

THE IMPACT OF URBANIZATION ON HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOOD
STRATEGIES:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MAPUTSOE AND FOBANE

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Abstract

Most of the arable land in the lowlands of Lesotho including Maputsoe is under infrastructural development of residential settlements, large scale industries, roads and slum settlements which includes shacks and roadside spaza shops. These settlements have large human populations that derive their livelihood through wide range of activities. These activities comprised of subsistence agriculture in the form of crop production, livestock and vegetable production, formal work in both primary and secondary labour market, informal work such as niche markets in the service sector, petty commodity production and others.

This thesis attempts to shed light on the impact of urban development on household livelihood strategies in the lowlands of Lesotho with specific focus to Maputsoe town. Although literature review indicates livelihood and urbanisation as two broad subjects that need special research on their own, the aim of this research focuses on impact of urbanisation on livelihood strategies. To achieve this the study looks at the activities entitled to households to generate livelihood as well as social and economic characteristics determining household livelihood strategies.

To determine whether urban development has an effect to household livelihood strategies, the study compares household livelihood strategies in urban household sample (Maputsoe) to rural household sample (Fobane). The basis for choosing these two settlements was based on the understanding that household perceptions and opinions on impact of urbanisation on livelihoods will be different since Maputsoe is located in urban and Fobane in the rural area.

To gather household perceptions, survey was conducted in both urban and rural area. Survey questions were formulated so as to determine factors affecting livelihood strategies as well as activities entitled to households to generate livelihood strategies.

The analysis of results suggests three main points influencing household livelihood strategies (they include household characteristics and social structure among both urban and rural households in the sample. They further include opportunities to employment among urban and rural households in a sample as well household assets among both urban and rural households. They show that both two samples are liable to less diverse livelihood strategies but due to conducive environment favouring urban location. Maputsoe narrowly has more livelihood strategies per household than did Fobane. The results further prove the contention that urban development is likely to affect household livelihood strategies negatively or positively.

DECLARATION

This study is the original work of the author. It has not been submitted in any form for degree or diploma to any university. Where it is being used, it should be acknowledged in the text.

R.P.Monts'i

Signed



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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is broadly divided into four parts. The first part presents the motivation for the study and research question, objectives and core concepts. The second part considers the urbanisation process in Lesotho and theories of urbanisation. The third part explores household livelihood strategies and the impact of urbanisation on livelihoods. In the fourth section entitlement theory will be drawn on to evaluate and analyse the impact of urbanization on livelihoods.

1.1 Motivation for the study

The Maputsoe region is one of the few regions of Lesotho that encompasses areas with good soils for agricultural production. The alarming increase in the rate of population growth in Maputsoe and the expansion of urban settlements, through industrial settlements, commercial settlements, and housing settlements on arable land may be having a negative impact on household livelihood strategies. According to the Government of Lesotho (1992, 18) urban development has an effect on household livelihoods, as a result of the limited availability of land for agricultural production as well as the quality of land needed in future for the production of food and fibre. This is because as the urban area grows, there is encroachment of settlements in the arable land and other natural resources which poor people depend on for their survival. While urban development might provide services and income generating activities to improve household livelihood strategies, increased population growth also exerts much pressure and might reduce the welfare and health of households. Furthermore, urban development, by encroaching on arable land and rangelands, might be seen to increase the reliance of households on wage employment and decrease the diversity and security of livelihood strategies.

The declining of both arable land and rangeland in Maputsoe due to encroachment of urban settlements and other factors inhibiting production due to urbanisation led me to feel obliged to undertake research on the effect of urbanisation on household livelihood strategies. Other than wage labour which is mostly migrant labour, trading and entrepreneurship, agriculture

forms one of the major sources of livelihood in Lesotho (Borotho, 2000). My interest in undertaking this research in Maputsoe was further motivated by the recent retrenchments of miners from the Republic of South Africa. Not only would this reduce the importance of wages in household livelihood strategies, but it would also reduce the capital available for generating other forms of employment in both agriculture and non-agricultural enterprise. The point of concern is that if current losses of agricultural land continue, the level of productivity of crop land might be converted to non productive land use and thereby limit household livelihood strategies.

I have chosen to undertake this study to create awareness among people and policymakers of Lesotho of the pros and cons of development activity. Most developments tend to favour wealthier households that have the capacity and ability to drive developments for their advantage and deteriorate livelihood of poor people. The aim of this research is to explore the impact of urbanization on household livelihood strategies. This will be done through a comparison of household livelihood strategies in the urban settlement of Maputsoe, and rural settlement of Fobane. The contention is that encroachment on arable land by the urban development of Maputsoe is likely to have an effect on the household livelihood strategies of Maputsoe residents. Vulnerable household such as those headed by economically inactive people and women are likely to be negatively affected by the reduction in subsistence agriculture as a result of land loss. To explore the impact of urbanisation on livelihood strategies in Maputsoe the following objectives have been identified;

- To identify livelihood strategies in the rural area of Fobane and those in the urban settlement of Maputsoe town.
- To assess if there is a difference between livelihoods in the rural and urban study area.
- To identify differences between the rural and urban study areas.

1.2 Definition of concepts

Rural: The term rural is described by Lewis, (1979, 23) as those parts of a country which show unmistakable signs of being dominated by extensive use of land. This land use is usually agricultural but it also includes areas which are under forest and woodland as well as wild unutilised tracts or land in a semi-natural state.

Urban: Urban may be described as areas comprised not only of the cities or towns but also villages or isolated dwellings which perform similar functions whether located in town or countryside (Lewis 1979, 23). In other words urban areas are those areas ranging from isolated farmsteads to market towns, these areas are characterised by higher population densities, more infrastructure and shops ranging from small cafés to wholesale general dealers. For the purpose of this research a slightly more restricted definition of urban, excluding isolated farmsteads, has been employed.

Urbanisation: Gelderblom and Kok (1994, 6), define urbanisation as a proportional increase of urban population in an area identified as urban and mainly characterised by the establishment of large industries. Dewar et al (1982, 2) however, define it as a social transition of individuals and families from rural to urban dwellers. They further state that urbanisation involves a process whereby people are pulled or pushed toward the cities by the prospect of better income earning opportunities, proximity to employment and other factors such as infrastructural facilities. In this research, the definition of urbanisation has been employed Gelderblom and Kok (1994, 6).

Household: The term household is used to cover different aspects or concepts and authors have been struggling to agree on standard definition of households (Murray 1981, 47). According to Casey and Lury (1981,186) this is because the definition differs from country to country. However, Murray (1981, 47), defines household as those people who are living together in the same homestead and normally of close kin relationship, eating from the same pot and sharing resources (for example, income and other resources such as land). His definition includes those people who are away for employment and education reasons but still contributing to and or benefiting from household resources and considered as members of the household by other household members. Murray (ibid., 48) identifies the head of the household as the person who is acknowledged by all other members of the household by virtue of age or status as the chief breadwinner. He further argued that normally that particular person's earnings constitute a larger part of the household livelihood is vested with the responsibility for maintenance of the household. This is frequently the eldest male although when he is away his wife will act on behalf of him as head of the household. If the husband dies responsibility for the household passes to the wife (ibid., 49).

Livelihood; Livelihood in its simple sense refers to the way in which households secure a living to meet the basic needs for food, shelter, health and clothing. Livelihoods involve people, their capabilities and activities they do to earn a living as well as food, income and assets (Chambers 1996, III). Assets in this particular context are defined not only as natural or biological assets such as land, livestock or common property resources but also as social assets which include social networks, empowerment, family ties and participation.

Chambers (ibid., 9) identifies three aspects to understand livelihoods; the first being people and their livelihood capabilities, referring to basic functions that households can perform in order to generate livelihoods. An example might be growing and harvesting crops or producing certain goods to earn income so as to buy food. The second aspect is assets which refers to goods or commodities commanded by the household to secure the food or to attain livelihoods. Assets can be further categorised into tangible and intangible assets. According to Chambers (ibid., 11) tangible assets refers to those assets that households can see such as cash savings, land, water, and farm equipment. Intangible assets includes those assets which provide material and social means for a households to earn a living. According to Chambers (ibid.,11) intangible assets can be divided into claims and access.

Claims are demands and appeals which can be made for material, moral or practical support or access. Support may take the form of food, implements, loans or gifts (ibid, 11). Claims are usually made during times of stress or shock such as drought or any other disaster or contingency. Claims are made from individuals, kin relatives social groups or community members, neighbours, chiefs, non-governmental organizations, government or the international community including programmes for disaster relief such as drought or poverty alleviation (ibid., 11). Access is the opportunity in practice to use resources, to get employment, to get food or income or even the services of information or technology, education, transport and health (ibid.,11). Services of information include extension services, radio, television and newspapers.

According to Chambers (ibid., 11), it is out of these intangible and tangible assets that households are able to construct a living using their physical labour, skills, knowledge and creativity. Skills and knowledge may be acquired within the households, passed from generation to generation as indigenous technical knowledge or through apprenticeship,

education or extension services. Skills and knowledge may also be acquired through experiment and innovation (ibid., 11).

Gains or output is the third category of livelihoods identified by Chambers (ibid., 11). This refers to what households gain from what they do. It includes activities like herding, hunting or gathering, cultivation, trading or hawking, wage labour, theft, providing transport services, fetching of both water and fire wood for cooking, artisan work such as weaving and carving and lastly processing of goods or commodities (ibid., 11). According to Chambers (ibid) the outputs from these activities provide food, cash income and other goods to satisfy a wide variety of human needs. While so often these outputs are consumed immediately, others go into short or long term stores, to be consumed later or to be invested in other assets.

1.3 The process of urbanization in Lesotho

This section considers the trend of urbanisation in developing countries with specific emphasis on Lesotho and the way in which urbanisation has occurred in Lesotho.

As in most developing countries, the level of urbanization in Lesotho is influenced by three main factors: firstly the natural increase of the urban population, secondly rural to urban migration and possibly urban-urban migration and thirdly an increase or decrease in the number of settlements classified as urban (Chakela 1999, 175). At independence (in 1966) less than five percent (5%) of Basotho lived in urban areas excluding Maseru which is the capital town of Lesotho (Bardill and Cobbe 1985, 107). In comparison with other developing countries where levels of migration was from rural to urban centres, in Lesotho a low level of migration from rural to urban areas reflected migration to South Africa's mining and industrial centres, not to urban areas of Lesotho (ibid., 107).

As in most developing countries, the process of urbanization in Lesotho has been associated with the incorporation of its economy into the global economy during colonization rather than a shift from agricultural to industrial based economy (ibid, 104). In Lesotho the process of urbanisation was exacerbated by the increasing inability of both South Africa and domestic agriculture to absorb the alarming population growth in the Lesotho labour force during the post-independence period (ibid., 104). Thus urbanisation in Lesotho has been the result of two factors complementing each other. Firstly, the decline in subsistence agricultural

production especially in the rural areas and secondly retrenchments from South African mines and industries mainly due to displacement of the manual labour by machinery and also due to the fluctuation in the gold price on the world market (ibid., 104).

This recent rapid urban growth in Lesotho led, as in most developing countries, to the emergence of extremes of affluence and poverty which has resulted in a minority of local households and expatriates in well paid employment in the public and private sectors, while the majority of households are confined to rural and over crowded locations on the outskirts of towns (ibid., 108). Their livelihood has been characterised by uncertain income (ibid.,). This urban inequality and poverty has also been compounded by the rising level of unemployment (ibid.,). Although there are no real statistics on urban unemployment researchers argued that the labour force has been increasing much faster than the absorption rate into employment in Lesotho (ibid., 110).

Most theories of urbanisation associated these extremes in affluence and poverty with the fact that the process of urbanization in developing countries has been different from the process of urbanisation in developed countries (Dewar et al 1982, 15). In developed countries the process of urbanisation started with the industrial revolution in which the emergence of urban located factories and industries resulted in the transformation of the economy from intensive agricultural production to one based on industrial production so that there was a strong interdependency between urban areas and the country side (Lewis 1979, 23). In developing countries such as Lesotho the situation was different in that formal urban economies failed to absorb a considerable proportion of households pushed or forced off the land (ibid., 16). This process created dualistic societies where much of the rural population lived in poverty, while the urban population consisted of a comparatively small elite comprising foreign entrepreneurs and educated locals who became wage earners in the primary labour market (ibid.,17). The majority of the urban population worked largely in the informal sector, thus being engaged in low paying service and cottage industry occupations (Lewis 1979, 25).

1.4 The effect of urbanisation on household livelihood strategies

This section focuses on the effect of urbanization on household livelihood strategies. In order to identify this impact, the section will compare livelihoods in rural and urban locations in developing countries which have similarities to the profile of Lesotho.

It is evident that developing countries are characterised by a wide diversity of economic activity and different forms of livelihoods (Crow 1992, 19; May 1995, 67; Chambers 1997, 164). However, these livelihoods vary between locations as well as between households themselves within the same location (Gay et al 2000, VI). Due to the highly inequitable distribution of resources in both urban and rural areas, the better off households seem to benefit more from urbanisation than do poor households, thus they manage to have a wide range of livelihood strategies than do poor or marginalized households (Gay et al 2000, XII). The most likely reason is that, poor households have relatively low education levels and lack of assets and as a result can not get well paid jobs or secure jobs (ibid., XII). In many cases they depend on income earned by children as well as adults (ibid.,). Child labour might be herding in case of rural households or in other forms of child labour such as portering in the case of urban households (ibid.).

Inequality that exists between rural households is exacerbated not only by poor distribution of assets but also by limited opportunities for wage employment in countries such as Lesotho (ibid., 101). Chambers (1997, 163) has shown that poor households who are often desperate or exploited derive their livelihoods from only a few or even one kind of survival strategy. Some of these activities in the case of rural households involve an exchange process whereby the services performed or goods produced are exchanged for cash income or goods. Other activities include the consumption of self-produced goods or items obtained through hunting and gathering (May 1999, 6). Poor urban households tend to rely on one or two informal sources of income such as selling of crafts or services (May 1995, 57).

1.4.1 Agriculture

In areas with sufficient rain fall, rural households engage in agricultural production as a direct and indirect source of income (Bernstein 1992, 5). This can become a relatively reliable source of income particularly important in times of hardships (ibid.). As a direct source of subsistence, farmers could survive through selling or eating directly what has been produced, while it could indirectly contribute to livelihoods through wage employment in which household members might work for rich farmers (ibid., 6).

Among urban households, agricultural production might be an indirect source of livelihoods where households engage in the packaging and processing of agricultural products and the selling of agricultural produce and inputs (ibid., 7).

In South Africa it was found that although agricultural production made a small contribution to household income, over one third of the rural households surveyed identified agricultural production as their third most important livelihood tactic (May 1995, 57; May 1999, 6). According to Marake (2000, 27), agriculture defined as both crop farming and livestock production makes a small contribution for both urban and rural household economy in Lesotho because it is primarily subsistence rather than commercial. The main reasons for this are the lack of markets for agricultural products, declining arable land due to the encroachment of settlements and soil erosion and farmers inability to access capital for inputs and land preparation (ibid., 28). According to Gill et al (1994, 31), livestock rearing is a principal source of livelihoods in both rural and urban households in Lesotho although the contribution to household coping strategies varies from species to species, with sheep and goats being reared primarily for the sale of wool and mohair. In developing countries livestock is also a measure of wealth (Chakela 1999, 21). They are kept as an important source of entitlements for social and economic purposes such as feasts and paying school fees as well as lobola and prestige and in times of food shortage (Scoon et al 1996, 30). They also play an important role in the daily life of the household (ibid). For example cattle provide draught power for cultivation, meat for food and hides and skins for clothing and foot wear. Sheep and goats although not often sold for cash are reared for domestic consumption as well as for commercial production of wool and mohair (Government of Lesotho 1992, 29A ; Mcleod and Chakela 1992, 46). Horses, donkeys and mules provide transport in the

mountains zone where roads are non-existent and also draught power and of course meat consumption especially dried and cured meat (Government of Lesotho 1992A, 29 ; Mcleod and Chakela, 92, 46). Rural areas have larger numbers of livestock although livestock may still be found in urban areas because some households hold on to their livestock when they move to urban areas (Chakela 1999, 26).

Rural households without land practice share cropping where those families without fields contribute labour power and capital and incur all field operation expenses such as ploughing, planting, weeding and fertilising. The owner of the field contributes with the land and also helps during weeding and harvesting (Murray 1981, 60). In the case of livestock there may also be a sharing of livestock where livestock are lent to another household in exchange for animal products, such as milk in the case of the cattle, wool and mohair in terms of sheep and goats, transport in the case of horses or donkeys and eggs in the case of the chickens (ibid, 60).

Although urban households have insufficient land for crop production, some households establish home gardens in which vegetable production contributes to home consumption (Marake et al 2000,27). Some farmers manage to produce a surplus to sell at local market and within the community (ibid.,). In some countries such as Lesotho home gardening is the largest source for the domestic supply of vegetables (Gay et al 1995, 116).

