Learning about livelihoods
Insights from southern Africa
LEARNING ABOUT LIVELIHOODS: INSIGHTS FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA

An integrated package of learning materials comprising a training handbook and five short films on videocassette co-published by Periperi Publications and Oxfam Publishing.

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Insights from southern Africa

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Foreword

In August 2002 – a decade after the historic ‘Earth Summit’ was held in Rio de Janeiro – Johannesburg will host the World Summit on Sustainable Development. In spite of the achievements of the Earth Summit, notably Agenda 21 and its conventions on climate change, biological diversity and desertification, for the last ten years we have witnessed new challenges and debates around sustainability. These reflect a world in which markets have rapidly globalised and which is increasingly shaped by a ‘new economy’ driven by communications advances, trade liberalisation and economic reform. They also reflect a world whose natural resources are under mounting pressure, and whose climate continues to change, largely as a result of uninformed or uncaring human action.

These trends have created wealth and opportunities for many. However, especially in developing countries, they have widened the gap between the rich and growing numbers of poor. As we look back on the past decade, one of the most critical lessons we draw must be that our goal of sustainable development can be achieved only if we place at its centre the lives and livelihoods of people, particularly the poor.

Livelihoods thinking, which has been around since the early 1990s but has gathered pace of late, is one way of helping us to do this. It puts people at the centre of a holistic understanding of how things work: how people make a living, how the wider world impacts on them, and the impact their livelihood activities have on the wider world.

*Learning about livelihoods* builds on and extends the considerable thinking and policy development around livelihoods approaches. Drawing from its southern African context, the package aims to make the theory and practice of a livelihoods approach accessible to development practitioners. However, the learning pack goes beyond explaining the concepts that underpin the approach. It includes ten engaging and participatory learning sessions that provide a framework for training development workers. These sessions make use of a wide range of case studies from southern Africa, including five films. In keeping with the holistic nature of livelihoods, the print material provides a set of notes and references on how to bring a number of key development concepts – including gender, sustainability and disaster risk – into the picture.

*Learning about livelihoods* also applies the livelihoods approach to the project cycle, making it easier for practitioners to put the ideas into practice. While applying livelihoods to the project cycle is not new, *Learning about livelihoods* takes this effort a step further. Selected steps in the project cycle are augmented by learning and reflection sessions that refresh key
concepts and methods and provide checklists of guiding questions. The package aims to practically ground the framework and highlight its uses at different scales from either sectoral or integrated district planning perspectives.

Central to the package is a commitment to participatory learning, based on real experience. This priority is reflected in the creative interaction between the facilitators’ guide and the five filmed case studies, drawn from across the region. These stories illustrate the opportunities as well as the pressures facing individual families in Lesotho, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The films underline the relationship between shocks (such as retrenchment and cyclone conditions) and livelihood security, as well as the impacts of ongoing stresses such as unemployment and HIV/AIDS.

As we look forward to the 2002 World Summit, the Learning about livelihoods pack provides a timely and practical resource for those committed to putting people at the centre of our vision for sustainability – particularly those people who today hang precariously at its margins.

Diana Carney
Acknowledgements

Periperi Publications produces learning and other materials from southern Africa’s Periperi disaster risk reduction network. Periperi stands for ‘Partners enhancing resilience to people exposed to risks’.

We gratefully acknowledge the many people who contributed their ideas, time and critical insights to the making of this package. The sessions in Chapter 2 were based in part on training materials developed and field tested by Dan Mullins (for Oxfam), Leah Nchabeleng (for Thlavama) and Penny Ward (for CARE) and grounded in their field experience in southern Africa. Session 10 was written by Ailsa Holloway. Rick de Satgé developed all the other sessions and wrote almost all of the book. The films were written and produced by Annie Holmes, Vuyo Maphela and Farai Mpfunya.

Many people have participated in the process which has resulted in this package. We thank all who have given their time and input, and would specifically like to thank the following individuals and organisations:

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- Sylvia Prime for administering the project
- livelihoods expert Diana Carney for her interest and support.
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About the authors

Rick de Satgé is a training consultant based in Cape Town with 20 years’ experience of working in NGOs in South Africa and Zimbabwe in rural and urban development. Associated with the Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of the Western Cape, he has designed and facilitated training and project based learning for government planners and NGO fieldworkers on different aspects of the South African land reform programme in which the creation of sustainable livelihoods is emerging as a central theme.

Ailsa Holloway is the co-ordinator of the Disaster Mitigation for Sustainable Livelihoods Programme (DiMP) at the University of Cape Town. Her work aims at promoting developmental strategies that reduce disaster risk in Southern contexts. She has co-authored two books: Reducing risk: Participatory learning activities in disaster mitigation in southern Africa, and Living with drought: Drought mitigation for sustainable livelihoods.

Dan Mullins has managed and advised livelihoods programmes across southern Africa since 1983. He has lived in Swaziland, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and has provided ongoing support to livelihoods programmes in Angola, Malawi, South Africa and Zambia. He works as Oxfam GB’s Southern Africa Regional HIV/AIDS Co-ordinator, based in Pretoria, South Africa. Dan is currently focused on helping development specialists from a range of sectors to address HIV/AIDS as a fundamental issue within all development and humanitarian work.

Leah Nchabaleng is Executive Director of Tlhavhama Training Initiative, a membership-based organisational development and training organisation in South Africa’s Limpopo Province. Leah is particularly interested in developing and using participatory approaches to enable community development workers to engage with complex issues in a meaningful way.

Penny Ward is the Programme Co-ordinator of CARE South Africa's institutional strengthening programme. She is particularly interested in the development of participatory livelihood monitoring and evaluation systems and has worked with livelihood security programmes in southern and west Africa since 1994.
About the film makers

Annie Holmes produced all the films and directed the film *Floods* which is set in Mozambique. She is a Zimbabwean film maker, born in Zambia and based in South Africa, and has made educational media throughout southern Africa – film, television and print.

The films *Legacies*, *Home-making* and ‘*Pruned*’ were directed by Vuyo Maphela, who works in television and culture in South Africa, having studied African literature and drama.

Farai Mpfunya is a documentary film maker who is currently director of the Zimbabwe International Film Festival Trust. He directed the film *Moving on* which is set in Zimbabwe.
## Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress (the dominant South African political party)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CARE</td>
<td>Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere Inc.</td>
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<td>CIDA</td>
<td>Canadian International Development Agency</td>
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<td>Cosatu</td>
<td>Congress of South African Trade Unions</td>
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<td>DANCED</td>
<td>Danish Cooperation for Environment and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development of the UK government</td>
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<tr>
<td>DiMP</td>
<td>Disaster Mitigation for Sustainable Livelihoods Programme, University of Cape Town</td>
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<tr>
<td>DLA</td>
<td>Department of Land Affairs (South Africa)</td>
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<td>DoA</td>
<td>Department of Agriculture (South Africa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESAP</td>
<td>Economic Structural Adjustment Plan (World Bank), also known as SAP</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organisation (United Nations)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FFW</td>
<td>Food for Work, a programme of CARE Zambia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frelimo</td>
<td><em>Frente de Liberta Vão de Mozambique</em> – the ruling party in that country</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAD</td>
<td>gender and development</td>
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<tr>
<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEAR</td>
<td>Growth, Employment and Redistribution macroeconomic strategy (South Africa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIS</td>
<td>geographical information systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNP</td>
<td>gross national product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPS</td>
<td>global positioning systems</td>
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<td>GRF</td>
<td>Gender Roles Framework</td>
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<tr>
<td>GTZ</td>
<td><em>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit</em> (a German technical co-operation agency)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIPC</td>
<td>Highly Indebted Poor Country Initiative of the IMF and the World Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>IDRC</td>
<td>International Development Research Centre, Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDS</td>
<td>Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFP</td>
<td>Inkatha Freedom Party (a South African political party)</td>
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<td>IGAs</td>
<td>income-generating activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>IIISD</td>
<td>International Institute for Sustainable Development, Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>IRDP</td>
<td>integrated rural development planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISNAR</td>
<td>International Service for National Agricultural Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IUCN</td>
<td>The World Conservation Union (International Union for the Conservation of Nature)</td>
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<tr>
<td>LAL framework</td>
<td>The <em>Learning about livelihoods</em> framework</td>
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<tr>
<td>LFA</td>
<td>logical framework approach (a planning tool)</td>
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<tr>
<td>M&amp;E</td>
<td>monitoring and evaluation</td>
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<td>MDA</td>
<td>Mineworkers’ Development Agency of the National Union of Mineworkers (South Africa)</td>
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<td>MDC</td>
<td>Movement for Democratic Change (a Zimbabwean political party)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMD</td>
<td>Movement for Multiparty Democracy (a Zambian political party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNR</td>
<td>Mozambique National Resistance Movement (Renamo) – fought a civil war against the Frelimo government until 1992</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>non-governmental organisation</td>
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<td>NORAD</td>
<td>Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation</td>
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<td>NUM</td>
<td>National Union of Mineworkers (South Africa)</td>
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<td>ODI</td>
<td>Overseas Development Institute, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAR</td>
<td>participatory action research</td>
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<tr>
<td>P3-DM</td>
<td>Participatory 3-dimensional modelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periperi</td>
<td>Partners enhancing resilience to people exposed to risks network (southern Africa)</td>
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<td>PGIEP</td>
<td>Policy Guidelines for Integrating Environmental Planning into Land Reform (a programme of the South African Department of Land Affairs and Danish funding agency DANCED)</td>
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<td>PHAST</td>
<td>participatory hygiene and sanitation transformation</td>
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<td>PLA</td>
<td>participatory livelihoods assessment</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>PLAAS</td>
<td>Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape, based in Cape Town, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM&amp;E</td>
<td>participatory monitoring and evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRA</td>
<td>participatory rural appraisal</td>
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<tr>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>Reconstruction and Development Programme (South Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFLECT</td>
<td>regenerated Freirian literacy through empowering community techniques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renamo</td>
<td>Mozambique National Resistance Movement (which fought a civil war against the Frelimo government until 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RRA</td>
<td>rapid rural appraisal</td>
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<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<td>SAIRR</td>
<td>South African Institute of Race Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programme of the World Bank; also known as ESAP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARAR</td>
<td>self-esteem, associative strengths, resourcefulness, action planning and responsibility (a development approach)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>Social Dimensions of Adjustment Programme of the World Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRF</td>
<td>Social Relations Framework of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSI</td>
<td>semi-structured interviewing</td>
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<tr>
<td>TNCs</td>
<td>transnational corporations</td>
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<td>UDI</td>
<td>Unilateral Declaration of Independence (declared by the former Rhodesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environment Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIP</td>
<td>United National Independence Party (a Zambian political party)</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VDC</td>
<td>village development committee (Zambia)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIPs</td>
<td>ventilated improved pit toilets</td>
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<tr>
<td>WCED</td>
<td>World Commission on Environment and Development</td>
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<td>WFP</td>
<td>World Food Programme</td>
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<td>WID</td>
<td>women in development</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organisation</td>
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</table>
Zanla  Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (the armed wing of ZANU)
ZANU  Zimbabwe African National Union (a political party in Zimbabwe)
ZCCM  Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines
ZCTU  Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZIMPREST  Zimbabwe Plan for Economic and Social Transformation
Zipra  Zimbabwe People’s Revolution Army (the armed wing of the Zimbabwe African People’s Union)
ZOPP  Ziel Orientierte Projekt Planung – the German acronym for ‘logical framework approach to planning’
Learning about livelihoods is a guide to understanding and applying the sustainable livelihoods framework. It provides practical ideas on how to use this framework to inform development and project planning at different scales. This package is not intended to be a definitive training framework on livelihoods, or the last word on this complex topic. Rather, it represents a contribution to the field; it is a work in progress written by development practitioners and participatory educators who have worked with the livelihoods framework in a wide range of contexts.

The package comprises a facilitator’s handbook and filmed case studies from five southern African countries. The handbook contains ten training sessions which build understanding of the factors that make poor families vulnerable, as well as their inherent strengths. It then explores how these insights could be applied in practice. It also includes extensive references to further print and Internet information sources.

The five film documentaries, each about ten minutes long, show some of the pressures facing people living in precarious circumstances across southern Africa. These case studies, drawn from Lesotho, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, (see the map on page xvii) show the impacts of retrenchment, flood risk, recurrent drought, HIV/AIDS, violence and political instability on individual households and their communities. The films can be used for the training sessions in this book, or they can also be used as a stand-alone training resource.
Why this package?

Sustainable livelihoods has been a prominent theme of research and academic writing over the last ten years. In the past few years, different development actors have begun to mainstream the concept into policy and programme design. However there is still much that is misunderstood about the concept and its practical implementation.

A number of different livelihoods frameworks have been developed. These frameworks share many of the same fundamental concepts, but use different terms and emphasise different aspects.

The package builds on the work of livelihoods practitioners to:

• provide a practical and accessible livelihoods framework that synthesises and simplifies other livelihoods models

• develop a common language which will be understood by policy makers and fieldworkers

• present a range of tools, methods and approaches to conduct livelihoods analysis.

The package will help you to understand and apply the livelihoods framework. In the process you will:

• examine gender and power relations within and between households, communities and localities and explore how these relations are influenced by age and ethnicity

• identify how households use their capabilities to draw on assets and resource entitlements, and engage in diverse livelihood activities that contribute to household livelihood security

• assess the factors and trends in the local and wider environment which contribute to the relative vulnerability and livelihood security of different households

• locate local livelihood strategies and the different ways that people cope with vulnerability in a broader context of policies and institutions.

You will also be introduced to practical ways of carrying out livelihoods analysis and how to use the livelihoods framework as a way to monitor development impacts. You will draw on methods that combine appreciative inquiry and problem analysis. Appreciative enquiry is based on building on existing strengths and assets instead of focusing on weaknesses and shortcomings.
Who this package is for

This package has been written for development practitioners, trainers, managers, planners and fieldworkers in the non-governmental, governmental and consulting sectors. This group will find the package an invaluable resource for strengthening the effectiveness of their development initiatives, especially those that are targeted at communities at risk.

Although Learning about livelihoods focuses on examples from southern Africa, development workers who are active in other parts of the world will also find the materials useful. The print and film materials are also important resources for international development education programmes.
An overview of *Learning about livelihoods*

**Chapter 1: Introduction to the livelihoods framework**

The opening chapter provides a basic introduction to the livelihoods framework, and a short overview of different tools, methods and approaches commonly used to apply the framework. It also highlights questions commonly asked by development managers about the livelihoods framework and what is involved in implementing it.

**Chapter 2: Workshop sessions**

The second chapter consists of ten training sessions. Each training session is subdivided into different sections that provide:

- background information on key ideas and concepts
- guides to preparing for and facilitating the session
- prepared learning activities.

The ten training sessions introduce different aspects of the livelihoods framework. Each session builds on the previous one to clarify elements of the framework. This does not necessarily mean that the sessions must be done in the same order as they are presented in this book. Facilitators can mix and match sessions to suit the situation. Sessions can also be adapted to cater for different levels of knowledge and experience among participants.

**Session 1: What are households?**

The livelihoods framework places a lot of emphasis on understanding the household, how households differ from one another, and how they relate to each other. Examining households helps us to understand different ideas about well-being and different levels of vulnerability and resilience.

The first session explores different ideas about households. Different people use the term ‘household’ to mean different things. Before a livelihoods analysis can be done in a community, it is essential for the local people and the planning team to develop a shared definition of ‘household’. This will help to make sure that analysis is a good basis for development planning.
Vulnerability refers to the characteristics that limit an individual, a household, a community, a city, a country or even an ecosystem’s capacity to anticipate, manage, resist or recover from the impact of a natural or other threat (often called a ‘hazard’ or ‘natural trigger’).

Resilience is a measure of the household’s ability to absorb shocks and stresses. A household with well-diversified assets and livelihood activities can cope better with shocks and stresses than one with a more limited asset base and few livelihood resources.

Session 2: Inside the household

Session 2 introduces some gender concepts and looks more deeply at what happens inside the household. Household livelihood strategies involve allocating roles and deciding who does which sort of work, how household income is spent, and who is prioritised for education. Who is responsible for the various activities of the household? What role does gender and age play? The household is a bargaining space where household members negotiate important decisions that affect their livelihoods. How does gender and age affect this bargaining process? How are these decisions taken? Who benefits from them?

Gender refers to socially-constructed roles for males and females (as opposed to sex, which denotes the biological distinction between males and females). These roles, which are learnt, change over time and vary widely within and between cultures.

Session 3: Introducing the livelihoods framework

This session introduces the ‘household triangle’ of assets, capabilities and activities. Household members use their capabilities and their assets to carry out activities through which they gain their livelihood. Livelihood opportunities can be enhanced or limited by factors in the external environment. These factors determine the vulnerability context in which households have to operate.

Assets are the resources used for gaining a livelihood.

Capabilities are the combined knowledge, skills, state of health and ability to labour or command labour of a household.

The vulnerability context is the range of factors in the external environment that make people vulnerable.
Session 4: Household activities

This session focuses on how households combine a range of activities to secure their livelihoods. It introduces the concept of livelihood diversity and deepens understanding of the different kinds of activities that households undertake. Activities of households vary according to the time of year and respond to external shocks and stresses.

**Shocks** are sudden events which undermine household livelihoods. These include retrenchment, the death of an economically active household member, as well as the impact of hazards such as drought, floods or other extreme weather events, which are often made worse by mismanagement of the environment.

**Stresses** are ongoing pressures which face households and individuals. These include long-term food insecurity and limited access to essential services such as health or water supplies. Another stress is degrading the natural resource base, something which may force people to travel further and further for fuel and other natural resources.

Session 5: Capabilities and assets

This session examines the role of assets and capabilities in household livelihoods. Assets and capabilities are closely linked to household livelihood security. For example, a household may have assets but not have the capability to use them fully. A household may have capabilities to engage in livelihood activities, but not enough assets to use these capabilities fully. Session 5 looks at the range of assets and entitlements which different households have access to. It shows how having access to a wide range of assets is a key factor which contributes to household livelihood security. The session identifies the capabilities that enable households to make the best use of their asset base and the factors that limit people’s ability to sustain their livelihoods.

**Entitlements** are resources which people have the right to access.

Session 6: Access, power and control

Age, gender and other factors affect the access and control that different members of the household have over key resources in a household. Session 6 explores the power, control and influence that different members of the household have over the assets, activities and capabilities of the household. It gives a brief background to development approaches that have tried to address women, gender and development. The session also explores how livelihoods shocks and stresses may impact on power and control inside the household.
Session 7: The external environment
This session examines how the livelihood options of a household are enhanced or restricted by factors in the external environment. It looks at the impact of the local context on the household before analysing the effects of larger forces at provincial, national and global levels. It is necessary to continually monitor the changing external environment to be able to understand the pressures and opportunities that inform household livelihood strategies. When planning with people to help to strengthen their livelihood security, they need to become aware of the links between their local situation and the wider environment.

Session 8: The vulnerability context
This session focuses on how changes in the external environment affect individual households and the people within them. It deepens understanding of the concepts of differentiation, relative vulnerability and resilience. It refers to the impacts of changes that take place over time and shows the variety of ways that households try to adapt to their vulnerability context. It is important to have an in-depth understanding of the different elements that make up the vulnerability context to be able to identify interventions that will have a lasting, positive effect on household livelihood security.

**Differentiation** is the process of exploring differences between things, for example, between households.

Session 9: Exploring sustainability
This session gives some depth to the concept of sustainability. It examines different definitions of sustainable development and how to assess livelihood sustainability. It introduces different criteria and indicators to measure livelihood sustainability and monitor progress towards more sustainable development.

**Sustainable development** meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.
Session 10: Livelihoods and disaster risk

The final training session introduces the concept of disaster risk and relates this to livelihoods. It assists people to identify strategies to reduce disaster risk and promote livelihood security.

Each session includes references to where facilitators can find more in-depth information on a topic.

Chapter 3: Practical livelihoods analysis and planning

The purpose of livelihoods analysis is to help improve development fieldwork. Chapter 3 introduces a generic livelihoods assessment planning cycle – the basic steps to be taken when preparing for and implementing a livelihoods analysis, and how the findings can be used in planning a development intervention. The chapter begins with an overview of the livelihoods assessment planning cycle. As with all planning processes, the process is never straightforward – it does not always go from one step to the next. You may have to go back to certain steps to make sure that everything is properly in place before you can go forward. At certain stages, two or more processes may be taking place at the same time.
Part 1: From the conceptual framework to fieldwork methodology

Part 1 links the livelihoods framework to the project planning cycle.

Part 2: Site selection

This explores how to choose the sites where you will conduct livelihoods analysis as part of a development process.

Part 3: Selecting secondary data

In this part you identify potential sources of secondary data to provide background information on the sites you have selected. You must then decide what sort of data you need for the planning process.

Part 4: Determining entry strategies

Once you have selected your sites and collected some background information about them, the planning team needs to decide on the best entry strategy. Who do you need to talk to? How can the team ensure that the voices of poor and marginal households are not silenced by more powerful and vocal interests?

Part 5: Building the team: Fieldwork principles, behaviours and approaches

In this part team members orient themselves and refresh key fieldwork principles, behaviours and approaches. The team needs to reflect on some of the dos and don’ts of working with people on the ground, and it must prepare properly to do the fieldwork.

Part 6: Initial assessment

Part 6 is about how to plan and carry out an initial assessment of the situation. This introduces a range of tools and methods that can be used to:

- develop guiding questions
- identify community issues
- determine stratification and differentiation
- reveal different household assets, livelihood activities and capabilities
- isolate key influences that shape the vulnerability context.

This step reviews some of the participatory research methods that can be used to collect qualitative and quantitative data. It examines how to develop household profiles using semi-structured interviewing (SSI).

**Stratification** in this context refers to the fact that households have different levels of well-being.
Qualitative data has to do with qualities rather than with things that can be measured or counted.

Quantitative data has to do with quantities – things that can be measured or counted.

Part 7: Analysing the information

This part examines how to make sense of the information collected through different participatory activities. The livelihoods analysis team brings together secondary data and information from fieldwork to see key trends and the connections between different issues. At this stage the team needs to be particularly aware of its biases. It needs to re-examine how it saw the issues and problems at the beginning of the process. The team must make sure it reflects the assessment findings back to the community in an open-ended way so that local analysis can take place.

Part 8: Making the linkages (1)

Now that the planning team and local stakeholders have the information before them, they need to consciously make the connections between local trends and factors that are influencing them in the broader environment.

Part 9: Reflection, vision and prioritisation

This part explores the process of reflecting back and analysing the information that has been synthesised from fieldwork and secondary data with local people. Who develops the criteria and indicators that are used to assess the information and prioritise issues? Professionals should not substitute their ideas for the analysis of local people. They should also recognise the limitations of narrow problem-based analysis. Appreciative planning approaches can enable people to develop a vision, priorities and ideas about key interventions, building on existing strengths.

Part 10: Proposal development

Strategic planning that builds on the vision and priorities of Part 8 must be done to develop a proposal for the start-up phase of the initiative. The start-up phase requires a baseline study (see Part 11) to provide more in-depth information about the priorities which have been identified. Once the baseline study has been completed, the detailed programme objectives and outcomes can be specified together with key indicators of success.

Part 11: Start-up: Baseline research

Once the proposal for the start-up phase of the initiative has been approved, the baseline study can be conducted. A baseline is a detailed, tightly-focused study in a few selected areas that researches targeted households and people within them. The baseline deepens the knowledge base and enables targeted interventions to be made. It also provides useful information for future monitoring and evaluation purposes.
Part 12: Making the linkages (2)

Once in-depth research has been carried out, the team and local stakeholders need to revisit how the wider environment affects local livelihoods and vulnerability. Once these links are clear, local people and the development agency can use them to lobby for policy changes.

Part 13: Programme implementation

This part briefly summarises how key intervention ideas are refined with the stakeholders and a detailed intervention plan is agreed.

Part 14: Participatory monitoring and evaluation

The final part examines how the data from the baseline livelihoods analysis and household profiles can provide important information for a monitoring and evaluation framework. This data enables the team to select indicators that will measure the impacts of development initiatives.

Chapter 4: Southern African case studies and support materials for using the Learning about livelihoods films

The final chapter is a case study appendix with household and locality profiles from different countries in the region. These can be used as an additional training resource.

Finding the information you want

Development managers and practitioners who to know the basic key concepts of livelihoods and vulnerability should read Chapter 1 and the ‘key ideas’ parts of the sessions in Chapter 2.

Training facilitators and participatory educators who want to introduce the livelihoods framework can use and adapt the sessions in Chapter 2. These sessions can be combined to make up a course, or they can be interspersed with fieldwork activity so that trainees can test what they have learnt in between sessions.

Practitioners responsible for planning and carrying out livelihoods assessment will find a suggested livelihoods and vulnerability assessment planning cycle in Chapter 3. This cycle is backed up by participatory research methods and useful fieldwork tools.

An overview of the films

The five films highlight different circumstances in which people develop livelihood strategies and cope with hazards and risk in southern Africa. Facilitators will need to view all the films first before using them in training and learning sessions. The films also provide opportunities for facilitators to develop their own activities that reflect on different aspects of the situations they portray.
**Home-making**

Their half-built home in the capital Maseru stands as a symbol of the shock to the Thlabeli family’s livelihood – the recent retrenchment of the father of the house from the gold mines of South Africa.

Examining their household more closely, it becomes apparent that the family have been diversifying for some time, by buying, building on and renting out rooms. Mrs Thlabeli’s income as a teacher has been a solid but unrecognised element in their income since the time of their marriage. Who then is the home-maker?

At another level, their household sustains, and is sustained by, the labour of an outsider, a young woman called Matsepa. She is one of ‘the girls who arrive on lorries’ from the rural hinterland in search of work. Matsepa’s situation is common in southern Africa – an underpaid female domestic labourer, often a family member, whose plight is often ignored by governments and NGOs.

Mr Thlabeli’s involvement in a selling scheme raises questions about a different kind of vulnerability when people are desperate for an income. Perhaps naïve in this area, Mr Thlabeli is entirely clear-sighted on more political questions. As a dedicated labour union activist, he is well-informed and articulate about the reasons for retrenchments on the mines. He speaks for migrant workers throughout southern Africa when he asks whose ‘house’ they have in fact been building. That of South Africa, where they must leave when their contract expires? Or that of their home country, where their taxes have ensured them no services or social security at all?

**Floods**

Where is the logical place to focus resources in order to ensure livelihood security and alleviate poverty? Experience points to risk resilience rather than emergency ‘relief’. But what happens when a huge unexpected ‘natural’ disaster strikes? The devastating floods of 2000 raised that question in Mozambique in dramatic terms.

This documentary looks at different levels of impact and response, from the Langa family from Polana Canico in Maputo, where the houses of 200 residents disappeared overnight into gaping ravines, to Mr Singh, a recent South African investor. While both were affected by the floods, their vulnerability and resilience differed enormously.

**Legacies**

Makhosi is a man in his early twenties, recently returned to his rural home. He is suspected of murdering a young woman during an armed robbery. Taking the case into his own hands, Makhosi reveals the major threads twisting through the social fabric of this northern part of KwaZulu-Natal province in South Africa. In the process he uncovers his ability to take charge of his own life and future.

Makhosi reflects on the prevalence of violence in his society – to him, it seems that youth are just following in their elders’ footsteps by taking up guns. This
area’s history of conflict started with Bambatha, who was the leader of the last traditional war against European settlers a century ago. Since then, this part of KwaZulu-Natal has been scarred by land dispossession, and by factional conflicts between political parties that continue today.

Violence has become a way of life, especially when people see such limited economic possibilities in the area. Thembelephi died, after all, for the sake of a little money from her mother’s tuckshop. While the youth scorn agricultural work because it is ‘dirty’, older women like Thembelephi’s aunt, Mrs Mhlongo, generate a living for their families from a wide range of farming, craft and marketing activities.

Mrs Mhlongo believes that young women’s lives are severely limited these days: boys can get away to try to find work in the cities, but a girl’s main hope is that the boy who makes her pregnant will stand by her. Young girls become mothers while they are still at school. And these days, an unwanted baby is not the only danger – this province has the highest HIV/AIDS rate in South Africa.

But Makhosi’s actions symbolise the potential for the so-called lost generation to take action to change their lives. After the guilty boys are identified at a community meeting, Makhosi and his friends visit the village that the real murderers came from. This causes instant panic. Everyone assumes they have come for vengeance. But, just as Makhosi hopes to lead his peers back to agriculture as a hope for the future, he wants to turn his back on the violent legacies of the past. ‘Don’t worry’, he tells the villagers. ‘Go home. You don’t have to sleep in the hills any longer.’

‘Pruned’

Retrenched from the autoelectrical workshop of a mine in Kitwe on Zambia’s Copperbelt, Peter Ngalande compares his past and his present, and his own situation with that of his peers.

The Copperbelt was the source of the country’s wealth for a long time. Ngalande was ‘pruned’ – his job was taken away after the new MMD government took over from Kenneth Kaunda’s United National Independence Party in the early 1990s. By 2000, Kitwe reflects the wave of privatisation that has brought South African fast food franchises to all the main centres, and South African mining enterprises to the helm of the copper mines.

While many people who had been retrenched got into debt, drinking and despair, Ngalande feels he had an advantage in that his wife had been selling in the market all along, and so he was able to join her business, travelling far out of town to buy produce at cost, for Mrs Ngalande to resell in the marketplace. Such profits are under threat. Small local traders cannot compete with the prices that the new international businesses charge. Crime is spreading – Peter was held up at gunpoint and robbed. The family trading business is vulnerable – a car accident in which he lost bags of rice almost wiped out their capital.
The buffer for their trading business has been a small piece of land where the family grow food for the table and the marketplace. They would invest more into it if they had any legal right to the land, but they bought it ‘under the table’ years ago. Land title is a key issue for Copperbelt communities. Since the mines have been privatised, it is no longer clear which land is owned by the mines, and which land falls under the jurisdiction of the traditional leaders.

Generations of mine employment have left most people ignorant of farming methods, and of the effects of regular droughts. However, Ngalande believes the land to be the most reliable fall-back.

**Moving on**

The Mapeta family were forced to move three times during the past 50 years, each time to increasingly marginalised environments.

Eva Mapeta is a young single mother who left for the city like most of her peers but returned, pregnant, as opportunities dried up in the urban areas of Zimbabwe. Child of the second of her headman father’s three wives, Eva outlines the family tree and the family fortunes. The younger generation send money to support the parents and the younger children.

Eva’s great-aunt, Doren Mapeta, is the one who can best remember their previous home, and she takes Eva and her mother Joyce to see it. Water was plentiful here, and the community grew wattle as required by the government of the time. Their success, Doren speculates, may have prompted their removal.

Things were much more difficult in the new area of Bende, where the Mapetas and the rest of their village were resettled in the 1960s. Another elder, Caleb Mandipaza, remembers how the springs dried up as trees were cut down. In the 1980s, he remembers, it became even more difficult when a camp for refugees from war-torn Mozambique was established nearby. Up to 55,000 refugees lived there, putting pressure on the natural resource base.

It was elders like Caleb Mandipaza and Doren Mapeta who spearheaded the conservation effort, recalls Joyce Mapeta. She outlines the spring rehabilitation programme that the community is now involved in, and new methods such as permaculture, which NGOs have brought to the village.

What of the future? Do the environmental and income-generating activities offer hope for the future of this rural area? Eva admits that her first choice is a job in town as soon as her son is old enough, but Great-Aunt Doren feels that her community is satisfied now and wouldn’t accept another move.

**Endnotes for the overview of the book**

1 See Session 3 for a more in-depth discussion of different livelihoods frameworks that have been developed by agencies such as CARE, the UK Department for International Development, Oxfam and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and how these frameworks have been modified and adapted in southern Africa.
Chapter 1: Introduction to the livelihoods framework

This chapter provides a basic introduction to the livelihoods framework. After comparing the basic features of various livelihoods models in use, it describes the main features of the livelihoods approach, and what its strengths and its weaknesses are. It then explores how the approach can be put into practice through appreciative enquiry and participatory problem analysis. The chapter ends with answers to a number of questions which might be asked by programme managers.
Understanding the terminology

To navigate your way through this book, you will need to understand a few basic terms and concepts. In particular you need to be clear about the difference between a conceptual framework and a methodological approach.

A framework is a ‘particular way of viewing the world’.¹ The livelihoods framework is a way of understanding how households derive their livelihoods by drawing on capabilities and assets to develop livelihood strategies composed of a range of activities.

The framework defines and categorises the different types of assets and entitlements which households have access to. The framework examines the different factors in the local and wider environment that influence household livelihood security. The framework looks at the connections between the local or micro situation and actors, institutions and processes at work in the wider world.

Working with a framework requires understanding its different elements and the connections between them. Because people view the world in different ways and theorise the relations between things differently, frameworks are constantly contested, adapted and refined. Even where people agree on fundamental core concepts, they may use different terms to describe them. They may emphasise different elements, or think about the interactions between the elements in different ways. In this book we use a model that uses common livelihoods concepts.

A number of variations of the basic livelihoods framework have been described by different development actors. They use different terms to describe similar things. Sometimes the language or concepts are so complex that only academics and policy developers are likely to use them. In this book we have tried to simply explain the core components of livelihoods frameworks. We have tried to create a bridge between different livelihoods models and the thinking about how to put livelihoods analysis into practice.

It can be argued that the livelihoods framework does not require participatory or appreciative planning approaches to put it into practice. Others like Diana Carney² say that the framework is built on a participatory paradigm. The authors of this book place a high value on participatory research and planning methods,³ appreciative enquiry and participatory problem analysis as appropriate tools to examine different aspects of the framework. The precise mix of tools and methods used to investigate elements of the livelihoods framework will vary from practitioner to practitioner and situation to situation.
The concept of sustainable livelihoods

The concept of sustainable livelihoods is a reference point for a wide range of people involved in different aspects of development policy formulation and planning. As analysts point out, there are two broad approaches to defining livelihoods. One has a narrower economic focus on production, employment and household income. The other:

*takes a more holistic view which unites concepts of economic development, reduced vulnerability and environmental sustainability while building on the strengths of the rural poor.*

The livelihoods concepts and methodological approaches in this book are rooted in this more holistic view. The livelihoods framework is not restricted to analysing rural livelihoods. It has important applications in understanding urban livelihoods and vulnerability and the linkages between rural and urban areas.

Although there are differences of interpretation and different variations of the livelihoods framework, they all build on earlier development theory. These include aspects of the integrated rural development planning (IRDP) approaches of the 1970s; food security initiatives during the 1980s; rapid rural appraisal (RRA); participatory rural appraisal (PRA); farming systems research; gender analysis; new understandings of poverty and well-being; risk and vulnerability assessment; and agrarian reform.

Many earlier development approaches assumed that rural society was homogenous (in other words, that there was no differentiation between households in rural areas) and that households had single-purpose economies (in other words, that they only had one way of making a living). As a result, development agencies tended to focus on narrow, sectoral, production-orientated strategies that often bypassed those most at risk and failed to recognise that poor households have multiple economic strategies. One of the key findings that flowed from participatory research and appraisal was a much more subtle understanding of livelihoods and the different elements that they combine.

The work of Chambers and Conway in the early 1990s built on participatory research practices and ideas put forward by the World Commission on Environment and Development. They developed a definition of livelihoods and the factors that make them sustainable which underpins all of the livelihoods frameworks currently being used:

* A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the
next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term.\(^7\)

The Chambers and Conway definition was modified by DFID in 1999, a definition that is widely used:

_A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from shocks and stresses and maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, whilst not undermining the natural resource base._\(^8\)

Other livelihoods definitions make people more central and are less concerned with precise terminology for different kinds of assets. They highlight issues of ownership, access and decision making. One of these definitions of livelihoods states:

_People's capacity to generate and maintain their means of living, enhance their well-being and that of future generations. These capacities are contingent upon the availability and accessibility of options which are ecological, economic and political and which are predicated on equity, ownership of resources and participatory decision making._\(^9\)

Despite differences in emphasis by different practitioners, the livelihoods framework helps us to:

- identify (and value) what people are already doing to cope with risk and uncertainty
- make the connections between factors that constrain or enhance their livelihoods on the one hand, and policies and institutions in the wider environment
- identify measures that can strengthen assets, enhance capabilities and reduce vulnerability.

**Livelihoods frameworks compared\(^{10}\)**

**The DFID framework**

One of the most widely used frameworks is the one used by the UK Department for International Development.

The DFID framework sets out to conceptualise:
• how people operate within a vulnerability context that is shaped by different factors – shifting seasonal constraints (and opportunities), economic shocks and longer-term trends
• how they draw on different types of livelihood assets or capital in different combinations which are influenced by:
  • the vulnerability context
  • a range of institutions and processes
  • how they use their asset base to develop a range of livelihood strategies to achieve desired livelihood outcomes.

The arrows in the framework try to show how the different elements ‘all of which are highly dynamic’ interrelate and influence one another. The framework is informed by certain core concepts:

• It is **people-centred** in the sense that it advocates that:
  • development policy and practice should flow from an understanding of the poor and their livelihoods strategies
  • the poor should directly contribute to determining development priorities and be able to influence the institutions and process that impact on their lives.

The DFID livelihoods framework

H represents **human capital**: the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health important to the ability to pursue different livelihood strategies;

P represents **physical capital**: the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy and communications) and the production equipment and means that enable people to pursue livelihoods;

S represents **social capital**: the social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust, access to wider institutions of society) upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods;

F represents **financial capital**: the financial resources which are available to people (whether savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances or pensions) and which provide them with different livelihood options; and

N represents **natural capital**: the natural resource stocks from which resource flows useful for livelihoods are derived (e.g. land, water, wildlife, biodiversity, environmental resources).
• It is holistic in that the framework encourages analysis that cuts across different sectors and recognises a range of actors and influences as well as multiple livelihood strategies and outcomes.

• It is dynamic in that it tries to understand change over time and the complex interplay between different factors.

• It starts from an analysis of strengths rather than needs and problems.

• It looks for and makes the linkages between ‘micro’ and ‘macro’ levels.

• It is concerned with sustainability in all its dimensions – social, economic, institutional and ecological.

The CARE framework

CARE is an international NGO that uses the livelihoods approach as its primary planning framework. CARE uses the Chambers and Conway livelihoods definition. It identifies three fundamental attributes of livelihoods:

• the possession of human capabilities

• access to tangible and intangible assets

• the existence of economic activities.

(Source: Drinkwater & Rusinow 1999)
CARE’s approach is similar to DFID in that it emphasises the dynamic interrelationships between different aspects of the framework. However, rather than looking at using the ‘five capitals’ approach to assets, it distinguishes between assets, capabilities and activities. The CARE framework does not explicitly identify ‘transforming structures and processes’ and places less emphasis on macro-micro links within the framework, although these are important in many aspects of its work.

CARE emphasises using a ‘light’ conceptual framework and tries to include other approaches. It also aims to allow any framework to be adapted as lessons are learnt so that multiple actors contribute to the evolution of the livelihoods framework.

**Oxfam’s framework**

Oxfam uses a livelihoods framework ‘semi-officially’ that has a lot in common with the DFID framework. However, Oxfam emphasises that there are no ‘established rules’. Oxfam says existing frameworks are still too abstract for field-level staff to understand, although they are valuable at programme and policy levels.

Oxfam also draws on Chambers and Conway for its definition of sustainable livelihoods and emphasises that sustainability has different dimensions:

- economic (for example, the functioning of markets and credit supply)
- social (networks of reciprocity, gender equity)
• institutional (capacity building, access to services and technology, political freedom)

• ecological (quality and availability of environmental resources).

This approach is rights-based – according to Oxfam, everyone has the right to a sustainable livelihood.

The UNDP framework

The United Nations Development Programme understands livelihoods as the means, activities, entitlements and assets by which people make a living. Sustainable livelihoods are defined as those that are:

• able to cope with and recover from shocks and stresses such as drought, civil war and policy failure through coping and adaptive strategies

• economically effective

• ecologically sound

• socially equitable.

Like DFID, UNDP focuses on people’s strengths rather than their needs and emphasises the importance of making micro-macro links.
Southern African approaches to livelihoods

The Southern African Drought-Resilient Livelihoods Programme

This initiative was launched under the auspices of the Periperi network of organisations and individuals which was initiated in 1997. Periperi is committed to strengthening disaster mitigation research, training, education and practice in southern Africa. The project has been co-ordinated by the Disaster Mitigation for Sustainable Livelihoods Programme (DiMP) in the Department of Environmental and Geographical Sciences at the University of Cape Town.

The work to develop the learning package has involved livelihoods practitioners working in Lesotho, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe interacting to try and create a shared conceptual framework for livelihoods analysis and vulnerability assessment in drought-prone communities. The practitioners set out to draw on the regional experience to construct an accessible framework and a participatory approach to fieldwork practice that would draw on a wide range of tools and methods. The frameworks that have been developed provide a reference point for much of this package.

The PGIEP framework

While the Periperi initiative was in process, another separate initiative was taking place in South Africa with a focus on sustainable livelihoods and land reform. In 1998 the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) in conjunction with the Danish funding agency DANCED started the Policy Guidelines for Integrating Environmental Planning into Land Reform (PGIEP) programme.

Land reform involves a whole range of actors including:

- people applying for restitution of land rights lost under apartheid, increased tenure security on land where they already reside, and access to land under the land redistribution programme
- NGOs
- different government departments responsible for planning and delivery of post transfer support and environmental management
- district municipalities.

Typically each of these actors has different ideas about what land reform should achieve and different assumptions about why people want land and the ways in which access to land will contribute to their livelihoods. The livelihoods framework has provided a focal point to enable the different parties to address key issues:
• it enables planners to better understand how people live and recognise their different livelihood strategies
• it helps to ensure that the people who are obtaining land or tenure security are central to the planning of land reform projects, and that the plans enable people to build on their assets, capabilities and existing livelihood activities so that their lives improve
• it stimulates analysis of the vulnerability context and enables people to think about the different dimensions of sustainability
• it provides opportunities for exploring micro-macro linkages, and the linkages between different sectors.

The macro environment has an impact on the micro household environment. At the same time, households have an impact on the macro environment. When problems are tackled in a narrow, sectoral way, the influence of other sectors is not taken into account. For example, an agricultural development programme might be planned with extension officers and inputs like seed and fertiliser. But if the roads are not good enough to get the product to the market, the programme will fail to generate income for the farmers. Good institutional and land tenure arrangements are crucial to the success or failure of land reform projects.

The micro environment refers to the environment at local level, the macro environment refers to the environment at all levels above local level – for example, district, provincial, national and international.

The livelihoods framework has been influential in shifting the land reform programme from concerns with quantity – how many households have obtained land and how many hectares have been transferred – to concerns with quality. This approach has stimulated questions about how the land reform programme has contributed to livelihood security and sustainability.

The programme has involved:
• a training and project-based learning programme in two pilot provinces
• the development and publication of a set of policy guidelines for integrating environmental planning into land reform (DLA 2001).

The concept of sustainable livelihoods has been one of the key ideas informing the training and learning approach and the development of planning guidelines. The training programme initially drew on the DFID framework (see page 5). Many participants found it difficult to interpret the framework from the diagram. They said the framework is quite abstract and that, although the approach is specifically defined as being people-centred, an asset pentagon replaces people.
To respond to this feedback, the DLA/DANCED team adapted the framework, incorporating elements from the CARE and Oxfam models.

People are at the centre of the PGIEP livelihoods framework. They use their different capabilities and the tangible and intangible assets and entitlements to which they have access as the basis for different livelihood sources and activities. The relationship between people and the asset base is at the core of the framework.

The household triangle of assets, capabilities and activities lies inside a rectangle which represents earth, the natural resources, and the range of other on- and off-farm resources that people can draw on. People transform their assets and capabilities into livelihood strategies that will meet particular livelihood outcomes. Around the central rectangle is a second rectangle which represents livelihoods outcomes. The more successful the household’s livelihood strategies are, the better the livelihoods outcomes will be. These livelihood outcomes may include greater equity, more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and more sustainable use of the natural resource base. Diversification is part of a good livelihood strategy so that the household does not depend on only a few strategies for its survival. More diversification and more sustainable livelihood activities will result in better and better livelihood outcomes.

Livelihood diversification refers to a household’s attempt to reduce its vulnerability by having more than one livelihood activity. In a diversified household, if one productive activity does not provide enough, or fails completely, there are other sources of livelihood that the household can fall back on.

How well people can draw on their assets and diversify their livelihood strategies depends on a range of factors in the external environment known as the vulnerability context. This is represented by the third rectangle. The vulnerability context brings in shocks, stresses and other trends that diminish the asset base, reduce capabilities or restrict household activities.

There is a dynamic interaction between the asset base, livelihood strategies and vulnerability. Vulnerability comes from several different sources. Assessment of key trends will identify potential sources of vulnerability, as well as sources of opportunity. Trends in the local, national and global economy will highlight the incidence of poverty, unemployment, retrenchment and other factors which increase vulnerability. They will highlight issues like external debt, and how government spends its money. There will be trends that reflect the state of governance, or natural resource management. These trends will not affect everyone in the same way. The trends may be linked to the seasons. They may create opportunities for some and risks for others.
The PGIEP livelihoods framework
The vulnerability context contains shocks that can have sudden and dramatic impacts on livelihoods – examples include HIV/AIDS, retrenchment and floods.

People’s lives and livelihoods are affected in different ways by a wide range of structures and processes. These might include local institutions or customs that control the access of people to assets. Not everyone will be affected in the same way. Some institutions may favour men and discriminate against women. Others may favour older people and marginalise youth. They might take the form of policy and law that either enhances or undermire local livelihood strategies – for example, legislation that prevents the subdivision of land or affects the management of natural resources.

Good governance or corruption will affect people’s lives and livelihoods. They may be affected by international trade agreements (which, for example, affect the demand for certain crops). People are not passive victims of structures and processes over which they have no control. The way that the livelihoods framework is put into practice through participatory planning and appreciative enquiry can build the capacity of local people to lobby for appropriate policy and institutional support.

However, communities are not homogenous and the planning process will raise conflicts of interest. Priorities will reflect gender and power relations. In places where international agencies, tiers of government, NGOs and others have conscious policies to promote sustainable livelihoods, they will make links between micro and macro levels. They will respond to the priorities of the poor that have been identified through livelihoods analysis. They will look for ways in which to strengthen their asset base and find points of leverage to ensure maximum impact from targeted interventions. A key objective of any intervention must be to create opportunities for people to diversify their livelihoods and broaden their asset base. Finally agencies, governments, NGOs and local people have to develop conscious strategies to reduce risk, vulnerability and cushion shocks and stresses.

At the macro level, policies and institutional arrangements can be analysed to measure the extent to which this is actually happening. Participatory monitoring and evaluation can assess impacts on the ground.

Put very simply the PGIEP livelihoods framework conceptualises processes that:

- enhance the natural asset base represented by the central rectangle (broaden and increase people’s access to the asset base)
- grow the outcomes represented by the second rectangle (diversify livelihood opportunities and attain desired livelihood outcomes)
- reduce the impact of the vulnerability context represented by the outside rectangle (limit risk and vulnerability).
The Learning about livelihoods (LAL) framework

The framework which we use in this book is developed from the PGIEP model. It also puts people at the centre. Households have capabilities and access to a range of assets which they use to carry out different livelihood activities. There are many different shapes and sizes of household. Households are differentiated by relative well-being and their access to resources and power. The framework also looks at gender and age relations within and outside the household. Gender and age affect access to resources and the kinds of livelihood activities that are possible.

Households use their assets and capabilities to engage in many different strategies to try to secure their livelihoods. The more diversification there is in the livelihood strategies of a household, the more secure it is likely to be.

The different livelihood strategies have different outcomes, and they may be more or less sustainable. More desirable livelihood outcomes vary from household to household but increased well-being is usually a high priority. When a household is able to achieve a desired livelihood outcome, this has a positive impact on its assets and capabilities (its assets and capabilities improve). When livelihood activities have undesirable outcomes, these have a negative influence on a household’s assets and capabilities.

Local livelihood activities are affected by factors in the external (macro) environment on the local, national and international levels. The external environment includes physical environment, the social environment, the political/institutional environment and the economic environment.

The physical environment includes the built environment (for example, buildings, roads and water pipes) and the natural environment (for example, earth, water and plants). These factors can help households to engage in sustainable livelihood strategies by having an enabling influence. They can also undermine livelihood sustainability through shocks and stresses. In the same way that the external environment affects households, households affect the external environment. These influences can be positive or negative. It is possible for a household activity to improve the well-being of the household on an individual level, while having a negative impact on the external environment. For example, a household may cut wood to sell for cash income. If this activity is done unsustainably, this will destroy the natural resource base and undermine the livelihoods of many other people.

The LAL livelihoods framework is holistic. It can be used to analyse both the micro and macro environments and the influence that they have on each other. In this way, key trends can be identified which show how households in different categories of well-being are moving towards greater resilience and livelihood sustainability or falling into increased vulnerability. The framework also enables change over time, for example, seasonality and historical changes, to be brought into the analysis.
Main principles of the livelihoods approach

There are five main principles guiding the livelihoods approach that we use in this package.

1. **The approach is people-centred and participatory.** Livelihoods are about people, so livelihoods analysis is based on understanding how people make their living. It uses participatory methods, and serves as a framework to decide which participatory livelihoods assessment (PLA) methods to use at the appropriate time, and how to frame key questions.
2. The approach assumes differentiation. The livelihoods approach recognises that there are important differences among households in a given community, and among individuals who make up the household. Differentiation may involve relative well-being or it may focus on issues such as gender, age or ethnicity. The approach enables outsiders to better appreciate these differences, and to design processes that can cope with complexity and diversity. Differentiation also enables us to improve our ability to design sensible interventions with our target groups. It can also help us to understand where resistance may develop, if for example activities threaten certain groups within the community.

3. Holistic analysis leads to targeted interventions. The approach encourages holistic analysis, with attention to identifying factors inside and outside households that have beneficial or negative impacts on livelihoods. However, it does not assume that one must address all issues simultaneously. Rather, based on an analysis of the most important influences on livelihoods, one can select specific, focused interventions while understanding how these relate to other issues that are not being addressed. The livelihoods framework can be useful to organisations that focus on specific sectors like health or natural resource management, and it also creates opportunities for organisations that have different sectoral focuses to work together in co-operation or partnership. This helps to increase the impact of development interventions. Holistic diagnosis allows us to identify the most strategic interventions into a situation to achieve the best result.

4. Targeted interventions should result in maximum leverage. Successful poverty reduction strategies must address a whole range of issues. There are many possible interventions, but resources are limited. Therefore, it is crucial to select and target interventions in ways that will have the greatest impact and reduce poverty and vulnerability for the most people.

5. Reflective practice improves the quality of analysis and intervention. The livelihoods framework recognises that households and livelihoods are constantly changing in response to shocks, stresses and seasonality (the impact of the seasons). This highlights the need for ongoing learning and structured reflections on practice. Reflective practice must apply both to the ‘implementing agent’ and the community/households involved. Engaging the community in an ongoing discussion and analysis of changes in their livelihoods over time helps make people at all levels more aware of potentials and linkages. Livelihoods analysis can provide a useful framework for monitoring the impacts of development initiatives and can pinpoint unintended consequences.
Advantages of the approach

Analysis of livelihoods and assessment of vulnerability contributes to the effectiveness of development interventions in many ways. The key benefits are listed below.

1. **It improves internal coherence and analytical strength of programmes.** The livelihoods approach introduces a clear conceptual framework that guides programme design, implementation and monitoring, and impact assessment. The conceptual framework helps development managers and fieldworkers by providing a simple road map to navigate complex situations. It helps us understand relationships and make important connections and linkages. It keeps us from simply forgetting or overlooking things that might be important. At the same time, the framework is not too rigid. There is freedom to focus on aspects within the framework that are particularly relevant and important to your organisation’s mission.

The framework helps us to focus on particular aspects of a livelihood and make a real effort to understand what actually constrains livelihood opportunities. The approach improves an organisation’s ability to learn from its work. It enables staff to engage with and learn from others working within the livelihoods framework. It provides a shared reference point for analysing different situations.

2. **It increases impact through improved understanding, targeting and use of resources.** This is possible when holistic analysis is done and interventions are effectively targeted. By understanding the realities of people’s livelihood strategies and addressing their priorities, it becomes clearer which intervention is likely to have the greatest positive impact. This means that improved targeting of scarce resources can yield better benefits, for more people.

3. **It supports targeted skills development and specific expertise.** The practical orientation of the livelihoods framework helps managers and staff to determine exactly what sorts of knowledge and skills they need to develop, in line with community needs, and in accordance with the organisation’s own vision.

4. **It integrates participatory methods.** Many fieldworkers learn a variety of participatory methods, but are often not clear about why they should use a particular tool and what to do with the information they obtain from using it. Often PRA/PLA activities gather large amounts of information that describe situations without providing a framework for analysing and acting on the results.

The livelihoods framework can help to:

- decide what information will be important
• select appropriate tools for gathering and analysing information with communities
• use this information for analysis, planning, implementation and monitoring purposes which involve not only the implementing agent but communities as well.

5. It creates opportunities for collaboration and partnerships. Not all organisations can or should try to do everything. It is important for an organisation to build up sufficient competence and experience in its own field. However quality development usually requires interventions at several different points at the same time. This can be achieved through effective partnerships based upon an agreed understanding of what the various parties are trying to achieve, and how various interventions could reinforce one another. The livelihoods framework can serve as the basis for an overall analysis on which all parties agree, and thus can facilitate mutually beneficial partnerships and networks.

6. It increases access to donor funding. Donors are increasingly looking for organisations and programmes that can clearly demonstrate impact. Interventions that address livelihoods and vulnerability issues will generally be better targeted and thought through. After project design, the livelihoods framework supports clearer monitoring and impact assessment. This enables development organisations and communities to manage and guide activities in ways that truly reduce poverty. Donors are more likely to support programmes that are well-designed and that include impact monitoring.

7. It complements existing approaches. Many organisations already have adopted frameworks and approaches to livelihoods work. The approach taken to livelihoods analysis in this book aims to add value to these approaches. It does not try to replace them.

Criticism of the livelihoods framework and its implementation

Although different sustainable livelihoods frameworks have a lot to offer, these approaches have also been criticised. By looking at some of the concerns that have been voiced in southern Africa, you will become more aware of both the strengths and the weaknesses of the frameworks and their implementation.

Colin Murray has written a concise summary of some of the strengths and weaknesses of the DFID framework. His comments on this framework also have relevance for other livelihoods frameworks as well.
The films that accompany this handbook graphically illustrate Murray’s first critical point. *Legacies*, which is set in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa, highlights how different elements in the vulnerability context can combine and what their effects are on peoples lives. Rural people in northern KwaZulu-Natal must cope with the combined impacts of years of political and civil conflict, land and livestock dispossession, retrenchment and jobless growth in the South African economy and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Since this film was made, there have been outbreaks of cholera, flooding and foot-and-mouth disease in the province with devastating effects on the lives of rural people.

Against this backdrop of poverty and inequality, some critics say that the livelihoods framework implicitly accepts the status quo of poverty and inequality. They say it focuses only on encouraging the poor to use what they have in a better way:

> At times, the sustainable livelihoods framework conveys a sense of accommodating the way the world works. Even if it is used in an explicitly pro-poor fashion, some have found it scandalous to develop an analysis of poverty that enumerates the ‘resources’ that characterise that context, labels them ‘capital’, and proposes – indeed insists – that these constitute the building blocks to overcome that poverty. Such an interpretation would be in grave danger of cordon off poverty as if it, and its solution, is somehow separate from life and development of the broader community.  

Echoing Murray, other critics say that the livelihoods framework may underplay the structural constraints that keep the poor in poverty:
The danger with an emphasis on assets and capabilities is that the constraints are underplayed. In the worst case, it can result in an argument that the poor are ‘richer’ than they seem, and that action for equity – particularly on the part of the state – is thus less urgent.

Some critics go further to allege that the livelihoods framework can romanticise the poor which results in participatory processes that listen uncritically and accept the outcomes of activities at face value:

An emphasis on assets often goes hand in hand with a romanticism that idealises the poor. An implicit danger in approaches which ‘listen to the poor’ is that the researcher listens uncritically. Neither rich nor poor have the monopoly of knowledge or ignorance. In some cases, the strategies of the poor are appropriate, logical and relatively sustainable in the circumstances. In others they are based on beliefs, values and traditions which result in unsustainable or illegal practices. In some cases they are based on history, including the political history and imposed systems of authority.

There are other concerns about the politics of livelihoods enquiry and the quality of fieldwork that is used to operationalise the livelihoods framework:

In theory livelihoods enquiries are supposed to be healthy because they are so very participatory. In practice they can create all kinds of expectations that most projects fail to meet. At the very least cautions should be issued about this sort of problem with livelihood enquiry, which is often the very early stage at which the rot sets in to livelihoods based approaches to development.

These concerns about the quality of fieldwork are echoed by leading PRA practitioners.

As Chambers points out:

There is a mass of bad practice. Quality assurance is now a huge concern among practitioners and trainers. Dangers and abuses include

- using the label without the substance
- demanding instant PRA on a large scale
- bad training based on lecturing without field experience – focusing on methods and neglecting behaviour and attitudes
- rigid routinised applications
- taking local people’s time without recompense and raising expectations.
Listening to the critical voices

The critical points raised above vary from substantive comments on aspects of the livelihoods framework through to the politics and practice of livelihoods enquiry. There are counter-arguments to many of the criticism of the livelihoods framework, but these will not be raised in this book. Whether or not you agree with the points raised by critics, it is important that you as the reader know about them.

The livelihoods framework should not be uncritically or superficially ‘mainstreamed’ by policy makers, planners and development practitioners. There is a risk that the framework could be used to keep things the way they are and divert attention away from what keeps people poor.

Similarly, if livelihoods planning is badly done, participatory methods are used routinely and for their own sake and expectations are raised that cannot be met, the framework will become discredited.

Although the framework is not the same thing as the methodological approaches that are used to implement it, it is difficult to separate them. How you ‘walk the talk’ influences the talk itself. As PRA practitioners point out, attitudes and behaviour are very important.

Putting the livelihoods framework into practice

There are a number of methodological approaches that can be used to put the livelihoods framework into practice. The team that has contributed to this book combines a wide range of methods in their practice. These include PRA/PLA methods and tools, problem analysis and appreciative inquiry.

Many readers will be familiar with methods that involve PRA and different types of participatory problem analysis. Appreciative inquiry is a lesser-known approach in southern Africa and has a particular relevance, given the social and political historical context of countries in the region.

More detail on different methodological approaches is contained in Chapter 3.

Appreciative enquiry vs problem-based enquiry

Recent development approaches have focused on identifying local strengths, assets and opportunities as the foundation for development planning. This approach is known as appreciative enquiry or appreciative planning and action.
Traditionally, development planning is based on activities to identify, analyse and prioritise problems. It produces ‘problem trees’, tries to isolate ‘root problems’, looks at the causes and effects of problems, and tries to show constraints on the macro level. Development projects based on this approach are usually based on a package of problem-solving measures.

The problem-based approach for development planning has been criticised for three main reasons:

1. Problem-based enquiry focuses on weaknesses, decay and things that have gone wrong. This makes it very difficult for people to see anything but problems, so they may feel powerless to change anything. People then become dependent on outside ‘expert’ professionals who come in to ‘discover’ and name the problems, and take responsibility for finding ‘solutions’. Development should put people at the centre of the planning process and assist them to take control of their own lives.

2. The problem-solving approach gives more weight to the knowledge of professionals than local people. Local people often know more about problems, potential solutions and priorities than professionals do. Professionals often make assumptions about what is important which local people do not share. They also usually approach problems from a technical point of view, limiting the enquiry to physical and economic factors. The problem-solving approach is no longer able to mobilise and inspire people.

3. Problem-based enquiry is often focused on only one sector, for example, providing health care or running water. Sectorally-focused programmes do not take into account the complex and constantly changing situation in which poor people use multiple livelihood strategies.

In spite of these weaknesses, the problem-based approach has important strengths for sustainable livelihoods planning. Its emphasis on the need to analyse power relations, to understand ‘the big picture’ and to look at how overarching structures and processes affect communities is very valuable.

Generally speaking, appreciative enquiry is an important tool for working at household and community level. Problem-based planning and analysis is more useful for investigating the wider environment.

**Appreciative planning and action**

Good livelihoods planning is based on a collaborative enquiry to discover how people live, what resources they have access to, what works, and what has potential to work. It identifies how different people in different households are able to transform their assets and capabilities into livelihood strategies. It explores what people see as desirable livelihood outcomes – these will vary from household to household.
The approach also enables people to imagine what might be, and how their livelihoods could be improved and become more secure and sustainable. The approach recognises that households are not the same. Livelihood strategies and access to assets vary. Power relations are unequal.

**From communities to households and categories of well-being**

In the past many development planning approaches focused on the ‘community’ and ‘community groups’. It was assumed that communities had common interests, or where there were differences these could be resolved by working with interest groups (for example, women and youth). This meant that individual households within a community often did not get enough attention. The primary focus of the livelihoods framework is on households, and the way that people use their capabilities and assets to undertake a range of activities that make up their livelihood strategy.

The approach shows how different households (and individuals within each household) can become vulnerable to shocks and stresses. The approach enables a clear and subtle understanding of livelihood opportunities and constraints, and helps to identify which interventions are likely to have the most impact.

**Moving forward**

In writing this book we want to show how the livelihoods framework can strengthen the political voice and influence of the poor and enable them to secure full social and economic rights. At the same time the framework provides a way for government and other development players to develop poverty eradication policies and programmes that work. Finally, the framework enables all to reflect on the issues associated with sustainability and highlights the social, political and economic transformation that must take place to make this a reality.

**Frequently asked questions from programme managers**

Q: What are the implications of adopting the livelihoods framework for managers of organisations and development programmes? Does the livelihoods approach imply a whole new way of working that will require special skills and training? How well does the framework and approach integrate with existing ways of working?
Many managers are rightly cautious about whole-heartedly accepting new ideas and approaches to development planning. They need to be convinced that the approach will add value to their organisations and programmes. In the section below we give answers to frequently-asked questions from managers.

Q: Will adopting the livelihoods framework involve lots of time and money to get started?

The process does not have to be done as a huge, costly one-off event. Instead, it can be integrated into ongoing work over time. The approach encourages organisations to develop long-term relations with communities, and within this to develop a simple, routine, participatory way of improving practice. It could be helpful at the beginning to set aside a couple of weeks to work on this, perhaps linked to a monitoring or evaluation exercise that has already been planned. This can strengthen the relationships among the community, the organisation, and any other partners, while serving as a key learning and staff development opportunity.

Q: Who will pay for project design that uses the livelihoods approach?

Depending on the relationship between your organisation and the donor, the introduction of the livelihoods framework could be financed as part of programme design, as staff development or organisational capacity building, as development of a monitoring system, or simply as a key monitoring or evaluation event.

Q: The approach seems to assume strong PRA skills. What is the best way for our fieldworkers to acquire these skills?

The livelihoods framework does not by definition require PRA skills. However, the approach that we promote in this book does require people who are experienced in PRA/PLA methods.

The framework should be introduced into the organisation with the support of someone who is experienced in participatory approaches. A facilitator who accompanies staff in the field can help staff develop participatory skills as they carry out realistic and directly useful activities. This learning approach is more effective than a pure ‘workshop’ training event. However, staff will also benefit from training that clarifies the livelihoods framework and highlights tools and approaches that can be used to put it into practice.

Q: It sounds as if the livelihoods framework is best suited to integrated rural development initiatives. How does it help if we are doing a sectorally-defined project?

The livelihoods approach is different from old-style integrated rural development. The emphasis on holistic analysis does not exclude a sectoral
focus. However, it can help people who undertake sectoral projects to understand and build on links with other sectors. The livelihoods framework enables you to understand how sectoral initiatives affect overall livelihoods of various people, and how people respond to sectoral initiatives. People have a holistic view of their own lives. How they see sectoral initiatives helps us to understand sectoral initiatives better.

