

**RELYING ON JOBS INSTEAD OF THE ENVIRONMENT?
PATTERNS OF LOCAL SECURITIES IN RURAL EASTERN CAPE -
AN EXAMPLE FROM LUSIKISIKI DISTRICT**

By

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Abstract

This research project focuses on local dynamics in a rural, coastal village in Lusikisiki District. Local people's strategies for making their daily livelihoods are divided into "security groups", such as jobs, governmental grants, natural resource use and social networks. The idea is that households use these strategies to different degrees in order to meet their daily needs, which gives them a sense of security. A number of household security profiles are identified in the village as a recurring pattern. These results are analysed in relation to social structures and in the light of historical Eastern Cape contexts. The results are very South Africa-specific, with a high degree of reliance on jobs instead of natural resources. The importance of understanding local dynamics in policy-making processes is highlighted and discussed, and the security perspective is recommended as a useful approach.

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Introduction: Local Worlds and National Policies

Local worlds tend to be far removed from the worlds of decision-makers and planners. The people planning national policies obviously have a national perspective, and even with the best of intentions it can be very difficult to understand local situations from this viewpoint. This is problematic because it is ultimately on the local level that the policies are implemented and the impacts felt. On this level exist all the different specific local situations that the overall policies have not taken into consideration, as well as the people who have not been consulted and may not understand the purposes or reasons behind the policies. Hjort af Ornäs and Lundqvist (1999:6f) write that “there is usually a [...] profound difference between local conceptualisations and those representing values and approaches at higher levels in society. At the aggregate, policy-making level, problems are not experienced personally, but are ‘approached’ through professional obligations and interests. This is, of course, fundamentally different from the perception of people who are directly affected. Moreover, it is ironic that problems which constitute concrete threats and worries at one level, offer jobs and career opportunities at another level”. This gap between policy-makers and local people create a feeling among the latter category that they are not in control of their own fate, and it decreases their willingness to accept and participate in policy decisions that have been taken without proper concern for their perspectives.

O’Riordan and Voisey (2001:40) argue the same point when discussing sustainable development: “... there are contradictions in how sustainable development is viewed. For these contradictions to be resolved there is a need to appreciate how people understand the environment. (...) Any examination of sustainable development at the local level is likely to demonstrate that there can be no standardisation of the transition to sustainability. It is unique to that locality and is defined as a place or a local institutional network.” Sustainable development, like many other concepts, has been defined by international agencies on a global level but is at the same time affecting mostly the local levels, in specific times and places. To be meaningful to people at the local level, globally or nationally defined goals always need to be interpreted and transformed into objectives and actions that they can relate to and are important to them, a process which so far has been sometimes successful and sometimes not.

Even anthropologists have not focused strongly enough on local development, according to Abram (1998:1): "The relationship between anthropology and development [...] has largely been dominated by a focus on international development and [...] relatively little attention has been paid to the 'development' efforts made by states within their own territories, and the varying forms of local governance of that development". There is thus still a need to probe further this gap between policy-makers and local people and to find ways to better communicate local perceptions to the decision-makers, as well as to better explain policies from above to the people.

South Africa has many advantages in policy contexts: it has had the opportunity to write a new, fresh constitution recently and could draw on the experiences of other countries to avoid the major mistakes of development policies. This has led to a relatively high degree of local participation in decision-making and a clearly defined intention to respect local perspectives. Also, many of those who are policy-makers today have quite recently experienced apartheid oppression personally, so the gap between them and the poor, rural population is not as big as in many other countries. At the same time, South Africa's history created great gaps between different parts of its population, which remains a difficult challenge for policies. The many languages and cultures represented in the country make it even more difficult for decision-makers at the national level to appreciate local variations.

In this project, I have aimed to look at local perspectives and analyse how they link to national policies. The local analysis departs from the concept of securities (which will be further explained below) and results in "security profiles" on a household level. The results I will detail here are from Cutweni, an isolated, rural village in Lusikisiki District, Eastern Cape, and many of the results would be quite bewildering if this context was not thoroughly explored. The analysis will therefore focus on social structures and the Eastern Cape context, as well as on the local securities perspective in connection to national policies.