1.4.2 Wage labour

Cook (1998) has argued that livelihood strategies change as labour transfers out of agriculture into the urban economy. Wages and salaries (normally paid in cash) become the primary source of livelihood and the single most important determinant of the well being of households (Wilson & Ramphela 1989, 60).

Lipton (1996, 24), May (1995, 65) and Scoon (1996, 42) have argued that wage labour encompasses migrant labour, farm workers and an increasingly large group of commuters. Although households in the same location have unequal access to wages, there is a strong tendency for town dwellers to enjoy a comparative advantage in access to wages (Gay et al

2000, XIV). Urban areas enjoy more advantages than rural areas because development has been dominated by a bias towards urban or industrial activity (Chambers 1998, 1).

According to the available literature, a large majority of urban households derive livelihoods through wage employment in both the primary and secondary labour market (Lipton et al 1996, 13). The primary employment sector refers to the so-called secure and well-paid jobs that have prospects of advancements such as teaching services, civil service and military service (Lipton et al 1996,13). The secondary labour market is defined as everything that is not the primary labour market (ibid.,). Although urban areas have more job opportunities than rural areas, jobs in the secondary labour market are associated with a tendency of low payment and little security with few chances of upward mobility (Scoon, 1996, 85). Although urbanisation generates livelihood opportunities through employment for considerable portion of urban and rural households, it fails to accommodate uneducated and marginalized households in the urban economy (Gay et al 2000, XIV).

1.4.3 Claims

Another important source of livelihood (especially in rural areas of developing countries) is derived by inter household claims on wage earning activity of relatives or other households and on intra-household claims derived from remitted incomes sent on a regular basis by absentee household members (Lipton 1996, 21; May 1999, 9). Households that derive livelihoods through this activity are vulnerable to food insecurity since remittances are frequently unreliable and inconsistent (May 1995, 69). In Lesotho, remittances have declined due to increasing retrenchments of mine workers in the Republic of South Africa (Gay et al 2000, VIII). This has contributed to Lesotho having one of the highest levels of income inequalities on the continent (ibid.,). In a situation whereby households have no access to wage employment or remittances, social transfers (pensions) could enable households to secure livelihoods (Lipton 1996, 21). However in Lesotho, there is no provision for government financed social transfers. In Lesotho marginalised households are kept alive not only by their meagre returns from subsistence agriculture but by the support of other households and relatives who are not quite so poor (Gay et al 2000, XV). Chambers (1997, 169) has argued that this kind of social relationship is extended through personal relationships between neighbours and relatives who have networks of mutuality and support.

Mutual help may be the form of small borrowing and gifts (ibid.). However as a result of collapsed and deteriorated social networks, marginalized households still face a severe food insecurity (Bardill and Cobbe 1985, 111).

Claiming is frequently practised by women who are left at home when men are away and by widows. Some household members also survive by being absorbed into other sympathetic households, often of close kin. However, like many other developing countries, this kind of social claim can only be realised when there is disaster such as the death of the household breadwinner, parent or son (ibid.). Other claims in the case of Lesotho may be a compensation for injuries sustained in the mines or any other sector which provides such a benefit (Murray 1981, 61). Pensions are normally claimed by retired migrants and civil servants (ibid). Finally claims can be realised through the payment of bride wealth by the groom to the bride's family (Crow et al 1992, 105 ; Murray 1981, 61). It has also been reported that women establish love affairs in the hope of support or gifts from their beloved (Bardill and Cobbe 19985, 103). On the other hand men in their declining years claim remittances from their sons of the junior kin relatives to meet the cost of inputs for farming (Bernstein 1992, 105).

1.4.4 Informal sector

Households without wage employment in both urban and rural also resort to such livelihood activities as self employment (May 1995, 62). These activities include the extension of distribution networks which in urban areas involves activities such as hawking, vending, micro enterprises such as selling food, flowers and so on (Lipton et al 1996, 13 ; May 1995, 62). In rural areas, among households with reasonable income this activity includes the running of small cafes (May 1995, 62). Another income generating activity is petty commodity production whereby households are engaged in making clothes, furniture, handcrafts, baskets, brooms and the building of houses, as well as the production and sale of certain crops through intermittent markets (May 1995,62). A third and final livelihood activity performed by both urban and rural households is exploiting niche markets in the service sector where households perform specific services that have competitive advantage when performed by micro enterprises (May 1995, 63 ; Lipton et al, 1996,25). In urban areas such activities include backyard car washers, mechanics, child minders, room letting and money lending while in rural areas the activities extend to traditional healers, preparation of

mud for floors and walls as well as casual part time working such as contract agricultural services harvesting and weeding (May 1995, 63; Lipton et al 1996, 25). However Scoon (1996, 57) points out that although this activity involves women and children who find it most difficult to generate income, the wage levels are too low to meet the subsistence requirements of households.

Urban households with no wage either from self-employment or wage employment derive their livelihoods in ways which are often risky or detrimental to their life, such as scavenging, domestic services and barrow or sledge transport or head or back loading (Nichols 1994, 85; Chambers 1997, 162). Other household members survive on scattered part time employment while others look to a wide variety of both illegitimate and legitimate acts in the informal economy (Chambers 1997, 163). These activities include security services, commercial sex worker, theft and begging (ibid., 163).

With the rapidly rising cost of living in the rural areas, incomes from remittances and agriculture are rarely sufficient to meet the needs of the households (Bardill and Cobbe 1985, 103). To supplement them, most women must engage in additional activities (ibid.). A few might be able to obtain employment in a nearby town or village while the rest turn to the informal sector where the most common activity is brewing beer for sale.

Marginalised households in rural areas, like those in urban areas, also engage in a wide variety of legitimate and illegitimate activities in the informal sector (Chambers 1997, 165). Legitimate activities include child labour in domestic and agricultural work at home such as fetching water, collecting fodder and fuel and herding animals (ibid.). Illegitimate activities include brewing and selling of home brew, production and selling dagga (marijuana) as well as animal theft (Gay et al 2000, XV).

In extreme cases some households break up to cope with the livelihood situation while others go to the extent of abandoning livestock, infants and children as way to cope with food shortage (Alamgir and Arora 1991, 124).

1.4.5 Income stretching activities

Both urban and rural households engage in additional activities to stretch their income or gain access to additional entitlements (Lipton et al 1996, 15). Livelihood activities to stretch income include migration, that is the movement of households members between several dwellings either between urban areas or between rural and urban areas (May 1995, 67). In most cases this refers to labour migration to search for better opportunities such as access to job markets, or to take advantage of kinship ties (ibid.,). It also refers to distress migration of the entire households which can occur when other coping strategies have failed (May 1995, 67). In most cases jobs are not found and as a result the proportion of urban dwellers without wage employment increases (Gay et al 2000, VIII).

Other income stretching activities are also identified by Lipton (1996) and May (1995) and (1999) include qualitative and quantitative dietary changes. Qualitative dietary changes are experienced as households shift to lower status food (starchy foods, grain ground with stalks and bran), as well as less conventional foods such as wild plants, insects and wild animals (May 1995, 67 ; Lipton et al 1996, 26).

Although there is little research on quantitative changes in expenditure as a household coping strategy, Lipton et al (1996, 25) suggested that households vary meal patterns with fewer meals such that there is a reduction in actual consumption. They further argue that studies of energy usage show that vulnerable households adapt their energy consumption as a coping strategy. Examples of this in urban areas include switching from electricity to paraffin while in rural areas could be changes from wood to dung or crop residual as fuel (May 1995, 68). It might also involve varying purchase intervals (buying one candle at a time, as opposed to a week's supply and conserving energy (Lipton et al 1996, 26).

Other income stretching activities include varying household size and composition (May 1995, 68). Lipton et al, (1996, 26) argue that household composition change as a result of social and economic factors such as a situation where household members disperse to join other households that have income. This occurs especially when a source of income is lost and subsequently when new income is accessed (Lipton et al 1996, 26; May 1995, 68). These moves in search of and in response to sources of income occur in urban and rural households (Lipton et al 1996, 26; May 1995, 68).

Many studies conducted in developing countries have shown that access to communal or private reserves of trees and natural forest is particularly important since the use of these resources may extend to medicinal plants, reeds for craft work, wild animals and crops for food (May 1995, 67), as well as firewood (Bardill and Cobbe 1985, 130). This is especially common in households headed by women (ibid.).

Unpaid domestic labour performed largely by women is a major income stretching activity. Even though these household activities are seldom seen as valuable in society, they contribute significantly to stretching meagre resources to make ends meet (May 1999, 7). Example of this might include home processing of food rather than purchase of already processed foods, candle and soap making, sewing as well as caring for the sick (ibid.).

1.4.6 Investment, savings and access to credit

Hidden savings, investments and assets are another coping strategy that households employ to procure food (Alamgir & Arora 1991, 124). According to Scoon et al (1996, 63) this may be in the form of long term expenditure such as education and marriage or short term expenditure such as the purchase of livestock, agricultural implements, buildings and furniture. In urban areas of Lesotho, households derive livelihoods from investment in financial institutions or rental housing which may be in the form of low income housing and medium cost housing (Gay et al 1995, 140). Households in the rural area, rather than investing in financial institutions, save in assets such as livestock. Few households in rural areas have savings accounts because most find it difficult to save sufficient cash to open an account, although some manage to save in local informal saving mechanisms such as burial societies and stokvel¹ (Marake et al 2000, 28). Marake et al (ibid.,) argue that this lending system helps women to access less formal lending at affordable interest rate and as a result helps them to reduce dependency on remittances. It enables the economic empowerment of women by providing some spending autonomy independent of family funds controlled by their husbands.

¹Stokvel could be described as a fund raising campaign which takes the form of revolving loan, it involves money lending, borrowing food and beer among members of a group and this money is borrowed at fixed interest rate.

1.4.7 Donor and Government support

Many developing countries' governments and donors also play a major role in strengthening households capacity to cope with food shortages (Alamgir & Arora 1991, 124). The support by governments may be in the form of handouts, the provision of subsidies on such items as inputs (seeds, fertilisers and pesticides), pensions and through the establishment of community developments projects either as income generating projects, construction projects or food aid (Gay et al 2000, XV). Gay et al (2000, XV) argue that although the intention of these projects is to empower poor rural households the salaries are too low to achieve household subsistence and apart from that most of them are not sustainable. They exist as long as aid is available and when the donors withdraw, the projects collapse (ibid.). Furthermore, development projects are often part of political agendas and resources are often hijacked by the government in power (ibid).

1.5 The entitlement approach to understanding the impact of urbanisation on household livelihood strategies

The purpose of this section is to evaluate and try to understand the implications of urbanization on household livelihood strategies by using the entitlement approach which is developed by Sen (1981). This offers a useful way and dynamic approach as it concentrates on the ways in which households and individuals gain command over food in order to pursue their livelihood strategies (Sen 1981,154 ; Crow 1992, 24).

The entitlement approach (Sen 1981) identifies two basic characteristics; endowments and entitlement relationships, which give households access to livelihoods and food (Crow 1992, 24). Endowments are owned or controlled assets and personal capacities which an individual or household can use to establish entitlement to food, while entitlements are the relationships established by trade, direct production or sale of labour power through which households can translate their endowments into food or some other necessary items (ibid.). Entitlement relationships can be further categorised as direct entitlement, exchange entitlement and trade entitlement. Direct entitlement is described as the access to food gained through household production and consumption. Exchange entitlement is the command over food which is achieved by selling labour power in order to buy food while trade entitlement is that

command that households establish over food by selling their produce in order to buy food (ibid).

A household's entitlement depends on what the household have as endowments and what they can acquire through exchange or production (Sen and Dreze 1996,10). For example a household may control or own their labour power, land, and a few other resources which together make up their endowments (Sen and Dreze, 1996, 10). Starting from this endowment, they can produce bundles of food which will be theirs. They can also sell their labour power, get a wage and with that wage buy commodities including food. They might also grow cash crops and sell them to buy food and other commodities (Sen and Dreze, 1996, 10). Similarly a household with land may lease it out for renting and get an income to purchase commodities. Alternatively they might grow crops on that piece of land to consume directly (Sen and Dreze 1996 10, Crow 1992, 24).

To evaluate the implications of urbanization on household survival strategies, entitlement theory will be used to understand the pros and cons of urbanization on households livelihood strategies. According to Casly and Lury (1981, 83) as urbanisation proceeds, the majority of households who are not bound together by social ties and economic forces lose coherence as a production unit. The rapid growth of population also leads to land shortage because of the encroachment of settlement and ultimately the proportion of the economically active population may decline (Sen and Dreze 1989, 22). The usefulness of the household unit may also change with the transformation of an agricultural economy to a wage economy. The implication is that due to urban growth, the majority of households (even though not all) fail to establish command over endowments and entitlements which could enable them to gain access to food. If that deprivation is large it might lead to famine or even death sometimes (ibid.,). Urbanisation may contribute to shifting economic forces of the households and lessen the capabilities of households to acquire a commodity bundle with enough food to survive.

According to Sen and Dreze (1983 23 & Sen, 1981, 155), an entitlement failure can be experienced because of a fall in household entitlement to such commodities as arable land is absorbed by developments in town or labour power is lost due to ill health because of polluted air or contaminated water. A contaminated environment in town may lead to the failure of some households members to establish entitlement to their labour power especially

if they are affected by chronic diseases. Loss of labour power is also likely to occur as household members seek employment or move to establish separate households.

The households entitlement to food may also collapse even without any change in food availability but in response to low or declining demand of commodities which they are selling. (Sen 1981, 155). As technology advances in factories and industries illiterate households might also fail to establish exchange entitlement relationships which could reduce their access to income and food (Sen and Dreze 1989, 20).

According to Sen (1987, 3) a rapid increase of urban population may lead to demand for food and simultaneously increases the prices of food. This will have an unfavourable impact on exchange entitlement relationships. The implication is that households with no employment or low income will be affected very severely where wealthier households and middle households may not. Sen (1987, 4) also argues that if rich people buy food in bulk there will also be a rise in food prices, thereby worsening the exchange entitlement of poorer households especially if at the same time wages fall behind inflation. Lipton et al (1996, 15) argue that population growth threatens the livelihoods of the poor since they rely on incomes derived from unskilled labour. Population growth also hurts the poor by raising the demand price of food and lowering the supply price of labour (ibid).

As a result of loss of land due to urbanization, households may become dependent on agricultural labour, paid in money and will depend on the exchange value of their money. However if the prices of food are high, households prefer to be share-croppers rather than agricultural labour. Sen (1981) argues that sharecropping might offer more security than fixed money wage, especially in a situation where prices vary and job security is not guaranteed.

Entitlement theory implies that urbanisation will have a negative and positive impact on household livelihood strategies. Since urbanisation does not affect people in the same way, those households with limited skills, education and poor resources will be affected negatively while elites and the rich are affected positively by urbanisation. In other words due to low education level, limited skills and poor resources the majority of people fail to secure a living because urban development could not accommodate them unlike the rich or elites who can manage to get wage employment or establish their own business.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown different aspects of the study, as part of the introduction the chapter has explained the motivation for the study, as well as aims and objectives of the study. To find about more of the topic of interest, the chapter has reviewed the process of urbanisation in developing countries and how urbanisation affects the day-to-day livelihoods of households. The studies suggest that urban development affect household livelihood strategies in a number of ways depending on the economic status of the household. As a general finding the studies suggests that due to inequitable distribution of resources among both urban and rural households, rich households benefit more than poor households because they manage to have a wide range of livelihood activities than do poor households. The most likely reason is because marginalised households have a relatively low level of education and skills. The studies also shows urbanisation effect livelihood strategies in the two main areas thus with urbanisation households move out of agriculture as direct source livelihood to wage economy in the form salaries. With this, the poor engage in the informal sector while the better off engage in formal work in both the primary and secondary labour market.

1.7 Chapter outline

Chapter two will review on the study area, while chapter three will focus on the methodology used to conduct the study. Chapter four will consider the characteristics of households in the two samples and households perceptions of the impact of urbanization on households livelihood strategies. Chapter five will consider household livelihood activities in the urban and rural sample. Chapter six discusses the impact of urbanisation on the livelihood strategies of household in the samples. Chapter seven will conclude the study and suggest ways of improving the security of urban livelihood strategies.

Chapter 2

COUNTRY OVERVIEW AND STUDY AREA

This chapter provides information on the country in which the study is undertaken, its geographical location and climate as well as the people and socio-economic environment. The chapter also provides information on the resources at the disposal of Lesotho which might be exploited in order to secure household livelihood strategies.

It is intended from this chapter that information provided at country level will be narrowed down and give focus to the specific area of study. Since the study is a comparison between an urban area and a rural area, the information will try to cover both areas. However because of poor availability of information on rural areas in Lesotho, most of the information has been obtained from local chiefs of the area.