Q: How is the livelihoods framework relevant to organisations that specialise in emergency relief?

Major emergency relief organisations are increasingly focusing on development in the midst of emergencies. There is an increasing recognition that even during emergencies, relief aid is a secondary source of support. Most people survive on the basis of inter-household support, and a variety of coping strategies. Livelihoods analysis provides valuable information on how people manage risk and provides insight into how existing coping strategies can be strengthened. This can help to make relief interventions more effective.

Endnotes for Chapter 1

1 Michael Drinkwater, personal communication.
2 Carney 1998.
3 There is a wide range of different participatory planning methods in use. These include PHAST/SARAR tools REFLECT methods, and a host of others.
4 Shackleton et al. 2000:36.
5 The IRDP approach failed due to over-ambitious large-scale, long-term projects that tried to integrate different sectoral concerns into a single plan. These plans were over-centralised, full of bureaucracy and dominated by technical planners. The IRDP approach was replaced by tight sectorally-focused planning which has often failed to make important connections and understand linkages between sectors, and the micro and macro levels. Livelihoods-focused planning combines some of the holistic thinking that characterised IRDP, but focuses on carefully-targeted interventions rather than big multi-sectoral projects.
9 Titi & Singh 1994.
10 This section draws on the DFID Sustainable livelihood guidance sheets and a paper on the DFID, CARE, Oxfam and UNDP livelihoods approaches by representatives of those organisations (Carney et al. 1999).
11 DFID. Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets.
12 For more information on CARE and its livelihoods approach see Drinkwater & Rusinow 1999 and Frankenberger & Drinkwater 1999.
13 The Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) in the School of Government, University of the Western Cape, has designed and run this programme in association with the Rural Action Committee (TRAC) and Common Ground Consulting.
14 Murray 2000.
15 These gaps are acknowledged by DFID which advocates using other tools to ensure these ‘missing ideas’ are reflected in practice. (Carney et al. 1999:10).
16 Butler & Greenstein 1999.
This approach has been attributed to David Cooperider, Diana Whitney, Suresh Srivastva, Frank Barrett and others who developed the theory at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland Ohio in the 1970s. The approach was originally focused on organisational development in a corporate context but has been adapted and applied to development theory and practice by the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) and others, including CARE Nepal.

References and further reading for Chapter 1


DFID (Department for International Development). Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets. Available from the livelihoods learning platform www.livelihoods.org


Frankenberger, T & Drinkwater, M. 1999. Household livelihood security: A holistic approach for addressing poverty and vulnerability. CARE.


This chapter contains ten workshop sessions which introduce different aspects of the livelihoods framework. Each session builds on the previous one. Together the sessions provide a comprehensive guide to the main features of the livelihoods approach. This does not mean that the sessions must be done in the order that they are presented here. Facilitators can mix and match sessions to suit the situation. Sessions can be adapted to cater for different levels of knowledge and experience among participants. Depending on the time available and the group, activities could be expanded or done in a shorter time.

The sessions are as follows:

- Session 1: What are households? (page 28)
- Session 2: Inside the household (page 40)
- Session 3: Introducing the livelihoods framework (page 57)
- Session 4: Household activities (page 88)
- Session 5: Capabilities and assets (page 97)
- Session 6: Access, power and control (page 110)
- Session 7: The external environment (page 126)
- Session 8: The vulnerability context (page 155)
- Session 9: Exploring sustainability (page 170)
- Session 10: Livelihoods and disaster risk (page 190)
Session 1:

What are households?

Summary

Purpose

Different people use the term ‘household’ to mean different things. The session shows how important it is that the planning team understands how community members define a household. Members of the community and development planning teams must develop a shared definition of the household in order to work well together. This will ensure that households and their livelihoods will be a useful basis for analysis and planning.

By the end of this session participants will:

- agree on a working definition of a household
- list common criteria and likely difficulties in deciding whether someone is a member of the household or not
- recognise that local institutions might use different definitions of household when making decisions about access to resources.

Activity overview

This session consists of two linked activities:

- In Activity 1 participants profile their own households and develop a set of criteria that define who may be considered as household members.
- In Activity 2 participants work in groups to analyse prepared household case studies and apply the household membership criteria they developed in Activity 1. They decide who is a household member and who is not.

After the groups have presented their analysis, they have a short discussion to highlight any household membership criteria that were difficult to apply. The session ends with a discussion about the issues that have been raised and the implications these have for doing household profiles in the field.

Session components and time required

The ‘key ideas’ section introduces ideas and debates about the definition and composition of households. This can be photocopied and handed out at the end of the session. The preparation section alerts the trainer to what he or she will need to do before running the session. The facilitation section is a step-by-step session plan. The two activity guides are designed to be photocopied and handed out to participants. The session requires the use of two household case studies. Make your choice from the printed case studies for photocopying from Chapter 4 (Case Study 1 and 2), the filmed case studies on the videocassette, or develop your own case studies.

The session will take slightly more than 2 hours, depending on what case studies you use.
The livelihoods framework emphasises the importance of starting with people, understanding their skills and assets, and the different factors that contribute to how they make a living. The approach assists people to identify strengths and build on the strategies they have already developed to reduce vulnerability, diversify their livelihoods and make them more secure. The approach also engages policy makers and development practitioners to ensure that policies and development initiatives target the key issues and actively contribute to livelihood security.

Livelihoods analysis often starts by looking at households – how they are structured and how they interrelate. Household profiles can provide critical information about how people live, how households interrelate and how they contribute to, and are affected by community dynamics. Household profiles are used as the basis for participatory ranking activities where local people rank households according to their perceptions of relative well-being.

Concepts and definitions

Household concepts and definitions are seldom neutral and may be distorted by the biases of researchers and planners. This makes it very important to work out locally appropriate definitions with people and test these definitions against the diversity of local household situations.

Defining the household

Households are often defined as people who eat together, share resources and live under the same roof:

*The household, in all its different cultural connotations, is the primary social living unit. In it are encapsulated a cluster of activities of people who live together most of the time and provide mutual physical, socio psychological, and developmental support and functions within the broader organisation and environment of the community.*

However, household definitions do not always fit well with complex realities. Some writers have asked whether searching for a universal household definition is necessary. Households come in different shapes and sizes and they may be different at different times in the year. Also, the way people define households may vary within and between communities. The way that people define households may change depending on changing circumstances.
Some people think that households are the same as the ‘nuclear family’ – a man, a woman and their children. People who have this idea of the household may also believe that resources, food and income are equally shared. This is often not the case. 4 (See Session 2)

There are many other variations on the form and composition of the household. Households can include grandparents, other relations, or children from other families who may be temporary, or semi-permanent household members. Households frequently include people who often do not live in them. This is particularly true where rural household members are migrant workers in towns and cities.

Extended family household networks

Individual households can be linked through extended family networks. These networks may be strong or weak. Where they are strong, extended family networks provide a mutual support system and a framework for how households relate to one another.

Pressures on the extended family system such as poverty and HIV/AIDS are increasing. This is making it more difficult for more secure households to support vulnerable households in the extended family. These pressures may lead more secure households to decide that they are responsible only for their immediate families.

Who is the household head?

The concept of ‘headship’ often assumes that there is someone, usually a man, with overall decision-making authority in the household and that that person’s views are the most important. The idea of headship also often assumes that the household head makes the primary economic contribution to the household’s livelihood. These assumptions needed to be carefully tested when compiling household profiles.

Female-headed households

People often use this term to refer to households that consist of a single woman and her dependants. However, there are many cases where female-headed households include men. It is often assumed that female-headed households are more vulnerable or poorer than households with two heads, or households headed by men. Research from southern and central Africa shows that is not always the case.
Some studies show that female-headed households have lower poverty rates than nuclear households. Other research shows that, although female-headed households may have lower levels of income, pre-school children within the household may be better fed than in comparative households headed by men.

In South Africa households headed by women earn a third of households headed by men. This reduced income is usually because female-headed households include fewer income earners.

**Child-headed households**

Sub-Saharan Africa has the world’s highest incidence of HIV/AIDS. Increasingly in southern Africa children whose parents have died of AIDS must take on the role of heads of households.

**Extended family and community affiliations**

Individual households are linked together through family ties. Members of the extended family may be dispersed in different places. Sometimes family ties and ties between people from the same community are very similar. Research has shown that almost all the people in certain urban informal settlements in South Africa come from the same rural place. People with strong rural community ties often co-operate with each other to establish themselves in the city.

**Household clusters**

Clusters of households can often be seen in rural communities and urban informal settlements. These clusters are based on family ties and various co-operative links. The links can be seen in the way in which people co-operate in carrying out different types of work.

**Households and livelihoods**

Households are composed and defined in different ways. They may vary according to custom, culture, gender and economic situation. Households exist in relation to one another and may form clusters that reflect extended family ties. Households have rights, duties and entitlements. Household entitlements may include access to land for settlement, cultivation and common grazing, as well as access to forest products and other natural resources. Households also have the right to participate in decision making about how these resources are used.
Usually local institutions mediate people’s access to these resources. For example, they may determine who can get access to arable land or who can get a residential site. These decisions are usually shaped by local agreements on what constitutes a qualifying household. In some cases female-headed households may not qualify for access to land for cultivation, or their voices may not be heard when taking decisions about how resources should be used.

Because there are different ideas about what a household is, the livelihoods framework emphasises the importance of agreeing on criteria for defining household membership. One of the strengths of the livelihoods framework is in working with local conditions and local definitions.

Endnotes for Session 1
2 Harris 1981; Roberts 1991.
5 Budlender no date.
6 UNAIDS-WHO statistics showed that in December 2000, 25 million of the world’s 36 million people with HIV/AIDS lived in sub-Saharan Africa. (UNAIDS-WHO 2000). By December 2001, there were 3.4 million new infections in sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS-WHO 2001).

References and further reading for Session 1
DFID (Department for International Development) Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets. Available on the livelihoods learning platform www.livelihoods.org
DIESA (Department of International Economic and Social Affairs). 1988. Improving statistics and indicators on women using household surveys. New York: Statistical Office and International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, United Nations. (Series F; no. 48.)


Getting started

Before you run this session, you will need to:

- read through the ‘key ideas’ section of this session and make sure you understand the different definitions and principal debates around the household
- make sure you know what the session objectives are (from the summary) and work through the facilitation section to prepare yourself
- read through the two activity guides
- choose two household case studies – these can come from Chapter 4 (Case Study 1 and Case Study 2 on pages 291–2), the videocassette (details below), or case studies which you have prepared yourself.

Materials required

Flipcharts, photocopies (specified below), pens for writing on flipcharts and material to attach flipcharts to the wall. If you decide to use films, you will also need a working video machine and television set.

Preparing the materials

1. Write the learning objectives (from the summary) and the session outline on a flipchart.
2. (Optional) Prepare a matrix for each group to list household members and assess them against prepared criteria. Refer to the example in Activity Guide 2. You will need to stick four flip charts together to make a working matrix that the groups can use.
3. Make enough copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to hand out to every participant at the end of the session.
4. Make enough copies of the two activity guides to hand out to every participant.
5. (Optional) Prepare a presentation about the household from the ‘key ideas’ section and other sources.
6. Prepare the household case studies you have chosen. Case Study 1 and Case Study 2 from Chapter 4 can be used in this session. If you decide to
use these case studies, make enough copies to hand out to every participant. If you decide to use your own case studies, prepare these for photocopying and ensure there are enough copies to hand out to every participant. If you decide to use filmed case studies, make sure the video machine and television set are working, and that the videotape is in the right place. The following table may help you choose the films:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rating*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique: Floods</td>
<td>The household of André and Ilda Simao is inter-generational. The household consists of André and Ilda, their three children, André’s mother, his brother, and his sister-in-law. The arrangement raises interesting questions. Are there actually two households under one roof or should they be regarded as a single unit?</td>
<td>★★★★★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe: Moving on</td>
<td>The introductory section of the video depicts the Mapeta household. Mr Mapeta has three wives and 16 children. His first wife has died and many of his adult children are working away in town.</td>
<td>★★★★★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho: Home-making</td>
<td>The Thlabeli household consists of Mr Thlabeli, his wife, three children and a young girl, Matsepa Tutuane, who lives with the family and does domestic work. Is Matsepa part of the household or not?</td>
<td>★★★★★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia: 'Pruned'</td>
<td>The Ngalande household consists of Mr and Mrs Ngalande and their children.</td>
<td>★★★★☆☆☆☆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa: Legacies</td>
<td>This film does not contain much in-depth information about a particular household; it is focused on community-level issues.</td>
<td>★☆☆☆☆☆☆☆</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Rating
- ★★★★★☆ Very highly recommended for this session
- ★★★★☆☆☆ Highly recommended for this session
- ★★☆☆☆☆☆ Can use in this session
- ★☆☆☆☆☆☆ Not recommended for this session
Step 1. Session introduction

1. Introduce the session learning objectives and activities, using the flipcharts you have prepared.

2. Explain that different people understand the concept of a household in different ways. In this session, participants will be comparing different households to understand the range of household types and how different people define household membership.

Step 2. Activity 1: Household portraits

Purpose: To draw on participants’ ideas and definitions of what constitutes a household.

1. Break participants into groups of four and give each group a copy of Activity Guide 1. Ask participants to work on their own to individually profile their own households or a household they know. (See Case Study 1 and Case Study 2 on pages 291–2 for an example of how to do this.) You could also run this activity in the plenary group by asking a volunteer to sketch his or her own household, and ask another individual with a different kind of household to do the same.

2. The small groups then discuss their different household profiles, and write on a flipchart a set of criteria that explain how different people come to be regarded as members of a household. (See the example in the Activity Guide.)

3. Ask the groups to present their profiles and household membership criteria to the plenary group. Hold a discussion to highlight the differences that emerge between the households, and the range of reasons which people use to identify someone as a member of a household.

4. Develop a list of criteria that the plenary group agrees on and can refine in the next activity.

Step 3. Activity 2: Defining household membership

Purpose: To analyse households from the case studies and apply and refine household membership criteria developed in Activity 1.

1. Read through Activity Guide 2 with the plenary group and explain how to use the matrix.
2. Ask participants to read or view the prepared household case study, keeping the matrix in mind. If you are using one of the filmed case studies, ask the group to take notes while they watch. If you are using a printed case study, this activity should be done in small groups.

3. Form small groups if you have not already done so, and ask them to discuss and analyse the case study household using the matrix.

4. Reconvene the plenary group and ask the groups to present their analysis and household membership criteria. It can help to ask one group to make an initial presentation of their matrix and the criteria they used to determine household membership. Then ask the other groups to highlight key differences in their findings and encourage debate about the criteria which they used. Another way of reporting back is to ask groups to put their matrices up on the wall in a gallery. Participants can then walk around, read what other groups have written, and debate the analysis in plenary.

5. Highlight the differences in the group analysis and try to obtain consensus on difficult criteria, writing them on the flipchart as you go along. Once agreement has been reached, put the list up on the wall for further reference. If the criteria on the flipchart are not clear, you may need to write up a clean copy.

6. Summarise the main points of the sheet and the key issues that have been raised in the session. If you have prepared an input on the household, present it at this point.

7. Hand out the copies of the ‘key ideas’ section for participants to keep as a reference.
What are households?
Activity Guide 1: Household portraits

Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have:

• prepared a profile of your own household or one you know well
• compared different types of household generated by the group
• developed basic categories to group similar households together
• developed a draft set of criteria to define household membership.

What to do

1. The facilitator will allocate you to a group. Choose somebody in your group to facilitate the activity and someone to record and report on the group’s work.

2. On your own take a few minutes to quickly write down a sketch of your household or the household of someone you know.

3. Take turns to present your household sketch to the group, and listen to the sketches of other group members. Pay attention to how each household is made up.

4. Once everyone has had a turn, discuss the differences and similarities between the households presented in the group. Cluster the households into similar types where you can.

5. Working together in the group, write down a list of criteria that define how someone qualifies to be a member of a household.

6. Prepare to present your findings in the plenary group.
What are households?

Activity Guide 2: Defining household membership

Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will:

- agree on a working definition of a household
- apply and refine the criteria defining household membership developed in the previous activity to the prepared household profiles from the facilitator
- recognise that not everyone defines households and household membership criteria in the same way and that these will need to determined in consultation with local communities prior to doing any household analysis.

What to do

1. The facilitator will give you printed household profiles to read, or films to watch.
2. Once you are in your group, select someone to facilitate and someone to record your discussion.
3. Work with your case studies. Discuss each person in the case studies and decide whether or not they are members of that household. Use the criteria you developed in Activity 1 for this. Write the criteria in the left hand column of the matrix below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples of criteria</th>
<th>Agnes</th>
<th>Aaron</th>
<th>Winnie</th>
<th>Dudu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is related by blood or marriage</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criterion 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criterion 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criterion 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Use the matrix to write down the names of the people as they are discussed and decide whether they are household members when assessed against the criteria.

5. Prepare to present your matrix to the plenary group. In your report highlight any people you found difficult to place or criteria that you found problematic. If you could not agree about whether someone should be included in the household, prepare to explain the arguments for including or excluding them.
Summary

Purpose

This session explores some basic gender concepts and tests our assumptions about how households work. The household is seen as a ‘bargaining space’ where household members negotiate important decisions that affect their livelihoods. Gender roles and age have an important effect on the bargaining process. Household livelihood strategies involve allocating roles, decisions about who does which sort of work, how household income is spent and who is prioritised for education. The session explores how these decisions are taken and who benefits.

By the end of the session, participants will:

• be exposed to basic gender concepts and definitions
• be familiar with basic gender analysis
• have carried out a simple gender analysis using prepared case studies
• have reflected on the importance of understanding the gender and age dimensions of sustainable livelihoods
• be in a position to think critically about the livelihoods framework introduced in Session 3.

Activity overview

The session consists of two linked activities.

• In the first activity, participants develop a working definition of gender and distinguish between ‘gender’ and ‘sex’.
• In the second activity, participants carry out a basic gender analysis using prepared print or film case studies.

In the discussion that follows, participants explore the role of gender, age and power relations on the objectives and benefits of household livelihood activities. At the end, participants identify key issues for consideration when thinking about sustainable livelihoods.

Session components and time required

The ‘key ideas’ section introduces the ideas and debates about the impact of gender, age and power relations on the household. This can be photocopied and handed out at the end of the session. The preparation section alerts the trainer to what he or she will need to do before running the session. The facilitation section is a step-by-step session plan. The activity guides and the gender analysis checklist in Chapter 4 are designed to be photocopied and handed out to participants. The session will take approximately 3½ hours. The time required will depend on what case studies you use.
As we saw in Session 1, household membership and composition can vary widely between different households. In this session we look at relationships between people within the household and examine the roles played by male and female household members of different ages. Gender relations reflect relationships of power within the household.

This helps to refine our understanding of the household and to include gender and age perspectives in the livelihoods framework. An understanding of gender, age and power issues helps us view the household in a different way and ask a new set of questions:

- Who does what within the household?
- Who decides what within the household?
- Who has access to which household resources?
- Do household members act as a unit, automatically pooling their resources to benefit all household members? Or does the organisation and benefit sharing of the household reflect divisions of power and labour along age and gender lines?

The way we answer these questions will affect our understanding of the livelihoods framework and what kind of interventions are needed to improve household livelihood security.

Concepts and definitions

Trying to answer these questions requires a basic understanding of gender concepts and the principles of gender analysis and planning. Gender analysis is a specialised and complex field with an enormous literature and a variety of analytical frameworks. It is only possible in this session to provide a brief sketch of key ideas about gender.

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles ascribed to males and females (as opposed to sex, which denotes the biological distinction between males and females). These roles, which are learned, change over time and vary widely within and between cultures.

The important thing to recognise is that the cultural definitions of gender and gender relations are not fixed – they can change.

Gender systems

Gender systems study the roles and relative rights of women and men of different ages. They analyse how the differences in roles and rights affect their access
to, and benefits from resources. They explore how different roles and rights affect participation in important decisions within and beyond the household.

These relative rights of men and women can be seen in many different spheres. For example, women are often in a weak position where their rights under land tenure systems are concerned. Younger or unmarried women may not qualify for rights at all. Women may be discriminated against through customary laws on inheritance. Women may be the principal users of certain types of forest and marine products, but are often overlooked in the planning and decision making for sustainable resource management.

Women may be the principal producers of agricultural crops, but male extension workers often relate better to male farmers, so the role of women and their agricultural knowledge becomes invisible. Women may be responsible for producing food crops for household consumption while men may take responsibility for cash crops or make decisions about the sale of livestock. This affects who has the primary power over household income and who decides how it should be used.

Gender also influences decisions about developing the capacity of young people. In many places adults may prefer to send young boys to school while keeping girls at home. If the household experiences financial difficulty, girls may have to give up school while boys continue with their education.

Boys and girls are usually taught different skills and given different tasks from an early age. These decisions are influenced by local understandings of what gender roles should be. They have a long-term influence on the options open to boys and girls as they grow older.

Some frameworks for gender analysis

There are a number of theoretical frameworks for carrying out gender analysis. These include:

- the Gender Roles Framework (GRF), otherwise known as the Harvard framework
- the University College of London Development Planning Unit (DPU) ‘triple role model’, otherwise known as the Moser framework
- the Social Relations Framework (SRF) developed by the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University (IDS).

The frameworks have been developed for different reasons. Some aim to integrate gender issues into development work. Others aim for social transformation.
The Harvard framework

This was the first gender framework to be developed. It was developed by the Harvard Institute of International Development and Women in the Development Office of USAID. It has a focus on community-based projects and was developed in response to the widespread failure of development projects to integrate gender concerns.

Organisations that have used this framework include USAID, CIDA, UNDP, IDRC and the World Bank. It is primarily focused on the gender division of labour within the household and on gender mediated access to resources.

The framework explores:

• who does what
• who owns what – who has access to and control over household income
• who has access to and control over resources within a household and the community at large.

In practice the Harvard framework involves observing and analysing how members of the household perform different roles and compiling profiles of who does what type of activity. The method maps the time spent by women and men in the working day. Once these trends are clear the analysis focuses on different resources – land, credit, technology – and natural resources. It examines who has access to these resources and who benefits from different categories of resources.

The framework is useful for examining the likely gender impacts of changes in livelihood strategy or planned development interventions. For example, if a new livelihood opportunity is created, it will have implications for how labour and time is used within the household. The creation of new livelihood opportunities does not necessarily mean that people will abandon the livelihood strategies that they currently depend on. This may result in increasing pressure on labour resources and implications for the gender division of labour. It may have also have implications for younger household members.

The Harvard framework is often associated with ‘gender for efficiency approaches’ that aim to integrate women into development processes, in order to make projects work more efficiently. The efficiency approach makes little attempt to change the roles played by men and women. It is rather concerned with ensuring that the project works well because it recognises existing gender roles.

The key assumption underpinning the GRF is that women have not been able to benefit from development because planning
Learning about livelihoods efforts have failed to fully recognise women’s actual and potential contribution to the development process. Moreover according to GRF if gender issues are correctly identified then project effectiveness will increase.

This framework has been criticised for assuming that women ‘constitute a homogenous category with shared interests that planners can identify and act upon’. Critics of the framework state that it does not pay enough attention to conflicts of interest amongst women.

Despite these criticisms, several aspects of the framework and tools to put these into practice are very useful. For example, many agencies make use of the access and control profile without agreeing with the whole framework.

The DPU/Moser framework

The framework is associated with ‘gender for equity’ approaches that aim to transform uneven gender relations. The approach has been used by Oxfam (who adapted the framework for the Gender training manual), Christian Aid, ODA/DFID, FAO, NORAD and the World Bank.

The DPU framework, with its emphasis on equity, regards the process of development and livelihoods planning as fundamentally political. The principal focus of the framework is on the household, although linkages are made with events in the broader environment. The starting point is similar to the GRF – that roles of household members are differentiated by gender.

The framework says there are three principal household roles:

- **productive roles**: these involve producing income or goods for consumption
- **reproductive roles**: these are activities that maintain the household and include raising and caring for children, cooking, cleaning, washing, and fetching water and fuel and so on
- **community management roles**: these involve participation in local decision making, dispute resolution, governance and resource management structures as well as in cultural activities.

Moser says that women fulfil all three of these roles and have almost total responsibility for reproductive roles. Men, on the other hand, have clearly defined productive and community management roles, but make a minimal contribution to household reproductive roles.

Moser states that women have practical gender needs and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs are things like the provision of clean water,
electricity and primary health care, which benefit women, but leave their gender roles fundamentally unchanged.

Strategic gender needs are those development interventions that promote increased equity between men and women. Examples include policy and programmes that strengthen women’s rights, entitlements and participation in decision making.

Moser also identifies five categories of policy approaches focused on women:

- the welfare approach which focuses on enhancing women’s reproductive roles
- the equity approach which aims to gain equity for women through the policy and legislative functions of the state
- the anti-poverty approach which aims to improve women’s productivity but sees this as a problem of underdevelopment rather than powerlessness within society
- the efficiency approach which wants to make development more effective and which associates women’s participation in the economy with increased equity.
- the empowerment approach which relies on bottom-up mobilisation to meet practical gender needs and indirectly achieves strategic gender needs in the process.

The Moser framework is useful for exploring how policy decisions have practical effects on people’s lives and livelihoods. For example, a decision to privatise rural water supply and make people pay for water will probably increase the reproductive role burden of poor women. This would force women from poor households (or their children) to draw water from unprotected sources instead of from a standpipe. This will make the household more vulnerable to water-borne diseases, putting children and adults at risk of becoming sick.

Once household members are sick, they will need to be cared for, a role usually performed by females from the household or the extended family. This reduces the amount of time that women have available for productive and community maintenance activities.

Like the Harvard framework, the DPU/Moser framework has been criticised for focusing principally on what women do, rather than one what both men and women do and how their roles are negotiated.
The IDS Social Relations Framework (SRF)

IDS work on the social relations of gender has provided the conceptual framework for what is often referred to as ‘gender and development’ (GAD). This framework sets out to explore gender as part of the social relations of everyday life. It looks at gender within all the contexts and institutions where men and women relate. This involves examining gender relations within the household, the community, the market and the state.

Where the Harvard and DPU/Moser frameworks conceptualise the gender division of labour by socially separating the roles and responsibilities assigned to women and men, the SRF sees the gender division of labour as a form of social connection.

This requires men and women to enter into relations of co-operation and exchange. However, the inequalities in the gender division of labour mean that gender relations involve conflict as well as co-operation.

The SRF sees gender relations as dynamic. It recognises that the combination of conflict and co-operation in these relations ‘involve men and women in a constant process of bargaining and negotiation’.

The SRF has clear political implications. Ending gender inequalities involves more than reallocating economic resources for greater equity. It requires redistributing political power. This in turn focuses on the importance of institutional transformation at all levels. The SRF makes the issue of women’s empowerment central to this framework.

While the framework helps to substantially broaden the scope of gender analysis,

\[\text{as a planning tool, SRF provides no quick fix for overcoming gender inequality. What it does provide is a framework for a sensitive reading of the intricate social relations through which women and men live their lives.}\]

Bringing it all together

The various frameworks highlight how households are structured in ways that reflect prevailing social and cultural ‘norms’. These norms reflect gender relations of power and control. However, gender relations and social norms change. They are constantly in transition and respond to pressure from a number of sources including:
• changing generational values
• policy, laws and development interventions which promote gender equity
• women’s self-organisation for empowerment
• economic forces
• the impacts of HIV/AIDS.

Rethinking the unitary household

The various gender analysis frameworks dispute the idea that households act as a unit, pooling their resources and making choices by consensus about their livelihood activities. Research shows that men and women within a household are likely to have unequal access to assets and share unevenly in household income.

Age and gender

Households are also internally divided along age lines. First-born children may play different roles within the household. First-born boys have stronger rights, while first-born girls often have stronger obligations to fulfil reproductive roles within the household. Older men may have more status and decision-making power. Dependant widows may have very limited rights.

Gender socialisation processes

Socialisation is the reason why males and females are not treated equally in society. Boys are told from birth what a ‘man’ should be. Some of these ideas are dangerous to males and females. For example, in many societies it is generally accepted that men have multiple sexual partners. Because safe sex is often seen as ‘unmanly’, there is a high risk of spreading HIV. Southern Africa has one of the world’s highest rates of HIV/AIDS. Disease and early death from HIV infection is increasing poverty on a massive scale. This example shows how gender roles affect health and well-being, showing that gender is a central issue for livelihoods analysis.
Socialisation is the process of society inculcating its values in people. Some of these values are good, others are not. They may, for example, entrench a culture of looking after the less fortunate, or they may entrench gender inequality in the name of ‘tradition’ or ‘culture’.

Gender rights

Girls, female-headed households, married women and widows suffer from gender-differentiated rights under land tenure, marriage and inheritance systems. Customary and formal land tenure systems discriminate against women. In certain systems, women may not be allocated land – their access to land is often only through their husbands. If their husbands die, the rights these widows have to that land may be insecure. This kind of discrimination is not only seen in communal tenure systems. In many countries that have implemented tenure reform that secures rights to land by issuing legal titles, land rights have often passed only to men. This can make women even more vulnerable than they are under communal tenure systems. Although communal tenure systems may discriminate against women, the systems usually recognise that members of the group are entitled to livelihood resources.

Overall, women tend to have less access to resources than men. Research and practice show that livelihoods analysis and planning needs to look at the gender systems in that place. This involves investigating how gender systems shape access to resources and who they empower to decide how resources are managed and used. Gender perspectives must also inform policy analysis and the institutional design of social policy and spending on development programmes, and infrastructure delivery.

Endnotes for Session 2

1 International Women’s Tribune Centre 1996.
2 This section draws extensively on Miller & Razawi 1998.
3 The US Agency for International Development, the Canadian International Development Agency, the United Nations Development Programme and the International Development Research Centre.
4 Miller & Razawi 1998.
5 Miller & Razawi 1998.
6 An example of this profile can be found in Session 6.
7 Overseas Development Administration/Department for International Development of the UK government, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation and Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation.
8 This was one of the main reasons for a cholera epidemic which broke out in South Africa in 2000/2001.
References and further reading for Session 2


International Women’s Tribune Centre. 1996. Gender word bank. www.interaction.org/md/articles/oct2196/gender2.html


Getting started

Before you run this session, you will need to:

- read through the ‘key ideas’ section and make sure you understand the definition of gender, the basics of gender systems and different frameworks for gender analysis
- make sure you know what the session objectives are (from the summary) and work through the facilitation section to prepare yourself
- read through the two activity guides and the gender analysis checklist in Chapter 4
- choose two household case studies for the session – these can come from Chapter 4 (Case Study 1 and Case Study 2), the videocassette (details below), or cases which you have prepared yourself. You can use more than two case studies, as long as each small group has two cases to analyse.

Materials required

Flipcharts, photocopies (specified below), pens for writing on flipcharts, material to attach flipcharts and cards to the wall, and five cards for each participant.

Preparing the materials

1. Write the learning objectives (from the summary) and the session outline on a flipchart.

2. Write the definition of gender from the ‘key ideas’ section on a flipchart. If you have other good definitions, write these down too.

3. Make enough copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to hand out to every participant at the end of the session.

4. Make enough copies of the two activity guides and the gender analysis checklist in Chapter 4 to hand out to every participant.

5. Make sure that you have five cards per participant for the gender analysis brainstorm.

6. (Optional) Prepare a presentation about gender, age and power relations from the ‘key ideas’ section and other sources.
7. Prepare the household case studies you have chosen. Each small group needs two cases to analyse. You can use Case Study 1 and Case Study 2 on pages 291–2 in this session. If you decide to use these cases, make enough copies to hand out to participants. If you decide to use your own case studies, prepare these for photocopying and make sure there are enough copies to hand out to participants. If you decide to use filmed case studies, make sure the video machine and television set are working, and that the videotape is in the right place. The following table may help you choose the films:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rating*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique: Floods</td>
<td>André used to work for an NGO but was retrenched. He now runs a small shop. His wife works at a day-care centre in Maputo as a general worker and gets a monthly salary. This film does not provide information on decision making in the household, nor does it provide information on the contribution made by the brother- and sister-in-law.</td>
<td>★★★★★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe: Moving on</td>
<td>This film does not provide much information on the household division of labour or decision making about assets. However, it makes a useful case for discussion or the development of a role play.</td>
<td>★★★★★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho: Home-making</td>
<td>The Thlabeli household is useful for comparing different gender frameworks. The case study highlights relations between men and women, and amongst women inside and outside the household. The case can be used in Activity 2 which analyses who does what inside the household, and the roles that household members play in the wider community.</td>
<td>★★★★★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia: 'Pruned'</td>
<td>This case highlights how gender roles and relations change in the household following from Peter Ngalande’s retrenchment. It also describes the gender and age division of labour within the household, clarifying the different contributions that the children make to the household.</td>
<td>★★★★★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa: Legacies</td>
<td>This case does not explicitly highlight gender issues</td>
<td>★★★★★</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Rating
★★★★☆ Very highly recommended for this session
★★★★☆ Highly recommended for this session
★★★☆☆ Can use in this session
★☆☆☆☆ Not recommended for this session
Step 1. Session introduction

Purpose: To provide an overview of the session objectives and content and clarify how it links to Session 1.

1. Introduce the session learning objectives and activities, using the flipcharts you have prepared.

2. Explain that in Session 1, participants looked at different household types and developed criteria for deciding who are members of a household. This session is aimed at thinking more critically about the household through exploring gender, age and power relations.

Step 2. Activity 1: What is gender? Why is it a development issue?

Purpose: To develop a working definition of gender and to distinguish between gender and sex.

1. Break participants into small groups and give each group a copy of Activity Guide 1. Ask each group to prepare and write the following on a flipchart for presentation to the plenary:
   - the group’s own definition of gender
   - a statement that clarifies the difference between gender and sex
   - three arguments why gender is a development issue.

2. Reconvene the plenary and ask groups to put up the flipcharts they have prepared. Choose a few groups to present what they have prepared, giving some background about how they made their decision. Highlight any major differences between the definitions, statements and arguments.

3. Put up the flipchart you have prepared with one or more definitions of gender. Discuss any major differences between these definitions and those prepared by the group.

TIP

People sometimes experience problems with the language used to describe gender concepts. Try to keep jargon and specialised language to a minimum and explain all terms as soon as they are introduced. It might help to write down important terms as they are used during the session. If you do not feel confident about your grasp of key gender concepts and frameworks, you may want to include a gender specialist in your training team.
Step 3. Gender analysis – key questions brainstorm

Purpose: To identify a framework for an analysis of gender and age roles and relations within households.

1. Introduce the brainstorm topic: ‘What questions do we need to ask to carry out an analysis of gender and age relations in the household?’ Explain that we need to look inside the household and identify the different roles that males and females of different ages play. Once the group understands these roles, they will be able to reflect on power relations within the household.

2. Ask participants to work individually, think of a few questions, writing down one question per card.

3. Ask participants to present their questions to the group, putting the cards up on the wall. Make sure that each question is only put up once. Then sort and group the cards so that they are on the wall in themes.

4. Hand out the gender analysis checklist and summarise the basics of gender analysis if necessary. Compare what came out of the brainstorm with the checklist and highlight the key differences that emerge.

Step 4. Activity 2: Inside the household: gender roles, assets and decision making

Purpose: To apply key elements of gender analysis to selected households.

1. Divide the participants into small groups. Hand out a copy of Activity Guide 2 to participants and explain the activity. Each group will analyse two prepared household profiles. Hand out copies of the cases and set up the film for viewing.

2. Ask groups to analyse the households using the gender analysis checklist and prepare to report back on their findings.

3. Ask the groups to report back to the plenary on one household they analysed. If a household has been analysed by more than one group, ask the other groups to report back on any differences. Participants should debate differences in their analysis.
Step 5. Reflection

Purpose: To reflect on what has been learnt about households from Sessions 1 and 2 and to summarise why gender analysis is central to understanding livelihoods.

1. Ask participants to form pairs and discuss what they have learnt about households from the two sessions. In particular, they should discuss how gender analysis will contribute to an understanding of livelihoods and vulnerability.

2. Facilitate a short plenary discussion and highlight any points that may have been missed. If you have prepared an input on gender, age and power relations, present it at this point.

3. Hand out copies of the ‘key ideas’ section for participants to keep as a reference.
**Inside the household**

**Activity Guide 1: What is gender? Why is it a development issue?**

**Learning objectives**

By the end of this activity you will have:

- developed a working definition of a gender
- distinguished between ‘gender’ and ‘sex’
- examined why gender is a development issue.

**What to do**

1. The facilitator will allocate you to a group. Choose somebody in your group to facilitate the activity and someone to record and report on the group’s work.

2. Discuss and develop a definition of gender and write it on a flipchart to present to the plenary. It might be useful to think about how men and women are socialised into different roles and how this affects the way household and society are organised.

3. Are ‘gender’ and ‘sex’ the same thing? Think about how your gender is different from your sex. Develop a statement in your group that clearly highlights the difference and write it on a flipchart.

4. Why is gender a development issue? What arguments can you develop to support gender issues being mainstreamed into all development practice?

5. Prepare to present your definitions and arguments to the plenary group.
Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have:

• analysed two household profiles, using the key questions from the previous activity and the gender analysis checklist

• clarified the gender roles played by household members and identified how gender improves or limits their access to resources

• explored the gender dimensions of key household decisions.

What to do

1. The facilitator will give you printed household profiles to read, or films to watch. For each household try to answer the following questions:

   • Who does what in the household? When do men, women, girls and boys work and what do they do?

   • What roles do household members play in the wider community? Whose voices are heard in decision making that affects access to livelihood assets like land and community resources?

   • Who has access to which resources? Are there any resources that men or women are barred from? Who controls household economic resources? Is there more than one centre of control?

   • Who decides on what to do with the household’s income? Who has the ultimate authority over decision making?

   • How would you describe the household? Does it care equally for all its members?

   Refer to the gender analysis checklist on page 320 for more questions.

2. Prepare to report back on your analysis to the plenary group.
Session 3:
Introducing the livelihoods framework

Summary

Purpose

This is the primary session that introduces the livelihoods framework and explains the core components of the conceptual framework. The framework looks at the interaction between:

• people
• their capabilities
• the different types of assets or resources they have access to
• the activities through which they gain their livelihoods.

The session also shows how livelihoods change over time and respond to forces and trends in the external environment. These forces determine the vulnerability context – how secure the households are, and how likely they are to be affected by shocks and stresses.

Activity overview

Participants:

• discuss the livelihoods framework, develop their own definition of livelihoods and identify factors which contribute to livelihood sustainability
• identify factors inside and outside households which can impact on livelihoods in positive and negative ways
• use the framework to do an enquiry into how households with different profiles make and sustain their livelihoods.

Session components and time required

The ‘key ideas’ section introduces ideas and debates about livelihoods and the livelihoods framework. This can be photocopied and handed out at the end of the session. The preparation section alerts the trainer to what he or she will need to do before running the session. The facilitation section is a step-by-step session plan. The two activity guides are designed to be photocopied and handed out to participants. This session requires the use of two household case studies. Make your choice from Case Study 1 and Case Study 2 on pages 291–2, the filmed case studies on the videocassette, or develop your own case studies.

This session will take about 3½ hours. The time required will depend on what case studies you use.
Introduction

Development workers who want to facilitate livelihoods planning processes need to clearly understand the key ideas and concepts of the livelihoods framework. By putting the concepts into practice through participatory methodologies, they can work with households and community groups to develop a better understanding of how people live. This will enable them to work with local people to design practical strategies to strengthen local livelihoods and making them more secure and sustainable.

Strengthening livelihoods involves helping people to:

- diversify their livelihood sources
- broaden access to, and ‘unlock’ underutilised ‘assets’ (resources)
- strengthen their capabilities.

These activities require a planning framework through which people can:

- collect and analyse important information on their livelihoods
- think about external factors that help or hinder their livelihood security.

Chapter 1 discusses various livelihoods frameworks, including the ones used by DFID, CARE, Oxfam and UNDP. The various frameworks use similar concepts, but there are differences in how they organise and describe them. The livelihoods framework we use in this book builds on the other frameworks.

The different livelihoods frameworks have several things in common:

- people are the starting point or the ‘centre of development’
- there are important differences among communities, among families and between members of the same family or household – no single ‘solution’ will benefit all households equally
- the poor increasingly depend on multiple sources of livelihood
- strengthening livelihood security involves building on the assets, capabilities, and the activities which are the basis of household livelihoods
- links must be made between micro (local) and macro (larger than local) levels. Holistic analysis involves seeing the ‘big picture’ that links people and their livelihoods, the natural environment and the structures, policies and systems which impact on them. Understanding key links be-
between these elements makes it possible to target interventions to achieve the best effect.

- participatory analysis and planning is a way of understanding the livelihood priorities of the poor and the relative importance of the assets on which their livelihoods depend.

To understand the essential elements of the livelihoods framework, we need a shared understanding of its core concepts.

A conceptual framework for understanding livelihoods

A conceptual framework is a set of ideas that are organised to provide a coherent approach to analysing and understanding an issue or problem. The framework organises, clarifies and defines terms and concepts. It also spells out the assumptions and values which underlie the concepts.

The livelihoods framework examines the different elements that contribute to people’s livelihood strategies. It analyses how forces outside the household or community in ‘the external environment’ affect them.

There is no single ‘right way’ to analyse and understand livelihoods and no ‘correct’ planning approach that will make household livelihoods secure. The livelihoods framework is one way of looking at the world. Other frameworks have been developed to describe poverty, governance, local economic development, gender relations and natural resource management.

Most frameworks identify the need for holistic analysis and focused but flexible planning approaches that build on local realities, and that link planning and development from the micro level (local level) to the macro level.

Sustainable livelihoods

Chambers and Conway originally developed a definition of sustainable livelihoods. This has been adapted by DFID and is now commonly used:

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.

This definition lies at the core of the livelihoods framework as expressed in the household triangle.
Every household has a variety of capabilities and assets. Household livelihood security is often influenced by the ability of the household to diversify its livelihood sources. This means using a wide variety of livelihood strategies so that the household does not depend on only a few sources of livelihood.

The more diverse a household’s livelihood strategies are, the bigger its capability and asset base, and the more secure it is. The smaller a household’s asset base is, the more vulnerable it is likely to be.

Households may depend on a combination of cash remittances from family members who have a formal job, benefits from a range of informal trading and economic activities, using natural resources, livestock, pension benefits, insurances, burial societies, stokvels and other sources.

Households have sustainable livelihoods when they can cope with, and recover from, shocks like retrenchment or drought, and stresses like inflation. Livelihood sustainability also has an important environmental dimension, which requires that the natural resource base must be maintained for future generations.

Generating a livelihood can be seen as a process in which households use their capabilities and assets to engage in activities to pursue multiple livelihood strategies to generate livelihood outcomes. These strategies may be more or less sustainable, and the livelihood outcomes they generate may be more or less desirable. Positive outcomes include increased well-being, more income, greater equity, improved food and water security and a more sustainable use of the natural resource base. Negative livelihood outcomes include diminished well-being, less income, greater inequality, diminished food and water security and an unsustainable use of the natural resource base.

A household which pursues more sustainable strategies is likely to generate more desirable livelihood outcomes, which will have a positive impact on the assets and capabilities of the household. This will put the household in a better position to diversify and improve its livelihood strategies.
Assets

Assets are resources of different types. People can make use of assets in two ways:

- they can own them or directly control them (that is, have decision making power about how they are used)
- they can have access to resources that do not belong to them.

These assets are sources of livelihoods, and they are affected by historical trends and seasonality. As we have seen in Session 2, it is important to analyse how these assets are distributed and controlled by gender and age.

There are two major ways of looking at assets:

- Chambers and Conway group assets into social assets (such as key institutions or social networks) and material assets (such as land, natural resources, infrastructure, livestock and equipment).
- The DFID and Oxfam frameworks break assets into five types of ‘capital’ (see the complete versions of these frameworks on pages 5 and 7).

Critically examine the different models and decide what you want to use. Adapt or rename the categories if you want to. How you label assets is less important than making sure that you have identified all the assets and understand how they can reinforce one another.
The ‘five capitals’

DFID and Oxfam look at assets as being divided into five types of ‘capital’.

1. **Human capital**. This includes skills, knowledge, the ability to labour, the education and health status of the household members and the community, and the ability to find and use information to cope, adapt, organise and innovate.

2. **Social capital** is defined as ‘social resources which people draw upon in pursuit of their livelihood objectives’. It includes social networks, organisations, the relations of trust and reciprocity within and between families, within social networks and in communities, and the support provided by religious, cultural and informal organisations. Social capital is enhanced by a culture of human rights and democracy and by vibrant local institutions.

Institutions can be defined as functioning social systems. There are many types of institutional system. For example, the rights and duties of people who use common grazing or forest resources may be governed by locally agreed and enforceable norms and rules.

Social capital is also enhanced by the quality of governance systems – how accessible they are to people, how much support they give to the poor, whether they discriminate against women, and whether they create opportunities for livelihood security and diversification.

3. **Natural capital** refers to land and the natural resource base, including:
   - marine resources, woodland and forest products including edible plants and fruit
   - building and weaving materials, thatch, fuel and wood for carving
   - wildlife, edible insects, honey, medicinal herbs and grazing
   - climate, soils and land capabilities, minerals, quarries, sand deposits, clay, wetlands, water catchments, groundwater sources and biodiversity.

The economic value of land and natural resources to household livelihoods is often underestimated. The institutions that govern access to natural resources and land rights management affect how much households can use natural resources for their livelihoods.

**Reciprocity** means mutual exchange.
4. **Physical capital** includes farm equipment, shelter and infrastructure. Infrastructure includes clinics and schools, roads, dams, water and sanitation services, electricity supply, communication and information sources such as telephones, radio, television and the Internet. Physical assets are essential for people to be able carry out livelihood activities.

5. **Financial capital** is assets and entitlements that have a cash value. They include income, remittances from family members working away from home, sources of credit, pensions, savings, cattle, stores of seed, crops and food.

Some economic resources like livestock have many asset values. For example, livestock has important cultural significance, it can be exchanged or sold for cash, and it provides milk and meat. By-products like manure contribute to agriculture and household cultivation and can be used for fuel.

Session 5 covers assets in more detail.

**Household capabilities**

Household capabilities have to do with the capacity of the household to secure a livelihood. Household capabilities are very closely linked with the different types of household assets described above. Human capabilities are referred to in the DFID/Oxfam frameworks as ‘human capital’ – a kind of asset. Session 5 goes into more detail about the different ways of viewing capabilities and assets.

Assessing household capabilities involves participatory assessment of the composition of the household and a profile of its membership. This profile will include information on the sex, age and health of the members, their education and skills and the availability of labour.

Session 5 covers capabilities in more detail.

**Household livelihood activities**

Households depend on multiple sources of livelihood. Livelihoods analysis looks at the different kinds of household activities and the contribution each one makes to the household livelihood.

Livelihoods activities are not only the activities that bring in money and food, they are all the different activities that the household undertakes to survive and reproduce itself. As we saw in Session 2, activities can be divided into three types – productive, reproductive and community
management activities. The activities are closely related and who does what kind of activity is shaped by gender and age.

**Productive activities**

Households engage in different productive activities to secure their livelihoods. The number of productive activities they can engage in depends on the assets they have access to, and on their capabilities to use them. Examples of productive activities include:

- brewing, baking, processing food for sale
- collecting honey, wild fruits, firewood or medicinal herbs
- construction, brick making, carpentry, metalworking, welding
- formal employment or casual work
- hiring out draught animals
- homestead gardening, growing crops, herding and keeping livestock, keeping poultry
- weaving, sewing, craftwork, carving
- hunting and fishing
- joining weeding and reaping parties
- repairing motor cars
- operating a tractor or a hammer mill
- practising medicinal herbalism
- running a market stall, spaza shop, tavern or shebeen, selling fresh produce, hiring out a telephone, running a taxi
- so-called ‘grey’ economic activities – for example, growing and selling dagga, poaching, sex work and other illegal activities.

**Reproductive activities**

This includes the whole range of domestic activities including childcare, cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, fetching water and firewood, going shopping, and building and maintaining the home.
**Community maintenance activities**

These activities can involve attending meetings to plan, allocate or manage resources, resolving disputes, building shared infrastructure like a community school or clinic, and attending church or cultural ceremonies. These activities directly contribute to the social capital discussed above.

Session 4 covers activities in more detail.

**External influences**

Households do not exist in a vacuum – they are located in a local community with other households. Households in a local community fall into different categories of well-being, power and status. Local institutions and systems at this micro level may advantage some households and marginalise others.
The process of generating a livelihood takes place on a local level, but it is influenced (positively and negatively) by a range of factors in the external (macro-level) environment. The influence goes both ways – household livelihood strategies also affect the broader external environment positively or negatively.

Household livelihood security can be enhanced or undermined by a wide range of external influences at all levels of the external environment (local, national and global and the levels in between). These factors can be grouped into the physical environment, the social environment, the political/institutional environment, and the economic environment. These external factors have an effect on livelihood security through structures and processes.

There are many structures in the external environment that have direct and indirect influence on local livelihoods.

Structures include:

- International organisations and financial institutions like the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations, departments of development aid, large banks, stock-exchanges and transnational corporations.

- Regional political and trade institutions like the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Organisation of African Unity and the Southern African Customs Union.

- National and provincial structures including different spheres and departments of government, development agencies, NGOs, service providers, the private sector and business interest groups.

- Local structures including municipalities, traditional authorities, land rights and resource management structures, community based organisations and many more.

The structures in the external environment drive processes which also affect livelihood security. Economic processes at the international level determine the terms of trade between countries and tariff barriers between countries, and they influence changing market and commodity prices. Most developing countries rely on exporting primary commodities such as minerals and agricultural goods. However, the price of most primary commodities has been steadily falling. Local livelihoods and economies can be dramatically affected by globalisation and international policies on trade and aid.
Tariff barriers are taxes which countries impose on goods coming from other countries. Tariffs are not neutral. They can be used in ‘good’ ways (for example, to prevent foreign countries ‘dumping’ goods on local markets for less than they cost to make), or in ‘bad’ ways (to raise the cost of imports which might be better quality or cheaper than locally-produced products).

The World Trade Organisation (WTO) is supposed to ensure that the world trade system is fairly applied to all members (most countries belong to the WTO). Critics of the international trading system say the system benefits developed countries more than poor ones. They say the economies of developed countries receive more protection from foreign competition than developing countries do. At the same time, developed countries have not done anything to stop practices which are illegal under WTO rules (for example, agricultural subsidies which give farmers in those countries an unfair advantage).

According to the International Monetary Fund, globalisation is the growing economic interdependence of countries world-wide through increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services, of international capital flows, and the more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology. This definition presents globalisation as a neutral phenomenon; other definitions concentrate on what it does rather than what it is. Among other things, critics of globalisation say it favours rich countries at the expense of poor ones, and it puts the interests of multinational corporations above the interests of countries where these corporations do business. Supporters of globalisation present it as an opportunity for all countries to benefit from increased trade.

**CASE STUDY: EXTERNAL FACTORS AND THE LIVELIHOODS OF GOLD MINERS**

Gold mining in South Africa has employed people from all over southern Africa. During 1999 and 2000 central banks in Europe decided to sell off some of their gold reserves. This lowered the gold price and led mining houses to close down certain mines, putting thousands of miners out of work. The wages these workers remit to their homes in Lesotho, Mozambique and rural areas in South Africa are a major part of household livelihood strategies. Unionised workers receive retrenchment packages (payments related to how long they have been employed at a mine). However, there are few opportunities in rural areas to invest this in new livelihood strategies. Because there are already too many taxi and retail businesses in these areas, many retrenched workers use part of their packages to buy livestock. However, available grazing resources may not support so many livestock. As a result, households become more vulnerable to drought and different villages may enter into conflict over limited grazing resources.
At the national level, governments make social and economic policy that shapes legislation, their budgets and their development activities. Governments also regulate the private sector. How pro-poor the government’s policies are has a major effect on the lives of ordinary people. Decisions on whether services should be privatised, what kind of social services will be provided, how much services cost, development planning, the policy on housing, the management of the environment, land reform and energy policy are felt at district, provincial and local levels.

Structures and processes can help to enhance livelihoods. For example, policies that improve the access of the poor to natural resource assets by enabling land reform, participatory forest management and community-based natural resource and wildlife management help to improve rural livelihoods. If the government builds new roads, this may help rural people to get access to services and markets for their goods. Structures and processes can also undermine livelihoods. For example, if people do not have access to land and natural resources, if their land tenure is insecure, and if the government does not maintain infrastructure or services, their livelihoods will be less secure.

Forces in the natural environment like high or low rainfall, very hot or cold weather, climate change, floods or droughts also affect livelihoods. Good rains will help food and water security, but drought or animal disease can be devastating.

How local people are seen

One of the criticisms of livelihoods frameworks is that they show structures and processes as being something distant from local people, and that people are shown as passive, without any influence on local, national or global events. In fact, the livelihoods framework puts people at the centre. A very important part of the livelihoods development process is redistributing power and influence, and strengthening institutional capacity at local level so that people can take action to improve their livelihood security.

Vulnerability and resilience

Vulnerability means being at risk. Vulnerability is measured by a household’s ability to resist and recover from shocks and stresses.

Shocks include sudden events which undermine household livelihoods. These include retrenchment, the early death of an economically active household member, as well as the impact of hazards such as drought, floods
or other extreme weather events. Hazards are often made worse by human mismanagement of the environment.

For example, the floods in Mozambique in 2000 were made worse by large dams on the Zambezi River. Damming up the river made it much narrower. This made it possible for people to settle in an unsafe place they would not have lived in before – the river’s floodplain. When the dams were forced to open their sluice-gates due to the heavy rain, the livelihoods of many people living on the floodplain were washed away.

Stresses are ongoing pressures which face households and individuals. These include long-term food insecurity and limited access to essential services such as health or water supplies. Another stress is degrading the natural resource base which may force people to travel further and further for fuel and other natural resources.

Household members experience vulnerability in different ways. For example, women are often more vulnerable to drought than men because their gender roles include fetching water and growing crops. Resources are often unequally allocated to males and females in a household. In hard times, a household may spend more money on educating boys than girls. Boys and men may get more of the household’s food than girls and women.

Resilience is a measure of the household’s ability to absorb shocks and stresses. A household with well-diversified assets and livelihood activities can cope better with shocks and stresses than one with a more limited asset base and few livelihood sources. Households with close family ties are more resilient to shocks and stresses because they can expect help from others.

**Bringing it all together**

The livelihoods framework is like a lens. At the micro level, it sees through the eyes of local people to enable a close-up focus on individual households, how they are made up, and what happens inside them (which is affected by age and gender). The framework is a way of looking at the variety of livelihood strategies and shows how they are linked together. It investigates how households use the assets and resources that are available to them.

The livelihoods lens also scans the wider policy and institutional environments that shape the livelihood opportunities of the poor. This information, together with the household livelihood analysis, enables a deeper understanding of the ‘vulnerability context’. It also shows key links between the situation on the ground and the policies and programmes which may provide opportunities for people, or make problems worse.
At this level, the livelihoods lens focuses on the actions of policy makers. It can show them the issues of a situation and help them make choices across different sectors. Because it is holistic, it can help to highlight possibilities for integrated programmes that will strengthen livelihood security.

The livelihoods lens also shows the macro environment more clearly by showing how policies and events at a regional, provincial, national and international level affect the livelihoods of people at a local level.

Trends are changes over time. A household which engages in better, more sustainable and more diversified livelihood strategies, and which is subject to more enabling influences than shocks and stresses from the external (macro) environment will, over time, develop increased resilience to disaster risk, greater sustainability, and increased livelihood security. A household which engages in less diversified, less sustainable livelihood strategies over time will have its livelihood security undermined, especially if it is subject to external shocks and stresses.

Endnotes for Session 3

1 See Chapter 1 pages 3 and 4.
3 A stokvel is an informal short-term capital accumulation group. All members agree to pay a certain monthly contribution. Each member gets a turn to receive all the money. There are many variations on this type of organisation in Southern Africa.
4 DFID Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets.
5 In South Africa and other countries in the region, research has started to quantify the value of 'subsistence' cropping, livestock and wild resources – the so-called 'hidden harvest'. The research also points to the need to strengthen local people’s rights to natural resources. See, for example, Shackleton et al. 2000.
6 There are different ways to categorise livelihood activities. We have used three categories of activity while other practitioners prefer to use four categories – production, reproduction, processing and exchange.
References and further reading for Session 3


Development Alternatives (DA) and ENDA-TM through the Sustainable Development Communications Network. Joint module: The search for sustainable livelihoods http://sdgateway.net/livelihoods/default.htm

DFID (Department for International Development). Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets. Available from the livelihoods learning platform www.livelihoods.org


Farrington, J, Carney, D, Ashley, C & Turton, C. 1999. Sustainable livelihoods in practice: Early applications of concepts in rural areas. (Overseas Development Institute Natural resource perspectives; no. 42) www.odi.org.uk/nrp/42.html


UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) sustainable livelihoods website www.undp.org/sl/
Getting started

Before you run this session, you will need to:

- read through the ‘key ideas’ section of this session and make sure you understand the different definitions and principal debates around the livelihoods framework
- make sure you know what the session objectives are (from the summary) and work through the facilitation section to prepare yourself
- choose two household case studies – these can be from the printed cases in Chapter 4 (see suggestions below), the videocassette (details below), or case studies which you have prepared yourself.

Materials required

Flipcharts, photocopies (specified below), 80 cards (40 in one colour, 40 in another colour), pens for writing on flipcharts and material to attach flipcharts to the wall. If you decide to use films, you will also need a working video machine and television set.

Preparing the materials

1. Write the learning objectives (from the summary) and the session outline on a flipchart.
2. Write the DFID definition of livelihoods on page 5 on a flipchart.
3. Prepare a presentation about the livelihoods framework using the ‘key ideas’ section and other sources.
4. Photocopy the elements of the livelihoods framework on pages 75–80 for your presentation, or make your own resource materials. Keep these materials for other sessions.
5. Make enough copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to hand out to every participant at the end of the session.
6. Make enough copies of the two activity guides to hand out to every participant.
7. Prepare the household case studies you have chosen. Case Study 1 and Case Study 2 on pages 291–2 can be used in this session. If you decide to use these case studies, make enough copies to hand out to each participant. If you decide to use your own case studies, prepare these for photocopying and ensure there are enough copies to hand out to every participant. If you decide to use filmed case studies, make sure the video
Learning about livelihoods

machine and television set are working, and that the videotape is in the right place. The table below may help you choose the films.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rating*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique: Floods</td>
<td>Although the emphasis of this film is on the floods, it can be used to illustrate the various components of the livelihoods framework. It contains information on some of the assets, activities and capabilities within the household. It identifies positive and negative factors in the external environment that impact on the Simaos’ livelihood.</td>
<td>★★★☆☆☆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe: Moving on</td>
<td>This case is very useful for showing different aspects of the conceptual framework. It provides a lot of information on different livelihood sources and how their importance has changed over time. It also contains information on several external factors that influence household livelihoods. If the background information on Zimbabwe is also used, more issues can be addressed and relationships between different levels of the environment can be explored.</td>
<td>★★★★★☆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho: Home-making</td>
<td>This case is also very useful for illustrating the framework. If it is used together with the Zambian case study, it allows useful comparisons to be made between the two households.</td>
<td>★★★★★☆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia: 'Pruned'</td>
<td>This case is very useful for illustrating the livelihoods framework. It can be used together with the Lesotho case study. It can also be used as an in-depth case study when combined with the background information accompanying the film.</td>
<td>★★★★★☆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa: Legacies</td>
<td>The primary focus of this film is on people in a particular location. However, there is a section that shows Mrs Mhlongo’s household and the different livelihood strategies she uses. The film also provides information on a range of external factors that influence her livelihood and that of other people.</td>
<td>★★★☆☆☆</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Rating

★★★★☆☆ Very highly recommended for this session
★★★★☆☆ Highly recommended for this session
★★★★☆☆ Can use in this session
★★★★☆☆ Not recommended for this session

Elements of the livelihoods framework for plenary presentation

Photocopy the following elements of the livelihoods framework for your facilitator’s input during this session or make your own materials. Keep them to use in other sessions. These elements can be photocopied as follows:

- same size for an A2-sized demonstration model (420x594cm/172x242 inches)
- enlarged 141% for an A1-sized demonstration model (594x840cm/242x343 inches)
- enlarged 200% for an A0-sized demonstration model (840x1 188cm/343x485 inches)
ASSETS

CAPABILITIES

ACTIVITIES
Learning about livelihoods
POSITIVE IMPACT

MORE SUSTAINABLE STRATEGIES

MORE DESIRABLE OUTCOMES
LESS SUSTAINABLE STRATEGIES

NEGATIVE IMPACT

LESS DESIRABLE OUTCOMES
FACTORS WHICH UNDERMINE LIVELIHOOD SECURITY

FACTORS WHICH ENHANCE LIVELIHOOD SECURITY

- Increased resilience to disaster risk
- Greater sustainability
- Increased livelihood security

- Decreasing resilience to disaster risk
- Less sustainability
- Reduced livelihood security
Step 1. Session introduction

1. Introduce the session learning objectives and the activities, using the flipcharts you have prepared.
2. Explain that households secure their livelihoods in many different ways. To help analyse and understand household livelihoods, it is necessary to have a conceptual framework. Explain that the group will first develop a working definition of a livelihood and then use case studies to analyse what affects the ability of each household to attain livelihood security.

Step 2. What is a livelihood? What makes it sustainable?

Purpose: To develop a working definition of a livelihood and to identify key factors that build livelihood security.

1. Arrange the participants into twos or threes and give each participant a copy of Activity Guide 1. Ask each group to write down on a flipchart their own definition of a livelihood and a list of factors that contribute to household livelihood security.
2. Reconvene the plenary group and ask participants to suggest a definition of a livelihood. Write points on the flipchart. Then put up the flipchart with the DFID definition of a livelihood on it and compare the two definitions.
3. Ask participants for key factors that build livelihood security and write them on a flipchart.
4. Ask participants for the key factors which they have identified. List the points on a flipchart under the heading ‘secure and stable livelihoods depend on...’.

Step 3. Factors influencing household livelihood security

Purpose: To analyse a selected household case study and to identify a range of factors which affect that household’s livelihood security.

1. Introduce the activity to the plenary group, referring to Activity Guide 2 and the case study you have chosen. Hand out a copy of Activity Guide 2 to all participants.
2. Break participants into four groups and hand out 20 cards to each one to do the following:

- Group 1 will examine factors within the selected household that have a positive impact on their livelihoods and write down one factor per card.
- Group 2 will examine factors within the selected household that have a negative impact on their livelihoods and write down one factor per card.
- Group 3 will examine factors outside the selected household that have a positive impact on their livelihoods and write down one factor per card.
- Group 4 will examine factors outside the selected household that have a negative impact on their livelihoods and write down one factor per card.

If you have two colours of card, give one colour to groups 1 and 3 for the positive factors, and the other colour to groups 2 and 4 for the negative factors. If you have only one colour of card, ask those discussing negative influences to use a red marking pen and those identifying positive influences to use a black marking pen.

3. While the groups are working, prepare four flipcharts with the following headings:

- Inside the household, positive factors
- Inside the household, negative factors
- Outside the household, positive factors
- Outside the household, negative factors.

Put these flipcharts on the wall, leaving enough space for the groups to paste their cards under the correct heading. Make sure there is enough space to do the next activity.

4. Reconvene the plenary group and ask each small group to briefly present what it has done, putting its cards on the wall under the correct heading.

### Step 4. Presenting the basic framework – facilitator input

**Purpose:** To introduce the elements of the framework: people, capabilities, assets and activities.

1. Put four flipcharts together on the wall so that they form one very large piece of paper.
2. Do your facilitator input on the livelihoods framework, making sure you are well prepared. Put up the prepared photocopied elements as you talk about each aspect of the framework. Start with the triangle so that you can put people in the centre of the model. Add the different labels as you talk about the different aspects of the model.

