

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL



Survival strategies of a rural community.

A case study of the Redoubt area in Bizana, Eastern Cape, South Africa.

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Declaration

I, Zanele Eunice Cele, declare that this dissertation contains my own work except where specifically acknowledged.

This research has not been previously accepted for any degree and is not being currently considered for any other degree at any other university.



Signed:

Date: 30 July 2019

Supervisor:

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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Abstract

The research undertook an in-depth analysis of the survival strategies employed by residents of Redoubt in Bizana, Eastern Cape. This is a rural community facing high unemployment rates, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, crime and many other social ills associated with extreme marginalisation. Poverty, marginalisation, and crime continue to haunt South Africa more than 20 years into the new democracy. The government has attempted to implement policies to alleviate poverty and revitalise rural communities such as Redoubt through development project funding and the expansion of the social grants to all. However, this has failed to tackle rural poverty.

This research study was motivated by a number of challenges facing the Bizana rural community. Subsistence farming is the main form of economic activity, but the land is infertile, the farming methods dated, and the yields per acre are less the subsistence levels. Owning livestock is a form of savings/wealth in Redoubt as cattle can be converted into cash for traditional ceremonies or when times are lean. Stock theft and inadequate veterinary services has over the years depleted the community herd. The lack of industrial activity and public investment projects in are leading to high unemployment in Bizana with crime, drug and alcohol abuse, especially amongst young men. There are also many females headed households in Redoubt. Previous research has shown that these households are generally incapacitated at earning the same income as households with both parents present. Many households in the Bizana area rely entirely on pension grants and government grants such as disability and social grants. Given the increasing food and transport prices, this income seems inadequate to meet the needs of households. Many deserving people do not have access to social grants for a multitude of reasons. Some parents, because they have no formal education, fail to see the value in formal education. On account of this, several children are not encouraged to further their education. The girl child is more susceptible, under these conditions where many are made to stay at home doing family chores.

Given the challenges, this research sought to identify different survival strategies used by households in the Redoubt community and to assess the effectiveness of the interventions by the local municipality and by the national government in the form of social grants. The researcher used a mixed methods approach including a household survey, in-depth interviews of key informants who were selectively chosen for their recognised leadership within the area, and an analysis of policy documents of the Mbizana Local Municipality. The response rate in the study was 100%. All the people interviewed voiced a need to have other survival strategies implemented in their community. The conclusion drawn was that strategies being utilised by the community of Redoubt were not sustainable and no backup

system. Many rural communities are characterised by poverty, dispossession, and destitution and are not adequately equipped to plan for sustainable livelihoods.

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Acronyms

Acronym	Description
AsgiSA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
ID DFID Department of	International Development
ELARD	European Leader Association for Rural Development
EU	European Union
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution strategy
HACOP	Hertzog Agricultural Co-operative
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
NDP	National Development Plan
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PGDP	Provincial Growth and Development Plan
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPS	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SL	Sustainable livelihood
SLF	Sustainable livelihood framework
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background and Problem Statement

Rural communities in South Africa confront many economic and social challenges. While government grants have been instrumental in addressing poverty, a new approach is required to uplift these communities and improve their standard of living. Most current rural policies do not meet the needs of rural communities and are not forward looking (Carnegie UK Trust, 2009:6). The livelihood approach (Scoones, 1998; Carney, 1998) identifies five key important elements: the contextual surroundings in which people operate in; the resources at their disposal; the institutions that mediate access to resources; the range of activities and choices available to people; and their goals (Marchetta, 2011:8). Such activities and choices are part of the strategies that households adopt to achieve their objectives. Maskovsky (2001:472) emphasises that jobs for the poor should be a primary goal, with an emphasis on self-help strategies encouraged by the elimination of other forms of assistance.

Additional strategies identified within the community development discourse include a creation and development of alternative institutions that promote access, transparency, and innovation, and promote the well-being of poor communities (Bradshaw, 2006:11). Community development thus encompasses strategic, interventions and coordinated activities at a community level aimed at bringing about social and economic development (Akpomuvie, 2010:91).

The Carnegie UK Trust (2009:4) identified three enabling factors for the development of rural communities. These include growing the capabilities of local people, agencies and professionals who support rural communities; building strong social networking founded on high levels of volunteering and skilled support; and enhancing community assets of all kinds alongside effective community-led planning and stronger local governmental acts.

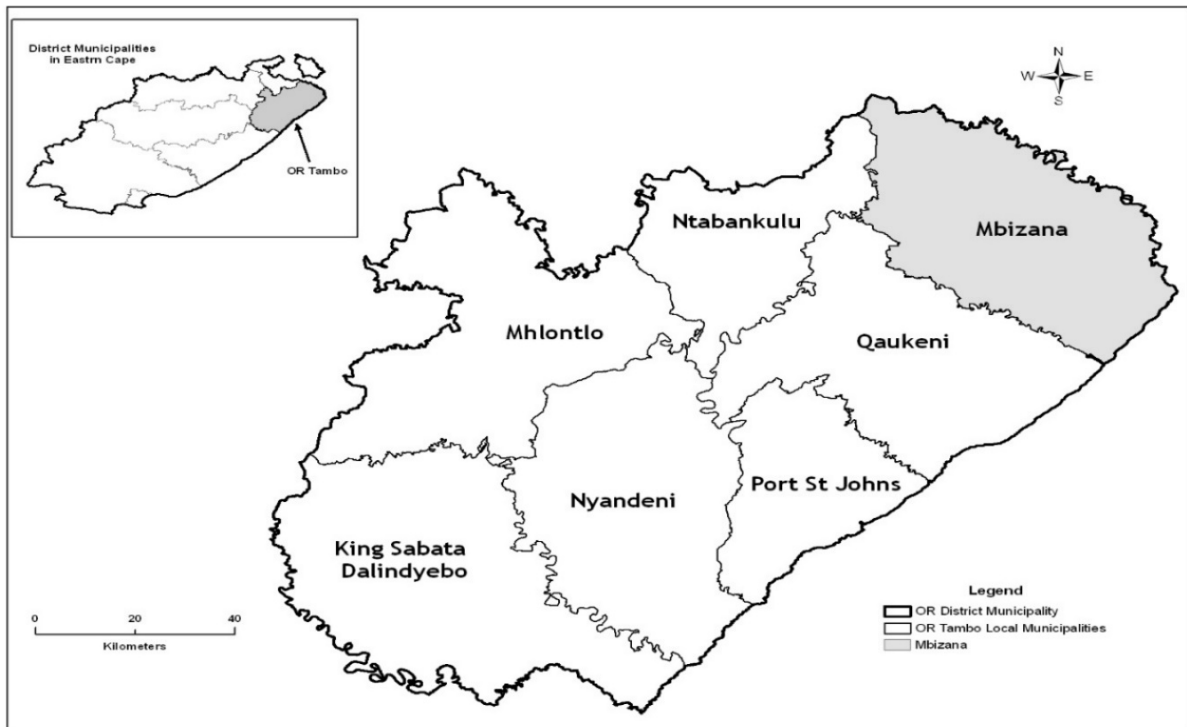
Livelihoods refer to diversities and resources of activeness that enable human beings to survive. Livelihood systems are important for poverty reduction and food security in different policy environments. They are mechanical systems that aid in making a living. People have different life circumstances and life measures of meeting their needs (Ayoola Oni, 2014:103).

The value and functionality of household assets form the foundation of livelihood strategies. Households exploit and combine the resources available to them for maintaining and improving their livelihood assets. It is against this background investigation of survival strategies in Redoubt, a rural community in Mbizana Local Municipality, Eastern Cape will be conducted. This community suffers high unemployment rates and HIV/AIDS prevalence with other social ills associated with extreme marginalisation. The democratic South African government has adopted policies to alleviate poverty and revitalise rural communities such as Redoubt. This is done through development project funding, the expansion of the social grants which seem to entrench dependence and failed to tackle rural poverty. Rural Eastern Cape is the least researched province in South Africa and also the poorest amongst the Country's nine provinces (News24, 2011).

Location of Study

Redoubt is a village situated in the Mbizana Local Municipality under OR Tambo District in the Eastern Cape. The rural areas of the Eastern Cape is the least researched province in South Africa. This province is the poorest amongst the nine provinces of the Country. Research gathered through observation and information of poor rural South African communities, most people live below the poverty line due to high rates of unemployment. Research was conducted to identify the survival strategies employed by Redoubt to augment their Government grants as these are failing to tackle poverty.

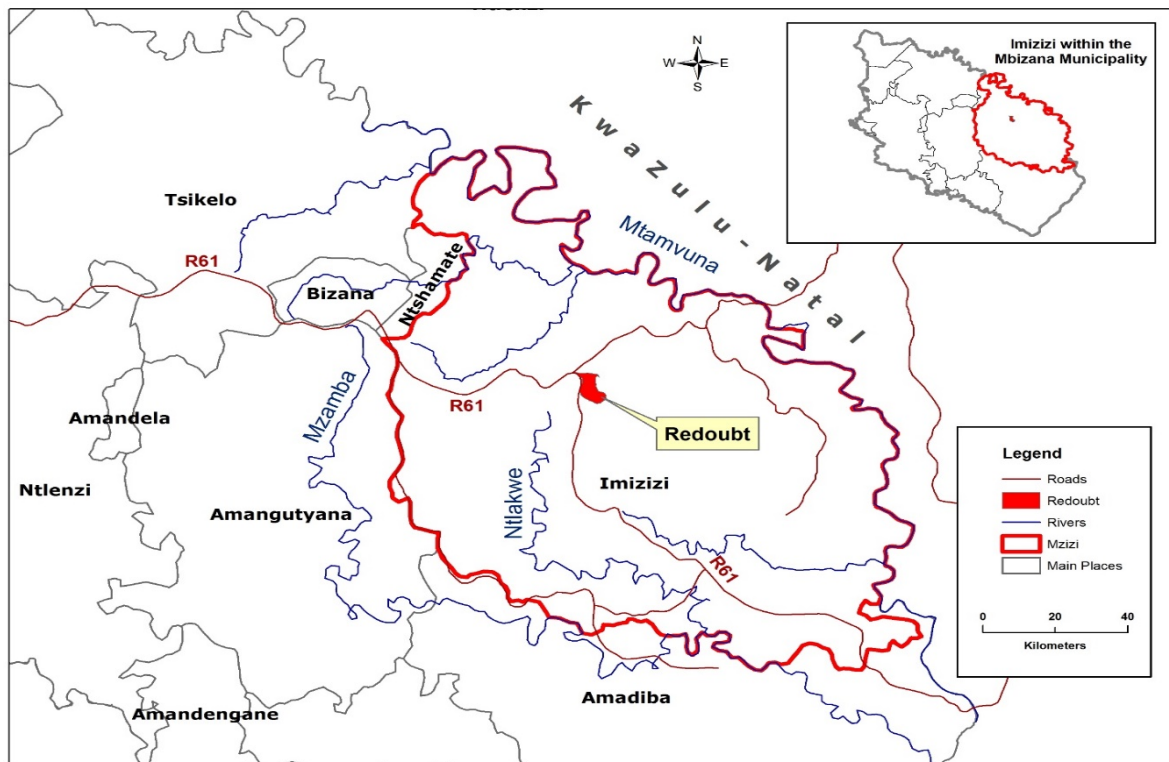
Map 1: OR Tambo District Municipality



(Ingquza Local Municipality, 2016)

Below is a locality map of the study area.

Map 2: Locality Map of the Study Area

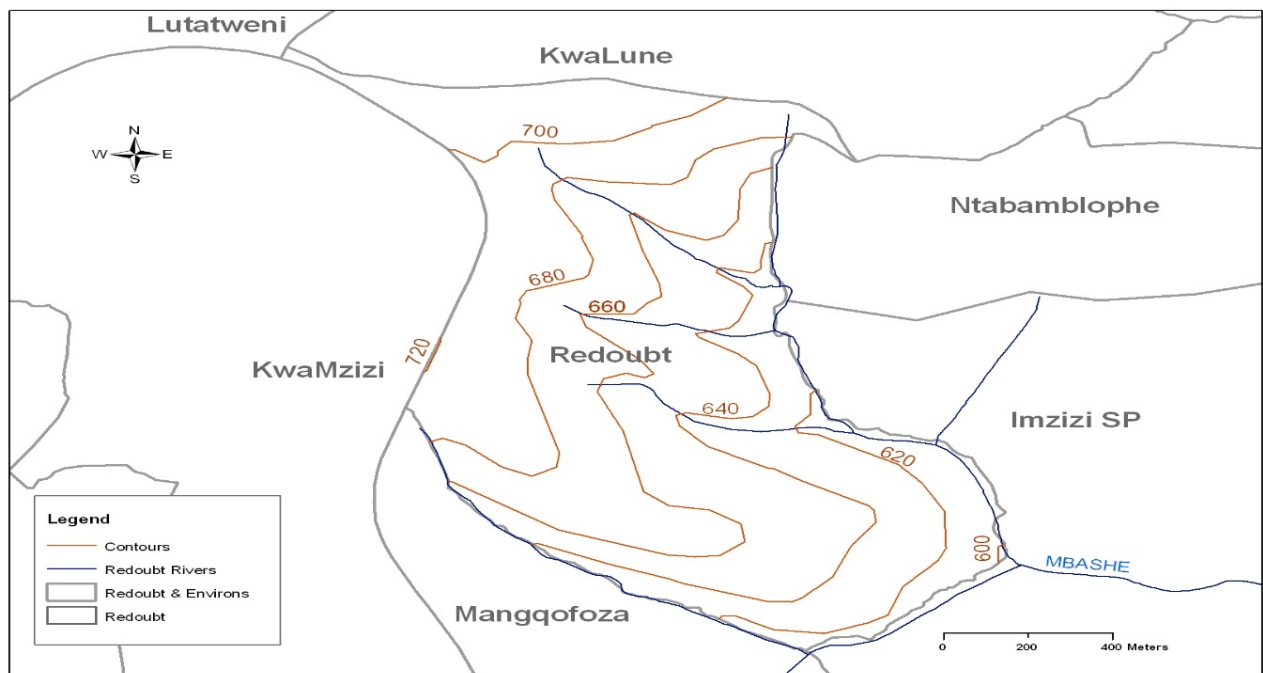


(Ingquza Local Municipality, 2016)

Hydrology of Redoubt

Vertical drainage seem very dominant in the study area; streams that cut across are dry with only the Mbashe River flowing and is at the far eastern side of the area. It must be noted the streams are seasonal. Soils show a clear indication that they are saturated. The slopes are moderate and can be cultivated. The rationale behind this explanation is to indicate the plight of the community in terms of the challenges they face when they try and practise the backyard gardens. Crops wither due to non-watering.

Map 3: Physical Map



(Ingquza Local Municipality, 2016)

The 2015/2016 Review of the Mbizana Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP) noted the key objectives were to reduce the number of households living below the poverty line between 50% and 80% and halve the unemployment rate by 2014 in all its rural communities. The enormity of poverty characterised by illiteracy, low income levels and lack of employment opportunities is a serious challenge for the Municipality. Its 2014/2015 IDP Review noted that 64% of households depended upon child support grants; 1% depended on dependent; 6% on foster care grants; 23% on old age pensions; 6% on permanent disability; 0.3% on temporary disability grants and 0.1% on grants in aid (Mbizana Local Municipality, 2014:135). Such dependency as a result of high levels of unemployment, ineffective farming

methods, the ravages of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and extreme destitution, calls for new survival strategies.

Government has invested in this area and encouraged private investors to do likewise, this did not make an appreciable difference. Socio-economic marginalisation is a major issue in South Africa. Following the African National Congress' (ANC) Polokwane policy conference in 2007, rural development and investment was adopted as one of the government's major policy thrusts (South African History Online, 2007). The creation of the Department of Rural Development is recognition that the upliftment of rural communities is necessary to ease the burden on an already over-stretched urban areas. Improving the quality of life in rural areas means that fewer people migrate to flooded informal settlements in metropolitan areas. This study therefore sought to conduct an in-depth analysis of the survival strategies employed by residents of Redoubt, one of the most marginalised communities in South Africa.

1.2 Main Research Objective

The main objective of this research was to identify different survival strategies used by households in the Redoubt community.

Subsidiary objectives:

- To assess the effectiveness of the local municipality's interventions and those of the national government in the form of social grants;
- To identify planning interventions to improve the situation in the community;
- To identify appropriate infrastructure development to enable the community to achieve its livelihood objectives;
- To identify key strategies that the municipality could adopt;
- To identify the mechanisms adopted by community members to cope with shocks and stresses;
- To identify the programmes implemented by the municipality to assist the agricultural sector.

1.3 Main Research Question

What survival strategies do households in the Redoubt community employ to augment government grants and reduce poverty?

Subsidiary questions:

- How effective are the local municipality's interventions and those of the national government in the form of social grants?
- What planning interventions can be developed to improve the situation in the community?
- What are the appropriate infrastructure development that would enable the community to achieve its livelihood objectives?
- What key strategies could be adopted by the municipality to maintain the community?
- What mechanisms have the community members adopted to cope with shocks and stresses?
- What programmes have the municipality implemented to assist the agricultural sector?

1.4 Research Aim

The Eastern Cape, especially its rural areas, is the least researched province in South Africa and is the poorest amongst the nine provinces. Through observation and information gathered by the Researcher, it was identified that most community members live below the poverty line due to high rates of unemployment. Since government grants are clearly not sufficient to tackle poverty, this study investigated the survival strategies employed by this community to augment these grants.

1.5 Hypothesis

Survival strategies in rural communities reduce poverty; however, their effectiveness in building community resilience remains a challenge.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This research study is important because rural communities have been neglected by the government for much of modern South African history. While much has been written on urban poverty, the proliferation of shacks in areas like Cato Manor in Durban, and the lack of service delivery in townships such as Soweto, this study aimed to advance knowledge of rural

communities that are often overlooked in popular discourse. Furthermore, poverty and marginalisation in rural communities is often conceptualised as a phenomenon that results in rural-urban migration or as something that income transfers, such as pensions and social grants, will address. However, many communities, including Redoubt, have adopted survival strategies to augment their government grants. This study sought to understand and explain the survival strategies that rural communities employ.

Poverty, destitution, and dispossession are more apparent in rural communities in South Africa due to the historical legacy of colonial land expropriation, and subsequent deliberate neglect on the part of the apartheid regime. With the advent of democracy in 1994, many hoped that the spectre of apartheid would be removed. While the government did adopt programmes, such as extending social grants to all, this did not change the unequal relationship between urban and rural areas. The latter remained 'labour reserves', while the former are the engine of growth and the modern economy.

The result is that many people in rural communities like Redoubt have no choice but to seek a living in the informal (second) economy which is notorious for its unpredictable income. An in-depth analysis of the survival strategies adopted by members of the extremely marginalised Redoubt community is important.

1.7 Research Questions and Objectives

Two broad themes were identified namely, poverty reduction and driving factors. Below are the research objectives and research questions for each theme.

