 4: Social grants dependants (n=13, 19%), households depending exclusively on welfare, i.e. most from childhood grants

5. Type 5: Fixed salaried (n=14, 20%), households which (mostly male) head is permanently employed, the household combines several livelihoods, including farming for some.
6. Type 6: Integrated dependants (n=4, 6%), female-headed households depending exclusively on welfare and remittances.
7. Type 7: Full-time entrepreneurs (n=4, 6%), self-employed male head with one major activity / business, and also all relying on childhood grants. Some do crop farming.
8. Type 8: Part-time entrepreneurs (n=3, 4%), female headed household, self-employed head with activity / business; some have livestock and/or get remittances.
9. Type 9: Isolated poor (n=1, 1%), female headed household, head is unemployed, poor health related to Hiv-Aids, five children, four above 15 years old, total household income R180, not part of any organisation, financial problems, no agricultural activity.

The last type has been identified initially only from one household that had been interviewed. Short questionnaire application proved useful on that regard, since it showed that such type was actually significantly represented in both communities (see below). However, owing to poor database for that type (1 household being fully documented), it has been decided to set it aside in the following tables.

From the additional 215 short questionnaires that have been applied further (see chapter 5.3), it has been possible to refine the representation of each type in the whole population.

Figure 1. Proportion of the different types with the communities of Sekgopo and Makgato (from all 285 questionnaires).

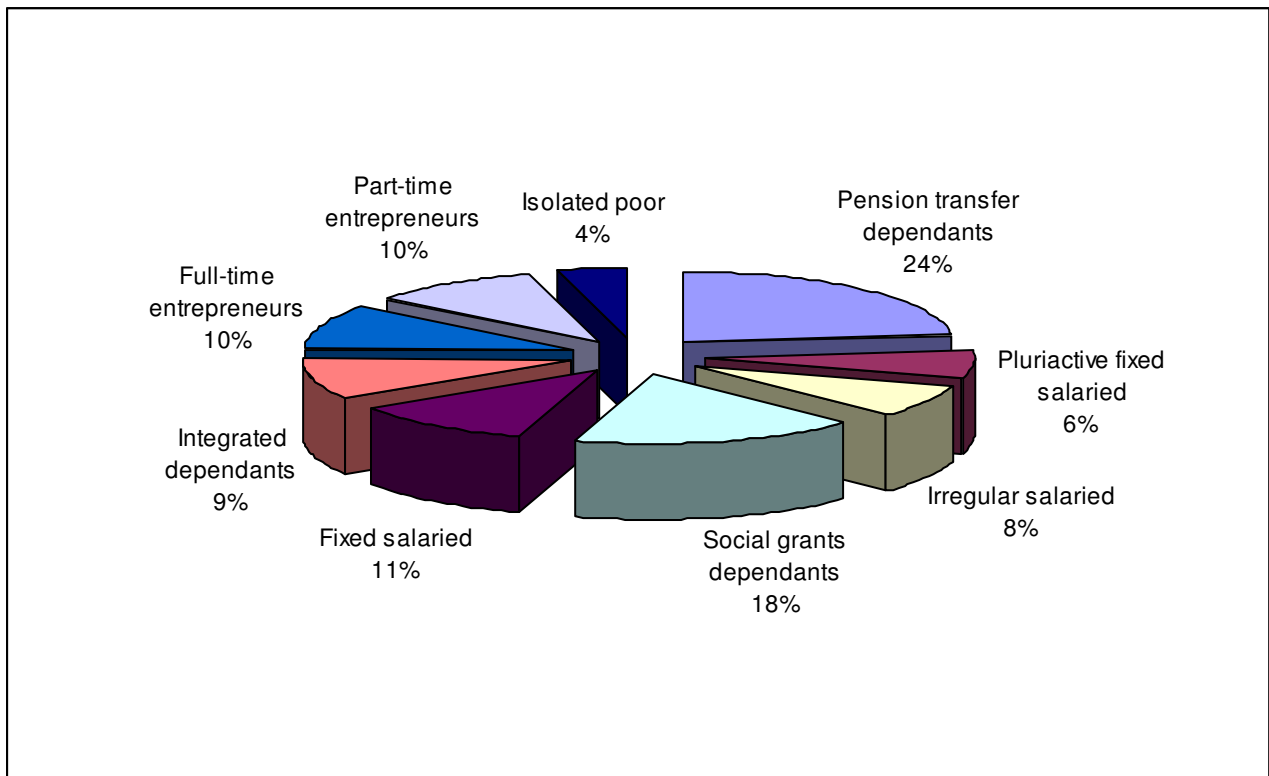


Figure 1 displays the different types with their respective proportion in the amalgamated communities. The data confirm that a large proportion of households depend quasi exclusively on pensions (type 1: 24%), social grants (type 4: 18%). It is also highlighted that the better-off types (types 2, 5, 7, as seen in table 12) represent altogether less than a third of all households. Finally, the alarming type 9 (ultra-poor, isolated, sick, single women with children) represents about 4% of all households.

### Demography as per type

Table 10 exposes demographic features per type.