**FACILITATOR INPUT**

People are the centre of the framework. The framework centres around household members trying to make a living. This is also the initial focus for analysis.

The framework also takes into account:

- concerns of gender, age and power relations that show how household members play different roles and often have uneven access to resources within the household
- the differences between households in the same community.

**Capabilities:** People have a range of personal skills, abilities and attributes. The mix of skills and abilities that a household has affects its ability to secure a livelihood.

**Assets:** These are the different categories of resources that the household uses to make a living. They can be described simply as social and material assets, or they can be clustered using the ‘five capitals’ model – social capital, human capital, financial capital, physical capital and natural capital. Look at the diagrams in Session 5 for a quick idea of these different approaches to assets.

**Activities:** These are the different things that people do to sustain the household and make a living. They include productive, reproductive and community maintenance activities.

**External environment:** Policies, programmes and institutions outside the household can improve or constrain people’s options by affecting their individual and household capabilities, assets and activities. This means that we cannot think about the household in isolation from the world. The external environment can be divided up into physical (built and natural), social, political/institutional and economic factors. The external environment also operates on a number of levels – regional, provincial, national and global.

The three corners of the triangle – capabilities, assets and activities – form a foundation on which a family builds its livelihood strategies. This triangle can be compared to the three stones under a cooking pot which provide a space to lay the fire and which stabilise the pot. If the stones are uneven the pot will be at risk of tipping over. At the same time the fire under the cooking pot can be affected by wind, rain or lack of firewood. The fire can be protected by a windbreak and burn better. In the same way the household livelihood can be positively or negatively affected by external factors. The more risky the situation within and outside the household, the more vulnerable the household.

At the end, your wallchart should look something like this:
Learning about livelihoods
Step 5. Linking the framework to the household analysis

Purpose: To apply the framework to integrate the factors identified in Step 2 and Step 3 and to reflect on the relevance of the framework.

1. Ask volunteers to select cards from the wall display generated in Step 2 and stick them in an appropriate place on the conceptual framework. Ask each person to explain why he or she feels the card belongs in that place, and whether the card could fit anywhere else. This usually sparks debate about where to post the cards which is an excellent way to help people understand the framework. If there are parts of the framework that have few cards ask participants to think of examples and add new cards to complete the activity.

2. Once participants have stuck all the cards, ask them for their comments on the framework as a whole. What are its strengths and weaknesses? Are there gaps that need to be filled?

Step 6. Revisiting the definition of household livelihoods

Read through the definition of household livelihood developed in Step 2. Ask participants if any changes need to be made, now that they know about the livelihoods framework. Check that the definition adequately addresses the issue of sustainability. Discuss any proposed changes which people propose.

Step 7. Session summary

1. Wrap up the session by recapping key aspects of the framework.

2. Hand out copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to each participant to keep as a reference.

3. Ask participants to evaluate the session and make notes for yourself on how to improve this session in the future.
Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have:

- developed a working definition of a livelihood
- identified and categorised the factors that contribute to livelihood sustainability.

What to do

1. The facilitator will allocate you to a group. Choose somebody in your group to facilitate the activity and someone to record and report back on the group’s work.

2. Discuss a definition of what a livelihood is and write it on your flipchart.

3. Brainstorm a list of factors that contribute to household livelihood security. Try to group these factors into categories and think of a name for each cluster. Write this down on your flipchart.

4. Prepare to report back to the plenary discussion.
Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will identify a range of factors within and outside the household which influence its livelihood.

What to do

In this activity you will work in four groups to analyse and compare households and the external social, economic, institutional and natural environment that affects them. You will identify the range of positive and negative factors that impact on its ability to sustain a livelihood.

1. The facilitator will provide you with a printed household profile, or a film segment to watch.

2. Then do the following:

   • If you are Group 1, examine factors within the household you are discussing that have a positive impact on their livelihoods and write down one factor per card.

   • If you are Group 2, examine factors within the household you are discussing that have a negative impact on their livelihoods and write down one factor per card.

   • If you are Group 3, examine factors outside the household you are discussing that have a positive impact on their livelihoods and write down one factor per card.

   • If you are Group 4, examine factors outside the household you are discussing that have a negative impact on their livelihoods and write down one factor per card.

3. Decide how vulnerable you think the households are and provide reasons for how you categorise it.

4. Prepare to report back to the plenary discussion.
Session 4:
Household activities

Summary

Purpose
This is the first of three sessions that go into more detail on the household ‘triangle’ of activities, assets and capabilities. It introduces the concept of livelihood diversity and deepens participants’ understanding of the different kinds of activities of households. These activities were first introduced in Session 2 where participants explored gender roles and division of labour. Session 2 focused on three main types of activity: productive, reproductive and community maintenance. This session revisits these activities to examine how households combine a range of activities to secure their livelihoods.

By the end of the session, participants will be able to:

• identify and differentiate between different household activities and how these vary between different types of household
• show how these activities change in response to seasonal and other factors
• explain and give practical examples of the concept of diversification of livelihood activities – households undertaking multiple activities to mitigate risk.

Activity overview
Participants compare four different households from Herschel District, Eastern Cape, South Africa. These households are drawn from four different categories of well-being developed by local people through a wealth-ranking exercise. Participants identify the activities that each household undertakes and map how these change during the year. They discuss the relative well-being of each household. The session ends with a discussion about what more we need to know before we can gain a more in-depth understanding of the relative livelihood security of each household.

Session components and time required
The ‘key ideas’ section introduces more detailed ideas and debates about household activities. This section can be photocopied and handed out at the end of the session. The preparation section alerts the trainer to what he or she will need to do before running the session. The facilitation section is a step-by-step session plan. The two activity guides are designed to be photocopied and handed out to participants. The session will take approximately 1½ hours.
Members of the household undertake a wide range of activities that contribute to their livelihoods. It is important to:

- see these activities both individually and as a whole
- identify the interrelationships between them
- understand how they are affected by the changing availability of assets and the external environment or development context.

The definitions below cluster activities into different types. It helps to distinguish between different types of activities, but the main thing is to be able to ask the right questions that will enable people to explain what can be very complex sets of activities.

Concepts and definitions

Livelihood diversification

Livelihood diversification acts as a safety net for poor households. A household which depends on too few livelihood strategies is very vulnerable. The strategy might not provide enough, or it may fail completely. Diversification means there will be other sources of livelihood for the household to fall back on. Livelihood diversification that does not degrade the natural resource base is an important indicator of livelihood security.

Every household undertakes a mixture of productive, reproductive and community maintenance activities. Most people undertake more than one productive activity at the same time. The same person or different household members can be involved in some sort of agriculture or gardening, have a job, do casual labour in return for payment, buy and sell goods, and so on. The exact mixture of activities changes over time. Changes over time might take place over one year. For example, during the harvest and planting seasons, people may do agricultural work for themselves or be paid by farmers to do this work. Certain income-earning opportunities may only be available during the summer when tourists are on holiday. Changes in activities may also take place over a longer time because certain activities become more difficult or less rewarding, or because people see new opportunities.

Productive activities

Households in different places will do many different sets of productive activities. Productive activities are differentiated by gender and age. Some activities are thought to be ‘men’s work’, others ‘women’s work’ and still others may be reserved for old people. Just because people engage in an activity does not necessarily mean that they have control over the activity or its benefits.
A household’s productive activities will reflect the diversity of the resource base and local demand. Households in urban informal settlements or peri-urban areas will be involved in such activities as buying and selling, making and selling food, running taverns, construction, tailoring, metal work and recycling. In rural areas, the productive activities will be different, depending on, for example, how much rainfall there is and how much pressure there is on natural resources. Any household’s productive activities are dynamic (they are constantly changing). This reflects the way that people:

• *cope* – make temporary adjustments in the face of change or a short term modification of activities in the face of a shock or stress

• *adapt* – make longer term shifts in livelihood strategies in response to changes in the environment.

Reproductive activities

Reproductive activities are those activities that meet the day-to-day maintenance of the household and ensure its physical survival and emotional well-being. Women, young children and youths carry out most of these activities. Some are also the responsibility of the elderly. One of the impacts of HIV/AIDS is that the reproductive role of children is vital to household survival. Before the epidemic, parents cared for their children up to a certain age. Now, children are likely to be caring for their sick parents. A few reproductive activities, like house building, also involve men.

Reproductive activities are similar in most places. However, the amount of time people have to give up and how hard they have to work to meet reproductive needs varies. Where there are inadequate services – too few water supply points, no electricity and no clinics – women and children have to spend a lot of time collecting water and firewood and meeting health needs. This limits the livelihood opportunities of the entire household. Reproductive activities vary from season to season. In winter more firewood will be required, and children and old people are more likely to get sick.

Where there are too few people to meet the reproductive needs of the household, there is very little time left for productive activities. This makes it more difficult to diversify sources of livelihood. Because women are expected to meet more reproductive needs than men (for example, looking after children and cooking), they are not able to participate in local decision making.

Community maintenance activities

Many people spend a lot of time, energy and sometimes money on community-level activities. These activities do not necessarily have obvious ben-
People do not get paid for these activities, and they do not directly improve the home. However, they are an important way of acknowledging and ensuring membership in the community. Community maintenance activities are sometimes voluntary, sometimes not. They link household livelihoods with the broader society.

Community maintenance activities usually involve only adult members of the household. Some activities happen year-round while other activities may only happen at certain times of the year. These activities are very diverse and include:

- land rights management
- natural resource management – decisions about grazing and harvesting of wild resources
- taking on community leadership positions
- local government and development consultations
- participation in parent-teacher structures and public health campaigns
- involvement in local development projects such as schools, churches and clinics
- dispute resolution and participation in traditional courts
- social events like feasts, initiation ceremonies, funerals and weddings.

**Opportunity cost**

People have limited time and assets. If they do one activity, they cannot do another at the same time, using the same resources. A poor woman may want to clean the house, fetch water, collect firewood, gather medicinal herbs, take care of a sick family member, visit a friend and sell some tomatoes to make some money, but she simply cannot do it all. She will therefore have to decide to engage in some activities and not in others, even if she really wants to do them all. This seems obvious, but the implications for her livelihood are profound. If we are to understand her livelihood strategy we must understand why she chooses some things and not others.

**Bringing it all together**

Households manage a ‘basket’ of activities. The assets and capabilities of the household shape the size of the basket and the diversity of activities that can be managed. Livelihoods planning needs to understand the mix of activities that the basket contains and why some activities are in and others...
are out. We need to be able to work with people to get to a point where their baskets can hold more.

Activities may be done by individuals within a household, by combinations of household members and in some cases may involve mutual support activities with other households based on kinship, friendship or other links. These types of activities include weeding and harvesting parties; lending out cattle for ploughing; and lending out animals for long periods (ukusiza\(^2\)). When cattle are lent out for long periods, the borrower cares for the animals and pays for their upkeep, but can use the draught power of the animals and their milk. In some cases, the borrower may keep a calf to start his or her own herd. Mutual support activities like these often allow a household to engage in activities that it does not have the capabilities or assets to engage in alone.

Endnotes for Session 4

1 Scoones 1998.
2 A Zulu word.

References and further reading for Session 4


Kepe, T. 1997. *Environmental entitlements in Mkambati*. Cape Town: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape. (Research report; no. 1.)


Getting started

Before you run this session, you will need to:

- read through the ‘key ideas’ section of this session and make sure you understand the different kinds of livelihood activities which contribute to a household’s overall livelihood strategy, and the factors which make livelihood activities dynamic
- make sure you know what the session objectives are (from the summary) and work through the facilitation section to prepare yourself
- read through the activity guides and the household case studies.

Materials required

Flipcharts, photocopies (specified below), pens for writing on flipcharts (at least two colours), material to attach flipcharts and cards to the wall, material to attach flipcharts to each other, and cards for small group work.

Preparing the materials

1. Write the learning objectives (from the summary) and the session outline on a flipchart.
2. Prepare a presentation about household activities from the ‘key ideas’ section and other sources.
3. Make enough copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to hand out to all participants.
4. Make enough copies of the activity guide to hand out to all participants.
5. Make enough copies of Case Studies 3, 4, 5 and 6 in Chapter 4 to hand out for small group work. The plenary group will work in four small groups. Make sure you have a copy of one of the four case studies for each participant.
6. Prepare four matrices with the following information on them:

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>M</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reproductive</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Each matrix is made of six flipchart sheets on their sides and pasted together.
Step 1. Session introduction

1. Introduce the session learning objectives and activity, using the flipcharts you have prepared.

2. Highlight the links with the previous three sessions. In Sessions 1 and 2, participants saw that households are complex and take many different forms. One approach to households is that they are best understood as ‘clusters’ or ‘networks’ that contain different gender and economic interests. People within the household co-operate to secure the livelihood of the household, and they compete/bargain to secure their interests within it. In doing this, household members carry out activities of different types. Session 3 introduced the main elements of the livelihoods framework – activities, assets and capabilities – and their dynamic relationship with the external environment. Session 4 looks at household activities in more depth, taking into account household differentiation and the factors that make one household more secure than another.

3. Remind participants about the three categories of household activities they learnt about in Session 2 – productive, reproductive and community maintenance. Ask participants for examples of each category of activity to make sure they understand. Provide your own examples if necessary.

Step 2. Households activities and time activity

Purpose: To identify and categorise the activities of four households, to map their activities onto a calendar, and to examine their activities and relative livelihood security.

1. Break participants into four groups. Each group will work with a different case study (Case Studies 3, 4, 5 and 6 in Chapter 4). Give each group a prepared matrix. Give the members of each group a copy of the relevant case study. Give each participant a copy of the activity guide.

2. Explain what participants must do in their small groups:
   - read the case study handout for their group
   - identify all the activities of that household and write them on cards
   - cluster the cards under the different headings on the matrix until they have agreed on how to allocate all the activities
   - map the different activities on the calendar, distinguishing between those activities that happen daily, those that are frequent, and those that are tied to specific seasons. Activities that happen daily are marked on the calendar as a single line across the months. Frequent
activities are marked by the estimated number of times these things happen in a month. Seasonal activities are marked in the months that they take place. Gender-specific activities can be colour-coded to identify gender divisions of labour over time.

3. Break participants into small groups to do the activity and hand out the relevant case study copies.

4. Reconvene the plenary and ask groups to display their matrices side by side. Arrange the matrices from the simplest set of activities to the most diverse.

5. Ask the group with the simplest activity set to report back first. Then ask the other groups to report back on additional activities that their case study households undertake, and who undertakes them.

6. Facilitate a discussion to identify the factors that limit the range of productive activities each household can carry out. Refer back to the household triangle and discuss the relationship between the activities that the household is able to successfully carry out and:
   • the nature of its resource base
   • the capabilities of its members
   • the opportunities and constraints in the external environment.

7. Hand out the copies of the ‘key ideas’ section for participants to keep as a reference.
Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have:

- analysed the activities of four rural households ranked by local people across a scale of well-being from wealthy to very poor
- categorised the activities into reproductive, productive and community maintenance activities
- mapped the activities in time using a seasonal calendar
- compared the activities carried out by the different households and reflected on their relative livelihood security.

What to do

1. The facilitator will allocate you to a group and will give you a household case study, cards, a prepared matrix and two different colours of marking pen. Choose somebody in your group to facilitate the activity and someone to record and report on the group’s work.

2. Carefully read through your case study.

3. In your group, discuss all the activities which the different members of the household undertake and write each one on a separate card. Some of the activities happen during certain seasons.

4. In your group, sort and cluster the cards under the three headings on the prepared matrix.

5. For each different activity ask ‘when does this activity place?’ Decide which activities happen daily, which happen now and then, and which only happen at certain times of the year. Mark daily activities on the calendar by drawing a line right across the calendar. Mark seasonal activities in the months that they take place. If a particular activity is gender-specific, colour-code it – one colour for activities carried out by men and another colour for activities carried out by women.
Session 5:
Capabilities and assets

Summary

Purpose

This session examines the capabilities and assets that complete the household ‘triangle’ that was introduced in Session 3. In this session, participants identify the capabilities that enable households to make optimum use of their asset base. They explore the range of assets to which different households have access. They also examine how having access to a range of assets contributes to livelihood security. At the same time participants start to identify the factors that limit people’s ability to sustain their livelihoods.

By the end of this session, participants will be able to:

• apply the conceptual framework to identify capabilities and differentiate between different household assets
• clarify how household capabilities enable household members to effectively utilise their assets
• identify differences in access to control over resources between and within households
• identify a range of limiting factors that contribute to household vulnerability.

Activity overview

This session consists of two linked activities:

• In Activity 1, participants analyse and compare case study households to identify the capabilities and assets that each household uses to secure its livelihood.
• In Activity 2, participants identify the different factors that limit the livelihood options of the case study households and make them vulnerable.

After the activities, participants reflect on how they would do this kind of analysis differently in the field to reflect the reality and priorities of local people.

Session components and time required

The ‘key ideas’ section introduces ideas and debates around how assets and capabilities fit into the livelihoods framework. This can be photocopied and handed out at the end of the session. The preparation section alerts the trainer to what he or she will need to do before running the session. The facilitation session is a step-by-step session plan. The two activity guides are designed to be photocopied and handed out to participants. The session requires the use of two household case studies. Case Study 7 and Case Study 8 in Chapter 4 have been prepared for this session, but it is possible to choose case studies from the videocassette, to use other case studies from Chapter 4, or develop your own case studies.

The session will last about 4½ hours, depending on what case studies you use.
Session 3 introduced the livelihoods framework and made the linkages between the capabilities that people draw on to utilise assets and develop activities to meet their livelihood objectives. In this session we deepen our understanding of the capabilities and assets and the connections between them. Overall the session is designed to highlight the range of different assets on which people depend. It highlights how having access to diverse resources and the capabilities to use them are important factors in determining livelihood security. The case studies also show how factors in the broader environment enhance or limit people’s livelihood options.

**Human capabilities – the key**

The livelihoods framework is centred on people so we need to look at people first and the capabilities that they possess. In this book, we treat human capabilities as being different from other types of asset.

Household capabilities are the knowledge, skills and abilities that the household draws on to secure its livelihood. These may include:

- specialised local knowledge about the environment
- specific production and entrepreneurial skills
- ability to labour which in turn is related to level of education and health status
- abilities to find and use information to plan and innovate, manage, cope and adapt.

Capabilities enable the household to transform its assets into livelihood activities. Different livelihoods frameworks use different terms for this. The DFID framework, which describes five ‘capitals’, calls capabilities ‘human capital’.¹

Whatever term or framework you use, it is the capabilities of the household members – their combined knowledge, skills, state of health and ability to labour or command labour – that enable them to make best use of their assets and engage in different livelihood activities.

**Understanding assets**

When we introduced the livelihoods framework in Session 3 we saw that there were different ways to define and categorise assets. We saw how the DFID and Oxfam frameworks group livelihoods assets into five types of ‘capital’:
1. **Human capital**: skills, knowledge, ability to labour…

2. **Social capital**: ‘social resources which people draw upon in pursuit of their livelihood objectives’, social networks, organisations…

3. **Natural capital**: land and natural resources…

4. **Physical capital**: farm equipment, shelter, infrastructure…

5. **Financial capital**: income, credit, claims, savings, cattle…

See the complete DFID and Oxfam livelihood frameworks on pages 5 and 7.

The ‘five capitals’ can be quite difficult to distinguish from one another. The household triangle refers to ‘capabilities’, ‘assets’ and ‘activities’. Capabilities in the household triangle are the same as ‘human capital’ in the ‘five capitals’ approach. Treating capabilities as a separate element emphasises how central people are to the livelihoods approach.

In this book we prefer to cluster the remaining four sets of assets (social, physical, financial and natural) into two simple categories – **social** and **material** assets, an approach which was pioneered by Chambers and Conway.

### Social assets

Social assets are ‘intangible’ – you can’t touch them or see them. They are the benefits that come through relationships with people and institutions and access to resources that are determined by local rules and conventions.

People are able to make claims on family members or the state. They may be entitled to a loan of cash, seed or ploughing oxen from family and relatives. They can claim their rights and demand support such as drought relief, basic services, pensions or disability grants from the state. Claims may also be made on the basis of power and position. A traditional leader may require households to contribute labour on his fields, or may demand some form of payment before granting a household access to particular resources.

People gain access to resources through local tenure and resource management systems. Research into ‘environmental entitlements’ indicates ‘access
to and control over natural resources are socially differentiated. These systems determine the rights of individuals and households to a wide range of resources such as common grazing, forest products, marine and river resources, game, medicinal herbs, grasses for weaving and thatching, firewood, water and residential and arable land. Gender and age will determine the nature of claims and access that a particular social system will provide.

**Material assets**

Material assets are tangible. You can see them and touch them. They can be quantified (counted and measured). They are the actual physical things which people own, control or have access to, including land, water, money, credit, livestock, seed stocks, farming equipment, tools, natural resources, and infrastructure such as roads, electricity, water and sanitation.

**Control and access**

Case Studies 7 and 8 in Chapter 4 show that not all households have the same control or access to resources. Some households have access to more land. Others have may have more reliable sources of income like pensions. It is also clear that members of the same household do not have equal access to or control over resources.

**Limiting factors**

It is not sufficient just to list material and social assets. We need to understand more about quality of the assets and the factors which may limit (or enhance) people’s abilities to fully use them. The dynamic interplay between assets, capabilities and activities and the extent to which they are limited by the vulnerability context lies at the heart of the livelihoods framework.

**Applying the concepts to two real situations**

In this session, the assets and capabilities of households in two very different contexts are compared. There are differences in access to, and control over resources of different households and household members in the two locations. Two case studies have been prepared for this session, but it is possible to analyse other case studies:

- Case Study 7 on page 297 is about three households in Winterveld, a peri-urban area 40km north of Pretoria in South Africa. This case provides a historical background to the area which locates the households within a broader social, economic and political context.
• Case Study 8 on page 306 is about three households in Mukemu village in Sinde District in Southern Zambia.

The case studies show how the circumstances of the households have changed. Understanding change over time is very important for understanding livelihood trends and livelihood sustainability.

You have the option of using/comparing different frameworks as the basis for analysis. We suggest that you are consistent and use the household triangle. However, you may want to experiment with using the ‘five capitals’ as your framework for analysis. If you want to compare the results that the different frameworks deliver, you can get two groups to use the household triangle and two groups to use the five capitals.

Read the household profiles and the analysis critically. You may want to add other factors or categorise them in a different way. At times you will want more information to deepen your analysis. There is no ‘right answer’. The important thing is that when you work with households in a community, local people must be the ones using the framework to identify and prioritise their assets and capabilities. They are also the ones who need to identify limiting factors as they see them. It is their reality that counts.

SUMMARY OF CASE STUDY 7: WINTERVELD, SOUTH AFRICA

Winterfeld is a peri-urban area that is a product of apartheid planning. Residents have access to urban areas and the economic opportunities these generate, but they must spend several hours travelling to get there. Winterfeld has been badly affected by retrenchments and unemployment in the South African economy. This has in turn affected the viability of informal sector livelihood activities. Many of the wage-earning households have moved out of the area, leaving more marginal households behind. Many of the households which remain depend on state pensions. Agriculture and natural resources seem to play a very limited role in people’s livelihood strategies with the exception of the poorer Mozambican households who co-operate around the vegetable-growing project. Household capabilities and resourcefulness are very important for survival. Household and family relationships show a mix of competition and cooperation. The households demonstrate how resources within the household are unevenly distributed. Livelihood strategies of women from poor households in Winterveld can involve starting relationships with many men, or depending on sex-work for income.

Co-operation is essential but it is fragile. Insecurity and vulnerability are major parts of people’s lives. Tenure is insecure and local government is unable to cope with the competing interests and deliver infrastructure. The combination of these factors contributes to people’s dependence on the ‘grey economy’ and trafficking in stolen and illegal goods. The diversity of the population and the networks it has with other countries in the region make Winterveld an important distribution point.
Mukemu village is small and remote. Households rely on a range of different capabilities and assets for the their livelihoods. Key capabilities include knowledge of farming and natural resources while social assets like relations of trust and reciprocity between households, functioning governance and tenure systems facilitate access to resources. Most households have very limited economic and financial assets and are cash-poor. However, the households with livestock, sufficient agricultural equipment and seed stocks are in a stronger position to achieve food security. All the households in the case study are vulnerable to drought which lowers yields and limits livestock. In this instance, Food for Work and other types of aid programmes provide an important safety net. The danger, however, is that people may become dependent on the aid donor and relying on Food for Work instead of finding more effective drought mitigation measures.

Endnotes for Session 5

1 It does acknowledge however that human capital/capabilities ‘are required in order to make use of any of the other four types of asset’ (DFID Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets).
2 DFID Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets.
3 Leach, Mearns & Scoones 1997.
4 These case studies have been adapted from Naidoo 2000.
5 These case studies have been prepared by Penny Ward based on work undertaken by CARE Zambia.

References and further reading for Session 5

DFID (Department for International Development). Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets. Available from the livelihoods learning platform www.livelihoods.org
Getting started

Before you run this session, you will need to:

• read through the ‘key ideas’ section of this session and make sure you understand the different definitions and principal debates around capabilities and assets

• make sure you know what the session objectives are (from the summary) and work through the facilitation section to prepare yourself

• read through the two activity guides

• choose two household case studies – these can come from Chapter 4 (Case Study 7 and Case Study 8 are recommended, but Case Study 1 and Case Study 2 are shorter and have been used in previous sessions), the videocassette (details below), or use case studies you have prepared yourself. The choice of case studies will significantly affect the time needed for this session.

Materials required

Flipcharts, photocopies (specified below), cards, pens for writing on flipcharts and material to attach flipcharts to the wall and cards to the flipchart. If you decide to use films, you will also need a working video machine and television set.

Preparing the materials

1. Write the learning objectives (from the summary) and the session outline on a flipchart.

2. Prepare a presentation on the ‘five capitals’ and the ‘household triangle’ ways of looking at assets, noting the differences. Prepare a flipchart with the diagrams on page 99 for your presentation.

3. Make enough copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to hand out to every participant at the end of the session.

4. Make enough copies of the activity guides to hand out to every participant.

5. Participants will work in four small groups. Prepare a matrix for each household that each group will analyse as follows, using up an entire flip chart sheet so that there is enough space to attach cards to the sheet:
If you want to compare the ‘five capitals’ and the social and material asset approaches to analysing the same households, prepare one half of the matrix sheets like the one above, and the other half using the ‘five capitals’ headings.

6. Prepare the household case studies you have chosen. Develop your own analysis of the assets, capabilities and limiting factors for each household you select and make notes for yourself. There is no ‘right answer’. If you choose Case Study 7 and Case Study 8, critically assess the analysis of capabilities and assets that appear there. Make enough copies of the case studies so that half of the group gets one case study and the other half the second case study. Do not photocopy the analysis of each household. If you decide to use your own case studies, prepare them for photocopying and make sure there are enough copies to hand out. If you decide to use filmed case studies, make sure the video machine and television set are working, and that the videotape is in the right place. The following table may help you choose the films:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rating*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique: Floods</td>
<td>If you used this film for Session 3, much of the ground will already have been covered.</td>
<td>★★★★★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe: Moving on</td>
<td>There is not much direct information on household capabilities, although this could be inferred.</td>
<td>★★★★☆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho: Home-making</td>
<td>Many of the assets and capabilities of the household are clearly identified in the film as are a number of limiting factors.</td>
<td>★★★☆☆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia: 'Pruned'</td>
<td>The assets and capabilities of the Ngalande household are clear, as are a number of limiting factors.</td>
<td>★★★☆☆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa: Legacies</td>
<td>The social and material assets of the Mhlongo household are not very clearly identified in the film, although several are inferred. There is a clearer picture of capabilities in this film</td>
<td>★★★☆☆</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Rating

★★★★★★ Very highly recommended for this session
★★★★☆☆ Highly recommended for this session
★★★★☆☆ Can use in this session
★★☆☆☆☆ Not recommended for this session
This session will take about four hours, depending on how long and complex the case studies are that you have chosen.

**Step 1. Session introduction**

1. Introduce the session learning objectives and activities, using the flipcharts you have prepared.

2. Highlight the links with the preceding sessions:
   - Sessions 1 and 2 looked at the concept of the household. Participants saw that households are complex and take many different forms. One approach to households is that they are ‘clusters’ or ‘networks’ that contain different gender and economic interests. People within the household both co-operate to secure the livelihood of the household and compete/bargain to secure their interests within it.
   - Session 3 introduced the main elements of the livelihoods framework – activities, assets and capabilities and their dynamic relationship with the external environment.
   - Session 4 examined the range of activities undertaken by different households and how some of these activities are seasonal or irregular. Participants also saw that the type of activities a household undertakes are linked to the assets which it can access.
   - This session explores in more detail the assets a household has access to. It also examines the capabilities a household needs to effectively use those assets – information, knowledge, skills and labour power. In the session participants apply the livelihoods framework to analyse and compare the assets and capabilities of households in different contexts. They also examine the factors that limit the household’s livelihood options.

**Step 2. Activity 1: Comparing assets and capabilities**

**Purpose:** To analyse and compare the capabilities and assets of households from case studies.

1. Introduce capabilities and assets and the ‘five capitals’ and ‘household triangle’ methods of defining assets, using the flipchart you have prepared. Note that the ‘five capitals’ model categorises human capabilities as a type of asset. Point out that whatever model participants use in the field, the most important thing is that they must be able to identify the...
Learning about livelihoods

assets and the capabilities that people use to develop their livelihoods. Understanding the different livelihoods frameworks may help to identify assets and capabilities that might otherwise be overlooked. In this session they will analyse and categorise the assets and capabilities of case study households.

2. Break the participants up into four groups and hand out copies of the case studies, Activity Guide 1 and a matrix sheet. Explain that participants must:

• read the background to the case study and the household profiles or view the film
• identify the various assets and capabilities that each household depends on for its livelihood and write these on cards
• put the cards under different headings on the matrix until the group has agreed on how to allocate all the assets and capabilities. The column headed ‘limiting factors’ will be used in the next activity.

3. Reconvene the plenary group and ask groups to display what they have done side by side. Arrange the displays so that the households with the least assets and capabilities are at one end and those with most at the other.

4. Ask the groups to report on the households with the least assets and capabilities first. Then ask the groups to identify the additional assets and capabilities that the more secure households have.

5. Using your own notes, make suggestions if you see any gaps in the analysis the groups have presented. Point out that there are no right answers.

Step 3. Activity 2: Identifying limiting factors

Purpose: To build on the analysis of Activity 1 by identifying limiting factors.

1. Explain that the analysis of assets and capabilities is not complete until the factors that limit the ability of people to use their assets have been identified. Identifying limiting factors helps to think about what can be done to overcome them.

2. Ask the groups that dealt with particular households to identify key limiting factors for each household in each category of assets. Groups write the factors on cards and put them up on the matrix.
3. Ask the group to identify limiting factors that are specific to certain households, and those factors that apply to all the households in a place. For example:

- Households in Winterveld all experience tenure insecurity. Neither land owners or tenants have secure land rights. Both have problems in enforcing them.

- Households in Mukemu are all vulnerable to drought, though some are better equipped to deal with it than others.

4. Using your own notes, make suggestions if you see any gaps in the analysis the groups have presented. Point out that there are no right answers.

Step 4. Whose reality counts?

Purpose: To make participants aware that as practitioners they must do analysis with local people.

1. Ask participants to discuss the following questions in pairs:

- Whose analysis has been done in these activities?

- Whose reality and whose priorities are reflected here?

- How would the analysis have been different if the people living in the case study households had done it themselves?

2. Facilitate a plenary discussion about these issues. The point is that because participants are outsiders, they must be aware they can only do an outsider’s analysis. The way local people themselves see their own situations is far more important than the way any outsider sees the situation.
Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have:

* identified, analysed and compared the assets and capabilities of selected households
* grouped the assets and capabilities of each household into different categories.

What to do

1. The facilitator will allocate you to a group and give you a case study containing household profiles to analyse, cards and a prepared matrix like the one below. Choose someone in your group to facilitate the activity and someone to record and report back on the group’s work.

2. Carefully read through the background information on the case and the individual household profiles. Identify key information about the household and write it in the household information box. This should include the name of the household members, their age and sex, and so on. You can sketch the household showing the relationships between household members if you want to. Do not fill in the column labelled ‘limiting factors’ in Activity 1. You will use this column for Activity 2.

3. Identify the capabilities and assets of each household and write them on cards, one item per card.

4. Put the cards up on the matrix in what your group thinks is the best place for each card.

5. Divide the social assets between assets that provide access, and those which represent claims or entitlements.

6. Write a short statement for each household that summarises the key assets on which it depends, and the key capabilities it has to use the assets effectively.

7. Prepare to present your findings to the plenary group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capabilities</th>
<th>Limiting factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household information</td>
<td>Social assets:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Access:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Claims:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Material assets:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Capabilities and assets

Activity Guide 2: Identifying limiting factors

Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have identified, analysed and compared the factors which limit the ability of household members to make best use of their assets.

What to do

1. Go back to the households you worked with in Activity 1. Identify key factors which limit the ability of each household to make the best use of its assets. Write these down on cards and stick them to the matrix.

2. Identify the limiting factors that are specific to certain households, and limiting factors that the households have in common.

3. Prepare to present your findings to the plenary group.
Session 6:

Access, power and control

Summary

Purpose

Gender stereotypes and assumptions about ‘the community’ and ‘the environment’ can hide inequalities of access, power and control within and between households. This session looks into differences within and between households and how different household members gain access and control over resources.

By the end of this session participants will have:

• compared two households from Lesotho and Zambia using the filmed case studies
• completed an activity profile and an access and control profile to examine differentiation within each household and how this is reflected in uneven control and access to resources and the benefits from livelihood activities
• reflected on the factors which contribute to the relative well-being of households and how these differentiate households from one another.

Activity overview

This session consists of two linked activities:

• In Activity 1 participants compile activity and time profiles of the two households depicted in the films.
• In Activity 2 participants compile access and control profiles of the households.

Participants then have a discussion on how useful the information that has been generated is for planning, how useful the tools were, and how they could be improved. They consider how to make the links to the factors in the external environment that are changing household relations.

Session components and time required

The ‘key ideas’ section deepens the exploration of differences within and between households. This can be photocopied and handed out at the end of the session. The preparation section alerts the trainer to what he or she will need to do before running the session. The facilitation section is a step-by-step session plan. The two activity guides are designed to be photocopied and handed out to participants. The session requires using two filmed case studies from the videocassette. The session will take about 4 hours.
Socially enforced gender roles can make it difficult for a household to adapt its livelihood strategy to new situations. We have seen in previous sessions that households undertake a wide range of activities, using their assets and capabilities to best effect for survival. A sudden shock – such as a wage earner losing a job – may leave a household without key assets or activities. In order to maintain its well-being, the household will have to develop new strategies. This session, which follows on from Session 2, explores how gender stereotypes can limit the household's flexibility to develop new livelihood strategies which involve a change in gender roles.

Development workers, community activists and government officials need to be able to be aware of gender when they work with local people to design development programmes. Recognising and addressing gender stereotypes and other differences such as class, age and caste will enable development agents to think more broadly about opportunities and constraints to sustainable livelihoods. A gender analysis can highlight unseen capabilities and social assets and can show how these are enhanced or constrained by the social and cultural context.

There have been two major approaches to development planning which have aimed either to integrate women into the development process or to empower women and transform unequal gender relations. These two approaches are known as women in development (WID) and gender and development (GAD). The WID approach has its roots in United Nations programmes of the 1970s while GAD emerged as an alternative in the 1980s. The GAD approach opted for holistic analysis which tried to make the linkages between economic, social and political forces and how they shaped the lives and power relations between men and women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core concepts</th>
<th>WID</th>
<th>GAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approach</strong></td>
<td>Seeks to integrate women into the development process</td>
<td>Seeks to empower women and transform unequal gender relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focus</strong></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Relations between men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Problem</strong></td>
<td>Exclusion of women from the development process</td>
<td>Unequal power relations (rich, poor, men and women) that prevent equitable access to resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal</strong></td>
<td>More efficient, effective development</td>
<td>Equitable, sustainable development. Women and men sharing decision making and power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strategies</strong></td>
<td>Women's projects, integrated projects, increasing women's productivity and income, increasing women's ability to manage their households</td>
<td>Identify and address short-term needs determined by women and men to improve their conditions. At the same time address women's and men's long-term interests</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The livelihoods framework claims to be holistic, but some versions of it have been criticised for their perceived silence around gender and power. The response to this criticism has been that gender and power issues are embedded in the framework. Whatever the weaknesses of the framework, it is clear that issues of gender and power must be in the foreground of understanding of households and their livelihood strategies.

**Concepts and definitions**

**Gender**

Gender is defined in Session 2 as the socially constructed roles of males and females (as opposed to sex, which denotes the biological distinction between males and females). Gender also refers to:

- all aspects of the relationship between women and men, and the implications this has for development work
- the dynamics within the household that interrelate with dynamics at the community level, and with markets, development policy and programmes
- the attempt to bring about a more balanced relationship between men and women.

**Disaggregation**

Development planners often refer to ‘the community’ or the ‘household’. If these terms are used uncritically, they can imply that everyone in the community or the household has the same interests and the same needs. This ignores gender interests and relations of wealth, power and control.

To disaggregate is to divide something into its different elements. In this case we aim to separate the responses, interests and characteristics of different kinds of people. This can be done by using different household categories or examining the different interests and needs of members of a household. A gender analysis can be used to identify who does what in the household and who has access to which resources.

Gender analysis involves disaggregation of data, information, division of labour and benefits by sex so that the differences between males and females can be seen.

**Access and control**

‘Access’ refers to the rights different people have to available resources, while ‘control’ refers to powers over the different elements and processes of production and the rights to dispose of the products.
For example, only married men may be eligible to access land. Wealthier and more influential households may be able to access better quality land. Women will carry out much of the work on the land but may have limited powers over deciding which crops should be grown and what should be done with the harvest. They may have little control over how money from the sale of crops and livestock is invested or spent.

Access and control is not limited to tangible things like land and natural resources. It also relates to things like access to information and control over practices like safe sex and whether to use condoms or not. Eliminating inequalities in power and control over sexual practices and reproductive health are crucially important to prevent HIV infection and curb the spread of AIDS. The ability of the poor and the vulnerable to influence the decisions of policy makers and programme designers is also an issue of power and control.

**Stereotypes**

A stereotype is an oversimplified mental picture or prejudice that is shared by many people. There are many different stereotypes, for example, around race, ethnicity or gender. Gender stereotypes ascribe certain qualities or capabilities to men and women. They may categorise different types of work as men’s work or women’s work. Other stereotypes may relate to race or ethnicity. They are usually expressed in statements that generalise, for example: ‘Black people do…’ ‘White people think…’ ‘Ndebeles are…’ ‘Women can only…’ ‘Shona people are…’ ‘Men should not…’.

The pressures on households to adapt and creatively respond to forces which threaten their livelihoods often require them to overcome stereotypes and prejudices about the capabilities and roles of men and women.

**The Harvard framework**

The Harvard analytical framework organises information to identify the gender division of labour within a household or community. It involves three levels of analysis.

1. An activity profile which analyses who does what types of activity within the household. There are three main categories of activity:
   - productive activities
   - reproductive activities
   - community maintenance activities.
The activity profile helps track the roles played by adult men and women, male and female children and elderly men and women.

2. An access and control profile which explores who has access to and control over various resources and to whom the benefits of these resources flow.

3. Identifying influencing factors. It examines the factors which account for the patterns emerging from the two profiles. These may stem from policy, social structures and practices.

Conclusion

As we have seen livelihoods analysis and planning require an in-depth understanding of household activities, capabilities and assets. This includes the need to understand the gender and power dimensions that determine rights and govern access to resources and information. Rural households survive by adapting their livelihood strategies to manage risk and uncertainty. This requires increasing flexibility in the allocation of household roles and entitlements to resources. Gender stereotypes and gendered access to resources restrict the flexibility of the household to adapt.

The improvement of livelihood security requires equalising the access of men and women to resources and rethinking rigid gender roles. Livelihoods planning must find appropriate strategies to address the inequalities of power and access to resources to ensure that women become full partners and gain real benefits from development initiatives. At the same time, livelihoods planning must empower and give a voice to the poor and marginalised.

This session has been designed around the films ‘Pruned’ (filmed in Zambia) and ‘Home making’ (filmed in Lesotho) on the videocassette. Both films feature the impact of a breadwinner losing his job on household livelihoods. They highlight how such shocks can change gender relations and relative power and control inside the household and in relation to other households.

Endnotes for Session 6

1 From Moffat, Geadah & Stuart 1991.
2 Adapted from the Oxfam development glossary.
References and further reading for Session 6


Session 2 of this book.

Getting started

Before you run this session, you will need to:

• read through the ‘key ideas’ section and refer back to the ‘key ideas’ section of Session 2
• make sure you understand the concepts explored by the Harvard and DPU/Moser frameworks
• make sure you know what the session objectives are (from the summary) and work through the facilitation section to prepare yourself
• read through the two activity guides
• view the two films on the videocassette (‘Pruned’ and ‘Home making’)
• test the video machine and television set and stop the videotape where the first film begins.

Materials required

Flipcharts, photocopies (specified below), pens for writing on flipcharts, materials to attach flipcharts to the wall, a working video machine and television set.

Preparing the materials

1. Write the learning objectives (from the summary) and the session outline on a flipchart.

2. Make enough copies of the ‘key ideas’ section of this session and the ‘key ideas’ section of Session 2 to hand out at the end of the session.

3. Prepare a short presentation on the Harvard and DPU gender analysis frameworks, using the ‘key ideas’ section of this session, the ‘key ideas’ section of Session 2 and other sources.

4. Make enough copies of the activity guides to hand out to every participant.

5. Prepare an introduction to the two films by reading the film support materials in Chapter 4 on ‘Pruned’ and Home-making (pages 329 and 325). Give an outline of the stories and the background to the countries where the films were made.

6. Draw four copies of each of the following matrixes on flipcharts:
## Activity profile matrix

Who is responsible for the various activities in the household?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Productive activities</th>
<th>Mrs Thlabeli</th>
<th>Matsepa</th>
<th>Mr Thlabeli</th>
<th>Male children</th>
<th>Female children</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Household reproductive activities

| 1                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 2                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 3                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 4                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 5                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 6                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 7                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 8                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |

Community maintenance activities

| 1                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 2                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 3                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 4                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
| 5                     |              |         |             |                |                 |       |
### Access and control profile matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resources</th>
<th>Access to resources</th>
<th>Control over resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arable land</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for irrigation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvested crops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock – cattle, goats, sheep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry, pigs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour: Production (how different productive activities are prioritised and how household labour is allocated)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour: Reproduction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water for household use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural resources:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Grazing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Fuelwood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Edible and medicinal herbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Forest/woodland resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Thatching and weaving grass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Game</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sand, clay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Marine/riverine resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income from wage labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension benefits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income from informal sector activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• market selling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• shebeen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• spaza/tuck shop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• handcrafts/sewing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• building, welding, motor mechanics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Retrenchment benefits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child support grants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Disability grant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Schooling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Skills training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision making on local community and development issues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in government and NGO programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Access to resources: Married man, Unmarried man, Married woman, Unmarried woman
- Control over resources: Married man, Unmarried man, Married woman, Unmarried woman, Local institution
Step 1. Session introduction

1. Introduce the session learning objectives and activities, using the flipcharts you have prepared.

2. Remind participants that previous sessions have examined the assets, activities and capabilities of a household. This session builds on Session 2 by looking more deeply into the differences within and between households and how different household members gain access and control over resources.

Step 2. Refreshing the gender analysis frameworks

Purpose: To refresh key aspects of the gender analysis frameworks introduced in Session 2 and to introduce the concepts of differentiation within households and disaggregation between them.

1. Do your prepared presentation of the Harvard and DPU/Moser gender analysis frameworks.

2. Ask participants if everyone in the household has equal decision-making power, equal access to opportunities and equal control over resources. Most participants will probably answer no.

3. Ask participants to buzz in threes to quickly identify different types of household activity and the broad categories in which the activities fall.

4. Discuss the findings of the discussion groups and talk again about the three categories of household activity (productive, reproductive and community maintenance activities) if necessary.

5. Use one of the activity profile matrixes you have prepared to show how it can be used to analyse the gender division of labour. It provides disaggregated information about sex and age and allows us to see how much time different people put into different activities.

6. Use one of the access and control profile matrixes you have prepared to show how it can be used to differentiate between individuals in the household. Different individuals in the household command different resources (assets) and their benefits. By investigating who has control over the benefits of the household, it is possible to see the power of different individuals in the household. This differentiation can also be seen between different households.
Step 3. Introducing and watching the films

Purpose: To use the films to show how two households have changed their livelihood strategies to deal with a sudden shock and to analyse the activities of different household members.

1. Do your prepared introduction to the films ‘Pruned’ (made in Zambia) and Home-making (made in Lesotho). Introduce the families in the two films and explain that both have experienced retrenchment (the male of the household has been laid off) and that this has had a major impact on the livelihoods of those households. This event has changed gender relations within the household and access and control over household resources.

2. Ask participants to make notes while they watch the films about:
   - the various activities that each household member undertakes, and whether these are productive, reproductive or community maintenance activities
   - who has access to various resources in the household and who gets the benefits from those resources.

Adjust the lighting so that participants can see the screen and take notes at the same time.

Step 4. Activity 1: Compiling activity and time profiles

1. Hand out copies of Activity Guide 1 and break participants into four groups, making sure each group has one of the activity profile matrixes you have prepared. Ask Groups 1 and 2 to analyse ‘Pruned’ and Groups 3 and 4 to analyse Home-making.

2. Ask participants to analyse the households, following the instructions on Activity Guide 1.

Step 5. Activity and time profile discussion

1. Reconvene the plenary group and put the completed profiles up on the wall. Ask Group 1 to present its findings on the Ngalande household and Group 2 to supplement these if necessary. Ask Group 3 to present its findings on the Thlabeli household and Group 4 to supplement these if necessary. Highlight any major differences in interpretation that the groups have presented and try to reach consensus on the activity and time allocations for each household.
2. Where the films do not provide enough information, ask participants what they would do in the field to get a clear picture of activities and time allocation.

**Step 6. Activity 2: Compiling access and control profiles**

1. Hand out copies of Activity Guide 2 and break participants into the same groups, making sure each group has one of the access and control profile matrixes you have prepared.

2. Ask participants to analyse the households, following the instructions on the activity guide.

**Step 7. Access and control profile discussion**

1. Reconvene the plenary group and put the completed profiles up on the wall. Ask the groups to report back in the same way as they did with the activity and time profile.

2. Draw out the similarities and the differences between the two households.

3. Ask participants for their views on which household has a better life and compare the gender roles, access and control over resources of the household members between the two households.

**Step 8. Wrap up**

1. Facilitate a discussion on the information that has emerged, using questions like these:
   - How useful is the information for planning?
   - How useful are the tools used in this session? How could they be improved?
   - Do the profiles adequately reflect the process of change that has taken place within the household? Or are they a snapshot of how things are now?
   - How is it possible to understand how factors in the external environment are changing household relations?

You may want discuss how Peter Ngalande’s status in the household changed after he left the mines. He used to command the financial
resources. Today his wife is counting out money for Peter so he can purchase stock. How has Elenestina’s status changed? How is this linked to how she spends her time? If Peter were to get his job back, would the household relations go back to the way they were before?

2. Refer back to the livelihoods framework to emphasise how this session shows the links between household livelihoods and the changing external environment.
Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have:

• watched the films about the Thlabeli and Ngalande households
• analysed the division of labour in one of the households
• mapped the activities of the members of one of the households on a 24-hour clock.

What to do

1. The facilitator will explain how to use the activity profile matrix.

2. Watch both films, making notes about which household member does what kind of activity.

3. The facilitator will allocate you to a group, hand out activity profile matrixes, and ask your group to analyse one of the films. Choose somebody in your group to facilitate the activity and someone to report on the group’s work.

4. Working in your group, identify the different kinds of household activity you saw in the film and write them on the matrix under the ‘productive’, ‘reproductive’ or ‘community maintenance’ headings.

5. Identify who is responsible for each activity and mark it on the matrix.

6. On a flipchart, draw a 24-hour clock like this for each member of the household:

7. Map on the clocks how you think different members of the household spend their day using a different colour for ‘productive’, ‘reproductive’ and ‘community maintenance’ activities. Estimate how much time you think each household member spends on each of the activities you identified in the activity profile.
8. Discuss how the activities that people undertake will vary depending on the time of year. How will this affect household division of labour and the shape of the days for different household members?

9. Prepare to present your findings to the plenary.
Access, power and control

Activity Guide 2: Access and control profiles

Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have analysed:

- who has access to and control over key resources in the household you have analysed
- how the benefits are shared that flow from them.

What to do

1. The facilitator will give your group a prepared access and control profile matrix. Read through the notes you made on resources while watching the film about your case study household.

2. Working in your group, analyse who in the household has access and control over key resources and write this information on the matrix.

3. Once the matrix is complete, go through the key resource categories and identify who you think benefits from the different resources and how benefits are shared.

4. Write this on the matrix, or use a separate flipchart to write down your group’s benefit assessment.

5. Reflect on how useful you found the access and control profile. How could it be improved? How valuable is the information that it provides?

6. Prepare to present your findings to the plenary.
Session 7: The external environment

Summary

Purpose
This session examines the household and how its livelihood options are enhanced or restricted by factors in the external environment. It looks into the interplay between various social, economic, institutional and environmental forces that influence the household and its local environment. Participants examine how these forces operate at various levels – the community, the district and the province, as well as nationally, regionally and globally.

By the end of the session, participants will:

• have deepened their understanding of the effects, interactions and impacts of different external influences on household assets, activities and capabilities
• have assessed how a given external influence has different impacts on different members of a given family and on the different households in the community
• be able to trace particular influences back to the key organisations and institutions where they come from.

Activity overview
Participants investigate the effect of various external influences (physical, social, political/institutional and economic) on case study households. They then consider what kind of interventions would help to build the resilience and sustainability of household livelihoods.

Session components and time required
The ‘key ideas’ section introduces some of the physical, social, political/institutional and economic influences on households. This can be photocopied and handed out at the end of the session. The preparation section alerts the trainer to what he or she will need to do before running the session. The facilitation section is a step-by-step session plan. The activity guide is designed to be photocopied and handed out to participants. This session requires the use of two case studies. The activity has been designed around using the filmed case studies Floods and Legacies on the videocassette, but you can use printed case studies from Chapter 4, or your own case studies. The session will take about 3 hours.
The external environment is constantly changing. We need to monitor this changing context in order to understand the complex pressures and opportunities that affect household livelihood strategies. Once we understand how external factors influence livelihoods and where these influences come from, we can begin to think of ways to counter negative influences and reinforce positive ones. Efforts to improve livelihoods cannot only look within the community. They must also try to improve policies, practices and decisions that are taken further away. This helps to create a more supportive environment for household livelihoods to flourish.

This session introduces some of the big global and regional issues that impact on the ability of poor households to sustain their livelihoods. These include:

- external foreign debt and structural adjustment
- the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, globalisation and the World Trade Organisation
- HIV/AIDS.

These and other issues like climate change affect the various countries in southern Africa in different ways. For example, Zambia has a very high external foreign debt burden. In Zimbabwe the cost of living increases sharply from month to month due to very high inflation. By contrast, South Africa has a stronger economy with relatively low levels of external debt and inflation. However, it also has high levels of unemployment, poverty and extreme inequality. It also has the fastest spreading HIV/AIDS epidemic in the region.

It is important to avoid ‘doom and gloom’ scenarios, particularly if they cast local people as passive victims without the capacity to take action for change. There are also many areas where we can actively challenge these ‘narratives of disaster’. For example, it is widely held that there is heavy environmental degradation in Southern Africa. Empirical research and new thinking on the environment brings such broad generalisations into question.

We need to understand opportunities and constraints at all levels. This starts with the local and district levels where people can analyse key issues, take action and see most immediate results. We need to link local issues and trends with those that operate at broader levels. Making connections like this creates opportunities for advocacy. For example, the impact of structural adjustment and external debt on the lives of the poor in the South have sparked local campaigns and activism. This has resulted in high profile international actions such as the Jubilee 2000 campaign for debt relief.
Household livelihoods in context

Different issues (physical, social, political/institutional and economic) and the different levels at which they are located (local, district, provincial, national and global) interact with one another. We need to understand the complex way that external influences affect what happens to household livelihoods at local level.

For example, international financial institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) impose structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) on developing countries which include reductions in government spending.

These policies are implemented at national level and have negative impacts at the local level. Cutbacks in public spending affect costs of schooling and availability of health care at the local level.

At the same time, policies and programmes which favour the poor may be implemented at national, provincial and district levels. These can have a positive impact on local livelihoods.

We need to identify the impacts of global, regional and national trends on local level development and livelihood opportunities. We also need to understand how environmental, institutional, social and economic issues at local or district level affect policy, planning and the allocation of resources at other levels. We need to think holistically and make linkages between the different levels.

Sometimes linkages may involve making connections between seemingly unrelated issues. The short scenario below shows how a policy decision in another part of the world can end up by having a major local impact which triggers a local response.

GOLD AND GRAZING

In 1999 the Bank of England decided to auction off part of its gold reserves. This led to a fall in the international price of gold. Less profitable gold mines closed and miners were laid off. This forced many retrenched workers to return to impoverished and overcrowded rural areas in Lesotho and South Africa. Back home several workers used part of their retrenchment payouts to purchase livestock. This has resulted in increased demand for grazing land which, in some cases, has created social tensions between livestock and crop farmers. It has also increased demand for wood to fence fields and gardens to protect them from livestock. Increased demand for wood increases pressure on local forest and woodland resources.
In Lesotho, Mozambique and South Africa, research and advocacy has highlighted the effects of international gold auctions on the gold price, how this leads to retrenchment in the mining sector, and how retrenchment impacts on the lives and livelihoods of the families of mineworkers. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Mineworkers’ Development Agency (MDA) have linked the research findings to practical programmes. These programmes have secured resources from the mining companies to retrain mineworkers and to create opportunities for livelihood diversification.

This type of ‘big picture’ investigation and analysis can identify a very wide range of factors that impact on local livelihoods. There is a risk that complexity of all the issues at the macro scale has the potential to overwhelm and even disempower people. To avoid this danger, we need to target key issues and trends.

When carrying out livelihoods analysis on the ground, the analysis needs to be lead by local people’s observations and priorities. The analysis needs to take into account that communities are stratified and that the priorities of local people may vary considerably. Because the planning team members are usually outsiders, they must be careful to highlight the critical issues which affect local livelihoods when they make macro-micro links.

Such issues could include:

- district planning frameworks and local economic development strategies that have not taken local livelihood strategies into account
- fluctuating prices for agricultural commodities and their impacts on local producers
- the impacts of retrenchments in the mining sector on local livelihood security and natural resource management.

In this session, only one or two key issues from each of four sectors in the livelihoods framework have been identified. You will need to assess the relevance of these issues to your particular situation and supplement them if necessary. It is important to identify both the macro level issues and things at the local level that enhance or undermine livelihood security.

**Economic issues**

A wide range of economic factors impact on the sustainability of livelihoods. Pro-poor economic policies and programmes that stimulate local economic development, protect workers, deliver affordable services and broaden access to credit can enhance livelihoods. However, with the advance of globalisation, the power and the will of national governments to
Learning about livelihoods

promote and defend the economic interests of the poor is being eroded. We briefly introduce some macroeconomic issues and trends that directly affect the livelihoods of the poor.

**Debt and structural adjustment**

The extent of Third World debt and the operation of structural adjustment programmes have had major impacts on the life of the poor. How did so many countries in the South accumulate such high levels of debt?

**The origins of the debt crisis**

The roots of the debt crisis lie in the 1960s when the US dollar fell in value as a result of overspending in the US economy. The fall in the value of the dollar affected the economies of oil-producing countries which responded by raising the price of oil. These countries made huge sums of money from the sale of oil and deposited it in Western banks. Because there was so much cash in the international banking system, banks lent out money at very low rates of interest. Banks gave out large loans, often without checking whether the countries that they lent to had the capacity to manage the loans or whether they could afford to pay them back.

These loans did little to benefit the poor. Before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 that marked the end of the Cold War, the capitalist and socialist blocs used aid and loan finance to try to secure the political support of Third World countries.

**Inappropriate development advice**

Aid and loans were often accompanied by inappropriate development advice. Development advisers commonly encouraged poor farmers to grow cash crops for export rather than concentrating on food security or processing initiatives that added value to raw materials. Because each country got the same advice, it was not long before too many countries were producing the same crops.

This resulted in dramatic falls in the prices of primary commodities on which many Third World economies had come to depend. To make matters worse, interest rates and oil prices started to rise. The value of exports from the Third World fell while the cost of their imports rose. This forced countries into borrowing more money than they could afford to pay back.

**The rise of structural adjustment**

In the early 1980s, several countries announced that they were no longer able to pay their debts. The IMF and the World Bank responded by introducing structural adjustment programmes and directly intervening in the day-to-
day economic management of indebted countries. Governments had to agree
to a standard package of economic reforms before the IMF would approve their
access to further loans. The IMF lent more money to prevent debtor countries
from defaulting on existing loans. At the same time the IMF negotiated with
international private lenders to reschedule debts of defaulting countries. To-
wards the end of 2001, Argentina defaulted on repaying its foreign debt.

SAPs have had major consequences for the poor – usually deepening pov-
erty and increasing vulnerability. Structural adjustment measures:

- generally entail severe reductions in government spending and
  employment, higher interest rates, currency devaluation, lower
  real wages, sale of government enterprises, reduced tariffs and
  liberalisation of foreign investment regulations.

Debtor countries have been forced to reduce government spending on
social services and subsidies that keep the price of food down. The poor
have had to start paying for health care and for their children to go to
school. Those who cannot afford these fees simply go without. Govern-
ments have been required to increase tax collection, link their currencies to
the US dollar and impose high rates of interest to ‘stabilise’ their currencies.
They are also required to sell off state-owned enterprises to the private
sector, lift restrictions on the operations of foreign businesses and banks and
guarantee that they can take their profits out of the country.

Deregulation of the debtor economies has often been carried out without
adequate safety nets to protect the poor. Structural adjustment measures are
often pushed through with very little consultation with civil society and
democratic institutions.

**Impacts of cuts in social spending**

Reductions in social spending on health care and education have further
contributed to the spread of AIDS and contributed to the children of the poor
being denied an education. The education of girls is particularly vulnerable to
increases in school fees and the increasing demand for home based labour.

Health care spending cuts have crippled health care services in countries
most affected by HIV/AIDS. This has meant that they are unable to cope
effectively with the pandemic. The ratio of expenditure on health care and
repaying foreign debt highlights the impact on the lives of the poor. The
Jubilee 2000 campaign for dropping the debt of Third World countries
illustrates the problems with the case of Zambia. The value of Zambia’s
gross national product (GNP) is US$390 per person. However Zambia’s
external foreign debt is so high that, if it were equally spread out among the
population, each Zambian would owe US$720 to foreign creditors. Each year
the Zambia government spends US$17 per person on health and US$30 per person on debt to Western financial institutions. By contrast, the Group of Seven richest nations spend US$2,300 per person on health care every year. Life expectancy in Zambia has now dropped to 43 years and is expected to fall further. In Zimbabwe health care spending per person has fallen by 33% since 1990 when a structural adjustment programme was introduced.

Attempts to redirect SAPs
Since 1987 the World Bank’s Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA) project in sub-Saharan Africa has tried to make poverty alleviation and economic growth explicit objectives of structural adjustment. It has tried to embed these elements in local policy formulation and through programmes to strengthen local capacity and institutions. In practice the SDA project has been widely criticised for being poorly targeted, and for providing short-term assistance rather than addressing more long-term issues of poverty.

Although the World Bank now labels structural adjustment as ‘poverty reduction strategies’, many commentators regard the effect of the programme to be the same. Recently there has been pressure for the IMF to be reformed. However, there are still major concerns about the ‘democratic deficit’ that prevents poor countries from having an effective voice in the IMF.

GATT, globalisation and the World Trade Organisation

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) had its roots in a multilateral trade agreement originally signed by 23 countries in 1947. The agreement was part of a series of moves by the United States and its World War II allies to reconstruct world trade and war-damaged economies. As the name suggests, GATT put rules in place to govern international trade. Nations that became ‘contracting parties’ to the agreement undertook to limit restrictions on trade between them. Under GATT, the regulation of imports and exports between members would be done by imposing a system of tariffs rather than by setting quotas.

The government of the importing country usually imposes tariffs in the form of customs duties. The money these tariffs raise can be used to protect domestic industries. To protect a local product, high tariffs can be levied on similar products from other countries to make them more expensive than the local product. Rather than countries negotiating separate trade agreements with each other (bilateral agreements), the members of GATT negotiated tariffs and reductions in tariffs as a group (a multilateral agreement) that bound them all.

For the first 50 years of GATT, members focused on reducing tariffs through a series of negotiating ‘rounds’. The formation of the World Trade Organisa-
The essence of globalisation is the push by big companies and financial institutions to have more power, to grow bigger by taking over others and to make more profits. They have lobbied their governments to break down the national barriers that prevent them from totally free access to markets across the world, especially in developing countries.

Not true. It is really a question of what countries are willing to bargain with each other. Rules written into WTO agreements allow barriers to be lowered gradually so that domestic producers can adjust. It would be wrong to suggest that every country has the same bargaining power. The consensus rule means that every country has a voice and every country has to be persuaded before it joins a consensus. Quite often reluctant countries are persuaded by being offered something in return.

Transnational corporations (TNCs) have almost total control over the process of globalisation – their grip is tighter here than at national or local level. Just 500 corporations account for two-thirds of international trade. Of the world’s 100 largest economies, 50 are TNCs. Globalisation widens the gap between rich and poor and destroys jobs.

Underlying the WTO’s trading system is the fact that freer trade boosts economic growth and supports development. It has the potential to create jobs, it can help to reduce poverty and it frequently does both. However, producers and their workers who were previously protected clearly face new competition when barriers are removed. Some survive by becoming more competitive. Others don’t.

There is an assumption that globalisation only creates benefits. But some gain more than others. In reality globalisation creates benefits for some and losses for others. Globalisation can be called recolonisation.

Whether or not developing countries gain enough from the system is a subject of continuing debate in the WTO. Least developed countries receive special treatment, including exemption from many provisions.

The developing countries have too much influence in the United Nations since decisions are on the basis of one country, one vote. So the major powers decided in the early 1990s to reform and reshape the UN and transferred its authority on economic and social issues over to the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO. Decisions are on the basis of one dollar, one vote.

The WTO does not tell governments how to conduct their trade policies. The rules of the WTO system are agreements resulting from negotiations among member governments and are ratified by their governments. Decisions made in the WTO are generally made by consensus among all members.

In areas where the big companies and their governments would lose from liberalisation they practice protectionism.

In the WTO system everyone has to follow the same rules. As a result in the WTO’s dispute settlement procedure developing countries have successfully challenged some actions taken by developed countries.
How GATT affects southern Africa

Despite the WTO statement that an increase in world trade results in rising incomes, the benefits are very unevenly spread. It is clear that there are winners and losers. The poor in Africa are the most disadvantaged. Between 1960 and 1980 per capita income in Africa grew by 34.3%. However since 1980 incomes have fallen by 23%.

These average figures mask the realities of the highly unequal distribution of income that has worsened both within and between countries as globalisation has proceeded. It is these hidden figures that disguise the impacts of globalisation on the poor and vulnerable.

Opponents of trade liberalisation argue that the WTO and the GATT Uruguay Round agreement before it say their effect has been to ‘pry open markets for the benefit of transnational corporations at the expense of national and local economies, workers, farmers, health and safety and the environment’.

Social issues

Clearly there are many social issues of importance. Session 2 and Session 6 focused on issues of gender equity. We need to analyse the gender dimensions of policy, legislation, programmes and institutions to show how policies developed at national and global level affect people on the ground.