Research objectives for poverty reduction

- To identify the different survival strategies used by households in the Redoubt community
- To assess the effectiveness of the local municipality's interventions and those of the national government in the form of social grants;
- To identify planning interventions to improve the situation in the community
- To identify appropriate infrastructure development to enable the community to achieve its livelihood objectives;
- To identify key strategies that the municipality could adopt
- To identify the programmes implemented by the municipality to assist the agricultural sector

Research questions for poverty reduction

- What survival strategies do households in the Redoubt community employ to augment government grants and reduce poverty?
- What programmes has the local municipality implemented to assist the community to engage in agriculture?
- What shocks and stresses are community members exposed to?
- What coping mechanisms have community members adopted to recover from shocks and stresses?
- What are the key strategies employed by the community to survive?
- What kind of support does the community need?
- What programmes are undertaken by the municipality to deliver services to the community?

Research objectives for driving factors:

- To identify the mechanisms adopted by community members to cope with shocks and stresses

Research question for driving factors:

- What are the primary livelihoods options available to households in Redoubt communities?

1.8 Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter one outlines the background information towards the research and the research problem; it also outlines research objectives and questions; and the study's hypothesis.

Chapter two presents the conceptual and theoretical framework that underpinned the research and discusses relevant concepts and theories including sustainable livelihoods, strategic planning, the bottom-up approach and community development.

Chapter three reviews the local and international literature on survival strategies in rural communities.

Chapter four presents the research methodology employed by the study and the tools and techniques used for data collection.

Chapter five presents and analyses the study's findings based on descriptive and thematic analysis. The analysis is presented in line with the study's objectives, which focus on the identification of survival strategies in rural communities.

Chapter six provides an outlining of the summary of the research findings, the recommendations arising from these results and suggestions for further research.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the background to the study, the problem statement, and the study's objectives and research questions as well as its main hypothesis. The significance of the study was also highlighted. The chapter concluded with the structure of the dissertation. The following chapter presents the study's conceptual and theoretical framework.

Chapter Two: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a theoretical and conceptual framework looking at survival strategies in rural communities. The conceptual framework sets the stage to develop an understanding of which concepts should be included in an investigation (McGaghie et al., 2001). The conceptualising framework by Mace and Bateman (2014) represents the key components of systems or issues of interests, showing their inter-relationships and linkages. The chapter also discusses the theories and approaches on which the research analysis is based. The following section presents the theoretical framework in relation to survival strategies in rural communities.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework is the structure supporting the theory underlying a research study (Richard, 2013). This section introduces and describes the theory which explains why the research problem under investigation exists. The theories and perspectives that underlie the key concepts in this study, namely survival strategies in rural communities, are unpacked. The broad understanding of the research topic guides the selection of theories or approaches related to the conceptual framework. This section thus examines the sustainable livelihoods approach, the bottom-up approach, strategic planning, and resilience theory.

2.2.1 Sustainable Livelihood

This sub-section discusses livelihoods concepts that have relevance in the development of local communities. The term 'sustainable livelihoods' (SL) appeared prominently as a developmental concept in the early 1990s, drawing on advances in understanding of famine and food insecurity during the 1980s (Scoones, 2009:4). Sustainable livelihood has its origins in the work of Robert Chambers in the mid-1980s; today many development agencies use this concept in a variety of contexts to address different issues and priorities. Livelihoods context perspectives have been centralized to rural development thinking and practices in the past two decades. Their focal point starts with how various people in different places live and make a living. According to Scoones (2009:172), livelihoods may be described as a “flexible term that can be attached to many other words to constructing fields of developmental enquiry and practices. These relate

to locales (rural or urban livelihoods), occupations (farming, pastoral or fishing livelihoods), social differences (gendered, age-defined livelihoods), directions (livelihood pathways, trajectories), dynamic patterns (sustainable or resilient livelihoods) and many more (Scoones, 2009)".

Many scholars have traced the history of the concept of SL and have expanded on its application (Ashley and Carney, 1999; Ellis, 1999; Shackleton et al., 2000; Haidar, 2009; Scoones, 2009; De Schutter, 2011; Ayoola Ani, 2014). Chambers and Conway offer the following definition:

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks.

Shackleton et al. (2000:36) stated that the concept of SL describes the common welfare that involves a wide range of people involved in different aspects of development policy formulation and planning. In general terms, livelihood can be defined from two perspectives. The first involves narrow economical focus on production, employment and household income. The second is more holistic and combines economic based development, which reduces vulnerability and environmental sustainability while building on the strengths of the rural poor. This research study adopts the holistic perspective.

People make a living in different ways; livelihoods can refer to conventional rural developments with a focus on defined activities such as agriculture, wage employment, farm labour, and small-scale enterprises. Scoones (2009: 172) asserted that people combine different activities in a complex bricolage or portfolio of activities.

The livelihoods approach posits that a logical relationship exists between households' assets and activities, and that institutions and regulations influence their interaction, leading to development (Ayoola Ani, 2014:104). As such, SL is a way of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities for development, in order to enhance poverty alleviation (Ashley and Carney, 1999:6). Ashley and Carney (1999) stated that the SL approached the core principles which stress people-centred, responsiveness, and multi-level approaches to development.

The above-mentioned statements on SL aim to promote lasting poverty reduction (Ashley and Carney, 1999:6). It attempts to offer a framework that can be used as a checklist of various issues and a way of structuring analysis (Ashley and Carney, 1999:8). The primary objective is sustainability incorporating a set of principles. The SL principle can be applied in almost any situation, but some scholars view it as a call for specific SL projects or programmers.

Haidar (2009) argued that the outcomes of SL are all-important. Livelihoods outcomes are goals people can aspire to in pursuit of their livelihood's strategies (Haidar, 2009:8). He argued that these outcomes are not limited to increasing income only. It can reduce vulnerability; increase well-being; improve food security; and create a more sustainable use of natural resources. The SL framework links inputs (designated 'capitals' or 'assets') and outputs (livelihood strategies) that are in turn connected to outcomes, which combine familiar territory (of poverty lines and employment levels) with wider framings (of well-being and sustainability) (Scoones, 2009:177). The primary focus of the livelihood framework is on households and the way in which people use their capabilities and their resources to undertake a range of activities that make up their livelihood strategies. In line with the SL focus, Ellis-Jones (1999:2) referred to livelihood strategies as the activities, the assets, and the access that jointly determined the living gained by an individual or household (Ellis-Jones, 1999). He argued that diversification is vital for rural survival as it is the process by which households construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities for survival in order to improve their standard of living.

Rural people pursue various strategies, including assets that act as social capital and are referred to as sociable resources and including informal networking, memberships of formal groups and relationships of trust that facilitate co-operation (Haidar, 2009:5). Haidar (2009:17) argued that social capital focuses on a giving household livelihoods strategies that are multi-sectoral and interdependent in nature (Haidar, 2009). In addition to these assets, the resources and values of specific physical and social environments determines the characters of livelihood system components. The need for a sustainable livelihood is central in reflecting the ability to address various issues that offer the promise of a better life (Ayoola Oni, 2014:104) be it poverty reduction and/or food security. A household performs different activities to gain and maintain their livelihoods. The nature of these activities depends on the availability of assets, resources (including climate), labour, skills, education, social capital and gender (Ayoola Oni, 2014:103).

Scoones (2009:181) highlighted four periodic downfalls of livelihoods perspectives. The first related to the absence of an endowment with the mechanism of economic globalisation. Livelihoods approaches have often been reviewed as being too multi-form, and incompatible with real-world challenges and decision-making processes. The second, is related to the lack of attention to the power and politics; and the failure to connect livelihoods and governance debates in development. The third, is the lack of rigorous attempts to deal with long-term change in environmental conditions. Finally, there is an on-going debate on long-term shifts in rural economies and broader questions about agrarian change. A frequent misconception concerning the livelihoods approach is that holistic analysis leads to holistic or multi-disciplinary projects (Ashley and Carney, 1999:17). SL approaches have fundamentally challenged single-sector approaches to solving complex rural development problems (Scoones, 2009) and dealing with long-term change.

Sustainable Livelihoods is about making a living and the core principles driving it include people centralization, responsiveness and participatory; multi-level conduct with partnerships; sustainable; and dynamics. In today's world, agencies, scholars, institutions and governments use SL for different purposes and in different contexts. Their common primary aim is to secure a sustainable means of living, stability, durability, and resilience in the face of both external shocks and internal stresses.

2.2.2 Bottom-up Approach

Depending on the approach utilised by the rural area, they can create competition and grow “micro business, and offer niche markets and more opportunities to women entrepreneurs” (Mudenda, 2006:8).

The bottom-up approach to development allows the community stakeholders priority setting and decision-making authority. Scholars such as Murray, 1986; Mudenda, 2006; Akpomuvie, 2010, Kharel, and Pulla, 2014 including the European Leader Association for Rural Development (ELARD, 2014) support this approach. Murray (1986) asserted that it achieves a genuine citizen-centric solution in the form of authentic community ownership, and greater community and public support (Murray, 1986). Stakeholders work towards a common goal for their own development and the strategies and interventions bring about social and economic development (Akpomuvie, 2010). Rural development shifting from a top-down planning approach to bottom-up approach allows the community to be involved in identifying its own

problems, conceptualising solutions, and planning and implementing development programmes (Mudenda, 2006:11).

The bottom-up approach is believed to breathe new life into communities who face unprecedented challenges; not only does it reduce the ‘planning arrogance’ of experts and the technocratic approach to developing plans and projects for the poor, but people are involved in the overall development process (Kharel and Pulla, 2014:58). Self-help and a communitarian philosophy not only accelerate growth but also spread the benefits of development (Akpomuvie, 2010:88).

Many scholars have argued that the bottom-up approach should not be considered as an alternative as opposed to the top-down approach by national and/or regional authorities but should rather combine and interact with both in order to achieve better overall results. This holds true in the European Union (EU) in its different stages of history (ELARD, 2014). Murray (1986) noted that the bottom-up approach required an institutional framework that is capable of removing or changing structural barriers.

2.3 Community Development

Numerous studies have focused on community development (Ellis, 1999; DFID, 2000; Bradshaw, 2006; Longataff, 2008; Weeber, 2009; Scoones, 2009; Akpomuvie, 2010). These studies incorporated all strategic activities; interventions or a coordination of activities at a community level aimed at bringing about social and economic developments (Akpomuvie, 2010:91). The aim of community development in deprived neighbourhoods is to generate social, cultural and economic capital (Weeber, 2009). Weeber (2009) highlighted the need to adopt a multi-dimensional definition of poverty (a lack of cultural, social and economic capital) calling for a holistic and integrated approach with; bottom-up strategies in neighbourhoods in a combination with top-down; and the inclusion of community organisations in development activities.

According to Scoones (2009:180), the ‘community practice’ associated with SL approaches has a strong normative commitment to poverty reduction and bottom-up, participatory approaches. The approach is ‘people-centralized’ in that policy formulation is based on poor people’s understanding of the realities of their struggles, as well as their participation in determining the priorities for practical intervention, and on their need to influence the

institutional structures and processes that govern their lives (DFID, 2000; Scoones, 2009:181). Strategic access to community development should be operational across each local area with strengthened regional community development networks and appropriated national links (Longataff, 2008:33). According to Bradshaw (2006:11) this approach to community development is the cornerstone of most community development concurrence focussed on providing an alternate to businesses, housing, schooling, and programmers. Akpomuvie (2010:97) described it as community-dictated development to achieve an improvement to living conditions for the community with active participation of, and if possible, on the initiative of the community concerned.

Akpomuvie (2010:91) added that the projects approach to rural communities' developments is generally motivated by the government's desire to improve economic conditions in rural areas. On the other hand, the service approach as mentioned by Akpomuvie (2010:91) called for the local community's active participation and initiative. Ellis (1999:2) stated this enabled the poor to gain better access to opportunities (or to create their own opportunities) (Ellis, 1999). He posits that facilitations could be substantially cost effective for poverty reduction than artificially attempting to support a specific sector or sub-sector of rural economic activities.

In summary, people-centred community development approaches provide the community members guidance in identifying priorities and being actively involved in improving the overall standard of living. It should be noted that community development comprises all strategies bringing about social and economic development. The empowerment of people based on self-organisation can generate social, cultural and economic capital.

2.4 Resilience Theory

Resilience theory was introduced by ecologist Holling in 1973 and has been embraced across disciplines such as economics, psychology and sociology (Schouten, van der Heide and Heijman, 2009). According to Holling, resilience is "a measure of the persistence of systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations or state variables" (Holling, 1973:14). Walker and Salt (2006:1) stated that resilience refers to "the ability of a system to absorb disturbances and still retain its basic function and structure", whilst Folke et al. (2010) defined it as "(t)he capacity to change in order to maintain the same identity" (Folke et al., 2010). The concept of resilience combines

three key factors: the number of disturbance that mechanical systems can absorb and still remain in the same state or domain of attraction; the degree to which the systems are capable of self-organisation; and the ability to shape and increase capacity for learning and adaptation. In relation to ecological systems, Gunderson (2000:436) noted that resilience is the amount of disturbance that a system can absorb without changing stability domains.

Definitions of resilience vary depending on the object of analysis for example, an asset, facility, system, community/region, or combined systems (Carlson et al., 2012:11). Carlson et al. (2012:17) referred to it as “the ability of an entity, asset, organization, and community, region to anticipate, resist, absorb, respond to, adapt to, and recover from a disturbance.”

Resilience Theory focuses on numerous crucial concepts including inception, the adaptive cycle, panarchy, resilience, adaptability, and transformability (Pisano, 2012:6). Pisano (2012:9) and Martin-Breen and Anderies (2011:14) drew on Folke’s (2006) socio-ecological resilience characteristics of disturbance and reorganisation, sustenance and development to focus on adaptive capacity, transformability, learning, innovation, integrated system feedback, and cross scale dynamic interactions (Pisano, 2012; Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011; Folke, 2006).

Scientists use the resilience framework to consider the relationship between social and ecological systems and how these systems change and cope with shocks (Pisano, 2012). Resilience theory “addresses the dynamics and development of complex social-ecological systems” (Folke et al., 2010). The central issues are resilience, adaptability, and transformability. To understand Resilience Theory, Pisano (2012) focused on these three important conceptual thresholds, the resilience, adaptability and transformability (Pisano, 2012).

Martin-Breen and Anderies (2011) identified three resilience frameworks that are progressively more complex: engineering (or ‘common sense’) resilience; systems resilience, and resilience in complex adaptive systems. Systematic resilience is often used in governance and management; and the complex adaptive systems approach has been applied to economical, technological innovations, history, and urban formula systems.

A rural community may be studied as a sociable system that interacts with and dependent upon an ecological substrate and whose survival depends on its interrelations with the system of

natural resources (Schouten, van der Heide & Heijman, 2009:4). Rural communities adapt to and resist social ills encountered daily. Resilience is an adaptation in response to certain conditions. It is the ability of systems, households, people, communities, ecosystems, and nations to generate new ways of “operating and new systemic relationships” (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011:7). Pisano (2012) noted that sociable and ecological systems are always changing, and many changes reflect on progressiveness through linked addictiveness of cycles, on various and numerous different scales of time and space, with each cycle consisting of four phases: rapid growth (r), conservation (K), release (omega) and reorganization (alpha) (Pisano, 2012).

A rural system is composed of different components that include human actors of different kinds, in particular ecosystems or habitat types, resources, goods and materials, and robotic variables (Schouten, van der Heide & Heijman, 2009). These components cause a relationship between the economic, environmental and social sectors. Rural resilience refers to the capacity of the rural region to adapt to the change of external circumstances in such a way that a satisfactory standard of living is maintained, while coping with its inherent ecological, economic and social vulnerabilities (Schouten, van der Heide & Heijman, 2009).

In summary, resilience refers to the system’s ability to absorb disturbances and still retain its basic function and structure (Pisano, 2012:21). It can be characterised as:

- General resilience, as resilience of any and all parts of a system to all kinds of shocks, including novel ones;
- Specified resilience as resilience ‘of what, to what’ and, therefore, the resilience of a particular part of a system, related to a particular control variable, to one or more identified shocks.

Resilience means different things to different people; implementation of these different perspectives are amplified, creating a major challenge (Keating & Mechler, 2014). Resilience processing includes preparedness (anticipate), mitigation measurements (resist, absorb), respondents’ capabilities (respond, adapt), and recovery mechanisms (recover) (Carlson et al., 2012:21). No commonly accepted definitions of resilience are used across all disciplines. In relation to sustainable development, resilience links social and ecological processes with people at the centre in an environment.

The resilience of a community/region is a function of the resilience of its sub-systems, including its infrastructure, economy, civil society, governance (including emergency services), and supply chains/dependencies (Carlson et al., 2012:1). Rural resilience is referred to the capacities of rural regions to adapt to the changes of external circumstances in such a way that satisfactory standards of living is maintained, while coping with its inherent of ecological, economic and social vulnerabilities (Schouten, van der Heide & Heijman, 2009). It is this multi-dimensional perspective of resilience that this study adopts.

2.5 Strategic Planning in Rural Areas

A strategic plan is a useful tool for any community that wishes to change and grow. Strategic planning is the process of defining an organisation's plans to achieve its mission (Gates, 2010). Planning discourse is concerned with modelling of social plans and physical land-usage planning. In relation to this study, the community-planning models are more grass rooted, as bottom-up, and consensus shaping and suited to a non-profitable organization and local governments (Foundation for Community Association Research, 2014). The Foundation for Community Association Research (2014) noted that strategic planning is the cornerstone of every common-interest community. Without strategic planning, the communities will never know where it's going, much less if it ever reached there (FCAR, 2014).

Zubair (2014) pointed out that the strategic planning refers to:

- A definition and prioritising long-term plans that include examining the organisation's purpose, mission, philosophy and goals considering its external environment;
- Proactive and future-oriented, focuses on a 3-5-year period of operation;
- Generally, aims to create an image of the desired future and design ways to make the plan a reality.

(Zubair, 2014)

Thus, strategic planning is long term while the community at grass roots level mainly focuses on short term activities.

Preissing (2006) defined strategic planning as a process that:

- Involves communities or groups in envisaging its preferred future;

- Produces a flexible plan or road map of strategies derived from internal discussions and external sources;
- Enables proactive thinking beyond current activities and traditions;
- Deals positively with change by responding to it effectively;
- Involves making decisions that consider changes or anticipated changes in the environment;
- Sets priorities for action that are reflective of all aspects of the association or municipality.

(Preissing, 2006)

The following diagram displays strategic planning cycles.

Figure 1: Strategic Planning Cycle



Source: (Chicago State University, 2019)

Figure 1 above shows that the mission offers guidance in achieving the goals. The communities' development processes consist of three phases: strategic planning, implementation, and evaluation. Strategic planning looks at the bigger picture and identifies what is important (USDA, 1998). Preissing's (2006) case study found that action planning is difficult in comparison to reflections and analysis; communities don't develop action plans as readily (Preissing, 2006:302). He noted that strategic planning programmers provide a feedback loop to inform current and future efforts.