Although few statistically significant differences can be shown (owing to small samples), types show quite different features, especially in age of head and total number of members. Expectedly, type 1 (Old-age pensioners) has older heads than other types, the difference being significant with type 3 and 4 (Irregular salaried and social grants dependants respectively). Households with a fixed salary and full-time entrepreneurs have the largest families, the latter having more children to cater for.

Table 10. Demographic profile in the different socio-economic types in Ga-Makgato and Sekgopo communities (standard deviation in between brackets)

Features:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Male-headed households (%)	29.2	66.7	25.0	30.8	85.7	0.0	100.0	33.3
Average age of head (years)	65.1 <sup>a</sup> (11.8)	53.0 (6.2)	37.0 <sup>b</sup> (15.6)	43.8 <sup>b</sup> (10.5)	51.4 (18.9)	55.5 (4.1)	53.5 (16.8)	54.5 (7.5)
Average number of household members	6.7 (2.9)	6.7 (0.6)	6.3 (2.2)	5.6 (1.7)	7.9 (3.3)	6.8 (2.9)	8.0 (3.2)	6.3 (2.1)
Average number of adult household members (> 15 years old)	4.4 (2.2)	5.0 (1.0)	3.5 (1.9)	3.3 (1.6)	5.4 (2.9)	4.3 (1.0)	4.3 (1.7)	5.7 (1.5)
Average number of children as household members (< 15 years old)	2.6 (1.8)	1.7 (1.2)	2.8 (1.0)	2.4 (1.0)	2.5 (1.5)	3.3 (2.3)	3.8 (2.8)	2.0 (0.0)
Household membership index <sup>7</sup> (from averages)	4.79	4.90	4.18	3.87	5.50	4.98	5.17	5.54

Certain figures have different letters attached to them, meaning a significant difference between them, tested with a bilateral *t* test at 0.01.

### Livelihood systems and income

Table 11 shows the livelihood profile in the different types. Table 4 highlighted the diversity of sources of income that contribute to livelihoods at community level, putting forward an impression of a diversified livelihood portfolio. Table 11 actually narrows down such perspective, and highlights some form of livelihood specialization at household level, as per socio-economic type. Each type actually relies onto one major source of income, sometimes two.

Such livelihood stratification also highlights several striking facts:

- Farming income is only generated by households in type 5 and 7, i.e. households with a fixed salary and households engaged in full-time self employment and business;
- Salaried employment and self employment are the only activities that seriously generate income; only 4 types over 8 (2, 5, 7, 8) do mainly rely on these sources of income;

<sup>7</sup> See footnote 6.

- Type 3 and especially type 4 mainly rely on childhood grants, which situation makes them more vulnerable and poorer, as seen here below; type 6 combines childhood grants and remittances, exclusively;
- Overall, it seems that any form of specialization, except when employment or successful self-employment is involved, means deeper poverty.

Other patterns just concur with the ones shown in table 4 at community level.

Table 11. Sources of income in the types, shown as percentage of households relying onto given sources

Sources of income:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Childhood allowance	50.0	0.0	<b>100.0</b>	<b>92.3</b>	64.3	<b>75.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	0.0
Old-age pension	<b>100.0</b>	33.3	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	25.0	0.0
Employment	8.3	<b>100.0</b>	50.0	0.0	<b>100.0</b>	0.0	0.0	0.0
Self-employment	8.3	<b>100.0</b>	0.0	7.7	7.1	0.0	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Remittances	25.0	0.0	25.0	7.7	21.4	<b>100.0</b>	25.0	33.3
Health allowance	4.2	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Crop farming	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<b>14.3</b>	0.0	<b>25.0</b>	0.0
Stock keeping	8.3	0.0	0.0	7.7	7.1	0.0	0.0	<b>33.3</b>
No source of income	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other sources	0.0	0.0	25.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table 12 presents the average income earned by households in a given type, providing details on sources of income.

The table first highlights the dramatic difference in total income between better-off types (2, 5, 7) and poorer ones. Looking back to table 11, it is interesting to see that types 2, 5 are the only ones to fully resort to salaried employment as a livelihood, while self-employment provides more contracted results (successful for types 2 and 7, not that successful for type 8).

For types 3, 4, 6 and 8, total monthly income is very low. These households mostly resort to welfare and/or remittances, and casually to self-employment and employment opportunities. Such combination of livelihoods proves insufficient to move out of poverty.

The situation of pensioners seems an intermediate one, income-wise.

Table 12. Average monthly income as per source or activity, for households benefiting from such source, in the different types, in Rand (standard deviation in between brackets)

Sources of income:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total income	1294.2 (747.0)	8780.0 (3984.5)	677.5 (345.5)	716.2 (525.9)	3082.9 (1749.5)	447.5 (23.6)	2800.0 (411.5)	766.7 (737.1)
Farming	1625.0 (1237.4)	-	-	750.0 (0.0)	2600.0 (2116.6)	-	1200.0 (0.0)	1000.0 (0.0)
Employment	300.0 (0.0)	3086.7 (920.1)	700.0 (141.4)	-	1748.4 (1196.6)	-	-	-
Self-employment	250.0 (70.7)	5433.3 (4556.7)	-	300.0 (0.0)	300.0 (0.0)	-	1825.0 (925.1)	333.3 (152.8)
Old-age pension	855.8 (277.3)	780.0 (0.0)	-	-	1002.9 (380.6)	-	780.0 (0.0)	-
Remittances	375.0 (334.3)	-	210.0 (0.0)	100.0 (0.0)	150.0 (86.6)	312.5 (94.6)	480.0 (0.0)	300.0 (0.0)
Childhood allowance	253.3 (118.9)	-	225.0 (90.0)	456.7 (392.5)	346.7 (247.0)	180.0 (0.0)	360.0 (147.0)	-

Types that significantly differ from each other (tested with a bilateral Student *t* test at 0.01): 1-2-5 ; 2-4-5; 1-7 ; 6-7 ; 4-7.