2.1 Lesotho geographical background

The Kingdom of Lesotho is a small, food deficit, barren and mountainous country, entirely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. Its inhabitants fondly refer to a country as the Kingdom in the Sky (Moeketsi 1989, 22). It has only nine percent of its land area suitable for crop cultivation. The country's badly eroded land base could be attributed to growing population pressure, poor grazing practices and poor land management practices (ibid.,).

The country has a land area of 30,350 square kilometres and it lies entirely outside the tropics in the Southern Hemisphere, as a result the climate is temperate (warm and wet in summer and cool and dry in winter) but involves great variability in annual, seasonal and daily (Bardill and Cobbe 1985, 1). The country is divided into four ecological zones mainly lowlands, foothills, highlands and the Senqu valley. Rainfall increases and temperature decreases with an increase in altitude. Severe soil erosion and building of houses on agricultural land contribute greatly to the reduction of arable land and this gives rise to low crop production (Semonkong Rural Development Project 1996).

Population and economy

Lesotho's population is about 2 million with 70% living in the lowlands and foothills, whereas the mountains, which are the largest zones, are relatively sparsely populated (Chakela 1999, 34). Of the 70% living in the lowlands, 80% percent live in rural areas and 20% percent reside in urban areas (Borotho 2000). And of 80% predominantly rural population, 51% are females while males comprise only 49%. The country has two official languages of Sesotho² and English. However Nguni languages³ are spoken mainly in the southern and eastern parts of the country. Because many Basotho men migrate temporarily to South Africa to live and work in the mines and factories, its population is customary distinguished between de facto population (those physically present in the country at a time of enumeration and de jure (those registered but not necessarily physically present in the country at the time of enumeration) (Murray 1981, 4 ; Bardill and Cobbe 1985, 2).

The textile industries found within Lesotho contribute very little towards the economy. The industries are situated only around the two towns of Maseru and Maputsoe hence the people migrate to these towns to seek jobs which most of them never get (Chakela 1999, 26). Another important source of the country's income is the informal sector. It is in this sector where women are employed in large numbers (Moeketsi 1989, 22).

Even though Lesotho got its independence from Britain in 1966 (Gay et al 1995, 56), the land locked country has remained dependent on its neighbour the Republic of South Africa where men and women are employed in the mines and large factories and send remittances home. (Moeketsi 1989, 22). As a result of limited employment opportunities in the Lesotho, the majority of the households have low-income levels (ibid.). The most vulnerable households are female-headed households, landless households without livestock or off farm employment and households headed by old people with land but insufficient labour and capital to use it productively (Sets'abi 1984, 2). This condition is exacerbated by shrinking mine work in South Africa as well as the growing population pressure on land (Government of Lesotho, 1992). The reduction of the gold price on international markets and the changing policies favouring the employment of South African nationals on South African mines has resulted in many Basotho mine workers being retrenched from the mid 1990s (ibid.).

2 Sesotho is the mother tongue or first language of the Basotho people, the native inhabitants of Lesotho.

3 Nguni languages is the mother tongue or first language Southern Eastern African Tribes, it includes Xhosas,

Fortunately the inception of the Lesotho Highlands Project has played a major role in absorbing retrenched miners and technical staff into these projects. As a result the proportion of the population is increasingly relying on subsistence agriculture as major source of livelihood (Marake et al 1998,3).

On account of the poor natural resource base and poverty of rural households it is common to find women and children spending up to two hours away from home looking for shrubs (for fuel) and cow dung in the pastures for cooking or heating houses in winter. As a result of poverty and poor infrastructure, kraal manure is used for fuel rather than to enrich the soil in the fields. As a result low crop yields are realised (Gay 1995, 26).

Social structure

The patriarchal nature of Lesotho society results in a high skewed distribution of resources as Customary law classifies women as minors and prevents them from owning resources such as land and accessing to loans from financial institutions (Cobbe 1982, 102). This hinders the development of women and families as male guardians are not always available when needed. The average household size in the rural areas is 5.1 members and slightly lower around towns where it is estimated to be 4.8 members per household.

2.2 Study area Overview

2.2.1 Biophysical environment of Maputsoe and Fobane

This section will look at the geographical location of the two study areas and the living vegetation. The section will start with Maputsoe the urban settlement and later consider the rural settlement, Fobane.

Maputsoe is situated in the Leribe district in the northwestern region of Lesotho. The town is situated in the Lowlands which is made up of a series of flat to undulating plateaus intersected by the tributaries to Mohokare River. These tributaries are following parallel to

each other in a South-North direction. They are as follows, Khomo-Khoana, Likhethlane, Mokotakoti, and Makabelane.

The town is located in close proximity to the main North One Highway, at the Ficksburg border post which is the main gateway for Lesotho from South Africa as well as the gate of the Lesotho Highlands Project. The town encompasses fourteen sub villages, six of which are situated in the immediate surroundings of the industrial and central business. One of these villages is the study area, Maputsoe, the other villages are Moholisa, 'Mathata, Nyenye, Motlalehi and Chonaphasi.

Fobane is situated about 25 kilometres south of Maputsoe, in the northern part of Lesotho. The study took place in six villages namely Senei, 'Matumo, Mathapholane, Mafata, Makine and Qamo. The settlement pattern in Fobane resembles a clustered settlement with several sub-villages. Although it is situated on the foothills of Molumong, it is still lies in the topographical zone of the Lowlands.

2.2.2 Geology and Vegetation

The greatest portion of Maputsoe and Fobane is said to consist of good quality soils recommended for agricultural uses and have in the past been farmed intensively and provided high yields (Government of Lesotho 1999). Both Fobane and Maputsoe contain the type of soils derived from the fine textural alluvium in topographic depressions which are suitable for farming.

The vegetation in both Fobane and Maputsoe have been in the past considered to be suitable for grazing or pastoral farming, however in Fobane intense subsistence farming and improper methods for managing vegetation, especially overgrazing and the collection of vegetation for fuel, has changed the indigenous species. This is indicated by the presence of alien species such as eucalyptus, poplar, among others. In Maputsoe low species diversification may also be attributed to the pressure of human settlement on land as well as heavy grazing of marginal lands and intensive subsistence farming.

2.2.3 Socio-economic profiles

This section will examine the socio-economic profile of both study areas. This includes the population dynamics, physical infrastructure as well as the education facilities, health facilities, sanitation and energy. These are important as the social and economic status of the area will influence livelihood strategies which households might engage in.

Population demographics

According to the Lesotho Government (1999), in 1996 Maputsoe had an approximate population of 27000 people, unfortunately I have not been able to find population figures for Fobane.

Settlements administration

The administration structure of Maputsoe has three divisions, the chieftainship, the urban administration and the land administration. The chieftainship is headed by the Ward Chief of Tsikoane, Peka, and Kolbere. The urban administration services are the responsibility of the Town Clerk of Maputsoe. An Urban Committee which is made of up the Chief, the District Secretary, the Town Clerk and nominated members of the public, carries out the land administration. A detailed description of the full administration service is beyond the scope of this research.

In Fobane there are two main divisions of administrations; the Chief dealing with day to day administration and the Development Council dealing with development issues and land allocation. It should be noted that the Chief of Fobane is also answerable to the Ward Chief of Peka, Tsikoane and Kolbere.

Major economics activities

Maputsoe is the second largest industrial town after Maseru (Mcleoud and Chakela, 1989). Its level of economic activity presents an attractive alternative for industrialists and the business community as well as for employment seekers from the rural areas and other urban areas of Lesotho. However in terms of economic activities, it is strongly dependent on developments in Ficksburg in the Republic of South Africa and Maputsoe acts predominantly as a market for Ficksburg.

By 1978 more than twenty (20) industries had been established in Maputsoe. It is these industrial activities that have given rise to rapid population growth as more and more rural dwellers moved to Maputsoe with the hope that they would be employed. These industries range from small to medium labour intensive. They are composed of textile industries, milling and brick making enterprises. Most of these industries are the subsidiaries of South Africa concerns (Government of Lesotho 1999). In addition to the already established industries, other industrial sites are under development.

Maputsoe has a wide range of commercial services in the central business area. This includes supermarkets, wholesalers and general dealers as well as specialised shops such as shoe shops, clothing, sport items, butcheries, and bars. The central business area also has hotels, banks, a post office, market areas, a bus terminal, restaurants and cafes. Small scale businesses are found to a limited extent in the surroundings of the residential area. In Fobane the dominant local economic activity is subsistence farming and commercial services are limited to the small-scale cafes and general dealers.

Employment structure

The Census of 1986 indicates that in Maputsoe eighty four percent (84%) of the population are economically active of which forty four percent (44%) are engaged in agriculture and thirty one percent (31%) in formal employment while nine percent (9%) are employed in South Africa's mines and factories (Government of Lesotho 1999). Although there was limited information relating to the employment status of the population in Fobane, it was suggested by respondents that the majority of people, especially men are employed in the mines of South Africa while a few women are believed to be employed in the Maputsoe industries. Agriculture in terms of livestock production, home gardens, and crop production seemed to play a major role in household subsistence

Education

The educational services available in Maputsoe include primary schools and secondary schools (high schools). Most of these are operated by a missions or churches.

There are four primary schools in Maaputsoe. However there are also schools in the nearby villages next to the extended urban area. There are only two secondary schools in Maputsoe,

but outside the urban area, within the Maputsoe region, there are another three secondary schools for the children of Maputsoe.

In Fobane there are only two primary schools and one secondary school. However outside the Fobane settlement but within the Fobane region, there are another two secondary schools that are accessible to the Fobane people.

Health

There is only one health clinic in Maputsoe. However there are three medical practitioners who operate in the central business area of the town. In Fobane there is no clinic or mobile clinic in the area. People have to go to Maputsoe or Mapoteng for these services. In Fobane traditional forms of healing also play an important role in the health of household members.

Roads, transport and communications

Maputsoe has well developed roads but only one street is tarred, the rest of the roads are gravel and generally have big potholes. Fobane has only gravel and dust roads, most of which are in poor condition.

In terms of communications Maputsoe has an adequate communications network which can link it with other towns and places in the region. Fobane has no telephone communication network but does have a cellular phone network although this is not very efficient.

Water supply and sanitation

Maputsoe draws its water supply from the nearby Caledon River while in Fobane water is supplied from underground boreholes and pumps and unimproved springs. In as much as there are different sources of water in both areas, the concern is the quality and safety of the water.

In terms of sanitation, there is only one public toilet in Maputsoe. However residences do have their own private toilets, most of them VIP toilets. There are some households in Maputsoe which have running water.

In the case of Fobane, toilets were pit latrines with no running water while some households did not have toilets at all.

Energy

In Fobane, although there was a power line running through the area, there was no electricity service. As a result households depend on wood, paraffin or cow dung for cooking and heating. At the same time Maputsoe also has households that did not have access to electricity, most of them relying on wood, coal or gas for energy. Households with limited income to purchase these commodities face a decline in household subsistence. Only the wealthier households in Maputsoe had access to electricity.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has briefly considered the geographical, social, economic and environmental character of Lesotho as well as biophysical and socio-economic environment of Maputsoe and Fobane. The chapter has shown that Maputsoe and Fobane, like many other areas in Lesotho have a poor level of infrastructure. It has shown that inadequate waste management in these areas may lead to severe environmental pollution in future. In terms of employment status, the chapter shows that there is greater potential for employment in Maputsoe as a result of the existence of industries and shops. The next chapter will focus on the research methodology guiding this study.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the methods used to conduct this study and will outline the steps followed to undertake this research. In this study I have drawn on a number of social research methods; field survey for collecting quantitative data, field observation and structured interviews with household heads for collecting qualitative data. Quantitative and qualitative methods have been used to analyse the data from the field. A literature review was conducted to guide and compliment the analysis of my results.

3.1 Literature Review

In conducting this research the first step was to collect secondary data to review the theories concerning the impact of urbanization on household livelihood strategies. The main sources of information collected were from relevant books, journals and documents from government departments, non-governmental organizations and international organizations. The reason for conducting the literature review was to review what research had done on urbanisation and its impact on livelihood strategies (Safo-kantanka 1994, 27). Creswell (1994, 22) also identified the literature review as providing a framework for establishing the importance of the planned study as well as a benchmark for comparing the results of the study with findings from other researchers.

The literature was also useful for identifying approaches to data collection. In her study “*An analysis of household food security in Muden Valley*” Manyakanyaka (1998, 41) used structured closed ended questions to gather numerical data such as household characteristics through structured surveys and she used open ended questions to understand peoples perceptions about strategies for attaining food security in their households. In interviews, she used the head of the households as the main respondent to questions with the spouse being present to help or add to what the respondent was saying. In my research I have attempted to follow Manyakanyaka’s (1998) approach to data by drawing on both quantitative surveys and qualitative structured interviews with the head of the household.

Household head

During the interview process the head of the household was regarded as the person who was acknowledged as such by all members of the household either by virtue of age or household responsibilities. In cases where the head of household was absent, the next person identified by household members was deemed to be the head of the household for research purposes. Following Murray (1981, 48) this person was permitted to designate another person to assume responsibility as the respondent. During the interview only the designated head of the household was allowed to answer the questions although other members of the household were allowed to contribute where the head was not sure about the answer. In Fobane, permission to interview households was granted by the Chiefs or Headmen while a covering letter was used to identify researchers to households. In Maputsoe the Town Clerk gave permission to interview households.

3.2 Questionnaire construction

After the literature review was completed, questionnaire construction was done as the next step in the research process. The questionnaire included both closed ended questions and open ended questions, and allowed for the collection of information about individual household members as well as information pertaining to the household as a unit in itself.

Closed ended questions

The questionnaire was constructed with closed ended questions because closed ended questions provide a set of standard answers for every respondent, thus allowing easy comparison from one individual to the next. Answers with closed ended questions are also much easier to code and analyse since they can be analysed directly from the questionnaire (Bailly 1987, 118). Bailey (ibid.) also suggested that with fixed alternative or closed ended questions the respondents are often clearer about the meaning of the questions and if they are not sure they can see from the categorized answers what is expected. This means that there are fewer occasions where by the respondents will give answers like “do not know” or fail to answer the question altogether. Questionnaires constructed with closed ended questions are also said to be more appropriate when dealing with sensitive variables such as income and age. Instead of asking a respondent to

give his or her income or age, the respondent is asked to identify the range in which his or her age or income falls (ibid.).

Open-ended questions

Open ended questions are also important in a questionnaire as they provide an opportunity for the researcher to observe views and attitudes to a question and they can be used when all possible answers to a question are not known (ibid., 120). Bailly also argued that open-ended questions allow respondents to answer adequately in a detailed manner. In the construction of a questionnaire, open ended questions are asked where more detailed discussions are required to elicit the respondent's view and gather and more information. This kind of question is located at the end of the questionnaire so as to ensure that any information of great importance is not omitted.

The questionnaire was constructed in both English and Sotho although in the field it was delivered only in Sotho. Questions were simply worded so that respondents could answer them without the researcher repeating the question several times. Through the survey process there were opportunities for respondents to ask about anything that was ambiguous or not clear.

3.3 Population and sampling technique

In conducting a field survey it is normally expected that information on every household would be compiled, however in many cases it is impossible to collect all the necessary information on all the members of the households (Safo-kantatanka 1994, 3). Because it is usually impossible to cover each and every household in the study area, a sample of the population is drawn for the application of the survey. A sample serves as a representative of the whole population (ibid.,4). According to Neumann (1997) sampling is a process of selecting observations to represent the entire population in the study area. It is useful to the researcher because it is time saving and more manageable and cost effective to work with than covering the whole population.

This research involved a comparison between household livelihood strategies in the urban population of Maputsoe and the rural population of Fobane. A sampling frame was developed from a list of households obtained from the Bureau of statistics showing data collected during

census of 1996. Sampling was conducted on households not individuals and only the household heads were interviewed. The total number of people in urban population of Maputsoe is estimated to be around 3000 according to the Bureau of Statistics (1996 Census), unfortunately due to lack of documented information in Lesotho I have not been able to find estimations of the population in Fobane. In conducting the field survey, 3000 people were approximated to make up around 300 households and as a result, the sample was planned to be 100 households in Fobane and 100 households in Maputsoe. However because of the constraints of time and lack of funds, the sample was made up of 100 households with 50 households from Fobane and 50 households from Maputsoe.

According to Bouma and Atkinson (1995, 140), there are two broad categories of sampling procedure, namely random sampling and non-random sampling. In conducting the field survey a random sampling procedure was used because it provides an assurance that the sample selected are representative of the whole population in the study area unlike non-random sampling whereby the researcher can choose the sample in a biased way and as a result obtain information which does not represent the attitudes of the whole population in the study area (ibid., 144).