In summary, strategic plans overlook the big picture and aid in deciding what is important. It enables a group or organisation to identify internal and external potential, prioritise and take action.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the conceptual and theoretical approaches underpinning survival strategies in rural communities. Numerous approaches and theories emphasise the need for the community's involvement. The SL and bottom-up approaches, Resilience Theory, strategic planning and community development emphasise the need for social capital and activities. In relation to poverty reductions, policies /strategies there is a need to be better informed by social capital and the activities undertaken. Possession of the means of survival such as assets and interactions between assets and activities in rural communities are vital in poverty alleviation efforts. The main objective of this chapter was to discuss livelihoods concepts that have relevance in the development of local communities. It must be noted that a number of definitions have been given to livelihood, which involve narrow economical focus on production, employment and household income. This is more relevant to the case study as almost all households in the community are involved in narrow economical focus on production. The second definition of livelihood is more holistic and combines economic based development, which reduces vulnerability and environmental sustainability while building on the strengths of the rural poor. In the case of the research study area, it adopts the holistic perspective. Livelihoods context perspectives have been centralized to rural development thinking and practices in the past two decades. Their focal point starts with how various people in different places live and make a living. It can be best summarised that the chapter met its objectives of addressing theoretical frameworks from local point of view and showed relevance to the case study.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the contemporary literature on survival strategies among poor rural families in communities around the world. Drawing on secondary sources, it examines recent studies of rural communities in America, Asia and Europe, followed by a review of research on the African continent, with a focus on South Africa. The community and family cases reviewed include country regions in sub-Saharan and West Africa as well as examples in other regions. The living conditions of rural, poor communities in different parts of the world are compared to those of similar communities in South Africa, focusing on informal economic activities. The South African government provides social grants and invests in rural development projects to alleviate poverty; such programmes are not available in other countries.

3.2 International Perspective

There are case studies examining SL in practice conducted by, but not limited to, researchers Prajapati et al. (2014); Sick (2014); Sartorius et al. (2014); Wall, and Aghayeva (2014); De Schutter (2011); Padilha and Hoff (2011); Drabentstot (2010); Akpomovie (2010); Preissing (2006); Ellis (1999); Ashley and Carney (1999) and Walker (1990).

Neoliberal state policies, global markets and discourses, growing populations, and new technologies and transportation systems have expanded economic and social networks, blurring the lines between rural/urban and local/global and resulting in several new opportunities as well as constraints for rural livelihoods (Sick, 2014:1). Of the approximations, one billion of the population considers food insecurity, about half are located in households that rely on subsistence agriculture (De Schutter, 2011:256).

There is an increase of 925 million people who are considered food insecure in 2009 (FAO, 2009:11). These families often are unable to secure food themselves because the plot of land they cultivate may be too small, the soil is arid, hilly, or without irrigation. They may be in competition with larger, more productive units for access to land and water (UN Millennium Project, 2005: 6 cited in De Schutter, 2011:256). Access to land and natural resources is crucial

for most rural dwellers and the dwindling landholdings have been driving rural households to diversify (Sick, 2014:3).

Rural Africa confronts severe poverty resulting in food insecurity, limited access to electricity, clean water, and education, and the risk of deadly diseases including malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS (Walker, 1990). Rural communities throughout Africa are under severe threat from extreme poverty that many developmental “economists, including Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz (2003), trace back to the World Bank’s policies in the 1980s and 1990s” (Stiglitz, 2003). They note that since the early ’80s when the Bretton Wood institution (i.e., the World Bank and International Monetary Fund) introduced Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) throughout the developing world, rural poverty has risen, particularly in Africa. Governments in Latin America, Africa and Asia were forced to ‘liberalise’ their economies, privatise public services (i.e., water, education, electricity and health) and slash subsidies on basic food stuff in order to devote a larger portion of their hard currency to pay off huge foreign debt (Bond, 2006).

3.2.1 North and South America

This section presents an overview of survival strategies in rural communities in North and South America. Preissing’s (2006:302) six case studies of strategic planning in rural communities in the USA discovered that action planning strategies are more difficult than reflections and analysis; thus, communities do not develop action plans as readily. He noted that strategic planning programmes offer a feedback loop to inform current and future efforts. Padilha and Hoff (2011) observed that Brazil has all the characteristic requirements to attract visitors, including beaches, forests, mountains, rivers, festivals, different food, national parks, historical places and Brazilian hospitality offering income generators (Padilha & Hoff, 2011). However, they argued that the natural Brazilian way of life could be a better livelihood strategy than tourism.

Sick’s (2014:36) analysis of coffee-producing households in Costa Rica also revealed interesting results (Sick, 2014). His study pointed to increasing livelihood diversification, not just within but also, among rural households as many begin to shift from reliance on agro-pastoral activities to non-farming activities income to support themselves. Howitt’s (2014:5) study in the same country noted that most farming households and the local economy in general

appear to be benefiting from opportunities to diversify income through involvement in the emerging ecotourism sector (Howitt, 2014). Howitt (2014:5) argued that community members have been able to influence the direction of tourism development in their village by actively embracing and promoting environmentally sound practices. Turning to Mexico, Doyon and Sabino (2014) praised the state's efforts to develop new tourism-linked economic activities as potential for restructuring rural livelihoods, the local economy and attitudes towards resource conservation. Despite ongoing problems within the fishing industry, many fishing households have rejected ecotourism as an economic alternative and opted to fish for sea cucumbers, to sell to Chinese entrepreneurs.

Tourism in Mexico as a livelihood diversification strategy relates to changing perceptions of available resources, including natural, physical and human capital (Padilha & Hoff, 2011:56). According to Drabenstot (2010), the Midwest in the USA is often associated with farming activities and yet industry and manufacturing have always been the key part of the rural Midwest economic structures. Rural areas in this region have suffered an economic downturn and the on-going exodus of youth and talent is of major concern (Drabenstot, 2010). The auto industries, which was once the cornerstone of the rural economy, is undergoing its biggest restructuring yet with many plants closing. Agriculture was strongest moving forward into the global recession, but the farm incomes are now declining as food demands are high around the world. The pullback in housing and consumer spending is leading to job cuts across the board in thousands of factories through the Midwest.

Drabenstot's (2010) study revealed that, instead of drawing on the rural Midwest's economic base and creating jobs on home soil; large amounts of money are used to lure companies from afar (Drabenstot, 2010). Companies set up factories on the periphery of a town occupying farming land with farm workers being employed by these companies. The rural Midwest could create a very strong economy by partnering regionally, resulting in multi-county self-defined regions. They could have a combination of forces to create new businesses and well-planned jobs in homes. This would enable the towns and counties of the rural Midwest to compete and thrive in a global economic collaboration is fast becoming the norm (Drabenstot, 2010).

Lee's (2010) research on two rural communities in Alabama revealed that, if the right measures are adopted, an economy can be boosted. On the other hand, if a community clings to one form of development, a stagnant economy will result in long term problems. Both rural counties

were cotton economies where one adopted new ideas that boosted the economy. This county understood that new companies need a well-educated work force. A premium was placed on education and students' grades rocketed. This lesson could be useful in the study area of Redoubt, where most adults do not see the need to educate their children, especially the girl child. Education skills empowers people, enabling them to acquire well-paying jobs to sustain their families. Pender (2004) and Scoones (2009) identified future livelihood pathways for the highlands of Central America and East Africa based on comparative advantages in agricultural potential, market access, and infrastructure provision and population densities, among other variables.

3.2.2 Asia

The concept of livelihood is rapidly gaining acceptance as a valuable means to understand the factors that influence people's lives and well-being (Prajapati et al., 2014:139). A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from shocks and stresses and maintain or enhance its capacities and assets, both now and in the future (Carney, 1998). In south Asia, roughly 60% of rural household income is from non-farm sources; it varies widely between, for example, landless households and those with access to land for farming (Ellis, 1999:3). Nepal was one of the first countries in Asia to establish a cheese industry and was the only country in the world producing yak cheese until the 1980s. It is now available for purchase in local community lodges, boosting the economies of towns (Kharel and Pulla, 2014:62). Earnings from yak farming, maintenance of community lodges, handmade paper, rabbit rearing; fish farming, etc., are all deposited in a common fund for education. Profits are pooled in a non-governmental organisation (NGO) which channels funds to various development projects in the village.

Prajapati et al. (2014:141) found in India, the primary challenge confronting ethnic communities is how to earn and sustain livelihoods. Communities in different parts of the country adopt a variety of livelihood practices, including as hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, and shifting cultivators. Changes in accessing land; control and utilisation of these resources has negatively affected their livelihoods (Prajapati et al., 2014: 141). Agricultural activities developed in rural areas like this have an impact on the environment and are highly influenced by politics.

3.2.3 Europe

Rural areas in the European Union (EU) struggled with agricultural restructuring in the midst of population decline; others have been more successfully in reorganization through production, and further development in their agri-businesses (Schouten, van der Heide and Heijman, 2009:3). Wall and Aghayeva, (2014) investigated the influence of chestnut sales on the livelihoods of growers and collectors. Their case study of 22 chestnut-growing households in two villages revealed the socio-economic importance of this source of income for Azerbaijan's chestnut-growing communities.

Fałkowski, Jakubowski and Strawinski (2014) discovered that returns from a combination of farm and off-farm activities in Poland were lower than those concentrating on farming or on self-employment outside of agriculture. Over the analysed period, households that adopted a diversification strategy performed better than those relying solely on unearned income. They concluded that, in general, income in households that combine farm and off-farm activities were higher than in those combining off-farm income sources. Kalugina's (2013:127) study in Russia observed that the most powerful survival strategies of rural communities was diversification in the rural economy and rural employment. Informal employment on household plots, seasonal work (in urban and industrial areas), and freelancing during the period of market reforms are widespread.

Urbanisation and the abandonments of land have led to a 6% decrease in agricultural productive land over the past 21 years (EEA, 1999:3), increasing vulnerability (Schouten, van der Heide and Heijman, 2009). Padilha and Hoff (2011) found that worldwide, tourism offers the most economic potential. Rural regions are regarded as open systems that run far from equilibrium, with material, energetic information flowing both into and out of them, the way in which their internal socio-economic and ecological components are organised determines how the flows are used and traded (Schouten, van der Heide and Heijman 2009:12).

The Center for Community Enterprise (2000) stressed the need for purposeful community action to enhance the personal and collective capacity of citizens and institutions to respond to and influence the course of social and economic change. A community adapts to adversity by

changing how it functions, or by using resources in innovative ways. In contrast, a community could resist adversity (or expend resources) to avoid change and its resilience is reflected by how much adversity it can withstand without collapsing or changing dramatically (Carri, 2013:9).

3.3 African Perspective of Survival Strategies

The evidence shows that rural non-farm activity in Africa is fairly evenly divided among commerce, manufacturing and services, directly or indirectly linked to local agriculture or small towns, and is largely informal than formal (Abimbola and Oluwakemi, 2013:483). The authors argued that livelihood diversification primarily depends on the context within which it occurs that is, differential access to diversification activities and distribution of the benefits of diversification. They concluded that the poorest rural groups probably have the fewest opportunities to diversify in a way that will lead to accumulation for investment purposes. Rural tourism tends to emerge as a promising alternative which can assist in diversifying livelihoods by employing family members, enabling interaction with different people and making use of unused places (Padilha and Hoff, 2011). This section examines case studies in West and sub-Saharan Africa and South Africa.

3.3.1 Rural Communities' Survival Strategies in West Africa

A number of studies on survival strategies in rural areas have been conducted in Nigeria (Ayoola Oni, 2014; Turner, McPeak and Ayantunde, 2014; Abimbola and Oluwakemi, 2013; Akpomuvie, 2010). The majority of the rural poor in Nigeria begin their livelihoods from subsistence agriculture and provision of services such as blacksmithing, tailoring, and carpentry (Ayoola Oni, 2014:103). Household livelihoods are intricately tied to the natural environment (Ayoola Oni, 2014:104). Ayoola Oni (2014) noted more than 66% of rural dwellers are involved in some form of agricultural activities. Abimbola and Oluwakemi (2013:489) showed that non-farm income plays a very important role in augmenting farm income and that farming alone is not an adequate source of revenue for rural households.

Akpomuvie (2010:91) identified three major community development approaches to promote livelihood sustainability in Nigeria:

- The extension approach,

- The project approach, and
- The service approach.

The extension approach involves directly teaching rural people improved farming methods and techniques and health care or how to read and write. This self-help and communitarian philosophy has not only accelerated growth, but also spread the beneficiaries of development to rural areas in the Nigerian country. This does not absolve the state from playing its part; self-help activities should complement rural development rather than replacing it (Akpomuvie, 2010:88).

Ango et al.'s (2014:122) study in rural areas in Nigeria found that most household heads fell into the 45-54 age bracket; suggesting that they were too old to be active in agricultural production. This can be attributed to younger people moving to the cities. All the household heads were male and were involved in farming, with the end product mainly for family consumption and little left to sell to purchase items not produced on the farm (Ango et al., 2014:126). Rural areas in Nigeria lack the social amenities available in urban areas that offer various job opportunities (Ango et al., 2014:126). In addition, the youth, who form the majority of the rural population, tend to migrate to urban centres due to push factors such as the few job opportunities, social amenities and infrastructure in rural areas (Ango et al., 2014:130).

However, Ayoola Oni's (2014:112) analysis found that agricultural activities within the Guinea-Sudan regional zone and Savannah tree zones could significantly reduce rural household poverty. There is a clear interaction between agricultural activities, agro-ecological variations and household welfares within rural Nigeria.

The government and donor agencies have actively pursued efforts to analyse and discover solutions to the menace of poverty in Nigeria (Ajani and Igbokwe, 2014:72). The Federal government has also introduced programmes to empower women involved in agricultural and non-agricultural production.

Becker's (2000) study of poor rural Malian communities in West Africa found that local food supplies are held hostage by rainfall patterns (Becker, 2000). Farmers and herders are the poorest socio-economic group in Mali, earning only a quarter of the income of merchants and 21% of that of public sector employees (UNDP/UNICEF, 1995:13). The study identified three

major survival strategies: investment in cattle (that are seen as a form of wealth and are sold for profit); market gardens (vegetables grown by groups of households); and bush extraction (wood sold for fire wood and building purposes). The villages have agro-ecological characteristics and enjoy proximity to markets. Coupled with a variety of income generating activities, these communities are somewhat self-reliant.

Like South Africa, Mali is a former colony, with imbalanced distribution of economic activities between urban and rural areas (Bekker, 1993). **Rural has a very wide definition by scholars over the years, but in this regard, it is referred to those areas with very sparsely population and usually isolated with little or no resources.** This has resulted in strained domestic relations. The way in which peasants earn and spend their income are crucial to rural livelihoods. Women have become increasingly responsible for subsistence food production as men shift to cash generation from the sale of vegetables and forest products.

A survey conducted by Becker (2000) in the rural Malian village of Soro revealed that all households in the village had insufficient grain to meet the consumption requirements of all their members. Crops harvested in one year could not sustain families until the next harvest. Households supplemented their consumption requirements from woodlands and grasslands, which provide important energy resources, notably firewood and pasture for livestock (cattle, sheep and goats). Soro village was selected for an in-depth study on the role of money in food procurement strategies. Seasonal migration to the urban wage sector, long-term migration to Cote d'Ivoire, remittances from relatives based in other cities, and animal husbandry, are the primary sources of income to purchase food. Market gardening of tomatoes, cucumbers, chili peppers, and shallots under bucket-drawn irrigation is an important dry season activity, and is also the predominant form of cash-cropping in the rainy season. There is also an active culture of fishing along the Niger River. Like elsewhere in rural Mali, cash earnings are essential to complement subsistence farming activities in Soro. The specific strategy used by a farming family depends on a combination of enabling and constraining factors. The study revealed that both men and women sought activities to maintain an income during seasonal changes. Shea butter and fire wood are the primary sources of the women's income and they use the money generated to purchase grain for household consumption.

The study also found that another survival strategy the community participates in is petty trade. This supplements the insufficient grain production in the village. Local goods such as fruit,

vegetables, wood, herbs/ roots and barks, and many more are traded with neighbouring villages. Livestock is one of the livelihood strategies of many rural households in West Africa. Grazing depends on movement outside the village (Turner, McPeak and Ayantunde, 2014).

The West African experience shows that, despite the many uncontrollable shocks and stressors, whether endogenous or exogenous, that affect rural communities, regulatory controls and self-organised adaptability prevent the large majority of smallholdings from collapsing (Tittonell, 2014). Several buffers operate at community level that rest on collective action, and local rules and traditions that regulate the utilization and conservation of common natural resources. Alternative livelihood strategies built on strong rural-urban connectivity and farmers' adaptation to environmental changes play a major role in the resilience of these systems (Tittonell, 2014). Every community has a traditional structure to ensure its inhabitants participation in projects and programmes that have positive effects on the lives of the majority (Akpomuvie, 2010:97).

3.3.2 Sub-Saharan African Livelihood Strategies

In sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) almost all labour force participants in low-income households are engaged in household-based activities such as farming, and very small non-farm, informal enterprises (Fox and Sohnesen, 2012:3). In Eastern regions and Southern African regions, which are among the regions most affected by land-grabbing, cultivation of land per capita has halved over the last generations and the average cultivated area now amounts to less than 0.3 hectares per capita (IFAD, 2008:17 cited in De Schutter, 2011:256). Ellis (1999:3) noted that reliance on agriculture in SSA tends to diminish as income levels rise, i.e., the more diverse the income portfolio the better off the rural household.

Fox and Sohnesen's (2012:23) study revealed that the livelihoods strategies that individuals and households adopt in SSA reflect the opportunities available to them and expected remuneration (monetary or otherwise) from these activities. The added changes in such strategies represent households' responsiveness to macro level and local events; livelihood changes at the household level feed into sectorial and aggregate economic performances.

Moreda (2012:1) stated that agriculture is the main source of livelihoods among poor, rural households and that access to productive land is crucial. Nonetheless, Ajani and Igbokwe

(2014) found that occupational diversification is vitally an important strategy employed by rural women in SSA to cope with crises and seasonal stress in both farms and non-farms activities. They observed that the growing non-agricultural employment among rural women reflect their increasing desperation for generation of income. Non-agricultural employment is sought by rural women that are unable to obtain jobs or to be self-employed in agriculture. Rural households are involved in farming, agricultural wage labour, employments in the rural non-farms economical and migrations (Moreda, 2012). In SSA, the majority of the population continue to live in rural areas, and agriculture remains the major source of employment (Moreda, 2012:2).

Community-based organizations (CBOs) and the private sector have sought to promote sustainable development at the local level through poverty alleviation and livelihoods diversification. Lepper and Goebel (2010) found that wages and remittances are significant factors in addressing poverty.

Drought remains one of the most common triggers of subsistence crises in developing countries. Many SSA countries rely on grain as their staple crop and livestock as a form of wealth. Frequent droughts in many African regions have reduced national grain harvests by half and have severely depleted livestock herds, compromising rural livelihoods. Most countries do not offer social grants and poor rural communities are generally left to fend for themselves. Many households survive on the charity of neighbours or relatives or self-help community-based associations. Such associations lack leadership, capacity and resources. Inadequately funded CBOs often collapse in their formative stages. Since most African countries are resource constrained, they look to foreign NGOs to provide funding.