The main focus here is on the impact of HIV/AIDS and its effect on households, livelihoods, institutions and the economy at local, national and regional levels.

HIV/AIDS

Recent research by the UNAIDS programme in Geneva shows that 70% of all new infections and 80% of world AIDS deaths occur in sub-Saharan Africa. In Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia and Swaziland more than one in five adults are now infected with HIV. It is no coincidence that AIDS has become so deeply entrenched in our society. Half of all Africans are still living in absolute poverty. While poverty does not cause AIDS, there are many links between poverty and poor health.

Southern African HIV/AIDS statistics – a moving target

In southern Africa life expectancy rose from 44 in the 1950s to 59 in the early 1990s. It is projected to fall to 45 by 2010. About 20% of 15–19 year olds are HIV-positive. About 10% of school children are infected. In Zimbabwe one million people have died from AIDS-related illnesses in six years.
In Mozambique there will be more than 250,000 AIDS orphans by the end of 2000 and one quarter of all children will be living in a family where HIV is present.

In South Africa perhaps 4.2 million people (10% per cent of the population) are infected. Prevalence in girls aged 15–19 rose from 12.7% to 21% in 1999.

By 1999 there were an estimated 1.66 million AIDS orphans in Zambia and children head 7% of Zambian households.

**Getting behind the figures**

Presented as numbers and percentages the statistics can only numb. What we need to understand is the relationship between HIV/AIDS and poverty and the different ways in which the pandemic contributes to the intensification of vulnerability and poverty. This takes place on different levels.

In southern Africa the combination of rural poverty and perceived opportunities in the cities forces people to migrate in search of work and livelihood opportunities. As people move to occupy sprawling informal settlements on the fringes of cities and towns, they become isolated from social and traditional networks and become more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour.

Likewise, women who head poor households in marginal areas (for example, in the Winterveld area of South Africa – Case Study 7) may be forced into multiple relationships with men or into sex work which places them and their households at risk. AIDS awareness information and preventive measures are likely to be inadequate in marginalised areas.

Poverty directly influences how long people live from the time they become HIV-positive. Poor people in Africa generally live for 5–7 years after contracting HIV – about half the time of infected persons in the North. The combination of poor diet, inadequate living conditions and limited access to medicines and treatment mean people in the South are likely to die more quickly. Tuberculosis is a common contributor to AIDS-related deaths and has long been regarded as a classic indicator of poverty.

**HIV/AIDS, households and livelihoods**

There are clear impacts of HIV/AIDS at the household level.

- Human capabilities are affected by reduced availability of physical labour. This is not only because people get sick, but also because the labour of others gets diverted to look after them.
• There are increased constraints on time available for work by neighbours and family, due to funerals and traditional mourning periods. This can involve between two and four days of work stoppage in communities.

• People in the prime of life die early and this decreases the skills and knowledge base of households, communities and enterprises. Less knowledge is transmitted to the younger generation as informal ‘teachers’ die early.

• Children orphaned by AIDS have less chance of getting an education. This will affect their chances in life and those of their children.

• Families affected by AIDS face depletion of financial assets as their incomes are reduced, cash savings used up, and stores and productive assets sold to cover costs of medical care and funerals.

• Social assets – social relationships and networks with extended family and neighbours – become stressed or destroyed due to fear of the disease, the increasing burdens of orphaned children and requests for help.

• The range and diversity of household livelihood activities is reduced because of the constraints on capabilities and assets. In general, people become increasingly vulnerable as internal household options dwindle, and external support declines.

• Women, the elderly and children are especially hard hit. Often their access to, and control over, resources is already weak, and this is further eroded by AIDS.

• HIV/AIDS also has a major impact on development interventions. Despite growing understanding of the extent of the AIDS crisis, it is still common to find that supporting institutions (government, NGOs and others) do not pay enough attention to AIDS in their planning.

• AIDS can play havoc with assumptions about levels of demand for services in communities, and the ability of people to participate in and benefit from development programmes.

• Interventions and recommendations are often inappropriate and may make unrealistic assumptions about the availability of labour.

• Credit schemes can collapse as borrowers default.

• AIDS undermines the capacity of organisations and institutions to deliver services, as managers and staff fall sick.

• Costs of medical care for staff divert resources from programmes.

• Sometimes development interventions can have unintended consequences. Provision of school hostels, improved roads, and projects that
increase access to disposable incomes can contribute to further transmission of HIV.

As this section shows, debt, structural adjustment and aspects of globalisation contribute to fuelling the AIDS epidemic.

Like all great epidemics who gets infected, and who does not, is a function of larger social forces which form the boundaries of personal choice. AIDS thrives where there is poverty and inequality. Structural adjustment causes poverty and aggravates inequality, which in turn fuels the AIDS epidemic.

Dr Mary Basset – International Conference on Aids, Durban, July 2000

These factors further aggravate a fundamental problem:

How to achieve the sustainable development essential for an effective response to the epidemic under conditions where the epidemic destroys the capacities essential for the response.

Environmental issues

Sustainable development and natural resource management

Internationally there were massive increases in industrial output and a sharp rise in population growth after World War II. There was a great faith in the power of technology and science to boost agricultural output and regulate the environment.

This period saw the development of the so-called Green Revolution which boosted crop yields through a combination of mechanised production, hybrid seeds that depended on high inputs of artificial fertilisers and pesticides, as well as massive dam building and irrigation projects.

Although there was a massive boost to agricultural output, this approach to agriculture and development has had major social and environmental costs. In the Third World it was only richer farmers who could take advantage of these new methods. This contributed to growing impoverishment and landlessness among the rural poor.

Environmentally the industrialisation of agriculture made it highly dependent on non-renewable oil reserves used to produce artificial fertilisers. Heavy use of pesticides, herbicides and fungicides has resulted in massive pollution of water resources and has spawned new generations of resistant pests. These factors combined to slow down agricultural output.
Although food production doubled between 1950 and 1980, after this it stagnated and then started to fall. By the 1960s there was overwhelming evidence of pollution from industry and agriculture. This was also coupled with the realisation that radioactive waste from nuclear testing could not be contained on site but spread throughout the entire biosphere.

Critical questions were asked about this high-input, high-energy approach to development and a variety of NGOs started to actively contest this approach. Many people started to recognise that major negative impacts on the environment stemmed from the industrial economies of the North and the nature of their investment in newly industrialising economies in the South.

The ‘limits to growth’ debate

The growing international movement for more sustainable development began with the ‘limits to growth’ debate that originated in the 1970s.

*If present growth trends in population, industrialisation, pollution, food production and resource depletion continue unchanged, the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime in the next hundred years. The most probable result will be a sudden and uncontrollable decline in both population and industrial capacity. It is possible to alter these growth trends and to establish a condition of ecological and economic stability that is sustainable far into the future.*

In recent years these initial forecasts have been criticised as being overly pessimistic and the supposed linkages between population growth, poverty and environmental degradation have been characterised as too simplistic.

It was ‘catastrophist’ forecasts like these that prompted the United Nations to begin to address environmental issue and launch the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) in 1972 with its headquarters in Nairobi. UNEP set up Earthwatch – an international environmental monitoring system – and began work on a range of different programmes to protect water resources, and combat deforestation, desertification and drought. At this stage, sustainability was seen largely as a technological challenge.

The World Conservation Strategy

The World Conservation Strategy was produced in 1980 by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) in association with UNEP. This strategy was largely driven by the conservation concerns of ecologists. It presented a narrow vision of sustainable
development that centred on non-renewable resources and prevention of environmental degradation.

Momentum gathered for a more holistic approach to sustainable development with the formation of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987 and the development of an environmental programme for the 1990–95 period.

**Our common future**

The WCED report *Our common future* stated that it was:

> impossible to separate economic development issues from the environment issues; many forms of development eroded the environmental resources upon which they must be based, and environmental degradation can undermine economic development. Poverty is a major cause and effect of global environmental problems. It is therefore futile to deal with environmental problems without a broader perspective that encompasses the factors underlying world poverty and international inequality.

Theoretically sustainable development started to be understood as having multiple dimensions. It became increasingly clear that environmental sustainability was interwoven with social, economic, political and institutional sustainability as expressed by the sustainability pyramid.

The year after the publication of *Our common future* an international conference entitled ‘The changing atmosphere: Implications for global security’ was held in Toronto. The conference declaration stated:

> Humanity is conducting an unintended, uncontrolled, globally pervasive experiment whose ultimate consequences could be...
second only to a global nuclear war. The atmosphere is being changed at an unprecedented rate by pollutants resulting from human activities, inefficient and wasteful fossil fuel use and the effects of rapid population growth in many regions. These changes represent a major threat to international security and are already having harmful consequences of the many parts of the globe. It is imperative to act now.

The Earth Summit

This apparent sense of catastrophe provided part of the momentum leading up to the 1992 World Conference on Environment and Development known as the Earth Summit. A total of 178 countries attended the conference and signed declarations and conventions committing them to a more sustainable development path.

Two conventions were ratified – the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention on Climate Change. The second agreement committed countries to reduce their emissions of carbon dioxide and methane and other ‘greenhouse’ gases. These gases contribute to global warming and are also thought to have played a role in the unusual cycles of drought and floods in different parts of the world.

The conference also adopted the Rio Declaration laid down 27 non-binding principles for environmentally sound development and the 40-chapter Agenda 21 which sets out detailed strategies for sustainable development. However, while the conference gave the issue of sustainability a high profile, it failed to agree on the necessary measures to implement Agenda 21.

The follow-up Earth Summit+5, held in New York in 1997, highlighted how most nations had not done anything to put sustainable development into practice.

Implications for the South

The big question is what all this means to poor households in the South. How relevant are the sustainable development principles drafted at international conferences to poor households in southern Africa? Can global environmental concerns ‘come down to earth’ to enable ordinary people to think about the sustainability of their resource base and identify ways to manage it better?

We may need to check some of our assumptions and challenge some stereotypes about poor people and their management of the environment. Are they, as so often portrayed, guilty of mismanaging and degrading the
environment? Is there a direct link between poverty and environmental degradation as proposed by the Brundtland Commission? Do poverty and environmental degradation feed into each other to create a downward spiral of decay and further impoverishment?

New thinking on the environment

There is a lively debate over these questions between so-called ‘old’ and ‘new’ thinking about the environment. The table below compares the approaches taken by conventional and new environmental thinkers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conventional environmental wisdom</th>
<th>New thinking about the environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The environment has stability and balance. Vegetation naturally develops to a climax state. The environment has a fixed carrying capacity.</td>
<td>The environment does not evolve in a state of equilibrium. The environment is dynamic and shows great variations over space and time. Carrying capacity is variable and is determined by multiple factors. Increases in population and intensity of land use does not inevitably lead to degradation and may actually reverse it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence to show environmental change and degradation comes from comparing snapshots over a relatively short period of time.</td>
<td>More attention needs to be paid to historical sources to reconstruct the nature of change over much longer periods of time. This results in a more realistic assessment of the nature of change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The assessments and statistics produced by major international environmental agencies are authoritative, unquestionable, neutral and value-free.</td>
<td>Western science alone cannot adequately describe environmental change. Scientific method provides only one perspective and needs to be balanced by local knowledge and recognition of other perspectives that represent different social values and political positions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The relationships between people, communities and the environment are generalised to identify broad trends.</td>
<td>There are significant differences between people who use and value the environment in different ways from place to place. More accurate understanding of environmental change can be derived from context specific analysis of people in places.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whatever our understanding of environmental issues, it is important that we ask critical questions and draw on current research when analysing the environmental dimension of livelihood security. We need to critically assess causes of degradation.

Do the poor degrade the environment or does the real threat to the global environment come from rich Northern countries with their very high consumption of resources? How real is the perceived environmental crisis? What do these ‘crisis narratives’ suggest about local people? Are local people seen as passive onlookers or contributors to a creeping disaster?

Do we accept uncritically the received wisdom of extensive environmental degradation in the South and southern Africa in particular? African soil
deterioration statistics are particularly exaggerated because they are linked to desertification:

In countries South of the Sahara the soil is not necessarily degraded. Desertification may be the result of years of droughts and all it needs is some rain and some farmers to bring it back to life.¹⁵

We need to check that our assumptions about the causes of the environmental degradation are correct. Many people assume that dense settlement invariably leads to soil erosion and environmental degradation. Current research is highlighting many cases that show that local people have strong capacity to manage the environment and to cope with and adapt to stresses and shocks. For example, the IUCN ‘egg of well-being’ locates people centrally in the larger ecosystem. Do we recognise the ways in which people already manage their environment and cope with risk, seasonal variability and uncertainty?

In the Machakos District in Kenya, the population grew five times larger between 1930 and 1990. Studies of the effects of this population growth have shown that the state of the soil and the tree cover improved over this period. A combination of factors, policies and institutions enabled certain households to intensify and diversify production and rehabilitate degraded land.

Sustainable livelihoods – whose understanding? Whose definition?

How do we define sustainability in the endeavour to secure sustainable livelihoods? Whose definitions do we use? Whose knowledge do we rely on? How do we integrate Western scientific knowledge with local indigenous knowledge?

Arguably the key strategies and indicators of sustainability will come from the people most vulnerable to a declining resource base. For these strategies to be effective we need to ensure that marginal groups are represented and that there is support for communal institutions to manage local resources.

The process of livelihoods analysis and planning should address these issues and critically examine the links between local realities and national policy frameworks and sustainable resource management programmes.

Institutional/political issues

This is a very broad arena. It spans the whole range of policies, legislation and plans that impact on the rural and urban poor. It covers the systems and institutions of governance and the extent to which they recognise and support the needs and livelihoods of ordinary people. These issues are not
confined to the state. They operate – as the livelihoods framework shows –
at all levels from the household through to the global level. They include cultural norms and local conventions ranging from land allocation through to inheritance.

Given that much of the focus in the preceding sections has been on global issues like structural adjustment and debt, this section focuses briefly on local institutions and how they determine people’s rights, access and control over resources. Many of these rights are exercised through systems of tenure that are one of the most important institutions to understand within the context of livelihoods analysis and planning.

**Tenure, land rights and natural resource management**

With a history of colonial occupation and land dispossession that has taken different forms in countries in the region, access to land and natural resources is a key issue for rural and urban households. This access takes many different forms. It includes the different ways that households gain access to arable, grazing and residential land. It also takes in how people gain access to and benefit from forest and marine resources and co-management of conservation areas and national parks. In many areas in southern Africa benefits derived from tourism and hunting are of great importance to communities and indigenous peoples.

Despite the extent of colonial land dispossession and its stubborn legacy, much land remains under what is often called communal tenure. It is important to understand how local tenure systems function and the values on which they rest. Communal tenure systems recognise that access to economic and resource rights provide people with basic economic security. They also highlight how individual rights are interconnected with those of the group. Communal tenure systems confer rights as well as duties.

Usually communal tenure systems recognise that all families belonging to the user group have a claim on the community for land for residence, grazing and cropping. They also recognise that people have rights, or entitlements to resources they need for subsistence – water, firewood, fruits, thatch, medicinal plants and a wide range of other environmental goods and services.

Where the systems function effectively, individual rights holders recognise that their rights are limited by group rules that govern how they are able to utilise resources that belong to the common pool.

Tenure systems are dynamic. In the past, many communal tenure systems allowed traditional authorities to reallocate unused land to others in need.
Today this practice is much less common. Once land has been allocated it usually stays within the family. Because of the pressure on land, the older principle of universal access often gives way to conditional access.

Colonial systems often tried to co-opt traditional leaders and intervene in the way that land rights were allocated. In the cases where they succeeded, the legitimacy of local land rights management institutions was compromised. In the post-colonial era, the state has often tried to intervene through ‘tenure reform’. Depending on the nature of the reforms, people’s rights can be strengthened or weakened. For example, tenure reform in Kenya gave people individual title to the land. Many argue that this favoured the richer and more powerful members of society and contributed to increased landlessness and vulnerability among the poor.

The value of land and natural resources for local livelihoods

Access to land and the resources on it remains an important asset for the very poor. However the sustainable management of the land and natural resources depends on two things: local institutional arrangements must be strong, and they must be supported by policy and law at national level.

Under pressures of overcrowding and land shortage, these rules may break down and common property management systems will deteriorate into ‘open access’ where group rules no longer function. Clear systems of land rights management are essential for livelihood security. There are also gender dimensions that influence who is entitled to claim rights in land and whether customary inheritance systems recognise the rights of widows and female descendants.

Bringing it all together

The linkages between the household, its place in the community, its immediate locality and the wider external environment can be extremely complex. There are many more factors than those discussed above that can be analysed and considered. However, we must avoid the danger of information overload. There is also a real danger that outside ‘experts’, officials and policy analysts can take over the analysis of the external environment and substitute their priorities for local people’s ideas about what must be done.

Programmes aiming to increase livelihood security rest on ordinary people identifying the most important social, economic, environmental and institutional factors that affect their ability to secure their livelihoods and those of future generations. The challenge to the development facilitator is to listen,
ask the right questions and make meaningful linkages between household realities and the local and external environments. This includes the capacity to analyse the effectiveness of policies, laws and programmes that impact on the local situation.

These include:

- policies and legislation on land and tenure
- local government and service delivery policy
- agricultural, conservation and natural resource management policy
- local economic development and macroeconomic policy.

Very often policies – even those that are consciously pro-poor – are ‘blunt instruments’. Once they are developed they are routinely applied across the board. As a result, they may not have enough flexibility to be effective.

A different approach to policy making factors in risk and uncertainty and allows for a more organic development process. This emphasises participatory research and incremental learning in an active partnership with the poor. This adaptive management approach \(^\text{16}\) is based on the way rural people manage risk and uncertainty. Although this approach to policy making makes heavy demands on the capacity, energy and vision of those tasked with development management, it helps to create an enabling policy environment for strengthening livelihood sustainability.

**Endnotes for Session 7**

1. See the website www.jubileeplus.org for updated information on this campaign.
2. Responding to the crises of job losses in mining the NUM established the Mineworkers’ Development Agency. Through MDA, NUM is the only labour union in Southern Africa that provides training and development service after a member has lost a job. The MDA has supported retrenched mineworkers from several countries to become successful small and medium businessmen and women. See www.num.org.za/Services/after.html
8. Cohen no date.
9. Cohen no date.
10. Cohen no date.
13. During 2001, the US, the world’s largest economy and its worst polluter, abrogated the Kyoto accord on greenhouse gases.
Reference and further reading for Session 7


DFID (Department for International Development). *Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets*. Available from the livelihoods learning platform www.livelihoods.org


Getting started

Before you run this session, you will need to:

- read through the ‘key ideas’ section of this session and make sure you understand what it contains
- make sure you know what the session objectives are (from the summary) and work through the facilitation section to prepare yourself
- choose two case studies; this activity has been designed using the films ‘Floods’ and ‘Legacies’ on the videocassette, but you can use printed case studies from Chapter 4, or your own case studies
- make sure the video machine and television set are working if you use the filmed case studies.

Materials required

Flipcharts, photocopies (specified below), prepared flipcharts (specified below), cards (two colours if possible), pens for writing on flipcharts and material to attach flipcharts to the wall and cards onto flipcharts. If you use the films you will also need a working video machine and television set.

Preparing the materials

1. Write the learning objectives (from the summary) and the session outline on a flipchart.
2. Make enough copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to hand out to every participant at the end of the session.
3. Make enough copies of the activity guide to hand out to every participant.
4. Use materials from Session 3 to revise the livelihoods framework.
5. Prepare a flipchart of the LAL livelihoods model like the one below for each small group using the photocopiable materials in Session 3. Stick four flip chart sheets together for each one and put the framework in the middle so that there is lots of space around the edges for groups to do their analyses next to the relevant aspect of the external environment.
Learning about livelihoods
6. Prepare a sample matrix like the one below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis of the sector’s influence on the case study household at the ___________ level</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factor 1</td>
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<td>How it helps (positive influence)</td>
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<td>Factor 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>How it helps</td>
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<td>Capabilities</td>
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<td>Activities (community maintenance)</td>
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</table>

7. Prepare the case studies for four small groups. If you use one or both of the filmed case studies ‘Legacies’ and ‘Floods’, arrange viewing facilities. If you use printed case studies, make enough copies so that each participant has a copy of the relevant case.
Step 1. Session introduction

Purpose: To introduce the session, to revise the household triangle and livelihood process, and to introduce the external environment.

1. Introduce the session learning objectives and the activities, using the flipcharts you have prepared.

2. Use the materials you have prepared to remind participants about the elements of the livelihoods framework. Point out that households do not exist in a vacuum – they are located in the context of an external environment. Like the factors inside the household, the external environment is dynamic and presents opportunities and threats to livelihood security. The external environment operates on a range of levels, from local to global. There are many factors in the external environment. To make analysis easier, these factors have been put into four broad categories – physical (which includes the natural and the built environment), social, political/institutional and economic. Events and policies that come from any of these levels can positively or negatively affect the household. Explain that in the same way as the external environment has an impact on household assets, capabilities and activities, the household livelihood process also has an effect on the external environment.

3. Present the livelihoods model as a different way of looking at the way the external environment influences household livelihoods. The household triangle remains at the centre, but the levels of the external environment are drawn as a series of circles ranging from local to global. The external environment is divided into the same broad categories as the physical, social, political/institutional and economic factors which impact on the household and on each other. You may find it useful to create sub-categories in this session to focus discussion on specific issues. Briefly discuss some of the different types of influences with participants and explain that they will try to systematically categorise these external influences and their impact on household livelihoods.

4. Put up the sample matrix and explain how it will be used as a tool of analysis in this session. Pick one external influence and discuss how it affects the assets, capabilities and activities of the household at the centre of the triangle. You may want to use the ‘gold and grazing’ on pages 128 and 129 which shows how something which happened at the global level can have very real local impacts. You can also use the example below which discusses some of the effects on a household of a drought.
IMPACTS OF DROUGHT

Drought has a seriously negative effect on agricultural activities and assets. Cattle and crops suffer from the lack of rainfall and may die. Cattle become too weak for ploughing so crop yields go down. Because there is less of a harvest, there is less for the household to use and less to sell. The household might need to spend more money on buying food. This may mean that the household can no longer afford to pay school fees for all the children. A daughter may be forced to leave school. She may get a boyfriend and be at risk of HIV. She may become pregnant...

Step 2. Activity: External influences on household livelihoods

Purpose: To identify factors in each of the four sectors on the livelihoods model that impact positively or negatively on household assets, capabilities and activities, and to identify the levels from which these factors originate.

1. Explain that each group will watch or read a case study and will concentrate on one of the four sectors of the external environment (physical, social, political/institutional or economic) so that every sector is analysed properly.

2. Divide the group up into four small groups and allocate a sector to each group to analyse. Hand out a copy of the Activity Guide to each participant and a livelihoods flipchart to each group. Arrange for each group to watch or read a case study and do the activity.

Step 3. Presentation and discussion of external factors

1. Reconvene the plenary group and ask each small group to put its annotated livelihoods chart and the three matrices it has prepared up on the wall in a gallery display.

2. Ask participants to walk around and briefly look at the presentations of the other groups.

3. Ask each small group to present its findings without repeating what has already been said. Encourage participants to suggest factors which groups may have missed.

4. If there is time, facilitate a brief discussion on external factors.
Step 4. Intervening for change

Purpose: To identify ways of maximising positive impacts and minimising negative impacts

1. Select one of the external influences discussed in the previous step and ask participants to answer the question: ‘What are the key organisations or institutions involved – either in causing this external influence, or in potentially improving the impact, or in mitigating negative impacts? How might they do this?’ Write points down on a flipchart.

2. Ask participants for suggestions about how households, communities, associations, networks, or others could go about trying to make a change in the policies and practices of these organisations. Write points down on the flipchart.

3. Point out that, although not all organisations are interested in or capable of doing advocacy work themselves, they can play important roles. Staff and managers of any development programme can at least identify external organisations, and specific policies or actions that are having a positive or negative impact on livelihoods of poor people. They can then share this information with others who do specialise in advocacy work.

Step 5. Wrap up

1. Refer to the objectives of the session, and check they have all been achieved. Note that different households and household members will be affected differently by the same external influence. This will be explored in the next session.

2. Hand out copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to each participant to keep as a reference.
The external environment
Activity Guide: Household portraits

Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have worked with a household case study to:

- identify different types of external influence that impact positively or negatively on household livelihoods
- locate the different levels of the external environment from which they originate
- explore linkages between influences that originate in different sectors.

What to do

1. The facilitator will allocate you to a group, give you a prepared livelihoods diagram flipchart, give you and ask you to focus on one of the four sectors of the external environment (physical, social, political/institutional or economic). Choose somebody in your group to facilitate the activity and someone to record and report back on the group’s work.

2. Watch the filmed case study or read the printed case study your facilitator has given you, making notes about factors in the external environment which have an effect on your case study household’s livelihood.

3. In your group, brainstorm the effects on your household’s livelihood of the external environment sector you have been asked to focus on (physical, social, political/institutional or economic). Write each factor on a card, mark it according to whether the effect is positive or negative, and stick the cards on your livelihoods flipchart at the appropriate level (for example, district or national level).

4. Discuss the effect of the various factors in that sector on the capabilities, assets and activities of your case study household. Write up the results of your discussion in a matrix like the one below for each level (district/province, national and global/international):
5. Move clockwise around the external environment circles and briefly brainstorm positive and negative factors in each sector, writing them on cards, and placing them on the livelihoods flipchart.

6. Start to look for linkages between the sectors. For example, some environmental factors may combine with economic factors to influence household livelihood security.

7. Prepare to put your chart and matrix up on the wall and present your findings to the plenary group.

<table>
<thead>
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Session 8: The vulnerability context

Summary

Purpose

The external environment affects different households and different people differently. This session deepens understanding of concepts introduced in earlier sessions including differentiation, relative vulnerability and resilience; change over time, and adaptive and coping strategies. Understanding the vulnerability context is fundamental to being able to design interventions that have a lasting, positive effect on household livelihood security.

By the end of the session, participants will be able to:

- describe various shocks and stresses, and how they affect livelihoods
- identify and describe aspects of relative vulnerability and resilience
- explain the dynamic of ‘change over time’ and its effects on vulnerability and resilience
- differentiate between ‘coping’ and ‘adaptive’ strategies.

Activity overview

This session consists of three linked activities:

- In Activity 1 participants assess the vulnerability of a case study household.
- In Activity 2 participants project the vulnerability of the same case study household in five years’ time.
- In Activity 3 participants look at the potential impact of HIV/AIDS on the case study household’s asset base.

Session components and time required

The ‘key ideas’ section introduces ideas and debates about the vulnerability context. This can be photocopied and handed out at the end of the session. The preparation section alerts the trainer to what he or she will need to do before running the session. The facilitation section is a step-by-step session plan. The activity guides are designed to be photocopied and handed out to participants. The session requires the use of two household case studies.

This session will take about 4 hours 20 minutes.
The previous session examined the external environment to identify different external influences and the ways in which they affect the households assets, activities and capabilities. This session looks at the concept of vulnerability. Analysing the range of factors that threaten household livelihood security gives a better understanding of the overall vulnerability context and the specific risks that people must manage.

This session examines how people adjust their livelihood strategies and develop coping and adaptive strategies in response to external shocks and stresses. Those households with the smallest ability to adapt are most at risk. For development interventions to increase livelihood sustainability, they must identify and minimise key risks and hazards. At the same time they must maximise opportunities that build the flexibility and adaptability of the household to manage change.

**Concepts and definitions**

**Shocks**

Shocks are sudden events that impact on livelihood security. There are many different types of shock. They include:

- the untimely death of an economically active household member due to an occupational hazard, an illness like AIDS or a traffic accident
- a fire that destroys grazing and crops
- outbreaks of infectious diseases such as foot-and-mouth which affect pigs, cattle, sheep and goats
- floods
- political violence and instability
- theft.

**Stresses**

Stresses are long-term trends that undermine livelihood potential. These include inadequate public services, poor transport, bad communications, inferior education and inadequate health systems. Other stresses include a steady decline in the quantity and quality of stocks of natural resources, climate change, political instability and national or regional economic decline that negatively impact on household livelihoods. Some stresses stem directly from within the household and may include frequent illness, alcoholism, and violent or disruptive behaviour of a household member.
Vulnerability

Robert Chambers defines vulnerability as:

defencelessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress...
and difficulty in coping with them. Vulnerability has two sides: an external side of risks, shocks and stress to which an individual or household is subject and an internal side which is defencelessness, meaning a lack of means to cope with damaging loss.

There are different viewpoints on the extent to which people can control and manage the factors that contribute to vulnerability. For example:

People’s livelihoods and the wider availability of assets are fundamentally affected by critical trends as well as by shocks, and seasonality – over which they have limited or no control.

Other practitioners strongly disagree with the way this view makes people seem powerless. They say that people do have some control because they can prepare for and react to the factors that contribute to the vulnerability context. For example, if people understand and plan for drought and seasonal variability, they can modify the activities that might be affected. They might use drought-resistant crop varieties or methods which save water. Likewise, if people understand the source of external threats, shocks and stresses, they can decide to do something to remove the threat.

Vulnerability context

Assessing the local vulnerability context is a key part of livelihoods analysis. The poor are constantly insecure but there are certain factors and trends that can make their insecurity much deeper. Vulnerability assessment involves an analysis of factors and long-term trends. Many of these factors come from several levels away from the immediate environment. These include factors such as:

- climate change
- seasonal variability
- drought and floods
- epidemics
- political conflict
- tenure insecurity
- a government macroeconomic policy that promotes retrenchment, inflates consumer prices and devalues the currency
- conservation policy that restricts access to key resources and livelihood opportunities.
Others are much closer to home and may include decisions by district government, by members of political factions in a community that are fighting, or by the simple repair of a road.

**Understanding history**

Assessing the vulnerability context also involves an understanding of history. History can have positive or negative effects. A long legacy of poverty, deprivation or conflict in a particular area can contribute to long-term vulnerability. The film ‘Legacies’ which is set in Nkandla, South Africa highlights how long-standing political conflict affects ordinary people’s lives.

More positively, history can teach how others have overcome similar obstacles. It can show that life in a particular place was once different and perhaps better. This can encourage efforts to change things in ways that reduce vulnerability and increase livelihood security.

People are vulnerable when they do not have the resources or defences to cope with change. When the range of livelihood options, assets and risk-reducing activities available to people is reduced, their vulnerability increases.

Households are not all equally vulnerable to the same shock or stress. Poorer households may be forced to sell important assets like cattle early on to cope with a shock. Better-off households are likely to have more resources to fall back on before they are forced to sell major assets. Households also respond to shocks by changing their activities. In general, shocks and stresses widen the gap between better-off and poorer households. This contributes to social instability which may take the form of stock or crop theft.

**Resilience**

Rural people are portrayed as passive victims of hazards such as drought, famine and political instability too often. Not everyone who is poor is equally vulnerable. Resilience is the flip side of vulnerability. We need to understand how people anticipate, cope with and resist and recover from natural hazards and stressful trends. A clear objective of livelihoods planning is to strengthen existing areas of resilience.

**Hazard**

A bad thing that can happen, for example a shock or a stress.

**Risk**

The likelihood that bad things will happen at all.
Susceptibility

The likelihood that bad things – shocks and stresses – will affect a person or a household.

Coping strategies

Households develop short-term responses to specific shocks known as coping strategies. These are ‘next best’ efforts to make do in a difficult situation with the hope that the household can return to normal activities and their normal livelihoods strategy.

For example, households may cope with drought by selling livestock, depending on donor relief or working on public works programmes. Another coping strategy may be to stop planting drought-prone hybrid seeds in poor seasons and going back to planting more drought-resistant local seed varieties.

After a shock, households will rely more heavily on support from friends or family. For example, a family may try to cope with the death of an economically active household member by borrowing more heavily from relatives and neighbours who are part of their social network.

Adaptive strategies

These are long-term changes in behaviour and practice in response to continuing stresses. They are the responses of people to their analysis of risk. People may respond to climate change by changing their agricultural practices or using new technologies. For example, they might start rainwater harvesting or they may try to diversify their livelihood activities and focus on those less affected by natural hazards. Certain family members may migrate to another place. The extent to which people can adapt usually reflects their access to and ability to use different types of assets. In areas where there are very few assets or people lack the capacity to utilise them, vulnerability will be high.

HIV/AIDS and coping strategies

HIV/AIDS is one of the main factors contributing to household vulnerability in southern Africa. Research reviewed by UNAIDS investigating how families cope with the impacts of HIV/AIDS shows that households have a three-stage response.

In the first phase, healthy members of the household may try to deal with sickness or death of a partner or parent by looking for paid work. This may
involve moving to a city in search of economic opportunities. Because this means the household has less labour at home, people may shift to growing lower maintenance food crops that are often less nutritious. They will be forced to draw on savings and sell livestock, although households with draught animals usually try to retain them at all costs. At the same time, the household will ‘call in’ any outstanding obligations from extended family and other members of the community. This may involve following up on unpaid lobola, roora or bridewealth. Households will also consume less and spend less on education and non-essential health care. They may be forced to withdraw children from school because their labour is needed at home.

If these measures fail to help, households enter the second stage where they resort to more desperate coping measures. They are forced to sell off key assets including tools, draught animals and even land. They may be forced into borrowing from moneylenders at very high rates of interest. They spend even less on health and education and further reduce the amount of land they cultivate.

Once the household has been forced to sell off its key assets, the likelihood of it entering the third stage of destitution is high. In this phase, surviving household members come to depend on charity. The household may be forced to break up as members try to fend for themselves – often through distress migration to other areas.

Communities have responded with a number of support measures that contribute to household coping capabilities. These include the formation of social support groups, local savings and credit associations, providing patient and child care, and helping in each other’s fields and gardens.

Communities have also responded by adapting certain social and cultural norms. There have been cases of local level tenure reform where people have moved to protect the property rights of widows and orphaned children. Many communities have moved to shorten the traditional mourning periods and change funeral practices which place heavy financial burdens on the families of the deceased.

**Measuring vulnerability**

Can vulnerability be measured? It is difficult to try to compress complex household, gender and information specific to a particular place into broader, blunter and more generalised statements of vulnerability. However, there are a number of initiatives in southern Africa trying to map vulnerability. These include an in-depth vulnerability analysis in Mozambique involving classifying the country into different food production systems. Informa-
tion on flood and drought risk, land use and market access, health and nutrition profiles will be added to this analysis. In Lesotho, seasonal vulnerability studies have been carried out that focus on food availability, food trends in various parts of the country and sources of income from migrant remittances.

The most common approaches to measuring vulnerability include developing specific indicators, household vulnerability profiles and projections of resilience to shocks and stresses. It is possible to look at how vulnerable a household is compared to others in one local community, or to compare communities with other communities. The focus in this book is on understanding how people define vulnerability and resilience for themselves, and what they think will make their livelihoods more secure.

Monitoring tools

A variety of tools have been developed to monitor risk and predict vulnerability. These include nutritional scoring systems for measuring vulnerability to famine and systems that estimate food stocks by collecting data on land ploughed, rainfall totals, changes in livestock weight and grazing conditions.

In Zambia, a composite index of vulnerability has been developed that examines crop risk, market access and measures livestock, fish and staple food reserves with the objective of predicting how many households have less than one month’s food stocks.

Other systems try to assess vulnerability by comparing drought risk, the depth of the household entitlement base and social and political insecurity. Vulnerability assessments are also drawing on new technology like geographical information systems (GIS) for mapping changes in vegetation and working out how much of the country is planted to crops and how much to cash crops.

All these approaches face problems when they try to generalise about vulnerability and household resilience on the basis of once-off local studies that are often descriptive. This information base must be continually updated and improved so that trends over time can be measured.

Conclusion

Vulnerability first needs to be understood at the household level. Livelihoods analysis helps identify the kind of households which are most at risk. This information can be fed into larger systems. However, the more generalised the information becomes, the less accurate and useful it will be. We
need to go further than simply measuring vulnerability. We need to understand the processes, events and underlying causes of vulnerability. We need improved forecasts of risk and we need to take practical measures to assist households to diversify their livelihoods strategies and draw on other assets.

Endnotes for Session 8

1 Chambers 1989.
2 DFID sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets.

References and further reading for Session 8

DFID (Department for International Development). *Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets.* Available from the livelihoods learning platform www.livelihoods.org
Getting started

Before you run this session, you will need to:

• read through the ‘key ideas’ section of this session and make sure you understand the different definitions and the issues around the vulnerability context
• make sure you know what the session objectives are (from the summary) and work through the facilitation session to prepare yourself
• read through the three activity guides
• choose two household case studies – this session was prepared with the filmed case studies ‘Legacies’ and ‘Floods’ in mind, but you can choose cases from Chapter 4 or use cases you have prepared yourself.

Materials required

Flipcharts, photocopies (specified below), pens for writing on flipcharts and material to attach flipcharts to the wall. If you use the films, you will need a working video machine and television set.

Preparing the materials

1. Write the learning objectives (from the summary) and the session outline on a flipchart.
2. Write the definition of vulnerability on page 157 on a flipchart.
3. Prepare the household case studies you have chosen. This session has been designed for use around the filmed case studies ‘Floods’ and ‘Legacies’ on the videocassette. If you use these case studies, make sure the video machine and television set are working and that the videotape is cued to start at the first film. If you decide to use case studies from Chapter 4, photocopy enough copies for group work. If you decide to use your own case studies, prepare these for photocopying and make enough copies for group work.
4. Make enough copies of the three activity guides to hand out to every participant.
5. Prepare a short presentation on the vulnerability context based on the content of the ‘key ideas’ section, covering the concepts of shocks, stresses, vulnerability, resilience, coping and adaptive strategies.
6. Prepare a few points on the impact of HIV/AIDS from the ‘key ideas’ section of Session 7 or other sources.
7. Make enough copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to hand out to every participant at the end.
Step 1. Session introduction

1. Introduce the session learning objectives and activities, using the flipcharts you have prepared.

2. Ask participants to speak in pairs to identify key aspects of the concept of vulnerability and write them down.

3. Give each pair a turn to contribute a new idea and write these on a flipchart or on cards. Look at what the ideas have in common.

4. Introduce the definition of vulnerability from the key ideas section and discuss the extent to which the points that participants identified fit with the definition.

Step 2. Activity 1: Examining the household vulnerability context

Purpose: To identify the different factors that make households vulnerable and how these affect their assets, capabilities and activities and to highlight the different ways households respond.

1. Introduce the case study to illustrate the concept of vulnerability: the ‘Legacies’ or ‘Floods’ film on the videocassette, or a printed case study. Give some background on the case study from Chapter 4.

2. Ask people to make notes as they watch the film or read the case study. Write a number of theme areas on a flipchart and ask participants to make notes on the following (you may want to divide the questions between groups so as to save time):

   • The household’s assets, capabilities and activities and how these combine to form their livelihood strategy. If appropriate you can ask someone to briefly summarise the conceptual framework as a refresher, either verbally or by drawing on a flipchart.

   • What are the different external influences? How do they affect the household’s activities, assets and capabilities? Do they strengthen or weaken their livelihood strategies?

   • How does the family adjust its livelihood strategy to make the most of opportunities or defend itself against external threats? For how long has the household been making adjustments to cope with particular threats in the environment? Are these adjustments temporary or permanent?

   • Is every individual member of the household affected in the same way? Highlight gender and age differences where relevant.
3. Hand out Activity Guide 1 to every participant and make arrangements to show the film or hand out the case studies.

4. Break people into groups to do the activity.

**Step 3. Case study reports**

**Purpose**: To compare how two households respond to similar kinds of external influence

1. Reconvene the plenary group and ask each group to present its findings.
2. Facilitate a discussion on how the same negative hazard may affect households in different ways. Point out that the differences in the ways that households respond may reflect their relative vulnerability, but that two similar households may respond very differently to the same shock or stress.

**Step 4. Activity 2: Assessing the household’s vulnerability in five years’ time**

**Purpose**: To project a future scenario for the households analysed in Activity 1.

1. Hand out Activity Guide 2 and ask the same small groups to do the activity.
2. Reconvene the plenary and ask the groups to present their role-plays or scenarios.
3. Facilitate a discussion on the features they identified which would affect household livelihood security. Draw out the positive and negative changes in household livelihood strategy and how factors in the external environment have played a role in bringing about these changes. Explore what makes one household able to recover from a shock or adapt to a stress while another cannot. Write points on the flipchart.

**Step 5. Introducing and explaining key concepts**

1. Give your presentation on the vulnerability context. As you bring in each concept, ask participants to explain their own understanding by referring to their case studies or their own experience.
2. Discuss some of the issues of trying to measure vulnerability and the problems that could arise with generalised indexes or indicators of vulnerability.

**Step 6. Activity 3: Assessing the impact of HIV/AIDS on household livelihoods**

**Purpose:** To explore the impact on the household and its livelihood strategies if a household member gets HIV.

1. Hand out Activity Guide 3 and ask the same small groups to do the activity.

2. Reconvene the plenary and ask the small groups to report back.

3. As the groups report, supplement their analysis if necessary to highlight how the family may use up much of its cash for medical care and funeral expenses. This may also require that the family sell off productive assets to raise more cash. You can also examine the negative impacts of HIV/AIDS on the social networks and family support structures and how these may accelerate the impoverishment of families affected by AIDS.

**Step 7. Wrap up**

1. Close the session by emphasising the importance of understanding the vulnerability context and how different households and people within them have different vulnerability thresholds. Poorer households and those with less access to resources are the most at risk. Vulnerability also has gender dimensions.

2. Hand out the copies of the ‘key ideas’ section for participants to keep as a reference.
Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have:

- identified the different factors that contribute to the vulnerability of household livelihoods
- examined how households adjust their livelihood strategies to cope with external threats or respond to opportunities
- assessed how different members of the household may be affected by a change in the vulnerability context.

What to do

1. Once you are in your group, choose someone to facilitate the activity and someone to record your discussion.

2. The facilitator will show you a case study film or give you a printed case study to read.
   - Identify the household’s assets, capabilities and activities and how these combine to form its livelihood strategy.
   - What are the different external influences? How do they affect the household’s activities, assets and capabilities? Do they strengthen or weaken their livelihood strategies?
   - How does the family adjust its livelihood strategy to make the most of opportunities or defend itself against the external threats? For how long has the household been making adjustments to cope with particular threats in the environment? Are these adjustments temporary or permanent?
   - Is every individual member of the household affected in the same way? Highlight any gender and age differences.

3. Once you have completed your own analysis of the case, have a group discussion and prepare to report back to the plenary on your group’s findings.
Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will:

- have identified the key factors likely to influence the case study household's ability to sustain its livelihood
- projected the impacts of these factors on the household's livelihood five years into the future
- examined the implications of these trends for livelihoods and development planning.

What to do

1. Read through your notes about your case study household.
2. Identify key external trends. What is looming on the horizon? What is indicated in the film/printed case study about the general way things have been moving?
3. Identify likely changes in the family's capacities, assets and activities in the next five years. (Children and adults will grow older, assets will be accumulated or lost.)
4. Identify future possibilities the family might take advantage of.
5. Prepare a role-play or a visual picture of the household in five years’ time and prepare to present and explain it.
6. What are the implications of your projection for livelihoods planning? What measures can the household take to counter threats, cope or adapt?
The vulnerability context

Activity Guide 3: Assessing the impact of HIV/AIDS on household livelihoods

Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have:

- analysed the range of impacts on the livelihood and asset base of different households if a member of the household contracts HIV/AIDS
- identified the different ways in which the household will try to cope with these impacts
- explored how the community adapts to there being several households living with AIDS.

What to do

1. Use one of the case studies you have analysed and identify what the potential impacts on the household will be if an economically active member gets HIV.

2. Identify the different ways in which households try to cope if there are one or more household members living with AIDS.

3. Provide examples to show how the household’s stock of social and physical assets is likely to decline and how this will deepen the vulnerability of the household and can make it difficult for it to recover.

4. Identify the different support mechanisms that local communities develop to respond to HIV/AIDS.

5. Prepare to present your analysis to the group.
Session 9:
Exploring sustainability

Summary

Purpose

When we say that livelihoods should be ‘sustainable’ what do we mean? This session examines different definitions of sustainable development and how to assess livelihoods sustainability. It examines different criteria and indicators that aim to measure livelihood sustainability and monitor progress towards more sustainable development.

By the end of this session participants will have:

• compared and contrasted different definitions of sustainable development
• made connections between the sustainable livelihoods framework and broader approaches to sustainable development
• illustrated the importance of drawing on local knowledge and gender perspectives in the development of sustainability indicators
• identified different approaches to indicator development.

Activity overview

This session consists of two linked activities:

• In Activity 1 participants compare definitions of sustainable development.
• In Activity 2 participants engage in participatory indicator development.

Session components and time required

The ‘key ideas’ section introduces debates and ideas about sustainability. This can be photocopied and handed out at the end of the session. The preparation section alerts the trainer to what he or she will need to do before running the session. The facilitation section is a step-by-step session plan. The two activity guides are designed to be photocopied and handed out to participants. The session will take about 4 hours 45 minutes.
Session 7 charted the evolution of thinking about sustainable development. This used to be a one-dimensional conservation-dominated concept. Over time it has developed into an approach that can engage with social, economic, institutional and biophysical dimensions. However, the terms ‘sustainable development’ and ‘sustainable livelihoods’ are loosely used in many different contexts, so their meaning is not always clear.

Defining sustainable development

There are many different definitions of sustainable development:

Sustainable development meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.¹

Economic growth that provides fairness and opportunity for all the world’s people, not just the privileged few, without further destroying the world’s finite natural resources and carrying capacity.²

A relationship between dynamic human economic systems and larger dynamic, but normally slower-changing ecological systems, in which a) human life can continue indefinitely b) human individuals can flourish c) human cultures can develop but in which d) effects of human activities remain within bounds, so as not to destroy the diversity, complexity and function of the ecological life support system.³

Indicators of livelihood sustainability

Previous sessions have referred to the Chambers and Conway definition of livelihood sustainability:

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets while not undermining the natural resource base.⁴

Building on this definition Ian Scoones⁵ has highlighted five key indicator themes that can help to gauge the extent to which livelihoods are sustainable:
1. How livelihood strategies of different types – on farm, off farm, wage or subsistence-based – combine to create productive working days, that in turn result in income, products for consumption and social recognition. Livelihood activities must combine to create about 200 working days a year in order to secure a basic livelihood.

2. How livelihood strategies contribute to reducing the poverty level.

3. How they increase household well-being and capability.6

4. The extent to which livelihood strategies are resilient to shocks and stresses is discussed in the previous session.

5. How the livelihood activities affect the sustainability of the natural resource base.

Qualitative and quantitative indicators

Each of these indicators requires different types of measurement. Some measures like ‘poverty reduction’ can be quantified (measured or counted), while others like ‘well-being’ and ‘resilience’ are more qualitative (their quality can be described). Households and household members need to select their own definitions and indicators of well-being. The process of setting these indicators must reflect the stratification within a community. Well-being indicators identified by the very poor might be very different to those identified by households that are better off.

Comparing time scales and identifying linkages

Indicators also operate within different time frames. Determining impacts on the sustainability of the natural resource base requires a much longer time frame that must incorporate a wide range of other data. Environmental impacts are also specific to people and places. They do not lend themselves to broad generalisation, as do some other types of indicator.

All the indicators are themselves dependent on other factors – how local structures, institutions and processes reflect relations of power, and how they enable different people to get access to resources. Examining this requires analysing local-level institutions to find out the formal and informal dimensions of how things work.

Indicators in practice

Measuring sustainability, developing useful indicators and identifying the factors that contribute to it can be a complex task. Assessing the sustainability of livelihoods and ecosystems is a process that involves:
participatory selection of the essential indicators
building the capacity to monitor and interpret them
feeding back the changes and trends in user-friendly, locality-specific form
identifying strategies to address dwindling asset bases.

The table below revisits assets identified in Session 3, drawing on the five capitals model and suggesting indicators for livelihood sustainability. You can also develop a version that classifies assets into social and material categories which, once broken down, will also yield similar indicators.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asset types</th>
<th>Indicators for livelihood sustainability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural assets</td>
<td>Extent of resource base and diversity of common property resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arable and grazing land, marine</td>
<td>Fertility/quality of soils, grazing and natural resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and aquatic resources, woodlands</td>
<td>Ecosystem conditions including biodiversity, groundwater availability and quality,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and forests, and the range of</td>
<td>catchment management, erosion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natural resource uses</td>
<td>Climate, precipitation, seasonal variability, length of growing season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flood and drought risk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social assets (Consider gender,</td>
<td>Health – infant mortality, TB HIV/AIDS infection rates, immunisation, diarrhoeal diseases, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wealth and power dimensions)</td>
<td>Education – years in school, matriculation rates, adult literacy rates, gender profile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life expectancy of men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Capability and local knowledge systems – skills and competencies</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Access to information and ability to use it for innovation – local expertise, radio, telephone,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>television, Internet access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Networks of trust and reciprocity – extended family support, friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal organisation – associations, unions, civic and community organisations,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>burial societies, savings groups, religious affiliations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social stability – crime, violence, corruption, aids orphans, homelessness, safety nets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic assets (Consider gender,</td>
<td>Employment – people in jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wealth and power dimensions)</td>
<td>Remittances from employed person(s) working away – regularity, number of dependants supported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State pensions, grants, drought relief</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Livelihood diversification opportunities</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Access to credit and markets</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cash savings</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Livestock, seed and food stocks</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Other physical assets and means of production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Grey economy’ – illegal activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical assets (Consider gender,</td>
<td>Roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wealth and power dimensions)</td>
<td>Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Water for domestic consumption</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Water for irrigation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sanitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public facilities – schools, clinics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Communications – radio, phone, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional and political assets</td>
<td>Common property resource management systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Consider gender, wealth and</td>
<td>Functioning systems of land rights management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>power dimensions)</td>
<td>Tenure security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Governance</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pro-poor policy and legislation</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The final formulation of indicators is a much more detailed process. Once individual categories have been selected for indicator development, they need to be broken down to identify what data must be collected, what needs to be measured or counted, and to determine how qualitative assessments will be made.

Given the likely gap between the resources demanded for the process of identifying and formulating indicators and the capacity to monitor them, policy makers, development planners and local institutions need to develop clear answers to these questions:

- Whose responsibility is it to assess the sustainability of livelihoods? Who are the principal actors that should be involved and how do they relate to one another?
- What capacity will be needed to identify indicators, monitor them and feed back the findings into policy, programmes and local area development planning?
- How much information do we need? What is the essential information we require?
- What is the appropriate scale at which this sustainability assessment should take place? Localities? Districts? Catchment areas? Agro-ecological zones?
- How do we formulate indicators, collect and analyse data in a way that recognises the diversity of people and places, but which is feasible and cost efficient?

These questions start to focus on the practical implementation of the sustainable livelihoods approach and how to practically assess and promote livelihood sustainability. The complexity of working with such a holistic framework is a constraint. As Scoones observes, ‘holistic frameworks, no matter what their intellectual merits are, are not necessarily good guides to intervention’.  

Sustainability indicators

IISD

The International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) defines indicators as specific measures of a situation or change brought about by changes in the environment, social actions or activities. They enable variance over time, space or social category. Indicators may be quantitative or qualitative, direct or indirect, simple or composite.
Indicators can be developed through a process that involves outsiders and local resource users first reaching agreement on what indicators are for. Outsiders and local resource users need to develop a shared concept of indicators if they are to be meaningful to all.

IISD gives an example from Uganda where indicators were conceptualised as signposts –

*something that provides direction to a commonly agreed destination or goal, like sustainable resource management or a particular category of well-being. The process of discussing why indicators are necessary can help the different parties find common ground. At this initial stage the indicator development process should also be agreed.*

IISD recommends that outsiders experienced in developing sustainable development indicators and local resource users should develop indicators independently of each other at the beginning. Outsiders and local resource users then share their respective indicators and negotiate a consensus set of indicators.

This process is often complex. Sometimes there can be fundamental differences in the priorities and approach between external professionals and local resource users. These differences need to be identified and resolved. The case in the box below highlights how far apart resource users and outside professionals can be.

**THE CASE OF THE CLARENS COMMONAGE – FREE STATE PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA**

The process of acquiring land for municipal commonage in South Africa highlights how livestock owners and agricultural officials can fundamentally misunderstand each other. The commonage programme was designed as part of the South African government’s land reform programme. Commonage schemes aim to provide leased grazing and plots of arable land for the poor residents of small rural towns.

Unemployment in these towns is often very high. Many residents in the townships and informal settlements have been evicted from commercial farms. Some people have livestock, which make an important contribution within their broader livelihood activities. Other people want land for gardens and cropping.

In Clarens, Department of Agriculture officials assumed the livestock owners wanted to become full-time farmers who aimed to sell their cattle at auctions. The criteria for good prices at livestock auctions are the live weight and condition of the cattle. Working from these assumptions, agricultural extension advice focused on herd improvement. Livestock
owners were urged to stock fewer cattle of better quality and to stay within the fixed carrying capacity calculated by the department.\\n
Meanwhile, the livestock owners had a very different agenda. Their objectives were to increase the size of their herds. For most livestock owners the quantity of animals has more value than their quality. They value the multiple contributions that cattle and other livestock make to the household and local economy. They provide milk. They can provide draught power. They are slaughtered at traditional ceremonies, weddings, funerals and feasts. They represent savings and can be sold if the household experiences a cash crisis.

Livestock owners were not persuaded by the department’s idea of a fixed carrying capacity for the land. They argued that the quality of the grazing varied from year to year. If there were good rains, the grazing could support many more animals than the fixed carrying capacity recommended by the officials. At the same time, they recognised that having many cattle in good seasons would make them vulnerable in drought years. In the event of drought, they planned to collect or buy fodder, or find more grazing elsewhere. In general, these livestock owners considered selling their cattle only as a last resort.

In this example the concept of sustainability itself is contested. Officials are guided by their training that emphasised fixed and conservative carrying capacities to ensure ecological sustainability. Their prescribed carrying capacity is based on a once-off assessment of the site.

Livestock owners, on the other hand, have to juggle economic, social and ecological sustainability. Their focus is on sustaining their livelihoods today and tomorrow. Their management strategies are more adaptive. They try to maximise the opportunities of good seasons and mitigate the hazards of drought years.

Because officials and livestock owners have a different way of looking at this issue, setting targets for sustainable commonage management could very quickly become ridden with conflict. If the agricultural officials set indicators independently and try to enforce them, livestock owners are likely to resist them. Clearly the two approaches needed to be reconciled. It was only after a facilitated process that the different concerns and needs of the parties became clear. This created a platform for thinking more creatively about sustainability and recognising the value of local knowledge. This created the potential for defining shared indicators and for drawing on the commonage users to play a monitoring and management function.

Authors from the United Nations Development Programme have also identified principles and approaches for indicator development. They state that indicators should:
• be developed within an agreed upon conceptual and operational framework
• be specific and measurable
• enjoy user ownership
• be readily collectable.

They extend the Chambers and Conway definition of livelihood sustainability by adding that livelihoods are sustainable if they maintain and enhance capabilities and assets and enhance opportunities for the next generation.

They emphasise that sustainability is a process not an event, and that the process of identifying indicators may demand that outsiders rethink their assumptions about realities on the ground and acknowledge local definitions and priorities. They argue against indicators being taken at face value, recognising that they are ‘partial and imperfect reflections of reality’.

UNDP highlights the need to combine quantitative and qualitative indicators. It proposes combining a composite indicator like the Human Development Index with specially selected local indicators.

The process of gathering indicators would therefore involve survey work and qualitative methods like PRA and participatory action research (PAR).

UNDP argues that indicators could be captured in an information system like a GIS (geographical information system). They propose an approach that involves identifying the range of assets that people draw on at various times and developing indicators to assess the changes in the asset base.

IUCN

The World Conservation Union (IUCN) states that ‘indicators are measurements taken to describe the state of something or to monitor changes’. The indicators that identify what should be measured should reflect the local ecosystem and the diverse sources of livelihood of the people who utilise it. This process involves a participatory analysis of livelihoods and an assessment of how people are doing, coupled with an assessment of the ecosystem to identify assets, hazards and the way in which things are changing.

Once the assessment has been made, attention turns to identifying how people will know whether things are getting better or worse. This leads to the identification of specific indicators. The IUCN also notes that while it is important to identify indicators, there is a risk that discussions about the details of measurement can obscure the real purpose of the exercise. Indicators need to be framed within a context.
In particular, the IUCN highlights the importance of identifying indicators that can identify changes and reveal the relationships between causes and effects. Knowing that things are changing is insufficient. We need to know why they are changing, we need to be able to identify and implement strategies to counter negative changes, and we need to be able to measure their effectiveness. This highlights how indicators contribute to a long-term system of monitoring and evaluation.

Gender and sustainability

There are indexes to measure equality between men and women and how equally men and women participate in decision-making on economic and political issues. However, little work has been done on formulating gender-sensitive sustainable development indicators.

Gender must be carefully considered when designing and monitoring indicators within the livelihoods framework. Because of the ongoing gender division of labour in the household, indicators that relate to especially to wood-fuel, water and waste management must indicate gender.

Bringing it all together

So how do we understand sustainable development and how do we measure progress towards it? How does the sustainable livelihoods approach contribute to this broader goal? Although there is still no precise definition of sustainable development, it is clear that it involves balancing human well-being and ecosystem well-being.

The egg of well-being

The IUCN developed the metaphor of the ‘egg of well being’ to illustrate the interdependence of people and the environment.

People depend on the ecosystem which surrounds and supports them much as the white of an egg surrounds and supports the yolk. At the same time a healthy ecosystem is no compensation if people are victims of poverty, misery, violence or oppression. Just as an egg can only be good if both the yolk and the white are good, so a society can be well and sustainable only if both people and ecosystems are well.

Livelihoods analysis specifically highlights the importance of natural, environmental and ecological assets. However, there is still debate about the emphasis that should be placed on environmental concerns within the
overall livelihoods framework.\textsuperscript{17} CARE has opted for the term ‘livelihood security’ as it gives prominence to social and economic issues.

The sustainability pyramid

The pyramid introduced in Session 7 highlights the different dimensions of sustainability and recognises that the social, economic and institutional dimensions rest and depend upon the base provided by the ecosystem or natural environment.

Our challenge is to reflect this balance in our approach to livelihoods planning. To measure our progress towards livelihood security and sustainability, we have to develop baseline information to clarify the linkages between livelihoods and the health of the ecosystem. We need to identify the key trends in the overall livelihood context. This will involve drawing on local knowledge of history, and environmental and livelihood change. A basic set of practical indicators is required that reflect local priorities and concerns to enable effective monitoring at local level. The meaning of the term ‘sustainable livelihoods’ depends on it.

Endnotes for Session 9

3 Constanza 1991.
6 Scoones draws on Robert Chambers for the concept of ‘well-being’ and Amartya Sen for the concept of ‘capability’.
7 Scoones 1998.
8 International Institute for Sustainable Development. Community adaptation...
9 The Clarend Commonage was a pilot project selected by the South African Department of Land Affairs (DLA) as part of a DLA/DANCED programme for the integration of environment into the land reform project process. The Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) in the School of Government of the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town facilitated a learning process on sustainable commonage management in association with Common Ground Consulting. The case study has been constructed from unpublished reports.
10 A plot of land belonging to the local authority which people can access for grazing their animals.
11 The maximum number of cattle the department believes can graze the commonage land sustainably.
13 IUCN 1997a.
14 IUCN 1997b.
References and further reading for Session 9


Getting started

Before you run this session, you will need to:

- read through the ‘key ideas’ section of this session and make sure you understand the different definitions and principal debates around sustainable development and the different approaches to indicator development
- make sure you know what the session objectives are (from the summary) and work through the facilitation section to prepare yourself
- read through the two activity guides.

Materials required

Flipcharts, photocopies (specified below), pens for writing on flipcharts and material to attach flipcharts to the wall.

Preparing the materials

1. Write the learning objectives (from the summary) and the session outline on a flipchart.
2. Make enough copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to hand out at the end of the session.
3. Make enough copies of the two activity guides to hand out to each participant.
4. Photocopy and prepare enough cue cards for Activity 2. This activity is a role play with five groups. Each group gets a copy of its own role cue card. The facilitators’ group is the only one which gets a copy of all five cue cards. If you feel that the Clarens Commonage case study is inappropriate for your group, prepare another case study for this activity.
5. Write the following definitions of indicators which appear in the ‘key ideas’ section on a flip chart:

   **Indicators** are measurements taken to describe the state of something or to monitor changes. (IUCN)

   **Indicators** are specific measures of a situation or change brought about by changes in the environment, social actions or activities. They enable variance over time, space or social category. Indicators may be quantitative or qualitative, direct or indirect, simple or composite. (IISD)

6. Prepare a brief presentation from the ‘key ideas’ section on the ideas of Ian Scoones and the IISD on indicators for assessing livelihood sustainability.
Step 1. Session introduction

1. Introduce the session learning objectives and activities, using the flipcharts you have prepared.

2. Explain that in this session participants will deepen their understanding of the different perspectives on sustainable development introduced in Session 7. They will clarify the concept of sustainability indicators and examine the difference between quantitative and qualitative indicators. They will also distinguish between ‘local’ and ‘expert’ knowledge about the environment. Participants will examine how participatory indicator development tries to combine local knowledge and livelihood priorities with the knowledge of development professionals. This session uses a scenario and role play to highlight the perceptions of different interest groups and examines their implications for development practice. Participants will summarise different approaches to indicator development and the practical implications of using them to monitor development. They will also look at the linkage between sustainable livelihoods approaches and broader concerns of sustainable development.

Step 2. Activity 1: Comparing definitions of sustainable development

Purpose: To compare different definitions of sustainable development and debate their strengths, weaknesses and biases.

1. Hand out Activity Guide 1 and explain what to do if necessary.

2. Reconvene the plenary. Ask each group to present two definitions – the one on the top of the ranking, and the one on the bottom. Facilitate a discussion about their choices.

3. Highlight that there is no precise definition of sustainable development. The activity illustrates that sustainability is a fuzzy concept that is difficult to measure.

Step 3. What is an indicator?

Purpose: To develop a clear definition of an indicator and to clarify the difference between quantitative ‘hard’ indicators and qualitative ‘soft’ indicators.

1. Ask participants to buzz in pairs on the following questions:
   - What are indicators for?
• What metaphor can creatively express the concept of an indicator across languages without losing its meaning?

2. Ask participants to put forward their ideas and facilitate a discussion about the metaphors they suggest. If necessary you can suggest metaphors like a signpost, a school report card, or the IUCN egg of well-being.

3. Put up the two definitions of indicators which you have prepared.

4. Discuss and elaborate on these definitions as necessary. Ask participants to provide examples of quantitative and qualitative indicators and to explain the different types of data and data collection methods to determine the indicators. Explain that indicators and data collection methods are scientifically neutral. The way that indicators are framed often reflects a set of underlying assumptions and a set of values, as the role-play in the next activity will illustrate.

Step 4. Activity 2: Participatory indicator development role play

Purpose: To examine how the different assumptions of different interest groups are embedded in the selection and framing of indicators.

1. Explain that participants will use a scenario to illustrate the process of identifying and agreeing indicators. In this process they will examine how the selection and content of indicators developed by different actors come from different value systems and assumptions.

2. Hand out Activity Guide 1 and the base scenario to all participants. Explain that they will be playing the role of one of five role players in the situation, and that the task is to develop and agree on a set of indicators that measure how the project is contributing to livelihood sustainability and the sustainable management of the grazing and other natural resources on the commonage.

3. Introduce the scenario, the task and the different role players:
   • larger livestock owners
   • smaller, more vulnerable livestock owners
   • Department of Agriculture officials
   • municipal officials
   • the development facilitation team.
4. Divide participants into five role play groups. Explain that each group will receive a cue card which explains its particular interests, values and assumptions. The different groups will not see the cue cards of the others, except for the facilitators’ group which receives cue cards for all five groups. A member of the facilitation team group could join each group as an observer but may not say anything.