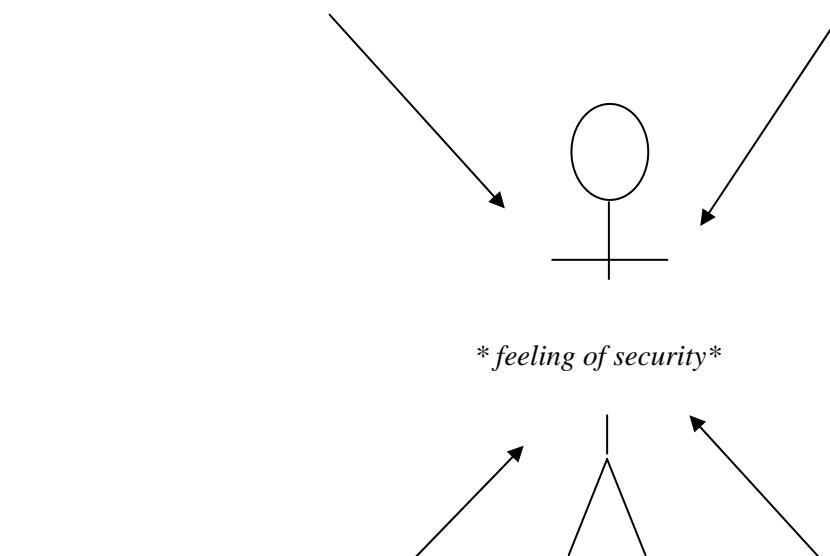
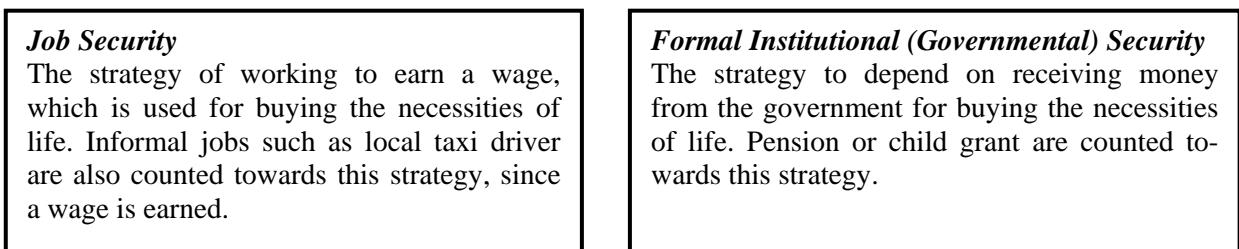
Securities - Looking at Livelihood Strategies from the Local Perspective

In order to fully understand how local people feel about national policies, we need to assume their perspective of life when looking at these issues. In this paper, I have attempted to do this by using the theoretical concept of "local securities". A brief description of the origins of this concept along with my definition of it seems to be in order here.

The concept "local securities" was initially inspired by the notion of "environmental security", which has been used in a large-scale sense, related to global change and threats against the nation-state (see Hjort af Ornäs and Ström, 1999). However, there exists a different, small-scale conceptualisation as well. Hjort af Ornäs (1996:2) speaks of environmental security as being "between knowledge, values and social institutions". In this sense, the concept is concerned with perception, the *sense* of security that people have when relating to their environment and natural resources. From this viewpoint, the "threats" are of a more abstract nature, in the domains of feelings and cognition. In Hjort af Ornäs (1989), the author looks at the security concept and micro/macro relations, represented by people who struggle to secure a livelihood under hard circumstances and the nations that harbour these people. By providing detailed case study examples, he illustrates the complexity of these livelihood systems and strategies. The point is that there needs to be an understanding about these micro-issues at the macro level in order to have the

capability to conduct relevant and successful assessment or planning. This same point is the one I am driving at above when I argue that decision-makers should attempt to understand local worlds.

From a local perspective, and especially in South Africa, the environment¹ is not the only source of security for rural people, and thus I found that the concept needed to be widened in order to suit local analysis. In a wider local context, environmental security could be seen as a part of many different *local securities*², which also could contain securities derived from e.g. wage-work, pensions or social networks. "Security" thus refers to both the *feelings* of security or confidence that local people have in that they will be able to fulfil their basic needs in the future, as well as the different *strategies* that people have for achieving these goals. I have roughly divided these strategies into four groups³ (Figure 1), departing from the results of the fieldwork in Eastern Cape. These security groups are thus specific for the field area, but I think they can be found in any rural South African village.



¹ "The environment" and "environmental security" is here used as a reference to the natural environment only. Even if the word "environment" is usually defined as both natural and social surroundings, it is still often used with reference only to the natural environment, e.g. by the cited authors writing on environmental security.

² I am here using a homemade plural construction of the word security on purpose, in order to underscore the fact that feelings of security are drawn from many different spheres, making the concept dynamic.

³ These four security groups (or four different strategies for securities) should not be confused with terms such as "food security". To me, food security is something that a person wants to achieve, i.e. to have enough food to eat every day. Local securities, such as e.g. environmental security, are a way of achieving this, i.e. to use the environment for the purpose of extracting food from it. These "security groups" are only concerned with *ways of achieving* security.

Environmental security

The strategy to use natural resources for securing basic needs. Fetching drinking water from a spring, collecting firewood or selling harvest from the garden are all counted towards this strategy.

Informal Institutional (Social) Security

The strategy to depend on family and friends for providing for basic needs. Relatives sending money or exchange of goods and services with neighbours are counted towards this strategy.

Figure 1. Illustration of the concept of "local securities". Security strategies are here divided into four different security groups, which may all contribute more or less to the feeling of security that an individual has.