Ensures a stable food supply in centralized survival strategies in Mozambique. In her study in the Savanna area, Shaffer (2008) found that people who live in the coastal savanna of southern Mozambican region use their diverse landscape to supplement domestic food production. Households practice multiple livelihood activities including swidden agriculture, herding, hunting, gathering, and fishing (Shaffer, 2008). The extensive small-scale fishing sector in Mozambique demonstrates how patterns of asset holdings affect the households capacity to respond to multiple drivers of change (Blythe, Murray and Flaherty, 2014:2). In addition to climatic stressors, socioeconomic changes are also exerting pressure on coastal social-ecological systems.

Smaller-scale fishers are exposed to multiple livelihoods stressors that call for behavioural changes to mitigating harm and take advantage of opportunities. Blythe, Murray and Flaherty (2014:3) found that specialised fishers' with higher investment in fishing gear and government support adapted by intensifying their fishing efforts, whereas poorer fishers with more livelihood options are adapting through diversification.

While fishers in Inhangome, Mozambique lack expensive fishing gear and government support, they possess high levels of social capital and occupational diversity that help them to adapt. In contrast, fishers in India regarded diversification as a step backward and chose to wait out the lean years rather than diversifying (Blythe, Murray and Flaherty, 2014:6). The landscape of possibilities on offer to people seeking food is dependent on site specific factors like climate, soil fertility, water availability, vegetation, and the surrounding social context (Shaffer, 2008).

In Namibia, positive and negative land usage changes are taking place. Agriculture is the most prominent livelihood for 60% of the country's population, with the majority of Namibians depending on subsistence agriculture for survival (NPC, 2007). Namibia's Poverty Reduction Strategy seeks to alleviate poverty through the development of the livestock sector as further cultivation in the freehold or commercial farming sector is regarded as limited (Zeidler, 2010). In many Southern African Developments Communities (SADC) countries, chronic vulnerability and poverty are entrenched and are exacerbated by the ever-present risks of extreme climatic (droughts and floods), economic and policy shocks (Tembo et al., 2014). In Zimbabwe, strong socio-cultural interactions and linkages between urban and rural households are central to the survival of poor urban households, particularly during crisis periods (Tawodzera, 2013).

Zimbabwean SL approaches illustrate the impact of policy at a local level. Such initiatives facilitated the dialogue around the promotion of modern maize varieties caused a falloff in the cultivation of millet and sorghum, increasing the poor's vulnerability to drought (Ashley and Carney, 1999:18).

Bondolfi in the country's Masvingo Province is a rural area where the community's members have established a successfully bee-keeping enterprises to the improvement to their livelihoods. Nel et al. (2003) found that while bee-keeping is rarely the sole source of income for rural residents, it can play a key role as a secondary activity that enhances household earnings and

food supply. Agricultural diversification is restricted in this drought prone semi-arid location. The situation is aggravated by high population densities which put pressures on already limited resources. Households are subjected to wide spread food insecurity, with deleterious impacts on health. Alternate forms of livelihood and self-reliance are crucial (Nel et al., 2003).

Severe drought during the 1990s devastated agricultural production in Bondolfi, leading to a shortage of both money and food. This motivated local community members to establish a bee-keeping co-operative. The women tend to the work and this often involves other family members at peak periods. Those involved in the project are 40 years and older since the young have either succumbed to AIDS or lack capital to invest in the project, a requirement for joining the association.

Bee-keeping has gained in popularity as people realise the benefits of increased household income. Honey is sold, mostly over weekends, to locals and to people visiting from nearby Masvingo town. High sales are experienced during South African holidays when tourists buy large amounts from the retail outlet in Masvingo that the association deals with. Member households have reaped numerous benefits, including employment, increased income, food diversification and a degree of self-worth.

Nel et al. (2003) noted the single most important result of this project is enhanced levels of self-reliance and income which have enabled households to better weather the negative economic environment which currently characterises Zimbabwe's rural economy (Nel et al., 2003). In Bondolfi, local resources (bee-keeping and skills) have been harnessed in a sustainable manner to supplement the household income and diet (Nel et al., 2003).

A study in rural Zimbabwe (Frost et al., 2007 cited in Scoones, 2009) presented a high pessimistic view of livelihoods sustainability. The authors argued that livelihoods interventions in the study area have made no difference, and the people are stuck in a fundamental trap which palliative, and indeed expensive interventions cannot address (Scoones, 2009:189).

The role of livestock has touched the livelihoods of approximately 70% of the population of SSA, is not fully appreciated (Tembo et al., 2014:300). Scoones and Wolmer (2002) identified eight different livelihood pathways in mixed crop-livestock systems in Ethiopia, Mali and Zimbabwe. These pathways are determined by social differences; institutional processes; and

reinforced by policy processes, institutional pressures and external support (Scoones, 2009:190).

The majority of Zambia's population lives in rural areas and face challenges of food insecurity, inadequate housing, lack of infrastructure and environmental degradation (Mudenda, 2006). Generally, small-scale farmers grow most of their field crops for consumption and only sell a portion when the need arises (Tembo et al., 2014:304). Livestock is rarely eaten, but sold to pay for school fees, clothes, milling services and health care, etc. Tembo et al. (2014) noted that livestock rearing is second to field crop production both in terms of prevalence (the number of communities citing it), and relative importance (as indicated by weighting exercises). However, livestock and livestock-related products and services are by far the most important source of income in Zambia.

3.3.3 Survival Strategies in South African Rural Communities

Studies on survival strategies in South African rural communities have been conducted by researchers including Sartorius et al. (2014); Alemu (2012); Steyn (2006); Francis (2002) and Nel et al. (2002). Fifty-six percent of South Africa's rural households depend on non-labour sources of income (12% pensions, 29% social grants, and 15% remittances), indicating high levels of dependence on the government and migrant labour (Alemu, 2012:17). Wage earners engaged in non-farm and farm activities are better off, reflecting efforts to create jobs in rural areas (Alemu, 2012:17).

An analysis of a South African longitudinal dataset indicated that the covariates that increased household instability were reduced socio-economic circumstances (asset wealth), adult deaths and the permanent outmigration of more than 30% of the households (Sartorius et al., 2014:1). Rural development programmes in the country are unlikely to succeed unless steps are taken to stabilise vulnerable households (Sartorius et al., 2014:17) through short-term interventions such as providing the basic services and feeding schemes.

Although South Africa is the biggest and wealthiest economy in Africa, and has among the highest GDP per capita (WB, 2010); economic policies have had devastating effects on the rural poor. The Presidency's 2008 discussion documents towards an anti-poverty strategy for South Africans, noted that up to two-thirds of all households in the former Bantustans are

considered poor. It cites unemployment as the main driver of poverty in these areas as only a third of poor households relied on earned income. The employment rate of adults in poor households was only 18%, whilst adults below the age of 30 years constituted 70% of the unemployed, and only 40% of the employed. In 2005, more than two million poor children, most of whom were in the former Bantustan regions, did not live with their fathers or mothers but with grandparents (Langley,2002) compromising their nutritional status. Greater Bizana, which is the subject of this study, is part of the former homeland of Transkei. The situation is worse than the discussion document contends, because its definition of a poor household is one with an income of less than R500 and more than five family members.

United Nations agencies offer a more realistic definition of poverty. Those living on less than \$1 a day are regarded as living in abject poverty; this accounts for about a billion people worldwide. People that live on more than \$1 but less than \$2 a day are considered as marginally poor. In South Africa, it is not clear what figures Statistics South Africa uses. Meth (2006) stated that it is not clear whether a figure of R3 000 per capita or R3 371 per capita per annum is used. He added that there is a large cluster of people in between the two figures. According to research conducted in the study area by the researcher, for the purposes of this study, R1 271 per month per household of four seems to be the most accurate figure.

Rural communities have been neglected by the government for much of modern South African history. While much research has been conducted on urban poverty, including the proliferation of shacks in Cato Manor, Durban, and the lack of service delivery in Soweto, Johannesburg, this study seeks to advance knowledge of rural communities that are often overlooked in popular discourse. It is posited that poverty and marginalisation in rural communities result in rural-urban migration or that income transfers, through pensions and social grants can alleviate this problem. It is clear that many communities, including people in Redoubt, employ numerous survival strategies to augment their government grants. This literature review thus seeks to understand such strategies.

Francis (2002) found that South Africans living in the least wealthy cities are re-incorporated homelands. Her survey in the former Bophuthatswana homeland in North West Province found that livelihood strategies have changed over the past four decades. While government has launched interventions to promote poverty reduction and combine support for livelihood regeneration with institutional reform to reduce vulnerability to risk, unemployment is the most

pressing political and social issue. Many people lack land, others have access but do not have the means to work and invest in it. People have adopted various survival strategies and some are able to secure a livelihood using local resources, others depend on wages and remittances from urban areas as well as pensions. Some work as seasonal labour on White-owned commercial farms (Francis, 2002). The study also found that rural populations are highly stratified, with income and asset distribution skewed by class, gender, ethnic identity, race or date of arrival.

Most people in this Province had to rebuild their livelihoods after having to move from White-owned commercial farms. Recession, growing unemployment and the institutional changes in the locality since its re-incorporation in South Africa in 1994, have all impacted on communities in this area.

Francis' (2002) studied in Madibogo, a rural village which is situated beyond the daily commuting distances to major employment centres in the North West Province, revealed that family plots are too small to grow crops or keep livestock (Francis, 2012). Those community members who have rights to arable land but cannot work it (due to a lack of physical or financial resources) lease their piece of land to Black African and White farmers, receiving payment of anything between one in three and one in ten bags of grain. Poverty is widespread in Madibogo. Community members rely on share cropping and produce maize using tractors, trailers and thrashing machines bought second hand from White farmers. Others become migrant labourers in distant Johannesburg, the Free State Province, Rustenburg and Klerksdorp. A large number households of women migrants from Madibogo are domestic workers (Francis, 2002).

To compound the situation, many of these women that are eligible for social welfare but denied such due to corruption and maladministration. During the apartheid era, most community members worked on the mines, in the construction industry or in factories. De-industrialisation brought about jobs losses and people were forced into more casual work. Many young uneducated people search for jobs in the cities find it difficult to find work and acquire resources to form or sustain households. Like many rural areas in South Africa, Madibogo's inhabitants rely on commercial farming for jobs and a degree of food security. Francis (2002) found that most jobs are seasonal ones on White-owned farms, although some local Black farmers also employ permanent and seasonal workers. Wages are low and community members

are among the nations poorest. In some instances, wages are paid in kind rather than cash - commonly 25-60 kg sacks of maize at the end of the harvest.

There is little employment with some women engaged in seasonal crop processing, and farm work with a few people working in shops, schools and the Tribal Office. There is some work available in construction, while better-off households employ domestic workers. The most important sources of income are remittances and pensions; and old people depend entirely on these sources. Others try to generate local livelihood opportunities. Younger people seek to tap into money flowing from outside through small-scale trading, or by providing services such as housebuilding.

Nel, et al. (2002) study in Hertzog in the former Ciskei homeland in the Eastern Cape, revealed a rare example of a community-driven rural development initiative which yielded positive results. Development projects are often top-down state interventions that do not ultimately benefit marginalised communities or residents of the former 'homelands'. This has created a desperate legacy of poverty, and destitution (Nel, et al., 2002) alienising and marginalising the very people that such strategies aim to assist. Herzog was an exception, because the development initiative was independent of state policy and was community driven.

In 1991, Herzog suffered high levels of poverty with a 42% unemployment rate and 24% of the male population absent. The late 1970s witnessed an exodus of White farmers and the removal of the majority of the Coloured population to other areas in the Eastern Cape to make way for the homeland. With the exception of a few state farms, crop production virtually ceased in the area that was known for high yielding tobacco and citrus crops. Land ownership was vested in the Ciskei government that failed to utilise it to the benefit of the local community (Nel, 2002). In the late 1980s, the Ciskei Department of Agriculture attempted to re-establish large-scale tobacco farming in the area. This project failed due to a lack of community engagement. The potential for strong community development existed in the form of the experience of the farming skills of former farm workers and the abandoned agricultural infrastructure.

Hertzog's reincorporation into South Africa in 1994, and the government's failure to respond to their high levels of poverty and unemployment, prompted this community to seek their own solutions. According to Nel, following a series of empowerment workshops, the Hertzog

Agricultural Co-operative (HACOP) was established in August 1994. Profits generated from farms yields were placed in a trust and divided among member households. This initiative has significantly increased the standard of living in the area and transformed the economy of this valley. Families that depended on a single state pension now have more disposable income, enabling them to improve their quality of life and their nutrition and send their children to school. Nel noted that, “the majority of farmers in the scheme are women. The main reason for this is because subsistence farming was traditionally a female responsibility, given the long-established trend of male migrancy which was accelerated by apartheid policies. To date, some of the most successful producers have been these women farmers.” The Hertzog example could be replicated in the study area. This would require that the complicated land tenure system be addressed as vast tracts of land fall under the Tribal Authority lie fallow.

The community-owned and driven initiative in Hertzog exemplifies the potential which exists when communities identify a problem and take up the development challenge themselves. Nel observed that, while it may not be copied directly, much can be learned from this experience in terms of facilitating rural development more widely in the 'new' South Africa.

Africa has been plagued by instability, but innovative coping strategies are emerging, particularly in rural areas. Communities are turning to local economic strategies including the development of the informal sector. Rural communities have adopted diverse survival strategies drawing on local knowledge. Women play a key role in household survival. The most contemporary prioritisation of rural development in South Africa is a welcome state-led intervention. However, the results suggest that the success of these programmes will require policy configuration across a number of governmental departments to stabilise the more vulnerable households and enabling them to participate (Sartorius et al., 2014:18).

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined the survival strategies adopted by rural communities in areas of the world from American, European, Asian, and different African regions. The SLF focused on people, assets and activities and less on institutions. **In South Africa, the government provides social grants and invests in rural development projects to alleviate poverty. Most households in rural areas depend on these grants, though it must be noted that these are not sustainable enough, hence the need to explore other means of survival strategies. There has been a clear**

outline of living conditions of communities in different rural areas around the world in comparison with the case study, and the contemporary literature is similar. Governments around the world have offered alternatives to improve rural communities' living conditions and strengthen the poverty reduction content of policies. Most self-help activities were driven by the survival instinct and societal needs. In different rural communities, people are at the centre of activities to enhance living conditions for the entire community with the active participation of its members.

While agriculture is the most common source of income in countries analysed in this chapter, earnings from informal non-farm enterprises have become more important (Fox and Sohnesen, 2012:23). Ayoola Oni (2014:104) speculated that the resources and value of specific physical and social environments determined the character of the livelihood system components. He argued that poverty reduction and food security are not the only goals of the rural populace. There is a need for a more central sustainable livelihood reflecting the ability to address other issues that guarantee a good life.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The research methodology enables an understanding of the topic under investigation and determines the strategy to answer the research questions (Greener, 2008). In contrast, the research method refers to the specific activities designed to generate data. These include questionnaires; interviews; focus groups and observation. This chapter presents the research methodology employed to conduct this study. A qualitative approach was adopted in this study to understand the survival strategies employed by the community of Redoubt in Bizana, Eastern Cape.

The following objectives were set:

- To identify the different survival strategies adopted by households in the Redoubt community;
- To assess the effectiveness of the local municipality's interventions and those of the national government in the form of social grants;
- To identify planning interventions to improve the situation in the community.

Qualitative research aims to understand some aspect of social life. In general, it generates words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis (Brikci and Green, 2007). Creswell (2003) noted in qualitative studies, the researcher often makes knowledge claims primarily based on constructivist perspectives (Creswell, 2003). The researcher combined a household survey and in-depth, one-on-one interviews with key informants.

4.2 Research Design

A research design refers to the artistic and scientific technique of conducting a research study (Creswell & Poth, 2018). It aims to produce the most valid data, resulting to a plan for conducting the envisioned research, which further guides data collection and analysis. The research design essentially stresses on the typology of the planned study, the desired results, and the data needed to effectively address the research questions. The study is exploratory in nature, employing the qualitative research approach from a phenomenological paradigm, with the purpose of identifying and recommending different survival strategies used by households in the Redoubt community by understanding the views of the community's key personnel, which are leaders and influencers of the community (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

4.3 Research Approach

There are three main approaches in research, which are: exploratory, descriptive and causal research approaches (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). Exploratory research emphasizes on determining ideas and gaining understanding, instead of accumulating statistical, replicable data. The approach fundamentally suggests new theories (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). Descriptive research explores a problem by determining and labeling the characteristics of the subject of interest; essentially, descriptive research tests theories (Teherani, Martimianakis, Stenfors-Hayes, Wadhwa, & Varpio, 2015). On the other hand, causal research is primarily applied in quantitative research with the aim of revealing cause and effect between dependent and independent variables. Essentially, causal research aims to reinforce theories. For this study, the exploratory research approach was adopted, as the study aimed gain new insights and increased understanding of survival strategies used in rural communities (Teherani, Martimianakis, Stenfors-Hayes, Wadhwa, & Varpio, 2015).

4.4 Data Sources

Primary and secondary data were collected. The former provided first hand, up-to-date data on survival strategies in the rural community of Redoubt. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 30 of the 130 households in the study area and with community leaders, including the local chief and councilor, teachers, church leaders and business people.

4.4.1 Primary Data Sources

According to Hox and Boeije (2005), primary data relates to the specific research problem at hand in the real world (Hox & Boeije, 2005). It constitutes original information that is collected using an accepted methodology (Clark et al., 1998). Qualitative information was gathered to provide up-to-date, firsthand information on the survival strategies adopted in the rural community of Redoubt, Eastern Cape. The researcher too approximately one semester to design and piloting of the questionnaire and interviews and administration.

4.4.2 Secondary Data Sources

Secondary sources of data comprise of published and unpublished information from different sources. These are important in providing background information on the research problem, in this case, livelihood strategies in poor communities. Secondary data is collected for a different purpose and reused to formulate a study's research question (Hox and Boeije, 2005). They include, but are not limited to, books, journals, and other written sources.

4.5 Data Collection

As noted earlier, different data collection tools were used for the purposes of this study. These included semi-structured interviews using a specific set of questions, with latitude to probe further. Data produced by these means are easy to summarize, compare, and generalize. The researcher was obliged to return to the study area several times to obtain clarification and fill gaps in the data collected.

4.5.1 Interviews

Interviews are widely used to supplement and extend one's knowledge about individual thoughts, feelings and behaviours, meanings, interpretations, etc. (Woods, 2011). Information is usually obtained during one-on-one interviews, using oral questions.