5. Once the small groups have completed the activity, reconvene the plenary and ask the facilitation team to take over the session. It must give each group an opportunity to present its indicators, highlight the differences between them, and facilitate agreement on a consensus indicator set. It does not matter if the facilitation team does not complete its task. In reality this exercise would demand much more time than the workshop allows.

Step 5. Reflection

1. Ask the facilitation team to present its own reflection on the activity, supplemented by people from other groups.

2. Ask what participants can learn from the session to take into their livelihoods planning work.

Step 6. Indicator development processes

Purpose: To present approaches on the process of indicator development that incorporate different perspectives and concerns.

1. To wrap up the session, summarise the IISD approach to indicator development which involves a stepped process where parties first discuss and agree what indicators are for, then develop indicators independently of each other, present and discuss the indicators and negotiate to find common ground. This is of course what was done in Activity 2. Emphasise that the key to reducing division and conflict over indicator definition lies in the discussion about what they are for and what sort of shapes they can take. Also emphasise that you need to be selective about what indicators to monitor. It is very easy to become bogged down in complex and multiple indicators which cannot be implemented.

2. Introduce the five indicator areas of Ian Scoones for assessing livelihood sustainability and make the connections between sustainable livelihoods and the broader sustainable development agenda.

3. Hand out the copies of the ‘key ideas’ section for participants to keep as a reference.
Exploring sustainability

Activity Guide 1: Comparing definitions of sustainable development

Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have:

• critiqued and ranked different definitions of sustainable development
• debated their strengths, weaknesses and biases.

What to do

1. Read through each definition of sustainable development:

   • Sustainable development meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

   • Economic growth that provides fairness and opportunity for all the world’s people, not just the privileged few, without further destroying the world’s finite natural resources and carrying capacity.

   • A relationship between dynamic human economic systems and larger dynamic, but normally slower-changing ecological systems, in which a) human life can continue indefinitely b) human individuals can flourish c) human cultures can develop but in which d) effects of human activities remain within bounds, so as not to destroy the diversity, complexity and function of the ecological life support system.

   • Improving the quality of life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems.

   • A sustainable society is one that to all intents and purposes can be sustained indefinitely while giving optimum satisfaction to its members.

2. Discuss each definition and list its strengths and weaknesses. Assess its clarity, how well it combines different dimensions of sustainability and examine whether it shows any particular bias. How comprehensive is the definition? How well does it balance human and ecosystem needs? How effectively does it highlight the interests of the poor and vulnerable? How easy will it be to develop indicators to assess progress towards achieving the concept of sustainable development expressed by the definition?

3. Once you have read and critiqued each definition, rank them in order, starting with the best one. Prepare to explain your ranking.

4. Prepare to present your work to the plenary.
Learning objectives

By the end of this activity you will have:

• developed indicators that reflect the interests and priorities of different actors
• examined how the choice of indicators and methods often reflects different world views and knowledge systems
• analysed the assumptions underlying the selection and framing of indicators.

What to do

This activity involves reading about a scenario in which there are five different interest groups, each with different perceptions and assumptions about sustainability. You will take on the role of one of the interest groups. The task of all the role-players is to develop and agree on a set of indicators that can measure how the project is contributing to livelihood sustainability and the sustainable management of the grazing and other natural resources on the commonage.

1. Once you have read the base scenario in plenary, the facilitator will allocate you to a group. Each group will be given the cue card for one of the roles. The facilitators’ group will get cue cards for all five groups.

2. Read the card and clarify what your interests and concerns are in your role. In your group identify a set of indicators that express your understanding and priorities about sustainable management of natural resources and how this fits with sustainable livelihoods.

3. Prepare to present your indicators to the plenary group. If you are playing the role of a facilitator, prepare to help the interest groups negotiate a consensus set of indicators.
BASE SCENARIO: CLARENS COMMONAGE, FREE STATE PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

How commonage works

The commonage programme was designed as part of the government’s land reform programme. Commonage schemes assist municipalities to buy agricultural land so that they are able to lease grazing and arable land to poor residents of small rural towns at a nominal rate. The land remains the property of the municipality which is ultimately responsible for its management. Municipalities often look to the Department of Agriculture (DoA) for management support and often enter into an arrangement with the DoA to provide services to commonage users.

Introducing Clarens

Clarens is a small town in the eastern Free State. Much of the formal economy of the town revolves around tourism. However, there is a large and poorly understood informal economy that is the source of livelihoods for the largely unemployed residents of the townships and informal settlements. These areas accommodate large numbers of households who have been evicted from commercial farms. Several households have some livestock, which make an important contribution within their broader livelihood activities.

The Clarens municipality applied for a commonage grant to buy two farms adjacent to the municipal boundary. The two farms provided about 360ha of grazing land. The DoA recommended a fixed carrying capacity of 70 large stock units for the two farms. The livestock owners had about 400 head between them, including heifers and calves.

In the process of drawing up the lease agreement, the municipality engaged the DoA to determine a management framework for the commonage. At the same time, a separate initiative led by the Department of Land Affairs engaged with the commonage users to find out their ideas on how the commonage should be managed and natural resources utilised. The DLA found that livestock users fell into three different categories:

- larger livestock owners who made up 15% of the total of livestock owners and who owned between 15 and 20 head of cattle each
- medium livestock owners who comprised 25% of the total and who owned between 6 and 12 head each
- smaller livestock owners (many of whom were evicted farm workers) who comprised 60% of the total and who owned less than 6 head of cattle.
Role cue card: Municipal officials

Your main concern is that the grazing on the commonage must not interfere with the formal economy of the town which revolves around tourism. You are worried that the commonage will be an invitation to overstocking and overgrazing. You already have a problem with cattle straying in the roads. Parts of Clarens are declared as a conservancy area and contain species of endangered plants. You would like to see strict enforcement of a conservative grazing regime on the commonage. You are not aware of the important contribution that livestock make to local livelihoods. You see job creation as the solution to the unemployment and poverty in the town.

Develop a set of indicators for sustainable management of the commonage that reflect your concerns and prepare to table them in the discussion that follows.

Role cue card: Department of Agriculture officials

Your mandate is to develop emerging commercial farmers. You engage with livestock owners on the assumption that they want to become full-time livestock farmers. Most of your interaction is with the few larger livestock owners. You assume that cattle owners aim to sell their cattle at livestock auctions where the criteria for good prices are the live weight and condition of the cattle. You have advised the livestock owners to focus on herd improvement. You urge them to stock fewer beasts of better quality, operate a rotational grazing system and to stay within the fixed carrying capacity calculated by your department.

Develop a set of indicators for sustainable management of the commonage that reflect your concerns and prepare to table them in the discussion that follows.

Role cue card: The facilitation team

Your job is to bring the stakeholders together once they have independently developed a set of indicators. You will give each group an opportunity to present its indicators and respond to the questions and concerns raised by other stakeholders. Once the different groups have presented their proposals, you will try to facilitate the development of a consensus set of indicators. You may have access to all the cue cards and may observe the groups at work in order to develop a strategy. You will also need to report back your reflections on the overall process and the different approaches taken by the players once the role play is over.
Role cue card: Larger livestock owners

Your objectives are to increase the size of your herds and gain access to additional land. You all have multiple sources of livelihood. A few of you have formal jobs in Clarens or neighbouring towns. Others run their own small businesses and engage in a range of informal sector activity. Your cattle are an important resource, but you do not depend totally upon them. For you the quantity of animals has more value than their quality. Cattle have many uses and play a variety of roles in the local economy. They provide milk. They are used in traditional ceremonies, at weddings, funerals and feasts. You occasionally sell livestock to other residents in Clarens. For you cattle are a form of savings and investment.

You are not convinced about the fixed carrying capacity proposed by the Department of Agriculture. You know that the quality of the grazing varies from year to year. If there are good rains, the grazing on the commonage can support many more animals than the fixed carrying capacity recommended by the department. You recognise that having many beasts in good seasons will make you vulnerable in drought years. However, when drought strikes you plan to collect or buy in fodder, or find additional grazing elsewhere. You may be able to benefit from drought by pressuring government to provide more land or supplementary feeding. You would only consider selling stock if all else failed.

Develop a set of indicators for sustainable management of the commonage that reflect your concerns and prepare to table them in the discussion that follows.

Role cue card: Smaller livestock owners

As recently evicted former farm workers, you are amongst the most vulnerable people in Clarens. You have weaker rights to commonage grazing and resources in Clarens as you have only arrived recently. Your few cattle are a key resource and represent your life savings. For you the quantity of animals has more value than their quality. Cattle provide milk. They are used in traditional ceremonies, at weddings, funerals and feasts. They can be sold if the household experiences a crisis. They can also provide draught power and pull carts. Ploughing and transporting for others could be a livelihood opportunity.

The notion of a fixed carrying capacity proposed by the Department of Agriculture seems to threaten your livelihood. You fear that because your land and resource rights are weak, you could be forced to sell or move your cattle. You will resist this with everything in your power. At the same time you recognise that the availability of good quality grazing is crucial if you are to be able to increase your herd.

Develop a set of indicators for sustainable management of the commonage that reflect your concerns and prepare to table them in the discussion that follows.
Session 10: Livelihoods and disaster risk

Summary

Purpose
By the end of this session, participants will:

• understand the concept of disaster risk
• understand the relationship between disaster risk and livelihoods
• identify strategies that reduce disaster risk and benefit livelihood security.

Activity overview
This session consists of two linked activities:

• In Activity 1 participants find out about key terms in disaster risk.
• In Activity 2 participants apply disaster risk and livelihoods concepts to the case study household and identify strategies to reduce disaster risk.

Session components and time required
The ‘key ideas’ section introduces important concepts concerning livelihoods and disaster risk. This can be photocopied and handed out at the end of the session. The preparation section alerts the trainer to what he or she will need to do before running the session. The facilitation section is a step-by-step session plan. The two activity guides are designed to be photocopied and handed out to participants. The session is built around the filmed case study Floods on the videocassette.

The session will take about 5 hours 25 minutes.
When this book was written, international appeals had been launched to assist more than 12 million people affected by drought across the Horn of Africa and East Africa. At the same time, sustained high rainfall over the Zambezi Valley in southern Africa resulted in widespread flood damage downstream. And, in El Salvador and Gujarat State in India, tens of thousands of people were attempting to rebuild their lives following devastating earthquakes. Irrespective of whether it is Asia, Latin America, Africa, Europe or North America, the human and economic toll of disasters has increased dramatically in recent years.

In 2000, Munich Reinsurance, the world’s leading reinsurer, reported 850 catastrophes with a natural trigger, 100 more than in 1999, and 200 more than the average for the 1990s. During the 1990s, the global economic cost of disasters with a natural trigger was more than US$608 billion. This was three times the figure in the 1980s, almost nine times that of the 1960s, and more than 15 times the total of the 1950s. The gap between rich and poor countries can also be seen in disasters. Disaster losses in more wealthy nations cost only 2.5% of GDP over the last ten years, compared to 13.4% of GDP for the world’s poorest countries.

These statistics understate the true impact of disasters, particularly in poorer communities and countries. Disadvantaged communities often have fewer formally constructed buildings or other infrastructure and low levels of insurance coverage. Therefore, formally recorded economic losses are lower in poorer areas. Moreover, internationally consolidated reinsurance information almost always excludes the impacts of drought – a recurrent and serious threat in many Southern countries.

In poorer countries, disasters are more likely to affect households directly, with little emergency assistance from government. Although these relief efforts, often supported by external assistance organisations, are essential for saving lives, they divert scarce household and government resources away from other longer-term priorities.

The human and economic costs of repeated disaster events, combined with the expense of emergency operations, undermine the prospects for sustainable development. This is especially true in poor countries. Economic losses from disaster events are highest in rich countries, but only 4% of all disaster-related deaths occur there.
Natural hazards … but ‘unnatural disasters’

We live with the reality of biological, climatological, geological, hydrological and technological ‘hazards’. It is easy to forget that these forces, with the potential to bring harm, also provide opportunities and resources. Rainfall is an essential resource for human survival. However, heavy rainfall on deforested and unstable slopes can trigger deadly landslides and floods. In some ecosystems, ‘natural’ fires play an essential role in dispersing seeds necessary for the survival of indigenous plants and wildlife. Yet, as urban areas push back into forests and grasslands, the probability of life-threatening fires increases. For thousands of years, ‘natural floods’ have made flood plains fertile for agriculture. Today, flood risk is often greatest in areas where natural flood plains have been altered, tributaries drained or rivers dammed.

The disastrous consequences of these ‘natural’ processes are largely due to human action or inaction. Many ecosystems, for example, have been stretched to the point that they are no longer resilient. Deforestation has damaged watersheds, increased the risk of fires and contributed to climate change. Coastal wetlands, dunes and mangroves, which are nature’s ‘shock absorbers’ for coastal storms, have been destroyed. Continuing land and water degradation, overgrazing and unsustainable agricultural practices have increased the impact of droughts in semi-arid areas. These and other human-induced changes to our environment have undermined a complex ecological safety net.

The enormous growth of the human population and our built environment last century has placed greater numbers of people at risk. More and more people live in cities, and more are moving to coastal zones. This means that more people, infrastructure and economic activities are vulnerable to the full array of natural hazards.

Uncertainty is increasing, and disaster impacts are unevenly spread. It is generally poorer households, communities and countries that are most at risk. In many poor countries, massive migration to towns and cities has put pressure on affordable housing. This has led poor households to live in unsafe and underserviced areas. These may be crowded informal settlements, or shacks on unstable slopes, or poorly constructed and maintained buildings that do not comply with earthquake-resistant building codes. However, it is these families who are most exposed to natural and other threats, as well as those most likely to lose their lives, their possessions or their livelihoods, in the event of heavy rain, storm, flash-flooding or even a modest earthquake.

While disasters are often ‘triggered’ by a natural or other hazard, human influences play an ever-increasing role in determining the extent and severity of their impact.
Disaster risk and climate

Human action has changed much of our natural environment. At a global level, this is reflected in rising temperatures associated with climate change. This trend is extremely relevant to patterns of disaster risk, as about 70% of all disasters including floods, wind-storms and destructive fires, are triggered by climate processes. During the last 50 years, there has been a dramatic increase in disaster-related losses, many of which are weather-related. Moreover, the 1990s was the warmest decade, and 1998 was the hottest year since temperature was measured in 1861.

Both these trends are expected to continue in the 21st century. Surface temperatures are expected to rise between 1.4 and 5.8°C by 2100. Sea temperatures, too, may become more like El Niño, with greater warming in the eastern Pacific Ocean. Worldwide, sea levels could rise by as much as 90cm, dramatically increasing the risk of flooding for low-lying coastal areas and submerging small island states. There will be more extreme weather conditions and more intense rainfall, although total rainfall may not necessarily increase.

An intense or powerful El Niño event is characterised by an abnormal warming of the eastern Pacific Ocean, and is associated with extreme drought or heavy rainfall events in different parts of the world. El Niño events are often associated with drought in southern Africa, but abnormally heavy rainfall in East Africa.

By contrast, La Niña events are characterised by excess cooling of the eastern Pacific Ocean. In Africa La Niña events often bring heavy rainfall and cyclones to southern Africa, while they are most frequently accompanied by severe drought in East Africa.

Approximately 1.7 billion people already live in countries that are water-stressed. By 2025, this number is expected to rise to 5 billion. In southern Africa, central Asia and countries around the Mediterranean Sea, changes to our climate could further diminish river flow, as well as the rate at which our underground water reserves are replenished. This is likely to worsen existing conditions of water stress in many countries, including those in southern Africa.

Flooding is also expected to increase, because of more frequent and intense rainfall. This is most likely in regions such as southeast Asia. The combined effect of heavier rainfall and sea-level rise means that many coastal areas will experience greater flooding and erosion, shrinking wetlands and mangroves, as well as seawater coming into their fresh water sources. The extent and severity of storm impacts, including storm-surge floods and shore...
erosion, will also increase. As many as 200 million people could face the risk of coastal storm surges by 2080.\textsuperscript{10}

If cyclones increase regionally (for instance in south Asia or in the south-western Indian Ocean), there could be devastating loss of life, as well as property damage and destruction to crops. These impacts will be far worse for congested coastal or poor isolated rural communities than for those living in areas with dependable infrastructure, municipal services and telecommunications systems.\textsuperscript{11}

While flooding is likely to be worst for those in flood plains or in low-lying coastal areas and near rivers, flood risk is likely to increase wherever there are inadequate storm water drains, water supply and waste management systems. Urban areas, particularly crowded informal settlements, with limited access to public services – already vulnerable to extreme weather events – will become even more exposed to floods.

Higher temperatures and reduced rainfall in regions like southern Africa are likely to bring poorer harvests – particularly for crops like maize, which depend heavily on seasonal rainfall. At the national level, countries whose economies rely mainly on agricultural exports for foreign exchange are particularly vulnerable. Likewise, farmers living in arid and semi-arid areas may find themselves battling to protect their families, their animals and their crops from the impact of severe water scarcity.

In Africa, this intensifying hazard profile is further worsened by rapid urban growth. The total number of people living in large-scale cities of more than one million people is expected to rise from 33 million in 1990 to 216 million by 2020.\textsuperscript{12} The more densely-settled urban areas become, the more risks and vulnerabilities the residents face. This includes the prospect of substantial human, infrastructural and economic losses from sudden onset threats.

\begin{tabular}{|c|}
\hline
Sudden Onset Hazard Event \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

An \textit{sudden onset hazard event} is one that occurs quickly, bringing sudden destructive impacts, often with little or no warning. Examples include severe storms and earthquakes.

\begin{tabular}{|c|}
\hline
Slow Onset Hazard Event \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

In a \textit{slow onset hazard event}, often, weeks or months may pass after an ‘alert’ is first sounded before measurable impacts are felt on lives and livelihoods. Examples of slow onset hazards are drought and the spread of some communicable diseases.
 Disaster risk is a development priority

In the past, disasters were thought to be ‘acts of God’ or ‘acts of nature’. Today, disasters are viewed as the outcomes of the interaction between natural or other threats and the levels of vulnerability in both our built/natural environments as well as social, political and economic systems.

Images of starving children, crushed buildings or flooded farmlands go with media stories about ‘disaster’. However, they do not tell us about the ‘progression of vulnerability’ that underpinned and intensified disaster risk. A cyclone or hurricane can bring heavy rains and strong winds, but the risk is not the same for all buildings or infrastructure. Formally engineered and reinforced structures on stable ground are more likely to withstand the winds and rains than flimsy dwellings on sandy soils without drainage. The measures that would have increased cyclone or hurricane resilience can be traced back to careful land-use planning, enforcement of building regulations, protection and maintenance of storm-water drains, as well as processes of transparent governance and accountability.

Similarly, while drought occurs frequently across sub-Saharan Africa, its impacts are also uneven. Rural households with relatives working in towns often receive money or food from there, while those without this resource are more vulnerable to the impact of a failed harvest or death of livestock.

In most countries and communities, disaster risk is not only determined by the intensity of the hazards that strike. It is also shaped by the levels of vulnerability of those exposed to a particular hazard.

In the examples above:

- the reinforced structures were not as vulnerable as the flimsy dwellings – even though they were both exposed to the same cyclone
- the rural households with extra income from urban relatives were less vulnerable to food insecurity than those without remittances from town – even though their fields were both exposed to the same drought event.

While it may be difficult to control the path or intensity of a natural threat, it is possible to increase or decrease the vulnerability of those exposed to it. The most cost-effective vulnerability reduction measures are those that are integrated into ongoing development activities and that build household and community resilience over the long-term. These efforts complement emergency preparedness and response measures taken when a cyclone or drought alert is given, for example.
Governance: Disaster relief or vulnerability reduction?

An important but often overlooked factor in vulnerability reduction is the role played by local, provincial and national government. Historically, responsible governance meant anticipating impending disaster threats, and responding on time, first with relief, then recovery assistance. This was based on government’s moral and humanitarian obligation to alleviate suffering and hardship in times of crisis. It was also based on the idea that the state must protect its dependants. In most African countries, this obligation is in civil protection or disaster management legislation. Governments are responsible for saving lives in times of distress, but they should also take measures to prevent the crisis in the first place.

Responsive governance prioritises developmental initiatives that build local resilience to expected threats, so that a ‘hazard event’ (like heavy rain) is not necessarily a ‘disaster’ (like a flood). It incorporates knowledge about reducing vulnerability to improve the immediate and the long-term security of at-risk communities. It is based on active engagement between government and civil society to reduce disaster risk rather than just to provide relief assistance to ‘disaster victims’ in times of crisis.

Disaster risk and livelihoods: Important terms

Developmental efforts to protect and strengthen livelihood resilience are important cornerstones for reducing disaster risk. Similarly, the ability to withstand and recover from repeated hazards and other threats without major loss protects and strengthens livelihood security. This section provides working definitions of some of the key terms used in understanding disaster risk in a livelihoods context.

Disaster risk is the probability that an individual, household, community, city, province or country is unable to anticipate, resist or recover from the losses sustained from a hazard or other threat without external assistance.

Disaster is an event that overwhelms or disrupts the capacity of an individual, household, community, city, province or country to resist or recover from the impacts without outside assistance.

Hazard is a natural or other phenomenon with the potential to cause harm. (However, most natural hazards also serve as important ‘resources’). Hazards are usually characterised by their frequency, speed of onset, magnitude/intensity, duration and area they affect (for instance, drought is a slow-onset hazard, while fires are a sudden onset threat).
**Vulnerability** refers to the characteristics that limit an individual, a household, a community, a city, a country or even an ecosystem’s capacity to anticipate, manage, resist or recover from the impact of a natural or other threat (often called a ‘hazard’ or ‘natural trigger’). These characteristics influence the extent to which an individual, household, community… is likely to be negatively affected by a hazard or other threat.

A household’s vulnerability is determined by several important factors. These are:

- its exposure to a specific threat
- the resilience, robustness and protective capacities of the household livelihood system
- the resilience and enabling/protective capacities of the external environment.

**Exposure** is the degree to which the people in a household, its property or livelihoods are likely to be struck or affected by known hazards or threats (usually as a result of physical location).

**Household resilience, robustness and protective capacities** refer to how well a household can anticipate, manage, resist or recover from the impact of a threat. These include:

- the physical, social and other capabilities of household members that help protect important assets and livelihood activities, and allow for their adaptation to changing conditions
- the sustainability of household assets and livelihood strategies, in response to likely threats
- the levels of household protection provided by its assets and livelihood activities in response to likely shocks and stresses.

Households that are not ‘resilient’ to likely shocks and stresses are considered highly ‘susceptible’ or ‘sensitive’ to these threats.

**Resilience and enabling/protective capacities of the external environment** refers to how well the natural and built environments, economic, political and other institutions can resist, withstand or recover from likely threats. These also include the levels of protection provided to a household or community by the natural and built environment, economic, political and other institutions, as well as civil society as a whole.

**Elements-at-risk** refers to the households and people, resources, services or infrastructure that are exposed to a specific threat. Usually they include people, physical infrastructure, natural environment, public services, agriculture (including livestock), social order and the local economy. The vulnerability of an element-at-risk will significantly shape its capacity to withstand and recover from the effects of a hazard.
An example

Disaster risk is never determined by a hazard alone. It is also shaped by the vulnerabilities of elements-at-risk (including the natural and built environments, agriculture and livestock, people, public services and the local economy).

In the Mozambican example shown in the film ‘Floods’, the hazard for Ilde and André, as well as Mr Singh is heavy rain. Both households had assets-at-risk exposed to heavy rain. Ilde and André’s house was vulnerable as it was sited on unstable ground. Mr Singh’s crop was also vulnerable as it was sited in a low-lying area. However, as Mr Singh had the formal support of the banking sector, he was able to recover from his losses much faster than Ilde and André, who had limited access to such protective services.

The disaster risk equation is:

\[
\text{Hazard (H) x vulnerability (V) of element(s)-at-risk} = \text{Disaster risk}
\]

For Ilde/André:

\[
\text{Heavy rains (H) x siting of home on unstable ground (V)} = \text{likelihood of losing their home}
\]

For Mr Singh:

\[
\text{Heavy rains (H) x siting of his crops in low-lying areas (V)} = \text{likelihood of losing his crop}
\]

Examples of strategies to reduce disaster risk

There are many strategies to reduce disaster risk, and a few examples are mentioned below. Some are directly linked to improving the sustainability of livelihood activities, while others have a positive effect on the economic, political/institutional, social, the built physical environment and the natural physical environment. They include:

**Reducing household or community exposure to known threats in the physical environment, where possible.**

For example:

- careful and transparent land-use planning that avoids over-development of steep, deforested or unstable slopes; this minimises the risk of landslides and increased flooding during/after heavy rainfall
• careful development of coastal zones and estuaries, especially the construc-
tion of tourist and other infrastructure in areas prone to flooding.

**Building the protective capacities of vulnerable families so they and their property become more resilient to natural or other hazards, even if they are exposed to them.**

For example:

• diversification of livelihood strategies beyond dependence on rain-fed agriculture in drought-prone areas

• participatory consultation, education and engagement with hazard-prone households and communities on the nature of likely threats, as well as measures households themselves can take to minimise their impact

• initiatives to increase the literacy of women, so they have a wider range of livelihood options, including paid employment.

**Increasing and sustaining the enabling/protective capacities provided by the natural environment, physical infrastructure, and social, political and economic institutions.**

For example:

• conservation of wetlands, natural watercourses and mangroves to absorb floodwaters

• maintenance of stormwater drainage systems in urban areas

• committed and informed television, radio and print media which is prepared to advocate for greater community protection

• effective and timely dissemination of hazard warnings, accompanied by clearly understood arrangements for evacuation to safety

• transparent processes of accountability in the enforcement of building codes in flood and earthquake-prone areas (this also focuses on the political/institutional environment).
Endnotes for Session 10

1 UN Wire 2000.
3 Abramovitz 2000.
4 Excerpted and adapted from Abramovitz 2000.
5 Berz 2000.
6 IPCC 2001b.
7 IPCC 2001b.
8 IPCC 2001a.
9 IPCC 2001a.
10 IPCC 2001a.
11 IPCC 2001a.
12 Erbach & Gaudet 1998.

References and further reading for Session 10

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change website: www.ipcc.ch
International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies website: www.ifrc.org
International Secretariat for Disaster Reduction website: www.unisdr.org
Munich Reinsurance website: www.munichre.com
Natural Hazards Center (University of Colorado, Boulder) website: www.colorado.edu/hazards
Radical Interpretations of Disasters website: www.anglia.ac.uk/geography/radix
Reliefweb website: www.reliefweb.int
Getting started

Before you run this session, you will need to:

- read through the ‘key ideas’ section above, and make sure you understand and can explain the distinctions between terms like ‘hazard,’ ‘vulnerability’, ‘risk’, ‘disaster’, and the relationship between disaster risk and development
- make sure you know what the session objectives are (from the summary) and work through the facilitation section to prepare yourself
- read through the two activity guides and the related case study material, and review the livelihoods framework
- view the film ‘Floods’ on the videocassette.

Materials required

Flipcharts, photocopies (specified below), pens for writing on flipcharts, prepared labels and flipcharts (specified below) and material to attach flipcharts to the wall. To show the filmed case study, you will also need a working video machine and television set.

Preparing the materials

1. Write the learning objectives (from the summary) and the session outline on a flipchart.
2. Make enough copies of the ‘key ideas’ section to hand out to every participant at the end of the session.
3. Make enough copies of the two activity guides for every participant. (Activity Guide 1 includes André and Ilde’s story.)
4. Prepare flipcharts to introduce key concepts on disaster risk, as shown below.
5. Ensure you know and can explain the following terms in your own words (disaster risk, disaster, hazard, vulnerability, elements-at-risk, resilience).

6. Prepare the elements of the livelihoods framework below on separate flipcharts so that you can first talk about the external environment, put the household circle in the middle, and then add the arrows representing enabling influences and shocks and stresses. If you prefer, you can photocopy the elements in Session 3.
7. Make enough copies of the following labels to give each small group a set. Do them like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Houses built on unstable soils</th>
<th>Cyclone-prone area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate storm-water drainage</td>
<td>Trees cut down to build houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care centre not ‘erosion’ or ‘cyclone-proofed’</td>
<td>Few employment opportunities for unskilled workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overstretched and inadequate municipal services</td>
<td>Heavy volume of rain over several days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessible schools/clinics</td>
<td>No cyclone warning/ preparedness system in place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong community spirit in bairro</td>
<td>Ilde’s employment as a general worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>André’s trade as a shop owner</td>
<td>Taking children to health centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilde’s relationship with her colleagues</td>
<td>Ilde and André’s value placed on educating their children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilde and André’s feelings towards their neighbourhood</td>
<td>André’s shop saved, but Langa home destroyed in flood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilde and André’s large household</td>
<td>Household contents rescued from the flood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Set up and test your video equipment in advance, and cue the tape to the beginning of the ‘Floods’ film.
Step 1. Session introduction

Introduce the session learning objectives and activities, using the flipcharts you have prepared. For example, this session aims at:

- introducing the concept of disaster risk
- showing the relationship between disaster risk and livelihoods
- identifying strategies that reduce disaster risk and benefit livelihood security.

Explain that there are five parts to the session:

- An input on important concepts, referring to the film.
- A group activity, working with text to identify key terms.
- An input on the links between disaster risk and the livelihoods framework.
- Two group activities, which apply disaster risk and livelihoods concepts to the Mozambican case study, and identify possible strategies to reduce vulnerability.
- Plenary discussion of key issues around disaster risk reduction.

Step 2. Introduction to key concepts

Purpose: To introduce key concepts and terms used in describing and understanding disaster risk.

1. Introduce the film ‘Floods’ (see the storyline and film support materials in Chapter 4). Explain that the purpose of the film is to show how people with different livelihood options and strategies respond to and recover after a ‘sudden onset’ threat like a cyclone. The way floods and other emergencies are reported in the media draws attention to the power of spectacular natural phenomena and heroic rescue efforts. However, the underlying conditions of disaster risk may have been quietly accumulating for many years. Ask participants to look for and note examples of resilience in the Singh and Langa households, as well as strengths/limitations in the protective capacities of their external environment.

2. Show the film.

3. Facilitate a 20-minute session to respond to and discuss the film. Take one response from each participant, and answer questions of clarification.
4. Introduce key disaster risk concepts by displaying the three flipcharts you have prepared – one containing key terms, one with a disaster risk definition and one with the HxV equation.

Referring to the definitions given in ‘key ideas’, write in and explain the terms contained in the first flipchart. Then, drawing on the film, give practical examples of each of the terms and concepts listed, writing notes on flipcharts, using the following guide:

**SUMMARY OF THE FILM CASE STUDY**

Ilde and André Langa live in a suburb (‘bairro’) that has poor municipal services. It is sited on unstable and sandy ground, with high levels of erosion. André owns a shop, while Ilde has a job as a general worker in a crèche. They have access to no other form of credit or financial assistance. They support a large extended family that lives with them. By contrast, Mr Singh has invested significantly in a new sugar plantation. He has extensive support from the formal banking sector. He is well-educated.

Both the Langa family and Mr Singh were exposed physically to Cyclone Eline which swept across southern Africa. However, the cyclone and its heavy rains (the hazard) did not have the same destructive impact on the two households. André and Ilde were more vulnerable because they lived in a densely-populated bairro sited on unstable ground soils, with no drainage. This made them more susceptible to the impact of the rain. They received no warning about how heavy the rains would be, and had no external assistance to help them rebuild their destroyed home.

Mr Singh sustained heavy financial losses to his investment (US$450,000). However, with support from his bank, he will recover these costs, and continue to expand his business. In addition, he has invested through a company that provides ‘limited liability’. This means that even if the company goes bankrupt, Mr Singh will not lose his personal assets (for example, his house and car).

These two households faced different levels of disaster risk, not because of differences in the intensity of Cyclone Eline, but because of underlying differences in their vulnerability.

Both households showed capacity however to recover from the cyclone’s impact. Ilde and André have forms of income that will help cushion the shock, and Mr Singh has the support of the formal banking sector. These factors contribute to the resilience of both families – the capacity to withstand and recover from losses.

This example shows us that disaster risk is never determined by a hazard alone. It is also shaped by the vulnerabilities of elements-at-risk (including the natural and built environments, agriculture and livestock, people, public services and the local economy).

Disaster risk can increase by raising hazard intensity or increasing household vulnerability.
However, the disaster risk faced by a highly vulnerable household is likely to be greater in response to even a modest threat, compared to the disaster risk presented by a high magnitude threat to a less vulnerable household.

5. On a chalk board/white board or flipchart, revisit the disaster risk equation once more, to show the differences in disaster risk faced by Ilde and André and Mr Singh.

\[
\text{Hazard (H) x vulnerability (V) of elements-at-risk = disaster risk}
\]

For Ilde and André:

\[
\text{Heavy rains (H) x siting of home on unstable ground (V)} = \text{likelihood of losing their home}
\]

For Mr Singh:

\[
\text{Heavy rains (H) x siting of his crops in low-lying areas (V)} = \text{likelihood of losing his crop}
\]

**Step 3. Activity 1: Ilde and André’s story**

1. Assign participants into groups of four or five people to do the activity and hand out Activity Guide 1. Give groups 45 minutes to do the activity and offer support as required.

2. At the end of the activity, ask all the groups to put their flipcharts up on the walls so that all the participants can read what the other groups have done. Ask them to note any similarities and differences between the group reports. Facilitate a discussion around terms used, including difficulties in translating them into other languages. Draw on the summary on page 208 if necessary. Write points down on a flipchart.

**Step 4. Linking livelihoods and disaster risk**

Purpose: To show the close relationship between the livelihoods approach and patterns of disaster risk, particularly in poor households.

1. Remind the participants of the key features of the livelihoods framework and explain that the framework can be used to ‘unbundle’ the components of disaster risk presented earlier. Remind participants that a particular household’s disaster risk reflects the interaction between a shock
or hazard (like heavy rain) and a specific household’s vulnerability to that threat \((H \times V)\). A household’s vulnerability is determined by three key aspects of the livelihoods framework:

- the **resilience of the livelihood components** themselves (the ‘robustness’ of a household’s capabilities, assets and activities and sustainability of its livelihood strategies)

- the **enabling/protective capacities** provided by the natural/built environment, social and political institutions, as well as markets

- the degree to which a household and its livelihood strategies are **exposed to possible threats, shocks and stresses**, due largely to where it is located (for instance, exposure to natural forces like extreme weather events, or social, economic or demographic factors, like overcrowding and unemployment).

Explain that these components which shape household vulnerability and resilience can be seen in the livelihoods framework.

2. Stick up the prepared ‘external environment’ flipchart.
3. Describe how the upper half of the ‘external environment’ circle represents the **enabling/protective** factors that positively affect the household. These forces, that ‘buffer’ or protect at-risk families, include progressive and supportive social policies for poor households. Accessible and functioning public services also play an important role in reducing the impact of shocks and stresses. As you speak, stick the arrows labelled ‘enabling factors’ onto the ‘economic’, ‘institutional/political’, ‘social’ and ‘natural/built environment’ sections of the top half of the diagram. Ask the group to offer examples as you go along (for example, child care facilities and literacy training).

4. Explain that the lower half of the ‘external environment’ represents the **shocks and stresses/disabling/unsafe/undermining** factors that negatively affect the household. This part of the framework identifies the types of shocks (including hazards) and stresses likely to affect a household. It also defines natural/other threats according to their frequency, speed of onset, magnitude/intensity, duration and the areas they affect. As you speak, stick the arrows labelled ‘shocks and stresses’ onto the ‘economic’, ‘institutional/political’, ‘social’ and ‘natural/built environment’ sections of the bottom half of the diagram. Ask the group to offer examples as you go along (for example, lack of storm water drainage creates an unsafe physical environment).

5. Put the prepared ‘household triangle’ flipchart into the centre of your ‘external environment’ flipchart so that your flipchart looks something like the figure on page 212.

6. Point out the broken line shaping the household triangle and say this illustrates a household’s specific **exposure** to shocks and stresses (as well as positive opportunities). **Write the word ‘exposure’ along one side of the triangle.** Point out that household vulnerability is also influenced by its exposure to shocks and stresses, reflecting the interplay between threats arising from the external environment and a household’s capacity to resist and recover from these.

7. Ask for examples (for example, Ilde and André’s house is located on unstable soils in a cyclone-prone area... thus **exposing** it to a higher risk of damage/destruction if a cyclone occurs).

8. Explain this is how the livelihoods framework provides a useful insight into disaster risk, as it highlights different types of factors that can increase and decrease household vulnerability. It is also multi-sectoral, and allows greater understanding of the interplay between households and the broader context, across physical, social, political and economic dimensions.
Step 5. Activity 2: The vulnerability context for André and Ilde

Purpose: To recreate the livelihoods framework from a disaster risk perspective, to identify factors that increase vulnerability, and to suggest measures to reduce household vulnerability in the medium-term.

1. Explain this activity has four parts. It begins with a rescreening of Floods, after which participants will work in small groups to recreate a livelihoods framework for André and Ilde. The groups will conclude by identifying factors that increase vulnerability, as well as measures that reduce household vulnerability.

2. Show the film Floods again, reminding participants to note specific issues related to household vulnerability.

3. Assign participants into groups of five to do the activity and hand out Activity Guide 2, the prepared labels, as well as flipchart paper and pens. Give the groups 90 minutes to do the activity and offer support as required.
4. Encourage groups to identify other factors that shape disaster risk, and to add these or substitute them for the prepared labels.

5. Record difficult, interesting or controversial issues to raise in plenary.

6. Reconvene the plenary and facilitate a gallery walk. Participants should have grouped the labels as follows:

### Household resilience

**Activities**
- Ilde’s employment as a general worker
- Andre’s trade as a shop owner
- Taking the children to health centre

**Capabilities**
- Ilde’s relationship with her colleagues
- The value Ilde and Andre place on educating their children
- Ilde and Andre’s feelings towards their neighbourhood

**Assets**
- Andre’s shop was saved, but the Langa home was destroyed in the flood
- Ilde and Andre’s large household
- Household contents rescued from the flood

**Exposure**
- Houses built on unstable soils
- The area is cyclone-prone

### External environment: enabling/protective influences

**Social**
- Strong community spirit in *bairro*

**Political/institutional**
- Accessible schools and clinics

### External environment: negative influences

**Physical (natural environment)**
- Trees cut down

**Physical (built environment)**
- No storm-water drainage
- The health centre was not erosion- or cyclone-proofed

**Political/institutional**
- Overstretched/inadequate municipal services
- No cyclone warning system or preparedness plans in place
**Economic**
Few employment opportunities for unskilled workers

**Shocks and stresses**
Heavy volume of rain over several days

**HINT**
Depending on the perspectives of your participants, the vulnerability reduction measures the groups suggest may be biased in favour of one sector or one type of response.

Development practitioners may not consider the importance of community cyclone preparedness or warning systems. These will not stop the heavy rains, but they can prevent deaths and property or livestock losses. If the Langa family didn’t even have a radio to warn them to evacuate, then it should be a public authority’s responsibility to alert them.

By contrast, participants working in disaster management may not immediately consider the role that paid employment plays in protecting a household against shocks like cyclones and drought or the role that colleagues, friends and family play in protecting household security.

**Step 6. Wrap up discussion**

1. Ask participants to identify issues from the activities they found difficult and try to clear up any confusion.

2. Raise one or more of the following issues for discussion:

   - The film mentions the possibility of relocating people to a less flood-exposed area. On one hand, this may reduce the likelihood of flood-related losses once a year or every five years. On the other, how does that affect their day-to-day livelihood security? Which do you think is more important? What are the implications for development planning? For disaster reduction planning in flood-exposed communities?

   - What does the costly impact of a flood like this tell us about ‘sustainable livelihoods’ for economically vulnerable people? Does ‘sustainability’ mean managing with diverse but fragile forms of livelihood, with the reality that every five years or so, most of their assets could be wiped out in a disaster?

   - ‘Disasters’ may be small, medium or large. Why is it that priority is given to large-scale (usually sudden onset) threats like floods or earthquakes, when poor households deal with repeated ‘small’ disasters regularly without formal assistance?
• How effective is community flood or cyclone preparedness training when these events happen erratically perhaps only once in ten years or longer?

3. Summarise the session by highlighting the following points:

• Disaster risk is the result of the interplay between hazard and vulnerability factors, it does not come from natural forces alone.

• Developmental efforts to protect and strengthen livelihood resilience are important cornerstones for reducing disaster risk. However, the ability to withstand and recover from repeated hazards and other threats without major loss also protects and strengthens livelihood security.

• Most disasters are triggered by climate processes. With growing numbers of people living in at-risk areas and expectations of increasing weather extremes, it is important that development efforts factor-in climate and other hazard processes.

• While disasters may be ‘triggered’ by natural processes, household disaster risk can be lowered by:
  • reducing, where possible, exposure to known shocks and stresses
  • building robustness of a household’s livelihood components and strategies, so these are more sustainable and resilient to known shocks and stresses
  • strengthening and/or not undermining the enabling/protective capacities of the external environment.
  • better understanding of natural/other shocks, and factoring this information into development plans, as well as actions.

4. Hand out the copies of the ‘key ideas’ section for participants to keep as a reference.
Learning objective

By the end of this activity, you will be able to understand and apply some of the key terms used in disaster risk reduction. This activity provides you with a short case study about ‘André and Ilde’. Their story illustrates the interplay between hazards, vulnerabilities and sources of household resilience that minimise the impact of natural and other threats. Your task is to identify examples of these terms from the text, and discuss your choices in the group.

What to do

1. The facilitator will assign you to a group. Choose someone to record the group’s input on a flipchart.
2. Working on your own, read the case study ‘André and Ilde’s story’ and circle examples of the concepts that were presented by the facilitator. Refer to the flipcharts if you are unclear.
3. Discuss your choices with the other members of your group.
4. In your group, prepare flipcharts that have the headings ‘hazard’, ‘vulnerability’, ‘risk’ and ‘resilience’ written on them.
5. Go through your case study and write appropriate examples from the case study under each of these headings.
6. Finalise your flipcharts and display them on the wall.
7. Read the flipcharts displayed by the other groups.
8. Prepare to report back on your discussion to the plenary group.

CASE STUDY: ANDRÉ AND ILDE’S STORY

Mozambique emerged from 30 years of civil war in the early 1990s. Many people moved into towns and cities in the 1970s and 1980s because of the war, especially to Maputo, the capital. The result was large sprawling informal settlements with poor municipal services, drainage and water supplies. These are often located on sandy and unstable ground. As people arrived from outlying areas, they chopped down trees to build houses. This further destabilised the soil.
After the war ended in 1992, Mozambique’s economy started to flourish, with large amounts of foreign investment and international support coming in. Even in the under-served suburbs (known here as bairros), the process of providing basic services like the modern health centre and schools in André and Ilde Langa’s bairro started. In a country where access to affordable health care and primary education had been denied for so long, these services are highly valued.

Like much of southern Africa, Mozambique experienced harsh and repeated droughts in the 1990s. In 2000, a powerful La Niña event brought cyclones and torrential rain to Maputo and southern Mozambique. People were not prepared for the floods that followed.

Ilde and André were woken by the rain during the night. The first sign they had that the situation was serious was the following morning when they saw the road outside had been washed away. Later, when they realised that their house would also be washed away, they rushed to move their belongings to safety. Like so many other households in their bairro, their home fell into the massive ravine that was created by the flood.

Despite the physical precariousness of their bairro, Ilde and André are happy there, and have found ways to make a living. André owns a shop that sells soft-drinks and simple household goods. Ilde is a general worker at a nearby child day care centre. Her income pays the children’s school fees and helps support the other members of their extended family, who also live with them. The risk of losing their home every few years to a flood is a real possibility, but Ilde and André choose to stay here. If they moved away from their sources of livelihood, they would run the risk of hunger and greater poverty and they would lose access to the community and services they value so much.
Learning objective

By the end of this activity you will be able to:

- link and apply disaster risk concepts to the livelihoods framework
- identify factors that increase household vulnerability
- identify measures that could help to reduce disaster risk.

This activity builds on the ‘André and Ilde Story’. It first requires you to recreate a livelihoods framework from a disaster risk perspective. It then asks you to list the factors that increase the family’s vulnerability, as well as short- and medium-term measures that reduce risk.

What to do

1. Watch the film ‘Floods’ again, paying special attention to Ilde and André’s flood experience. The facilitator will assign you to a small group and give you 20 prepared labels, flipcharts and pens.

2. In your group, draw a simple diagram representing the livelihoods framework on a flipchart. Use two joined flipcharts – make your diagram large. It should look like this:
3. Then, look through the labels and do the following:

- Take the labels that relate to exposure and put them next to the household triangle on the prepared flipchart (2 labels).
- Take the labels that relate to household capabilities, assets and activities that increase/reduce their household’s resilience (11 labels) and place them inside the household triangle on the flipchart.
- Take the labels that relate to the external environment/ shocks and stresses and place these on the part of the flipchart that relates to the external environment (7 labels).

If you can identify other factors that shape disaster risk, add these to the flipchart as well.

4. In your group, reflect on the film and on your livelihoods framework. Then list factors that increase household vulnerability according to the headings in these flipchart illustrations.

5. On new flipcharts, write down measures that could reduce Ilde and André’s vulnerability. Draw on information from the film, as well as your own experience. Use the following headings:

- measures that increase household resilience
- measures that decrease household vulnerability by:
  - decreasing physical exposure
  - increasing protective capacities of the external environment.

6. Place your flipcharts on the wall, and read those displayed by other groups.

7. Discuss and debate your choices with other participants
Chapter 3: Practical livelihoods analysis and planning

This chapter deals with the livelihoods planning cycle. It focuses on the process of planning and the methods used in carrying out a livelihoods enquiry and summarises the steps in preparing proposals for key interventions. The chapter briefly touches on implementation, monitoring and evaluation, topics which are beyond the scope of this book. Although the project cycle presented here has been drawn from experience, it is not a blueprint. Like any model, it generalises the broad steps in the project planning cycle and is therefore just a guide to action. Every real-life situation is unique and the project planning cycle will therefore have to be different in every case.

Note also that different practitioners go about doing livelihoods analysis and planning in different ways. They may use different terms to describe similar processes. They may prefer using certain methods and the order in which they do things may be different to the way it is presented in the planning cycle. The important thing is that we ‘experiment, learn and share’.

You will find practical suggestions, tips on methods and reflections on fieldwork practice for every step of the livelihoods planning cycle. Parts 1–6 include some learning session ideas that you can use with your field team.
Part 1: From the conceptual framework to fieldwork methodology

Summary

1. Recapping the livelihoods framework.
2. Introducing the livelihoods planning cycle.
3. Learning session ideas.

Going to ground

So far this package has explored different aspects of the livelihoods framework. It has examined the concept of the household, gender, power and stratification. It has examined how household members build on their assets and capabilities to develop livelihood strategies. It has examined how structures and processes in the local and broader environment strengthen or undermine these strategies. It has also introduced the concept of vulnerability and explored what it means for a livelihood to be sustainable. These concepts have been introduced into the controlled environment of a training workshop. The task is now to apply these concepts on the ground and show how livelihoods analysis can be integrated into different types of planning from micro projects through to district and programme planning.

The livelihoods planning cycle

The basic livelihoods planning cycle should be seen as a guide to the planning process, not a rigid map that tells you what each step should be and the order of all the steps. As you get more experienced in applying livelihoods planning methods, you will discover what works best for you. You may be:

- using livelihoods analysis as your primary planning tool for targeted local area planning
- adapting an existing holistic planning methodology such as integrated development planning at district level to highlight livelihoods and vulnerability dimensions
- planning with a sectoral focus like health where the plan can benefit from an understanding of livelihoods and vulnerability.
Learning about livelihoods

Elements of the cycle

The first part of the planning cycle involves selecting the sites where you will carry out livelihoods assessments. This will not be difficult if you are planning at local level with a specific group of households. However, if you are working at district level, or with a particular sectoral focus, you will not be able to carry out an in-depth livelihoods assessment for every area. You will need to develop criteria to help you choose the most appropriate areas in which to carry out your assessment.

Once you have selected your areas you will need to put together the team who will carry out the analysis. You will need to select team members who can best meet the demands of the particular situation. This may involve selecting people with particular PRA or gender skills. It may involve identifying people with specific local, content or policy knowledge.

Once you have selected your sites you need to start building up what you know about the areas in which you will be doing planning. This involves collecting secondary data – information from reports, development plans and census statistics, and summarising key elements will help your initial assessment in the field.
Before you can get started with your fieldwork in selected sites you will need to develop an entry strategy. This involves identifying who the key stakeholders are, deciding whom you will speak to, and deciding how you will negotiate the planning process with local people. When you develop your entry strategy, you may find that an area you have selected is not suitable after all and you will then have to go back a step to reassess your site selection.

Your initial assessment is likely to involve a combination of different PRA activities. These help you:

- develop a historical understanding of the area and the different forces that have shaped it
- identify issues of gender, age and power and how these are reflected in local institutional arrangements
- discover how local people define well-being
- understand the range of assets, activities and capabilities that create different livelihood strategies
- develop categories of well-being and rank sample households
- assess the key aspects of the vulnerability context – risks, hazards and trends
- identify connections between local level issues and factors which affect them that originate from the broader environment.

Once you have done the fieldwork you will need to further analyse the results. This will involve identifying the key trends from your secondary data, linking it with the findings from different fieldwork activities and making the micro-macro linkages.

All the information needs to be summarised in an accessible way and a methodology developed for co-analysis and reflecting back the findings to the people you are working with. The purpose of this reflection is to enable joint analysis of the findings and to create the space to make changes and adjustments. Once there is agreement on the findings from the initial assessment, you can begin activities that enable people to prioritise the issues and develop a vision for the future.

The vision and priorities provide the framework for more detailed strategic planning and proposal development. Once this has been completed and approved you reach the start-up phase, where strategies to address livelihood and vulnerability priorities are put into practice.

At this stage you will need to carry out a baseline study that involves in-depth targeted research with specific households. The baseline deepens knowledge in priority areas and helps to define, specify and target
implementation strategies for maximum impact. It can also provide data for future monitoring and evaluation activities.

Your research findings may need to be supplemented by further micro-macro analysis that targets particular policies and institutional arrangements. The findings of this analysis may suggest areas for policy reform and advocacy that can form a separate (but parallel) stream to local-level livelihood initiatives.

While you implement programmes and strategies, you apply participatory monitoring methods that will enable projects to be improved and redirected if necessary. Once they are complete, you evaluate their impact on local well-being and how well they have reduced vulnerability.

Learning session ideas

You may want to run a learning session with your team or in your organisation that introduces the livelihoods planning cycle. Here are some ideas on how to design and run the session.

1. Introduce your objectives and key learning outcomes.

2. Break participants into groups if you are working with more than eight people. Give each group a set of different coloured cards and ask them to design a livelihoods planning cycle and express it as a flow chart. Challenge them to go beyond showing the cycle as a linear sequence of steps. Ask participants to show backwards and forwards linkages and parallel processes within the cycle.

3. Ask the groups to report on and compare their flow charts. This exercise gets people fully engaged with how best to put livelihoods planning into practice.

4. Discuss the differences in approach to livelihoods analysis when it is done by an organisation that has a sectoral approach (for example, health or water), and when it is done by an organisation that does not.

5. Introduce the livelihoods planning cycle from this session. You can put the different steps on cards, present it using an overhead projector, or animate it using a computer and a digital projector. Highlight and discuss any major differences between this planning cycles and the ones that the groups have developed. Adapt the cycle to meet the needs of your organisation or team.

6. Conclude the session by highlighting the importance of conducting holistic analysis before planning targeted interventions. Note that the best interventions are those that will have the greatest impact with relatively little input.
Conclusion

Remember that a phase-by-phase description of the cycle can create the impression that planning is a linear process. It is not. There are points in the cycle where there are important backwards and forwards linkages between different steps. Sometimes you may need to go backwards before you can go forwards.

Part 2: Site selection

Summary

1. Orientation.
2. Site selection criteria.
3. Recognising your biases.
4. Learning session ideas.

Orientation

You have decided to conduct a livelihoods and vulnerability assessment to identify the most appropriate development interventions. Now you must decide where to undertake the analysis and with whom to do it.

This may be easy if you are already working in specific locations and have developed relations of trust with local people. If so you can skip this section and move on. However if you are planning on a larger scale, or entering a new area, you will need to decide on the most appropriate sites to conduct the livelihoods analysis. You will also need to think about how many households you want to engage with and how you will select them.

Start by familiarising yourself with the area. Collect maps and other secondary data (see Part 3 below).

The checklist below indicates some of the issues you can think about to help you choose appropriate sites for analysis. Be selective about what you choose to investigate from the listing below. If you try to investigate everything it will be expensive and time-consuming and there is a real danger that you will collect more information than you can use.

Site selection criteria

You need to be clear about what factors will guide your selection of areas for initial assessment. Do you want to identify areas that may be ‘typical’ of
Learning about livelihoods in a place (that is, a representative sample)? Or do you want to identify areas that have unique features that you select because they combine particular assets or are particularly vulnerable or are subject to particular hazards? You will probably do a bit of both in your investigation.

The table below provides some guiding questions to help you to identify and map broad features and trends in the study area. The area may be small

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social, political, institutional</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Biophysical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Civil society, institutional development</strong></td>
<td><strong>Economic activities and trends</strong></td>
<td><strong>Biomes/ecology</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What institutions are there?</td>
<td>• What are the main economic activities? Formal, informal and ‘grey’ (illegal)?</td>
<td>• What are main vegetation types – forest, grasslands, woodland, coastal, semi-desert, etc?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local, formal, informal, NGOs?</td>
<td>• What are the key trends?</td>
<td>• Are there particular ecosystems that are sensitive? River systems, wetlands, estuaries?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Which are working well?</td>
<td>• Are there particular areas or sectors noted for economic growth or decline?</td>
<td>• Are there areas of particular biodiversity? Natural forest, fynbos, montane ecosystems?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Are there particular areas with strong institutions?</td>
<td>• What is driving the growth or decline?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Are there particular areas that seem to be institutionally weak?</td>
<td>• How sustainable is the economic growth path?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conflict</strong></td>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td><strong>Catchments</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Are there particular areas associated with political or social conflict and instability?</td>
<td>• What are the formal employment/unemployment figures?</td>
<td>• Where are the main catchment areas?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What are the pressures contributing to the instability or conflict?</td>
<td>• What definitions of these terms are being used?</td>
<td>• Are there particular downstream impacts resulting from developments higher in the catchment that affect stream flow or water quality?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Who are the actors?</td>
<td>• What are the main livelihood strategies of those without formal jobs?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td><strong>High potential land</strong></td>
<td><strong>Climate</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Which areas are well-served by schools and other educational institutions?</td>
<td>• Where is the high potential land?</td>
<td>• What are the main climatic zones?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Which areas are poorly serviced?</td>
<td>• How is it being used?</td>
<td>• What are the key features of each? Rainfall? Temperature? Frost? Snow?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Who has access to it?</td>
<td>• Who has access to it?</td>
<td>• What data is there on climate change? What are its impacts?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Governance</strong></td>
<td><strong>Land uses</strong></td>
<td><strong>Degraded land</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Which areas have strong and accountable governance?</td>
<td>• What are the main land uses in the area? Settlement, arable, grazing, forest, woodland, mining, parks or others?</td>
<td>• Are there particular areas of land that are degraded?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Which areas are characterised by co-operative relations between different arms of government?</td>
<td>• Which areas have dual governance systems (traditional authorities and local councils)?</td>
<td>• What are the key features of degradation? Erosion? Invader species? Loss of palatable grazing? Loss of biodiversity? Deforestation?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Health and health services</strong></td>
<td><strong>Migration patterns</strong></td>
<td><strong>Energy sources</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What are the key health trends? Infant mortality, immunisation, malnutrition, HIV/AIDS, malaria, bilharzia, occupational health, life expectancy?</td>
<td>• Are there clear patterns of migration?</td>
<td>• What are the main sources of energy in different areas with and without electricity? Which areas have electricity?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Catchments</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Where are the main catchment areas?</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Are there particular downstream impacts resulting from developments higher in the catchment that affect stream flow or water quality?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
and the issues clearly focused. Or you may be dealing with a large district that has many different sets of circumstances in it. If you are working at district level, it can help to have an initial workshop to map material assets, identify key trends and select areas for livelihoods assessment. You can invite people from different disciplines and sectors to the workshop and encourage them to collaborate in the analysis of the area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social, political, institutional</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Biophysical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land tenure and land rights management</strong>&lt;br&gt;• What are the different land tenure systems?&lt;br&gt;• How do people get access to land for settlement and production?&lt;br&gt;• How are land rights transferred and inherited?</td>
<td><strong>Minerals and mining</strong>&lt;br&gt;• Where are the mineral deposits?&lt;br&gt;• Where are active mines?&lt;br&gt;• What is their estimated productive life?</td>
<td><strong>Forest resources</strong>&lt;br&gt;• Where are the areas of natural forest?&lt;br&gt;• Where do people benefit from access to forest resources?&lt;br&gt;• Where are forest resources being used unsustainably?&lt;br&gt;• What are the forces driving unsustainable use?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong>&lt;br&gt;• What is the overall population of the area?&lt;br&gt;• What is the age profile?</td>
<td><strong>Road and transport network</strong>&lt;br&gt;• Which areas are well-served by road and rail links?&lt;br&gt;• Which areas have poor transport infrastructure?</td>
<td><strong>Groundwater</strong>&lt;br&gt;• Which areas have good/poor groundwater sources?&lt;br&gt;• Are there areas where the quality of groundwater is at risk?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poverty</strong>&lt;br&gt;• What existing research has been done on income and expenditure patterns?&lt;br&gt;• How do these researchers define poverty?&lt;br&gt;• What poverty indicators do they use?&lt;br&gt;• Which are the areas with the highest concentrations of the chronically poor?</td>
<td><strong>Service levels</strong>&lt;br&gt;• What levels of service are provided? Water, sanitation, electricity, roads, rubbish removal?&lt;br&gt;• Are there significant variations from area to area?</td>
<td><strong>Marine resources</strong>&lt;br&gt;• What marine resources are available?&lt;br&gt;• Who has access to them?&lt;br&gt;• What contribution do they make to local livelihoods?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Settlement and housing patterns</strong>&lt;br&gt;• Where do people live?&lt;br&gt;• Do they live in planned or unplanned settlements?&lt;br&gt;• What sort of housing is in place?</td>
<td><strong>Targeted development areas</strong>&lt;br&gt;• Are there particular areas that have been targeted for development? Development corridors? Spatial development initiatives? Historically disadvantaged areas?</td>
<td><strong>Parks and protected areas</strong>&lt;br&gt;• Where are the national parks and protected areas?&lt;br&gt;• Are there areas where co-management of natural resources are taking place that provide benefits to local communities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social services</strong>&lt;br&gt;• What social services exist? Old age pension, child support, disability, veteran benefits?&lt;br&gt;• How many people qualify?&lt;br&gt;• How are pensions and benefits distributed?</td>
<td><strong>Telecommunications</strong>&lt;br&gt;• Which areas have good/poor telecommunications infrastructure?</td>
<td><strong>Hazards/state of the environment</strong>&lt;br&gt;• What are the main hazards affecting the environment?&lt;br&gt;• Which particular areas are disaster-prone? Drought, flood, storms or fire?&lt;br&gt;• What measures are in place to reduce risk and vulnerability in these areas?&lt;br&gt;• Which particular areas are experiencing pressures on natural resources?&lt;br&gt;• Where are the main pollution risks and what are the potential sources?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Recognising your biases

Throughout the site selection process do not forget that this initial analysis will most probably be dominated by the views and assumptions of outsiders — people who do not live in the communities you select and whose knowledge of them is limited. It is important to make this explicit and to be aware of the biases of the selection team before carrying out the initial assessment that will focus on listening to what local people have to say.

Learning session ideas

You may want to run learning sessions with your team or in your organisation to develop site selection criteria and do a rapid appraisal of trends. Here are some ideas on how to design and run the session.

1. Introduce your objectives and key learning outcomes.

2. Hand out copies of the checklist above to working groups. Ask the groups to prepare their own list of site selection criteria that are appropriate for the areas where your team plans to work. Encourage the groups to amend criteria, add new criteria, and leave out what is not useful. You can ask working groups to concentrate on certain groups of criteria, or ask all groups to work on the entire list.

3. Reconvene the plenary and ask the groups to report on and compare their amended checklists. Develop a consensus list.

4. Get large-scale base maps of the area in which you plan to work and acetate or tracing-paper overlays. Convene three groups to map key features and trends of the area under study on the overlays. Group 1 can map social, political and institutional aspects. Group 2 can map the local economy and Group 3 can focus on the biophysical aspects. Select particular issues from your site selection criteria that you want to map.

TIP

It helps if you prepare a clear legend for your maps and provide symbols for people to map different features. These symbols can be drawn by hand or you can prepare symbols to stick onto the maps. Make sure you concentrate only on mapping the most important things.

5. Once you have completed the mapping activities in groups, you can put the overlays onto one map and see what trends emerge. If there is too much information on the overlays, circle areas where many different issues come together. Take this information, write it onto a new overlay, and analyse the trends.
6. Once you have a better sense of the trends and clear selection criteria, you will be in a better position to select sites for the livelihoods enquiry.

7. Before closing the activity reflect on whose knowledge (outsider knowledge, ‘expert’ knowledge, local knowledge) has informed the analysis and identify any biases that may have an impact on the process at a later stage.

Conclusion

Careful site selection is essential for livelihoods analysis to contribute to development planning.

Part 3: Selecting secondary data

Summary

1. Primary and secondary data.
2. Likely sources of secondary data.
3. Targeting secondary data collection.
4. Learning session ideas.

Primary and secondary data

At this point you will have selected sites where you will conduct an initial assessment. The assessment will provide you with primary data – information that comes directly from the people you will be working with. The data will be derived through different PLA activities and semi-structured interviews with selected households.

Secondary data comes from research, reports and statistics that have already been compiled on the study area. Some of these materials will be published. However, much of the information will be unpublished – so called ‘grey literature’ – which you will probably have to get directly from government departments, academic research organisations and NGOs.

Likely sources of secondary data

What information is likely to exist about a rural area? How reliable and up to date will it be? Can it help you anticipate future trends and developments? To answer these questions, do a quick scan of who works in the area or provides services to it and identify the different types of documents they produce.
Government departments and local councils

In almost every country there will be census information on population, income levels and household size. There may be information on rainfall and weather patterns that goes back several years. There will be maps of soils, vegetation, minerals and other features.

There will be government departments responsible for land, health, agriculture, water affairs, forestry, roads and other relevant areas. These departments produce policy documents and legislation. They write reports on their activities. They also prepare plans for the future.

For example, you may be able to get information on the number of land reform projects being undertaken in a particular area. You may be able to get access to the planning documents and research that was commissioned.

The health department will conduct health surveys from time to time. Clinic records will provide important information on child health, immunisation and major health factors like HIV/AIDS. The department which deals with water affairs will have information on catchments and groundwater and current and future levels of service delivery.

Local councils may provide very valuable sources of information. More and more planning and development functions are being decentralised to district and local government in southern Africa, but this is very uneven across the region. For example, in South Africa local government authorities are responsible for preparing integrated development plans. These plans contain a long-term 20-year development vision and a detailed five-year plan that is reported on and adjusted every year. Preparation for these plans involves a fairly detailed situation assessment that brings together sources of existing information.

The problem with much of the information from government sources is that it may be difficult to isolate information on the particular area or locality where you will be working. Information may apply to a wider area than your proposed study area.

As with all sources of information, you need to be aware that information contained in reports and plans is not always accurate. Because these documents reflect government performance over time, officials may tend to overlook problematic areas or to exaggerate favourable trends.

The government gazette and government websites

These will contain relevant policy documents and legislation for key departments. You may need to commission a review of policy and legislation that impact on livelihoods. The scope of the review could expand rapidly if not
carefully managed. In rural areas, policy on land tenure and land rights management should form a key aspect for review.