In order to give the findings more weight, stratified random sampling procedure was used to collect the data. In this method small sub-sets are selected from a larger pool of population in order to give every element of the population the same chance, likelihood of being chosen for the sample. Stratified random sampling procedure is a sampling procedure that provides equal opportunity for selection for each and every element of the population to be interviewed (Smith et al 1995, 89). The area was stratified according to the geographical location, for example proximity to transport, proximity to shopping area, proximity to the industries and distance from town. The whole idea was that, it was assumed that there will be broad range of attitudes among these households and thereby a true representative sample. The existing map (see appendix B) showing the areas and their boundaries was available to be used in both areas of study. The stratification was done within the population and then the sample was selected using a simple random procedure. Stratified random sampling was used because it helps to guarantee representatives or of different strata within a sample (Neuman, 1997, 212). The main reason for stratifying the area was because it is assumed that there would be variation of information

depending on a household's geographical location (Peil, 1982, 36 ; de Vaus 1991, 42). The study area was visited in order to demarcate the selected study area in the field, compile a list of population units (households) in the study area and select the sample units.

3.4 Data collection

To speed up the data collection process, two enumerators were recruited to assist in the research under the close supervision and coordination of the researcher. Prior to data collection the enumerators underwent one day of training. The whole idea was to familiarise them with the content of the questionnaire and the general guidelines and procedures as to how the interview should be carried out. The interviewers were trained as a group rather than individually so as to enhance their understanding and ensure uniformity during data collection. During training the questionnaire was discussed question by question with the interviewers and demonstrations were conducted with the interviewers so that they had a feeling of how the interview should be carried out.

Before the questionnaire was taken into the field, a pretest was conducted with six respondents to allow for testing the questionnaire, screening of interviews and gauging the time taken on each interview so that a realistic time frame for primary research could be set. This pretest was also used to check the suitability of the enumerators and to appreciate the local problems that may affect the progress of the survey (Casely and Lory 1981, 130).

This field survey was administered through personal interviews whereby the interviewer read the question and recorded the answers. Bless and Higson et al (1995,106) advocates this of method of collecting information directly as an important method because there is personal contact between the interviewer and the respondents. This helps the researcher to observe and identify the attitudes of respondents and enables the researcher to intervene in order to give clarification and explanation where the respondent is not clear about questions. Smith et al (ibid) further suggested that with the survey interview, the interviewer can boost the confidence and participation of respondents through personal contact or by making jokes to motivate and include the respondent. In supporting this idea, Babbie (1995, 264) argues that a questionnaire administered through the interview method gives a strong possibility of a high response rate

because of the face-to-face contact between the interviewer and respondents. Bailey (1987, 174) also shows that the interview method is an important method in survey research because it is a flexible method that allows the interviewer to probe for more specific answers during the interview. He adds that the survey interview can also cover illiterate people and enables the interviewer to check the non-verbal behaviour of respondents and so assess the validity of answers.

3.5 Data analysis and coding

This section outlines the process of analysing the data collected. Nichols, (1995,73) argues that tables, percentages and charts give a clear picture of the sample data for non-specialists and are particularly appropriate when the sample is too small warrant complicated statistical analysis. After data collection the next task was to check the raw data. According to Nichols (ibid., 90) checking and correcting the raw data is vital as the researcher can identify missing data that may result from questions that were not asked, or respondents that were confused by the questions. Most of this checking was done in the field.

Coding

After checking and correcting the data, the next step was to complete the coding of those questions that were not automatically coded in the field. According to de Vaus (1991, 187) coding may be defined as the conversion of the respondent's answers or researcher observations into numbers by allocating each and every answer in the questionnaire a code number. This full coding system was done for both closed and open-ended questions. Thus answers were listed as they occurred and the number of times each answer type was repeated was counted. To make the counting faster, each time the answers come up a tally was put on the counting sheet.

Preparation of tables and charts

After coding of data, variables thought to describe and explain the impact of urbanisation on household livelihood were listed so as to determine the tables to be produced. Significant variables were presented in table form and bar charts. This provided framework for data analysis. The results from the urban and rural samples were presented together to show the differences

between these sample. It is argued that these differences may contribute to a description and explanation of the impact of urbanisation on household livelihood strategies.

3.6 Hypothesis testing

As this study drew on samples too small to be generalised to the study populations, no effort was made to test the statistical significance of the differences found between the two samples. My results suggest differences in household livelihood strategies as a result of urbanisation, but require more statistical investigation to support or deny a hypothesis to this effect. In addition to urban and rural location, other variables which seem to affect the nature and number of household livelihood strategies include household characteristics such as household size, dependency ratio, education levels, income levels, age and gender distribution. This is similar to the findings of Manyakanyaka (1998, 62) that household characteristics are determinants of livelihood strategies and the diversity of survival strategies. The assets commanded by rural and urban households was a further variable which this research suggests influences household livelihood strategies.

This research suggests that there are differences in household characteristics and assets in and urban locations and that these differences are associated with differences in the nature and number of household livelihood strategies in urban and rural locations. More substantial research is necessary to formulate and test hypothesis around these associations.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the research methods used to conduct the study. The next chapter will consider the characteristics of households surveyed in the rural area of Fobane and the urban area of Maputsoe.

Chapter 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLDS SURVEYED

This chapter provides a description of the socio-economic characteristics of the sample of households in the rural study population (Fobane) and the urban study population (Maputsoe). In this chapter I will first examine household characteristics which might affect the livelihood strategies of these households, namely gender, household size, dependency ratios and levels of education. I will also consider the age distribution of both the urban and rural samples. This section's final task will be to examine households' income level and assets of both urban and rural sample.

4.1 Respondents

4.1.1 Gender of Respondents

As Table 1 and Figure 1 show most household respondents were female rather than male in the urban sample (Maputsoe), while in the rural sample of Fobane there were more male respondents. In Fobane 54% of respondents interviewed were male while in Maputsoe 56% of the respondents were females.

Table 1 Gender distribution of respondents

Gender	Urban households	Rural households	Total
Male	22 (44)	27 (54%)	49
Female	28 (56%)	23 (46)	51
Total	50 (100%)	50 (100%)	100

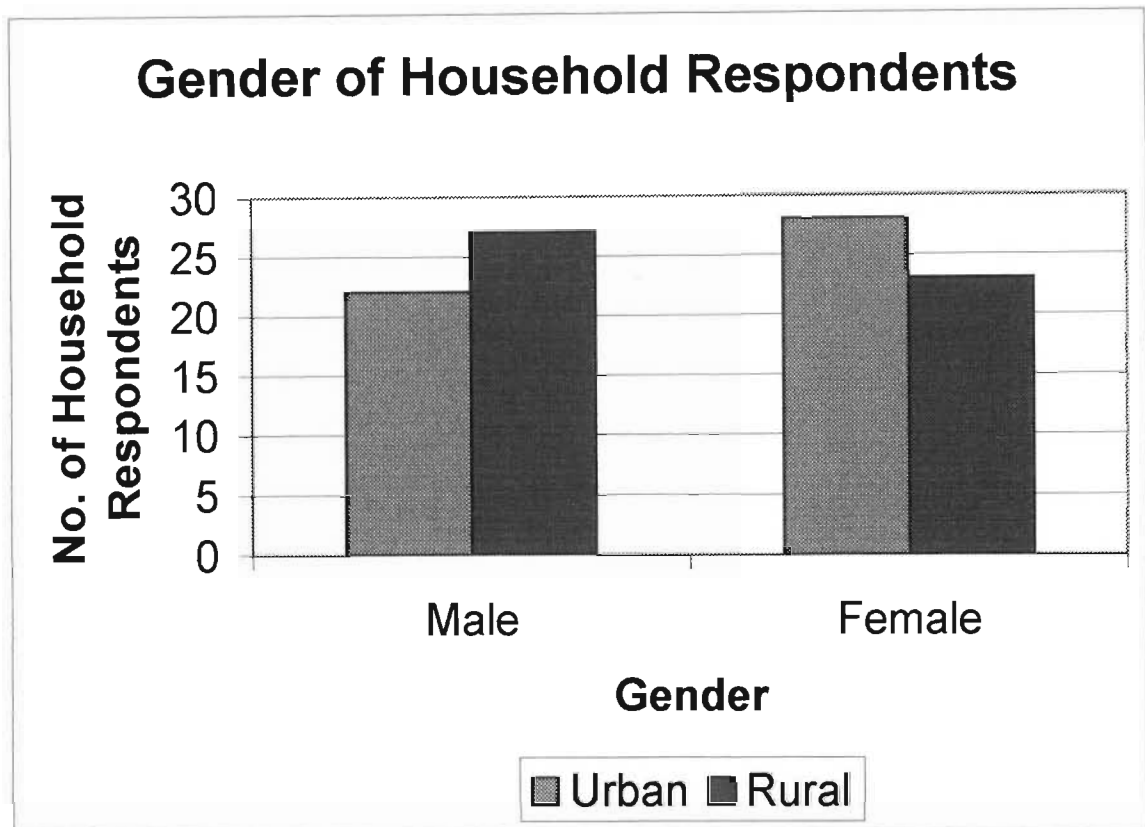


Figure 1: Bar graph showing gender of household respondents

4.1.2 Age distribution of respondents

As indicated in Table 2, both the urban and rural samples had more female respondents in the 20-50 age group. The table shows that both samples also had more female respondents who were less than 21 years of age than male respondents in the same age group. The table also shows that the urban sample had more respondents in the 20-40 years age group (42%) while on the other hand there was a greater number of respondents over 50 years of age in the rural sample (46%) and most them were men.

Table. 2 Age distribution

Respondents age distribution	Urban Respondents		Rural Respondents	
	Males (%)	Females (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
> 21	2 (4%)	5 (10%)	1 (2%)	4 (8%)
21-40	11 (22%)	10 (20%)	4 (8%)	6 (12%)
41-50	5 (10%)	8 (16%)	5 (10%)	7 (14%)
51-60	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	13 (26%)	4 (8%)
> 65	2 (4%)	4 (8%)	3 (6%)	2 (4%)
Unknown	0	0	1 (2%)	0
Total	22 (44%)	28 (56%)	27 (54%)	23 (46%)
Total	n=50		n=50	

4.2 Household characteristics

At the time of data collection, fifty households were chosen as samples for both the urban and rural study populations. In the rural study population of Fobane, there were two hundred eighty nine (289) people in the sample of fifty households. In that sample, 53% were women and 47% were men. The table indicates that in the 50 households sampled in the urban study population of Maputsoe, there were two hundred and sixty two (262) people of whom 45% were men and 55% were women. As Table 3 indicates there were more people in the rural sample of Fobane than in the urban sample of Maputsoe.

Table 3 Gender distribution of sample population

Gender	Urban (Hhl)	Rural (Hhl)
Male	118 (45%)	136 (47%)
Female	144 (55%)	153 (53%)
Total	262 (100%)	289 (100%)

4.2.1 Household size

Household size showed few differences between the urban and rural samples. In the urban sample 38% of households were made up of 5 people or less while in the rural sample 34% of the households were of this size. Slightly more rural households (55%) were between 6-10 members than urban households where only 52% of the sample had households of this size. However, when household members under the age of 21 years were excluded, differences in household size between urban and rural were evident.

Table 4 shows that most households in both the urban and rural study sample had less than five resident members over the age of 21 years. The table also indicates that households in the rural sample tended to have more adults than those in the urban sample. In the fifty households surveyed in the rural area 30 (60%) of them have less than five adults as opposed to 41(82%) of the urban households having less than five adults. Further more in the rural sample there were 18(36%) with between 6-10 adults while the urban sample had only 9 households (18%) with the same number of adults. The table further shows that only in the rural sample there were households with more than eleven adults.

In terms of female-headed households, table 4 shows that there were fewer female-headed households in both the urban and rural samples. However, urban households in the sample had more households headed by women as compared to households in the rural sample. The table shows further that female-headed households were generally small (less than 5 adult members).

Table 4. Household size by location and gender of household head

No. of adult members	Urban households (Male headed)		Rural households	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male	Female
< 5 (small)	29 (58%)	12 (24%)	24 (48%)	6 (12%)
6-10	5 (10%)	4 (8%)	15 (30%)	3 (6%)
> 11	0	0	2 (4%)	0
Total	34 (68%)	16 (32%)	41 (82%)	9 (18)

n=50

n=50

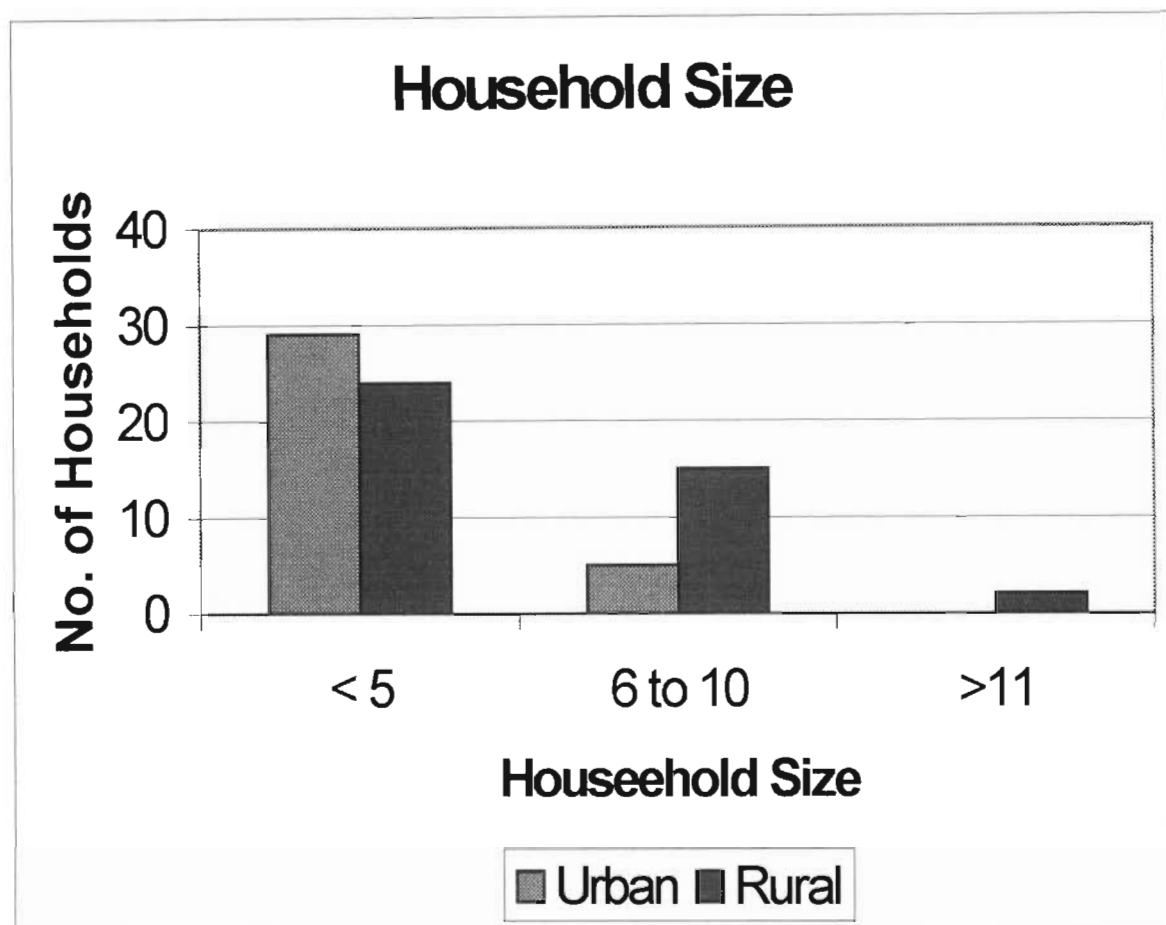


Figure 2: Bar graph showing household size by location

4.2.2 Household dependency ratio

Dependency ratios were calculated on the basis of age, those who were younger than 21 years age and those older than 64 were classified as dependants. There was a considerable variation between the rural sample and the urban sample with the rural sample having a ratio of 1:1.7

while the urban sample had a ratio of 1:1. Table 5 shows that in both the rural sample and the urban sample there are large numbers of children and proportionately more children in the rural sample than in the urban sample.

Table 5 Household dependency ratio

Household members	Urban Respondents		Rural Respondents	
	Male headed	Female headed	Male headed	Female headed
Adults >64 yrs	12 (5%)	9 (3%)	19 (6%)	7 (2%)
Children <21 yrs	91 (35%)	22 (8%)	139 (48%)	16 (5%)
Total dependents	103	31	158	28
Adults between 21-64 yrs	87 (33%)	41 (16%)	81(28%)	27 (9%)
Total sample	190 (73%)	72 (27%)	239 (83%)	50 (17%)

n=262
n=289

Note: Although the standard age of children is (18 years), the study used 21years as standard age since most people during the study were still students at 20

4.2.3 Education level

The education level of households was calculated to show households that have members with no education, households whose members have had primary education, secondary education and finally tertiary education. Table 6 shows that levels of education among households range from no education to tertiary level. The analysis also indicates that the level of education is higher in the urban sample than the rural sample. As shown from the table, less households in the urban sample have household members with no education.