The first security strategy is represented by job opportunities that provide incomes (e.g. jobs at a tea plantation or employment with tourism). Having a job with regular payments brings a feeling of security since one can always buy basic necessities. Secondly, governmental services (e.g. the pension system) bring security in the same form of regular monetary assistance. As a third strategy, natural resources can also provide security for daily subsistence (e.g. one can fish, collect mussels and crayfish or grow food in the garden). Finally, the local social network of family and friends provides security. Children or the elderly often obtain most of their security from this last sphere since the responsibility to provide for their subsistence usually lies with someone else in the family. By using these security groupings, we can understand and analyse how local people relate to their surroundings and what issues are central to them.

The local security concept implies trying to see the issues from the perspective of the local people, focusing on what is most important for them i.e. their everyday struggle for survival. This phenomenon is what Moffat (1998) refers to as "the reality of the stomach" when he discusses local natural resource management efforts – if you are hungry, you focus on finding food, not conserving nature. Thus, nature conservation projects that do not include community benefits and poverty alleviation fail more often than projects that do. Similarly, if you are not in a situation where you feel secure in that your needs will be fulfilled tomorrow, you will view every project or policy that affects your life from that security perspective. A project with the aim of achieving sustainable resource management, will on the local level therefore be filtered in the minds of the local people through the simple question "how is this project going to affect my daily survival – for better or worse?" Understanding this perspective of the local people is therefore vital in order to understand how they will perceive and respond to policies and projects.

The pattern of reliance on different securities varies from individual to individual, and can also be analysed on household or village level. I have chosen the latter two levels of analysis in this project. Since security is partly defined as a feeling, it is influenced both by factors from the outside world as well as by people's perceptions. Security is thus related to physically present things such as the fish in the sea, abstractly present things such as laws or regulations against fishing, as well as personal factors such as knowledge and perceptions about fishing. A person can of course feel more or less secure, and measuring these feelings is one of the tasks for this project. Also, it is crucial to remember that the security concept is dynamic. As local situations are continuously changing, the feelings of security or insecurity among the population will fluctuate accordingly. These may be seasonal fluctuations, such as scarcity of water during the winter season, as well as sudden and unique changes, such as a new government policy.

I believe that many local people today may be experiencing erosion in these different spheres of security. For example, jobs are usually difficult to find, the government may not have the resources to guarantee grants and services, the natural resources are becoming increasingly restricted and the social network is dilapidated due to diseases such as AIDS. People who under these conditions fail to build their security become marginalized, and aggregations of marginalized people create problems and conflicts. By focusing on the local level and with the aid of the security perspective as an analytical tool, the people who run the risk of becoming marginalized should be easier to identify at an earlier stage, before the problem escalates into a conflict.

Local Securities in the South African and Eastern Cape Contexts

Looking at local securities in South Africa is especially interesting because of the very specific political and social contexts present. I have stated that the security groupings in Figure 1 could be found in any rural South African village; however, this may not be true for other African countries. South Africa's political history, with related policies and management practices, has impacted so severely upon both the rural landscapes and the people that it can hardly be compared to other countries on the continent. As 75% of the population were forced to live in the so-called 'homelands', on 13% of the least fertile land, extreme situations were created. Durning (1990:11) describes the situation: "Many of the homelands bear more resemblance to the face of the moon than to the commercial farms and game reserves that cover the rest of the country. [...] apartheid has been as devastating for South Africa's environment as for its people". These huge differences in the condition of the land as well as in the conditions for the people living on it exist in South Africa side by side. Some areas and people enjoy the highest standards of 'Western' commodities, while other areas are cultivated with simple tools by people who barely have the necessities of life. The landscape in certain parts resembles a fully industrialised country with good infrastructure, while other areas are similar to the typical rural countryside of a poor developing country.

Thus, the landscapes here are truly 'politicised', and it is impossible to understand these local milieus without knowing their history - the cultural, social and political factors behind their appearance.

The study area for this project is located in the former homeland of Transkei, today a part of the Eastern Cape Province. I will shortly detail some other apartheid-related issues that are important for research in this context. Apart from the already described environmental problems present in the homelands, the apartheid policies did impact severely on social and economic structures as well. A paradoxical socio-economic situation, where the overcrowded homelands still suffered from labour shortage, was politically created. Durning (1990:15) explains: "In South Africa's bizarre migrant labour system, the destitute lands [i.e. the homelands] provide the white⁴ economy with reservoirs of cheap black labour. Some 70 percent of homeland income is earned in the white economy by unskilled workers who cram buses for hundred-mile daily or weekly commutes, or who spend most of their lives working hundreds of miles from home. The homelands, then, are home mostly to the young, the old and the infirm". Due to this lack of skilled labour in the homelands, many natural resources here were under-utilised, at the same time as people were struggling for their daily subsistence. McAllister (1992:204) writes: "In time the two types of economic activity became intertwined, with rural production dependent on the cash inputs of labour migrants, and the migrant labour system being 'subsidised' by the fact that migrants had a rural base to fall back on for social security and in hard times". Even today, rural production is rather dependent on cash inputs, and is therefore usually part of a mixed survival strategy with both jobs and agriculture. The poorest categories of the population may therefore not feel that agriculture is a survival strategy suitable for them.