As observed during income group analysis, it is striking to see that any given livelihood option can gain very diverse outcome, depending on the type that uses it. Such is especially

the case for self-employment, employment and, to a lesser extent, farming. These are the options that make a difference.

Apart for type 9, which is not dealt with in the tables, type 6 is the poorest by far. Such women headed households only rely on remittances and childhood grants to survive. At least they seem connected to the local social fabric. This is not the case for type 9, which shares the same characteristics, except with no remittances and with health-related problems.

## 8. Conclusion, recommendations

The analysis has been guided by a series of hypotheses, based on previous local works and international literature, as follows (see p.20):

1. Rural livelihood systems tend to diversify away from the usual natural resource basis;
2. Adult male migration significantly impacts onto the actual composition and labour availability in households, and generates remittances as crucial sources of income;
3. Women and pensioners are de-facto often heading households;
4. Non-activity related sources of income (dependency), including social and welfare grants, remittances play a major role in livelihoods;
5. Local sources of income, including farming and local non-farm activities and wages, play a minor role in livelihoods, owing to lack of skills, opportunities, markets and resources;
6. Rural poverty refers to poor, less diversified, and local income basis.

Overall, the study confirmed these trends, except perhaps partly hypotheses 2 and 4, since remittances are not that significant as livelihoods. From a methodological viewpoint, the shift from income-group analysis to typology proved relevant, to uncover inside diversity and reality of livelihoods, and to break a perspective of broad-ranged and homogenous livelihood portfolio among rural households.

### **Employment**

1. Permanent salaried employment systematically links up to relieve from poverty. Unfortunately, there are not many opportunities in rural communities. Yet, there is a clear increase in the number of households accessing a job, as compared to Barber's results (1996). Self-employment (entrepreneurship, small-businesses) may be also a good option, although with more variable outcome. Still, only these two options can sustainably keep rural households afloat income-wise.

### **Welfare, social transfers**

2. Alarmingly, ultra-poor households access less child support grants, while hosting more kids on average. Also, those benefiting from a pension in that group get less money on average than other groups. Such result calls into question the efficiency of welfare services to actually reach out ultra-poor households.
3. Overall, although social and welfare services have arguably well improved in post-apartheid South Africa (many more households access these services, as compared to Barber's research in 1996), they are still very short of providing a decent income for rural people: the types which resort only or mostly to welfare to make a living are amongst the poorest of all.
4. Among social transfers, old-age pension plays a more significant role as a livelihood, although it needs to be combined with other sources to keep people out of poverty.

### **Remittances**

5. Remittances do not seem to help people out of poverty either. Only single female-headed households resort to this, and they form the poorest types of all. Figures observed in the case



study show a dramatic fall in terms of households resorting to remittances, as compared to Barber's research (1996).

## **Farming**

6. In the semi-arid areas, in which Makgato and Sekgopo are located, commercial farming is not a popular livelihood option. Many households practice it only for self-consumption purposes. Farming was far more prevailing in the communities that Barber studied in 1996. This somehow confirms hypotheses 1 and 5. It seems that lack of water (and not lack of land) remains the major hindrance to more productive farming in Sekgopo and Makgato. Interestingly, income group analysis showed that better-off households tend to farm commercially (crops and/or stock), while the ultra-poor do not farm at all. In terms of types, permanent employees and some self-employed people do crop farming, while pensioners are the stock-keepers. Farming proves a very profitable business (yet with high dispersion in outcomes) to the few who farm in the better-off group. Finally, whatever the income-group, those who farm have farming costs that are quite comparable. This fact discredits the idea that lack of finance is the main reason not to farm. This also discredits the idea that crop farming is possible if only backed up with other sources of income (wage or pension). As for pensioners, accumulation of experience, status, skills and capital traditionally places them in a natural stock-keeping position in rural communities.
7. Land reform aiming at redistribution towards rural black population is fully justified by historical and equity concerns, and locally by practical necessity for housing for instance. Although this view still prevails in Government discourse, it should probably not refer to agricultural development *per se*. As shown in the case study, farming neither prevails as a livelihood, nor guarantees fair revenue.
8. Other more fruitful options might consider promoting collective community gardens, involving as many single female heads as possible, providing food, occupation, skills and self-esteem, and possibly income to the ultra-poor (types 9, 6, 3, 4).