In terms of primary level education, it is shown from the table that the majority of households in both urban and rural samples had at least one member who had attained primary education, however urban households seemed to have more households who had reached this level. As indicated from table (6), the greater differences between urban and rural samples are evident when secondary and tertiary levels of education are considered.

As a final analysis, there was only one household in Fobane that had a member with tertiary education compared to six households in the urban area with the same education level. At the same time only one household in the rural area had more than two household members with tertiary education as compared to two households in the urban area. In general there were only two households in Fobane with members who had tertiary education compared to eight households in Maputsoe who had members with tertiary education.

Table 6 Household education level

Education level	Urban households		Rural households	
	With one member only	With two or more members	With one member only	With two or more members
No education	8(16%)	1(2%)	9(18%)	4(8%)
Primary education	12(24%)	26(52%)	14(28%)	21(42%)
Secondary education	10(20%)	10(20%)	13(26%)	12(24%)
Tertiary education	6(12%)	2(4%)	1(2%)	1(2%)
	n=50		n=50	

Note: Households will have more than one response per category so percentages will not add up to 100%

4.2.4 Household income level

The household income level was calculated according the amount of income that comes into the household on a monthly basis. This includes income that households derive from remittances, salary and income obtained from assets owned by the households. It excludes the monetary value of subsistence activity. Table 7 shows that there are households in both the urban and rural samples who have unstable incomes which were very low. It also shows that there are households that earn stable income. Finally, it shows that female-headed households earn lower income than do male headed households in both the urban and rural samples.

The table shows that in the fifty households surveyed in the rural sample, 19 households (38%) have income that is said to be unstable and less than one hundred Maloti (M)4 as compared to 12 (24%) of the urban households. The table also shows that 26% of urban households have income

4 Lesotho currency pegged to South African Rand

that is between 101-500M as against 32% of the rural households. Though there were few households in both the urban households and rural sample who were within a middle income group (501-1000), it was found that there were more households in the urban area that fell within this income group than rural households. The table also shows that there were more urban households earning above 1000 Maloti than there were rural households earning above 1000 Maloti. Finally, the table shows that female headed households in the urban sample had much lower incomes than male headed households in the urban sample but in the rural sample female headed households had similar income to male headed households.

Table 7 Household income distribution

Income dist.	Urban (Hhls)		Rural (Hhls)	
	Male headed	Female headed	Male headed	Female headed
Unst.-100	5 (10%)	7 (14%)	15 (30%)	4 (8%)
101-500	8 (16%)	5 (10%)	14 (28%)	2 (4%)
501-1000	12 (24%)	2 (4%)	6 (12%)	2 (4%)
1001-2000	7 (14%)	1 (2%)	4 (8%)	1 (2%)
2001 and above	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	0
Total	34 (68%)	16 (32%)	41 (82%)	9 (18%)

n=50 n=50

4.3 Household assets and wealth

4.3.1 Savings

Table 8 Savings

No.of Hhl.	Urban households (Male headed)		Rural households	
	(Male headed)	(Female headed)	(Male headed)	Rural households
Savings	12 (24%)	4 (8%)	8 (16)	2 (4%)
No savings	22 (44%)	12 (24%)	33 (66%)	7 (14%)
Total	34 (68%)	16 (32%)	41 (82%)	9 (18%)

n=50 n=50

Table 8 shows that the majority of both urban and rural households in the sample have no access to savings. But urban households (68%) seemed to have less households with no savings than rural households (80%). The table also shows that the majority of women headed households in both urban and rural sample have no access to savings. Although this is not substantially different to the number of male headed households with no savings.

4.3.2 Land holding

Table 9 Land holding

	Urban households		Rural households	
	(Male headed)	(Female headed)	(Male headed)	(Female headed)
Residential and arable	5 (10%)	3 (6%)	39 (78%)	2 (4%)
Residential	29 (58%)	13 (26%)	2 (4%)	7 (14%)
Total	34	16	41	9

In terms of land holding table 9 shows that both rural and urban households have access to residential and arable land. However it shows that there are more households in the rural sample (82%) that have access to both residential and arable land than urban households (16%). Households in the urban sample (84%) tend to have mainly residential land only. This is also shown by Table 9 and Figure 4 which shows the size of household land holdings.

Table 9 shows that female-headed households do not have access to land in both the rural and urban samples, the majority of female-headed households in the sample have substantially less access to residential and arable than do male headed households in the rural sample. In the urban sample a similar percentage of male headed and female headed households did not have access to residential and arable land.

Table 10 Size of household land holdings

Household land distribution (Hectares)	Urban households %	Rural households %
< 1.5	39 (78%)	9 (18%)
2-3.5	4 (8%)	10 (20%)
4-5.5	5 (10%)	14 (28%)
6 > or = 6	2 (4%)	17 (34%)
Total	50 (100%)	50 (100%)

HOUSEHOLD LAND DISTRIBUTION

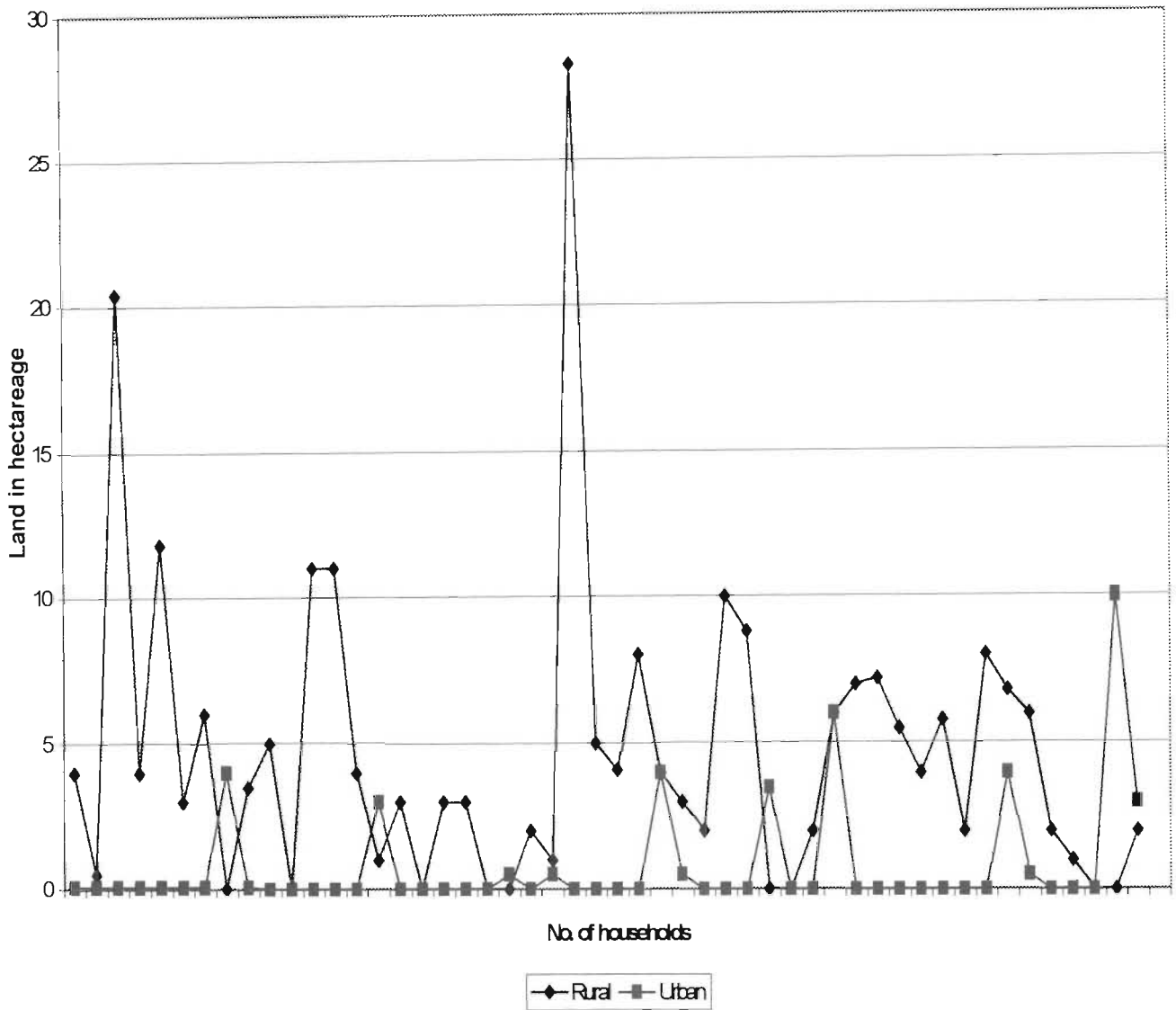
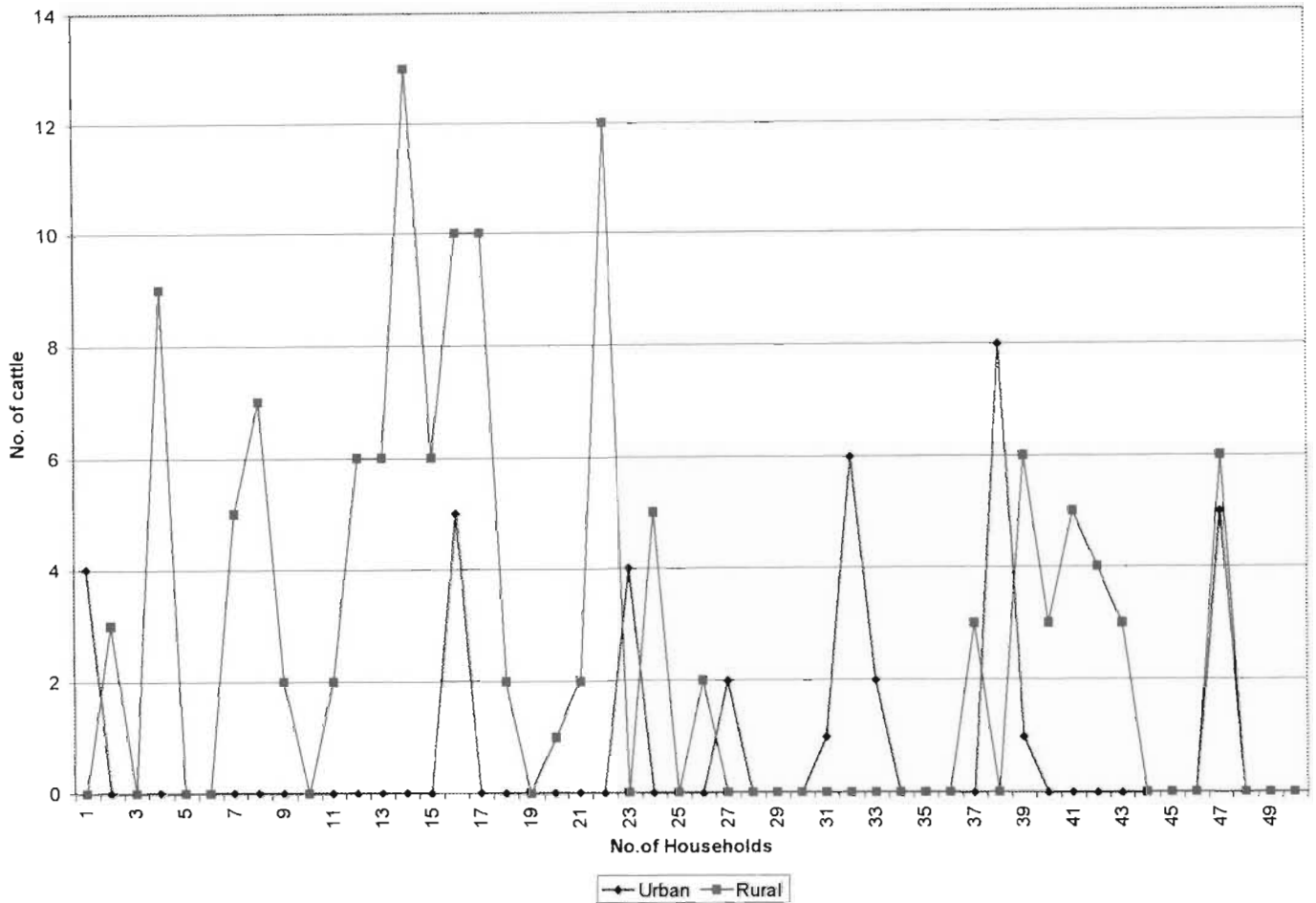


Figure 3: scattergram showing number of hectares held by both urban and rural sample

4.3.3 Livestock

This section considers livestock ownership of households in the urban and rural samples. The analysis will be based on large stock units, small stock units and poultry. The large stock includes large stock ruminants (cattle) and non-ruminants (donkeys and horses). The small ruminants include sheep and goats while small non-ruminants include animals such as pigs, dogs and birds.

Household Large stock units distribution (cattle)



Large stock animal unit

Figure 4: Households large stock units distribution (Cattle)

There are a total of 131 herd of cattle owned by the selected sample of rural households in Fobane. The cattle holding per household ranges from 1 to 13 cattle. Half of the households were found to own cattle. Most of the rural households with cattle (44%) have a herd of cattle ranging from 1 to 3, nine households (36% of those with cattle) have a herd ranging from 4 to 6 animals, four have 7 to 9 animals and finally 2 households have a herd of cattle ranging from 11 and above. On the other hand, there were 28 herd of cattle owned by the selected sample in Maputsoe of which two households had a herd ranging between 7 and 9, five households had herd of cattle ranging between 4 and 6 while two households had 3 cattle each. Nine households had cattle in Maputsoe while 41 households (82%) in the selected sample have no cattle.

In terms of horses and donkeys, the analysis reveals that 16 households had donkeys in the rural sample of Fobane as compared to only two households that had donkeys in Maputsoe. There

were 31 donkeys in Fobane of which fourteen households have donkeys ranging from 1 to 3 while two households have donkeys ranging from 4 to 6. In Maputsoe there were two households which had one donkey each.

The analysis also reveals that two households had horses in the urban sample of Maputsoe of which each household had one horse. In Fobane six households had horses of which five households had one horse each and one household had four horses, while two households had two horses respectively

Small stock animal unit

Four households have goats in Fobane of which three households have goats ranging from 1 to 3 while one household have goats ranging from 4 to 6. There were no goats in Maputsoe.

As for sheep there were 89 sheep in Fobane as compared to 14 sheep in Maputsoe. In Fobane three households have flock ranging from 1 to 3 sheep, one household had a flock ranging from 4 to 6 while two household had more than eleven animals. In the urban sample, one household had four while another household had 10 sheep. Six households have sheep in Fobane while in Maputsoe only two households were found to have sheep.

Other small stock animals include pigs and dogs. There was only one household which was found with a pig in Maputsoe while in Fobane one household was found to have four pigs. Eight households were found to have dogs in Fobane of which one household was found to have three dogs while seven households had one dog each. In Maputsoe there was no household in the selected sample having dogs.

Nine households have fowls in Fobane which amount to 115 birds altogether. Three households had fowls ranging between 1 and 3, one household have fowls ranging between 4 and 6, one had fowls between 7 and 9 while 5 households had fowls above 11. There were no households with fowls in Maputsoe.

Other than fowls there were households that were found to own birds such as doves and ducks in Fobane. One household had thirty doves while two households had three ducks each. In the urban area only one household was found to have four doves.

4.3.4 Farm Equipment

Eleven (22%) households had farm equipment in the selected sample in Maputsoe. One household had a tractor and its implements; three households had wheelbarrows and other garden tools such as spades, rakes and digging forks. Five households had other farm equipment that includes an ox-drawn planter, ploughs and cultivators. One household had a knitting machine.

In the rural sample, 22 households (44%) had farm equipment all of which were oxen drawn implements. Of the 22 households that had farm equipment 6 households had an oxen drawn cart. There were also households with knitting machines. No household had a tractor or its implements in the rural sample of Fobane.

4.3.5 Motorized transport and animal transport

Six households (6) had motorized transport in Maputsoe of which three households had bakkies while another three had private cars. In Fobane only one household had motorised transport

In terms of animal transport, six (6) households used horses as transport in the rural area of Fobane while in the urban area of Maputsoe only 2 households reared horses for transport. There were 16 households rearing donkeys in Fobane as opposed to two households in Maputsoe.

4.3.6 Shelter

Almost every household has a shelter (home stead) in Fobane (50) as compared to Maputsoe in which only 35 households have a shelter and the rest of the households hired a cottage or flats. This is also shown in Table 12.

Table 11 Households assets

Households assets	Urban households (%)	Rural households (%)
Savings	16 (32%)	10 (20%)
Arable land holding	34 (68%)	39 (78%)
Shelter (home stead)	35 (70%)	50 (100%)
Farm equipment	11 (22%)	21 (42%)
Motorised transport	6 (12%)	2 (4%)
Livestock (cattle, horses, sheep, goats, poultry, pigs etc.	12 (24%)	29 (58%)

N.B.: More than one response is possible per household – figures will not add to 100%

4.3.7 Households type of dwelling

In the urban sample, 28(56%) household respondents live in modern houses which range between two and six rooms, whereas in the rural area only 13 (26%) households live in the same type of dwelling. Three households in the urban sample live in the traditional houses (huts, mokhoro etc.) as opposed to 21(42%) of the rural households staying in the same homesteads. There were four households in the urban sample who were living in the combination of traditional and modern houses as compared to 15(30%) of the households in the rural sample living in a combination of traditional and modern houses. Fifteen households were living as tenants in the urban sample while there were no households that were found to be living as tenants in the rural sample.