Local and international NGOs

Identify local and international NGOs with current or past programmes in the area. They are likely to have collected important information that will be of use to your enquiry. On the whole, NGO reports and project evaluations are likely to contain more critical content and cover information that government reports will ignore.

Academic research

This can provide detailed and locally appropriate information that combines a survey of the literature, archival sources and survey data. Try to find out about research organisations, universities, NGOs and individuals who may have done research into the area. Library catalogues, particularly those of national libraries and tertiary education institutions, will alert you to relevant books and monographs that may have been published. Lists of theses and dissertations will alert you to formal academic research for postgraduate qualifications that may have been done. Indexes to journal articles can help you find academic articles on the subject. Because academic research is required to acknowledge its sources, bibliographies of academic studies will provide lists of sources which may be useful to you. The catalogues of many large libraries are on the Internet. The US Library of Congress and the British Library are examples of libraries which have massive collections of publications from all over the world whose catalogues can be searched online.

Newspapers and magazines

The press, magazines and other publications can also provide important sources of information. While references to academic journal articles can usually be found in subject indexes, most newspaper and magazine articles are not indexed in this way. However, publications have their own archives which they may allow you to visit. Many publication archives can be searched over the Internet. Large libraries keep collections of newspapers and magazines and article indexes for research purposes.

Historical information

Archival materials can provide fascinating insights into the history of an area. If you know that an area has been subjected to a particular upheaval like forced removals or enforced land use planning, there may be valuable archival reports that can inform your current enquiry. Be aware than archi-
val reports usually represent official views. However, commissions of enquiry or records of local disputes can record the voices of ordinary people. Oral history projects can also be an invaluable source of information.

**Interviews with key informants**

Interviews with key informants – people who have worked in the area for many years like NGO fieldworkers, researchers, extension workers and health officials – can provide valuable information and help you find published and unpublished information for your enquiry.

**Targeting secondary data collection**

There are many potential sources of secondary data. Obviously it would be very time-consuming and expensive to try and review all data sources. You need to be selective about your sources. Rather than collecting information just because it is there, first clarify what information you need and how you will use it once you have got it.

The livelihoods framework provides some signposts for secondary data collection. You will want information on:

- the local asset base – people, land, natural resources, water, climate, infrastructure and services
- institutions that govern people’s access to resources
- local economic activities
- key trends shaping the vulnerability context – seasonality, variability, shocks and stresses.

**Learning session ideas**

You may want to run a learning/planning session with your team to develop a secondary data collection strategy.

1. Introduce your objectives and key learning outcomes.
2. Start by asking team members for definitions that distinguish between primary and secondary data.
3. Briefly profile the area where you will be working. Ask team members to identify the different types of secondary data they will need and how they plan to use this data to inform different aspects of the livelihoods enquiry process.
4. Ask participants to identify possible data sources for each type of data that they will need. Team members can prepare a matrix that lists data...
types down the left and possible sources of the information running across the top.

5. Discuss team roles with respect to data collection, synthesis and analysis. Who will be responsible? How will information from the secondary data feed into the initial assessment and the analysis of micro-macro linkages?

6. Conclude by preparing terms of reference for the persons responsible for secondary data collection that specify key data categories and sources as well as a time frame and budget. Specify the outcomes of the data collection process.

Conclusion

Secondary data makes an important contribution to identifying guiding questions for the initial assessment and adds value to the analysis of issues and trends once the initial assessment has been done.

Part 4: Determining entry strategies

Summary

1. Why an entry strategy is important.
2. Who do you meet with?
3. Reflections on participation.
4. Negotiating the livelihoods enquiry process.
5. Learning session ideas.

Why an entry strategy is important

Now that you have identified sites to conduct livelihoods assessments you need to develop a clear entry strategy. An entry strategy is a plan of how you will engage with people in the area. It helps to identify whom you should meet with to explain who you are and why you are there, and, if things go well, to negotiate how the livelihoods analysis should be carried out.

It is important to clearly think through your entry strategy. Paying attention to detail, being alert to power relations and protocols at the beginning can have a big impact on how smoothly things will go later.

Your entry strategy is likely to be determined by how much contact you have had with people in the area. In most cases, the entry point will be
fairly clear. If you work for an NGO that is expanding into a new area, your entry usually comes on the basis of a request. If you are part of a local council structure, you will have a political mandate for the planning process and elected or appointed local representatives to relate to.

No matter where you start from it is good practice to critically assess your entry point and provide clear answers to the following questions:

- How do you introduce yourselves?
- Who do you meet with?
- How do you ensure that you hear all the voices – not just the loudest?
- How will you avoid raising unrealistic expectations?
- How will you respond to questions about the likely results of the process?

There are no standard answers to these questions. Your approach will be determined by the context that you are working in.

**Who do you listen to?**

You will be meeting with and listening to people who will be acting in different capacities. You will meet some people in their official or representative roles who represent an organisation or institution. You will meet others who are part of interest groups. Once you start with initial assessment, you will also meet members of households on their own and in groups.

Working out who to meet with can be made easier by asking people to identify formal and informal organisations and institutions that operate in the research area and using a Venn or institutional diagram to capture their relative importance and relationships to one another. By varying the composition of the group, different organisations may be identified and their interrelationships and relative importance will be interpreted differently.
Reflections on participation

Participation is a very common term in development and planning literature that has become quite loosely used.

During the 1970s the many failures of top-down, expert-designed development projects programmes made people realise that effective participation is a critical success factor in development planning and implementation. Participatory approaches aim to ensure that the priorities and knowledge of local people inform and direct local development initiatives. At the same time they recognise that local people are the ‘critical participants and central actors’ who should be at the centre of the development process.

Despite what some people have called ‘a paradigm shift’, many different types of ‘participation’ are practised. At one end of the scale are processes of ‘managed consultation’. These are designed to ensure that local people express ‘support’ for what the outsiders wanted to do in the first place.

Historically, academic and development research has involved outsiders first defining the research questions and then investigating these with local people. Once the investigation is complete, the researchers usually withdraw to analyse their findings and write up the data. Many researchers, particularly those using participatory action research methods, are critically assessing this type of process, describing it as ‘extractive’. They are trying to develop processes which empower and promote self-mobilisation, and which are genuinely flexible and adaptive. Participatory action research methods are not just being used so that local people can better inform outsiders. They are also being used by people to independently analyse their own situation.

In preparing to carry out livelihoods analysis, you need to think carefully about the role and function of participation. Given that you have a ready-made conceptual framework and an enquiry methodology that you want to apply, you could be quite far down the road of the traditional extractive research paradigm.

Your challenge is to use the framework in an adaptive and flexible way as a means to enable local people to frame the guiding questions and evoke structured and systematic listening by outsiders. Even though you have a theoretical framework, it is best to use it as a reference point rather than a game plan. As Robert Chambers has expressed it:

*The new imperatives are to sit down, listen and learn, to be patient, to respect… to learn not to interview, to know when not to speak and when not to be present, to empower local people, to enhance their confidence, to enable them to define, express and analyse their reality.*

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This may seem obvious but it is surprising how easy it is to ignore these basic precepts in our practice and retreat to the traditional divide of ‘us’ and ‘them’.

From participation to action

By itself participation is not a ‘magic bullet’, nor is it a guarantee of good results. As Jo Abbot points out:

> Participation is not a panacea for community development, nor a substitute for careful preparation, long-term planning, constructive dialogue and sustained interaction. Participatory tools and methods can only initiate what should be a long term but beneficial process of joint analysis, critical reflection and capacity strengthening for both insiders and outsiders.

Negotiating the livelihoods enquiry process

As you start to engage with people there are other general issues to be aware of:

- Do not assume that people will automatically want to participate in the process. Given that virtually every policy and project requires ‘participation’, many people have become weary of participating in processes designed by others.

- Do not assume that people will automatically trust you. Local history plays an important role in shaping the attitude of people to outsiders. It is important to gain insights into local history before making your entry. It may be that local people associate ‘planning’ with increased development control, loss of land rights or restricted access to resources.

- It may be that some of the terms you use inadvertently echo planning jargon from a previous era that evokes hostility or suspicion. For example, in South Africa the land reform programme requires people to set up legal entities to hold the land that they acquire. One of the options is to form a trust. For many older people the term ‘trust’ is associated with the South African Development Trust set up under the notorious Land Acts that resulted in land dispossession.

- It may be that there are hostile attitudes to councillors based on previous corruption or misuse of authority. You have to actively demonstrate through your attitudes and approach that you are acting in good faith.

- Do not assume that people in ‘communities’ think the same way and share common interests. Communities comprise different interests that can come into conflict. Different people have different priorities and opinions. Some are more powerful than others and are better able to control processes and capture resources. There may be substantial
differences in the development priorities and issues put forward by different gender and age groups.

Learning session ideas

You may want to run a learning/planning session with your team to develop an entry strategy prior to conducting your initial assessment. Here are some ideas on how to design and run the session.

1. Prepare a short case study that summarises what you know about the areas that you plan to work in.

2. Stick four flipchart sheets together to make a large sheet of paper so that your group can prepare a Venn institutional diagram. You will need one of these for each small group you work with.

3. Ask your team to identify the different interest groups, formal and informal organisations that they know are active in each area and locate them in relation to one another using the Venn. If you are planning an assessment in more than one area, break your team into groups (numbers permitting) or choose two areas that contrast with each other and do a comparative analysis.

4. Once the Venns have been prepared, ask the team to develop an entry strategy that specifies who you will talk to, how you will ensure gender representivity and how you will reach agreement on what will be involved in the livelihoods assessment process. The team should also explore how it will deepen its knowledge of local organisations once in the field and how households will be selected for more in-depth analysis.

5. In the discussion that follows ask people to critically reflect on the entry strategy and make recommendations for changes.

Part 5: Building the team – Fieldwork principles, behaviours and approaches

Summary

1. Who should be in the team?

2. Orientation for the members of your team.

3. Appreciative enquiry vs. problem solving.

4. Reflective practice.

5. ‘Optimal ignorance’.

6. Learning session ideas.
Who should be in the team?

The composition of your team is critically important. Ensure that at least two members of your team are from the local community and that you consciously make the space to hear and respect what they have to say throughout the livelihoods enquiry process. Make up your team to consist of equal numbers of men and women. Select people for their ability to engage with different social groupings ranging from the youth to traditional authorities. Think carefully about which team members will do what.

Once you are working in the community, be sure to ask who the local experts are and involve them as key informants from the outset.

Orientation for the members of your team

You will need to build your team and ensure that all team members have a clear understanding of the livelihoods framework. You may need to conduct a training and orientation process for the team as part of your preparation for engagement with specific communities. But by itself a shared understanding of the framework is not enough. Perhaps the most important thing that characterises the successful team is its attitudes and behaviours in the field. A team may contain people who have good technical skills, but this does not necessarily make them good fieldworkers.

Orientation involves developing the right behaviours and attitudes to carry out a livelihoods enquiry. As discussed earlier, people are at the centre of the livelihoods framework. This means that people we work with must be treated with respect. If they agree to participate in the livelihoods analysis, we must ensure that they give informed consent. We must be sure that community members know what the conditions for engagement are. They must be aware that they have the right not to participate, and the right not to answer questions.

The team must ensure that it can cross-check the information it collects to make sure it is accurate. The team must be gender-aware and understand the importance of disaggregating data to be able to recognise differentiation between households and gender and age differentiation inside households (see Session 6).

We must recognise that not everyone is literate. We must therefore make sure that the methods we use make good use of visualisation techniques.

We must be clear about who owns the information that is generated by the livelihoods enquiry. Very often outside researchers assume that they own the information. The team must be aware that it is local community members or the relevant local government structure that will own the informa-
tion that they have provided. The team should plan to formally hand over the information as part of its programme.

However professional and experienced the team may be, all its members must be committed to joint learning and analysis. This is probably one of the most difficult things to achieve. No one person knows all the answers; in fact local people may know far more than ‘expert’ outsiders do about the situation, and only they know how they see the priorities for development. When carrying out livelihoods analysis you must beware of unconsciously using the community to provide the information so that your team of outsiders can analyse it.

Make sure you take active steps to avoid doing this. People themselves should provide the data and contribute their analysis of it. Outside experts must ‘unlearn’ what they have been taught, let go of their biases and preconceptions and be open to learn from local realities each time they facilitate an assessment.

There are points in the process where outsiders may work independently. For example, analysing connections between micro and macro issues may require a specialist policy analysis which requires knowledge that local people may not have. However, at every stage what you do must be reflected back, discussed and amended by the people you are serving.

Perhaps most importantly, organisations must have a commitment to continue working in the community in which the assessment will take place. Unless this is done, livelihoods analysis will be reduced to just another kind of ‘development tourism’. It is this commitment that makes the initial selection of sites so important.

**Appreciative enquiry vs. problem solving**

The concept of appreciative enquiry was introduced in Chapter 1, as well as how it is different to problem-based analysis. The table below highlights the difference between the two approaches in more detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem solving</th>
<th>Appreciative enquiry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identification of problems and ‘felt needs’</td>
<td>Appreciating and valuing the best of what is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of causes</td>
<td>Sharing visions – imagining ‘what might be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of possible solutions</td>
<td>Determining capacities people wish to build over time – ‘what should be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action planning (treatment of the problem)</td>
<td>Formulating strategies to build people’s capacity to achieve ‘what will be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic assumption: An organisation/community is a problem to be solved. We should do less of something that we do not do well</td>
<td>Basic assumption: A community or organisation is a mystery to engage with. We should do more of what works</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By focusing on successes we are reminded of high points and achievements of the past. This creates the recognition that we are all capable of greatness and achieving something good. We all have concrete examples to draw on. It also shapes our perceptions about what is good and grounds them in our own realities. This is the opposite of continually relying on imported models and values. Appreciative enquiry enables us to move away from simply listing what we ‘lack’ so that we avoid becoming overwhelmed by problems. It enables us to imagine more clearly what it is we want to do and how we can make it happen.

The key assumptions of appreciative enquiry are:

1. In every community, organisation or group something works.
2. What we focus becomes our reality. If we focus exclusively on problems they can ensnare us. If we focus on strengths and things that we take pride in this becomes a foundation to build from.
3. Reality is created in the moment and there are multiple realities. Our past does not automatically dictate our future. Not everyone understands and experiences things the same way.
4. The act of asking questions of an organisation or group influences it in some way. If we focus on problems and things that don’t work people are influenced to cast themselves as victims.
5. People have more confidence to plan for the future (the unknown) when they carry forward the best parts of the past (the known).
6. It is important to value differences. Diversity can create strength rather than division.
7. The language we use creates our reality. Terms and concepts must be able to be communicated across language barriers. This requires that they be adapted and that meanings are localised.

The results of conducting an analysis using a problem-based approach and one using appreciative inquiry are often very similar. However, the major difference is that the appreciative approach increases group confidence. People are often more inspired by looking at their past successes than by an analysis of what is wrong.

**Reflective practice**

Irrespective of which planning approach you use, your team must plan to spend time to reflect on what they are doing. Reflection is not just to criticise and identify problems. It is to affirm and highlight where things have gone well. For example, the team may successfully adapt existing methods or develop an innovation. Reflection allows us to record this learning and embed it in future processes.
We are aware that things can go wrong and that mistakes will be made. Mistakes in themselves are not a problem. What is more important is that we ‘embrace error’ and that it allows us to learn from our practice, or as Chambers expresses it, to ‘fail forwards’.

Reflection enables us to be self-conscious of our roles, attitudes and behaviours. It enables the team to work better together and interact more effectively with local people. The team facilitator needs to build in time and tools for structured reflection.

‘Optimal ignorance’

Every team member brings with himself or herself a certain amount of ‘baggage’ (ideas, beliefs from before that get in the way of being able to see things as they are). Sometimes this is the baggage of professionalism or experience that comes with embedded assumptions about what is ‘really going on’ or what the best interventions are. A good team has to find ways to ‘unpack’ its own baggage and leave it behind before engaging with local people. The livelihoods team also has to be particularly aware of how it interprets the information that it obtains. Researchers and social scientists often make the worst mistakes when they try to interpret the meaning of what they observe. Team members need to accept the fact that all explanations are likely to be incomplete, approximate and open to being contested.

Rather than being inhibited about being an outsider it is better to seize the opportunities that it offers. As an outsider there is nothing wrong with asking ‘stupid’ questions. Very often the ‘obvious’ is not as obvious as it might seem. Open questions rather than directed enquiry, optimal ignorance rather than statements of expertise open the door for local people to actively take control and provide the analysis.

At another level, optimal ignorance means that you don’t need to find out every little thing in order to have enough information for people to be able to make a good decision. In fact you will probably get what you need from just 20% of all the available information. This is sometimes expressed as the ‘80:20 principle’ which says most of the results come from the first 20% of input.

Learning session ideas

You may want to run a learning session with your team to highlight key behaviours and attitudes needed for fieldwork. Here are some ideas on how to design and run the session.

1. Obtain copies of the IDS films *Coping with change: PRA in Nowherestan* and *Who holds the stick: PRA attitudes and behaviour*. Select one or two 20-minute film clips then hold a group discussion around three core questions:
• What did the film confirm for you about appropriate attitudes and behaviours for fieldwork?
• What did the film highlight that was new?
• What are the three most important behaviours you will practice during your next fieldwork exercise? Why do you think they will be helpful?

2. Introduce the main ideas informing appreciative approaches.

3. Pair up members of the team. Ask each pair to describe a fieldwork exercise that went particularly well. Pairs should explain:
   • Why fieldwork went well.
   • What made it successful.
   • How they felt about the process.

4. In the plenary share some examples and then identify common themes. Ask people to identify similarities and differences between each examples and to highlight any particular differences that are interesting or significant.

5. In the discussion that follows, explore how you could replicate these experiences in future. Use a flipchart or cards to start sentences ‘We will...’ and ask each person to complete two recommendations.

6. Prepare a short input on the key differences between appreciative enquiry and problem-based approaches to planning. Once you have introduced the two approaches, facilitate a short discussion around three questions:
   • Which of the two approaches best describes our current fieldwork and organisational practice?
   • How will the results of appreciative inquiry differ from those of problem-based approaches?
   • How can we apply appreciative enquiry methods in our fieldwork?

Conclusion

The team’s approach and behaviour when working with people on the ground goes a long way to determining the depth of information gathered during the initial assessment. A team that combines flexibility and methods that enable them to listen actively is most likely to be effective in the field.
Part 6: Initial assessment

Summary

1. Identifying guiding questions.
2. Visualising the enquiry approach.
3. The starting point.
4. Ensuring reliability of qualitative data.
5. Matching methods with purpose and context.
6. Community maps and models.
7. Social maps.
8. Asset mapping.
10. Institutional mapping.
11. Timelines.
12. Seasonal calendars.
14. Selecting households for semi-structured interviews.
15. Semi-structured interviewing.
17. Examples of case study interviews.
18. Resource flows and flow analysis.
19. Gender analysis.
21. Learning session ideas.

Identifying guiding questions

Now after a great deal of preparation, you are in a position to plan and conduct the initial assessment. How do you identify guiding questions and combine different participatory methods into an approach that will provide an assessment of livelihoods and vulnerability and create a foundation for planning?

The livelihoods framework helps us to know what sorts of information we will need but we need to agree on what questions to ask and which will be the most appropriate ways of discovering and analysing information.
We need to identify broad questions that will help us understand the different components of the livelihoods framework and the relationships between them.

Questions might include:

- What are the main activities that people rely on to make a living, and how are these changing over time?
- What are the most important assets and resources used to make a living?
- Which human capabilities enable people to turn their assets into livelihood strategies or benefit from other sources? Who has these capabilities and who does not?
- How do local people define relative well-being? What are the characteristics of a good life? Do men and women define these characteristics differently?
- What formal and informal systems enable people to get access to assets and control how they are used?
- How does the external environment influence livelihoods in positive or negative ways.
- What are the most likely shocks and stresses to the main sources of livelihood?
- What are the main hazards and risks to which people are exposed and how are these changing over time?
- How does vulnerability vary for people in different well-being categories and how does their vulnerability change over time?
- What are the best opportunities for poor people to have more secure and sustainable livelihoods?

**Visualising the enquiry approach**

The enquiry approach can be visualised as a filtering process. Different kinds of qualitative data are put through a funnel to obtain a distilled cupful of useful information that contains the answers to the questions above.

The shape of the funnel also reflects the broad sequence of methods used as the livelihoods enquiry proceeds. We start at the mouth of the funnel to gain a broad understanding of current social, economic and institutional realities.
The starting point

Participatory mapping and modelling of the area is a good way to develop an initial understanding of ‘the big picture’. This process will highlight other guiding questions and lines of enquiry that can be explored in more depth in later activities.

Broadly speaking, the initial assessment starts with open-ended, non-threatening activities that involve groups of local people. As things progress and as trust is developed, the team can engage with more sensitive issues like defining well-being and ranking households according to local definitions.

Once people have clustered households into different categories of well-being, the methodology shifts to enable more in-depth livelihoods analysis with households selected from the different categories. This element of the initial assessment draws on semi-structured interview techniques to develop more detailed and gender-disaggregated profiles. The interview process may also highlight broader questions that require further investigation.

Towards the end of the initial assessment process, households can be reclastered to identify shared priorities and rank different options.
Ensuring reliability of qualitative data

The methodology used for the initial assessment must consciously ensure that the data it obtains will be as reliable as possible. This means that at least three different techniques must be used to investigate each guiding question and findings must be cross-checked by consulting different sources. This cross-checking technique is known as triangulation.

Matching methods with purpose and context

Select your investigative tools and methods carefully to avoid the livelihoods enquiry process from degenerating into a mechanical rollout of participatory tools and methods. Every tool you use must be used for a good reason and it must be appropriate to the context you are working in. Remember that the results of the various activities will reflect who participated in them. You need to have a conscious participation strategy for each method that you use. Depending on what you are trying to achieve with each activity, you will choose a suitable group of people to take part. If you want a result that reflects the community as a whole, you will choose a group that is as diverse as possible. If you are trying to find out more about the perspectives and needs of particular groups within the community, for example, women or youth, you will choose suitable focus groups.

Community maps and models

You have a choice of methods for the different kinds of mapping activities. These start with simple participant-controlled mapping and modelling using local materials. Maps may be drawn on the ground. These maps have the advantage that they can include key features in three dimensions. Valleys and catchments can be dug into the earth and hills and mountains modelled from clay or stones. However, such maps can easily be damaged by wind and rain or trampled by livestock in between sessions.

Maps may be drawn on paper. They can also be painted with fabric paint onto calico. These maps have the advantage that they can be rolled up and used again or be hung on a wall. Maps can also be prepared using a ‘flexiflan’ – a felt board which is used with prepared symbols of different types of household structure, crops and livestock. The back of the symbols is made of material which sticks to the board. Coloured wool of different thicknesses and colours can be used to mark boundaries and roads.

Base maps for sketching and enquiry purposes can also be developed from large-scale aerial photographs or orthophoto maps. This has the advantage of incorporating scale – something that can be difficult to interpret from sketch maps and models. The place on the earth’s surface which is shown
in a map can be pinpointed using a handheld global positioning system (GPS) unit. Sophisticated Participatory 3-Dimensional Modelling (P3-DM) techniques have been developed which transfer local knowledge from sketch maps into three-dimensional models and maps which are referenced to satellites.

While P3-DM has many potential applications, there are important constraints and ethical considerations to be aware of. These also apply to mapping tools in general. As Jo Abbott and others have observed ‘they turn local knowledge into public knowledge’ and in the process local people can transfer the power that their knowledge of the local environment gives them. The knowledge that they transfer can be misused to enable outsiders to extract resources or increase control.

Social maps

At this point you have agreed with local people what the boundaries for the livelihoods enquiry are. These boundaries will have both spatial and social dimensions. They may be defined as a village, an informal settlement, a ward or a district. They may be defined by particular people participating in a project within an area, or specific resource users.

You will need to adjust the scale of the mapping activities that you do according to the social scale and focus of the livelihoods enquiry. The bigger the area you have to cover, the less accurate and relevant you will find the information you have gathered.

Social maps provide a social geography of the area. They provide a base map that plots households and key infrastructure such as roads, bus and taxi ranks, schools, clinics, shops, churches, burial sites, sites of cultural importance and administrative areas. Depending on the size of the area they cover, social maps may include individual households as well.

Once the base map is in place, it can be used as a basis for detailed and focused enquiries. You could identify households that contain:

- wage earners
- children under five
- pensioners
- disabled persons
- retrenched workers.

You could identify households that:

- are headed by single women
- have livestock
• are engaged in non-farm economic activities
• have buried someone under 40 in the last three years.

Social mapping is very versatile and can be used in many different ways. It works best when you are alert to the different social categories and issues of importance that local people define while being clear about what you want to find out.

**Asset mapping**

Asset mapping and social mapping are closely connected and in some cases their data will overlap. Asset maps highlight key materials resources used by local people. These could include:

• water resources such as springs, streams, rivers, dams, windmills, tanks and taps
• land uses (highlighting arable land, grazing areas, settlement areas, forest and woodland areas, eroded or degraded areas)
• land covers (detailing what is actually on the land – grassland types, planted pastures, crops of different types, indigenous forest, exotic plantations and so on)
• natural resources with economic and food value (medicinal herbs, mushrooms, fruit trees, game, fish, marine resources, bees, clay, sand, building materials, thatching grass, grasses for weaving, wood for carving).

**TIP**

Note that land uses and land covers will vary by the season. Asset maps done at a particular time of year can be linked to seasonal calendars and historical timelines that highlight key trends and changing patterns of land use and cover.

Asset mapping can be done at different scales. Maps can identify assets used by selected households or they can identify the asset base of a community or even a district.

**Transects**

A transect is an investigative mapping tool where the team and selected key informants walk predetermined routes across the area under study. The routes are planned to traverse settlement areas, fields, rivers, woodlands and grazing. The team maps the lie of the land and notes the changing land uses and availability of resources as they go.
The transect is informed by a set of guiding questions. For example, it can also be used to investigate how natural resources are managed, or who has access to certain resources and how this is controlled.

It can be useful to walk the same transect with separate groups of men and women to record the different issues they highlight and explanations that they give. This can contribute important information to a gender analysis. Walking the transect with key informants representing different resource users can also provide important perspectives and may reveal conflicting resource priorities.

Some PRA practitioners have started to use digital cameras for recording aspects of the transect map. They take digital pictures at key points along the transect. Once the transect is completed, they download the pictures to a laptop computer and print them out. The team annotates the pictures with the notes from the transect and mounts them as a visual display. They can then discuss aspects of the transect with other people who did not participate.

### Institutional mapping

Institutional mapping contributes information for analysis of what the livelihoods framework calls ‘transforming structures and processes’. It highlights how local people view the role and effectiveness of different institutional players and it helps identify ways in which different players could change their policies or practice to better support the people they are supposed to serve.
Timelines

You can use timelines in different ways. They can provide a history of key events that have shaped the life of the community. You can use them to identify and analyse trends over time. Understanding the dominant trends contributes important information to the assessment of the vulnerability context.

Timelines can be prepared in different ways. You can set them up as open-ended ways of recording and organising information in time. Participants can generate information from answering the question ‘What are the key events in the history of this community?’ Another way of doing this is to use timelines to focus on specific questions and identify trends over a set period of time. Examples of such questions are:

- When did you experience droughts, flooding or large-scale livestock losses over the past 20 years?
- What has changed in the availability of jobs over the last ten years? How has the type of work of most people you know changed? What differences can you see between someone who was retrenched in 1990 and someone who is retrenched today?
- What changes have you seen in the use of different household energy sources (firewood, paraffin, electricity, gas) over the last ten years?
- Who has died over the last three years? How old were they? Have there been any changes in the number of deaths? If yes, why do you think this is happening?

Timelines can also be used to track the impacts of different policy or programme initiatives.

Seasonal calendars

Seasonal calendars are a form of timeline. They focus on how people’s livelihood activities and access to assets change over the year. If the calendars are gender-disaggregated they provide important information on gender roles and divisions of labour. Calendars contribute to a more detailed and nuanced understanding of vulnerability. They can be used with groups or with individual households.

People use an annual calendar and record the start and finish of the different activities that make up their portfolio of livelihood activities. If people are involved in growing crops, they record the different stages that each crop goes through from ploughing, planting, tending seedbeds, cultivation, irrigation, harvest, threshing and other post-harvest operations. They can record the changing crop prices and demand for certain commodities over the year.
Where people have livestock, they record the breeding, calving/lambing and livestock management cycles on the calendar. They can also record changes in the grazing regime and when their animals require supplementary feeding. They can record high-risk periods when ticks or particular animal diseases occur.

If people depend on natural resources, they can highlight the changing availability of different resources throughout the year. They record the changing availability of certain fruits, edible and medicinal plants, thatching and weaving grasses, fish and marine resources. Calendars also record trends over the year as they relate to household food stocks, casual labour opportunities, cultural events and so on.

The calendar provides useful background information for activities that record resource flows into, between and out of households. They can highlight networks of reciprocity and exchange.

**Ranking well-being using stress calendars and category rankings**

Ranking households is a very important activity. We need to understand how community members identify and understand differences between households. We need to find out what the different indicators of relative well-being are and how they differ for different kinds of household within the community.

Understanding differences between households and relative vulnerability helps us to:

- Improve our ability to target poor and vulnerable households in programming. Projects that have little understanding of socio-economic differences tend to target ‘upwards’. This is because more secure households are often easier to work with and they tend to be more dominant and voice their needs more clearly.
- Ensure that activities selected or initiated by projects address household livelihood and food security concerns of the poorest households.

Livelihoods practitioners differ over when the best time is to discuss well-being in the livelihoods assessment process. Some prefer to introduce the concept of well-being early in the process. As this is a sensitive and potentially invasive area, it is often better to wait until you have gathered other information through different mapping and profiling activities. These activities provide pointers for how to approach the issue of well-being and may have already revealed different categories of vulnerability.

There are several different ways of doing well-being ranking. One way starts by asking people to define the factors or indicators that characterise ‘a good
These definitions usually capture a wide range of criteria that may differ substantially between different households and localities. They are also likely to vary between men and women of different ages. They often include the health of the household members, how well they eat, their education, access to employment or social benefits, the different assets, resources and means of production to which they have access. But indicators of well-being are not just measures of material things. Often they reflect how people feel about their lives and the extent to which they have equality of opportunity, dignity, respect and freedom. In places that have a history of conflict and instability, an important element of a good life may be peace.

Once people have agreed on the criteria and indicators that define well-being the next stage of the process is to carry out a well-being ranking to identify different socio-economic groups within the community.

There are a number of ways that this can be done. One way is for people to select two groups to carry out the initial ranking. These groups work independently of each other with the social maps developed at the start of the process where different households were plotted and named. They discuss each household and assign it to a well-being category. They mark the categories with coloured stickers or some other coding. Households with a red sticker are the most vulnerable. Households that have a high degree of well-being have a green sticker. There can be different colour categories in between and different shades of the same colour.

Once both groups have finished, they compare their rankings and discuss any households that they did not agree about in order to reach a consensus ranking.

Another way to do the ranking is to write all the household names onto cards and ask the groups to rank households clustering those most vulnerable with least well-being on one side and those that have the highest degree of well-being on the other. Other households will be arranged across the middle. With this method it is easy to make changes to the rankings and group households into well-being clusters. However, because this method is very text-driven, it will alienate people who are illiterate. It also separates households from their spatial context, something which can make the ranking more difficult for the group.

Another option is to use a stress calendar. This involves drawing a 12-month calendar (or finding out other ways in which people divide up the year) and asking participants to fill it in. Using the calendar as a base, participants record answers to the following questions:
• When are men most ‘happy’ during the year and why? (Happiness in this context is a generic term to indicate well-being.)

• When are women most ‘happy’ during the year and why?

• When are men most ‘unhappy’ during the year and why?

• When are women most ‘unhappy’ during the year and why?

• When is your income (cash, crops and other resources) highest during the year?

• When is your expenditure (cash, labour, contributions in kind) highest during the year?

• When are men and women most and least busy during the year? What are they busy with?

You can add quantitative data by finding out how many people in the group are ‘happy’ or ‘unhappy’ at different times. Once people have answered these questions, you can ask them to describe what the characteristics are of households that appear to be ‘happy’ and those which appear to be ‘unhappy’.

Then ask for descriptions of households that are ‘happy all the time’, ‘sometimes happy’, ‘always unhappy’ and so on. It helps to identify three to five different categories of well-being. It is important that everyone understand and agrees on the reasons or criteria that identify the different categories.

Spend time developing a description of a household in each category. Ask participants to list the main indicators that differentiate the households. Once participants have generated their own list of indicators, you can look for other indicators that might be relevant. These might include housing type and condition, children, health, levels of education, clothing, cooking method, energy sources, food consumption, type and variety, livelihood and income generating activities, sources of support, social safety nets and so on.

Once the different categories have been developed, you can ask participants to indicate which category they fall into by standing in a group next to the particular well-being category. Then ask the group to discuss whether everyone is in the right group. By consensus, certain people may move up or down a category. If there are disputes, these can be referred to the group as a whole, or addressed through other dispute resolution mechanisms.
### Example of a stress calendar – Manganeng village, Northern Province, South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>(Dates)</th>
<th>Reasons for being happy</th>
<th>Reasons for being unhappy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Summer                        | (November, December, January and February) | • Relatives and friends are back home  
• It is the festive season  
• Lots of rain  
• Lots of opportunities for casual labour  
• Jubilation because children have passed and they are moving to a higher grade | • Consuming own crops like maize and pumpkins until May or June  
• No bills to pay as all the debts were settled in summer  
• Plenty of rain  
• Lower temperatures and shorter days  
• Less illness because nutrition levels are quite high |
| Autumn                        | (March and April)        | • It is the festive season  
• Lots of rain  
• Lots of opportunities for casual labour  
• Jubilation because children have passed and they are moving to a higher grade | • It is too cold and people cannot afford winter clothing like jerseys and school tracksuits for their children  
• No wood and water  
• It is time for harvesting: this is an uncomfortable time for the women as they live in shanties in the fields  
• There is a high incidence of first and second degree burns |
| Winter                        | (May, June, July and August) | • It is too cold and people cannot afford winter clothing like jerseys and school tracksuits for their children  
• No wood and water  
• It is time for harvesting: this is an uncomfortable time for the women as they live in shanties in the fields  
• There is a high incidence of first and second degree burns | • It is too cold and people cannot afford winter clothing like jerseys and school tracksuits for their children  
• No wood and water  
• It is time for harvesting: this is an uncomfortable time for the women as they live in shanties in the fields  
• There is a high incidence of first and second degree burns |
| Spring                        | (September and October)  | • It will start raining again and the landscape will look beautiful  
• Crops and vegetables will start to grow again | • It will start raining again and the landscape will look beautiful  
• Crops and vegetables will start to grow again |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenses</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • Money is spent on buying ‘niceties’ as it is the festive season, and on school fees and uniforms, travel to visit relatives in other villages and monthly contributions to different social clubs  
• Paying for water and electricity | • Hiring labour to harvest crops  
• Church trips | • Buying coal, extra clothing and corrugated iron to repair houses as it will be too cold to live under dilapidated roofing | • Buying seeds from shops  
• Hiring labour to prepare the fields |
| Income-generating activities (IGAs)                                       | IGAs                                                                    | IGAs                                                                                        | IGAs                                                                                           |
| • Remittances  
• Starting new projects                                                | • Selling crops                                                        | • Selling coal  
• Selling traditional beer                                                                 | • Making traditional stoeps (traditionally paved outside areas)  
• Selling crops  
• Living off the pension monies of the elderly |

Generally people were quite happy in autumn and spring because they are eating their own produce and there is plenty of wild fruit. Both groups were unhappy in winter because it is too cold and people cannot afford winter clothing like jerseys and shoes. Although winter was an unhappy season for all the people, they managed to find coping strategies like:

- fetching wood for other people as a source of income
- women plastering other people’s compounds for money
- pensions – these make life better in all seasons because it is money that can be counted on every month.
In summer some people were happy and the others were unhappy.

Reasons for being happy included:

- relatives and migrant workers are back home so there is money
- there is availability of casual employment on farms
- people have access to plenty of clean water because it is the rainy season.

People who are unhappy in summer give the reasons as being:

- families who do not have migrant worker members do not have a source of income
- people cannot afford school fees, uniforms and festive season entertain-

![Table](image)

### Example of well-being ranking category profiles – Mvenyane Village, Eastern Cape, South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unhappy/struggling households</th>
<th>In between households – sometimes happy &amp; sometimes unhappy</th>
<th>Very happy households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Community level</strong></td>
<td><strong>Community level</strong></td>
<td><strong>Community level</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 60% of community</td>
<td>• 25% of community</td>
<td>• 15% of community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group level – wattle project participants</strong></td>
<td><strong>Group level – wattle project participants</strong></td>
<td><strong>Group level – wattle project participants</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 26 participants (84% of group)</td>
<td>• 5 participants (16% of group)</td>
<td>• 0 participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing</strong></td>
<td><strong>Housing</strong></td>
<td><strong>Housing</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Starting to fall apart – not repaired</td>
<td>• Plain house, but in good condition</td>
<td>• Beautiful house – easy to see people are happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Only one house</td>
<td>• Able to pay for children’s education</td>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Same room used for cooking and sleeping</td>
<td>• Fuel and cooking</td>
<td>• Able to send all children to school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
<td>• Sent away to relatives</td>
<td>• Children have two uniforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Used to look after relatives’ livestock</td>
<td><strong>Fuel and cooking</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fuel and cooking</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Taken out of school to work</td>
<td>• Have stoves or use firewood and fire to cook</td>
<td>• Have a kitchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>• Use candles for light</td>
<td>• Have a wood stove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Only attend school up to Standard 1 (Grade 3)</td>
<td>• Food and crops</td>
<td>• Use gas and paraffin for light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Schooling paid for by relatives</td>
<td>• Always have food</td>
<td>• Lamps have glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Adults are illiterate</td>
<td>• Eat twice a day</td>
<td><strong>Food and crops</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clothing</strong></td>
<td>• Eat meat twice a month</td>
<td>• Eat three times a day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Clothes are worn and repaired</td>
<td>• Grow vegetables and maize</td>
<td>• Eat meat every day with rice, samp (cooked maize kernels) and salads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fuel and cooking</strong></td>
<td>• Have money to buy food</td>
<td>• Have snacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Use firewood collected by self</td>
<td>• Assets</td>
<td>• Grow own food and sell surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Borrow candles and matches from relatives</td>
<td>• Own something valuable but it needs repair</td>
<td><strong>Buy food in town – seen carrying shopping bags</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lamps do not have glass</td>
<td>• Have livestock – small numbers of pigs and chickens</td>
<td><strong>Grow potatoes, cabbage, vegetables, maize</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Do not return borrowed items</td>
<td><strong>Income generation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Hire tractor and plough to prepare fields</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food and crops</strong></td>
<td><strong>Steady income from pensions</strong></td>
<td><strong>Buy manure for fields</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Borrow food from others</td>
<td><strong>Given credit at shops</strong></td>
<td><strong>Assets</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Own food lasts two months</td>
<td>• Have temporary jobs working for ‘happy’ households – driving, building houses and so on</td>
<td>• Own transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Weak from hunger and can’t work</td>
<td><strong>Food and crops</strong></td>
<td>• Have livestock – sell milk and products</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Housing**
- Beautiful house – easy to see people are happy
- Able to send all children to school
- Children have two uniforms

**Fuel and cooking**
- Have a kitchen
- Have a wood stove
- Use gas and paraffin for light
- Lamps have glass

**Food and crops**
- Eat three times a day
- Eat meat every day with rice, samp (cooked maize kernels) and salads
- Have snacks
- Grow own food and sell surplus
- Buy food in town – seen carrying shopping bags
- **Grow potatoes, cabbage, vegetables, maize**
- **Hire tractor and plough to prepare fields**
- **Buy manure for fields**

**Assets**
- Own transport
- Have livestock – sell milk and products
### Mix and match methods

The methods described above can be adapted and combined. They can be scaled up or down according to the needs of the enquiry. For enquiries that cover larger areas, it will be necessary to rank houses by their locality and have groups familiar with the locality to do the ranking. This creates the possibility that definitions of relative well-being will change significantly from area to area. It will be important to analyse the factors in the locality that contribute to differences in the definitions.

### Selecting households for semi-structured interviews

Now that the well-being ranking is complete, you need to decide which households to select for carrying out semi-structured interviews that will identify the composition of the household, the assets and capabilities that they possess and the livelihood sources and activities they depend on.

Most development initiatives specifically target poor and ultra poor households. Clearly households form these categories must form a major part of your selection. However, you will also want to interview a selection of households that are better off in order to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unhappy/struggling households</th>
<th>In between households – sometimes happy &amp; sometimes unhappy</th>
<th>Very happy households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eat once a day</strong></td>
<td><strong>Have a bit of extra money – go to Durban to buy clothes and re-sell locally</strong></td>
<td><strong>Own other farms</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eat white vegetable and meat from hunting</strong></td>
<td><strong>Use own livestock to pull trees for others for money</strong></td>
<td><strong>Income generation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rely on attending village feasts</strong></td>
<td><strong>Work on ‘Working for Water’ projects</strong></td>
<td><strong>Everything the household owns generates money</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Only grow vegetables</strong></td>
<td><strong>When things are bad, they sell livestock or go to ‘happy’ households for help</strong></td>
<td><strong>Able to plan activities and make more money</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assets</strong></td>
<td><strong>Attitude</strong></td>
<td><strong>Have money left over each month to buy things</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Have land, but no money to buy seeds, fences – livestock get into fields and eat crops</strong></td>
<td><strong>Spend money unwisely and go into debt</strong></td>
<td><strong>Have other sources of income</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No money to hire a tractor or plough</strong></td>
<td><strong>Try hard to live well</strong></td>
<td><strong>Husbands are migrant workers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prepare land by hand</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The wives run spaza shops</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wattle has invaded fields – don’t clear lands regularly</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sell vegetables, milk, livestock</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Have no large livestock</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Get to town easily – have bus fare or own transport</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income generation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Attitude</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sell firewood</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Never go begging – others rely on them</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No work – no money to buy food</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>People are happy, not stressed</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitude</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Walk confidently</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not confident</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Consulted for advice and respected by others</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not motivated</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Always active and making money</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Get discouraged easily and don’t rely on self</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Attend meetings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rely on others more</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Go to town regularly and meet people who can assist them with information</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regarded by others as lazy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Unhappy/struggling households**: Eat once a day, eat white vegetable and meat from hunting, rely on attending village feasts, only grow vegetables. They have land, but no money to buy seeds, fences – livestock get into fields and eat crops, no money to hire a tractor or plough, prepare land by hand, wattle has invaded fields – don’t clear lands regularly, have no large livestock. They spend money unwisely and go into debt, try hard to live well. Their income generation is low, with no work – no money to buy food. They are often not confident, not motivated, get discouraged easily and don’t rely on self, rely on others more, regarded by others as lazy.

**In between households**: Have a bit of extra money – go to Durban to buy clothes and re-sell locally, use own livestock to pull trees for others for money, work on ‘Working for Water’ projects. When things are bad, they sell livestock or go to ‘happy’ households for help. Their attitude is often spend money unwisely and go into debt. Their income generation is also low, with no work – no money to buy food. They are not confident, not motivated, get discouraged easily and don’t rely on self, rely on others more, regarded by others as lazy.

**Very happy households**: Own other farms, income generation, everything the household owns generates money, able to plan activities and make more money, have money left over each month to buy things, have other sources of income, husbands are migrant workers, the wives run spaza shops, sell vegetables, milk, livestock, get to town easily – have bus fare or own transport. Their attitude is never go begging – others rely on them, people are happy, not stressed, walk confidently, consulted for advice and respected by others, always active and making money, attend meetings, go to town regularly and meet people who can assist them with information.
• understand why they have been ranked in this way
• examine the sustainability of their livelihoods and their vulnerability to risks and hazards
• examine possible sources of conflict that may emerge from targeting poor and ultra poor households in subsequent development.

The number of households you select will depend on the scale of the assessment, the research budget and the time available. One way to choose which households to interview is to ask participants at the well-being ranking to identify 2–3 households that best represent each well-being category. The team then approaches the household head for permission to carry out interviews within the household, usually starting with the household head.

Semi-structured interviewing

What is a semi-structured interview? A commonly used definition of a semi-structured interview (SSI) is ‘a guided conversation in which only the topics are predetermined and new questions or insights arise as a result of discussion and visual analysis’. It is the flexibility and adaptability of the SSI that distinguishes it from a formal questionnaire-type interview which is restricted to preset questions. While the SSI appears to be an informal conversation it should be:

• well structured, defined and planned in advance
• guided by clear goals and a checklist of issues
• interactive – people being interviewed can ask questions too.

The team members need to define and agree their roles before carrying out the interviews. Who will ask questions? How long will the interview take? (The duration of the interview should be agreed with the person being interviewed.) What time of day will be best to conduct the interviews? Will translation be needed? How will people respond to your making notes during the interview? Will they be uneasy about having the interview taped using a sound recorder or video camera? Will this inhibit what they may say? Will you be able to make notes while the interview is in progress or will you have to wait until the interview is over? What will happen to the record of the interview? Will the person interviewed get a copy of your transcript? Who else will get access to it? Will you mask the identity of the households that you interview?
Guidelines for interviewing

Judging:
• cross-check and verify information
• collect information from more than one independent source (don’t accept the first answer).

‘Triangulation’:
• be aware of the influence of your own preconceived ideas and prior experience which can blind you to taking certain information into account.

Probing:
• ask sensitive questions
• ask for examples
• verify information and follow up on issues identified in the interview
• peel away the ‘layers of the onion’ – get to the root of the issue by asking probing questions.

Recording:
• note the ‘sub-text’ – what was not said but could have been communicated through body language or facial expressions
• specify the context in which the interview was held – place, date, time, who with, how discussion was conducted (these factors can have as much influence on results as the questions themselves)
• note personal impressions/interpretations and direct quotes – these liven up a report
• make diagrams and drawings and include them in your report.

Very important: Much fieldwork information is lost because it is not recorded. If you manage a team, ensure that the people tasked with note-taking are well-trained. Monitor the quality of interview notes throughout the process. Ensure that these are written up as soon as possible after the interview has been concluded. Detail is lost with every day that passes between the time the interview was conducted and when it was written up.

Checklist of questions – household case studies

You need to develop and agree a checklist of questions to provide the foundation of your interview process. The checklist below provides a basic sample. Add or delete questions according to your needs.
TIP

If you have a digital camera, ask if you can photograph household members and their dwellings. The pictures can be easily attached or integrated into the interview report. When people get a copy of the interview, this can be included in a family album.

- Interviewer’s name
- Date, time, location, project
- Name and surname of household member
- Household well-being category
- Marital status
- Age
- Relationship of interviewee to household head
- Number of adults in household
- Number of children in household (and ages)
- How long each member is permanently resident in household (movement/migration)
- Education levels of all members of household
- Structure and type of house – describe/sketch or photograph dwellings on the site
- Material assets – including livestock, land, furniture and equipment
- Livelihood activities by age/gender – divide into productive, reproductive and community maintenance activities (see Session 4)
- Social activities – capabilities (see Session 5)
- Resource flows into and out of the household (see pages 265 and 266)
- Patterns of expenditure
- Control of income and decision making (see Session 6)
- Meals per day – include frequency and type of protein eaten
- Stresses and shocks experienced recently
- Coping strategies
- Impact of development initiatives on their lives
- Land ownership/access
- Social assets – involvement in institutions/community organisations
- Social status – leadership roles
- Movement between the categories of well-being – has household been better off or worse off in the past and how/why did this happen?
- Access to services – water, sanitation, electricity, community infrastructure
• Health – status, behaviour, access
• Energy sources for cooking, light or other
• Transport – for school, market, work and social purposes.

Core elements of good note taking

As a rule of thumb for every day you spend in the field you will need to spend two days writing up.

Preparation phase
• If you are working in a team, discuss clearly how roles will be divided (facilitator, note taker, logistics person, observer and others).
• Agree on a common set of headings for notes so that all note takers are able to produce high-quality, detailed records, for example:
  • context – location, date, time and so on
  • attendance – who was present – gender, age, numbers
  • names of facilitator, note taker, observer and others
  • methodology
  • results – findings and discussion, special themes, for example, gender issues, leadership, human rights…
  • inclusion of copies of diagrams produced – with title, location, date and authors.
• Cross-check this outline with the outline of the final report – are all topics covered adequately and do people understand what information must be recorded and why?
• Allocate time and resources for report writing – set deadlines and allocate clear roles and responsibilities for notetaking, section writing and overall editing of the report.

During fieldwork
• The note taker and the facilitator should sit close together to enable communication and clarification if necessary.
• Record the date, starting and ending times and describe the location.
• Record who is present (age, gender, number of participants – and fluctuation in numbers of people present during the exercise – when people arrived or started to leave and so on).
• Record who in your team takes notes, facilitates and observes.
• Record what happens, what is said and what is drawn or sketched.

After fieldwork
• Provide honest feedback to the facilitator – what went well, what didn’t go well, any recommendations for future exercises or repetitions of the same exercise.
• Cross-check information from exercises repeated with different social groups: women and men; the elderly, youth and children; worse off and better off; landless and landed and so on.

• In conjunction with the team, the note taker should analyse what the process (discussion and diagramming) has thrown up, and identify ambiguous and unclear issues.

• Use these issues to plan the next step in the fieldwork – remember that this should be done with a team of local people.

• Read through your notes – often this will remind you to add new information that you had forgotten to include during the exercise.

• Establish a filing system to keep notes and diagrams in a safe and easily accessible place.

• Type or write up notes neatly each day, this helps make the final report writing less time-consuming and difficult.

• As note taker/report writer it is your primary responsibility to contribute to the final report. This is a serious responsibility. Eventually your words will be relied upon as the main record of the event.

Examples of case study interviews

Sokhulume village, Northern Province, South Africa

LETTA MBONANI – ‘UNHAPPY’ HOUSEHOLD

Letta is 40 years old. She is married and has eight children. Her eldest is a son who is 23 years old. He dropped out of school after completing Standard 4 (Grade 6). All her other children still attend primary school, except the youngest, who is only two years old. However, neither she nor her husband ever attended school.

The Mbonanis arrived in Sokhulume in 1992, having been forced to leave the farm that they were living on when the owner sold the land. Her husband, who is 53 years old, now works in a dairy on a nearby farm. He gets R225 per month. He walks to work early each day and gets home late at night.

The family live in two one-roomed dwellings. The houses have corrugated iron roofs, mudbrick walls and no windows. Letta cooks on an open wood fire in the yard. They have very basic furniture – a
bed and two chairs. They hang their clothes on hooks on the walls. The house has an electricity connection, which is used for lighting only.

The Mbonanis eat *pap* with milk for breakfast. Letta’s husband gets given two litres of milk per day from the dairy. At night they eat *pap* with beans or pumpkin. At month end they have money to buy onions, potatoes and tomatoes.

Letta has two chickens and a cow. She also grows vegetables in a small garden during the rainy season. The vegetables help to provide the family with extra food in summer. The children also benefit from the school-feeding scheme during term.

Letta’s children do not do anything to support the family financially. But they do help to collect wood from the nearby wattle plantation and water from the communal village taps. The children collect approximately 150 litres of water/day. It is stored in a 50 litre drum and refilled 2–3 times/day. The household does not have a latrine. They use the wattle plantation nearby the house.

When her family is sick, they attend the weekly mobile clinic that comes to the village on Thursdays. Letta regularly gets supplements for her children from the nurses. Her children’s immunisation cards revealed that all her children were underdeveloped for their age, especially the youngest baby, who has to have weekly check-ups.

Letta does not get on with her neighbours and she does not have contact with her father and his two wives. She does not belong to any societies or groups in the village. Occasionally she goes to church in the next village, but the R5 fee for transport prevents her from attending more regularly. During hard times she goes to her sister to borrow food or money.

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**JOHN SKOSANA – ‘UPPER MIDDLE’ HOUSEHOLD**

John is married. He lives with his wife, Letta, four children and three grandchildren. All John’s children have completed Std 10. His eldest son, John Jnr, (35 years old) is now a builder and helps to support the family. His eldest daughter, Sophie, (32 years old) works as a casual employee on a chicken farm in Balmoral. Sophie has two sons aged 14 and 7. They attend school and are in Standard 7 (Grade 9) and Sub B (Grade 2) respectively. John’s youngest son, William (25 years old) works for a taxi owner in Bronkhorstspruit. He drives and does odd jobs for the taxi owner. The youngest daughter, Betty (22 years old) is attending computer training classes at the Academy of Learning in Bronkhorstspruit. She also has a four-year old son who attends pre-school in Sokhulume.

All of John’s children, except Betty, live away from home during the week. They come home at weekends. Only John, Letta, Betty and the grandchildren live in Sokhulume all the time. Betty pays R200/month in taxi fares to go to and from Bronkhorstspruit every day.

John Jnr helps to support the family financially. Sophie buys clothes for her children. Sometimes she brings chickens home with her at month end. William uses his salary to pay for his driving lessons. Letta sells vegetables to earn a little extra money. Both she and John are
pensioners. They each get R500/month. They use this money to pay the grandchildren’s school fees, Betty’s taxi fare and to buy food, coal and electricity. They recently had to pay R800 to register Betty on the computer course and to buy her books. They had to borrow this money from John’s brother, who owns a spaza shop. They are paying him back, but the debt is straining the household income. Letta feels that it is worth it, because she has always wanted her children to attend college.

The Skosanas own two cows and a calf. They also look after numerous chickens for Letta’s sister. They have 60 peach trees and a vegetable garden. In summer they sell fruit, pumpkins, tomatoes and vegetables from the garden.

For breakfast they eat milk and pap with tea. They used to have bread, but cut it out, as it is too expensive. For dinner they eat pap with vegetables or beans. Sophie buys chickens and ‘runaways’ (chicken feet) cheaply from the farm where she works, so they eat meat at least two to three times a week.

John used to work for a building company. He used his construction skills to build his own house when the family moved to Sokhulume in 1990. The house is large – it has five rooms and a large kitchen. There are also two other dwellings on the property, in which John Jnr and Sophie live. The house is made of mudbrick and plastered with concrete. The floors are concrete and polished. Some of the bedrooms have carpets. The roof is corrugated iron. A wire mesh fence surrounds the property. Two metal gates open onto a gravel driveway that leads up to the house.

They also own a wood stove, fridge, television set and a bicycle. The house is connected to electricity that powers the household appliances. They spend R40/month on electricity. R100 is spend on firewood every two months. They have a pit latrine in the yard. The grandchildren collect approximately 200–300 litres of water/day from communal taps. The water is free.

Letta belongs to a burial society. She also weaves grass mats, but these are purely for cultural events and she does not sell them. The Skosanas are related to Chief Skosana, the village leader.

**SOPHIE NAMGUNI – ‘MIDDLE’ HOUSEHOLD**

Sophie is 48 years old and is married. She has six children and one grandchild. Her eldest is a daughter, Marta, who is 20 years old. She has completed Standard 5 (Grade 7) and has a son who is 8 months old. Sophie’s youngest child is 2½ years old. Four of her children attend school.
Sophie’s husband is disabled. He was involved in a car accident at work and it left him crippled. He now tries to get light piece-work but the pay is not good. Initially he got a disability allowance of R500/month. But his disability papers have to be renewed every two years. When they expired, Sophie was not sure where to go to get them renewed, so they have not received the allowance for the past six months.

Sophie cuts grass and makes brooms that she sells in Ekangala and Bronkhorstspruit. Sales are slow, but the prices are better in town. In Bronkhorstspruit she sells brooms for R7.00 as opposed to R5.00 in Ekangala.

Sophie uses this money to support the household. However, since the disability allowance stopped she has not managed to cover certain expenses, such as school fees. She owes the primary school R60 (R20 x 3 children) and the secondary school R30. She also has not been able to buy second-hand school shoes and uniforms for her children this year.

For breakfast the family has tea with sugar. For dinner they eat pap and wild morogo. In summer Sophie grows pumpkins which help to supplement the household’s food supply. Sophie cooks on a open wood fire in a basic kitchen. Candles and paraffin are used for lighting. She spends R10/month on electricity. Her children help to collect water from communal taps. They use about 100 litres/day. The Namguni’s have a pit latrine.

The house is made of mudbrick and plastered. The kitchen has a thatched roof, but the bedroom-living room dwelling has an iron roof. Sophie has basic furniture, such as beds, sofas, chairs and a table. The only livestock they own is a cow.

The Namguni’s moved to Sokhulume in 1990. They lived on a farm nearby, but when the foreman started a strike, relations with the farmer deteriorated and many families moved away. She feels that her life has declined since they left the farm. The farm pay was poor, but the conditions were better there. Her husband received a monthly wage and mielie meal. The women were also allowed to follow the harvester and collect the leftover maize cobs. These they sold for extra cash. The farmer also allowed them to cut thatching grass for free. Now she has to pay to cut grass to make brooms, as well as give half the cut grass to the landowner. She can’t afford to pay the school fees and her husband is unemployed. However, she is planning to go to the mobile clinic to ask for advice regarding how to renew his disability allowance. This extra cash would help her family to survive.
Resource flows and flow analysis

The understanding of how resources flow into and out of a household or a community is fundamental to livelihoods analysis. During the fieldwork process you need to focus attention on how households, and individuals within a household, can directly control or gain access to various types of resources.

Four basic concepts are important in understanding resource flows:

1. Resources are not the same as money. People may produce some food for consumption, and some for sale. They may buy some food and essential items, but may also earn other food and non-food items by doing piecework. Try to understand all sources of resources, not just money.

2. Livelihood sources are not the same as livelihood activities. If we ask about activities, people may mention farming, jobs and other things. If we ask about sources, they might be more likely to mention social assets, including claims like pensions, remittances, loans or gifts from family and neighbours, and other inflows for which they don’t really get involved in an activity as such. This means we need to think about activities and assets together, since some inflows are directly linked to social assets. Try to understand sources of inflows, not just activities.

3. There are different levels of resources – they can be controlled by an individual, by a family, or by communities or governments or others.

4. Resource flows in and out change over time – in different seasons of the year, and from one year to the next. Rain-fed agriculture is seasonal in most places, and usually brings in relatively large amounts of produce or money in a short space of time. Expenditure also varies throughout the year: in many countries in southern Africa, the high expenses around Christmas and New Year festivals are immediately followed by the need to pay school fees. Some seasons bring more illnesses, or are associated with pre-harvest hunger. We need to understand these seasonal changes in flows, so we can understand times when people have greater access to resources, and when they have higher demands. This can help plan how to match availability with needs. Also, some sources or uses of resources become more and more important to someone’s livelihood over the years, or become less and less important. For example, someone may start up a micro business that brings in only a little money, but that gradually grows and becomes the most important source of money for the family. Alternatively, another person may lose his or her job, or cattle may die, and the family will have to find completely different ways of surviving. Expenses change over the years as well: for example, the birth of a child can bring many expenses, which fall away after the child moves away from home. Try to understand seasonality and long-term trends.
Note: Several of these issues should have already been picked up from the seasonal calendar activities. Livelihood activities can be divided into five general types: production; processing and exchange; reproduction; social and community; and consumption. Once these are understood, it is easier to understand the flows of resources in and out of a household. Inflow-outflow analysis provides the foundation for learning about other key issues, such as:

- relative value or different sources of inflows
- criteria for deciding which sources are important
- finding out about who influences and controls various activities and sources.

**Gender analysis**

Most of the investigative activities you use should have conscious gender dimensions to them. Gender analysis should be both integral to everything that you do as well as having a specific and independent focus.

Most of the methods discussed above capture gender specific information. They provide information on gender roles within the household, how women and men spend their time, what they value and prioritise, how they contribute to different productive, reproductive and community management activities.

The information you collect will indicate how women prioritise their practical gender needs – water, electricity, access to health care, education and training – and the extent to which these are being met. The institutional analysis and transects will highlight issues around gender differentiated access to resources. How do men and women get access to land? What are the laws and customs surrounding inheritance? How are women represented in local decision-making structures? How strong is their self-organisation? How are their roles affected by HIV/AIDS?

As you come to review the secondary data and make linkages between the local situation and the broad development and policy context, you will develop a sense of the gender thrust of policy and development initiatives (see Session 2) and how far they go to create an environment in which women can begin to meet their strategic gender needs.

Initiatives to create livelihood opportunities and reduce vulnerability also need to be subjected to a gender screening to identify unintended consequences that might flow from them.
Assessing vulnerability, risks and hazards

This section draws heavily on the draft World Food Programme (WFP) Guidelines for Assistance to Disaster Mitigation released on 15 August 2000.

The document views vulnerability analysis in terms of how disasters and hazards affect food security. However, its approach to vulnerability assessment and disaster mitigation measures is directly congruent with the livelihoods framework. The programme identifies a set of key principles that should inform disaster mitigation and vulnerability reduction strategies:

- Is the development focus on people and their livelihoods?
- Is the proposed development strategy or intervention based on a thorough understanding of the effects of disasters on different groups and of the particular causes of their vulnerability?
- Does the strategy represent a holistic, multi-hazard approach to vulnerability and risk?
- Is there clear national policy and commitment to disaster mitigation? Is it based on decentralised, community-based implementation?
- Is mitigation integrated in development thinking and planning, and in planning for relief and recovery?
- Has the strategy been developed and agreed on an inter-sectoral and inter-agency basis? Are there arrangements for inter-sectoral and inter-agency co-ordination in implementation?
- Are there mechanisms for an ongoing review and surveillance of risks, and for prompt response to warnings?

The document states that the purpose of vulnerability analysis is to provide a basis for the government at macro level, local authorities and communities at local level, and assistance agencies to define strategies and draw up feasible, prioritised, cost-effective plans of action to reduce risk and vulnerability, and to enhance preparedness; and monitor the effectiveness of measures taken and changes in risks and vulnerabilities. This analysis must:

- identify the risks and vulnerabilities affecting different areas and populations, particularly people who are already poor and food-insecure, and how risks and vulnerabilities might be changing
- determine which risks and vulnerabilities are the most important and reducible, and estimate the likely effectiveness and costs of various feasible reduction measures
- identify early warning indicators relevant to (and feasible in) the local situation
• identify indicators of – and mechanisms to detect and measure – changes in risks and vulnerabilities, hence the effectiveness of any mitigation measures taken.

**What is involved in vulnerability analysis?**

According to these draft guidelines, the analysis of vulnerability comprises two main elements which are then brought together:

1. Hazard assessment and mapping.
2. Analysis of effects and the causes of vulnerability.

The results are mapped to show the areas which have been, or are likely to be, affected by specific hazards. The vulnerability analysis provides the basis for formulating a mitigation strategy and then for developing specific programme activities.

Clearly, the district is a useful unit of analysis for holistic vulnerability assessment that can result in a mitigation strategy with inter-agency support. If you are working at a local level, your findings with respect to specific hazards and risks need to be linked with local disaster mitigation strategies.

**Learning session ideas**

You may want to run learning sessions with your team to examine the process of conducting the initial assessment and to practice using different methods. There are many possible options for doing this. Below an activity is suggested to get the team to think through the entire assessment process and two other activities that expose them to using particular tools.

**Sample learning session: Thinking through the initial assessment process**

1. Start by getting your team to map out how they see the sequence for carrying out the initial assessment. How long will it take? Who should it involve?

2. Ask the team to develop a flow chart or a planning matrix that will clearly identify the different activities that will make up the initial assessment. The matrix should identify the flow of events, how long each step will take and the tools and methods that are likely to be used to discover information at each stage.

3. Get the team to present their proposals for the initial assessment process. Ask questions about it. Highlight the strengths, search for gaps, discuss other sequencing options, critically assess time requirements and make improvements.