4.5.1.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews are suited to working with small samples and are useful for studying specific situations or to supplement and validate information derived from other sources (Laforest, 2009:1). A key feature of semi-structured interviews is pre-planning the questions (Woods, 2011). These can be used with other informants, but are less controlled than a structured interview. Face-to-face interviews were appropriate to gather in-depth and detailed information on survival strategies in the Redoubt community. It is important that a researcher identify credible information. It should be noted, however, that one method of data collection is not inherently better than another (O'Leary, 2004: 150). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with households; the local chief and councillor; municipal manager; business people; church leaders and teachers.

Household data is used by governments throughout the world to inform targeted interventions in poor communities. Personal or individual meaning and experiences are of little importance and data that uses universal/national standards are prioritised. The household survey was aimed at achieving the study's first objective of investigating the survival strategies in this community using objective standards and criteria. Focusing on objective criteria has inherent disadvantages in that it might overlook certain subsistence activities (vegetable gardens, extended family/neighbours' supplementary income) that are not easily quantifiable. Thus, personal

meaning and individual experiences are a supplementary and important aspect of data collection.

The research took place in rural Redoubt, Bizana, Eastern Cape. Eighty-six per cent of the community members interviewed are Xhosa speaking. Thirty of the approximately 130 households were conveniently selected for interviews.

4.5.1.2 Sampling procedure

There are two types of sampling, probability and nonprobability, and both were used in this study. Sampling refers to a blueprint for how a researcher identifies part of a population that is characteristic of the whole population or place in which the study is located (Cresswell, 1998:110).

i. Purposive Sampling

Mouton (2009) stated that a sample should be selected based on the researcher's own knowledge of the population under study, its elements, and the nature of the research (Mouton, 2009). Purposive sampling was used to select key informants, including the local chief and councillor, municipal manager, church leaders, and business people to provide information on survival strategies in this rural community.

ii. Convenience Sampling

Marshall (1996) described convenience sampling at the least rigorous technique as it involves the selection of the most accessible subjects (Marshall, 1996). While it is less costly in terms of effort and money, it may result in poor quality data and lack intellectual credibility.

Convenience sampling is non-probability or nonrandom sampling in which members of the target population is selected, if they meet certain practical criteria, such as geographical proximity, availability at a certain time, easy accessibility, or willingness to volunteer (Dornyei, 2007). It reduces the time and cost of collecting data. Due to limited resources and time constraints, a sample of 30 of the 130 households in Redoubt was conveniently selected. Every household in the area had an equal chance of being selected. In addition to households, the researcher collected information from other stakeholders.

Table 1: Data Collection Strategy

Research problem	Methods	Population sampled	Sample	Analysis	Data sources
Identify survival strategies	Qualitative interviews Observation	Households Others	30	Thematic	Primary and secondary

4.5.2 Observation

Brikci and Green, (2007) asserted that direct participation in, and observation of the phenomenon of interest, assists in understanding the complexities of a situation. Observational data is also very useful in addressing discrepancies between what people say and what they do and could help the researcher uncover behaviour of which the participants themselves may not be aware. Mulhall (2002) noted that in structured observation, schedules are predetermined using taxonomies developed from known theory (Mulhall, 2002). In contrast, unstructured observation is used to understand and interpret cultural behaviour. Unstructured observation was used in this study to identify the survival strategies employed by community members in the study area.

Preliminary reconnaissance of the area was undertaken to gain an overall impression of the current situation and to seek permission from the local chief and councillor to conduct interviews. This assisted in identifying suitable people and groups that formed the sample of respondents. It was difficult to secure a meeting with the local chief during the first visit due to his busy schedule. He indicated that he did not trust strangers in his area due to previous experiences. After much persuasion, a meeting was finally set up and the permission was granted to conduct interviews. The local councillor was very helpful. Once the briefing had taken place with the councillor and the community, most community members were excited and promised to cooperate. Some were reluctant to participate. Through observation and information collected from primary sources, it was clear that poverty is rife in this area.

4.5.3 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is simply a written list of questions that is administered to respondents and their answers are recorded. A questionnaire may be structured or unstructured (Kumar, 1996)

and consist of open-ended or closed-ended questions. The questionnaire for this study was drafted and revised, with opinions sought from different individuals knowledgeable in the research field i.e., academics and key informants during the preliminary visits.

The questionnaire was based on the study's objectives. Bailey (1994:108) explained that "prior to the questionnaire construction the researcher has had to see that the operational definitions matched the theoretical concepts and that the sample matched the population from which it is drawn" (Bailey, 1994). See the annexure for the questionnaire. The questionnaire included a mix of structured questions, closed-ended questions and some open-ended questions. The questions were also designed to focus on specific key informants.

The questions:

- Allowed the respondents to answer adequately in as much detail as they chose, and to clarify and qualify their answers;
- Could be used when there were too many potential answers to list in the questionnaire;
- Were preferable for complex issues that could not be condensed into a few small categories; and
- Allowed opportunities for creativity or self-expression among the respondents.

Closed-ended questions are used when the answer categories are discrete, distinct, and relatively few in number. The questionnaire for this survey used both closed- and open-ended questions. It was personally administered in Xhosa by the researcher.

i. Research Questionnaire

The research questionnaire was the primary research tool in this study. Sekaran (2003) argued that it should be "a preformulated written set of questions to which respondents record their answers, usually within rather closely defined alternatives" (Sekaran, 2003). Sekaran (2003) added that questionnaires are an efficient data collection instrument when the researcher knows exactly what is required and how to measure the variables to achieve the study's objectives (Sekaran, 2003).

As noted previously, semi-structured questions were employed that consisted of both closed- and opened-ended questions. This was in line with the combination of quantitative and

qualitative research methodologies used. The questionnaire elicited information on the basic socio-economic characteristics of the community such as gender distribution, age groups, household size, heads of households, formal employment, level of education, sources of income and health. The qualitative data was categorised into themes relevant to address the research questions.

4.6 Data Analysis

There are many different ways to analyse qualitative data. This study adopted thematic analysis that identifies common issues or themes that recur across the data (Brikci and Green, 2007). The study's objectives provided the foundation for data analysis (Briki and Green, 2007). Chabi (2011) and Briki and Green (2007) outline the following four stages in data analysis:

4.6.1 Stage One: Read and Annotate Transcripts

In qualitative research, text data from interview transcripts or information is analysed. The researcher recorded all the information and rearranged it for analysis.

4.6.2 Stage Two: Identify Themes

At this stage, the researcher examines the data in detail in order to identify themes. Common terms were noted and the researcher made a list of the themes that emerged.

4.6.3 Stage Three: Developing a Coding Scheme

In line with Kumar (1999), a coding scheme was developed to analyse the interview transcripts and questionnaires.

4.6.4 Stage Four: Coding the Data

The codes were then applied to the whole data set. Five steps are involved in the construction of themes: arrangement of themes; selection of basic themes; rearrangement of themes into an organised network; deduction of global themes and illustration of networks; and refining the theme networks (Chabi, 2011).

The data analysis followed the steps prescribed by Laforest (2009:5) to analyse data from semi-structured interviews:

- The researcher transcribed the taped recordings, re-read the transcripts and notes made during the interviews. The main themes were identified.
- The researcher analysed the information gathered using an analytical framework based on the topics discussed by the respondents during the interviews.
- The researcher identified the main ideas expressed on each topic.
- The most important points were identified and classified by topic.

The researcher validated and regrouped all information for interpretation. Challenges included the qualities exhibited by the data, and the time and effort required. These challenges were addressed with caution. The qualitative data was categorised into themes relevant to answer the research questions. Although qualitative data is known to provide a rich understanding of complex phenomena, where possible, this data was quantified.

Section A

General Information

This section solicited demographic data on age, gender, level of education, marital status, religion, race, home language, occupation, average monthly income and sources of household income.

Section B

i. Household Attributes

In this section, respondents were asked to state their duration of stay in the area, the number of occupants per household, who the head of the household was, the bread winner, what form of assistance they received, if any, from local business people, the church, schools or outside donors, what staple crops they produced and how they preserved them, sources of energy, what their homesteads were made of, type of sanitation, livestock, sources of water and type of power, and services at the health centre.

ii. Household Survey

Purpose

The purpose of the household survey was to determine the community's basic characteristics and living conditions. A semi-structured, flexible method was used with open- and closed-ended questions. Quantitative and qualitative data were obtained. Leedy Ormrod (2005) noted this method produced rich data and ensured subjective perceptions are mitigated by objective data to reduce bias (Ormrod, 2005).

The survey questionnaire was based on the research objective of investigating the livelihood strategies employed by the community. These included stokvels, backyard tuck shops, informal trading, informal employment, and subsistence farming. The intention of the survey was to gather information to assess the relationship between the different livelihoods strategies employed and the respondents' socio-economic characteristics.

Open-ended questions were posed to investigate the sustainability of the different survival strategies used, and the different social networks (family, churches, mutual societies, co-operatives) the community utilises for survival. This also revealed the threats the community faces in terms of their livelihood strategies and identified the benefits, inadequacies and challenges of the government's social grant system and how it influences livelihood strategies within the community.

Interviews with Key Informants

Key people were identified in the community for interviews. They were selected because of their standing in the community as traditional or elected leaders, professionals who serve the community and business people. These interviews were used to confirm, refute or further expand on the information obtained from the ordinary members of the community. The positions that they occupy give them insight into the problems confronting this community and they are also in a position to suggest solutions to such challenges.

The Key Informants Included:

i. The Local Chief

As the traditional authority in the area, the local chief offered a particular perspective that encapsulated the whole community as the product of time and space. He understood the level of poverty in the area both from the perspective as a leader and as a product of the community. He provided a comparison of the changing manifestations of poverty over time and livelihood strategies pre-1994 to the present.

ii. The Local Councillor

The councillor offered a different insight into the challenges confronting the community and the success or otherwise of the proposed solutions given that most households continue to live below the poverty line. The councillor provided information on the indicators used to monitor the implementation of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and other poverty alleviation strategies in the community.

iii. Municipal Manager

The municipal manager offered information on how the IDP as a key SL tool has benefited the community. She also provided information on particular aspects of the IDP, which have been successful and those that have failed to reduce poverty.

iv. Business People

Four business people were identified during the researcher's preliminary visit to the area in 2014. They provided information on the formal and informal business environment, and whether business people provide assistance to emerging small informal traders. They also offered information on how business has evolved in this area in the past 10 years and how sustainable local enterprises are.

v. Church Leaders

Five church leaders, all men, were identified during the preliminary visit. They are exposed to people of different age groups in the community and are aware of their needs. They are also the most trusted leaders in the community because they are 'men of the cloth' and are thus considered honest, kind, and trustworthy and imbued with integrity. As confidantes, they have a deep understanding of the community and its hardships.

vi. Teachers

Teachers provided information based on their interaction with learners and were able to explain the different socio-economic circumstances learners encounter on a daily basis. Teachers are placed in situations where they are able to gauge the levels of poverty, abuse, hunger, and education within the community. They also had different ideas on how such problems could be addressed.

4.7 Limitations of the Study

Due to the high rate of illiteracy in the area, most people could not read and answer the questions that the researcher had prepared. The researcher had to read out each question to the respondent and write the response down. Gaining access to the local chief was also a problem due to his busy schedule. The researcher returned to the area several times to try to secure a meeting. The local councillor intervened and set up the appointment. Some households were reluctant to participate in the survey. They stated that in the past, people had visited their area and asked similar questions, promising to help them in terms of service delivery, which they never did. Some people demanded that they be allowed to disclose their identities because they believed that this would ensure that they would be the first to receive assistance. The researcher had to explain that the interviews were solely for study purposes and that she was not affiliated to any organisation. Some people still refused to cooperate and the researcher had to move to the next household. Another drawback was that the researcher is not Xhosa speaking.

4.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the research methodology employed to gather information on survival strategies in the rural community of Redoubt in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. A qualitative method was deemed appropriate to gather views and opinions from key informants to provide answers to the research questions. The chapter highlighted the research design, and the methods used to gather and analyse the data. A questionnaire, interviews and observations were used to collect data. The chapter concluded by discussing the study's limitations.

Chapter Five: Analysis and Discussion of the Results

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the study's findings from the interviews and questionnaires. The key stakeholders interviewed included households, traditional or elected leaders, teachers, business people, church leaders, and the municipal manager. The themes that emanated from these interviews include assets and activities that represent the survival strategies employed by the community. The following section presents general information on the Redoubt community.

5.2 General Information

This section presents general information in order to understand the extent to which Redoubt community members have adopted different survival strategies to address deprived living conditions.

5.2.1 Key Informants

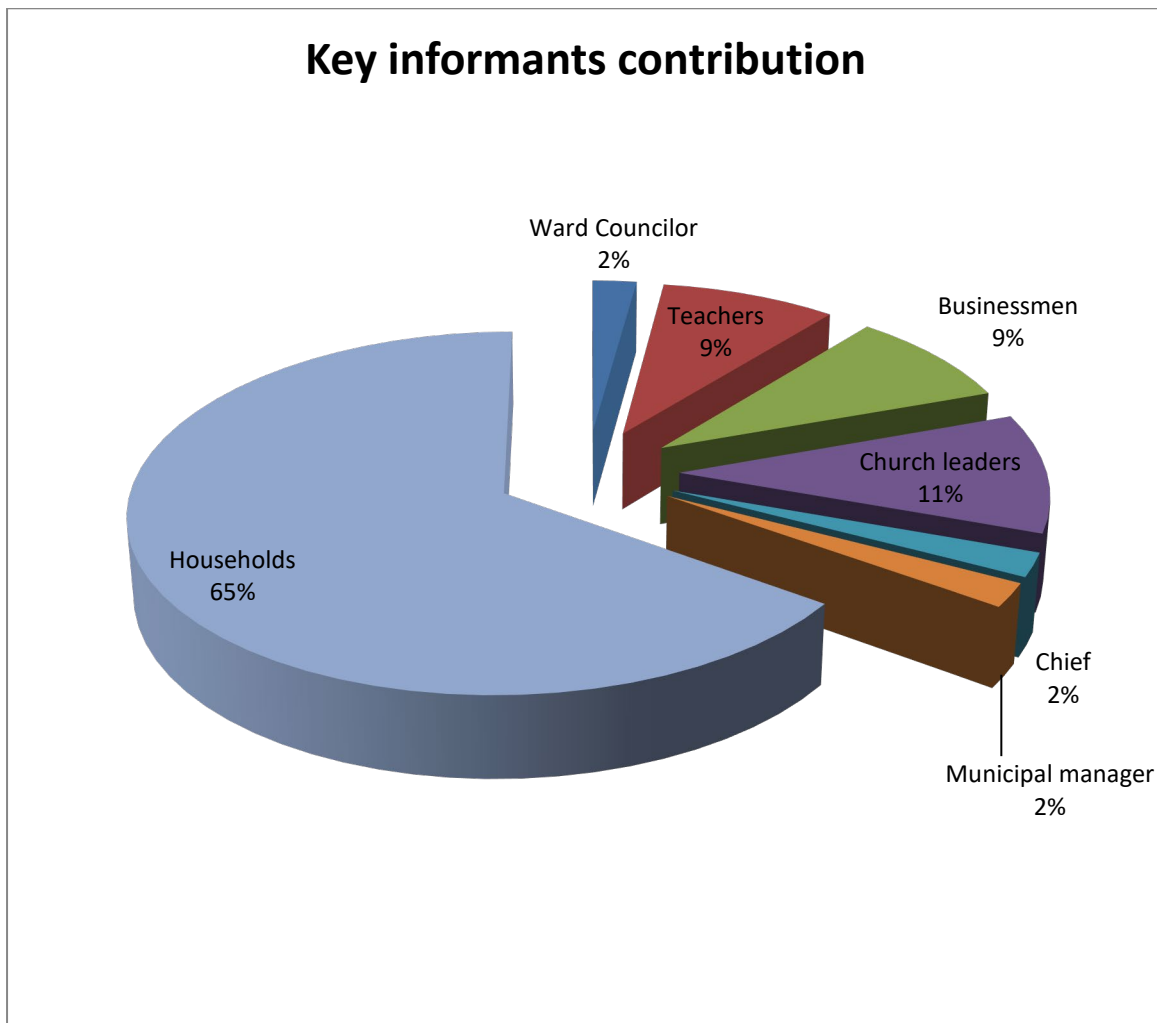
The key informants were selected because of their standing in the community as traditional or elected leaders, professionals who serve the community and business people. They also offered their views on how to improve the community's livelihoods. The table below shows the information gathered by weight from the different key informants.

Table 2: Key Informants Inputs

Key informant	Weight	Percentage
Ward Councillor	1	2.17
Teachers	4	8.69
Business People	4	8.69
Church Leaders	5	10.87
Chief	1	2.17
Municipal Manager	1	2.17
Households	30	65.22
Total	46	100

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

Figure 2: Composition of Key Informants



Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

5.2.2 Ward Councillor

The Ward Councillor indicated that poverty was widespread as a result of the high unemployment rate and lack of job opportunities which has also resulted in high crime rates in the area. This informant pointed to a lack of organised social groups or a structure to address social and economic empowerment in the community. Suggested remedies included farming, hawking, working as local school cleaners, starting community projects, and running spazas and stokvels. The Ward Councillor indicated that a lack of access to financial services is a barrier to poverty alleviation and a huge problem for the community.

The researcher discovered that these strategies were in place due to the fact that few formal jobs are available in nearby Bizana. The majority of the positions that are available are for skilled workers and most members of this community are illiterate.

5.2.3 Teachers

Through their interaction with learners and community members, teachers are able to gauge the levels of poverty, abuse, hunger, and education within the community. The teachers indicated that, while they convey information about households in need to the social development department in Bizana, the local municipality has not launched poverty alleviation programmes. Orphans receive no sponsorship and many girls drop out of school because they live on their own. The schools do not offer programmes for learners who are orphans.

5.2.4 Business People

Four business people were identified and interviewed during the preliminary visit to the Redoubt community. They painted a picture of the informal and formal business environment as well as how business had evolved in the past 10 years and the challenges they confront. They indicated that the community benefits from their enterprises as they do not have to travel to Bizana or Port Edward to shop. While they were not involved in poverty alleviation programmes, they assisted pensioners and the disabled by letting them buy on credit and also helped to run informal community networks (stokvels). These informants were of the view that big businesses in Bizana should assist by supplying food parcels to the most needy in the community and financial institutions should offer loans for start-up projects. This would both address poverty and create jobs. The business people added they were not making a profit due to the impoverishment of the community; this made it hard for them to assist. They also noted that they were not receiving any support from the government.

5.2.5 Church Leaders

Five church leaders in Bizana were interviewed. They have contact with people of different ages and are aware of their needs. They are also the most trusted leaders in the community. As confidantes they have a deeper understanding of the community and its hardships. The church leaders indicated that the Redoubt community survives by doing piecemeal work. The churches assist where they can and also offer comfort through the word of God.

5.2.6 Chief

As the traditional authority in the area, the Chief was able to provide a holistic overview of the community as the product of time and space. As both the leader and a product of the community, he offered a comparative perspective on the changing manifestations of poverty over time and livelihood strategies from pre-1994 to the present.