## **Livelihood diversification**

9. The study somehow challenges the current global views on livelihoods in developing rural areas. On the one hand, the shift away from natural resources based activities is confirmed. On the other hand, the idea of an explosion in livelihood options may apply at whole community level, and even at income-group level, yet not at type / household level. Some form of specialization is actually observed there.
10. Actually, poor diversification links up with income poverty only when employment is not an option. Deep poverty occurs for households that resort to one or two sources like remittances, and/or child support grants (type 6). It is actually dependency that really links up with poverty.

## **Poverty**

11. The case studies show that poverty is correlated with certain vulnerable groupings. Women and children are disproportionately over-represented among the ultra poor. (Female headed households, with more children, less adult members). Furthermore, type 9 (4 % of the households so far) represent the most alarming case of deep monetary poverty, associated with isolation (from the local social fabric), and health problems. Urgent measures are

needed to address the issues of access to basic welfare and health services, then the issue of livelihood for these households.

12. Overall, the figures drawn from the research are very alarming: in Sekgopo and Makgato, 70% of all households survive with less than 2US\$ a day per individual; among those, the poorest 40% of all households survive with less than 1US\$ a day per individual. For those 40%, the average daily income is actually about R4. Such figures are as harsh and appalling as those of many very poor countries around the world.

## 9. References

- Anseeuw, W., Laurent, C., Modiselle, S., Carstens, J. & Van Der Poll, S. (2001). Diversity of the rural farming households and policy issues. An analysis based on a case study in the Northern Cape Province. In: *Pretoria, African Institute of South Africa 2001, Conference "South Africa since 1994: Lessons and prospects"*, Conference paper, 17p.
- Anseeuw, W. (2004) *Politiques publiques et reconversion professionnelle vers l'agriculture marchande. Le cas des mineurs du Northern Cape*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Grenoble, Université Pierre Mendès France, Thèse de doctorat en Economie Internationale, 420p and annexes.
- Anseeuw, W. & Mathebula, F. (2005) Linking land reform to sustainable development: the case of Molemole's land reform projects. WKKF-University of Pretoria project, Pretoria, SA
- Ashley, C., Start, D. & Slater, R. (2003) Understanding livelihoods in rural India: diversity, change and exclusion. *ODI Policy guidance sheets*, [www.livelihoodoptions.info](http://www.livelihoodoptions.info)
- Barber, R. (1996) Current livelihoods in semi-arid rural areas of South Africa. In: *Land, Labour and Livelihoods in Rural South Africa. Volume 2: Kwazulu-Natal and Northern Province* (Lipton, M., Ellis, F. & Lipton, M editors), Indicator Press, Durban, South Africa, pp269-302.
- Brooks, K. (2000) *Improving opportunities for the rural poor in South Africa*. World Bank, unpublished Working Paper, september 2000, 30p.
- Bryceson, D. (2000) Rural Africa at the crossroads: livelihood practices and policies. *ODI, Natural Resource Perspectives*, 52, 6, April 2000.
- Capillon, A. (1986) A classification of farming systems, preliminary to an extension programme. In: *Butler, C., Flora, C. & Tomecek, M. (Eds.), Farming Systems Research & Extension: Management & Methodologies*, Kansas State University, USA, pp 219-235.
- Carter, M.R. & May, J. (1999) Poverty, livelihood and class in rural South Africa. *World Development*, 27(1): 1-20.
- Chambers, R. & Conway, G. (1992) *Sustainable rural livelihood: practical concepts for the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. Institute for Development Studies, Discussion Paper 296, Brighton, UK.
- Cottle, E. (2001) Meeting basic needs? The failure of sanitation and water delivery and the cholera outbreak. *Development Update*, 4 (1) 141-166.
- Dauids, I. (2001) Developmental local government: the rural context and challenges. *Development Update*, 4 (1) 31-54.
- Department for International Development (1999) *Sustainable rural livelihood guidance sheets*, DFID, London, UK
- Ellis, F. (1998) Household strategies and rural livelihood diversification. *Journal of Development Studies*, 35(1): 1-38.