4. Explore team roles. Who will do what at each stage of this process? Who will introduce and facilitate activities? Who has the most experience in
the team in using these tools? How will the team be structured to build capacity of less experienced members? Who will make notes? Who will translate if this is needed? What roles will the community members of the team play at each stage? What gender and power messages is the team sending out through the way it organises itself and the role that it plays? Will these help or hinder the initial investigation?

5. Examine and refresh each of the tools that you plan to use. Focus on tools that you have less experience of. In particular you may want to role-play semi-structured interviewing techniques and develop the interview and note taking skills of your team members.

Sample learning session: Note taking

1. Clarify the objectives of the session.

2. Ask participants to brainstorm the characteristics of a good note taker.

3. Hand out resource materials on core elements of good note taking (see the relevant sections above).

4. Go through notes and compare these with the findings of the brainstorm, adding points as necessary.

5. Practice SSI and note taking by forming groups of four. One person will be interviewed, one will act as interviewer, one will take notes, and the fourth will observe the process and provide feedback to the interviewer on his or her technique.

6. Give the note taker 15 minutes to clean up the notes before presenting a summary of the interview. The other three participants comment on what the note taker has left out.

Sample learning session: Modelling inflows and outflows

The objective of this session is to role-play making a diagram of inflows and outflows from and between households. Ask for a volunteer from your team to facilitate, another to take notes, others to serve as informants (three women, or three men).

1. Use the household profiles provided in the section above on SSI as a basis for the activity. Create three groups of informants and distribute one profile to each group. Ask informants to read the profiles and do a role play of the role of one member of the case study household. Explain the profile of livelihoods categories to informants, especially the profile for the category they were assigned to.

2. Ask informants to think about people like themselves, and to mention the main sources of cash this year. List these sources on pieces of paper (for example, employment, sale of goods, own production, claims, other).
3. Repeat with the main sources of food and list on pieces of paper.

4. Some sources will be repeats from the previous step, for example, some food is bought with cash that was discussed above; other food comes directly from various sources.

5. Repeat with main sources of other goods and list on pieces of paper (again, some will be purchased, other goods may come directly from various sources).

6. Gradually build up a web of flows of resources into the household.

7. Shift the focus – if these are main inflows, then how are resources used? Ask informants to list main ways in which the resources are used. (For example, they may be consumed in the household, spent, invested in production, given away or used in some other way.) List the resource uses on paper and make a web of outflows and repeat the steps applied to the inflows.

8. Present the flow diagrams and discuss what seem to be most important sources of inflows. Also, what seem to be the most important purposes for outflows?

9. Finally, ask participants to explore how they think people in the community will perceive this sort of questioning. What negative things might the team expect, and what can be done to avoid these?

Conclusion

Part 6 has covered a lot of ground. Given the range of tools and methods that can be used for the livelihoods enquiry, it is easy to lose sight of why we are using them and how they relate to the livelihoods framework. When you design the initial investigation, it helps if you specify how each step of the process and each method that you use relates to the framework. This will help ensure that you stay on track and that the information that you collect will be relevant and appropriate.

Part 7: Analysing the information

Summary

1. The convergence of field and secondary data.

2. Using the livelihoods framework to structure and present your information.
The convergence of field and secondary data

At this point information from fieldwork and secondary data converge. Now that you have completed the fieldwork for the initial assessment, you have to extract the key issues from the different activities and combine them with information from the secondary data you have collected. You have to synthesise the information and organise it in a form that can be reflected back and discussed by the community you have been working with.

Team members who have been part of the whole process can see the ‘big picture’ that emerges from the combination of different participatory assessment activities with interest groups and key informants as well as the various SSIs that the team has carried out.

While your team has made every attempt to visualise information from fieldwork sessions it is probably still true to say that the charts and maps that have been developed still have the most meaning for the people who drew them. The information from the various activities has to be transformed into new knowledge for the group.

Your key challenge is to organise the information that you have obtained in a coherent way, while avoiding the pitfalls of seeing what has emerged in terms of your own values, assumptions and biases. Here the framework comes to your assistance. It provides a basis for organising your data. You do not have to retrace your fieldwork sequence.

Using the livelihoods framework to structure and present your information

The framework asks what the activities revealed about:

- The area’s history.
- The people who live there and how they define a good life.
- What works in the community and what makes people feel proud.
- The range and strength of local institutions and their relationships.
- The capabilities that people have and display.
- The range of assets on which people depend.
- How people utilise their assets and transform them into livelihood activities, their relative contribution of different activities and resources to household livelihoods, and how these activities and contributions vary across different categories of well-being.
- The extent to which access to these assets and activities is filtered by gender and power relations.
• The differentiation that exists between households in the community, the factors that characterise different categories of well-being and the relative proportions of people in different categories.

• The factors that contribute to the vulnerability context, the key shocks and stresses, risks and hazards and how they affect the sustainability and security of livelihoods of people in different categories.

• The ways in which people cope and adapt to manage changes in the vulnerability context.

• The sustainability implications of current livelihood strategies and patterns of resource use.

The framework provides the means to thread the various pieces of information together and provides the hooks to make analytic connections between them. So far, however, we have only concentrated on the left box that frames the locality and its immediate context. Now we have to explore the linkages between what was discovered in the field and how larger forces in the district, provincial, national and even global environments impact upon them.
Part 8: Making the linkages (1)

Summary

1. Looking for links.

Looking for links

Now that you have summarised all the information that you got from the fieldwork and organised it in terms of the main part of the framework, you need to ask preliminary questions about the connections between households, livelihoods, vulnerability and the external transforming structures and processes. This is where your secondary data and preliminary policy analysis comes into the picture.

Making connections

Example 1: Access to forest resources

Your fieldwork has highlighted an important dependence on neighbouring forest resources by poorer and more vulnerable households. It also shows that staff of the forestry department is effectively denying access to these resources. You need to make connections between forestry policy and practice. You need to find out what the official forest policy is on co-management of forest resources. Are forestry officials implementing current policy or are they simply stuck in an older conservation-dominated paradigm? Whatever your findings, there are possibilities for action. You may be able to help local people talk to the forestry department and either lobby for policy change or the implementation of existing policy.

Example 2: Land tenure and land rights management

Your fieldwork shows that there seems to be conflict and confusion of roles around land allocation under systems of communal tenure. There is conflict between traditional authorities and government officials. Women’s rights to land seem to be uncertain, as is the legal status of customary marriage and inheritance laws. You need to understand how land tenure and land rights management policies have changed over time and what current policy and legislation states. You need to understand the legal status of customary marriage and inheritance laws. Once again there are opportunities for lobbying and engagement.
Example 3: AIDS and household vulnerability

Your fieldwork shows that many of the most vulnerable households are those that contain AIDS sufferers or AIDS orphans. You need to know how the state health and welfare systems are addressing these issues, what resources are available and how to access support from existing programmes.

There may be other examples such as how an absence of basic infrastructure or the failure to maintain water reticulation systems limits livelihood opportunities and increases time and labour spent on household reproductive activities by women. A scan of government and NGO policy and programmes may reveal resources and opportunities that can enhance local livelihood opportunities or significantly reduce vulnerability. Your challenge is to identify possibilities and help local people make the connections or partnership opportunities.

Part 9: Reflection, vision and prioritisation

Summary

1. Whose information? Whose analysis?
2. Introducing the reflection and planning session.
3. Presentation options.
4. Developing a vision.
5. Turning vision into reality.
6. Choosing a route – evaluating options and developing priorities.
7. How to prioritise.

Whose information? Whose analysis?

Now that you have put together the fieldwork data, identified potential trends and connections, your task is to reflect back the picture of what people provided from the fieldwork together with some of the opportunities in the policy environment. This must be done in such a way to enable targeted households to draw their own conclusions and prioritise issues that best reflect their concerns.

Depending on the scale of the livelihoods enquiry, it may be quite challenging to accurately reflect back a summary of the information. The team members from the local community who have been part of the whole process are probably in the best position to facilitate the reflection of the findings.
Introducing the reflection and planning session

The team needs to clarify that the session has four linked purposes:

1. To summarise and reflect back the information that people have provided.
2. To summarise relevant information from external sources (secondary data) which is really a contribution from the team.
3. To check the findings of the livelihood enquiry and to develop a vision for the future which builds on strengths and addresses key vulnerabilities.
4. To evaluate options and develop priorities to realise the vision.

Presentation options

The team could do this by providing an oral summary of key points backed up by the cards, charts and maps developed during the enquiry. Or they could animate the livelihoods framework using a flexiflan and build up a picture of the different assets, livelihood strategies and resources relied on by households in different well-being categories. They could recap on the institutional map and the issues this raised before highlighting key trends, risks and hazards that contribute to household vulnerability.

The team then needs to check that local people do see themselves in the ‘mirror’ – that they own and embrace the findings as being a reflection of their own faces and voices. This creates space for discussion and clarification.

If the team has managed an accurate summary, the session can move on to a very brief summary of the findings from the secondary data. This should be presented in a way which highlights points which agree with and support the livelihoods enquiry findings and points that may add value to or even dispute the outcomes. Once again there is space for discussion.

Developing a vision

The visioning process can be handled in different ways. It can be specific to targeted households or be more inclusive of different interest groups and span different well-being categories. Visioning methods vary. Some depend on developing shared values. Others involve visualising new images of the future.

Whichever route you choose, the vision has to be based on a widely-shared understanding of current realities and the factors that shape them. The initial assessment should have focused and strengthened this understanding. The shared discovery of the present situation then allows people to develop a variety of different perspectives on how things should go in future.
To develop a shared vision, start by asking people what they associate with the concept of home. Everyone understands the concept of home. It is a remarkably complex concept that is made up of people, relationships, memories, history, hopes and place. It is also a reflection of well-being.

Then ask them to imagine their home and their village or locality in 20 years’ time. What would they like to see? What would stay the same? What should change? What would the village or locality look like? How would people live in ways that are different and better than today? How would these things show in the ways that people related to each other? How would they be expressed in the values of the community, in the health, economic and livelihood status of the people who live there? What would change in the way that natural resources were allocated and managed? What services would be provided? What aspects of the community’s economic base should be strengthened and supported? What capabilities would be strengthened? What new capabilities would people have? How could it provide more secure and sustainable livelihoods for all? How could it become a place where vulnerability and risks are better managed, where people are more resilient and have a wider range of options to fall back on?

From the discussion that follows, identify and record shared ideals. From here develop a vision statement that defines the how people see their preferred futures and identifies the shared values that are its foundation. This vision must be expressed in a way that everyone can relate to.

**Turning vision into reality**

To realise the vision, there must be a clear link between the ‘here and now’ and the ‘there’ of the future. The analogy of a journey can help express the relationship between the vision and current reality.

Imagine that people currently working and living in town want to go back and visit their rural homes. Not everyone starts the journey from exactly the same place. People live in different parts of town. They live in different circumstances. Some live in informal settlements. Others live in hostels, some are in formal housing. Not everyone will travel home by the same route. Their homes may not be in the same places.

Turning the vision into reality mirrors the same process as going home. You have to get from here to there. You need to plan which route to take, what to take on the journey and what to leave behind. Once you start the journey, you get home by passing through other destinations along the route. When you reach a place you know how far you have come and how far you have to go. These destinations mark your progress. Planning is like deciding how to get home. Your route marks how you will get there.
Choosing a route – evaluating options and developing priorities

So how do we get there? What are our options? Which are the best options? What are the priorities? The initial assessment will have identified key issues. If the appreciative enquiry method has been used, it will have identified things that work, areas of strength. Particular problems will also have surfaced.

Imagine that the initial assessment has highlighted the following issues:

1. Common property resources – grazing, forest products, edible and medicinal plants – make an important contribution to the lives of the most vulnerable households. There are systems that define who has use rights and there are some controls on what can be harvested at different times of year. However, trends show that a combination of retrenchment, urban unemployment and rapid inflation is resulting in reverse migration which is putting certain common property resources and management systems under increased pressure.

2. There is an increasing interest in and market for medicinal plants and essential oils used in perfumes and insect repellents. In particular, there are commercial opportunities for the harvesting and processing of umhlonyane (artemesia atra). This plant is a multi-stemmed perennial with aromatic green feathery leaves. Umhlonyane is one of the oldest and best known of all the indigenous medicines in southern Africa. The leaves and the roots both have medicinal uses. They are used in different ways to treat fever, colds, flu, headaches and pneumonia. They are also used to treat intestinal worms, gout and constipation. The volatile oil contained in the leaves has anti-microbial and antioxidant properties. A natural remedies company has approached the traditional authorities to support a joint venture to harvest and process indigenous umhlonyane and to investigate commercial propagation. This has raised issues about the ownership and control of common property resources and whether certain resources could be privatised. Propagation of umhlonyane at scale would affect land currently used to cultivate crops and could reduce the amount of grazing available. On the other hand, umhlonyane is indigenous to the area and very hardy and drought-resistant.

3. The village water reticulation system installed five years ago brought water much closer to people’s homes, making the work of women and children who fetch water easier. However, in the last year there have been increasing problems with government’s ability to maintain the system. Taps are broken and very often there is no water. People are being forced to collect water from springs and streams. Clinic records show that there has been a 20% increase in reported cases of diarrhoea.
4. A range of locally-initiated informal care and support initiatives have been identified that support households with AIDS sufferers. However, the numbers of people affected by the disease are increasing. There are a growing number of households of orphaned children where the household head is under 15. Community networks of support and reciprocity are showing signs of being overstretched.

How to prioritise

Each of the issues outlined above is important. They affect different people in different ways. There will probably be several other issues as well. How does the community prioritise which are its key development areas? Which interventions will have the most impact? Which interventions will have the most positive impacts on the livelihoods and vulnerability of poor and ultra poor households?

These decisions can be taken by using matrix ranking and scoring methods. This involves taking each issue and developing the same number of evaluative criteria for each one. Once the criteria have been approved, participants list issues and criteria in a matrix.

If people are doing a ranking of the four options they ask, ‘Which is best?’ ‘Which is next best?’ ‘Which is worst?’ ‘Which is next worst?’ You can frame the ranking in a different way by asking ‘if you could focus on just one of these which one would you choose?’

If participants are scoring the options, they each get the same number of counters (seeds, beans or pebbles). They then choose how they value an option and particular criteria in the way that they place the counters on the matrix.

Participants may need to evaluate and choose between different options. Common property resource management and how gender and relative power mediate access to assets feature in the first two issues above. The issues for prioritisation revolves around how common property resource users value the different livelihood sources provided by the commons. Who benefits from what? How widely are the benefits shared?

Again matrix ranking and scoring can assist. People can identify different categories of resource user as well as the range of resources that they use. They arrange these in a matrix. Proportional piling can be used to identify the relative values of the different resources to different types of user.

You can use an impact matrix or diagram to evaluate what effects the proposed commercial harvesting, processing and propagation of the umhlonyane would have on existing common property users and patterns of land use. This in turn can lead to the prioritisation and linking of different options.
Part 10: Proposal development

Summary

1. Key components of a proposal.
2. Logframe planning.
3. The scope of the proposal.

Most readers will know about developing a proposal. We may need to give some thought to who develops the proposal, who draws up the budget and what capacity may be built in the process.

Does the NGO, development agency or government department take over at this point and go off and draft the proposals, prepare budgets and submit them to donors? This is very often the case. In this scenario, the next time the community sees the outsiders is when the money is raised for a programme or project. This does not have to be how things work. There are examples of partnerships between NGOs and local institutions that build and develop capabilities throughout the process of proposal development, programme implementation and reporting.

Key components of a proposal

A generic format for planning involves:

• agreeing an overall goal or aim which indicates the outcome required
• stating assumptions and identifying possible limitations
• specifying objectives that identify particular outputs required
• determining:
  • who is responsible and detailed institutional arrangements
  • what actions will be carried out
  • what human, financial and other resources will be required
  • how much things will cost
  • when things will start and finish
  • how they will be monitored and evaluated.

Logframe planning

Logical framework planning (known as LFA, logframe or ZOPP depending on the agency involved) is a planning format that many donors require. It is a very results- or objective-orientated form of planning. Robert Chambers
has characterised LFA and ZOPP as being ‘masculine, linear and rigid while PRA is more feminine and more concerned with people and processes’.  

LFA was first formally adopted as a planning tool for overseas development activities by USAID in the early 1970s. Its origins can be traced back to private sector management theory, such as the ‘management by objectives’ approach that initially became popular in the 1960s.

LFA has since been adopted, and adapted as a planning and management tool by a large number of agencies involved in providing development assistance. These include the British DFID, Canada’s CIDA, the OECD Expert Group on Aid Evaluation, the International Service for National Agricultural Research (ISNAR), Australia’s AusAID and Germany’s GTZ.

Logframe planning is used to provide a standardised summary of the project in a matrix format. See the sample below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project description</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Means of verification</th>
<th>Assumptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goal: The broader development impact to which the project contributes – at a national and sectoral level</td>
<td>Measures of the extent to which a contribution to the goal has been made. Used during evaluation</td>
<td>Sources of information and methods used to collect and report it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose: The development outcome expected at the end of the project. All components will contribute to this</td>
<td>Conditions at the end of the project indicating that the purpose has been achieved. Used for project completion and evaluation</td>
<td>Sources of information and methods used to collect and report it</td>
<td>Assumptions concerning the purpose/goal linkage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Component objectives: The expected outcome of producing each component’s outputs</td>
<td>Measures of the extent to which component objectives have been achieved. Used during review and evaluation</td>
<td>Sources of information and methods used to collect and report it</td>
<td>Assumptions concerning the component objective/purpose linkage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outputs: The direct measurable results (goods and services) of the project which are largely under project management’s control</td>
<td>Measures of the quantity and quality of outputs and the timing of their delivery. Used during monitoring and review</td>
<td>Sources of information and methods used to collect and report it</td>
<td>Assumptions concerning the output/component objective linkage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities: The tasks carried out to implement the project and deliver the identified outputs</td>
<td>Implementation/work programme targets. Used during monitoring</td>
<td>Sources of information and methods used to collect and report it</td>
<td>Assumptions concerning the activity/output linkage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GTZ introduced a variation of the above called ZOPP in the 1980s with the aim of enhancing participation of various groups in technical co-operation. However they acknowledge that ZOPP often failed to include local people in the decision making process.
**Critiques of LFA**

Weak participation and reliance on quite abstract logical concepts has been part of a broader critique of LFA. LFA has been seen by some as being inflexible and trying to impose a single business logic on ‘messy’ and multiple social realities.

For example, the insistence on there being one core problem and a single project purpose is often difficult to engage with in a context characterised by differentiation. There are other more fundamental concerns. Advocates of appreciative enquiry say that searching for the one core ‘problem’ is the right place to start. However, like all methods, LFA can be used effectively or badly. When experienced practitioners use LFA it is a powerful tool to focus analysis and identify linkages.

**Planning with LFA**

Broadly logical framework planning develops through two broad phases:

- **Phase 1** involves a situation analysis. This includes participation or stakeholder analysis, a problem analysis, an objectives analysis and an analysis of alternatives. Problem analysis is a structured process where people identify and agree on core or focal problems and then build a ‘problem tree’ by identifying factors that contribute to or cause the problems together with identifying the effects that flow from core problem. Problems are then reworked into objectives. Negative problem statements are then expressed as their positive opposites. After an analysis of alternative options people select one project strategy.

- **Phase 2** involves project design. The main project elements are specified: The overall goal, the project purpose, the outputs, the activities and the inputs required. (See the logframe matrix structure table on page 280.)

The project purpose is the key point of reference that permits measurement of success or failure. This is linked to a single immediate objective. Once the objective is clear, you specify key results or outputs which combine to meet the objective.

In order to meet the objective and fulfil the project purpose, key assumptions must be identified. These identify specific factors that may affect project implementation and long-term sustainability. These assumptions are identified at all levels of the project. Once the assumptions are clear, a set of indicators is developed to show how different objectives will be achieved. Indicators involve identifying who will benefit, the qualitative and quantitative ways in which they will benefit and the time frame involved. Means of verification are then developed which explain what methods will be used to assess the indicators.
Note: There are growing concerns about the inadequacy of conventional monitoring and evaluation methodologies and the paradigms that inform them. Critics are questioning who should set indicators and who should monitor and evaluate them. See the section on participatory monitoring and evaluation for more detail.

Finally inputs are identified and costed.

The scope of the proposal

Your initial proposal may not need to get into micro detail. Instead it could provide an overall framework for action that gets fleshed out as the process proceeds. This approach allows for the inclusion of a baseline study.

Part 11: Start-up: Baseline research

Summary

1. What is a baseline study for?
2. What methods will you use?
3. What do you do with the information?

What is a baseline study for?

Once you have support to enable more detailed planning with targeted households, you can carry out a baseline study. The baseline study will be focused around the priorities agreed and will probably reflect the sectoral focus of the implementing agency. Where the concern of the initial investigation was to ‘go wide and broad’, the baseline study aims for depth and focus.

What methods will you use?

The methods that the team uses for the baseline will be similar to those used in the initial assessment, but quantitative data might be more important here and more in-depth well-being analysis and household profiling may be done.

What do you do with the information?

The findings from the baseline study enable the informed design of project interventions. They also provide very important information for participatory monitoring and evaluation. As with the initial assessment, the findings of baseline study should belong to the people who participated in it and
these must be communicated back to those people. Given the depth of analysis, there may be issues about the confidentiality of household data that need to be discussed and addressed.

**Part 12: Making the linkages (2)**

**Revisiting the external environment**

As with the initial assessment, links need to be made between primary research and secondary data. The collection of secondary data does not cease after the initial assessment. It should be a constant and ongoing process.

There will also be factors in the external environment that have changed since conducting the initial assessment. The detailed baseline study may also have uncovered new issues in the external environment that were missed the first time around.

Because baseline research is more detailed, you can expect to have a better understanding of the factors enhancing or undermining local livelihoods and increasing or reducing vulnerability. This enables more in-depth policy analysis and will help streamline and improve the targeting of particular lobbying and advocacy initiatives.

**Part 13: Programme implementation**

**Summary**

1. Reviewing the process.
2. Has the process taken too long?
3. Has participation become routine?

**Reviewing the process**

Once you finally get to implementation, you will probably find that some things on the ground have changed and that you need to adapt accordingly. It is always a good idea to review the process that has led up to implementation. If you experience major obstacles in implementation, you to need to ask hard questions.

**Has the process taken too long?**

One of the challenges in using holistic planning approaches is how long the whole process of investigation, proposal development and baseline research will take. How long will it be before specific interventions can happen?
If the whole process takes too long, or if it raises unrealistic expectations and is too demanding of people’s time without any return, people will become reluctant to engage any further.

**Has participation become routine?**

If the whole process has taken too long and gathered information that turns out to be irrelevant or of little value, you will need to review your participation strategies. Are they really working? Do they add value? Have they become a new routine? Does every agency that works in the area carry out PRA and require local people to ‘participate’? ActionAid points out that:

*The transformative power of participating in certain activities is not likely to be high when either facilitating staff have routinised them, or when poor people have had repeated exposure to them.*

While development agencies plan, people have to carry on living their lives. If things take too long, local circumstances will change and people may respond to new opportunities or be forced into new coping strategies in response to further shocks and stresses.

To cut down on the time between the initial investigation and implementation, it is possible to see the baseline study as action research that combines certain implementation measures with further research and appraisal.

**Part 14: Participatory monitoring and evaluation**

**Summary**

1. Taking the temperature.
2. Conventional and participatory monitoring and evaluation compared.
3. PM&E in practice.
4. What can go wrong?

**Taking the temperature**

Now that you have had a chance to start implementation, you need to know how things are going. After all you have invested hundreds of person days of people’s time – the local community’s time and your own. This is where everything has been leading. So have you made a difference? Are livelihoods more secure and sustainable? Has vulnerability been reduced? Have you expanded the asset base and provided sustainable opportunities that are not themselves high-risk activities? How will you find out what
impacts the programme is having? How will you identify unintended consequences and take corrective action?

**Conventional and participatory monitoring and evaluation compared**

You have a choice of methods. You can choose between conventional and participatory monitoring and evaluation. Monitoring involves ‘making measurement and recording details’ about something while evaluation involves assessing the value of the intervention.

What is the difference between conventional and participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E)?

Evaluation paradigms have been evolving over the last 100 years. There are four generations of evaluation approaches. The original evaluation approaches were concerned with measurement. Technicians who tried to develop precise ways of measuring imprecise data carried out such evaluations.

When this approach failed the next generation of evaluation concerned itself with description. Evaluators operating in this convention set out to accurately describe processes that had happened. However, even though they may have described things well, the findings were known too late to have any practical value.

This approach gave way to the third generation, which still co-exists with the fourth. The third generation revolves around judgement. ‘Experts’ and external consultants carry out these evaluations often using standardised tools. Their purpose is to judge the successes and failures of projects and development interventions. As you may have experienced their findings almost inevitably reflect their own values.

The fourth generation ushers in what some people call ‘responsive constructivist evaluation’ and what others term PM&E. These evaluations are no longer the preserve of the ‘expert outside judge’ but are more collaborative and negotiated processes. They are no longer an event but involve ‘recording simple information as simply as we can through participatory forms of evaluation wherever possible’.

PM&E differs from conventional evaluation in several important ways. The table summarises the principle differences between them:
Irene Guijt identifies reasons for this shift to PM&E. These include:

- the surge of interest in participatory appraisal and planning
- new approaches which stress the importance of taking local people’s perspectives into account
- the shift within organisations, particularly within the private sector towards reflecting more on their own experiences and learning from them.

She emphasises that ‘PM&E is not just a matter of using participatory techniques within a conventional monitoring and evaluation setting, it is about radically rethinking who initiates and undertakes the process and who learns and benefits from the findings’.

### PM&E in practice

PM&E involves a series of interlinked steps:

1. Identify who should and wants to be involved.
2. Clarify participants’ expectations of the process and in what way each person or group wants to contribute.
3. Define the priorities for monitoring and evaluating.
4. Identify indicators that will provide the information needed.
5. Agree on the methods, responsibilities and timing of information collection.
6. Collect the information.
7. Analyse the information.
8. Agree on how the findings are to be used and by whom.
9. Clarify if the PM&E process needs to be sustained and how (return to top).
What can go wrong?

Not everyone may embrace PM&E with open arms. It can take up a lot of time, particularly if you are ambitious about what you want to assess. By this stage of the process ‘participation fatigue’ may have taken its toll, particularly if the project has not met people’s expectations. Right at the beginning of your engagement with a community you need to discuss the whole livelihoods planning and implementation cycle and the options for M&E.

If PM&E is going to be genuinely participative and tailored to meet local needs, then indicators must be locally-defined. Again this takes you back to the proposal formulation phase. How did you define those indicators in the logframe? Were they of the ‘off the shelf’, ‘one size fits all’ indicators which you thought would please the donor? Or did they integrate local people’s concerns and were they drafted with a future PM&E process in mind?

PM&E may not be a smooth ride. Development often entails conflict. Having multiple stakeholders means there will always be different opinions. You need to be alert to these possibilities and be prepared to manage them when they arise.

PM&E may not simply be a process of adapting and refining programmes in the light of the findings. The findings may raise fundamental questions that could result in a total rethink of development strategies and policies.

Endnotes for Chapter 3

1 The planning cycle is based on an approach presented by Penny Ward of CARE at a Drought Resistant Livelihoods focus group session held in Pretoria in November 2000.
2 Implementation will take many different forms and will reflect the outcome of analysis and the vision and priorities of particular people in specific places.
3 Robert Chambers, unpublished address to ‘ZOPP marries PRA?’ workshop, in PLA notes no 28 1997.
4 The term ‘PRA’ is used here to denote an approach to planning that values listening, participatory methods that empower, and co-learning and analysis.
5 The British Library is at http://blpc.bl.uk/ and the Library of Congress is at http://catalog.loc.gov/
7 Abbot 1999.
8 This approach is used in rapid rural appraisal (RRA).
9 See the International Institute for Sustainable Development website for more information on appreciative inquiry http://192.197.196.001/ai/default.htm This website cites as a source Cooperrider, D & Whitney, D. No date. Appreciative inquiry: A constructive approach to organization development and social change. Taos, New Mexico: Corporation for Positive Change.
10 See Giacomo Rambaldi’s website on integrated approaches to participatory development www.iapad.org for more detailed information.
11 Abbot et al. 1998.
12 Example provided by Penny Ward of CARE South Africa.
13 Less formal ‘shops’ that sell a variety of household requirements.
14 Information on expenditure can be assessed with a shopping basket activity. You need a basket and a set
Learning about livelihoods

of cards visually depicting a range of household expenditure items. The person being interviewed selects items from the displayed card and puts them into the basket. With good preparation that displays locally available goods and brand names, and with careful interviewing techniques, it is possible to get quite an accurate picture of the items and quantities bought by a household and how this changes over the year.

Pretty et al. 1995.

Maize meal porridge.

A kind of wild spinach.

Maize.

Refer to Pretty et al. 1995:244–5.

Van Wyk & Gericke 2000:142.

Pretty et al. 1995.

NORAD 1999.

PLA notes 28 1997.


PLA Notes 28 1997.

Davies no date.

Critchley & Van der Waal no date.


Critchley & Van der Waal no date.

Adapted from Guijt & Gaventa 1998.

References and further reading for Chapter 3


Davies, R. No date. Guidance notes on increasing the participation of the poor in the assessment of the impact of development interventions. London: ActionAid.


Integrated Approaches to Participatory Development website: www.iapad.org

International Institute for Sustainable Development website section on appreciative inquiry: http://192.197.196.001/ai/default.htm


Chapter 4: Southern African case studies and support materials for using the *Learning about livelihoods* films

This chapter brings together 16 printed case studies from all over southern Africa. It provides a gender analysis checklist. It also provides support material for the five filmed case studies in this package, as well as giving the reader guidelines for actively using the films in a training situation. Most of the case studies are linked to sessions in Chapter 2. However, they can be used for practising livelihoods analysis in many situations. They may also help to provide a model for how to draw up a livelihoods case study of your own situation.
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CASE STUDY 1: THE DLAMINI HOUSEHOLD

The Aaron Dlamini household has many people coming in and out, but are all members of the household? Discuss the information shown here, and mention any missing information you need to help you decide.

Task: To decide who is a member of the household and who is not, and why.

- Agnes Dlamini, wife of Aaron, 42 years, stays at home to keep house, works fields, sometimes brews.
- Aaron Dlamini, husband to Agnes, 39 years, migrant in city, sends money monthly and visits on holidays.
- Ntombi Dlamini, daughter, 15, lives at home, goes to school, does housework, helps in fields during school holidays.
- Nelson Dlamini, son, 22, married and lives with wife in homestead next door, has own fields, worked in sugar factory for three months last year, uses Aaron’s cattle to plough.
- Winnie Dlamini, Aaron’s mother, 80, stays at Aaron’s home, does no productive work, receives a pension.
- Vuyi Dlamini, Aaron’s brother, widowed, lives in homestead next door, stays at own home and works as guard at local shop, sometimes brings food and clothes for Winnie and often eats at Aaron’s home.
- Nomsa Dlamini, daughter, 18, married in Durban, visits home once or twice a year, sometimes takes maize to the city for her family, usually brings food or clothing to her mother when she visits.
- Futhi Ntombela is not a relative. She is 17, lives with Aaron’s family, does housework and some fieldwork, and gets food, some clothing, and earns R150 per month.
- Dudu Dlamini, 29 years old, is Aaron’s second wife. She lives on another homestead, with her own field, and sells fat cakes. She is building a house with money Aaron sends every month.
CASE STUDY 2: THE KALONGWE HOUSEHOLD

Susan Kalongwe’s household has many people coming in and out, but which of them are actually members of the household? Discuss the information shown here, and mention any missing information you need to help you decide.

Task: To decide who is a member of the household and who is not, and why.

- Susan Kalongwe, 35-year-old single woman with four children. She works in the local market buying and selling vegetables and some household items. She has a small garden at the house that brings in some food and a little cash, and rents out a spare room for extra income.

- Franklin Banda, 38-year-old father of two of Susan’s children. He was a driver, but lost his job and now does a bit of piece-work for a carpenter. He lives in a back room in the same town, but often stays at Susan’s house. He often brings food or clothing, and sometimes pays part of the school fees for Timothy.

- Michael Malume, 18 years old, blind and unemployed; was at a special school, but had to be removed when his father died.

- Timothy Kalongwe, Susan and Franklin’s 12-year-old son. He lives with Susan and studies at the local community school.

- Mahongo Kalongwe, Susan and Franklin’s 15-year-old daughter, who lives with Susan. She left school, and now helps Susan at the market – when one goes to buy stock in town or from local farmers, the other one sits at the market. She also has some chickens at home, and occasionally sews clothing at the local women’s organisation.

- Billy Malume, 17-year-old son of Susan and her first boyfriend, who died several years ago. Billy doesn’t have a job, and often stays away from home for several nights or even weeks at a time, but Susan doesn’t know where. When he comes home, he often has new clothes, radios or other goods that he uses or sells. Sometimes he brings cash for his mother.

- Mabeline Kalongwe, 52, is Susan’s mother. She lives in her own house next door to Susan, and has her own garden. She also works in the market three or four days each week to earn her own money. She and Susan help each other whenever one has a problem, or needs money or food.
CASE STUDY 3: THE MACALA HOUSEHOLD

This is an inter-generational household that occupies two adjacent sites. The household members are involved in a range of activities.

Mrs Macala’s pension is the principal source of the household’s cash income. She can no longer work in the fields but is still involved in post harvest work and in domestic chores around the house. She does some sewing and mending for her grandchildren and friends and neighbours.

Herding and caring for livestock takes place all year round. Both Dumisani and his son Simphiwe herd cattle, goats and sheep. They milk the cows every morning and kraal them at the homestead at night. The sheep are sheared in spring and Dumisani is a member of the local wool growers association

Dumisani hires out his donkeys to carry grain to the hammermill and transport harvest from the fields.

Thenjiwe and her daughter Lerato do most of the work around the house. She also tends a home garden with green mielies, vegetables and some fruit trees. She works in the fields weeding and harvesting. The household grows winter wheat and peas followed by beans and pumpkins in the summer. Thenjiwe is an active church member and takes part in a separate poultry project.

Household history
Mrs Macala is a widow. Her husband was a former sub-headman in the village. He had accumulated some livestock and had access to fertile river land. She has three adult sons all of whom are married with their own families. Two sons have left the district. The third son Dumisani has his own site and has a wife and three children. He was retrenched from the mines in 1996.

Dumisani Macala (42) has been unemployed for two years. His retrenchment package is exhausted. He is starting to depend more and more on his mother’s pension for cash income. Some income comes from livestock and about 7 bags of maize in a good season from the family field.

Thenjiwe Macala (34) is married to Dumisani. She works her garden plot and also puts in labour in the family field. She looks after her husband’s mother as well. She gets some cash from selling eggs.

Sithembiso (3) Simphiwe (8) has recently started school. He also herds livestock after school hours.

Lerato (13) is the eldest daughter. She is at school.

Mrs Macala (72) is the household head. She has been widowed for five years. She receives a state pension. Until 1996 she was in a sharecropping arrangement and received 60% of the yield through loaning her field to another man. Her son now works the land but yields have not been good.

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8 cattle 3 donkeys 12 goats 24 sheep None 20 hens Home garden 1.5ha - good soils Possibility Pension (retrenchment) wool, livestock & egg sales
CASE STUDY 4: THE PRETORIUS HOUSEHOLD

This household spans several generations. Albertus and Magda both qualify for pensions. Their unmarried daughter lives in the household and acts as a midwife and local healer. She also runs a hammermill and employs two youths to do the milling on a casual basis.

Hendrik has picked up a range of mechanical, welding and farming skills. He operates an old Massey Ferguson tractor and ploughs fields for local people and transports bricks and crops. He has entered into sharecrop arrangements on 40ha of land with about 20 other land owners. 10ha are under winter wheat and oats while the remaining land is planted to summer crops of maize, beans and pumpkins. Hendrik ploughs and provides seed. The land owning family contributes labour. The household has developed quite a substantial herd of livestock which Hendrik also manages. Hendrik has a mentally disabled son who does most of the herding.

Hettie runs the household. Five of her seven children have left home. One daughter still lives with her parents and grandparents. She has recently separated from her husband and has two small children.

Hettie manages the pigs and poultry and sells eggs and broilers. She and her daughter work in the garden and sell vegetables.

20 cattle None 40 goats 80 sheep 8 sows 200 hens Irrigated 40ha None Pension, from including livestock, borehole sharecrop wool, milling, ploughing, etc.
CASE STUDY 5: THE NTINI HOUSEHOLD

This is an all female household. Nokahya has been abandoned by her husband who was a migrant worker and who has subsequently taken a second wife. He lives in Sasolberg.

Nokhaya has no direct access to land and her site is very rocky making home gardening very difficult. She depends on local networks for her livelihood. She attends most funerals in the village and works and prays in the household for the full mourning period. She joins group weeding and harvesting work groups in exchange for food and a small portion of the crop. She collects firewood for other households involving long trips to the mountains. She collects edible herbs.

Nokhaya’s first born daughter has never married but has two children under 10 years old by different fathers. She contributes to household income from selling goods from home and brewing beer and running a shebeen on weekends.

Nokhaya has a disabled daughter who requires nursing care and who qualifies for a disability grant. However, grant payments in the Eastern Cape have been very poorly administered and for a while Nokhaya was dropped from the payment list after an official removed her name in error.

Thandeka’s children look after their aunt and do much of the household chores.

Household history
Nokhaya Ntini (58) had two children with Ndumiso Mfinca. The last born child is physically disabled. Ndumiso left to work in Sasolburg in the early 1960s. He returned home once a year for the first five years of his contract. Since then he has not returned and no longer has any contact with his family. Other migrants report that Ndumiso lives with another woman whom he met in the township. The couple have a child together.

Nokhaya (58) no longer receives remittances from her husband and is not eligible for a pension. Her two daughters still live with her. She attends all funerals and feasts in the village. She also joins weeding and reaping parties in the fields.

Thandeka (39) stays at home. She sells vegetables, matches, candles and cigarettes from her house and runs a shebeen on weekends. She has two children by different fathers. Neither father provides any support.

Nombini (33) was disabled from birth. She gets a disability allowance but the payment of this is erratic. For four months in 1998 the family received no allowance from welfare.

None None None None 1 pig None None None None Disability grant, informal sector activity
CASE STUDY 6: THE MGIJIMA HOUSEHOLD

This is one of the poorest households in the village despite having access to some arable land. Nkosizakhe is a widow who looks after her two grandchildren aged 6 and 3. Her husband who was a former farmworker was evicted from white owned farms and dumped in Hershel in the mid 1970s.

Although he had some distant family connections there the household has always been regarded as an outsider in the village and as a result does not have well developed support systems. He had to bribe the headman to receive a field of very poor quality. He died of TB some years ago.

Nkosizakhe is an ardent church member and gets some assistance from other church members.

She does casual work for better off families. She relies heavily on natural resources and gathers grasses for weaving. She makes baskets, brooms and sieves for sorghum beer.

Recently the government Land Care programme offered temporary employment to people on erosion control measures. Nkosizakhe has been employed. While she works Rebotile looks after her sister and does household chores.

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**Household history**

Nkosizakhe (55) is a widow. Her husband used to be a farmworker but was evicted. Her only daughter left the village to work in Randfontein. She recently died after a short AIDS-related illness, leaving two small children who are now looked after by their grandmother. It is not known whether the children are HIV-positive.

Nkosizakhe (55) looks after her grandchildren. She has land but her field is badly eroded. She has no livestock other than a donkey. She does odd jobs for more well-off families in the area. These include gathering firewood and laundry work.

Xoliswa (3) was born in Mohlakeng. She is very underweight for her age and shows signs of malnutrition.

Rebotile (6) will start school next year.

---

None 1 donkey None None None 5 hens None 1ha None None
CASE STUDY 7: THREE HOUSEHOLDS IN WINTERVELD, SOUTH AFRICA

Background

Winterveld is a 120km² peri-urban area 40km north of Pretoria, South Africa. The term ‘peri-urban’ refers to the combination of densely settled townships with areas that are more rural. There is a division within Winterveld between landowning families and tenants. Winterveld is home to people from all over southern Africa including Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia. All households in Winterveld have been badly affected by massive retrenchments and high unemployment in the South African economy. This has in turn affected the viability of the formerly vibrant informal sector on which many people relied. Winterveld is in decline. Many of the wage-earning households have moved out of the area, leaving more marginal households behind. Agriculture and natural resources appear to play a very limited role in people’s livelihood strategies. However, there are Mozambican households who co-operate around a vegetable growing project and there are some people who keep livestock. In this harsh environment household capabilities and resourcefulness are very important for survival. There is both competition and co-operation in household and family relationships. Resources are often not evenly distributed within the household. The combination of poverty and limited assets limits livelihood strategies and encourages people to traffic in stolen goods and drugs. Women from poor households may depend on having many relationships with men or sex-work. The HIV infection rate in Winterveld is increasing very quickly.
The Mashigo household

The Mashigos came to the Winterveld area in 1984. Isaac Mashigo was a businessman from town who was a political refugee. Isaac and his wife Paulina are from different ethnic backgrounds – he is Mosotho and she is Motswana. During the 1980s Winterveld fell under the administration of the Bophuthatswana homeland (a quasi-independent territory within the borders of South Africa). Because the government decided that only Tswana people could own land in Winterveld, Isaac bought land in his wife’s maiden name.

He built 92 small homes on a 10ha piece of land, which he leased to tenants. He established some shops in and around Winterveld and collected rent from tenants every month. By 1989 Paulina had eight children. She spent her time managing her household, looking after her children and helping out in the shops. In 1990 Isaac died suddenly from a heart attack. At the time Paulina did not have any savings. She had depended on her husband for monthly allowances and financial support. Immediately after her husband’s death, she relied on her father-in-law for handouts to feed her family.

Although the land was registered in Paulina’s name, this did not stop members of his family from trying to take over. In some cases they succeeded. Isaac’s family sold her husband’s shops and kept the money for themselves. They also took away two cars that he had owned. However, Paulina kept ownership of the 10ha plot and the 92 shacks occupied by tenants. These shacks should have given Paulina a monthly income of about R4 000 (four thousand rand).

However, as soon as Paulina tried to collect rents from the tenants, she experienced problems. Some said they had negotiated rental payments with her husband, not with her. Many refused to pay. They said they also had financial problems. Paulina’s income from collecting rent became very small. She tried to evict the tenants so that she could demolish the homes and farm chickens on the land. The tenants refused to leave and threatened her with violence if she tried to evict them.

After her husband’s death Paulina found it increasingly difficult to manage the household. Her eldest daughter fell pregnant and ran away from home. Paulina’s second daughter also fell pregnant and had a child in 1995. One of Paulina’s sons brought home a wife without any warning in 1997. After giving up school, her two teenage sons sold beer and did piece jobs from time to time. They did not earn much and relied on her.

Paulina was faced with having to meet the needs of an expanding household. She decided to use R20 000 that she had inherited from her husband’s estate to buy a taxi. Her eldest son started to operate the taxi. However, the household saw very little money from the taxi business as the son kept most
of it for himself. Paulina then bought a cheap ‘second-hand’ car that was actually stolen. Even though she handed over the money, the car was never delivered. She was forced hire members of a local gang to recover part of her savings.

Paulina started dressmaking, which seemed to offer a more reliable source of income. Her dressmaking skills meant she was an important member of a local women’s group. Most of the group’s households owned plots. The group got access to finance from a government department and was able to buy machines and material. Although the group has made large quantities of clothing, they are not sure about their markets yet.

Paulina currently relies on her savings from her husband’s estate and a mixture of other livelihood strategies to maintain a large and demanding household. The savings are running low. Although her income varies, she is much better off than most women in Winterveld.
The Sibiya household

Lenah was born in 1952. Her family moved to Winterveld when she was six years old. She and her family have lived in the area as tenants ever since. Lenah’s schooling was interrupted by an unplanned pregnancy. She was abandoned by her boyfriend and remained within her parent’s household and an extended family support structure.

When her son was about a year old she left him with her mother and went to find work in Pretoria. While working she had a brief relationship and found herself pregnant again. The man left without knowing that she was pregnant and she never saw him again. She gave birth to a daughter in 1973. She spent time at home again looking after two children and being supported by her family.

In 1976 another tenant family moved in the next door. Soon Lenah and Kehla – one of the sons – started a relationship. Lenah had two children with him before they married in 1980. They had a formal marriage. Kehla’s family paid the relevant bride-price and the marriage was legally registered. Lenah and Kehla moved out of their family homes to live together in a shack that they rented in Winterveld. Since that time Lenah has no longer been able to look to her family for financial support as they expect her husband to provide for her.

In the 1980s, Lenah and her children experienced increasing poverty as Kehla’s contribution to the household dwindled and he spent more of his earnings in the local taverns and on his own needs. The situation became worse for Lenah and her children when Kehla’s brother died. Kehla followed customary practice and married his brother’s wife. Kehla and his brother’s wife then had children together. His limited resources were then spread between two households. Lenah was most unhappy about her husband’s second wife. She started a new relationship with a married man without breaking off her relationship with her husband. She depended increasingly on money from this relationship although she knew that her new partner would return to his wife and children.

In 1996 things improved when Lenah’s daughter found short-term domestic work and Lenah found work digging trenches and laying water pipes for a development project in the area. However these improvements were short-lived. Her daughter was accused of stealing and dismissed. Political resistance from the landowners stopped the water project.

Lenah and her daughter began to sell fruit and vegetables door-to-door. While selling vegetables one day, Lenah’s daughter was sexually assaulted by four men. She moved to Johannesburg after the attack but could not find a job there. After a while she was introduced to sex-work. Earnings from sex-work brought her more income than other livelihood options and
stopped the household from becoming extremely poor. In 1999 Winterveld residents became aware that HIV infection was growing quickly in the area. Lenah was faced with the possibility that she could be HIV-positive. Her husband was known to be a customer at a shebeen where the owner also sold sex. Lenah had complained about how the shebeen owner used to ‘take his wages’. The shebeen owner was rumoured to have AIDS and she had become much thinner and had symptoms of tuberculosis. The household now faces the possibility that Lenah, her daughter, her husband and her partner could also be HIV-positive.
The Radebe household

Selinah Radebe is a woman from Mozambique. When she was a teenager, Selinah married a Mozambican mineworker who worked on the mines in South Africa. She received remittances from him once a year when he visited her in Mozambique.

In the 1970s Selinah moved to South Africa illegally to do piece-work. She came to stay in Winterveld through contact with other Mozambican relatives who had settled there as tenants. Plot owners, aware that illegal immigrants are vulnerable, were generally pleased to have Mozambican tenants because they did not support rent boycotts and paid rents regularly to avoid harassment. Mozambican families who arrived in the 1980s occupied about 20 of the homes surrounding Selinah’s house.

In 1989 her husband lost his job on the mines. He was unable to find another job, so he started selling recycled tins and containers at R5 (five rand) each, which enabled him to earn a small income.

Selinah and her husband became involved in other types of selling activity. They bought radios and cassette players and sold them at slightly higher prices. They soon found out it was cheaper to buy stolen goods.

However, this line of work was very insecure. In some months, income might be good, in others, there was hardly anything. Selinah decided to leave the selling activity to her husband and joined together with other Mozambican women in gardening a five morgen plot next to a church. The church leases the land from the plot owner. The women buy seeds from the church and plant carrots, lettuce, cabbage and spinach, but make very little money from gardening. Many grow just enough to eat at home.

In 1990, having had four children, Selinah had herself sterilised. She did not want to have the responsibility of bringing up too many children. However, in 1994 her husband brought home a second wife with two children. The two women did not get on with each other and the second wife ran away, leaving her two children behind.

The same year Dorcas, Selinah’s 18-year-old school-going daughter, fell pregnant. Her boyfriend denied he was the father and abandoned her. Dorcas explained that many girls were falling pregnant in Winterveld because of the poverty: ‘Sometimes it is because the boy gives you money. My boyfriend used to give me R10 each time we met. At school I used to struggle to pay my school fees. When they could afford it at home, they would give me R5. I would not spend it, but save it for the school fees. When I fell pregnant and my boyfriend left me and I had to give up school and use all the money that I had saved for the baby.’
Living in desperate circumstances, Selinah found herself responsible for seven children with few livelihood sources and irregular income. The only support structure came from the other women living on Selinah’s plot. Common Mozambican origins, kin and friendship bonds have lead to women sharing food and resources. However, this support structure is vulnerable to household differentiation. According to Selinah, as soon as a household manages to improve itself, its bonds with poorer households weaken and reciprocity declines.

Relations between South African and Mozambican women are strained at Winterveld. There is a perception that Mozambican women who are very vulnerable and who live in poor circumstances have relationships with many local men to get money. This in turn highlights the link between poverty and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.
Sample analyses of the Winterveld case study households

Session 5 points out that there are no ‘right answers’ in an analysis of capabilities and assets of households. *The analyses below are not intended to be model answers, and they should not be distributed to participants while they are doing the activities in Session 5.* Critically examine these analyses and make your own notes to help participants add in information which they might have left out in their presentations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mashigo household</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capabilities:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Limiting factors:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• business knowledge</td>
<td>• gender discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• dressmaking skills</td>
<td>• vulnerability of female-headed household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• household management skills</td>
<td>• dependent household members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• driving skills</td>
<td>• unplanned pregnancies of Paulina’s daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• good health</td>
<td>• risk of HIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• labour capacity and capabilities of other household members</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social assets include:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Limiting factors:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• claims on father-in-law for financial support after husband’s death</td>
<td>• gender discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Paulina’s access to land is based on her ethnicity</td>
<td>• limited power of female-headed household to enforce rights and gain access to entitlements like child support grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Paulina’s membership of functioning women’s group</td>
<td>• inability to evict tenants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• claims on government to recognise and support women’s group</td>
<td>• Paulina lacks ways of enforcing her rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• registered property rights provide legal protection</td>
<td>• social instability and violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• political influence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• informal, extra-legal networks for debt recovery and supply of stolen goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material assets:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Limiting factors:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• land</td>
<td>• rent boycott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• rental housing</td>
<td>• tenants living on the land limit other land uses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• tenants</td>
<td>• questionable economic sustainability of sewing project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• savings</td>
<td>• donor dependence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• sewing machines and project finance</td>
<td>• overtraded taxi market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• stocks of material and clothing</td>
<td>• limited local infrastructure development – roads, electrification, health facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• taxi</td>
<td>• groundwater pollution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• sales of alcohol</td>
<td>• environmental degradation from dense settlement and inadequate service provision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• child support grant for daughter’s child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• housing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• borehole/access to water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• fuelwood sources</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Sibiya household

#### Capabilities:
- ability to obtain paid domestic and commercial work for adult members of household
- some formal education
- good health

#### Limiting factors:
- unplanned pregnancies
- interrupted schooling
- vulnerability to rape/HIV
- low levels of environmental health

#### Social assets include:
- extended family support structure
- supportive relationship between mother and daughter
- social networks
- claims on government to deliver services and develop the area
- recognition of the vulnerability of de facto female-headed households
- AIDS education and condom distribution
- tenant mobilisation

#### Limiting factors:
- uneven gender division of household resources
- customary practice re marriage of brother's widow
- scarce resources divided between two families
- dependency on extramarital relationship to contribute resources to household
- insecure tenure and dependence on landlord's goodwill
- limitations on woman's ability to enforce her rights
- contested development interests which prevent implementation of development projects
- ineffective institutions of local government

#### Material assets:
- money from informal selling, multiple relationships, sex work
- child support grant for daughter's child
- shelter
- basic services – water and roads

#### Limiting factors:
- livelihood activities are high risk
- limited local infrastructure development – roads, electrification, health facilities
- groundwater pollution
- poor sanitation

### Radebe household

#### Capabilities:
- skills for self-reliance – recycling, selling, gardening
- health
- capacity for labour

#### Limiting factors:
- unplanned pregnancies
- interrupted schooling
- uneven gender division of household resources
- customary practice of polygamy
- scarce resources divided between two families
- conflict and xenophobia
- vulnerability to HIV

#### Social assets include:
- extended family and support structures as a defence against vulnerability
- local and cross-border social and economic networks
- ‘invisibility’ of illegal immigrants
- landlord patronage
- ineffective local government and corrupt official
- church development project

#### Limiting factors:
- highly insecure tenure and dependence on 'invisibility'
- no enforceable economic rights and claims on government

#### Material assets:
- money from informal selling
- cheap commodities through 'grey' economy
- land, tools and seed
- shelter
- some basic services
- water for consumption and production
- fencing
- soil fertility

#### Limiting factors:
- illegality of principal livelihood activities
- dependency on multiple relationships to contribute resources to household
- limited local infrastructure development – roads, electrification, health facilities
- groundwater pollution
- poor sanitation
- low levels of environmental health
CASE STUDY 8: THREE HOUSEHOLDS IN SINDE DISTRICT, ZAMBIA

Background

Mukemu, in Sinde District of Southern Province in Zambia has 126 residents and 27 households. It is at the intersection of two rural roads leading to Kananga and Musokotwane villages. Facilities in the village include a church, primary school and clinic. A stream runs through the village, but it is dry between May and November. Water supply to the village comes from two community boreholes and a hand-dug well. There are two other wells in the community, but they have been dry since the 1993/94 drought. Three-quarters of the households have their own rubbish pits, but none has a latrine.

Growing staple crops (maize, sorghum and millet) is the main agricultural activity in the community. Some households also weave traditional mats and make brooms to earn extra money.
The Ngandu household

Bana Esther is a widow. Her husband died several years ago. She has three adult children. They are married and live in the same village with their own families.

Bana Esther has three cows, two oxen, three goats, several chickens and two hunting dogs.

She owns a yoke and a plough which she uses to plough her fields. She also has a hoe, an axe, two shovels and a bicycle.

Bana Esther has three fields, each 1ha in size. Each year she usually plants sorghum, maize and millet in her fields. Her son and his children help her to prepare the fields and sow the seed. They also help to harvest the crops at the end of the season. In return they use her plough and oxen to plough their fields. They always plough their fields after preparing Bana Esther's.

Last year, during the bad drought, Bana Esther only planted sorghum and millet as she felt these would do better with little rain. Her harvest usually lasts throughout the year and she shares her harvest with her children and their families. She also sells the surplus at the market nearby. But last year the harvest was smaller than normal. The rains only lasted from March to September. To obtain extra food during the rest of the year, Bana Esther joined the local Food for Work (FFW) project started by CARE Zambia. In return for repairing roads and making stream crossings, she was given one bag of maize meal, cooking oil and lentils each month. This year the rains were better and her harvest was good. Bana Esther has enough food to last her throughout the year and has given up her FFW activities as she does not need the extra maize. The Village Development Committee (VDC) is also helping people to market their surplus harvest in other villages in the area. CARE staff and the VDC have also helped her and her son to build better stores for her grain, so less is eaten or destroyed by rats and insects.
The Chidakwa household

Ba Gideon is married with four children. The Chidakwas have a plough, a hoe, a sickle and an axe. Because they only have two cows and a goat, Simon usually borrows oxen from another farmer to plough his land. But he has to wait until this farmer has finished with the oxen. This means that he sometimes plants late in the season. The Chidakwas have three fields with a total area of 3.5ha. They usually grow millet, maize and groundnuts. Last year during the drought they only planted millet and maize. The harvest was small and only lasted for three months, from March to May. In order to cope during the rest of the year Ba Gideon sold milk from his two cows and his wife picked wild fruits and sold them in the village. Ba Gideon’s wife also joined the local Food for Work (FFW) project started by CARE Zambia. In return for repairing roads and making stream crossings, she was given one bag of maize meal, cooking oil and lentils each month.

This year Ba Gideon joined a seed group established by the Village Development Committee (VDC). The seed groups may ask the VDC for seed, which is supplied by CARE Zambia. At the end of the season, a portion of the harvested seed is returned to the VDC, who then allocate it to the seed groups again the following season. Ba Gideon asked for maize and groundnut seed to plant this year. He also planted his own millet and sorghum seed saved from the previous year. The harvest was good as the new seed varieties yield more and are more drought-resistant. Ba Gideon’s harvest will last his family almost throughout the year. Next year he hopes to have a surplus, which he plans to sell. But, so far, his wife is still working on the FFW project as they need the extra maize to feed the family.
The Mainza household

Bana Maria is a widow with four children. She has a goat and a few chickens. She used to have a cow, but she sold it last year during the drought in order to buy food for her family.

Bana Maria has one small field which she cultivates by hand with a hoe. She feels her crops would yield more if she could use a plough. She usually grows millet and groundnuts. Last year she only planted millet because there was a drought and the rains were bad. The harvest was poor and only lasted from March to July. When she ran out of food, she ate the groundnuts that she had kept for the next planting season. She then joined the local Food For Work (FFW) project started by CARE Zambia. In return for repairing roads and making stream crossings, she was given one bag of maize meal, cooking oil and lentils each month.

This year Bana Maria was able to plant millet as she did not have any groundnuts to plant. Due to the better rains, her millet harvest was fairly good and she will have food between January and May. She still relies on FFW to provide her family with food when her food stocks run out. The FFW activities take up her time and she is only able to work in her fields occasionally. She did not do much weeding and she thinks this might be why her harvest was not as good as she had hoped.

To raise extra money she also picks wild fruit, which her children sell in the village. She also weaves baskets in her spare time. She sells these in the village for money to buy food. She also sometimes exchanges the baskets for maize. The baskets do not fetch such a good price at the moment, because there are several other women in the village who are also doing the same thing.
Sample analyses of the Sinde District case study households

Session 5 points out that there are no ‘right answers’ in an analysis of capabilities and assets of households. The analyses below are not intended to be model answers, and they should not be distributed to participants while they are doing the activities in Session 5. Critically examine these analyses and make your own notes to help participants add in information which they might have left out in their presentations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngundu household</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capabilities:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Limiting factors:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• adequate shared labour</td>
<td>• risk of HIV/AIDS removing economically active family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• farming knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• natural resource knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• family health</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social assets include:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Limiting factors:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• extended family network</td>
<td>• donor dependence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• reciprocity</td>
<td>• risk of Food for Work as a substitute for drought mitigation measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• community coherence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• tenure security which has enabled Bana Esther to retain her land rights after her husband’s death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• access to common property</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Food for Work programme provides safety net in times of drought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material assets:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Limiting factors:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 3ha land</td>
<td>• drought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• seed stocks</td>
<td>• pests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• improved grain storage</td>
<td>• inadequacy of infrastructure and transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• two oxen</td>
<td>• the need to maintain boreholes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• three cows</td>
<td>• the lack of sustainable natural resource management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• two goats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• chickens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• hunting dogs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• plough and farming equipment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• household stocks from Food for Work programme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• housing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• borehole</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• clinic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• roads to enable marketing of surplus crops</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• water sources</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• diversity of natural resources including grazing, thatch, poles and building materials, weaving grass, medicinal herbs, wild fruits, game and so on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chidakwa household

**Capabilities:**
- farming knowledge
- natural resource knowledge
- family health
- household labour

**Limiting factors:**
- risk of HIV/AIDS removing economically active family members

**Social assets include:**
- reciprocity
- functioning development institutions – VDC
- access to common property
- claims on Food for Work programme to provide safety net in times of drought

**Limiting factors:**
- donor dependence
- risk of Food for Work as a substitute for drought mitigation measures

**Material assets:**
- 3.5ha land
- improved seed stocks
- two cows
- household stocks from FFW programme
- millet, maize and groundnuts
- wild fruits
- housing
- borehole
- clinic
- roads to enable marketing of surplus crops
- water sources
- diversity of natural resources including grazing, thatch, poles and building materials, weaving grass, medicinal herbs, wild fruits, game and so on

**Limiting factors:**
- insufficient draught oxen
- late planting
- poor infrastructure and support
- poor maintenance of boreholes
- drought
- the lack of sustainable natural resource management

### Mainza household

**Capabilities:**
- farming knowledge
- natural resource knowledge
- family health

**Limiting factors:**
- inadequate household labour
- dependence on mother
- limited support structures

**Social assets include:**
- access to common property
- claims on Food for Work programme to provide safety net in times of drought

**Limiting factors:**
- donor dependence
- risk of Food for Work as a substitute for drought mitigation measures
- reliance on FFW undermines ability to weed own fields

**Material assets:**
- land – one small field
- goat, chickens
- millet crop
- household stocks from FFW programme
- sale of wild fruits
- sale of baskets
- barter of baskets in exchange for maize
- housing
- borehole
- clinic
- roads to enable marketing of surplus crops
- water sources
- diversity of natural resources including grazing, thatch, poles and building materials, weaving grass, medicinal herbs, wild fruits, game and so on

**Limiting factors:**
- hand tillage
- inadequate labour
- competition and limited market lowers prices of baskets
- basic infrastructure and support
- the need to maintain boreholes
- fertility of land
- the lack of sustainable natural resource management
CASE STUDY 9: THREE HOUSEHOLDS IN MANGANENG, SOUTH AFRICA

Background

Manganeng is a rural ‘denser settlement area’ situated in Sekhukhune District in the Northern Province of South Africa. This means that it has the kind of dense settlement you would find in an urban area, but there is none of the infrastructure and economic activity which is usually found in an urban centre.

Manganeng was formerly part of the Lebowa homeland. Its high settlement density is a direct result of apartheid policies. During the 1980s apartheid policies of the promotion of ethnic ‘homelands’ coupled with forced removals meant there was a major influx of people into the homeland area. This had major consequences for the livelihoods of existing residents as well as those of displaced people. The population of Sekhukhune District grew from an estimated 66,841 in 1970 to 392,847 in 1991.

Manganeng is divided into two parts. There is the original settlement area that was not formally planned and where residential stands and arable land allocated by the chief. There is a more recent planned settlement area. A wide road separates the two areas. Labour migration has resulted in a greater number of females in the area. Women comprise 54–56% of the population.

Local economy

Mining and agriculture are the primary economic activities in the area. There has been a decline in agricultural production. The poor livestock carrying capacity of 6–8ha per livestock unit indicates a degraded landscape. People from
Sekhukhune have traditionally sought employment in nearby Mpumalanga towns and on white-owned farms. Other people seek work further away in Pretoria, Witbank and Johannesburg.

Infrastructure

The Lebowa homeland government only provided water to the area next to where the chief stays. In other areas there are some hand pumps which were provided during a drought relief programme some years ago. The access roads in the area are not tarred and the area sometimes gets cut off in the rainy season as the low level bridge on the main access road becomes impassable. On occasion the bridge has been washed away.

There is one clinic in the area staffed by two nursing sisters and an assistant. There is a tribal authority hall which is used as a community hall and as a pension pay-out point.

There are two schools in the area – a primary school and a secondary school. The secondary school is situated in the new settlement area. There is also a community centre in this area which provide services such as HIV/AIDS awareness, supplementary lessons for matric pupils, a library and a resource centre.

The nearest business centre is Jane Furse which is about 20km from Manganeng.
The Malatsi household

This is an inter-generational household that consists of two parents who are both pensioners, an adult son who is a teacher, his wife, their two young children and a nephew who stays with the family.

There are two brick and corrugated iron houses on the site – one occupied by the parents and the other by their son and his family. The household owns a television set and a radio and has a telephone. The houses are well-furnished with chairs, tables, beds and wardrobes.

There is also a chicken coop and separate kraals (enclosures) for cattle and goats.

Both parents receive a state pension. Their son receives a salary as a teacher at the local school. The nephew staying with the household looks after the family cattle and goats. The two women in the household breed and sell chickens.

All members of the household are able to read and write. The son is a qualified teacher, which gives the household status in the community. The son plays a leadership role in a local community-based organisation for the youth.

Overall the household has diverse sources of regular income although the son’s salary provides the greatest cash income. There has been no change in the household’s livelihood status over the last few years although the parents income declined significantly when the father retired. However, the mother started breeding chickens as an extra source of income and the family was asked to look after the nephew who provides a source of household labour.
The Ramushu household

This is a female-headed household consisting of Mrs Ramushu, her two daughters, a mentally disabled son and two grandchildren. Mrs Ramushu's husband died a couple of years ago after a long illness. The family suffered a severe drop in their livelihood well-being as a result. Mrs Ramushu was no longer able to pay school fees to keep her son in a special school. She was forced to move to a smaller house to be nearer her brother-in-law whom she depends on for support.