Table 12 Households type of dwelling

Type of dwelling	Urban households (%)	Rural households (%)
Modern housing (2-6 rooms)	28 (56%)	13 (26%)
Traditional house (Huts)	3 (6%)	21 (42%)
Combination of houses	4 (8%)	15 (30%)
Tenants	15 (30%)	0

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter had shown the characteristics of households in both the Fobane and Maputsoe, in terms of gender, age, household size, dependency ratio and household income level. This chapter has considered the variation between households in the rural and urban sample. The chapter has shown slight differences in the household size, dependency ratio and income levels. There were smaller differences in education levels of households in the urban sample and rural samples.

In the context of assets, the chapter has shown that most households in the rural area have more access to assets such as land, equipment, shelter and livestock while urban households have access to assets such as transport and savings and this might be due to the fact that most urban households are more on cash income than rural households.

The next chapter will consider household livelihood strategies and respondents' perceptions of the impact of urbanisation on household livelihood strategies.

Chapter 5

HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

5.1 Main livelihood activities

From one hundred households surveyed, it was possible to identify a number of activities from which both rural households and urban households are able to generate livelihood. These activities are outlined below:

Agriculture: This refers to all agricultural production, including that which is undertaken for subsistence and for commercial purposes. In Lesotho there are substantive differences in the forms of agriculture and the exchange of agricultural commodities. Agriculture in Lesotho is a combination of livestock and crop production. Agricultural activities include agricultural enterprises which produce crops for sale, rearing of livestock and subsistence agriculture in which crops are grown for own consumption. The crops grown include vegetables, field crops such as maize, sorghum, wheat, beans and peas. Livestock reared include both large stock units such as cattle, donkeys and horses, small stock such as sheep and goats, as pigs and poultry. Table 7 indicates that, eighty two percent (82%) of rural households engaged in agriculture as a source of livelihood compared to sixty-eight percent (68%) of the urban households sample.

Extension of distribution networks: This refers to trading and hawking as well as micro enterprises comprising the sale of anything from food and vegetables to handicrafts and flowers. Like May (1995) found, in Lesotho most of these activities were found to be happening in small shops and spazas, mainly in shacks. In the urban sample the activities that were discovered

during the data collection includes trading in the form of hawking and vending micro enterprise comprising the selling of fruits and vegetables, food, clothing and jewellery. There were only two households that were found to be engaged in this activity in the rural sample as against four of the urban sample.

Petty commodity production: This includes the making of clothes, building houses, mending of shoes as well as the production and sale of certain crops through intermittent markets. Forty-two percent (42%) of the urban sample engaged in this activity while only six percent (6%) of the rural sample were engaged in petty commodity production. Some of the activities undertaken by households in the urban sample were the building of houses, brick molding and making and mending of shoes. In Fobane, this activity involved building houses, needling and thatching of grass-roofed houses.

Niche markets in the service sector: This refers to specific services that have a competitive advantage when performed by micro-enterprises. In the urban sample such activities included running taxis, room letting and carrying luggage using wheelbarrows. In the rural area such activities extended to traditional healers and contract agricultural services such as weeding and harvesting. At least twelve percent (12%) of the rural households engaged in this activity as compared to sixteen percent (16%) of the urban household sample.

Wage labourers: These include migrant workers, shop assistants, chiefs, shepherds and factory workers and civil servants and teachers. Like May (1995) has found in South Africa, the labour market in Lesotho could also be conceptualized as being a segmented market with two main markets. These are the primary labour market and secondary labour market. The primary labour market is regarded as the well-secured jobs with reasonable wages while the secondary market are low paid jobs that offer little security and opportunity for upward mobility. At least eighteen percent (18%) of the urban households sample were engaged in primary labour market as against ten percent of the rural sample. In the urban sample most of these households were members engaged in the civil service while in the case of the rural sample primary wage work was mainly undertaken by chiefs who were getting a wage in the form of “gazette”. A large part of the urban household sample (38%) were engaged in the secondary labour market compared to eighteen

percent (18%) of households in the rural sample. The activities engaged in included shop assistants and factory work in both the urban and rural sample.

Pension and retrenchment packages: Unlike South Africa, Lesotho does not have a state financed social pension scheme, however, during the data collection some households were found to be claiming retirement benefits from the state as a benefit of past employment in the public sector. There were only two households in urban sample who engaged in this activity and only one household in the rural sample.

Claiming against household and community members: This was found to be common for both urban and rural households especially those that have one member of the family away and thereby claiming a share of the migrant’s income in the form of remittances. In addition, the assistance was also found to be rendered through kinship ties as well as through other forms of community activities such as charity and work parties. Table 8 indicates that, fifty percent of the rural households practice this kind of livelihood activity as opposed to thirty-six percent of the urban sample.

Table 13 Percentage of households engaged in livelihood activity

Activities	Rural (Hhl) %	Urban (Hhl) %
Agricultural production (consumed and sold)	82%	68%
Extension of distribution networks	4%	7%
Petty commodity production	6%	42%
Niche markets in the service sector	2%	16%
Employment in the primary labour market	10%	22%
Employment in the secondary labour market	18%	38%
Claiming against households members	50%	36%
Retrenchment and retirement benefit	18%	8%
Unpaid domestic labour	100	100
Illegitimate activities	NA	N/A

N.B.: More than one response per household is possible – figures will not add to 100%

In addition to these activities identified in both the urban and rural samples, there are at least two other types of activities that households engage in to earn a living. These include:

Unpaid domestic labour: This refers to work performed largely by women, which although not paid, contributes significantly to households' livelihood strategy. Such work includes the collection of firewood, and water, childcare and the preparation of food.

Illegitimate activities: In both urban and rural households some households were found to be undertaking some activities which are regarded illegitimate. Those identified include brewing and selling liquor. Alleged activities include prostitution and petty crime. Unfortunately due to the sensitive nature of these activities it has not been possible to gather data on these. It has also not been possible to quantify domestic labour although I have treated it as occurring in all households as an essential activity.

5.2 Combinations of household livelihood activities

The purpose of this section is to describe the combinations of livelihood strategies in both urban and rural households. Table 14 shows that households engage in a wide range of activities to generate livelihoods.

From Figure 5 it can be seen that in Fobane most households engage in 3 or less livelihood activities while in Maputsoe there are peaks at 2 or less than 2 activities, at 4 livelihood activities, more urban than rural households were engaged in 5 or more than 5 livelihood activities.

Table 14 Households combination of livelihood activities

Hhl. Livelihood strategies	Urban households (%)		Rural households (%)	
	Male-headed	Female-headed	Male-headed	Female-headed
<2 or =2	9 (18%)	7 (14%)	9 (18%)	6 (12%)
3	8 (16%)	4 (8%)	21(42%)	2 (4%)
4	11 (22%)	3 (6%)	7 (14%)	1 (2%)
> 5 or =5	6 (12%)	2 (4%)	4 (8%)	0
Total	34 (68%)	16 (32%)	41 (82%)	9 (8%)

As Table 14 indicates, households in both urban and rural samples performed a number of different activities to access food. In the rural sample these activities vary with the economic of the households; the wealthy households were engaged in agriculture and wage labour as well as unpaid labour while the poor households would be engaged in agriculture and unpaid labour or agriculture and niche markets in the service sector or illegitimate activities such as brewing or selling liquor.

On the other hand, in the urban sample the activities tended to be more diverse. Well off households combine activities such as extension of distribution networks and wage labour (mainly in the secondary labour market) and poorer households engage in claims against households members and illegitimate activity, unpaid labour, petty commodity production or small-scale agriculture.

Firstly the analysis suggests that 30% of the rural households and 32% of urban households combine two entitlement-generating activities. In the rural sample 18% of the households combine agriculture and unpaid labour only to earn a living, 4% combine wage labour and unpaid labour of which the wage labour is mainly derived from the secondary labour market. Two percent of the rural households derive their livelihoods from a combination of illegitimate activities and unpaid labour of which the illegitimate activities were brewing of home beer. The unpaid labour involved cooking and fetching of water and wood and this was found to be the responsibility of women and young girls. Finally 6% of the rural households were found to be combining niche markets in the service sector and unpaid labour in which the activities involved were mainly the traditional healing and contract agricultural services. With contract agricultural services households were found to be engaged in hoeing in summer while in winter they were involved with harvesting. The remuneration was M8.00 per day or 20kg of either maize or sorghum grains per three days.

In terms of Maputsoe, the analysis shows that 32% of the urban households combine two entitlement-generating activities. Like rural households 12% engaged in subsistence agriculture and unpaid labour only while one household is involved in agriculture and claims. 4% of these households engage in illegitimate activities and unpaid labour. Illegitimate activities include the

selling of liquor and home brew. On the other hand, 6% percent was involved in the extension of distribution networks and unpaid labour of which the activities involved include trading and hawking of micro enterprise such as the selling of vegetables, clothes and jewellery. The remaining 8% were involved in various entitlement generating activities, one household was found to be involved in agriculture and unpaid labour. The final households engage in extension of distribution net works and unpaid labour.

The analysis also indicates that 46% of the rural households engaged in three different livelihood activities, of which 32% of the households engage in agriculture, unpaid labour and claims against absent household members. On the other hand 8% engaged in agriculture, unpaid labour and niche markets in the service sector and that 6% of the households engage in agriculture, unpaid labour and either extension of distribution networks or petty commodity production.

Twenty four percent (24%) engage in three livelihood activities. Eight percent (4%) engaged in agriculture, niche markets services and unpaid labour, 6% percent practice agriculture, claims against the households members and unpaid labour, another 2% engaged in wage labour, extension of distribution networks and unpaid labour and sixteen percent (8 households) were engaged in other different combinations of livelihood activities.

The analysis also shows that in both rural and urban households there were households that were performing four entitlement activities to earn a living. As indicated from (table 14), 8(14%) of the households in rural sample engage in four activities to earn a living. Three households (6%) engage in agriculture, claims against the household members, unpaid labour and niche markets in the service sector. The other two households engaged in agriculture, illegitimate activities, wage labour and unpaid labour. There were also three households that combined agriculture, extension of distribution networks, claims against the households members and unpaid labour, the other two households combine agriculture, claims against the households against the members, niche markets in the service sector and unpaid labour. The other four households engaged in other different combination of activities.

In Maputsoe 11(22%) of the urban households combined four activities for their survival. Four households were seen to combine agriculture, wage labour, claims against the households

members and unpaid labour. Two households combined agriculture, extension of distribution networks, petty commodity production and unpaid labour. Five households were found to be engaged in other different combinations of livelihood activities.

Table 14 shows that Maputsoe and Fobane had households with five or more livelihood strategies, although there were more households in the urban sample combining five or more activities to earn a living. In addition, in Maputsoe there were two households that earn a living through the exploitation of six livelihood activities.

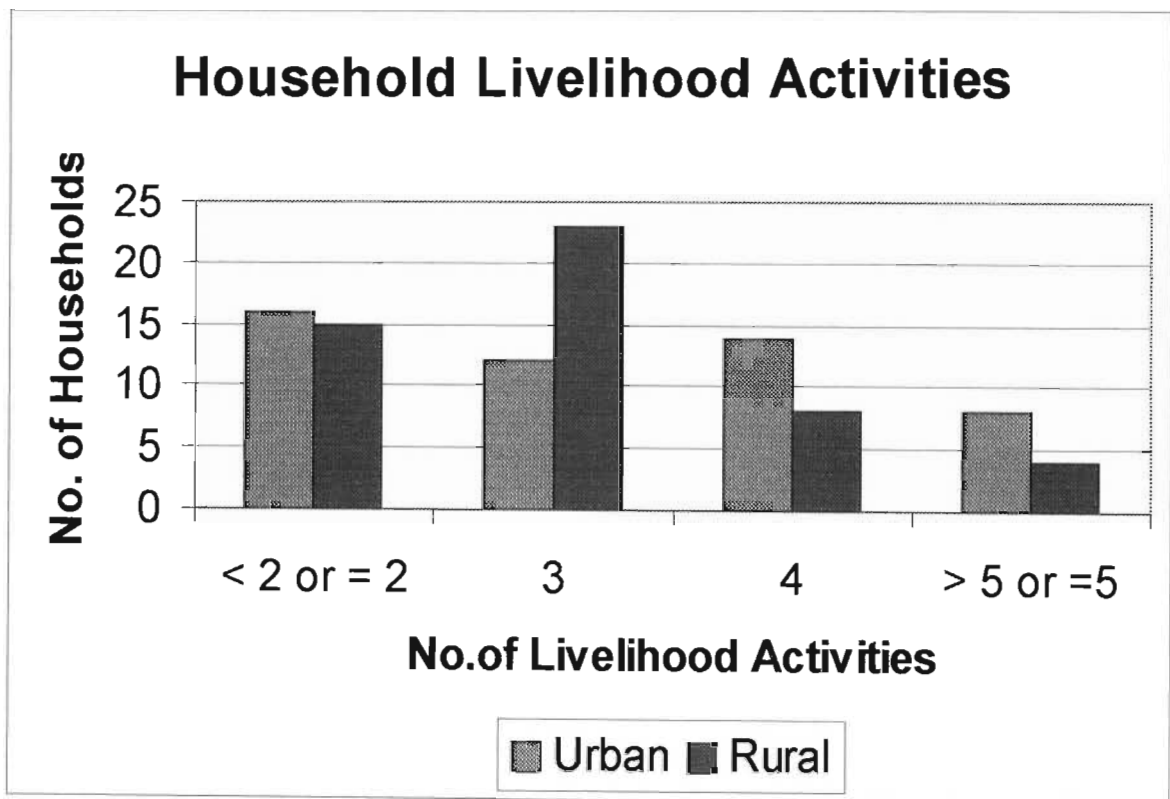


Figure5: Bar graph showing number of household livelihood activities in the rural and urban sample

5.3 The perceptions of both urban and rural households on the impact of urbanization on livelihoods strategies

Besides the similar geographical location of Maputsoe and Fobane in the lowlands of northern Lesotho, there are some immediate differences between the two areas. Maputsoe is located on

the plain landscape along the Mohokare River just a walking distance from central business area while Fobane is located on a slope and rugged terrain at the foothill of a mountain 20km away from Maputsoe. Perceptions of households about the impact of urbanization on household survival strategies differed between the urban and rural samples although perceptions differed depending on the origin of the households.

5.3.1 The origin of households in the samples

The origin of households in the urban sample of Maputsoe

In Maputsoe twenty-two household respondents (44%) of the respondents interviewed said that they had been residents of Maputsoe all their lives whereas twenty eight (56%) of the households were recent settlers of Maputsoe. One household respondent reported to have first settled in Maputsoe more than twenty years ago while other households had stayed in Maputsoe for between one year and twenty years.

Six households came from within a 20 kilometres radius of Maputsoe in the Leribe district. Eleven households came from between 20 to 50 kilometres away from Maputsoe (see table 15). There were two households that came from between 50 and 80 km away from Maputsoe, both of them from the capital district of Lesotho, Maseru. Table 15 also shows no households coming from within the range of 81 to 120 kilometres from Maputsoe, although there were 8 households that came from a distance of more than 121 kilometres, four of whom came from the highland districts of Thaba-Tseka and Mokhotlong, and four whom came from the rest of southern lowlands district; two from Mhales'hoek and one from Mafeteng. One household came from the neighbouring town of Ficksburg in the Republic of South Africa which is about 5 kilometres across the border from Maputsoe.

Most of the households had migrated from a rural area while three households come from another urban areas mainly Ficksburg, Maseru and Teyateyaneng (the capital town of the Berea district). Map 1 (Appendix B) shows the location of the name settlements in relation to Maputsoe

Table 15 The origin of households in the Maputsoe sample

Origin of households	No. of households Respondents %
Around Maputsoe	22 (44%)
20 km radius	6 (12)
20-50 km	11 (22%)
51-80 km	2 (4%)
81-120	0
121 and above	8 (16%)
South Africa	1 (2%)

The Origin of households in the rural sample of Fobane

In Fobane 47 (94%) of the households had lived in Fobane all their lives while three households came from the lowlands or highlands of the Berea district. Two of these households came from Senqunyane, which is about 95 kilometres away from Fobane. One household reported to come from Mapoteng which is about 10 kilometres from Fobane. All of them reported to have come to look for residential and arable land. This is illustrated in Map 1 in appendix B.