The Chief stated that the local municipality had initiated a few poverty alleviation projects, but they lacked capacity and did not last long. The community has land to farm, but lacks skills. He stated that, over the years, he had requested help for his community from the local municipality, but nothing had been done, except for government grants. He expressed the view that appropriate infrastructure would improve the community's quality of life. The Chief also noted that the youth did not participate in the few projects running in the area because they are still at school, are reluctant to take part, or are away in the cities. He highlighted the need for finance, farming skills and working collectively to address poverty in the area. The Department of Agriculture should also ensure that appropriate infrastructure is provided.

5.2.7 Municipal Manager

The municipal manager provided information on how the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) as a key SL tool has benefited the community. She also highlighted aspects of the IDP which have been successful and those that have failed due to poor implementation and a lack of co-operation amongst the community. There are projects in the pipeline to address poverty throughout the rural Eastern Cape, not only in the study area. Some of these projects are already up and running. Agriculture and agro-processing have been identified as one of six key programmes based on land transformation that holds the key to a vibrant and sustainable rural economy focused on food security.

The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) 2009, is a tool to improve the country's economy. AsgiSA Eastern Cape is set to implement more projects in rural areas. The municipal manager stated that there are not many projects running in the area and unemployment rates remain high, the municipality planned to implement programmes in the near future to alleviate poverty including tourism, where locals will be given first preference for employment. Another programme involves renewal of targeted areas to address

unsustainable human settlement patterns. The billion rand agriculture and agro-processing programme is driven by the agribusiness model which formalises relationships with key stakeholders along the value chain. The municipal manager added that due to the high level of backlogs throughout the municipality, she did not get a chance to visit areas as much as she would like. Speaking on community engagement in development projects, she stated that the project managers in charge of programmes provide feedback. She expressed confidence that, with strong local participation, poverty could be addressed.

5.3 Assets within the Redoubt Community

This section analyses and discusses the assets held by the community of Redoubt as a driving force of rural community development. As noted in chapter two, the livelihood perspective starts with how different people in different places live as well as make a living. Shackleton et al. (2000) and Scoones (2009) noted that assets include capabilities, material and social resources and/or production, employment and household income.

The following section provides a detailed analysis of assets within the Redoubt community.

5.3.1 Levels of Education

Table 3: Education Levels

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never been to school	7	23.3
	Grade 1-7	17	56.7
	Grade 8-12	6	20.0
	Total	30	100.0

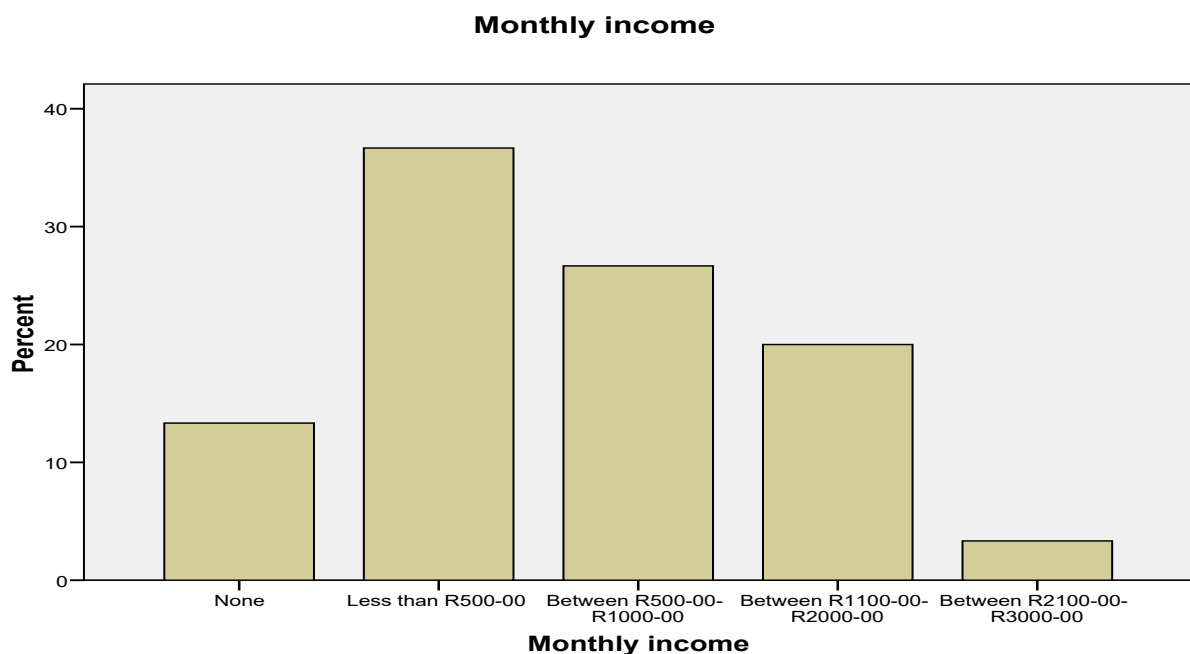
Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

The table shows, that, 23.3% of the respondents had never attended school; 20% had reached grades 8-12, and 56.7% had primary education. Many parents within the community have no formal education, and see no value in sending their children to school. Girl children are most affected as many are kept at home to perform household chores. Many community members in Redoubt are either illiterate or have had little education. Consequently, those that work in urban areas are employed as unskilled labourers with low wages that do not sustain their families.

5.3.2 Average Monthly Income

A total of 36.7% of households indicated that their monthly income was less than R500. In most instances, more than seven people depend on this money, resulting in hunger and malnutrition. Only 3.3% of the respondents reported a monthly income of between R2 100 and R3 000. This group indicated that they receive money from siblings or husbands who are employed in cities, underlining the fact that community members who work in urban areas have low-paying jobs. Finally, 13.3% of the respondents stated that they had no income. Further investigation revealed that they depend on hand outs from neighbours or relatives.

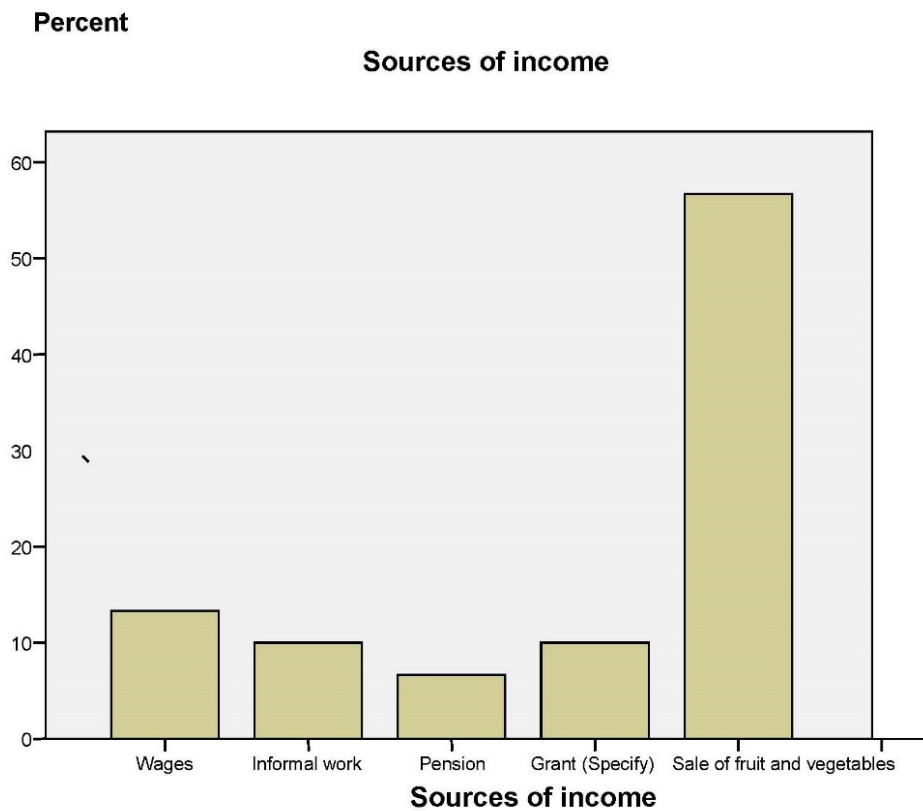
Figure 3: Household Income



Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

5.3.3 Source of Income

Figure 4: Sources of Income



Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

The survey revealed that:

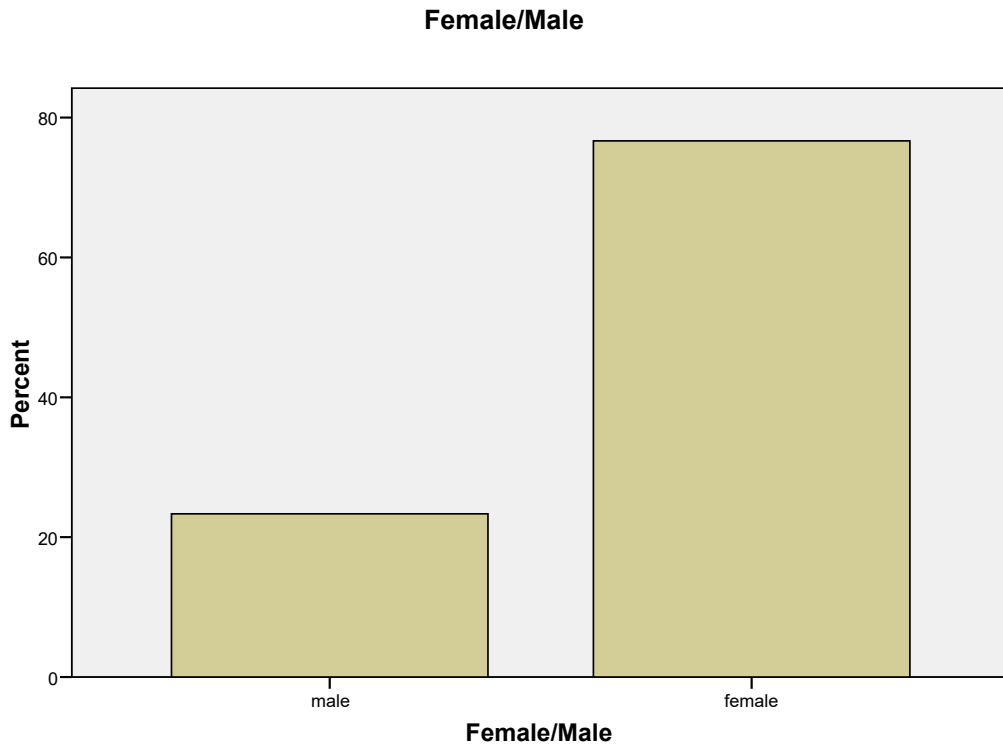
- 56.7% of the respondents survive by selling farm produce. This group consists solely of women who travel to Bizana, approximately 30km from Redoubt, to purchase stock to sell along the R61 road, at school gates and on pension pay out days. While their profit was low, it did help to sustain their families.
- 10% of the respondents survive on disability and child grants. Given increasing food and transport costs, these do not meet households' needs, especially since there are more than six dependants per household.
- Many deserving people do not have access to social grants for a number of reasons. There are no government offices in the area and it is too expensive to travel to Bizana. Some community members lack identity documents and cannot register. Many children in the area are orphans with no birth certificates as their parents died before they could register

them leaving them with their elderly grandparents or siblings who do not have the means to assist them.

- 6.6% of the respondents receive an old age pension. Again, considering the fact that there are many elderly people in the community, this percentage is low. This is attributed to the fact that many do not have identity books or money to travel to Bizana.
- 15% of the respondents survive on wages. They were employed in nearby Bizana as shop attendants and street cleaners and a few in government departments. Some worked as domestics in local schools. Further investigation revealed that this group also comprised mainly women.

5.3.4 Gender Distribution

Figure 5: Gender Distribution



Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

Females made up 76.7% of the respondents and males 23%. This suggests that many men were either working elsewhere or had passed away.

5.3.5 Household Occupants

Table 4: Household Occupants

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	1-5	10	33.3
	6-10	19	63.3
	11+	1	3.3
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

A large percentage (63.3%) of the respondents' households was home to 6-10 people. The researcher discovered that in many instances, households were child headed either by orphans or children whose parents were working in the cities. A further 33.3% of the respondents' households had between one and five occupants. This is quite high considering that the large majority of people are unemployed. Finally, 3.3% of the respondents' households were home to 11 and more people. These households confront dire socio-economic problems as most of their members depend on meagre social grants.

5.3.6 Household Head

Table 5: Household Head

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Female headed	13	56.6
	Male headed	4	13.3
	Child headed	13	43.3
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

The table shows that:

- 56.6% of the respondents' households were female headed. As noted in chapter one, many young men leave Redoubt in search of employment while others have succumbed to HIV/AIDS. Previous research has shown that female headed households receive less income than those where both parents are present.
- 43.3% are child headed households. One child headed household is too many, and this large percentage is of grave concern. Further investigation revealed that these children's parents were either deceased or working in distant towns.
- Only 13.3% of the households surveyed were male headed. In most cases, their wives are employed in towns or deceased.

5.3.7 Household Bread Winner

Table 6: Household Bread Winner		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	11	36.7
	No	19	63.3
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

The table shows that 63.3% of the respondents indicated that their household had no bread winner. The 36.7% that indicated that their household did have a bread winner indicated that husbands, relatives and siblings sent money home, though very little as they hold low paying jobs in the cities. Life is extremely hard for those with no form of support.

5.3.8 Other Forms of Assistance

The respondents were asked to indicate if they received any form of assistance from other sources. All stated that this was not the case. Some added that they had no idea that they could seek help from government institutions such as the local municipality and social welfare and non-profit organisations. Others explained that local churches cannot assist as their congregants are poor. Some respondents stated that business people offer assistance in the form of food on credit. However, it was pointed out by others that this was not assistance but credit that rolled over a long period and accumulated interest.

5.3.9 Storage Facilities for Produce

Table 7: Storage Facilities for Produce

		Frequency	Percent
1	Roof tops	1	3.3
2	Grass woven baskets	2	6.7
3	Other (Specify)	27	90.0
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

The main food grown in Redoubt is maize in small backyard gardens. Ninety percent of the respondents indicated that they kept their harvested produce in their houses. Yields are poor

due to infertile soils, poor farming methods and small scale production. The respondents also noted that they could not afford silos. A further 3.3% of the households stored their harvest on roof tops which are, however, exposed to rain. 6.7% stated that they stored their harvest in grass woven baskets, but cited problems with rodents.

5.3.10 Seasonal Food Purchasing Patterns

The respondents were asked to describe their seasonal food purchasing patterns. It was found that:

- 3.3% of the respondents mainly purchased food in winter. As noted earlier, most households in the area produce small harvests in the summer. Winter in Redoubt is cold and snowy with no rain. Maize does not grow in this season and this group is thus compelled to purchase food in winter.
- 96.7% of the respondents stated that they purchase food throughout the seasons as that which they produce cannot sustain the entire family.

Probed further, the respondents noted the need for the local municipality to provide different seedlings and equip them with machinery and agricultural training to use modern ploughing methods. They added that, if more land were to be made available, they would be better able to sustain themselves.

Table 8: Seasonal Fertility

		Frequency	Percent
1	Winter	1	3.3
2	Summer Autumn, Winter, Spring	29	96.7
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

5.3.11 Livestock Kept

Table 9: Livestock Kept

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Sheep/goats	4	13.3
	Cattle	2	6.7
	Fowls	18	60.0
	Pigs	1	3.3
	Other (specify)	5	16.7
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

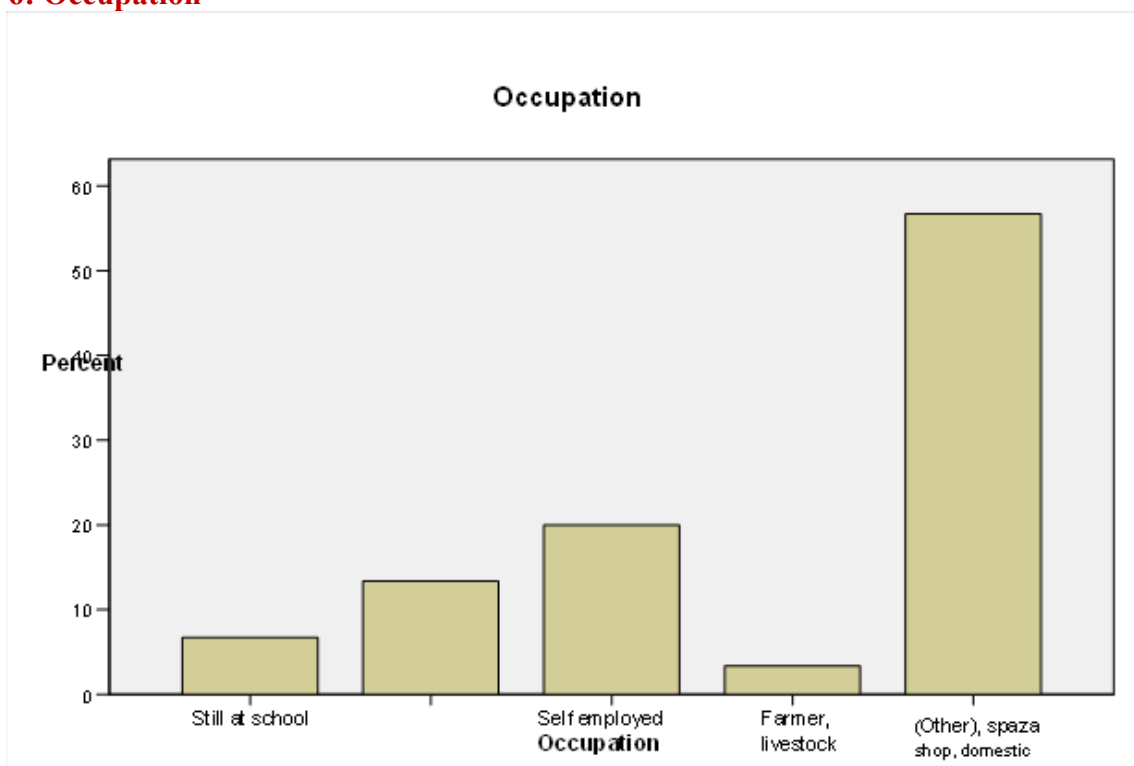
Livestock is a form of savings/wealth in Redoubt because cattle, sheep or goats can be converted into cash for traditional ceremonies or when times are lean. Stock theft and inadequate veterinary services have depleted the community herd: only 6.7% of the respondents stated that they owned cattle and 13.3% sheep/goats. The majority (60%) owned fowls that are easy and cheap to maintain and do not require veterinary services. 16.7% of the respondents stated that they did not own any livestock due to poverty.

5.4 Activities within the Redoubt Community

Livelihood activities are a means of living or economic development. They reduce community vulnerability and increasing environmental sustainability (Shackleton et al., 2000). The following section outlines the survival strategies undertaken in the Redoubt community.