The family lives in a small one roomed home with very basic furniture. There is no bed and the family sleep on mattresses on the floor. They keep a few chickens but have no livestock. The household has access to one small field which is not cultivated.

Mrs Ramushu does piece-work on surrounding white-owned farms and she works on her brother-in-law's field in exchange for food. She also belongs to a local brick-making project, which pays its members in food rather than cash. Mrs Ramushu had to take her youngest daughter out of school to look after the younger children and her mentally disabled son. The youngest daughter also puts in work on the brick-making project when her mother is away doing seasonal work on farms. Mrs Ramushu gets access to farm labour through relatives and friends that she has on a number of farms.

Mrs Ramushu cannot find time to work in her own field as she is too busy trying to earn a livelihood from other activities. She is also reluctant to invest labour and seed in high-risk agricultural activity as the area is prone to drought. The last time Mrs Ramushu planted crops on her land they died in the drought and she did not reap anything from her field.

Mrs Ramushu earns very little cash from her activities as most of her labour is in return for food. The time she has to spend on productive activities is reduced by having to walk long distances to collect firewood for cooking. Electricity would not solve Mrs Ramushu’s problems as she would be unable to pay for the connection.
The Phala household

This household consists of Mr Phala, his wife Mosadi and their three children, two of whom are of school-going age.

The family has built a brick house and outbuildings on their stand. The household has basic furnishings and appliances including an electric stove, a radio and a bicycle. The house has an electricity connection. The Phalas have a vegetable garden. Mrs Phala sells surplus vegetables for cash and keeps goats and chickens. The household also has access to a field where they grow maize and groundnuts.

Mr Phala is a mechanic and works part-time in Johannesburg. He brings home cash on an irregular basis. Mr Phala is away from home a lot of the time looking for work which is becoming more and more difficult to find. His wife has a market stall where she sells vegetables. Most days she sells very little. Sales are usually best when pensioners are paid out at the end of the month. Overall, however, vegetable sales yield very low cash income.

The family relies on their maize crop to supplement food. The family’s well-being fluctuates in relation to Mr Phala’s ability to secure paid work. This means that the household sometimes struggles to pay school fees and has periods when there is very little cash.
CASE STUDY 10: BAIRRO SANTA CRUZ, BENGUELA, ANGOLA

The Dos Santos household lives in a shanty area known as Bairro Santa Cruz located on the semi-arid Atlantic coastal strip of Angola between Benguela and Lobito. Benguela and the port of Lobito are about 30km apart and are linked by road and rail.

The cold Benguela ocean current affects the coastal climate, limiting rainfall to just 100mm a year in the coastal zone. As a result of the low rainfall, people who live and farm in the coastal area depend completely on irrigation from rivers which rise inland and water from boreholes.

Before independence in 1975, the local economy in this area revolved around large commercial sugar cane plantations and economic activities in Lobito Port. The plantations became defunct by 1984. Overall the local economy has seen a significant decline as a result of the civil war in Angola which displaced millions of people, cut rail links and made road transport dangerous.

Despite the low rainfall, there is a strip of relatively good agricultural land which stretches from the coast to the hills about 15km inland. Most agricultural land currently under production is close to Lobito and is dominated by large-scale farmers with access to irrigation. These farmers command significant local political and economic power.

Towards Benguela there is a lot of unused land as the irrigation canals in this area have fallen into disrepair. In total, there is about 5 000ha of irrigable land between Benguela and Lobito. However, there are approximately 300 000 people living in over 30 bairros around Benguela and Lobito and along the coastal strip.

The Santa Cruz bairro is situated next to the road between Benguela and Lobito. It consists of about 800 households in an older more established section that is home to people who originally worked on
Learning about livelihoods the plantations. Then there is a newer section where about 100 households built from temporary materials are laid out in rows. These accommodate people who have been displaced by the civil war. Displaced people have entered the area in three successive waves from the interior of Benguela province. Large numbers arrived in the mid-1980s. A second wave came in 1993, followed by a third in 1999. Most of these people have farming backgrounds but cannot return to the interior due to ongoing insecurity.

There are very limited health services available. There are no formal estimates of the extent of HIV infection. The few services that exist are provided on an erratic basis. Households have to buy drinking water from vendors at high prices.

Jorge and Emelia Dos Santos were displaced from Balombo in 1992. They fled to Santa Cruz with their four young children Maria (10), Daniel (7), Victor (4) and Amina (1). They chose Santa Cruz because they had some relations who had already settled there. According to Emilia, life in the interior was much better. There were fertile soils and good rainfall. Agriculture was the foundation of their lives.

As a result of their displacement, the Dos Santos household has become much more vulnerable and controls very few productive resources. In their new context the family’s agricultural skills are not very relevant. The war has disrupted and fragmented social networks which have proved very difficult to re-establish in the new settlement. Without these networks older children look after the younger ones while their parents work. The Santa Cruz bairro is a much less cohesive community, and there is a lack of trust and reciprocal relationships between households.

However, there is some collaboration between the household and their neighbours. People inform each other of job opportunities, sell each other’s goods at the market and provide child care at times. Overall the displaced households have very little social or economic interaction with the long-term residents of Santa Cruz. Bairro residents have very little political or economic influence on government and displaced residents from the interior have even less.

The Dos Santos household lives from hand to mouth and survives from piece-work doing physically taxing and low-paying activities. They live in a single hut made of temporary materials. Their main productive asset is one old hoe. They have grass mats and three cooking pots.

The household carries out three important economic activities. The first involves cutting and selling fuel wood. Emelia, and at times her husband Jorge, walk about 25km to the hills where there are lightly forested areas where people can cut and transport fuel wood to sell in the bairro. Some-
times they cut and sell the fuel wood themselves. On other occasions they simply carry wood for other people.

The Dos Santos family relies on their physical health and the ability to labour. Jorge is quite strong though he fell sick a couple of years ago and had to sell a hoe to get money to attend the clinic. His wife is not so strong. She often takes two days for a trip to cut and transport fuel wood and earns half as much as those who make the trip in a single day.

In addition, the area is being gradually deforested as most displaced families survive by cutting fuel wood. This means that available trees are getting further and further away. This adds to the time required to get to the area and places extra strain on Emelia who must carry heavy bundles of wood even further. It reduces her time for family and other economic activities.

Their second livelihood activity is agricultural piece-work. Jorge takes the family hoe to cultivate for a day on the commercial farm or a smallholder plot. For this work he gets paid in cash or in kind.

While Jorge does agricultural work, Emelia takes cash when it is available and goes by train to Benguela or Lobito. She buys a few bars of soap and a couple of kilograms of sugar. When she gets home, she re-packs them in tiny quantities for sale at the Santa Cruz open market. All of these livelihood activities provide very low returns.

The World Food Programme used to provide maize, oil and beans for displaced families in the bairro, but stopped this distribution in 1998. The Dos Santos children have poor nutrition and suffer frequent though (thus far) minor illnesses.

Jorge can speak and write some Portuguese. His wife has no formal education. The two older children attend a makeshift primary school that only goes up to Grade 3. Although both husband and wife were experienced farmers they have no other marketable technical skills and no irrigable land to use their farming skills on.
Gender analysis checklist

This checklist is based on the *Socio-economic and gender analysis program macro level handbook* prepared by the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, University of Arizona, USA. Adaptations and additions have been made. ‘Sex’ in this checklist refers to male or female, as opposed to ‘gender’ which refers to the socially determined roles of men and women.

**Household structure and composition**

- Who makes up the household?
- What is the gender and age profile of household members?

**Resource distribution within the household**

- Access to land: amount, quality, mode of access, and distance by sex.
- Access to and control over labour (both household and outside labour) by sex.
- Access to, sources and terms of, capital or credit by sex.
- Asset holdings by sex.
- Educational status by sex; skill levels by sex; access to extension and training opportunities by sex.
- Membership of or access to outside networks – kin, local associations, co-operatives, development or state projects by sex.

**Time and task distribution patterns within households**

- Time-use patterns of various household members by sex – daily, weekly and seasonal changes.
- Responsibilities of various household members for domestic tasks by sex – fetching fuel, water, cropping, livestock activities and so forth.

**Livelihood activities and income patterns within households**

- Outside employment of each household member: number and type of jobs, time involved, and so forth.
- Livelihood activities engaged in by the household for males and females.
- Income and benefit flows: sources, nature (in cash or in kind), regularity, control (pooled, shared or separately controlled) – by sex and age.

**Differences in expenditure, consumption patterns and welfare status within households**

- Expenditure patterns by sex and age.
- Consumption patterns by sex and age.
- Nutrition and health status by sex and age.
Criteria for evaluating livelihoods and development interventions

- What are the goals of the intervention? Who decided upon them and who was consulted? Were women's voices and interests adequately represented in the formulation of goals?
- Is the intervention directed at the household in general, or at women, or men specifically, or at both?
- Is there adequate data on gender differences inside the household in resources, responsibilities, and likely responses of men and women for the area where the intervention is targeted?
- What are the assumptions of the intervention about men's and women's resources and roles as producers, consumers, workers, household providers, or community-level change agents?
- Are these assumptions supported by the data or not?
- How does the intervention change the distribution of resources (land, labour, credit, time, education, services and training, asset holdings, access to outside networks) between men and women in the household?
- How does the intervention change the control over resources between men and women within the household?
- How does the intervention alter the sources, type, and regularity of income for men and women, and how does it affect who controls the income?
- What are the likely implications of these changes for household food security, livelihood security and the welfare of other members of the household?
- What are the implications of the intervention for women's time allocation between domestic tasks and outside work?
- If the intervention aims to make it possible for women to do more work outside the household, what will be done to free some of their time from domestic responsibilities? Or does the intervention simply mean there will be greater demands on women’s time?
- How will these changes within the household change the relations between the household and other institutions such as community organisations, markets, state bureaucracies and others?
Guidelines for actively using the films in this package

Introduction

Film is an extremely democratic medium. Most viewers feel able and confident to comment on something they have just watched on screen. After all, everyone who watched the film all saw it, live, in front of their eyes. A written case study or poem or photograph may require interpretation, but film encourages us to believe that it is transparent – that this is life we are watching. Too often, facilitators put on a film when everyone is tired or going home, as light relief. Doing this means wasting a rich resource. Instead, try using a film as the focus of a session. In the ‘preparation’ section of various sessions in this book, suggestions are made about how specific films can be used as case study material in the context of specific session learning objectives.

You will see that film can be a rich motivational or learning tool, providing access to new information, knowledge and experiences. It can make us conscious of our own attitudes and values, and promote respect and tolerance for other people’s views. It can also reinforce new learning and skill development.

Preparation

Watch the film yourself first. Then list the main points: What struck you? Now consider the film as a training tool. Who is your target group? What are their particular interests? What is the desired outcome of your session? The answers to these questions will guide your preparations.

Ask yourself these questions: Are you screening the film to round off a discussion topic, to introduce a subject or to lead from one topic to another? Will you show the whole film at once or will you pause for discussion after each segment?

When you have decided how to use the film, prepare the screening equipment. Make sure you have a television set and a video recorder, and that you understand how they both operate. If you don’t have equipment, you will need to hire or borrow it. Make sure there is electricity in the room or area where the equipment is to be used. The room must be well lit. Avoid the light shining on the television screen. Check that the equipment is working.

Check that the tape is rewound to the beginning. Set up the equipment and have the videotape ready. Arrange the room so that everyone can see the television properly.
Prepare any additional material you may need to present as an introduction to the film, input to issues raised during discussions or clarification of points in the film after viewing.

Now double-check that the monitor and player are working! It is very embarrassing to be held up by technical malfunctions.

Screening

Before viewing the film, give some background on the film and the objectives of the session. Guide viewers to watch actively by giving questions to be answered after viewing.

The documentaries on the Learning about livelihoods videocassette are generally in three parts. You may want to pause the tape after each segment to discuss what has happened so far. At the end of the screening, give viewers time to express their initial reaction to the film. Film is a good tool to encourage participation, so begin with open-ended questions such as ‘What did you think of this film?’ You could ask each person to write down his or her own impressions, or to discuss in pairs. That way, participants are better prepared to speak in front of the full group.

The rest of your lesson plan will depend on who is in your group, and what result you want from the viewing.

Whoever your group is, remember that participation is the key. Your skills in asking the right questions and in listening are more valuable than any information you give. Focus on ensuring that each participant contributes. Going round in a circle and giving each person a turn to speak is one way to encourage those who may be shy of volunteering their views. You could also try to encourage everybody to speak by giving each participant two stones at the beginning of the discussion and say that he or she must put one of the stones in the centre of the circle when they want to speak. This makes sure that no one person dominates the discussion and that participants can ‘book’ their turn to speak.

Make sure you have plenty of paper and pens for the session so that participants can write or draw in small groups or pairs. When working with community trainers, the film will help you to emphasise the skills of questioning, listening, consulting and ensuring participation.

Wherever possible, use activities rather than discussion only. Even important people enjoy giving their opinions, drawing pictures, writing lists, or taking part in role-plays and simulation exercises. Community trainers can design participatory methods and try them out on each other. Debate the more controversial issues.
Ask participants to compare the lives shown in the film with their own situations. How are they the same and how are they different? Then focus the discussion on what action participants should take in their community. They can go on to develop action plans from there. Another technique is to stop the film at a certain point and ask participants what they think will happen next.

Good planning will ensure that you guide discussion in the right direction, while eliciting maximum participation from the group.
SUPPORT MATERIAL FOR THE FILM HOME-MAKING

Film summary

Their half-built home near Lesotho’s capital Maseru stands as a symbol of the shock to the Thlabeli family’s livelihood – the recent retrenchment of the father of the house from his job on the gold mines of South Africa. As a dedicated labour union activist, Mr Thlabeli is well-informed and articulate about the reasons behind retrenchments in the mining sector. He speaks for migrant workers throughout southern Africa when he asks whose ‘house’ their labour has been building? That of South Africa, which they must leave when their contract expires? Or that of their home countries, where although their salaries have been taxed, they have no assurance of services or security at all?

Examining the Thlabeli household more closely, it can be seen that the family has been diversifying its livelihood sources for some time, by buying land, building and renting out rooms. Mrs Thlabeli’s income as a teacher has been a steady but unrecognised element in their income since the time of their marriage. Who then is the home-maker?

At another level, their household sustains, and is sustained by, the labour of an outsider, a young woman called Matsepa, one of ‘the girls who arrive on lorries’ from the rural hinterland in search of work, typical of family or underpaid female domestic labour throughout the region, ignored by much government and NGO planning.

A migrant worker’s life

After passing Standard 6 (the first year of high school) in Lesotho and having spent much of his youth herding cattle, Mr Thlabeli approached a mining recruitment agency at the age of 18. He got his first job at the Western Areas Gold Mine in South Africa in 1979. He made the transition from rural Lesotho to a single-sex mining hostel, which became his second home for nearly 20 years of work on the mines.

In this period Mr Thlabeli experienced discrimination under apartheid, which reserved skilled jobs for whites. He became actively involved in the rise of the South African trade union movement during the 1980s and the
launch of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in December 1982.

NUM actively opposed discriminatory labour practices on the mines and played a leading role in the broader struggle for democracy in South Africa. This period saw massive worker mobilisation, including the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in 1985 and a 21-day miners’ strike in 1987. Many workers were dismissed from the mines after ongoing protest action during this period. Mr Thlabeli lost his job in 1986 but was re-hired. By the time he was retrenched in 1998, Mr Thlabeli had risen to the senior and relatively well-paid position of shift boss at the mine where he worked.

Mrs Thlabedi’s role

Back home in Lesotho, Mrs Thlabeli started working as a teacher in 1977. Her income also made an important contribution to the household. When Mr Thlabeli’s first lost his job in 1986 without any benefits, this raised the alarm for the household. They decided to purchase land and build rooms to rent on the outskirts of Maseru. The combination of incomes from mining, teaching and rentals improved the livelihood security of the household.

Inside the household

The film highlights the division of labour within the household and shows the vulnerability of young women like Matsepa Tutuane who arrive from rural Lesotho to try and make a living in the capital Maseru. Matsepa cleans, cooks, fetches water and does anything else that needs to be done in the Thlabeli household.

Coping with retrenchment

When Mr Thlabeli was retrenched in 1998, the standard of living of the household dropped. The film shows how the household copes with the shock of retrenchment. It highlights the importance of Mrs Thlabeli’s active membership of social networks, burial societies and savings clubs. It also shows how important her salary as a teacher has become.

We see how Mr Thlabeli falls back onto other livelihood activities. He starts to sell patent medicines. He works in his vegetable garden. He has some livestock. As a member of NUM he is also likely to have received a retrenchment payout and may have some pension benefits.
Background information on Lesotho

Political instability in Lesotho

At the same time as the household grappled with the shock of retrenchment, there was a period of acute political crisis in Lesotho which does not feature in the film. Elections held in May 1998 saw the Lesotho Congress for Democracy win 79 out of 80 seats in Parliament with just 61% of the vote. Opposition parties claimed that the elections had been rigged. They launched a combination of peaceful and violent protest action which made Lesotho increasingly unstable. In September 1998 things came to a head. Troops from South Africa and Botswana acting in the name of the Southern African Development Community invaded Lesotho, saying they were there to restore order. In the process many people were killed. In anger and frustration, local people looted and burnt 80% of the businesses and buildings in the Maseru city centre. This period of uncertainty affected the Thlabeli family by making it more difficult to rent out rooms.

Economic challenges

Historically, Lesotho has been heavily dependent on remittances from their citizens working on South African mines. Large-scale retrenchments on the mines have dealt a heavy blow to the country. In 1990 remittances from miners working in South Africa made up 67% of Lesotho’s gross domestic product. This fell to 33% in 1996 and has fallen further since. The number of Basotho mineworkers fell from 100,000 in 1996 to 66,000 in the year 2000. What are the options for the thousands of workers who have been forced to return home?

There is a relatively small clothing and handcraft-manufacturing sector in Lesotho. Agriculture is a high-risk activity in a precarious environment. Tourism also provides some income. Water is the most significant natural resource. The Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme sells water to South Africa.

HIV/AIDS and the mining sector

The number of people from Lesotho working on the mines is likely to increase the rate of HIV/AIDS. A recent study of mineworkers in Carletonville, a mining town in South Africa with a high migrant labour population, estimated that the HIV infection rate was more than two thirds the national average. The study found that 75% of prostitutes in the area were infected with HIV. Conditions associated with migrant labour and single sex hostel life favour the spread of HIV. Lesotho already has an HIV/AIDS infection rate of 23.57% of the adult population.
Statistics about Lesotho cited in Home-making

In Lesotho at the time this film was made (2001):

- life expectancy at birth was 55.2 years in 1998 (UNDP. 2000. Human development report 2000)
- more than half the labour force was unemployed or underemployed (EIU. 2000. Country profile: Botswana, Lesotho 2000)
- 65.7% of the population lived on less than US$2 per day in 1993 (World Bank. 2000. World development report 2000/2001)
- inflation was 6–7% per year (EIU. 2000. Country profile: Botswana, Lesotho 2000)
Film summary

Retrenched from the auto-electrical workshop of a mine in Kitwe on Zambia’s Copperbelt, Peter Ngalande compares his past and his present, and his own situation with that of his peers. The Copperbelt was the source of the country’s wealth for many years, but has declined, along with the rest of the Zambian economy. Ngalande was ‘pruned’ (retrenched) as a result of the privatisation policy of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) which was voted into government in 1991. South African fast food franchises are now in Kitwe and all other major centres, and South African mining companies now run the copper mines.

While many people retrenched from their jobs in the Copperbelt got into debt, drinking and despair, Ngalande feels he had an advantage in that his wife had been selling in the market all along. He was able to join her business, travelling far out of town to buy produce at cost, for Mrs Ngalande to resell in the marketplace. However, this livelihood activity is under threat because local traders cannot compete with the prices offered by supermarket chains from other countries. Crime is spreading – Ngalande was held up at gunpoint and robbed. Also, the family trading business is vulnerable – when Peter lost bags of rice in a car accident, this almost wiped out their capital.

In addition to its trading business, the family also has a small piece of land where they grow food for their own house and for the marketplace. They would invest more into the land if they had any legal right to it, but they bought it ‘under the table’ years ago. Land tenure is a key issue for Copperbelt communities. Since the privatisation of the mines, it is difficult to tell what land belongs to the mines and what land is under the control of the chiefs. People have lost their
farming skills through working on the mines for generations, and there are recurrent droughts in Zambia. However, Ngalande still believes that cultivating their land is the most reliable livelihood strategy to back up their trading activities.

**Background information on Zambia**

The ‘pruning’ of Mr Ngalande takes place against a complex economic and historical backdrop. Zambia has world-class copper resources that have long been the country’s main source of foreign exchange and have provided most formal sector employment.

**Nationalisation of the mines and a fall in copper prices**

Five years after Zambia’s independence in 1964, President Kenneth Kaunda nationalised the copper mines. He said this was done to reclaim national resources from the control of foreign multinational companies. The state extended its control of the industry during the early 1970s. At that time a world-wide recession caused the copper price to collapse. Output from the mines fell and capital for investment in equipment and exploration dried up. In 1969 Zambia produced 720,000 tons of copper annually. By the early 1990s, output had fallen to 450,000 tons. By 1998 the state-owned Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) had accumulated a total debt of over US$800 million and was losing an estimated $1–1.5 million a day. By the end of 1999 copper output had fallen to only 286,000 tons.

**Chiluba and structural adjustment**

In 1991 the first multiparty elections for 23 years were held. Kaunda’s United National Independence Party was defeated by Frederick Chiluba’s MMD. In the same year, the new government embarked on a structural adjustment programme (SAP) which aimed to remove controls on agricultural prices, privatise over 280 state enterprises, remove controls on interest rates, float the currency, remove restrictions on imports and exports, and reduce customs tariffs.

Despite these measures, Zambia had negative economic growth between 1991 and 1995. Real per capita income declined by 20% in this period. A good growing season, which almost doubled the maize harvest in 1996, contributed to short-lived economic recovery. However by 1998 real GDP had contracted by 2%. Copper production declined sharply, El Niño affected agriculture and the Zambian kwacha depreciated by 39%. The structural adjustment programme has not been able to get Zambia out of its cycle of rising foreign debt. Zambia’s total debt in 1985 was US$4.5 billion. Between 1985 and 1995, the country repaid US$5.6 billion, but in 1995...
the debt had grown to US$6.8 billion. External debt in 2001 stood at 181% of gross national product.

Internationally it is recognised that, since the 1980s, SAPs have helped more money flow out of the developing world than into it. The developing world has paid out five times as much capital to the industrialised countries of the North as it has received.

The ‘free’ market

Mr Ngalande talks about the impact of Shoprite (a South African supermarket chain) on his market business. A generous government tax rebate has encouraged Shoprite to open up branches all over Zambia. According to some commentators13 ‘Shoprite has laid waste the economies of whole towns, undercutting traders and putting family stores out of business’. To make matters worse, this company buys all its goods from South Africa and Zimbabwe; it buys no local produce.

The social consequences

The social consequences of structural adjustment have been enormous. In 1996 the World Bank estimated that about 70% of Zambians were living in poverty with 58% of the population lacking basic nutrition. Life expectancy has fallen to 40.5 years.

The Zambian government claims that it has the quickest privatisation programme in Africa. It is estimated that between 60 000 and 72 000 people have lost their jobs as result of privatisation. Given that many people depend on a single wage earner, over 500 000 people have been directly affected. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) predicted its most recent loan to Zambia in 1999 would lead to the retrenchment of another 7 000 people in the public service.14 At the same time, cuts in public spending have major impacts on the poor. In 1980 the infant mortality rate was 97 deaths per 1 000 births. In 2001 it was 202 deaths per 1 000 births – a figure that is likely to increase with the current HIV/AIDS epidemic. At the same time primary school enrolment has dropped by nearly 20% – a result of the government spending only US$15 per primary school pupil in 1999 compared to US$60 in 1991.15 Children are also leaving school because their labour has become vital for household survival.16

Structural adjustment, vulnerability and HIV/AIDS

Medact and the World Development Movement17 are among a number of commentators who make the link between poverty and vulnerability and HIV/AIDS. They argue that structural adjustment programmes make poor people poorer and in the process may make them more vulnerable to HIV infection.
They examine the intended results of policies pursued under SAPs. The film shows how the policies actually impact on the Ngalande household and their neighbours.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Intended results</th>
<th>Common impacts on the poor</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reducing government expenditure</td>
<td>Freeing up money for debt servicing</td>
<td>Government services to the urban and rural poor are often easiest to cut. Cuts in health, education and social welfare spending and the introduction of cost recovery and user fees puts health care and education beyond the reach of many ordinary people. Public sector redundancies and salary freezes reduce numbers of people in essential services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privatisation of state-run industries</td>
<td>Increased efficiency</td>
<td>Massive lay-offs and increased unemployment with no social security provision pushes families deeper into poverty. Services to remove and poor areas are not profitable to the private sector and are dropped or reduced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal of price controls</td>
<td>Increased efficiency in food production</td>
<td>Basic food prices rise, putting even further pressure on already stretched household budgets.</td>
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Although the film is silent on HIV/AIDS as a specific threat, Mr Ngalande talks of the effects of retrenchment on his colleagues and how women ‘do things that they shouldn’t be doing’ to make ends meet. The combination of poverty, (91.7% of the Zambian population lives on less than US$2 a day) increasing crime and desperation are all factors pushing up Zambia’s rate of HIV infection, which had already infected 19.95% of the adult population in 2001.

**Privatising the mines**

Mining was the first sector to be targeted for privatisation. Initially, smaller mining enterprises were privatised. Peter Ngalande worked on the Copperbelt from 1975 to 1992 and was amongst the first wave of workers to be retrenched. Not surprisingly, he says his retrenchment is a direct consequence of the change in government.

For most of the 1990s the Chiluba government struggled to find buyers for the large mines that accounted for 65% of ZCCM output. While negotiations with potential buyers went on, the price of copper fell to a 13-year low. Meanwhile copper output from Zambia’s mines fell further to about 300 000 tons in 1999.

These factors helped to push down the price the government wanted for the mines. Pressure from the IMF and other donors who threatened to withhold aid pushed the government into selling the mines for a low price. South Africa’s Anglo-American Corporation bought the mines for only US$90...
million in cash and a capital outlay of US$300 million. At the time this investment was announced, it was expected that another 7,000 miners were likely to be retrenched by the new owner. An unexpected and major blow was delivered to the entire economy when Anglo American announced in January 2002 that it had decided to withdraw from its copper interests in Zambia.

**Future prospects**

Some analysts had predicted that the newly privatised mining sector would recover in the next few years and this would lead to economic growth in other industries. Now that a major South African mining company will withdraw, the future is uncertain. Another factor which makes the future uncertain is the election in January 2002 of Levy Mwanawasa of the MMD as President. Will he pursue the economic policies of his predecessor? Whatever happens, the key questions will be whether the poor can bear the costs of economic restructuring and who will reap the benefits of renewed economic growth.

**Statistics about Zambia cited in ‘Pruned’**

Until the 1990s, copper brought in 90% of Zambia’s export earnings but this dropped to 50% by 1999 (Obilegwu. 1999. *Copper and Zambia*)

In Zambia at the time this film was made (2001):

- life expectancy at birth was 40.5 years in 1998 (UNDP. 2000. *Human development report 2000*)
- inflation was 19% per year (EIU. 2000. *Country profile: Zambia 2000*)
What is the best place to invest resources to ensure livelihood security and alleviate poverty? Experience shows that strengthening resilience to risks is more important than putting money into emergency ‘relief’. But what happens when a huge unexpected ‘natural’ disaster strikes? The devastating floods of 2000 raised this question in Mozambique.

This documentary looks at the experience of the Langa family from Maputo, where the houses of 200 residents disappeared overnight into a massive ravine. It also looks at the experience of Mr Singh, a South African who recently invested in sugar cane farming in Mozambique. Both were affected by the floods, but their vulnerability and resilience were very different.

The beginning of the film refers to Mozambique’s long history of conflict, from the liberation struggle against Portugal to destabilisation by South Africa, to civil war. It briefly mentions the way Mozambique finally established peace and started to recover economically. It highlights the social costs of war and the impacts of major migration to the cities. More information on Mozambican history and the economy appears below.

The video tells the story of the Langa household in Polana Canico, an informal residential area in Maputo. The household consists of André Langa, his wife Ilda, and their three children. André’s mother, his brother and sister-in-law also stay with them.

André explains how he used to work for an NGO but was retrenched. His response was to build and run a small shop. We see how the location of André’s house and business are very important for the household’s livelihood strategies. Although André and Ilda built their home in...
an area at risk of flooding, it has the advantage of being close to health care, schools and economic opportunities. The location provides him with a viable market for his goods. Ilda works at a childcare centre as a general worker. Her salary pays for school fees and makes an important contribution to their livelihoods. She also has access to supportive colleagues who will lend her money if the household is in need.

The film examines the insecurity of households like that of the Langas. Their livelihoods depend partly on where they live, but this is also what makes them vulnerable. Moving people to sites far from the centre of the city is not a workable solution because they would not be able to pursue their current livelihood strategies.

Outside of Maputo Mr Singh, a South African agricultural investor, was allocated 550ha of land for sugar cane in a capital and labour intensive enterprise. Mr Singh employs 500 workers with plans to expand to 1 000 in three years’ time. How does he cope with the floods that cover his lands? Mr Singh estimates his financial loss is US$450 000, but the banks do not foreclose on his loan. He will be back in production as soon as the floodwaters subside.

**Background information on Mozambique**

Between 1960 and 1994 much of southern Africa was caught up in struggles for national liberation. Up to the time the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, the world was strongly influenced by the Cold War between the US and what was then the Soviet Union. These two superpowers competed for political influence by giving money and weapons to opposing sides in many wars. There were guerrilla wars and mass action campaigns in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Mozambique shares borders with both Zimbabwe and South Africa where major armed struggles were fought. Because the Mozambican Frelimo movement gave support to the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (Zanla), the armed wing of the Zimbabwe African National Union and Umkhonto weSizwe (the armed wing of the African National Congress – ANC), it became the target of destabilisation campaigns. The results of those campaigns still affect Mozambique today.

Frelimo neglected rural households in favour of large-scale state farming ventures and forced urban refugees to move into rural areas. This context and external support for rebel groups led to a full-scale civil war which only ended in 1992.
A history of conflict

In 1964 Frelimo launched an armed struggle to achieve independence from Portugal. In 1975 Mozambique under Frelimo declared independence from Portugal and started a programme of nationalisation and ‘villagisation’. According to Joseph Hanlon 21 Frelimo nationalised few companies, but many company owners made fearful by Portuguese propaganda fled the country and took their assets with them.

In 1976 Mozambique closed its border with Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in support of Zanla and UN sanctions against the government of Ian Smith which had declared a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965.

In 1977 Frelimo declared itself a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party and turned to the Soviet Union for support. At the same time the Rhodesian security forces nurtured the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR), later known as Renamo which started attacking Frelimo and Zanla inside Mozambique.

The 1979 Lancaster House agreement brought the Rhodesian civil war to an end and led to the establishment of independent Zimbabwe. South Africa started supporting Renamo to destabilise Mozambique because it supported the ANC.

In the early 1980s war and drought displaced huge numbers of people, many of whom converged on the urban areas. Frelimo tried to forcibly move people back to the countryside in 1983 through Operation Production. The combination of drought, war and dislocation lead to famine in 1984 which left tens of thousands of people dead.

As the civil war escalated sharply, Mozambique and South Africa signed the Nkomati Accord in 1984 in which both countries pledged not to support armed attacks on each other’s territories. In 1986 Mozambican President Samora Machel was killed in a plane crash over South Africa in suspicious circumstances and was replaced by Joachim Chissano. Chissano started to explore non-military means to end the civil war.

In 1986 the combined effects of war, famine and drought lead to Mozambique being ranked the poorest country in the world. Mozambique’s crisis grew and it could no longer depend on any support from its historic Soviet allies in events leading up to the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The effects of civil war

By the end of the 1980s, at least one million people had died in the civil war. Three million became refugees in surrounding countries. (See the effects of this on rural people in Zimbabwe in the film ‘Moving on’ on the videocassette.) Five million people were internally displaced. Two thirds of
primary schools and one third of rural health facilities had been destroyed. An estimated three million landmines lay buried in farmlands and villages around the country.

In 1987 the UN raised US$330 million of emergency assistance for Mozambique. At the same time Mozambique launched an IMF-sponsored structural adjustment programme.

The search for a political settlement gained momentum until a general peace agreement was signed in 1992 and a new constitution was drafted. This was followed by elections in 1994 which Frelimo won, but without an overall majority. Renamo gained 38% of the vote, including majorities in five of the ten provinces.

**Perspectives on structural adjustment in Mozambique**

Mozambique has been held out as an example of a successful structural adjustment programme – one of the best in Africa. Between 1996–98 the economy grew at 10% per year. Inflation fell from 70% in 1994 to 47% in 1996 to only 1% in 1998. The currency gained 26% in value over the same period. Over 1,200 large, medium and small enterprises were privatised and restructured by mid-1999. Yet these statistics tell only part of the story.

Privatisation has had serious consequences for household livelihoods. In some cases the business advice to newly privatised industries was seriously flawed. For example privatisation in the cashew industry – Mozambique’s second largest industry – went badly wrong. See the box for details.

**IN A NUTSHELL**

Many thousand Mozambican peasants grow cashew nut trees and the country has developed a relatively sophisticated processing industry that employs 9,000 workers – mostly women. When the industry was privatised, 7,000 workers were laid off and the industry narrowly missed becoming bankrupt after bad advice from World Bank experts.

A bank study stated that local processing of cashew nuts was uneconomic and that the raw nuts should be exported to India where they could be processed more cheaply. Mozambique then levied an export tax to protect the industry. In 1996 the World Bank insisted that the nuts be exported without any tariff imposition. When Mozambique refused the Bank made the tariff free export of cashew nuts a ‘necessary condition’ of continued bank assistance. After much protest the president of the World Bank ordered a new study that was carried out by international consultants Deloitte and Touche which concluded that previous policy was wrong and ‘should be abandoned’. By this time a great deal of damage had been done as most raw nuts had been exported, which caused local processing factories to close and lay off their workers.
Aid dependency

Mozambique has become one of the world’s most heavily aid-dependent nations. A 1998 poverty assessment showed that 70% of the population live below the poverty line and 80% of the poor live in rural areas. Only 5% have electricity and only 9% piped water. In 1998 a monthly basket of food for a family of five cost 3.5 times more than the minimum wage.

In 1998 Mozambique became officially eligible for Debt Relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) initiative. This initiative cancelled 80% of the country’s debt but estimates showed that at least 90% of its debt would need to be cancelled to make repayments sustainable. Overall the HIPC initiative has been criticised as a cosmetic policy change. Figures released by the IMF claimed that Mozambique would gain 80 US cents per person a year as a result of the HIPC agreement. The British Treasury released another set of figures that showed that Mozambique had gained nothing at all.

Economic recovery washed away

In 1999 an IMF ESAP policy framework paper stated that on the ‘assumption of no exogenous shocks and the continued satisfactory implementation of the programme the medium economic outlook for Mozambique remains favourable’. The massive floods in 2000 and 2001 have clearly challenged this assumption and deepened Mozambique’s aid dependency.

From 4–7 February 2000 torrential and constant rains swept through the south of the country affecting Maputo, Matola, Xai Xai and Inhambane in particular. This was followed by cyclones and storms in the second half of February including cyclones Elaine and Felicity. These affected Beira and Chimoio. In the meantime the neighbouring states of Swaziland, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia were hit by bad weather. This raised flood waters in the Limpopo, Save and Inkomati rivers. The amount of water in these rivers was made worse by poor management of large dams upstream. The risk of flooding was identified years before it actually happened, but no effective action was taken. Eventually the full impact of the floods was felt in Mozambique.

The floods have had a whole range of impacts. They have destroyed houses, roads and bridges, crops, grain stores and livestock, schools and health infrastructure of thousands of households in the affected provinces. Floodwaters also moved buried landmines still uncleared from the war creating new hidden hazards. Between January and July 14,955 cases of cholera were reported, with 215 recorded deaths.

See the ‘key ideas’ section in Session 10 for more background on disaster risk.
Statistics about Mozambique cited in *Floods*

In Mozambique at the time this film was made (2001):

- life expectancy at birth was 43.8 years in 1998 (UNDP. 2000. *Human development report 2000*)

- 78.4% of the population lived on less than US$2 per day in 1996 (World Bank. 2000. *World development report 2000/2001*)

- inflation was 12% per year (EIU. 2000. *Country profile: Mozambique Lesotho 2000*)


- adult literacy was 27% for women and 58.4% for men (UNDP. 2000. *Human development report 2000*)

A man in his early twenties, recently returned to his rural home, is suspected of murdering a young woman during a tuckshop robbery. Taking the case into his own hands, Makhosi looks at the major threads twisting through the social fabric of this northern part of KwaZulu-Natal province in South Africa and, in the process, uncovers his own sense of agency and future path.

Makhosi reflects on the prevalence of violence in his society – to him, it seems that youth are just following in their elders’ footsteps by taking up guns. This area has a history of conflict: today’s common view begins with Bambatha, the leader of the last traditional war against European settlers a century ago. Since then, this part of KwaZulu-Natal has been scarred by land dispossession, and by factional conflicts between political parties which continue today.

Violence has become a way of life, especially since there are such limited economic possibilities in the area. Thembelephi died, after all, for the sake of a few rand from her mother’s tuckshop. While the youth do not want to do agricultural work because they say it is dirty, older women like Thembelephi’s aunt, Mrs Mhlongo, generate a living for their families from a wide range of farming, craft and marketing activities.

Mrs Mhlongo believes that young women’s lives are severely limited these days: boys can get away to try to find work in the cities, but a girl’s main hope is that the boy who makes her pregnant will stand by her. Young girls are already mothers during their school days. And these days, an
unwanted baby is not the only danger – this province has the highest HIV/AIDS rate in South Africa.

But Makhosi’s actions symbolise the potential for the so-called ‘lost generation’ to take action to change their lives. After the guilty boys are identified at a community meeting, Makhosi and his friends visit the village that the real murderers came from. This causes instant panic. Everyone assumes they have come for vengeance. But, just as Makhosi hopes to lead his peers back to agriculture as a hope for the future, he wants to turn his back on the violent legacies of the past. ‘Don’t worry’, he tells the villagers. ‘Go home. You don’t have to sleep in the hills any longer.’

Background information on South Africa

A combination of international sanctions, the end of the Cold War, mass action and other protests and organised resistance against the apartheid government in South Africa and abroad led to the establishment of a democracy in South Africa in 1994. The ANC, largest of the liberation movements, came to power on the promises of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which envisaged massive state-led intervention to change the injustices which had been part and parcel of national life since the late 1800s. After 1994 most of the repressive legislation of the apartheid era was repealed and progressive policies put in place in many areas of national life. This promised a real improvement in the lot of people who had been poor and marginalised simply because they are black.

However, by 1996, the ANC had abandoned the RDP in favour of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution macroeconomic strategy (Gear), a policy with many features in common with the structural adjustment programmes which have been imposed in many developing countries. Gear had promised economic growth accompanied by increasing employment and decreasing inequality. In fact, the South African economy has experience ‘jobless growth’ – there has been modest economic growth, but this has been accompanied by the loss of more than half a million formal sector jobs. Almost one million houses have been built and there have been significant advances in other areas. However, government delivery in key areas which include poverty alleviation, health, social welfare, education, economic development and job creation leaves much to be desired. South Africa continues to be one of the most unequal societies on earth. Although the middle class is no longer exclusively white, poverty overwhelmingly affects poor, black people more than any other group.

HIV/AIDS is the most serious threat to South Africa’s future – approximately one in nine people is HIV-positive, and one in every two people under the age of 18 will become HIV-positive during their lifetimes. By 2005, approxi-
mately 1 million children will have been orphaned by AIDS, a number that is expected to increase to 2.5 million by 2010. In the face of this slow-onset disaster, the government has responded by questioning the link between HIV and AIDS, and arguing that anti-AIDS drugs used elsewhere in the world are too toxic to provide through the public health system. In December 2001, a coalition of NGOs successfully applied for a court to order the government to provide treatment to HIV-positive pregnant women to prevent mother-to-child transmission of the HI virus. The government has appealed against the decision.

KwaZulu-Natal is one of the poorest of South Africa’s nine provinces, and is ruled by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), a rival to the ANC which rules seven other provinces and forms the national government. Since 1984, serious political violence between supporters of the IFP and the ANC has been a feature of life in the province, especially in rural areas. In the last few years, the violence has abated, but there are still tensions on the ground which serve to undermine development.

Statistics about South Africa cited in *Legacies*

In South Africa at the time this film was made (2001):

- 35.8% of the population lived on less than US$2 per day in 1993 (World Bank. 2000. *World development report 2000/2001*)
- inflation was 8% per year (EIU. 2000. *Country profile: South Africa 2000*)
- HIV infection amongst pregnant women at antenatal clinics in KwaZulu-Natal province was 32.5% (SAIRR. 2000. *Fast Facts, 8, August*).
The Mapeta family were forced to move three times during the past 50 years, each time to increasingly marginalised environments.

Eva Mapeta is a young single mother who left for the city like most of her peers but returned, pregnant, as urban opportunities became more scarce in Zimbabwe. Child of the second of her headman father’s three wives, Eva outlines the family tree and the family fortunes. The younger generation send money to support the parents and the younger children.

Eva’s great-aunt, Doren Mapeta, is the one who can best remember their previous home, and she takes Eva and her mother Joyce to see it. Water was plentiful here, and the community grew wattle as required by the government of the time. Their success, Doren speculates, may have prompted their removal.

Things were much more difficult in the new area of Bende, where the Mapetas and the rest of their village were resettled in the 1960s. Another elder, Caleb Mandipaza, remembers how the springs dried up as trees were cut down. In the 1980s, he remembers, it became even more difficult when a camp for refugees from war-torn Mozambique was established nearby. Up to 55,000 refugees lived there and were forced to use the same natural resources.

It was elders like Caleb Mandipaza and Doren Mapeta who spearheaded the conservation effort, recalls Joyce Mapeta. She outlines the spring rehabilitation programme that the community is now engaged in, and new methods such as permaculture, which NGOs have brought to the village.

What of the future? Do the environmental and income-generating activities offer hope for the future of this rural area? Eva admits that her first choice is a job in town as soon as her son is old enough, but Great-Aunt Doren feels that her community is satisfied now and wouldn’t accept another move.
Background information on Zimbabwe

Understanding change over time

The Mapeta family story is all too common for many rural families in Zimbabwe. The family history is one of forced removals and relocation to increasingly marginal environments. The influx of thousands of refugees into the area fleeing destabilisation and civil war in Mozambique shows how events in different countries start to interconnect. It highlights how issues in the regional context have effects that ripple across political borders and have residual impacts for years to come. (See background information on Mozambique above.)

For the people at Bende, the refugees had a major impact on the environment. This made the effects of their forced removal to more marginal land worse. Springs dried up and substantial deforestation took place. This in turn makes recurrent cycles of drought more difficult to manage.

The film shows how the large Mapeta family depends on multiple sources of livelihood. It also mentions the gender division of labour within the household. Money and food from family members living and working in town make an important contribution to the rural household. In the video Eva returns from the capital Harare without finding any work. The documentary briefly alludes to factors in the Zimbabwean political economy which has major effects on livelihood security.

The land question

Until 2001 some 4 400 whites owned 10 million ha or 32% of Zimbabwe’s best agricultural land while about 1 million peasant families farmed 16 million ha or 38%. This land is more marginal and drought-prone. This unequal division of land goes back to the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which barred Africans from owning land outside the reserves except in so-called purchase areas reserved for ‘master farmers’. Africans not needed as labour on white owned farms were removed to the reserves.

Not surprisingly, land was a key issue motivating the national liberation struggle waged by the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (Zanla) and the Zimbabwe People’s Revolution Army (Zipra). The armed struggle commenced in the 1960s. It claimed the lives of more than 30 000 people before ending in 1979 after constitutional negotiations at Lancaster House. The outcome of these negotiations was the Lancaster House constitution, which was valid for 10 years. It guaranteed among other things that land would not be nationalised and that land redistribution would only take place on the basis of ‘willing buyer-willing seller’. Britain and other donors...
pledged aid to buy land for resettlement. Effectively while political power changed hands, control over land and the economy remained largely unchanged.

At independence the Zimbabwe government planned to resettle 160 000 households on 8 million ha of land. Their initial plan was that these families would be resettled within five years. By the end of 1984 the government had bought 2.5 million ha and resettled 33 000 families on 1.8 million ha. Between 1985 and 1990 the pace of land reform slowed. By 1990, government had bought an additional 500 000ha and had resettled another 18 235 families.

A number of problems started to slow down the process. Successful land reform involves much more than the transfer of land. It requires investment in infrastructure such as roads, schools and clinics. It requires appropriate support services and the availability of credit. It requires strategies and safety nets to anticipate and manage drought and other hazards. These things are costly. Land reform also entails retraining of staff and refocusing of institutions.

By the early 1990s much of the political will for thorough land reform was gone. There were also increasing instances of corrupt land allocation at top levels of the state. Civil society groups and donors alleged that land bought for redistribution was allocated to party functionaries rather than to the peasants who most needed it. In 1989 Africa South magazine pointed out ‘the (ZANU) party’s top leadership have acquired huge tracts of land. To expect them to help in a process (renewed land reform) that seeks to remove their advantage is both unprecedented and absurd’. Because land reform was no longer transparent, donor funds committed for this process dried up.

From 1998 ZANU encouraged ‘war veterans’ to invade the land of white farmers without any compensation, a process which had not stopped at the time this book was published. This unplanned incursion resulted in the deaths of some people, the loss farm workers’ jobs, and massive disruptions to Zimbabwe’s economy, an economy which is heavily reliant on agriculture, especially tobacco production.

**Post-war reconstruction**

Zimbabwe had many post-war priorities in addition to land reform. It aimed to dramatically improve education and health and in these areas it made impressive, if unsustainable progress. In 1980 there were 3 161 schools, 28 000 teachers and 1.2 million students. By 1990 there were 4 504 schools, 58 000 teachers and 2.3 million students. This is reflected in high adult literacy rates – 82.9% for women and 91.7% for men.
Free health care was extended to anyone earning below Z$150/month (Z$ = Zimbabwe dollar). Several hundred new clinics were built and major investment was made in primary health care and sanitation. Only 25% of children were immunised in 1984; by 1989 this figure improved to 70%.

**Defending against apartheid destabilisation**

While Zimbabwe was trying to meet social objectives, it also had to contend with destabilisation from apartheid South Africa. It had to accommodate over 100 000 refugees from Mozambique. It intervened in the Mozambican conflict to protect the Beira Corridor and in 1985 was supporting 10 000 troops in Mozambique. It continued playing an active role until 1992 when the civil war came to an end.

**Abuse of power and corruption – civil society response**

Abuses of power, incidences of corruption and mismanagement in government became commonplace in Zimbabwe. After a slow start, civil society began to mobilise against this. The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission spoke up against the 1983–85 campaign in Matabeleland of the notorious Fifth Brigade in which 1 300 people were killed, many disappeared and thousands were raped or assaulted. Students from the University of Zimbabwe protested against government corruption in 1988. They were supported by an increasingly independent Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). Morgan Tsvangirai, secretary general of the ZCTU, and now leader of Zimbabwe’s opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), was first detained in 1989. In 2002 Tsvangirai contested the presidential election.

**Paying the price – the economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP)**

In 1991 the combined effects of post-war social spending, demobilisation pay-outs, the conflict in Mozambique and other costs associated with South African destabilisation lead to Zimbabwe going down the familiar road of structural adjustment that has been described in detail in the case of Zambia and Mozambique.

Much of the gains of the early years of independence were quickly rolled back. Free health care and education were slashed. The number of women dying in childbirth doubled in Harare two years after the implementation of structural adjustment.

Prices of basic commodities rose – the price of cooking oil, margarine, sugar, bread and maize meal had tripled by 1994. There was a sharp increase in malnutrition in rural areas, which was further aggravated by the droughts in 1992 and 1994 mentioned by Eva Mapeta in the *Moving on* film.
The currency weakened. A large black market developed in currency trading. Many Zimbabweans lost jobs, although the Zimbabwean government has held back from privatising many state assets. Controls on wages and employment were relaxed. Zimbabwe saw an influx of South African and other foreign owned chain stores and franchises while the country’s actual manufacturing output fell by 25%.

The timing of ESAP coincided with a broadening wave of HIV/AIDS infection which demanded more social spending, not less. In 2001 the adult HIV/AIDS rate was 25.06% and life expectancy in Zimbabwe had fallen to only 43.5 years.

Ostensibly introduced to alleviate poverty, ESAP has substantially aggravated it. Ordinary Zimbabweans referred to structural adjustment as the ‘suffering of African people’.

In 1998 government drew up another plan – the Zimbabwe Plan for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) – but this did not meet its targets. Domestic debt increased sharply to a level of 69% of GNP in 2001 while inflation reached 60% a year. In the violent run-up to the March 2002 presidential election, inflation had reached even higher levels.

President Mugabe then unilaterally decided to send troops to the Democratic Republic of the Congo without reference to Parliament – a move deeply unpopular with most ordinary Zimbabweans. The cost of sustaining military operations in that country has added significantly to Zimbabwe’s economic problems.

**ZANU fights to retain power**

In the eight years since the implementation of structural adjustment, ZANU lost substantial popular support. Faced with elections in June 2000 and an increasingly vocal and organised opposition, ZANU revisited the land issue in what many commentators argue has been a cynical political manipulation of a neglected need. President Mugabe personally amended a proposed new constitution to try to entrench his power and to enable him to seize white-owned land without compensation. However, the constitution was rejected in a national referendum held in February 2000. Following this defeat in the referendum ‘veterans’ of the liberation struggle were encouraged to occupy white-owned farms. Government pressure on the courts which tried to uphold the rule of law led to the resignation of top judges and the appointment of pro-government judges in their places. The war veterans also played a role in the closely-contested June 2000 parliamentary elections which were marred by violence. ZANU, which had previously held almost all the seats in Parliament, won only 62 seats compared to the MDC’s 57. In the March 2002 presidential elections Mugabe was
Learning about livelihoods

re-elected, but the circumstances surrounding his victory were so controver-
sial that Zimbabwe was suspended from the Commonwealth.

Vibrant civil society

In the face of a growing social, economic and political crisis, Zimbabwean civil society is increasingly well-organised and vocal. NGOs are very active in work on poverty reduction programmes and HIV/AIDS prevention and support. As the documentary shows, NGO work is an important force in assisting the people in Bende to fight poverty, reduce their vulnerability to drought and increase food security. It is also worth noting that the film shows district development officials playing important supportive roles as well. This highlights how the national picture may differ from the local or district level.

Seeing the big picture

The livelihoods framework highlights the importance of making connec-
tions between local and household level livelihoods issues such as those presented in the film, and the forces in the external environment which either enhance or undermine livelihood security. Analysis of these factors also requires an understanding of history and the identification of key trends.

Statistics about Zimbabwe cited in Moving on

In Zimbabwe at the time this film was made (2001):

- life expectancy at birth was 43.5 years in 1998 (UNDP. 2000. Human development report 2000)
- 64.2% of the population lived on less than US$2 per day in 1990–91 (World Bank. 2000. World development report 2000/2001)
- inflation was 60% per year (EIU. 2000. Country profile: Zimbabwe 2000)
- adult literacy for women was 82.9% compared with 91.7% for men (UNDP. 2000. Human development report 2000).
Endnotes for Chapter 4

1. An informal bar.
2. These case studies have been adapted from Naidoo 2000.
3. This could also be regarded as an asset by the Paulina’s husband and by his brother’s widow and her children. This highlights how assets and liabilities may be contested and reflect gender and power relations.
4. Hostility to foreigners, in this case, against Mozambicans.
5. These case studies have been prepared by Penny Ward based on work undertaken by CARE Zambia.
7. Pronounced ‘Lisutu’.
9. People from Lesotho are referred to as Basotho.
10. Mbendi information for Africa: Lesotho.
18. Frente de Liberta Vão de Mozambique; currently the ruling party in that country.
19. Currently the ruling party in Zimbabwe.
20. Currently the ruling party in South Africa.
23. SAIRR 2001. South Africa survey is an authoritative annual digest of information on all aspects of South African life drawn from governmental, non-governmental, business and media channels.
25. BBC news 26 April 2000 http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/English/world/Africa/newsid_594000/594522.stm
27. In 1976 the US Secretary of State pledged US$1.5 billion for land reform which was never honoured. Britain provided a total of £44 million for land resettlement.
31. Zimbabwe is landlocked. Access to a port during the Mozambican civil war depended on the Zimbabwean army protecting a ‘corridor’ all the way to Beira.
32. ACCORD 1997.
References and further reading for Chapter 4


Treatment Action Campaign website: www.tac.org.za


**Glossary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access</td>
<td>The rights different people have to available resources. See Session 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaptive strategies</td>
<td>Longer term shifts in livelihood strategies to respond to changes in the environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciative enquiry</td>
<td>A method of assessment which is based on identifying local strengths, assets and opportunities as the foundation for development planning. See pages 239–40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assets</td>
<td>Resources used for gaining a livelihood. These are divided into social and material assets in the framework used in this book. The DFID and Oxfam frameworks refer to assets as the five ‘capitals’ – financial, physical, natural, social and human. See Session 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bairro</td>
<td>A Portuguese word used to refer to poor neighbourhoods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseline study (of livelihoods)</td>
<td>A detailed, tightly focused study in a few selected areas that researches targeted households and people within them. The baseline deepens the knowledge base and enables targeted interventions. It also provides useful information for future monitoring and evaluation purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capabilities</td>
<td>The combined knowledge, skills, state of health and ability to labour or command labour of a household. The DFID and Oxfam livelihood frameworks refer to capabilities as an asset called ‘human capital’. See Session 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community management roles</td>
<td>These involve participation in local decision making, dispute resolution, governance and resource management structures as well as in cultural activities. See Session 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual framework</td>
<td>A set of ideas that are organised to provide a coherent approach to analysing and understanding an issue or problem. The framework organises, clarifies and defines terms and concepts. It also spells out the assumptions and values which underlie the concepts. See Session 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>Powers over the different elements and processes of production and the rights to dispose of those products. See Session 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping strategies</td>
<td>Temporary adjustments to respond to change or a short-term modification of livelihood activities in the face of a shock or stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differentiation</td>
<td>The process of exploring differences between things, for example, between households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaggregation</td>
<td>Dividing something into its different parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster</td>
<td>An event that overwhelms or disrupts the capacity of an individual,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
household, community, city, province or country to resist or recover from the impacts without outside assistance. See Session 10

**Disaster risk**

The *probability* that an individual, household, community, city, province or country is unable to anticipate, resist or recover from the losses sustained from a hazard or other threat without external assistance. See Session 10

**Diversification**

Livelihood diversification is a household’s attempt to reduce its vulnerability by having more than one livelihood activity. In a diversified household, if one productive activity does not provide enough, or fails completely, there are other sources of livelihood that the household can fall back on

**El Niño**

An intense or powerful El Niño event is characterised by an abnormal *warming* of the Eastern Pacific Ocean, and is associated with extreme drought or heavy rainfall events in different parts of the world. El Niño events are often associated with drought in southern Africa, but abnormally heavy rainfall in East Africa. See also La Niña

**Elements-at-risk**

The households and people, resources, services or infrastructure that are exposed to a specific threat. Usually they include people, physical infrastructure, natural environment, public services, agriculture (including livestock), social order and the local economy. The vulnerability of an element-at-risk will significantly shape its capacity to withstand and recover from the effects of a hazard. See Session 10

**Entitlements**

Resources which people have the right to access

**Exposure**

The degree to which the people in a household, its property or livelihoods are likely to be struck or affected by known hazards or threats (usually as a result of physical location). See Session 10

**Financial capital**

In the DFID and Oxfam livelihood frameworks, financial capital includes income, credit, claims, savings and cattle. See Session 5

**Flexiflan**

A felt board which is used with prepared symbols of different types which have a backing material which sticks to the board and can be moved

**Gender**

Refers to socially-constructed roles for males and females (as opposed to sex, which denotes the biological distinction between males and females). These roles, which are learnt, change over time and vary widely within and between cultures. See Session 2 and Session 6 and page 320

**Gender and development (GAD)**

An approach that seeks to empower women and transform unequal gender relations. See Session 6

**Globalisation**

According to the International Monetary Fund, globalisation is the growing economic interdependence of countries world-wide through increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services, of international capital flows, and the more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology. This definition presents globalisation as a neutral phenomenon;
other definitions concentrate on what it does rather than what it is. Among other things, critics of globalisation say it favours rich countries at the expense of poor ones, and it puts the interests of multinational corporations above issues of national sovereignty. Supporters of globalisation present it as an opportunity for all countries to benefit from increased trade.

Gross national product: The total value of all final goods and services produced annually by a nation.

Hazard: A natural or other phenomenon with the potential to cause harm. See Session 10.

Headship: Refers to the head of a household. See Session 1.

Household: Households are often defined as people who eat together, share resources and live under the same roof. However, there are many different kinds of households and many different definitions. See Session 1.

Human capital: Used in the DFID and Oxfam livelihood frameworks, this refers to skills, knowledge and the ability to labour. In other frameworks, human capital is referred to as ‘capabilities’. See Session 5.

Institutions: Functioning social systems. For example, the way the rights and duties of people who use common grazing or forest resources may be governed by locally agreed and enforceable norms and rules.

La Niña: La Niña events are characterised by excess cooling of the Eastern Pacific Ocean. In Africa, La Niña events often bring heavy rainfall and cyclones to southern Africa, while they are most frequently accompanied by severe drought in East Africa. See also El Niño.

Land tenure: Rights and arrangements which regulate access, use and ownership over land.

Livelihood: The capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Carney 1999:4).

Logical framework planning: A results or objective-oriented form of planning required by many donors (known as LFA, logframe or ZOPP depending on the agency involved).

Macro environment: The environment at levels larger than the local (micro) level (for example, district, provincial, national and international levels).

Material assets: Assets which are tangible and quantifiable (as opposed to social assets). They are the actual physical things which people own, control or have access to, including land, water, money, credit, livestock, seed stocks, farming equipment, tools, natural resources, and infrastructure such as roads, electricity, water and sanitation. See Session 5.

Micro environment: The environment at local level, rather than the environment at macro level.

Natural capital: Used in the DFID and Oxfam livelihood frameworks, this refers to land and natural resources. See Session 5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Physical capital</strong></th>
<th>Used in the DFID and Oxfam livelihood frameworks, this refers to farm equipment, shelter and infrastructure. See Session 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRA (participatory rural appraisal)</strong></td>
<td>An approach to planning that values listening, participatory methods that empower, and co-learning and analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Practical gender needs</strong></td>
<td>These are things like the provision of clean water, electricity and primary health care, which benefit women, but leave their gender roles fundamentally unchanged. See Session 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Productive activities</strong></td>
<td>These involve producing income or goods for consumption. See Sessions 2 and 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qualitative data</strong></td>
<td>Data that has to do with <em>qualities</em> rather than with things that can be measured or counted</td>
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<td><strong>Quantitative data</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reciprocity</strong></td>
<td>Mutual exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reproductive activities</strong></td>
<td>Activities that maintain the household, including raising and caring for children, cooking, cleaning, washing, fetching water and fuel, going shopping and building and maintaining the home. See Sessions 2 and 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resilience (‘robustness’)</strong></td>
<td>Resilience is a measure of the household’s ability to absorb shocks and stresses, of how robust it is. A household with well-diversified assets and livelihood activities can cope better with shocks and stresses than one with a more limited asset base and few livelihood resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resource management systems (linked to tenure)</strong></td>
<td>Social systems that determine the rights of individuals and households to a wide range of resources such as common grazing, forest products, marine and river resources, game, medicinal herbs, grasses for weaving and thatching, firewood, water and residential and arable land. Gender and age will determine the nature of claims and access that a particular social system will provide. See Session 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Retrenchment</strong></td>
<td>Being made redundant/laid off from a formal sector job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seasonality</strong></td>
<td>Phenomena which are linked to the seasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semi-structured interview</strong></td>
<td>A guided interview in the form of a conversation in which only the topics are predetermined and new questions or insights arise as a result of discussion and visual analysis. See page 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex (as opposed to gender)</strong></td>
<td>The biological distinction between males and females. See Session 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shocks</strong></td>
<td>Sudden events which undermine household livelihoods. These include retrenchment, the death of an economically active household member, as well as the impact of hazards such as drought, floods or other extreme weather events, which are often made worse by mismanagement of the environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Slow-onset hazard event</strong></td>
<td>A hazard event in which weeks or months may pass after an ‘alert’ is first sounded before measurable impacts are felt on lives and livelihoods.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of slow-onset hazards are drought and the spread of some communicable diseases. See Session 10

Social assets
Intangible benefits (as opposed to material assets) that come through relationships with people and institutions and access to resources that are determined by local rules and conventions. See Session 5

Social capital
In the DFID and Oxfam livelihood frameworks, social assets are ‘social resources which people draw upon in pursuit of their livelihood objectives’, social networks and organisations

Socialisation
The process of becoming infused with the values, attitudes and prejudices of a society

Stereotype
An oversimplified mental picture or prejudice about a group that is shared by many people, for example, around race and gender

Strategic gender needs
These are those development interventions that promote increased equity between men and women. Examples include policy and programmes that strengthen women’s rights, entitlements and participation in decision making. See Session 2

Stratification
In this context, the way society has households with different levels of well-being

Stress calendar
A calendar which indicates when a household expects to experience stress, for example, the time school fees must be paid or the season in which grazing becomes scarce. See page 254

Stresses
Ongoing pressures which face households and individuals. These include long-term food insecurity and limited access to essential services such as health or water supplies. Another stress is the degrading of the natural resource base, something which may force people to travel further and further for fuel and other natural resources

Structural adjustment programmes (SAPs)
A set of policy prescriptions which have been imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund on developing countries which ask for loans. Among other things, SAPs involve cutting social expenditure, privatising state assets and removing subsidies on food and other basics. Supporters of SAPs say they are necessary for economic recovery, critics point to the devastating effects of SAPs on the poor

Sudden-onset hazard event
A hazard event that occurs quickly, bringing sudden destructive impacts, often with little or no warning. Examples include severe storms and earthquakes. See Session 10

Sustainable development
Development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs

Sustainable livelihood
A livelihood which can cope with and recover from shocks and stresses and maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets now and in the future, whilst not undermining the natural resource base (Carney 1999:4)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tariff barriers</td>
<td>Taxes which countries impose on goods coming from other countries. The World Trade Organisation is supposed to ensure that countries do not use tariff barriers unfairly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure systems (linked to resource management systems)</td>
<td>Social systems which determine the rights of individuals and households to a wide range of resources such as common grazing, forest products, marine and river resources, game, medicinal herbs, grasses for weaving and thatching, firewood, water and residential and arable land. Gender and age will affect the nature of claims and access that a particular social system will provide. See Session 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>The characteristics that limit an individual, a household, a community, a city, a country or even an ecosystem’s capacity to anticipate, manage, resist or recover from the impact of a natural or other threat (often called a ‘hazard’ or ‘natural trigger’). See Session 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerability context</td>
<td>A range of factors in the external environment that make people vulnerable. See Session 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-being</td>
<td>A good life. Indicators of well-being may include the health of the household members, how well they eat, their education, access to employment or social benefits, the different assets, resources and means of production to which they have access, how people feel about their lives and the extent to which they have equality of opportunity, dignity, respect and freedom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women in development (WID)</td>
<td>An approach that seeks to integrate women into the development process. See Session 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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