5.3.2 Reasons for coming to town

The reasons for coming to town vary from household to household. Three households in Maputsoe came to town looking for a site to build their house, as most of the sites at their original homes were located in inaccessible places. One household came to look for a better education for their children. Five other households came to town because of their unstable health conditions and as a result they wanted be closer to health centres for convenience and to save money on transport. The rest of the households came to town to look for paid employment in the Maputsoe factories and shops while one household came to start business to take advantage of the market in Maputsoe. Paid employment was not found by all of these households and as a result some of them have resorted to casual labour and small and micro enterprise business. One household came to town due to shortage of land to make a living at their original home.

Table 16 why people come to Maputsoe

Reasons for coming to town	No. of households respondents (%)
Job opportunities	9 (18%)
Educational purposes	2 (4%)
Looking for residential site	3 (6%)
To be close to health centres	3 (6%)
Came to stay with relatives	2 (4%)
To be close transport and shops	5 (10%)
To establish business	7 (14%)

N.B. More than one response is possible per household therefore figures will not up to 100%

5.3.3 Perceptions of the impact of urban development on household livelihoods

In this section I will try to analyse the perceptions of respondents in the rural and urban samples about the value of an urban as opposed to rural lifestyle. In this analysis I will focus on the economic and social effects of urban lifestyles.

In both the study samples (Fobane and Maputsoe) there were differences of attitudes about the effects of urbanization on livelihood strategies. Households which migrated to Maputsoe and households of Fobane said they have a perception that the establishment of Maputsoe as a town has improved their livelihoods. Forty four percent of the households interviewed in Maputsoe agreed that the establishment of Maputsoe had improved their livelihoods while 75% of the rural households also felt that Maputsoe's development had improved their livelihood. Both sample agreed that their livelihoods had improved due to the following reasons:

- 1) Maputsoe has brought services such as water, sanitation and electricity closer to the people and as a result it has cut expenses and time that was spent on these activities

- 2) They have acquired paid salary jobs, which are non-existent in the rural areas of Lesotho. About 10% of the urban sample interviewed during the survey expressed the opinion that urbanization had improved their livelihood because they had secured jobs to supplement subsistence agriculture.
- 3) Due to the establishment of the town transport in Maputsoe is abundant, shops are closer and this saves time and the money which can be used for other things.
- 4) Urban development attracts people from the countryside which has led to increased demand for consumer goods and durable goods and thereby increased business opportunities for households to earn money.

On the other hand 42% of the urban sample view the establishment of Maputsoe town as one of the major factors negatively affecting their livelihoods. They argue that the establishment of Maputsoe has led to the encroachment of arable land and rangelands by urban development especially factories, shops and settlements. This in the long run has prevented households from relying on agriculture for food, and has thereby forced them to depend on paid employment. Only those people who managed to get jobs have benefited from the establishment of Maputsoe.

Mature women and men interviewed during the data collection argued that the factories established due to urban development are no longer following agreements reached with them with regard to their recruitment process. They argue that when their land was subjected to urban development it was agreed that the households who were affected directly, that is those whose land had been engulfed would get first priority in terms of employment so as to compensate them for their loss of land. However, most of the people who are employed in the factories are migrants who accept lower wages. Apart from that, and the mature women feel that they are discriminated against since the factories do not employ them but only employ young women.

5.3.4 The social impact of urban development

Almost all respondents in the Fobane and Maputsoe samples agreed that even though Maputsoe has created opportunities for both local people and rural people, it is also responsible for several social problems that affect households livelihood strategies. One of the respondents in Maputsoe argued that Maputsoe has not only changed the physical environment through field encroachment but has also created a new form of economic organisation in the area that has affected culture, the social order and people's conduct and thought. This respondent felt that urban life in Maputsoe had contributed to the loss of social cohesion that existed amongst households as it has broken down the traditional behaviour and ties. This respondent added that urban life had produced many problems of personal disorganization such as prostitution which in the long run will contribute to the spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Molapo pers.com. 23 Dec.1999). He argued that this break down of social cohesion also led to delinquency, alcoholism and crime. Another respondent argued that illegitimate activities occur at shebeens during the weekends.

Some respondents felt that the establishment of Maputsoe as a town had also contributed to the breakdown of the traditional leadership structure, the chieftainship, replacing this with another structure in the form of councils. Four respondents who argued that most of the recently settled households refuse to obey orders from the chiefs, but do obey the town clerk. They regard themselves as not part of the local village and some of them still hold allegiance to the chiefs at their original homes. They believe that Maputsoe has brought two structures of administration, which are parallel to each other, and these cause confusion in their village.

They argued that this disruption contributed to adverse effects on members of families, and especially children as many of the children were dropping out of school and becoming victims of child labour so that they can have money to buy food. They also mentioned that this breakdown of traditional family ties has led to increased separation and divorces which leave children as a burden to relatives in the rural area and thereby increased household size. In Maputsoe it has also led to children roaming the streets, begging and scavenging for food.

Another social problem that has been associated with urban development in Maputsoe arises due

to the men and women who come to Maputsoe to look for jobs. In many cases they do not find jobs before, they run out of money to buy food. The households respondents complained that many people then turned to theft or tried to get a temporary partner to help them to survive.

5.3.5 Comparing urban and rural livelihood

In terms of comparing urban livelihoods and rural livelihoods almost 92% of the rural sample preferred rural lifestyles because they felt that life in town is expensive. They argued that they would prefer to live in town only if they had a salaried job.

The shortage of land in urban areas to practice agriculture was one of the reasons why people prefer rural life. They also preferred the rural lifestyle as they felt that cohesiveness among the households and social relations were still well defined and based on accepted norms and morals. They felt that in urban areas relationships were impersonal and families were reduced to the basic core of parents and children.

Another benefit of rural life that respondents mentioned was that in the rural area if there is no food, they could go out to the fields and collect wild vegetables and hunt wild animals.

The last reason was the issue of grazing area; they said that in the rural areas they could graze their animals while in the urban area there is no space for animals.

There was only one (2%) household respondent living in the rural sample who would prefer to live in the urban area. The respondent argued that in the urban areas there were services such as electricity, water and telephones which make life cheaper than in the rural area. On the other hand two respondents regarded urban and rural life as the same since even in the rural area, life is still about money and because even subsistence agriculture needs money to buy inputs such as fertiliser, seed and pesticide for it (agriculture) to be successful.

With respect to households in the urban sample, 42% of the respondents would prefer to live in a rural area, they believe that life in rural areas is simpler since it does not depend so much on money for a person to survive. They felt that people in rural areas are still able to practice agriculture because they still had enough land.

Some household respondents believe that life in urban areas is expensive since one has to pay for services such as water charges, electricity, and sanitation. For some people there were also rent costs. In the rural areas people collect free water from wells and springs and they collect firewood freely and cow dung for fuel.

The cooperativeness of the rural people was another reason why some respondents in the urban sample felt that rural households have a more luxurious life than do urban households. They argue that in rural areas people share resources as they still have forces that tie them together in terms of extended relatives, families and friends. They argued that even if one household does not have food or money they could borrow from the neighbours or relatives.

On the other hand 58% of the urban households felt that life in urban areas is more advanced and that there were more chances of making a living. They argued that in urban areas households have more job opportunities.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has tried to show the differences that exist between urban and rural households as far as household livelihoods are concerned. This chapter has shown that although both areas are pursuing livelihoods through risky or insecure activities, urban households have more diverse livelihood strategies and this might be due to the fact that most households in the rural area have less time and opportunity for other activities as they spend more time on household maintenance.

Finally, the perceptions about the effect of urban development on household livelihood strategies reveal that the two groups view the impact of urban development from different perspectives. It has shown that those people who are indigenous to Maputsoe agree that urban development has impacted on them in a negative way as it has converted most of their land into settlements thereby force them to sell their labour for paid employment. On the other hand those who

migrated to the urban area looking for greener pastures agreed that urban development has impacted on them positively as they have attained jobs and a paid income. These perceptions also reveal two important ideas in both urban and rural areas, that in the urban area life becomes cheaper when one is on stable paid employment while in the rural area problems arise if the households have no land to produce certain amount of food to consume.

The next chapter will discuss the major findings in terms of the impact of urbanisation on household livelihood strategies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter elaborates on results presented in chapters four and five. As a way to measure the impact of urbanisation on household livelihood strategies, this chapter will compare household livelihood strategies in urban and rural households. The findings will be substantiated by what other researchers and authors have found in relation to this question.

The chapter will further suggest reasons for the differences between household livelihood strategies in the urban and rural sample. This includes the number of employment opportunities available in urban areas compared to rural areas, household characteristics and social structure in the urban and rural household samples and assets among the urban and rural households.

6.1 Household livelihood strategies

As a general finding it is evident that both urban households and rural households engage in a wide range of activities in order to make a living. This finding is further confirmed by Lipton et al (1996). Some of these activities involve exchange processes in which services are performed or goods produced may be exchanged for cash or for recipient goods and services. This finding is also confirmed by Chambers (1997, 163) and May (1995, 57) who also note that some livelihood strategies involve no production but are rather based on the transfer of resources from absentee household members. Gay et al (2000, XIII) further claim that households livelihood strategies become more complex and diverse as one moves from rural to urban areas, although the impact of urban development on household survival strategies might occur at different levels within the household and depending on the status or background of the household

It could be argued that urban households have more livelihood strategies as a result of their location. This is confirmed by my results which show that urban households have more livelihood activities per household than rural household. This might be due to better facilities

such as infrastructure, markets and proximity to the border post which attract investors and business communities and thereby create more formal and informal employment opportunities.

Besides the fact that there is a limited number of job opportunities in Lesotho (especially for unskilled labour) low employment levels in Fobane are exacerbated by the decline in mine work in the Republic of South Africa. This finding is evident from the analysis of results that 18% of the rural and 8% of urban household heads claimed to be retrenched from the mines. This reduction in employment income means that majority of rural households (82%) engaged in farming may not be able to invest sufficiently in subsistence farming.

Although household livelihood strategies do vary with the standard of the households within both Maputsoe and Fobane it could be generalised from the analysis of results that subsistence agricultural production acts as the major source of livelihood in rural households followed by mine work in the form of remittances. This finding is also confirmed by Gay (2000, XV) and Bardill and Cobbe (1985, 27) who also argue that although both two activities are seen to play an important role for rural household economy, they currently shrinking. Mine work is being affected by retrenchments, thereby affecting access to agricultural inputs while agriculture is also being affected by declining soil fertility and encroachment of built environment on to arable land. Although Bernstein et al (1992, 65) regards agriculture as a main source of livelihood for rural households in Lesotho, they found that this is often because there are no other income possibilities in which the rural poor can engage. My research confirms this finding showing that in Fobane the majority of households (82%) are engaged in subsistence farming as a source of survival or security in the absence of other sources of livelihood. This is based on the results that agriculture has been found to be more of subsistence than commercial and therefore generates a limited amount of income.

In the urban households sample livelihood activities become more complex varying from subsistence agriculture and mine work to wage employment. Wealthier households with higher levels of education are engaged in both primary and secondary labour market while the poor households tend to be restricted to informal activities. This finding is confirmed by Gay et al (2000, XXV) who argued that in urban settlements, wealthier households are engaged in formal work while the poor are engaged in the informal sector. In the rural sample households with little

or no income tend to be involved in sharecropping where households combine resources, one contributing land and the other contributing cattle for draught power. It is interesting to note the continued importance of agriculture in the urban sample (68% of households).

In both the urban and rural household sample the main livelihood strategies are supplemented by other activities. In the rural, sample households supplement agriculture with less conventional informal activities like brewing and selling liquor. Some are also engaged in work as agricultural contractors.

In the urban sample households with adequate income also engaged in extra sources of livelihood through the rental of houses to accommodate migrants. Some households invest in intensive agricultural projects such as poultry, dairy and piggery. Similar findings have been reported by Marake et al (1999, 29).

There was also a distinction in strategies adopted by urban and rural households according to the gender of the head of the household head. According to Gay et al (1995, 69) households in the rural area of Lesotho with a female household head engaged in subsistence farming as a source of livelihood followed by a migrant income as a second source, in most cases from a son or close relative. In male headed households income from a migrant worker would be supplemented by subsistence farming. This is due to the fact that in most cases women have to ensure household maintenance and have limited time to look for employment. On the other hand urban households headed by women derive their main income from the informal sector followed by small-scale agriculture while households headed by men derive their income from formal work followed by small-scale agriculture which in most cases is intensive. My research does not exactly confirm this finding: however it shows that in both urban and rural households, livelihood strategies varie with the household economic status. In the rural sample wealthy households (often with a migrant worker) claim remittances combined with agriculture as source of livelihood while the poor households (often with woman as household head or with no household member as migrant worker) engaged in agriculture combined with either niche markets in the service sector or illegitimate activities such as brewing or selling liquor. On the other hand wealthy households (with higher education) in the urban household sample combine wage labour either primary or secondary labour market, activities in the extension of distribution networks and intensive

agricultural production which includes home garden, poultry and piggery. Poorer households in the urban sample engage in informal work, illegitimate activity, small scale agriculture and rarely claims against other households members (refer also chapter five section one).

Trading is a third activity undertaken by both urban and rural households in the sample. However because of the higher population density and greater purchasing power that stimulates the demand of urban communities, urban households seemed to enjoy more of this activity (12%) than households in the rural sample (4%). Results also suggest that households in the rural sample exchange goods for alternative goods and services rather than money. This was also found by Scoon (1996, 56) that due to the lack of cash in rural areas of Zimbabwe (aggravated by the lack jobs in rural areas) households engage in bartering to secure food.

Another explanation for the limited diversity of household livelihood strategies in Fobane as compared to those in Maputsoe lies in the nature of livelihood strategies in Fobane. The rural sample households might have less diverse household livelihood strategies because household maintenance and farming operations leave little time for other activities.

6.2 Social structure

Social structure had also been found to play a key role in livelihood strategies among households in the urban and rural samples. This was especially evident in the rural sample which had strong and extensive social networks between households. This was also found by Gay et al (2000, VI) who argue that the rural poor are not kept alive by their meagre returns from subsistence farming but by the support of not quite so poor households. However they noted that this kind of activity is most evident amongst relatives, friends and neighbours. In this research charity was mentioned by both rural (96%) and urban (42%) household respondents as an important livelihood strategy in their households.

6.3 Households characteristics

Household characteristics play a major role in the diversity of livelihood strategies in the urban and rural area samples. My finding suggests that household characteristics such as gender of the household head, age of the households members, household size, dependency ratio, education and income affect the diversity of livelihoods.

One of the household characteristics that could account for many of the differences between the urban households sample and rural sample is household size. The analysis of results show that urban households in the sample tend to have smaller household size than did the households in the rural sample. According to Bernstein et al (1992, 97) larger households have greater diversity of livelihoods because they act as unit of production, thus the bigger the households the high possibility of division of labour and the higher the chances of productivity that may lead to increased diversity of livelihood strategies. My results do not confirm this finding. In my research households were larger in the rural area and yet livelihood strategies were not as diverse as those in the urban area. This result could be explained as showing the importance of urban development on household livelihood strategies. It might also be a result of composition of households in the rural areas which are larger because of many children. These children may contribute to household survival strategies but not necessarily to diverse livelihood strategies. Households which are larger because of many children and old people (and so have high dependency ratios) do not have more livelihood strategies than smaller households. Similarly households which have no member in paid employment or households whose head is the woman have less diverse livelihood strategies. This is based from the evidence that households with woman as the household head and adults above 65 years of age have limited opportunities of attaining employment. In the rural area the situation is further exacerbated by the lack of employment opportunities.

Other than increasing dependency, larger households with many children face higher education costs and so might be unable to pay for high school education of their children. This might lead to limited job opportunities in the future. According to Manyakanyaka (1998, 69) education is an important determinant of the diversity of household livelihood strategies. Thus households with

many members with low levels of education tend to have limited diversity of livelihoods and therefore are vulnerable to food insecurity. This is confirmed from the analysis of results where 88% of rural households in the sample had a lower level of education (primary or no education) and only one or two livelihood strategies per household. Urban households in the sample had more households (58%) with higher levels of education (secondary and tertiary) and three or more livelihood strategies per household. Food insecurity is also associated with households with low levels of education as limited skills and technical know how means that such households find it difficult to adopt new methods of production (Manyakanyaka 1998, 69).

The greater number of education facilities in Maputsoe than in Fobane is an advantage that allows urban households better access to education. Schools in urban areas also tend to have better facilities than schools in rural areas.

According to Bardill and Cobbe (1985, 101) many rural households have lower levels of education because young boys become herdboys rather than going to school and when they reach manhood they are attracted by high wages on South African mines which prevents them from continuing their education. Rural households especially, find difficult to benefit from skills obtained through mine work. In addition rural women are denied education since the majority marry at a young age and household maintenance and child raising prevents them from continuing their education. Levels of education in the rural sample means that household members will find it very difficult to get secure jobs which generate sufficient income. According to Manyakanyaka (1998, 26) income is an important factor affecting household livelihood strategies. Households with enough income are liable to attain better education and able to buy food and to channel the remaining income into other resources for use in times of crises.