- Ellis, F. (2000) The determinants of rural livelihood diversification in developing countries. *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 51(2): 289-302.
- Everatt, D. & Zulu, S. (2001) Analysing rural development programmes in South Africa 1994-2001. *Development Update*, 3 (4) 32-52.
- Everatt, D. (2003) *Self-critical governance: the evolution of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy*. Independent Development Trust, Pretoria, South Africa
- Forgey, H. et al. (2000) *South Africa survey 1999/2000*. South African Institute of Race Relations Publ., Johannesburg, South Africa, 604p.
- Fraser, G., Monde, N. & Van Averbeke, W. (2003) Food security in South Africa. A case study of rural livelihoods in the Eastern Cape. In: *The Challenge of Change. Agriculture, Land and The South Africa Economy* (Nieuwoudt & Groenewald Editors), University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, pp171-183.
- Greenberg, S. (2001) Power and politics in the shaping of rural development in post-apartheid South Africa. *Development Update* 4(1) 1-29.
- Hart, G. (2002) *Disabling globalization – Places of power in post-apartheid South Africa*. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, USA, 385p.
- Hemson, D. & Owusu-Ampomah, K. (2005) A better life for all? Service delivery and poverty alleviation. In: *State of the Nation, South Africa 2004-2005* (Daniel, J., Southall, R. & Lutchman, J. Editors), HSRC & Michigan State University Press, Cape Town, South Africa, pp511-537.
- Hemson, D., Meyer, M. & Maphunye, K. (2004) *Rural development: the provision of basic infrastructure services*. HSRC, Integrated Rural and Regional Development, Position Paper, January 2004, Pretoria, South Africa.
- IFAD (2001) *The challenge of ending rural poverty. Rural poverty report 2001*. IFAD, Oxford University Press, New York, USA, 266p.
- Jary, D. & Jary, J. (1995). *Dictionary of sociology*. HarperCollins Publ., Glasgow, UK. 774p.
- Landais, E. (1998) Modelling farm diversity: new approach to typology building in France. *Agricultural Systems*, 58(4): 505-527.
- Laurent, C. & Centres, J.M. (1990). *Dairy husbandry in Tanzania: A development programme for smallholders in Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions*. INRA work paper, Versailles, France, 111p.
- Laurent, C.; Van Rooyen, C.J.; Madikizela, P., Bonnal, P. & Carstens, J. (1998) Household typology for relating social diversity and technical change. *Agrekon*, 38 (special issue): 190-206.
- Low, A. (1986) *Agricultural development in Southern Africa: a household economics perspective on Africa's food crisis*. Raven Press Publ., Cape Town, South Africa.
- Makhura, M., Rwelamira, J., Perret, S. & Lhopitallier, L. (2000) *Rural incomes and their linkages with public investment. Case of Nebo District of The Northern Province and Amatola District of The Eastern Cape*. World Bank / University of Pretoria, Working Paper, 20p.
- May, J. (editor) (1998) *Poverty and inequality in South Africa*. Report to the Office of the Executive Deputy President and the Inter-Ministerial Committee for Poverty and Inequality. [www.polity.org/govdocs/reports/poverty.html](http://www.polity.org/govdocs/reports/poverty.html), 29p.
- May, J. et al. (1997) *Experience and perceptions of poverty in South Africa*. Fishwick, South Africa.

- McIntosh, A. & Vaughan, A. (1996) Enhancing rural livelihoods in South Africa: myths and realities. In: *Land, Labour and Livelihoods in Rural South Africa. Volume 2: Kwazulu-Natal and Northern Province* (Lipton, M., Ellis, F. & Lipton, M. editors), Indicator Press, Durban, South Africa, pp91-119.
- Mettrick, H. (1993). *Development-oriented research in agriculture*. ICRA Publ., Wageningen, The Netherlands. 291p.
- Naidoo, P. & Veriava, A. (2003) People before profits? A review of development and social change. *Development Update*, 4 (4) 67-88.
- Nkangweni, S. & Paralieu, N. 2005. *Rural organisations and rural development. Case studies in Limpopo, South Africa*. WKKF-University of Pretoria project, Pretoria, SA
- Perret, S. & Lhopitallier, L. (2000) *An institutional analysis of public investment in rural areas: a case study in the Amatola District of the Eastern Cape province*. World Bank, unpublished Working Paper, september 2000, 30p.
- Perret, S. (2003) Insights into poverty and the diversity of livelihood systems in wool production communities of the Eastern Cape Province. In: *Local institutional innovation and pro-poor agricultural growth: The case of small-woolgrowers' associations in South Africa* (D'Haese, M. & Vink, N, editors). Garant Publisher, Antwerp, Belgium, pp117-138.
- Perret, S. (2004) *Matching policies on rural development and local government in South Africa: recent history, principles, and current challenges*. GTZ Workshop on "Local Governance and Rural Development", April 2004, University of Pretoria, 10p.
- Perret, S. 1999. *Typological techniques applied to rural households and farming systems: Principles, procedures and case studies*. University of Pretoria, Work Paper 99/2, CIRAD Tera, num 65/99, 35p.
- Perret, S., Carstens, J., Randela, R. & Moyo, S. 2000. *Activity systems and livelihoods in the Eastern Cape Province rural areas (Transkei)*. University of Pretoria / CIRAD, Work Paper 2000/2, CIRAD Tera, num 28/00, 35p.
- Perret, S., Mercoiret, M-R. (editors) (2003) *Supporting small-scale farmers and rural organisations : learning from experiences in western Africa. A handbook for development operators and local managers*. Protea-CIRAD Publ., Pretoria, South Africa, 320p.
- Perrot, C. & Landais E. (1993). Research into typological methods for farm analysis. The why and wherefore. In: *Systems studies in agriculture and rural environment*. Brossier et al., editors, INRA publ., 415p. (pp 373-381)
- Roberts, B. (2005) "Empty stomachs, empty pockets": poverty and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa. In: *510*, HSRC Press, Cape Town, South Africa, pp479-510.
- Rwelamira, J. and Mthethwa, T. (1999). *Linkages between farm and non-farm enterprises: Implications for rural small micro and Medium enterprise development*. A case study of the North West Province of South Africa. LAPC commissioned Research Paper.
- Scoones, I. (1998) *Sustainable rural livelihoods: a framework for analysis*. Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex, Working Paper num. 72, Brighton, UK.
- Sen, A. (1981) *Poverty and famines: an essay on entitlement and deprivation*. Oxford University Press, New York, USA.
- Stats SA (2000) *Measuring poverty in South Africa* (1995 data). Stats SA, Pretoria, SA.