The rural areas of the homelands were, beginning in 1945, subjected to the "Betterment" programme (McAllister, 1992). This meant that outside "experts" made up plans for rural areas, and moved people from their original settlements (which were usually dispersed) into crowded villages. People were also allocated certain fenced-off areas as gardens and fields. These relocalisations were imposed, and the new settlement areas were indicated by the authorities. People sometimes found themselves removed from friends, relatives and neighbours, and resettled in villages with strangers. Hostility and suspicion between neighbours was a natural result, and as traditional local structures of power had been overthrown by the relocalisations, the new villages had no means to deal with these arising problems. To worsen the situation, the planning was often badly done, and the villages were placed far from the natural resources that people needed for their subsistence, such as rivers and forests. People got out of touch with their local knowledge, which led to scepticism towards relying on the environment for security. The insecure land tenure situations due to these relocalisations along with government interference in land use practices further discouraged the people from cultivating the land for subsistence purposes.

⁴ With "white" and "black", Durning refers here to the arbitrary classification of the South African population into these categories during the apartheid era.

Policies like the ones described above did of course greatly disrupt social structures as well. Social networks within the village degraded and a focus on the homestead and the immediate family was favoured. Within families, networks were often shattered due to the long times that family members spent separated from each other. Female headed-households are now very common, as are formal and informal divorces.

In the new South Africa, the problems in the former homelands are of great concern, and constitute a research area with high priority. A goal is to bring developments to these areas as soon as possible and thus intensive development planning is currently taking place. Many changes are already visible in the rural areas, such as the sudden influx of different project-related jobs as well as the improvement of the grant system (especially old-age pensions and child grants make a huge difference for local people's securities). South Africa indeed has a unique security situation, at the same time both better and worse than in other African countries, and in any case very complex.

Lusikisiki District

This project takes place in Lusikisiki District, where very little research has previously been conducted, but where great developments are being planned (WC SDI, 1996). Lusikisiki is one of the poorest and most isolated districts in the former Transkei. Development initiatives have initially been largely lacking here and accessibility is very bad, due to rugged terrain and un-tarred roads. Recently, various developments have been proposed for this district, including the creation of a vast National Park, a commercial forest plantation and the building of a coastal road. In addition, large-scale tourism development has been proposed and a tea plantation already exists, but it may be replaced by the commercial forest plantation.

Two villages in Lusikisiki District have so far been fieldwork focus areas - Cutweni and Manteku (see Figure 2). Data in this paper will only come from Cutweni however, and I will therefore not describe Manteku any further. Cutweni is located 2-3 km from the coast, and a gravel road leads from here to the closest town Lusikisiki (approx. 27 km away). Cutweni is very isolated: to the west there is a steep escarpment and a big forest between it and the village Mbotyi, to the east there are vast grasslands and to the north there are steep slopes and eventually the Mazizi Tea Plantation, its closest neighbour. Cutweni is a Betterment-village where the grid-pattern of resettlement is clearly visible, and the forcefulness of the relocation is still vividly remembered by the older generation (resettlement took place around 1960-65).