5.4.1 Occupation

Figure 6: Occupation



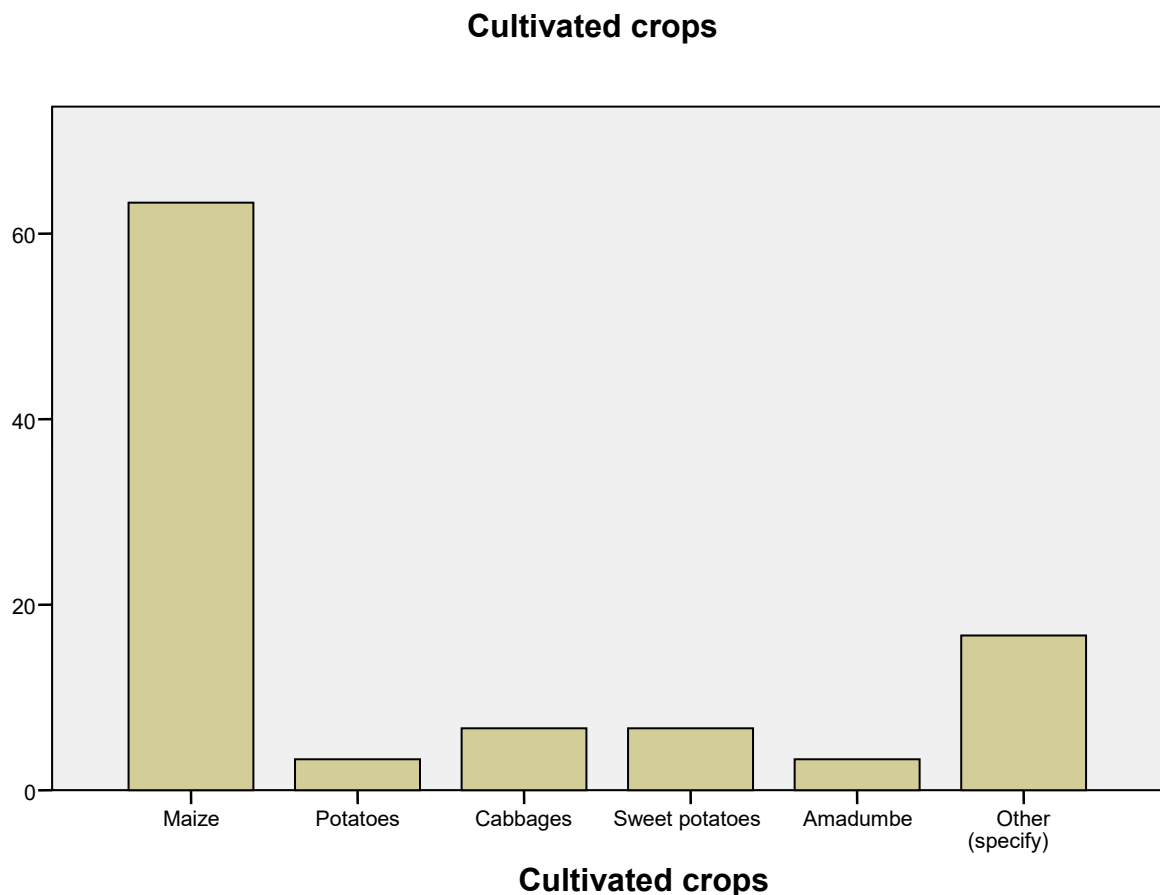
Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

Of the 30 households interviewed, 56.7% made a living by running their own spaza shops, and being domestic workers. The lack of industrial activities and public investment projects has led to high unemployment in the area and in nearby Bizana.

Only 3.3% of the respondents were engaged in small scale livestock farming. They sell their livestock and exchange it for other goods. Livestock is also a form of wealth in the community and is involved in marriage negotiations. The graph also shows that 6% of the respondents were still at school, 13.3% were informally employed as backyard mechanics, in spaza shops, and as fruit and vegetable sellers, and 20% were self-employed. The latter's jobs range from dress making to manual jobs around the village though at a very small profit.

5.4.2 Farming Activities

Figure 7: Cultivated Crops

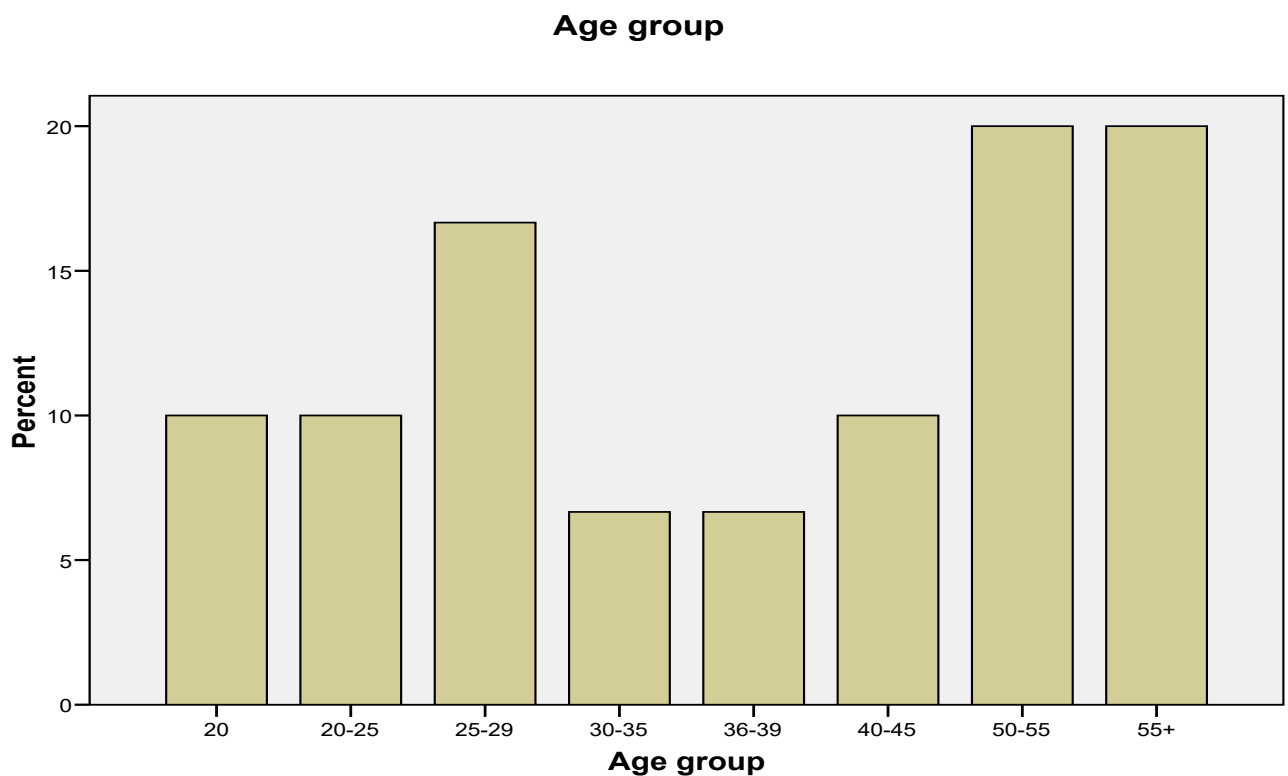


Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

Maize is the most common crop cultivated in the area, occupying 63.3% of arable land. Subsistence farming is the main form of economic activity but the land is infertile, the farming methods out-dated, and the yields per acre lower than subsistence level. Maize does not need much water, and the climate is suitable. Few other crops are grown in the area due to the fact that most people cannot afford seedlings and manure. Most households indicated that they would have grown more cabbages had they had irrigation, and fencing to keep livestock out.

5.4.3 Age Distribution

Figure 8: Age Distribution



Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

The above table indicates that 20% of the study respondents were between the ages of 50 and 55, and 50+, respectively. This suggests that most people that live in Redoubt are elderly, with the youth having moved to neighbouring towns for employment purposes. Those aged 25 to 29 made up 16.7% of the sample with 6.7% percent between the ages of 36 and 39 years and 30 and 35, respectively.

5.4.4 Marital Status

Table 10: Marital Status

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Single, older than 25	7	23.3
	Married	19	63.3
	Never Married below the age of 25	4	13.3
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

The table shows that, 63.3% of the respondents were married, 23.3% were single and 13.3% had never married. Further enquiry by the researcher revealed that many of the married respondents did not live with their spouses as most were migrant workers that they had not seen for a long time.

5.4.5 Religious Status

The entire community is Christian. The respondents recalled that the first missionaries settled in the Eastern Cape and instilled Christian beliefs amongst communities. This carried over the generations to date.

5.4.6 Race

All the respondents were Black Africans. This reflects the injustices of the past, where apartheid laws pushed Black people either to the peripheries of towns, or unsustainable reserves.

5.4.7 Home Language

Table 11: Home Language		Frequency	Percent
Valid	IsiZulu	1	3.3
	IsiXhosa	29	96.7
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

The table above indicates that 96.7% of the respondents spoke IsiXhosa and only 3.3% IsiZulu. This reflects the boundaries and demarcation of provinces in South Africa where each province has a specific group of people that speak the same language. The Eastern Cape is predominantly Xhosa.

5.4.8 Duration of Stay in the Area

Table 12: Duration of Stay in the Area		Frequency	Percent
Valid	6-9 Years	3	10.0
	10-14 Years	3	10.0
	15+	24	80.0
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

Most of the respondents (80%) had lived in Redoubt for 15+ years. They were thus able to provide rich information on the area.

5.4.9 Material Used to Construct Homesteads

Table 13: Material Used to Construct Homesteads		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Bricks and cement	9	30.0
	Sticks and mud	20	66.7
	Thatched roofs	1	3.3
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

Asked to state the materials that were used to construct their homesteads 66.7% of the respondents said that they used sticks and mud. The houses are poorly constructed and are thus vulnerable to harsh autumn winds, winter fires and natural disasters. Thirty percent of the respondents built their homes with bricks and cement and 3.3% used thatch for roofs which are again prone to winter fires. These construction methods highlight the level of poverty in the community.

5.4.10 Type of Sanitation

Table 14: Type of Sanitation		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Pit latrine	27	90.0
	Other (open veld)	3	10.0
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

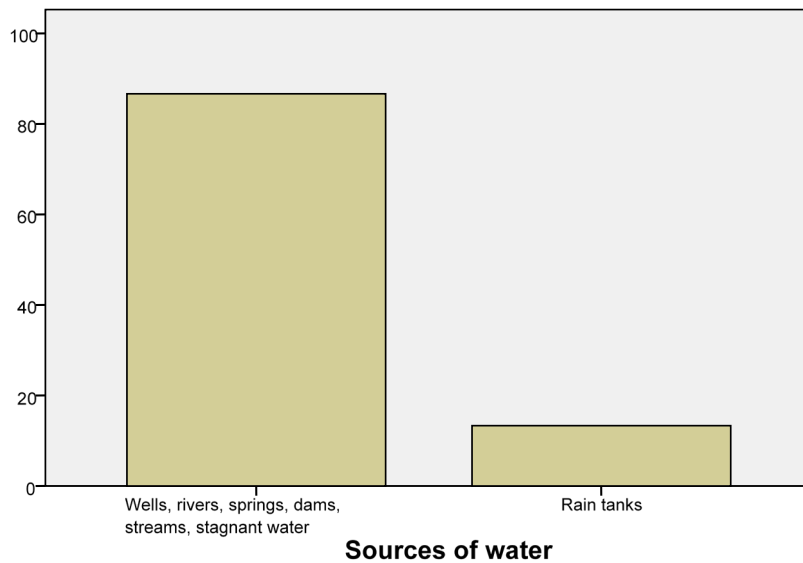
The table above shows that, the majority of the respondents (90%) use pit latrines. This depicts a lack of proper sanitation. There is no running water therefore, no flushing toilets. These findings show that the municipality has not provided proper sanitation. The Bill of Rights in the South African Constitution states that every South African has a right to proper sanitation. All municipalities are expected to address this issue. The remaining 10% of the respondents have no form of sanitation and use the open veld. The researcher found that toilets were unaffordable.

5.4.11 Source of Water

Figure 9: Source of Water

Percent

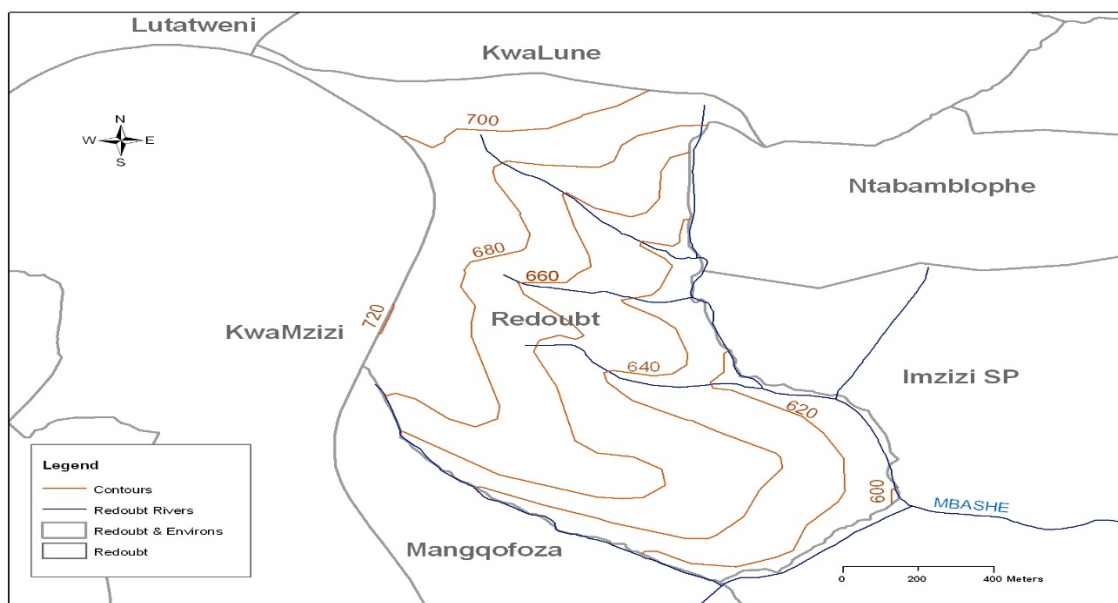
Sources of water



Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

The above graph shows that almost all the respondents sourced water from wells, rivers, springs, dams, streams and stagnant water. The researcher observed that some households have rain tanks attached to their houses. Since most houses have thatched roofs rather than corrugated iron ones, this is only possible in a few cases.

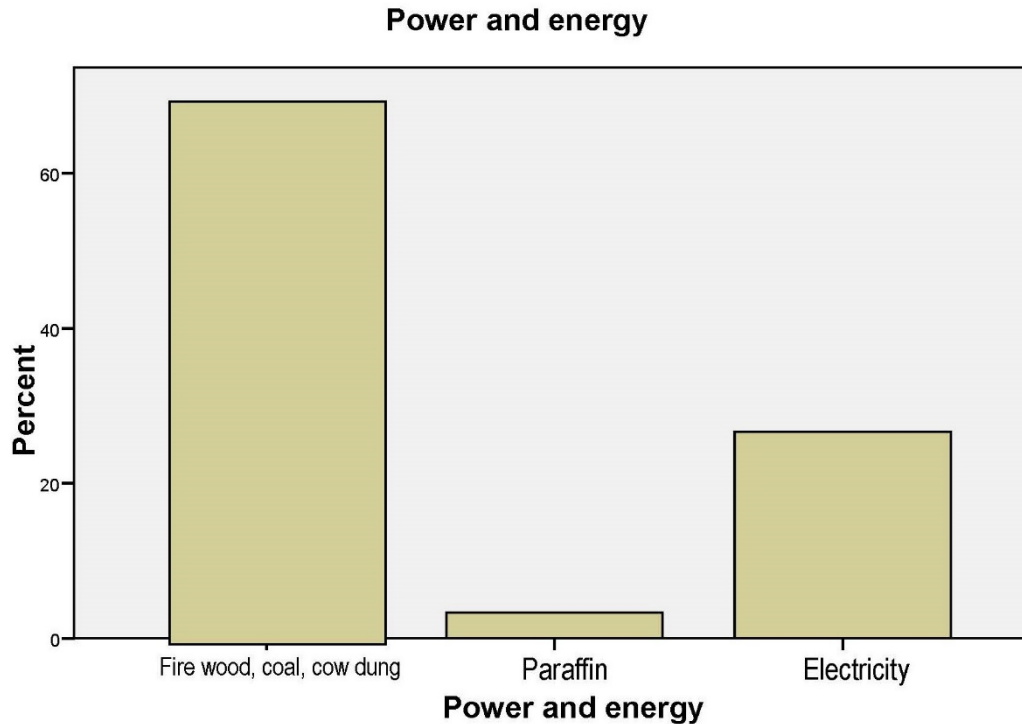
Map 4: Hydrology Map of Redoubt



(Ingquza Local Municipality, 2016)

5.4.12 Power and Energy

Figure 10: Power and Energy



Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

Seventy percent of the respondents indicated that they used firewood for cooking. Further investigation revealed that this source does not cost any money. A further 26% used electricity paid for by a family member; whilst 3.3% that survive on a small monthly income use paraffin. The latter group comprised households of less than five members that thus use less energy for cooking.

5.4.13 Sources of Power

Table 15: Sources of Power		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Eskom	19	63.3
	None	11	36.7
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

63.3 % of the respondents indicated that they source their power from Eskom. Most households in the area are connected and observation revealed Eskom lines running through the area.

36.7% of the respondents made use of candles which can cause fatal accidents if left unattended.

5.4.14 Health Care Services

In terms of health care, 73.3% of the respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the services provided at the local health care centre citing medication shortages and the fact that they are often referred to distant health care centres. They also noted that it takes more than an hour to walk to reach the local health facility. There is a shortage of staff and the facility is often closed. This causes immense problems as most of the sick are older people that cannot walk long distances. Respondents also complained of a lack of community care givers in their area. However, 26.7% of the respondents rated the local health care facility as good. Upon further enquiry, the researcher found that those in this group had other means of acquiring medication; it is possible that they do not visit the clinic as often as other community members.

Table 16: Service Quality

		Frequency	Percent
1	Poor Service	22	73.3
2	Good Service	8	26.7
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, November 2016

5.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter analysed the survival strategies employed by the community of Redoubt. It began by categorising the survival strategies, including assets and activities. Subsequently, it highlighted general information on the standard of living as well as household profiles within this area.

Many people in rural communities and Redoubt in particular, have no other choice but to work in the informal (second) economy which is notorious for its unpredictable income streams. Based on the findings of the community survey and the key informant interviews, it can be concluded that poverty in Redoubt could be addressed given proper planning and municipal projects that are properly run and monitored.

In terms of farming for survival, most of the households surveyed (63.3%) cultivate maize. There is a need for financial assistance and education on appropriate farming methods. Unfortunately, the municipality has done little in this regard. The key informants also noted that the Department of Agriculture needs to provide appropriate infrastructure.