6.5 Access to endowments

The analysis of results also suggests that some of the difference between the urban and rural households may be due to the assets which urban and rural households have access to. This is supported by Manyakanyaka (1999, 66) and May (1995, 50) who argued that assets are important in determining the household's ability to generate livelihood strategies especially when a crisis is encountered. The reason being that households with no assets which can be converted to cash have no safety net of their own and are thus unable to liquidate assets to cover unexpected expenses, invest in new opportunities or secure credit (May 1995, 61).

Although rural households in the sample as a group seemed to have more assets in the form of livestock, land and farm equipment than did households in the urban sample, these are unevenly distributed with many households having limited access to these assets. Due to the lack of paid employment in the rural sample the majority of rural households (80%) do not have enough capital for farming operations such as ploughing, planting, as well as mobilising cash to buy inputs. As a result their output is limited to consumption rather than accumulating assets which could support them in times of crisis. However because of the network of social linkages in the rural sample, households with additional assets tend to rent or share-crop with households who have limited assets. Though most households in the urban sample have only residential land plus a small garden several households (68%) engage in agriculture. Some of these households intensify production by engaging in projects such as poultry, dairy, and vegetable production to take advantage of good prices and higher purchasing power in town.

In both the urban and rural household samples access to land is limited among households headed by women. For example the majority of female headed households (77%) in the rural sample have access to only residential land while nearly all male headed households (95%) in the rural sample have access to residential and arable land. Although urban households have limited access to arable, more women headed households have access to only residential land than did the male headed households. Apart from the lack of capital in the rural sample, women are subjected to extra constraints because women are minors under Lesotho Customary Law, they are not entitled to either land or loans from financial institutions without the authority of their husbands or male guardian (Bardill and Cobbe 1985, 103).

The analysis of results shows that households in both the urban and rural samples have livestock of different kinds. Although livestock plays a major role in household livelihoods, it is not a major source of income. Access to livestock helps rural households in terms of diversity of livelihoods and in emergencies as a form of savings. The respondents supported this finding so that while livestock are reared for a number of purposes depending on the type of animal, the most frequently mentioned value is for prestige, draught power and transport, in the case of donkeys and horses. Scoon (1996, 63) has also pointed out that livestock are reared for social and economic functions such as feasts, funerals and marriage obligations (lobola). Livestock are only used as a form of saving in times of emergencies and when there are larger and infrequent costs such as paying school fees.

The analysis of results also suggest that urban households in the sample have a wider range of livelihood strategies because more households have access to liquid assets such as credit, loans and savings. This means that urban households in the sample are more likely to have a safety net in times of crisis than are rural households in the sample. Just like land it should be borne in mind that such assets as loan and credit are limited to male headed households. However it was found during interviews with household respondents that women do access loans from informal financial institutions in their villages. The importance of this for household livelihood strategies needs further investigation. One of the reasons for urban households in the sample having better access to credit was suggested to be the availability of employment opportunities in town that provide urban households with a source of security or collateral that is not available to most rural households in the sample.

It could be concluded that although rural households seemed to have more physical assets than urban households in the sample, many rural households did not have access to these assets because they had insufficient access to capital and were thereby deprived of both labour power and land as factors of production. On the other hand availability of paid employment plays a major role for the urban households in the sample, in terms of improving their loans and credit which in turn enables them to have invest in other income generating activities.

Even though urban households have better access to these assets, poor households especially female headed households could be said to be vulnerable to food insecurity since they have very limited access to this assets and as a result very limited sources of security in times of crisis.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the discussion of the results; it has shows the differences between urban and rural households in terms of assets and that urban households have more diverse livelihoods strategies than rural households. It has also shown some underlying factors that have contributed to the difference between urban households and rural households. These factors include the assets among both urban and rural households in the sample, household characteristics and social structure of both urban and rural households in the sample and employment opportunities among urban and rural households. The chapter therefore supports my hypothesis that urban development has an impact on household livelihood strategies.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusion

The purpose of this conclusion is to highlight the insights gained through this study. The findings of this study have shown only slight differences between livelihood activities performed by urban and rural households in the sample. These findings are also supported by the literature review. This research suggests factors that contributed to the variation in livelihoods between urban and rural households in the sample; the assets that both the urban and rural households in the sample command, the location of the areas of study and household characteristics and social structure among the urban and rural households in the sample.

The focus of this study was to understand how household livelihood strategies are affected by urbanisation process, the perceptions of households of the effect of urbanisation and the impact of urbanization on livelihood strategies. After conducting a research over a period of approximately eight weeks the following findings can be made:

Both urban and rural households are characterised by large household size, high dependency ratio, low income, lack of access to fungible assets and low education level that determine livelihood status of the household. It could then be concluded that both the urban households and rural households samples are likely to be vulnerable to low livelihood strategies. However the analysis of results had shown that urban households are likely to be less vulnerable than rural households because there are more job opportunities in Maputsoe than Fobane.

Sources of livelihoods described in this study form a complex web, reflecting the extent to which households use different livelihood strategies and the ways in which the strategies are linked to each other. However, on average the study found that in both urban and rural households livelihood strategies differed between marginalised households and wealthy or well-off

households. The research shows that in the rural sample the majority of households had a limited number of survival strategies with the overwhelming majority with no profitable employment and dependent on subsistence agriculture, natural resources, child labour and claiming against absent household members forming for survival. Whilst on the other hand well off households with profitable employment derive their livelihoods by combining remitted incomes with agricultural production in the form of crop production and livestock keeping. The study has shown that more households in the urban sample derive their livelihood through wages obtained either in the primary or secondary labour market than did households in the rural sample. As a result of limited job opportunities in Lesotho poor households in the urban sample sold their labour power either through the informal sector, engaged in informal trade and distribution or subjected themselves to risk activities such as prostitution, stealing or scavenging.

The study has shown that in general both rural and urban households in the sample had access to resources, although the access seemed to differ depending on the location of the households and the gender of the household head. The study has shown that rural households have access to natural resources such as land and livestock but due to lack of capital they fail to utilise these resources to their full extent. It is also evident that although many rural households have access to these natural resources, distribution is unequal especially for women head households. Other than natural resources, the study discovered that unlike urban households, rural households lack basic infrastructure and liquid assets that can help them to access food. Thus the limited resources that exist can not satisfy needs of the households. Although urban households have less access to natural resources such as land and livestock, they have access to labour power and markets that help them to access food either by acquiring paid employment or self employment. They also have access to infrastructure (roads, communication networks and electricity) which help to facilitates their livelihood activities. The proximity to urban markets and adequate transport are two factors which make urban life style more flexible than rural life. However because households income is not equitably distributed, the loss of arable land in the urban area denies the poor people access to natural resources. The result is that some of them are forced to pursue livelihoods either by subjecting themselves to risky and illegitimate activities.

In terms of cash assets, the study has shown that both urban and rural households had limited access to cash assets such as credit but when urban and rural households are compared, it is evident that urban households have better access to credit than do rural households. It has also been discovered that the situation is even worse to women head households and households headed by adults over 64 years. Although access to credit from formal financial institutions is limited, the study discovered that some households, especially households headed by women, have access to informal financial institutions such as stokvel and burial societies.

The study has shown that like other factors affecting livelihoods, household perceptions also depend on location, origin and economic status. A sizeable portion of urban households see themselves as being vulnerable to poverty and hence food insecurity. This is due to the fact that there are not enough resources to assist them to fulfil their household needs. On the other hand the majority of rural households see urban development as a relief as it enable them to acquire some services and goods that used to be far from their reach. At the same time they regard their rural life style as preferable to the expensive and impersonal urban life style.

7.2 Recommendations

It could therefore be concluded that although urban development has positive some impacts on livelihood strategies for some households, it also has negative impacts on other households. As urban growth continues, household livelihoods also transform in response to urbanization. The challenge to policy makers (government) and stakeholders (communities, households and individuals) is to establish effective and appropriate planning and implementation mechanisms that accommodate growth of urban areas and their impacts on livelihood strategies. Whatever intervention is undertaken should not cover only the physical assets of the households but also the social, cultural and economic assets that might affect the welfare and well being of the households. Such programmes should not exclude the participation and involvement of the stakeholders either in the planning, execution, monitoring and evaluation of projects. Within the context of the programmes, involvement and participation of women and youth should be prioritized since they are the most susceptible sector of the society.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire construction

The aim of this study is to develop the understanding of the effect of urbanization or urban development on household livelihood strategies in Maputsoe Northern part of Lesotho. In order to achieve this goal, only the household head or suitable adult will be interviewed.

Part 1

Characteristics of the households

Survey
Area.....
Household

No.....

1. Respondent: Household head(HHh).....

No. of households(Hhs)					
Size of households					

2. Could you please indicate the number of households members, their ages, relationship with you, their occupation status and level of education, including yourself in this list.

No	Relationship to head of (Hh)	Age (Yrs)	Sex M/F	Level of education	Main activity e.g formal employment, pension, part time work, pension etc.	Any income or resource return
1						
2						
3						
3						
4						

5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						

3. How is the household income in money, kind and labour made up ?

1)Agriculture

i)Crop production

Crops grown	yield in bags or kg's	For consumption or sale, how often ?	Price per bag or kg	Household member involved
Maize				
Sorghum				
Wheat				
Peas				
beans				
Vegetables (eg, cabbage, rape, spinach etc)				
Others.....				

b) Livestock

Livestock held	Number per each	Consumed or sold, how often ?	Price per animal	Household member involved
Cattle				
Sheep				
Goats				
Donkeys				
Horses				
Chickens				
Others.....				

2) Wage labour

Activities	Household member involved	Income per household
Migrant labour		
Factory worker		
Civil servant		
Teacher		
Casual labour		
Shop assistant		
Others.....		

3) Small and micro enterprise

Activities	Household member involved	Income to household
Selling fruits and vegetables crops		
selling clothes and jewelleryes		
Selling animals		
weaving and knitting		
Shoe making and mending		
Others.....		
.....		

4) Claims

Activities	Who gives (eg, state, relatives, etc.)	Who is given or who gets	Income to household
Loans			
Gifts			
Pension fund			
Others.....			

5) Unpaid domestic labour

Activities	Household member involved	How often (Hours, days)
Cooking		
Fetching water		
Collecting fire wood		
Herder		
Looking after children		
Cleaning house		

Others.....

6) Casual labour

Activities	Household member involved	How often	Income to households
Gardening			
Hoeing			
Harvesting			
Building houses			
Others			

.....

7) Informal activities

Activities	Household member involved	Income to household
Brewing		
Selling beer		
Selling herbs		

Prostitution, theft and selling dagga		
Others.....		
.....		
.....		

8) Could you be kind enough to give a rough estimation of your personal income group/month/annum

Respondents income	Number of other households members
<M49	
M50-M99	
M100-M199	
M200-M499	
M500 >	
Others please specify.....	

9) How often do you get your income ?

- i)Per month
- ii)Per day
- iii)Per week
- vi)Per hour
- v)Per annum

10) Could you also indicate the overall income for the household

- i)Unstable
- ii)<M100.
- iii)M101-M500
- vi)M501-M1000
- v)M1001-2000
- vi)M2001 and above

11) Do you have any other sources of income you have not already mentioned ? if yes could you kindly specify

.....

.....

.....

12) Could you please indicate households possessions/properties/ assets if any.

Types of assets	Amount/Number or Area (Hectares)
Savings	
Land holdings	
Shelter (rooms or houses or huts)	
Farm equipment(Tractor, implements eg plough, planter, etc.)	
Livestock	
Transport (Bakkie, Truck, etc.)	
Others	
.....	
.....	
.....	

14. Checklist

Activities contributing to household income	Households member involved	How often	Estimated income generated
Agriculture			
Wage labour			
Small and micro enterprise			
Claims			

Casual labour			
Unpaid domestic labour			
Informal activities			
Others.....			
.....			

Part 2.

Perceptions of households towards the effect of urban development on livelihood strategies

1 (a) Where do you come from?.....

(b)How long have been here ?

(c)Why did you come to area ?.....

(d) Did you move your family at once? Yes or No

2. How often do you go back home per month or year ?

3.Now that Maputsoe has developed into a town, could you see your livelihood improving or decreasing? If its improving can tell why you say that and if it is decreasing tell why you say it is decreasing.

.....

4. What about the social life: do you see the establishment of Maputsoe bringing cohesion among the households or has it contributed to widen the gap among the households in the village

Give reasons for your answer

i) Has this change in social life affected the way your in which your households survives ?

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

6. What prominent changes can you say came about with the establishment of Maputsoe as a town; both negative and positive

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

7. What other important activities not covered in our conversation but have influenced on your livelihood strategies?

.....

i) If you were to compare life in town and rural area which would you opt for ? And why ?

ii) Between rural and urban which one enjoys better life and why ?

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

ii) If you are not living in the area you prefer why is that?

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

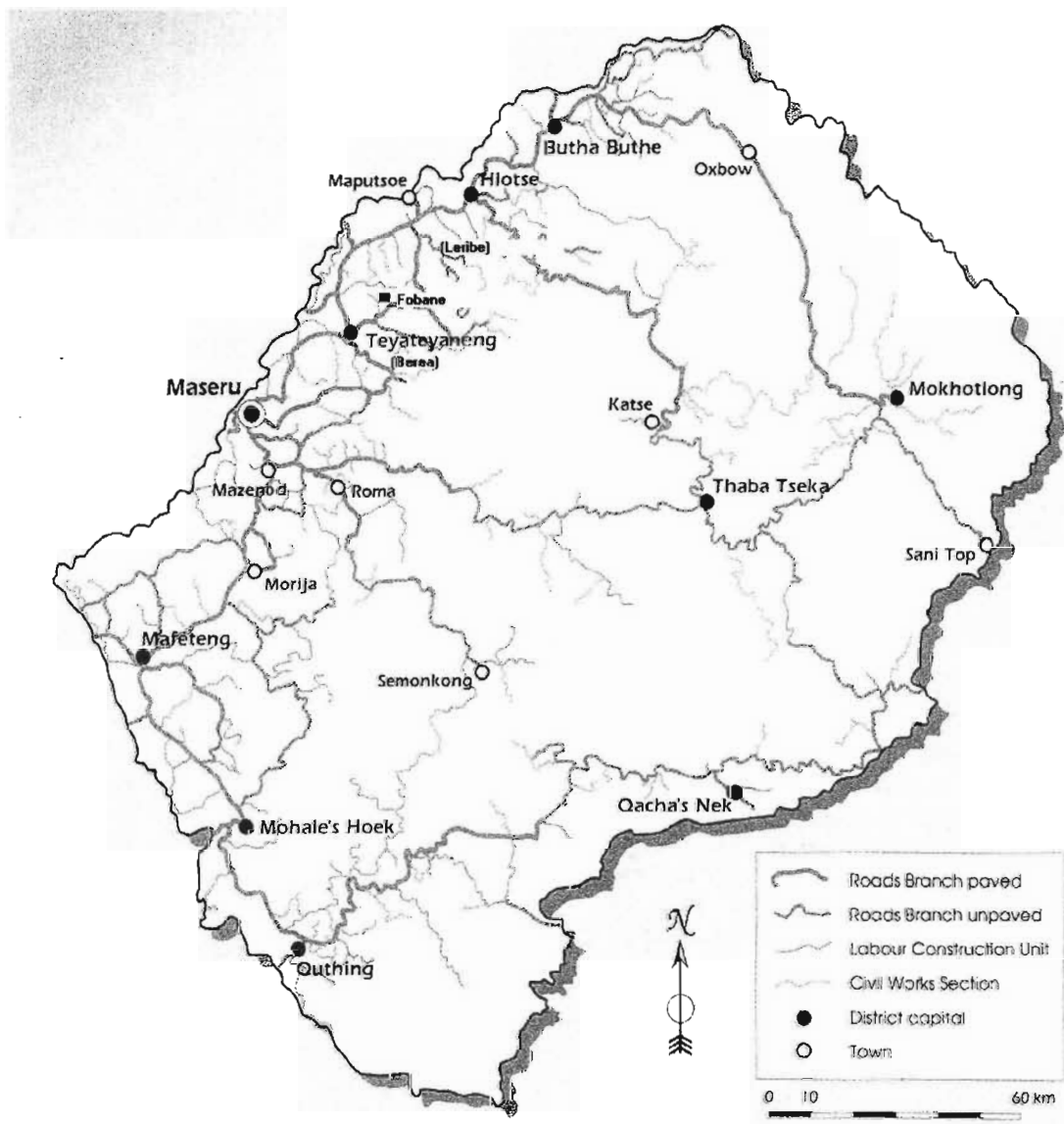
iii)Is there any thing else you would like to say ?.....

.....
.....

Thank you for your time !!!

Appendix B

The Lesotho Map showing districts where households originate in both Maputsoe and Fobane.



Appendix B

The Lesotho Map showing districts where households originate in both Maputsoe and Fobane.