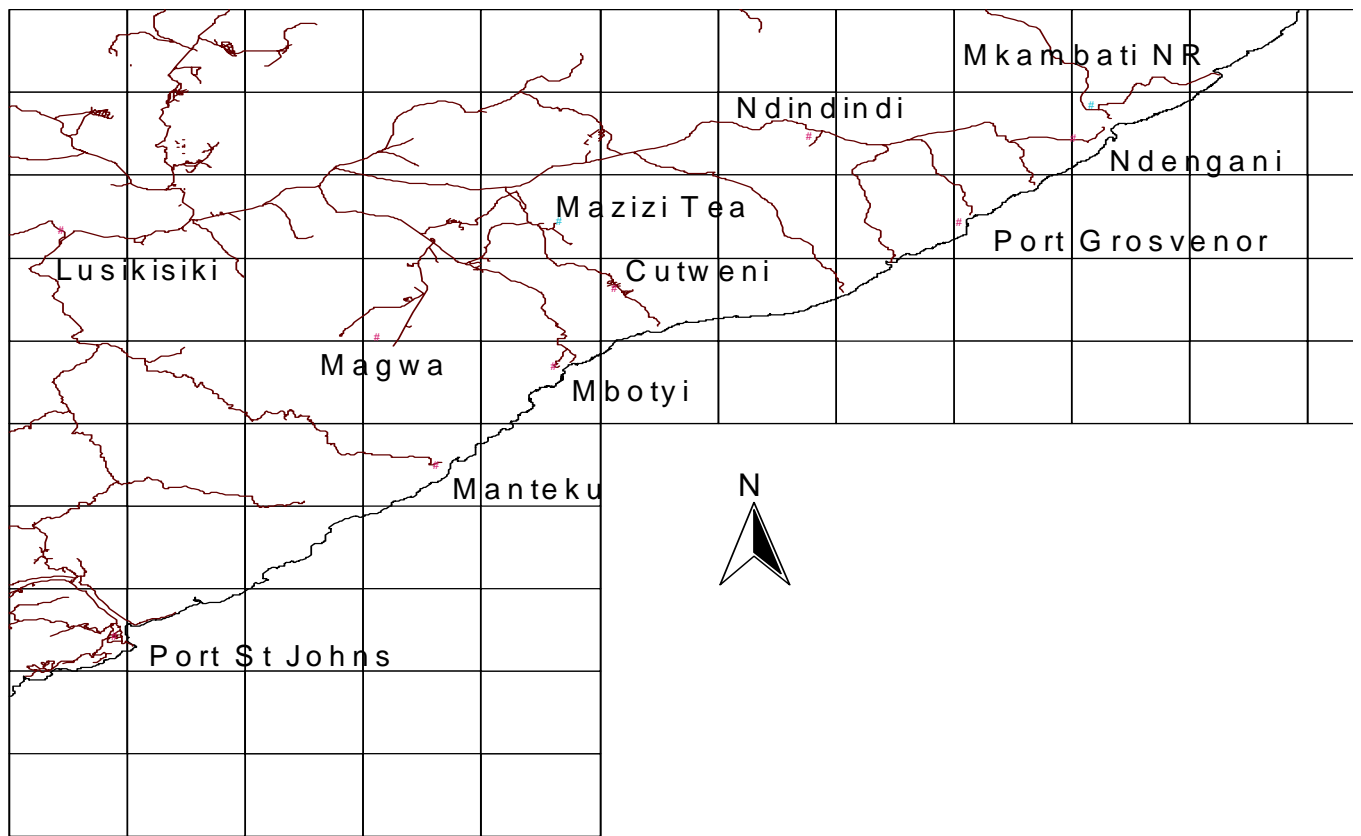


Figure 2. Map over the coastal strip in Lusikisiki District, between Port St. Johns and the Mkambati Nature Reserve, with road network and some villages marked. Approximate scale is 1:2500. (Based on modified digital data from the Chief Directorate of Surveys and Map-ping, maps 3129 DA, BC and 3130 AC in 1:50 000)

Some small-scale development projects have so far reached this village, most notably the two governmental poverty relief programmes "Working for Water" and "Coast Care". Preliminary results show that these programmes are relatively successful in reaching the poor parts of the population who are in need of jobs. An EU-funded small-scale tourism development project is also taking shape; this has not yet contributed as much to security as the regular jobs provided by the governmental programmes. To my knowledge, no academic research has taken place in Cutweni. In other areas of Lusikisiki District, Janet

Hayward from Department of Anthropology, University of Transkei has been working, and Thembele Kepe from University of the Western Cape has been focusing his research on the Mkambati Nature reserve and the Magwa Tea Plantation (south-west of Mazizi).

Collection of Data - a Participatory Approach

It would indeed be very difficult to assume a local security perspective without the assistance from local people. The importance of participatory approaches and local knowledge have been underscored many times by various authors (see e.g. Chambers, 1994, and for South Africa e.g. Binns et al, 1997 and Malan, 2000), so I will not repeat this here. However, I will to some detail describe the method I have used for information gathering in Cutweni. This strategy was gradually developed as I started working in the village, and is thus not a pre-determined methodology.

Information on Cutweni was collected both through in-depth interviews with key persons, as well as through questionnaire-based semi-structured interviews with every household in the village. To target the security issue, people were asked to account for the incomes of the household, such as jobs and governmental grants. They were also asked if they took part in any "informal" things to supplement their incomes, such as selling harvest from the garden or sewing for money, or if anyone from outside the household was regularly supplying them with money. These are direct ways of estimating different kinds of security. Indirect ways were approached through other questions, such as "how often do you collect mussels" or "how big is your garden". To include abstract senses of security, I also incorporated questions like "how confident are you in that your relatives will help you if you are in need?" and "how often do you worry about losing your job?".