Stats SA (2002) *Earning and spending in South Africa: selected findings and comparisons from the income and expenditure surveys of October 1995 and October 2000*. Stats SA, Pretoria, SA.

van Zyl, J., Kirsten, J. & Ngqangweni, S. (2000) *Agricultural growth linkages: international experience and some South African estimates*. World Bank, unpublished Working Paper, september 2000, 40p.

Whatmore, S. (1994). Farm household strategies and styles of farming: assessing the utility of farm typologies. In: Van der Ploeg, J. & Long, A. (editors), *Born from within: Practices and perspectives of endogenous rural development*. Van Gorcum, Assen, The Netherlands. 298p.

## 10. Appendices: questionnaires

### LIVELIHOODS SHORT QUESTIONNAIRE LIMPOPO SURVEY

Interviewer's name .....

Village 

Makgato	Sekgopo
---------	---------

Head of the HH? 

Male	Female
------	--------

  
Age of both if applicable? 

Age:	Age:
------	------

Number of people in the HH? 

--

  
Number of children receiving child grants? 

--

  
Number of people (except head/spouse) receiving pensions? 

--

Is the head working?	Yes	No	Temporary	Fixed
Did head work before?	Yes	No	Temporary	Fixed
Is the spouse working?	Yes	No	Temporary	Fixed
Did spouse work before?	Yes	No	Temporary	Fixed
Are there other people working in the household?	Yes	No	Temporary	Fixed
If yes, how many:	...		Temporary	Fixed

Are you or your HH farming?  
If yes, size or quantity:

	Yes			No
Gardening	Arable lands	Livestock		
.....	.....	.....		

Do you or your HH have a business?

	Yes	No
What?		

Of which are you a member?

Stokvel	
Church	
Cultural group	
Any other group?	

Do you rely on the community when you have problems? 

Yes	No
-----	----

  
If you benefit from a LR project, would you go and live there? 

Yes	No
-----	----

## LIVELIHOODS AND TRAJECTORIES OF HOUSEHOLDS

### LIMPOPO SURVEY Kellogg's Foundation

Interviewee reference number	
Name of the interviewee	
Address of the place of the survey	

Interviewer's names	
Date	

Comments:

The parts in the questionnaire highlighted in yellow, are sections for the interviewer and do NOT have to be asked.

### ***A. GENERAL HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION***

#### A.1. Household and close family characteristics<sup>8</sup>

	Relation to head of household	Age	Gender (m/f)	Marital status	Educational qualification	Occupation/ activity	Where does he/she stay?
A.1.1	Head of the household						
A.1.2							
A.1.3							

<sup>8</sup> As household we'll define all the persons registered on the same residential site. Children (even when older than 18) not staying at home anymore, but being registered at their parents address should thus be considered.

A.1.4							
A.1.5							
A.1.6							
A.1.7							
A.1.8							
A.1.9							
A.1.10							

A.2. Are you born in this community or are you there because of marriage or immigration?

.....  
 .....

A.3. When and how did you get access to this residential site? Did you buy it? Do you rent it?

.....  
 .....

A.4. Do you have title deed for this residential site?

.....  
 .....



***B. PROFESSIONAL INFORMATION***

B.1. What did you else do as a professional activity? When? Why did you stop? Please, give a precise image of the activities you practices during your life, by starting with your first activity.

Professional activities (Please, give details: type of work, place, professional status.)	Where?	When started?	Till when?	In short, what were your working conditions at this time? - Revenue per month? - Professional status? - Social benefits?	What were the reasons for stopping or changing?

B.2. What did your spouse or other members of your household do as a professional activity? When? Why did they stop? Please, specify precisely, by starting with her first activity.

Family member	Professional activities (Please, start with the first one.)	When started?	Till when?	In short, what were her working conditions at this time? - revenue per month? - Professional status? - Social benefits?	What were the reasons for stopping or changing?

### ***C. LAND OWNERSHIP AND OCCUPATION***

C.1. Do you have or have access to land other than your residential site?

	X	Where?
Garden (on residential plot)		
Arable land		
Grazing land		
Land for other (independent) activities, specify		
Other, specify		

C.2. If you do not have access to these different types of land, why?

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

C.3. If you do have access to these different types of land, what form of landownership does you/your household have?

	Garden	Arable land	Grazing land	Other land
Is it traditional land of a chief				
Private ownership (title deeds)				
Other (Specify)				

C.4. When and how did you or your the household first acquire the land? Purchase / land distribution / inheritance / being part of the community?

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

C.5. Has there been a change to the households holding size in the last five to ten years?

	X	Reason
No, it remained much the same		
Yes, it has decreased (by how much)		
Yes, it has increased (by how much)		

### ***D. GARDEN AND FARMING ACTIVITIES***

**D.1. Garden (If the Household has a garden)**

D.1.1. Do you grow crops or vegetables in the garden?

1	yes	2	no
---	-----	---	----

D.1.2. If no, Why? Did you grow any fruits or vegetables before? What happened  
**(GO TO QUESTION D.2.)**

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

D.1.3. What fruit trees, vegetables or other do you produce? Detail, please.