Many households in the Redoubt depend on hand outs from neighbours or relatives to survive. 56.7% indicated that they survived by selling produce. 56.7% of the respondents were involved in occupations such as domestic work, gardening and running spaza shops.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This research study sought to identify the different survival strategies used by households in the Redoubt community in order to advance knowledge of rural communities that are often overlooked in popular discourse. The following were identified as the key survival strategies in the study area:

- Farming
- Hawking
- Domestic Servants
- Spaza shops
- Stokvels

However, further observation and inquiry revealed that these strategies were not sustainable and there was no backup system. The nearby Bizana town offers little formal employment, and a large percentage of the Redoubt community is illiterate.

Many rural local municipalities are characterised by poverty, destitution, and dispossession and are not adequately equipped to plan for sustainable livelihoods. Analysis of the survival strategies adopted by rural communities like Redoubt is important in understanding their plight. The survival strategies adopted by this community were divided into two themes, namely capabilities/assets and activities. The following section revisits the research objectives. This is followed by concluding remarks, recommendations and suggestions for further study.

6.2 Interventions

Many scholars have conducted case studies to capture sustainable livelihoods in practice. The Redoubt community suffers severe poverty which has resulted in food insecurity, a lack of basic services, high levels of HIV/AIDS, and many child headed households. From a planning perspective, it is recommended that the local municipality invests in development that will generate profit while providing job opportunities for locals. The area's location along the busy R61 which connects KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape is an advantage. The numerous attractions and beautiful scenery along this route offer opportunities for tourism.

Local economic development in this municipality would also enhance the economy of the Eastern Cape. Programmes such as Sukuma Sakhe in rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal build and capacitate communities. Initiatives should also be launched to build and capacitate small, medium and micro enterprises.

Proper implementation of the municipality's Spatial Development Framework would promote sound planning for effect land utilisation. The IDP which is a five-year plan that all municipalities are required to formulate and implement, should aim to enhance the livelihoods of all. Residents of Redoubt and other areas within the municipality should be actively engaged in such planning and their needs should be prioritised.

6.3 Research Objectives Revisited

As noted earlier, the main objective of this study was to identify the different survival strategies adopted by households in the Redoubt community. The subsidiary objectives assisted in identifying such strategies. The main objective (see section 1.2) was covered by chapters two and three (the literature review on sustainable livelihoods) and chapter five (analysis and discussion of the study's results). This includes the assets and activities discussed at international and local level.

The subsidiary objectives were covered by chapters two, three and five. These chapters highlighted that the forces that drive local community development fall into the categories: occupations (farming, pastoral or fishing livelihoods); social difference (gendered, age-defined livelihoods) informal networks, membership of formal groups and relationships of trust that facilitate co-operation; direction (livelihood pathways, trajectories); and dynamic patterns (sustainable or resilient livelihoods) capabilities, assets (including material and social resources) or production, employment and household income.

Chapter five also examined the effectiveness the local municipality's interventions and those of the national government in the form of social grants. The findings reveal that much remains to be done. This chapter identified planning interventions that could improve the situation within the Redoubt community. While many of the challenges emanate at district municipal level; it is urgent to eradicate poverty at the local level.

6.4 Synthesis of the Findings

The main objective of this research study was to identify the different survival strategies employed by households in the Redoubt community. The primary data was analysed to identify livelihood strategies to alleviate poverty in this area. The strategies adopted can be described as a mix of labour market involvement; savings; productive and reproductive activities, borrowing and investment; income; labour; asset pooling and social networking. They include a few poultry farming projects.

The study found that few households in this rural community are able to support themselves by means of a single activity such as farming/ non-farming or full-time “wage employment among women. Informal networks in the area, including stokvels and trading along the R61 contribute to a better quality of life”.

The researcher interrogated the effectiveness of interventions by the local municipality and the national government in the form of social grants. While some efforts have been made to provide employment opportunities, much remains to be done as many households still live below the poverty line.

Service delivery backlogs hamper proper planning. This is not the only significant challenge facing the OR Tambo District Municipality, but there is an urgent need to implement projects that will help to eradicate poverty, especially in rural communities like the study area. Very slow progress has been recorded in terms of planning interventions in the study area. Job creation needs urgent attention. Sustainable projects such as poultry farming, garden projects, and health care and education, to name but a few are required to lift this community out of poverty. The local economic development programme set out in the municipality’s IDP should be put into practice. External assistance will be required and private donors as well as investors should be brought on board to assist people, especially the youth, to establish small businesses.

Water and sanitation need immediate intervention as much of the existing infrastructure in the area is not adequately maintained and, in many cases, is not functioning. According to the municipal manager, on-going revamp and maintenance for sustainable water delivery and other services is set to take place in the near future in the study area. Those that source water from springs, rainwater tanks, streams, rivers, dams or water vendors, should be served first.

O.R Tambo District Municipality's Indigent Policy is now in place and it is developing a database to register impoverished households district wide. Free basic services will be provided in line with this approved policy. Consultations with stakeholders in the municipality are underway to develop policies in this regard.

AsgiSA (2010) Eastern Cape has responded to requests for grain milling and silo management and a community public-private partnership is likely to be formed to manage the grain silos and milling plants. Rural communities will be provided with agricultural training.

In conclusion, while the local municipality's main objective is to enhance the standard of living of all its communities, as well as address the injustices of the past, short falls are hampering its achievement. It is struggling to attract and retain people with scarce skills. The municipality is investigating the establishment of a shared services centre.

The municipality recognises that sound land and spatial planning is required to add value to forestry and agriculture and ensure consistent social services across its wards. This includes land use planning, making land available for development, resolution of land claims and ensuring security of land tenure. According to the District Municipality's IDP:

The District is seen to be a valuable asset for both agriculture and tourism development within the Province and that requires vigilant environmental management. In light of these facts the District has set amongst its goals, the promotion of economic growth and creating sustainable economic activity through rationalized programmes, within the limits of available natural resource base and the promotion of sustainable community livelihoods.

Achievement of these goals would enable the community of Redoubt to improve its standard of living through tourism and agriculture and eradicate the stigma of poverty that has bedevilled this community for so many years.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

This study aimed to identify the survival strategies adopted by community members in Redoubt. It adds to the body of knowledge on sustainable livelihoods in two ways. On the one hand, it identified categories of assets and on the other, categories of activities, namely the

survival strategies used in this community. Its findings offer insight to researchers and policy makers on how the Redoubt community copes with the shocks and stresses of daily life. This could inform appropriate projects to uplift the standard of living.

In conclusion, the Redoubt community strongly believes that programmes that benefit the youth would reduce crime and destitution in this area. High levels of unemployment, inadequate farming methods, and the ravages of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and extreme destitution that have bedevilled Redoubt have meant that the community has had to develop new methods to survive. Government has invested in the area and encouraged private initiatives; these have not been sufficient to meet the needs of the community. Some of the programmes proposed in the local municipality's IDP to alleviate poverty and provide job opportunities have yet to be implemented. Redoubt has potential and planning interventions need to be implemented to alleviate poverty in the community.

6.6 Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Research

There is an urgent need for proper planning in this area. The different municipal departments should plan together for projects to alleviate poverty and create job opportunities. Some projects have been abandoned due to poor planning. More land should be made available in Redoubt for agricultural purposes. Vast tracts of land are unused due to the complicated tenure system under the tribal authority. Farming co-operatives should be also established; this would make it easier for the municipality to offer assistance in the form of specialists and farming equipment and seedlings. This approach has proved successful in some rural communities. There is also a need for a rural community centre in Redoubt to capacitate the youth in terms of skills and at the same time provide jobs. This would discourage migration to the cities. A service centre should be established to assist those that are entitled to social grants but lack the required documents to claim. Saving time and money people would not have to travel to town to access this service and it will assist the frail and the elderly. It is also important to identify tourism potential in the area and strategically plan to increase opportunities for local people and reduce poverty.

The literature review revealed that there are more substantive studies on sustainable livelihoods despite increasing deprivation in rural communities. Adaptive planning strategies are required to contextualise the environment and respond to the needs of such communities. Therefore,

further research is recommended on the application of sustainable livelihoods to enhance rural living conditions.

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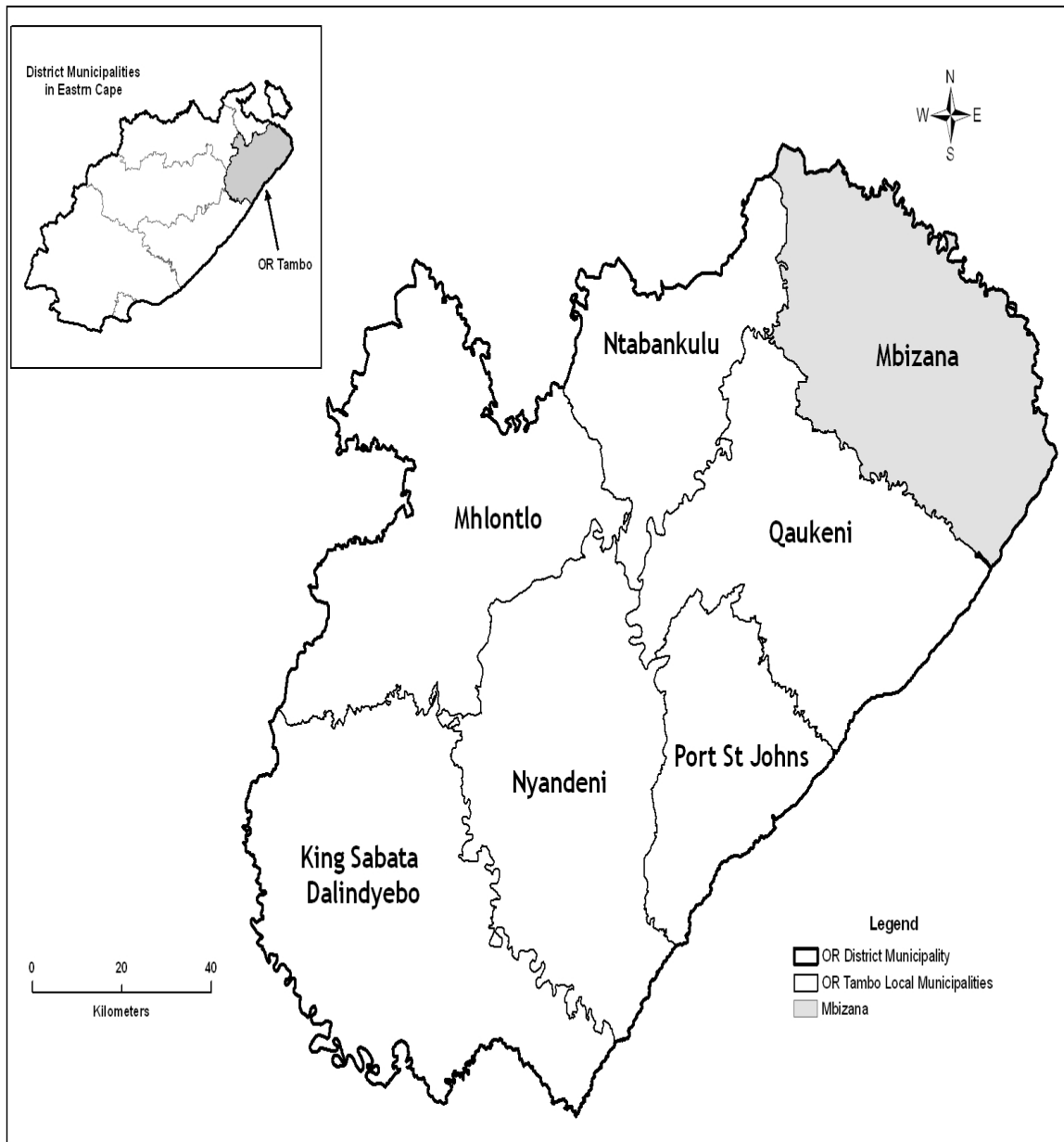
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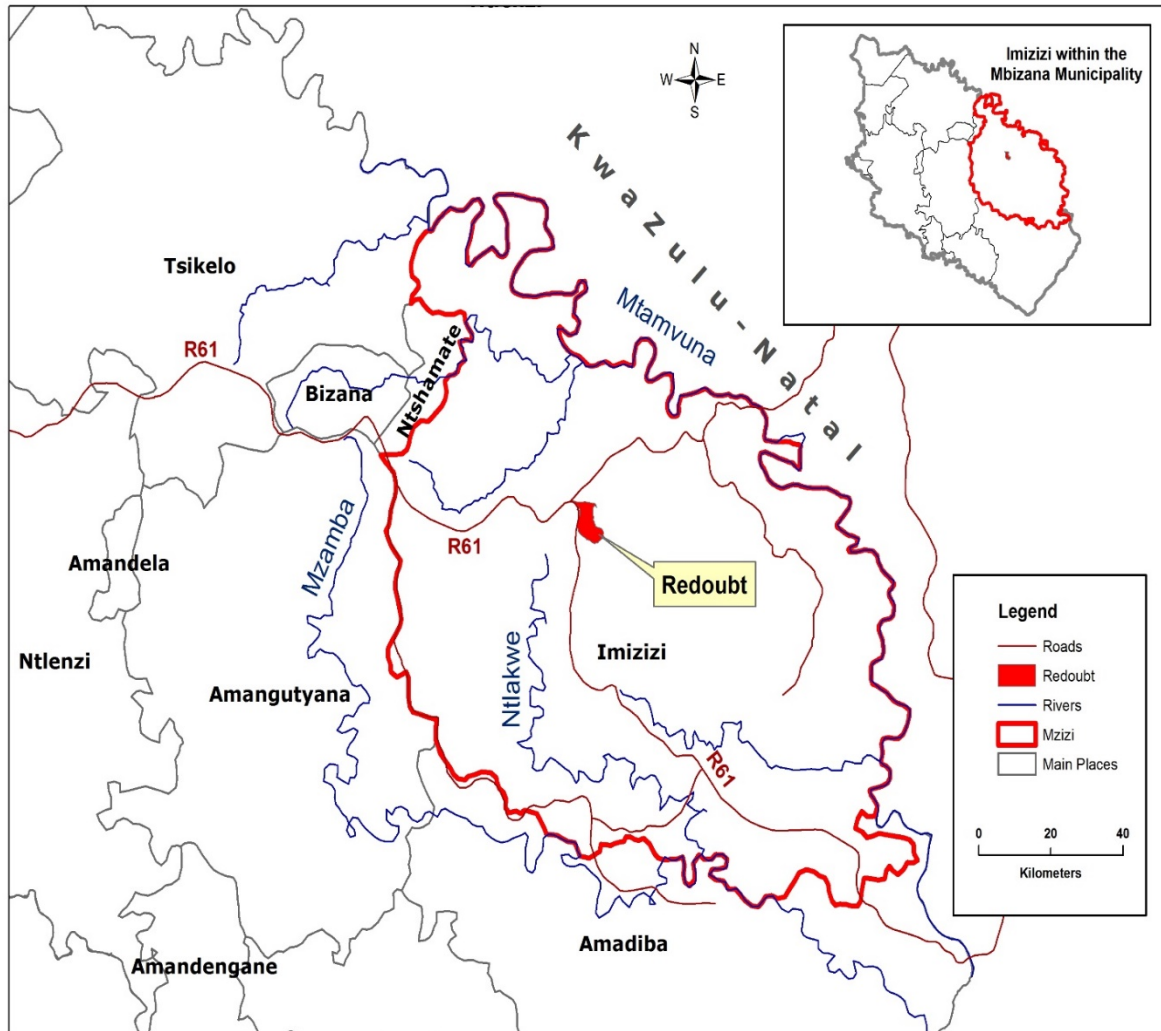
Appendices

Map 1: OR TAMBO DISTRICT



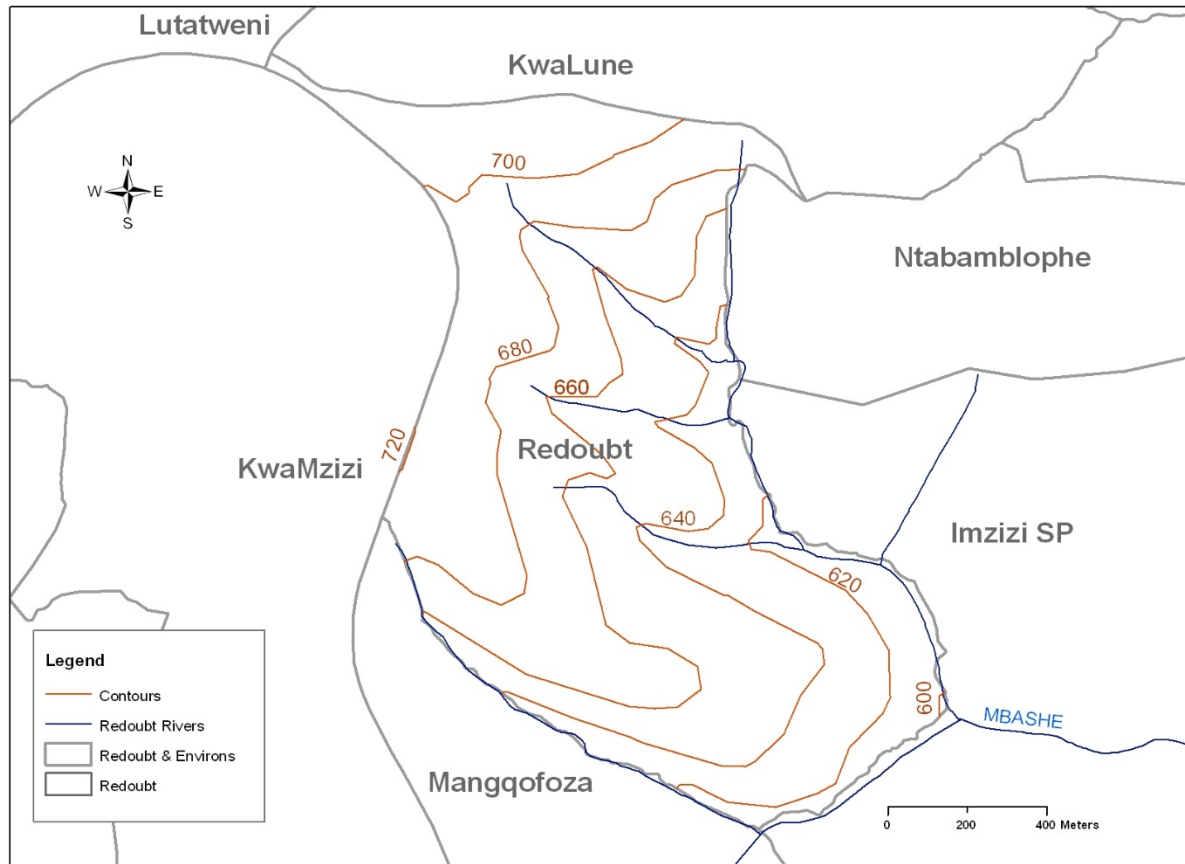
Source; GIS Ingquza Local Municipality, 2019

Map 2: Locality Map



Source: GIS Ingquza Local Municipality, 2019

Map 3: Physical Map



Source: GIS Ingquza Local Municipality, 2019