The process of developing the household-based interviews followed a carefully thought-through, yet very flexible methodology based on participation with the local people, utilization of their local knowledge and mutual trust. At a village meeting, the community was told about the plans to collect social information on the village and gave their consent to this idea. The people at the meeting thought that it was crucial that every household was interviewed, so sample-based data collection was thus excluded on their demand. The village council agreed on the types of questions that could be asked, and chose four persons to work with me to develop them. Together, we constructed questions targeting all of the different issues that would be of interest to people in the village, from name and age of everyone in the households, to incomes, natural resource use and social situation. I came with ideas and suggestions on the different areas for questions, and asked the assistants⁵ for feedback and own ideas. Throughout this

⁵ I will in the future call these four persons who were selected to work with me on the project "assistants" to separate them from other local people, but they were actually doing much more than simply assisting me, as they were involved in constructing the project from the beginning and were very active in coming with ideas and suggestions.

process, I refined my own cultural competence and tried to learn as much as possible about the local culture and the everyday realities of the people. Many questions formed during general discussions about daily life and observations in the village. It was therefore crucial to live with the people while the questions were formed.

In the end, the questions were written down in the form of a questionnaire. The aim was that the four assistants should be able to ask the questions in the households and fill the answers on the questionnaire by themselves, without further assistance from me⁶. The questions were therefore written directly in Xhosa, with an English translation below. We tried to create a user-friendly questionnaire that would be easy for the assistants to handle. Of course, questions with answer alternatives are easier to handle than open-ended questions because less writing is involved, but we found that it was inappropriate to have answer alternatives for some of the questions as they might influence the answer given. However, we came up with a hybrid approach: the interviewer would ask the question without giving alternatives, but the questionnaire would still have some common answers pre-printed on it, thus limiting the need for writing to those instances when the answer was uncommon. The extensive pilot interviewing in the questionnaire development phase was obviously a prerequisite for knowing these "common answers".

The interviewing process was fast, as four houses could be interviewed simultaneously. I was walking in-between the interviews and made a point of visiting every household to introduce myself and to learn some basic facts about the people living here. This way, I now feel that I have a personal knowledge of practically every household in the village. The interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes to 1.5 hours, and thus we covered the 146 households in the village in 8 days, excluding two days of preparatory interview-technique training and one last day of evaluation. This methodology proved to be highly time- and cost-effective, very accurate and stimulating for everyone involved.

I do believe that most of the answers are close to the people's real feelings of security. The assistants were all socially very skilled people, who were trusted by the community to do the interviewing. During training, we talked a lot about interview techniques and how to ask certain questions. I did triangulate many answers and tried to crosscheck with interviews and own observations. I realize that errors are present. For example, illegal activities are difficult for people to admit to, and they were not specifically encouraged to divulge these activities. I also sensed that some families were underestimating their natural resource use, especially small-scale production of things like mats or baskets. However, since security is defined as a feeling departing from the individual, this could be seen as merely an indication that the person does not feel that this activity contributes much to his/her sense of security.

In certain ways, they were facilitating for me, in other ways, I was assisting them with collecting information on their village.

⁶ I was inspired to this idea by Jon Duncan, who kindly helped me by detailing the type of working methodology he had been using in his Master's project (Duncan, 1997).

I have not attempted to "objectively" analyse the security of the people (which could be done through e.g. counting their domestic animals, measuring their fields etc.). The reason for this is that I did not feel the "outsider" perspective was essential to the project, since I am primarily trying to understand the perspective of the people and how they will react to and feel about policies. There is no time perspective in the project, since the households were only interviewed once, between March 27th and April 4th, 2002. However, I have visited the village since and been informed about the changes taking place - for example, pension distribution has increased significantly and some of the projects present have shifted personnel.

Basic Needs and Security Strategies in Cutweni

The results of the data collection concerning security strategies in Cutweni are summarized in Table 1. Job security is divided into formal and informal jobs, both securing monetary contributions to the household security. The Mazizi Tea Plantation is the largest employer of people in the village. Except for this corporation, government is the only major employer in this rural area, through poverty relief programmes such as Coast Care and Working for Water, as well as through different departments: forestry (employs rangers at the nearby state forest), agriculture (employs one person in the village for organising the cattle dipping) and education (employs the school teachers).

The number of work-commuters is smaller than expected, only 21 households (14%) have a person who contributes to the monthly income and commutes weekly, monthly or yearly to towns such as Lusikisiki, Durban and Johannesburg. This number is connected to definitions adopted at the time of data collection. It is difficult to determine who should and should not be counted as a resident of the village when they are working in other towns. Some people spend most of the year away from their families in temporary homes close to major towns, and send as much money as they can spare back to the village. These people were counted as parts of the village and their income was counted towards the "job security" of their households. Other persons may not have their immediate families or permanent homes in the village, but may still visit it on holidays and occasionally contribute money to relatives here - these persons were not counted as residents of the village, and their contributions to a household's economy would be counted as "someone sending money / occasionally contributing" - i.e. a part of social security, not job security.