Type	Number owned/production	Who deals with it	Number owned five years ago and reason for change
Fruit trees (specify) ..... .....			
Vegetables (specify) ..... .....			
Other (specify) ..... .....			

D.1.4. What did you do with the production of your crops and vegetables during the year?

Type	Use of production (quantity)				Reason	To whom/where?
	Own consumption	Sell	Exchange	Other (detail)		

**D.2. Arable fields (If he has arable fields)**

D.2.1. If you have arable fields, how many and what is the size of each of the fields?

	Area (indicate units)
Field 1	
Field 2	
Field 3	

D.2.2. Do you grow any crops on your arable lands?

1	Yes	2	No
---	-----	---	----

D.2.3. If no, Why? Did you grow any crops before? What happened? **(GO TO QUESTION D.3.)**

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

D.2.4. What crops do you produce presently? Detail, please.

Crops	Area (indicate units)	Harvest (indicate units)	Who deals with it?	Change in cropping pattern and reason for that
Maize				
Sorghum				

D.2.5. What did you do with the production of your crops and vegetables during the year?

Type	Use of production (quantity)				Reason	To whom/Where?
	Own consumption	Sell	Exchange	Other (detail)		

**D.3. Grazing (If he has access to grazing)**

D.3.1. Do you keep any livestock?

1	Yes	2	No
---	-----	---	----

D.3.2. If no, Why? Did you have livestock before? What happened? (If the interviewee has any other farming activities GO TO QUESTION D.4. If he does not have any at all, GO TO QUESTION E.1.)

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

D.3.3. Which of the following livestock do your household keep and indicate numbers owned?

Type	Who is the owner?	People taking care of them	Number owned	Number owned five years ago and reason for change
Broiler				
Rabbits				
Goats				
Sheep				
Pigs				
Cattle				
Other (specify)				

D.3.4. What did you do with the production of your crops and vegetables during the year?

Type	Use of production (quantity)				Reason	To whom/where?
	Own consumption	Sell	Exchange	Other (detail)		
Cattle						
Sheep						
Goats						

#### D.4. Objectives of farm activities

D.4.1. In general, what are the objectives of these farming activities?

	Garden activities	Arable activities	Livestock activities	Specify
Own consumption				
Savings				
Sales				
Preparing my comeback (from other sector)				

Status				
Other? Specify ..... .....				

**D.5. Farm organization, labour, markets and equipment**

D.5.1. Do you hire labour? If yes, for what duties? What is his/her relationship to the household? What costs does this imply?

What duties/tasks	Number of people hired per duty	Relationship to the household	How long? Full-time/half-time? When?	Costs

D.5.2. If there is a need, could you please detail how you organize your activities and labour? Do you keep stock with other people, for example? Do you keep stock from other people?

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

D.5.3. What agricultural inputs do you purchase? Where do you purchase them?.

Agricultural inputs	Quantity/costs per year?	Where purchased?

D.5.4. How did you plough and harvest? Do you use implements? If yes, what costs does this involve?

Activity	Equipment used	Costs		
		Hire	Petrol	Other?

D.5.5. Give more details about your own equipments.

Equipment	Number owned?	When bought?	Who bought?	Price
Donkey Plough				
Tractor				
Bakkie/Vehicle				
Storage facilities				

D.5.6. How do you take decisions concerning your farming activities? What influences your decision making on .... Please explain.

	Depending on food habits of the household	Depending on natural resources (soil type, water)	Depending on input availability	<i>Depending on availability of own capital</i>	Depending on availability of household capital (remittances )	Depending on community labor availability	Depending on market price	Risk expectations	Depending on sales opportunities	Any other (please specify)
<i>Type of crops/stock</i>										
Quantity planted or stock kept										
Harvest										
Slaughter										
Sales										
Organization and managing of activities										



**D.6. Constraints**

D.6.1. Which of the following factors are important constraints concerning your farming activities (Rank if possible)?

constraint	Explain
<b>Arable activities</b>	
Land scarcity	
Drought	
Low product prices	
Lack of market outlets	
Other (specify)	
<b>Livestock activities</b>	
Shortage of grazing area	
Lack of water	
Animal diseases	
Other (Specify)	
<b>Post-harvest management</b>	
Lack of enough storage facilities	
Low prices of farm products	
Theft	
Other (specify)	

***E. OTHER INDEPENDENT ACTIVITIES***

E.1. If the household is NOT engaged in farming activities, Why are you not farming or engaged in farming activities?

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

E.2. Are you or your household engaged in other independent activities?

1	yes	2	No
---	-----	---	----

E.3. If no, why are you not engaged in such activities? (GO TO QUESTION F.1.)

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

E.4. If yes, specify.

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

E.5. Where did you develop these activities? Why?

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

E.6. Why did you develop these activities?

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

E.7. How did you develop these activities? Where did the money to invest come from?

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

E.8. Please, detail a bit more these activities. Where is your main market (for selling your products or delivering your services)? What is your price per unit? How many products/services do you sell per day, per month?

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

E.9. Who is deals with these activities?

	X	What type of duties
Are you dealing with it yourself?		
Is your spouse doing it?		
Other relatives of your household (specify)?		

E.10. Do you hire labour for these activities? If yes, for what duties? What is his/her relationship to the household? What costs does this imply?

What duties/tasks	Number of people hired per duty	Relationship to the household	How long? Full-time/half-time? When?	Costs
-------------------	---------------------------------	-------------------------------	--------------------------------------	-------


E.11. What are the constraints you encounter to develop these independent activities?

	Explain
Access to finance	
Communal property	
Other? (specify)	

**F.1. Farm and/or independent activity evolution**

F.1.1. Could you on a timetable illustrate the evolution of your/your household farming and/or independent activities (try to combine this with your professional activities)

Date/Period	Agricultural activities of the household			Other independent activities	Who invested? How much? Where did the money come from?	Commercialisation of products (revenues earned)
	Livestock (number of heads)	Arable land (number of plots and area)	Agricultural equipment (storage, tractor, car, etc.)			

**G. FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE HOUSEHOLD**

G.1. What are the non agricultural sources of income available to your household? State the amount you receive from every source per month or year.

	Source	For who?	Amount per month	Amount per year
G.1.1.	Employment			
G.1.2.	Non agricultural independent activities			
G.1.3.	Remittances	cash		
		kind		
G.1.4.	Welfare	pension		
		allowances for children		
		allowances for health		
G.1.5.	Other			

G.2. How important are the side incomes compared to your major income? How do you assess the trend in level of income from these different activities?

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

G.3. Are you or somebody of your household looking for another job? Why?

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

G.4. Do you want to develop another independent activity? Why, when, where and how?

.....

.....  
 .....

## H. ACCESS TO MARKETS, INSTITUTIONS AND SUPPORT

### H.1. Access to shops and markets

H.1.1. Name shops and market centers you use (in order of importance)

Name and type of the market center (market, auction, co-ops, shops, etc)	One way distance from the village and means of transport	Problems with access to these markets? Explain

H.1.2. Please indicate what you bought from the market including village market other than agricultural inputs last season, including amount spend on each item if possible.

	Shop/Market?	Amount per month?
Food Items (list) ..... ..... ..... .....		
Nonfood consumption goods ..... ..... .....		
Other ..... ..... .....		

### H.2. Access to financial services

H.2.1. Do you have a bank account? Do you/your household have any access to formal banks?

1	yes	2	no
---	-----	---	----

H.2.2. Do you/your household save money? How much per month? Where?

	Amount?
Formal institutions (bank, trusts, ...)	

Stokvel?	
Saving policy, insurance	
Other (specify)	
.....	
.....	

H.2.3. Have you ever borrowed?

1	yes	2	no
---	-----	---	----

H.2.4. If the answer is yes, Please indicate the amount you borrowed, when you borrowed purpose for borrowing, sources, form of repayment and term of credit

Amount borrowed	When?	Source	Purpose	Term of credit*	Form of repayment*

\* form of repayment = in kind or cash or both, Terms of credit short (one year or less), Medium (2-3 years) and long term (if should be repaid in more than three years time)

H.2.5. Do you have any problems accessing formal financial institutions? Why? Do you have a bank account? Can you have one?

.....

.....

.....

H.2.6. Do you have difficulties in getting credit you need? If yes, what are the difficulties?

.....

.....

.....

### H.3. Access to educational services, training and extension service

H.3.1. Do you have the necessary knowledge and skills?

	Yes/No	Specify. How did you acquire them? Is it enough?
Technical farming skills		
Management skills		
Financial management skills		
Other, specify		
.....		
.....		

H.3.2. Do you have access to courses/training services?

1	<i>Ja /yes</i>	2	<i>Nee /no</i>
---	----------------	---	----------------

H.3.3. If yes, through whom? What does it cost you?

.....

.....

.....

H.3.4. If you are farming, do you have regular contact with extension agent? How frequently does the extension agent visits you during cropping season

.....

.....

.....

H.3.5. Indicate the kind of training service and advise you expect from extension in the future

.....

.....

.....

#### H.4. Access to other organizations/institutions

H.4.1. What other organizations/institutions do you have access to or do you know that exist (A=Access, E=Exist)

Type of organisation	A/E	Location of the organisation	Type of organisation	A/E	Location of the organisation
Farmer's Association			Burial society		
Farmer cooperative			Credit or saving groups		
Other production group			NGOs or civic groups		
Professional organisation			Other groups or associations		
Trade union or labour union					
Village committee					
Religious groups					
Political groups or movements					
Cultural associations					



--	--	--	--	--	--

**I. Problems and constraints**

I.1. In general, what are the main problems while living here, developing your activities?

	Yes/No	Specify.
Financial?		
Land?		
Information?		
Social cohesion?		
Access to inputs		
Lack of incentives		
Other, specify..... .....		
..... .....		
..... .....		

I.2. Do you have anything to add to this questionnaire? Problems? Remarks? Questions?

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

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

Would you be ready to respond to a second, more specific questionnaire?

1	<i>Ja /yes</i>	2	<i>Nee /no</i>
---	----------------	---	----------------

Was the interviewee cooperative during the interview?

1	<i>Ja /yes</i>	2	<i>Nee /no</i>
---	----------------	---	----------------

Explain.

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