<i>Job Security</i>	<i>Governmental Security</i>	<i>Environmental security</i>	<i>Social Security</i>
Formal (M)	Personal (M)	Direct (F)	Transfer-based (M,F)
Tea plantation	Old-age Pension	Spring water	Regularly supported
Coast Care	Disabled Grant	Firewood (E)	Occasional contribution
Working for Water	Sick Pension	Grazing land	Emergency safety-net
Ntsubane State Forest	Child Grant	Agriculture land	
School teachers		Sea resources	
Dept. of Agriculture		Herbs	
Work-commuters		Mud and grass (B)	
Informal (M)	Communal (S)	Indirect (M)	Exchange-based (S)
Taxi owner /driver	Road	Selling wood and grasses	Relative/friend exchange
<i>Spaza</i> owner / employee	School	Selling harvest & animals	<i>Ilima</i> (community works)
<i>Shebeen</i> owner /employee	Mobile clinic	Selling sea resources	
<i>Iqirha / Ixhwele</i> (herbalist)		Refined (M,S)	Type of contribution: M = monetary, F = food E = energy, S = services B = building material
Roofer, carpenter etc.		Making mats, baskets, etc	
		Making herbal medicines	
		Making ornaments	
		Selling <i>umqombothi</i> / beer	

Table 1. Securities in Cutweni village. The four security groups (see Figure 1), job security, governmental security, environmental security and social security are here divided into different subgroups. Listed in the table under the subgroups are the various specific strategies that the households in Cutweni use.

Informal jobs are created by private enterprising in the village, and arise from the needs of local people for transport, groceries and services. For example, car owners can drive back and forth to nearby towns as "taxis", or people can start small *spaza*-shops where they sell bread, basic groceries, drinks and sweets, or beer (in which case the *spaza* becomes a *shebeen*, local "bar"). Some people in the village may also

specialise as carpenters or roofers. Finally, there are traditional healers and herbalists, such as *Iqirha* and *Ixhwele*.

Governmental security can be divided into personal and communal security. The former contain all governmental grants that are given to specific persons, such as old-age pension or child grants, while the latter are services given to the community as a whole. In Cutweni, such community services include a gravel road (which is currently being improved), a small school with inadequate resources and a mobile clinic that visits the village occasionally.

Continuing, I have divided environmental security into three subgroups: the direct environmental contributions (which usually convert to food, energy and building materials), the indirect contributions (resources that are sold for money) and the refined products. In the latter case, people can make goods for their own use (such as mats and baskets) or for sale.

Social security is the most difficult parameter to grasp, as it is often about networks of goods and services that are exchanged in complicated patterns. Also, since I have collected data on the household level only, most of the major social security services in the village become invisible, since these take place within the households (where people take care of their children or elders, disabled, unemployed, husbands and wives, relatives etc.). I have however divided social security into transfer-based and exchange-based strategies. The former refers to a somewhat uneven exchange, where e.g. someone who earns money regularly supports his/her relatives through money transfers. This is a widespread phenomenon. Persons who have moved to towns may e.g. send money to their parents or grandparents in the village, who furthermore may be taking care of the children of these persons. It is quite common that people end up raising their grandchildren instead of their children. This monetary assistance ranges from regular support to occasional contributions. In addition, most families in the village have a network of "emergency support", persons they can turn to if they are in a crisis and need monetary or other assistance (92% of the families answered that they were very sure or fairly sure that they would receive help from someone in a time of emergency).

Exchange-based social security is very difficult to measure since it is irregular and the services exchanged do not have clearly identified values. It may take place between individuals who are relatives, neighbours or friends, but there is also an organised community level of service exchange, called *ilima*. Anyone in the village may announce that they will organise *ilima*, and people will gather to help that person with whatever needed (e.g. building a house or weeding the garden); in return that person will brew *umqombothi* (traditional beer) and throw a small party afterwards.

Basic needs:	Met by using security type (examples of use):
Shelter	Environmental, Social, <i>Money</i> (mud and grass, ilima, buying windows)
Water	Environmental (spring water)
Food	<i>Money</i> , environmental, social (buying groceries, own garden, exchange)
Energy	Environmental, <i>Money</i> (wood, paraffin and gas)
Schooling	Governmental, <i>Money</i> (governmental service, uniforms and books)
Healthcare	Governmental (governmental service)
Transportation	Governmental, <i>Money</i> , Environmental, Social (govt services, taxi, horse, free ride)
Additional:	
<i>Money</i>	Job, governmental, social, environmental (wage, grant, support, selling resources)

Table 2. Basic needs of the people in Cutweni. Money has been added as an additional need, since meeting of several of the basic needs requires the specific addition of money. These needs are met through different security types - listed in order of importance for every need, with examples given in the same order in parenthesis.

The securities discussed above are used to meet certain basic needs, such as food, water, shelter, energy, schooling, healthcare and transportation. Table 2 shows how basic needs are met on the village level. For example, for transportation to a nearby town to be possible, a road is the most important element needed, and this is taken care of by the government. A few people in the village have cars or walk on this road to town, but most pay some money to a taxi driver for a ride. Some people have horses and will ride to town, (domestic animals are counted as environmental resources), and yet a few people will have close social connections to car owners that will grant them a free ride.

Needs like water, healthcare and schooling are met by the same means throughout the village. Shelter and transport needs also display very little variation in security strategies. The most interesting needs to analyse on the household level are therefore energy, food and monetary needs, since the strategies for securing these needs fluctuate significantly between the households in the village. I have lumped these latter three needs together and analysed how they are met through job, governmental, environmental and social security at a household level.

Job Security

Looking at job security, I found that jobs could be grouped into three distinct categories: low income, middle income and high income jobs. The low income jobs in the village are jobs at the tea plantation and in the tourism or poverty relief projects. Middle income jobs are the informal jobs such as drivers of taxis

and owners of spazas (this depends however on the size and popularity the spaza). These informal jobs give very varying incomes, but they are considered more secure since people are self-employed. Finally, the high income jobs are teaching jobs, forestry jobs and jobs that are located in towns. These jobs give both more money and more prestige than the rest. In Table 3 below, I have summarised this information according to households, and arranged them into five income levels.

Job-related income levels for households (1-5)	Number of Households	Income range, ZAR/month
1 No job income at all	49	0
2 One low income job	57	500-700
3 One middle income job or two low income jobs	13	1000-1500
4 One high income job or several jobs with added incomes	26	2500-3500
5 Two high income jobs	1	Above 5000

Table 3. Grouping of the households in Cutweni into job-related income levels. The different strategies for achieving the income level are shortly detailed in the first column (e.g. a house-hold can have one higher income job or two lower income jobs and arrive at the same income level). The number of households and their income range in ZAR/month are indicated for every income group.

From the data in Table 3, we can draw the conclusion that most of the households (73%) have none or relatively low job-related incomes. However, another important conclusion is that the majority (66%) of the households in the village do depend on job security. Later on, we will see that job security is actually the most important security in the village, even if most of these jobs give low wages. Simply put: the village is poor, and even a low wage is a very important contribution to security.

Governmental Security

Securities from governmental grants are easier to compare between households than job securities, because grants are standardised. Since old-age pension, disabled grant and sick pension⁷ contribute the same amounts of money, I have grouped them all into the "pension" group. The remaining grant type, the child grant, is only R 100/child and is treated separately; no household in the village is receiving more than two child grants. In Table 4 below, I have grouped the households in the village into grant-related income levels.

⁷ There are two households in the village receiving each of these latter two types of grants.

Grant-related income levels for households (1-5)⁸	Number of Households	Income range, ZAR/month
1 No grant income	88	0
2 One or two child grants	13	100-200
3 One pension	29	600
4 One pension and one or two child grants	8	700-800
5 Two pensions	4	1200

Table 4. The households in Cutweni grouped into grant-related income levels, along with a short description of what type of grant dependence every group has is included. The number of households and their income range in ZAR/month are also indicated for every income group.

Analysing the grant-related data, we can see that grants are important in the village, but not nearly as important as jobs. The added job incomes for Cutweni would be approximately 120 000 ZAR/month, while grant incomes would only reach approximately 30 000 ZAR/month; thus jobs are about four times more important for security than grants, on a general village level. However, grants fill a complementary function to job security, since they are distributed precisely to the people who cannot work, i.e. the elderly, sick or disabled and to some extent to the families with young children. Very few households (5%) actually depend on both job and grant security - the categories are quite exclusive. I have also found that grant incomes have become much more common in the village as of March/April 2002, when this data was collected. The grant reforms are finally reaching the people. Governmental security is thus becoming more and more important in the village.

Environmental Security

After the relatively easily measured job and governmental securities, I encountered a more difficult task in measuring environmental security. While the two former types of security were only contributing to monetary needs, environmental security can contribute to energy, food *and* monetary needs. There are also many different types of environmental security and different degrees of use that need to be considered. I approached this task by creating several indexes, with five levels of usage for the different components of environmental security. Starting with energy and food needs, I created four indexes for wood, vegetable, meat and seafood use (Table 5).

⁸ Note that average grant security gives less money than average job security: income level one starts at R 500-700 for jobs and at R 100-200 for grants for example. Comparisons straight off between grant-related and job-related income levels can therefore not be made.

For energy needs five levels of firewood use were created. These ranged from the household (there was only one) that does not use wood at all to the level where the households used wood for all their energy needs. Most households (93%) ended up on level 4 or 5 - i.e. high or very high wood usage. Surprisingly, there is not a high correlation between wood use and monetary wealth of the family; it seems to be a matter of individual preference. The households that use mostly paraffin or gas are of course among the high-income households (they are also related to each other), but there are high-income households that depend on only wood for energy as well.

Resources	Wood levels	Vegetable levels	Meat levels	Seafood levels
Criteria	Degree of wood use compared to paraffin	Percent of veg. diet grown in own garden	Types of animals in the homestead	How often seafood is collected
1	Paraffin only	0%	No animals	Never
2	Paraffin mostly, wood seldom	0-25%	1 small only	Every 3 rd month, 6 th month or yearly
3	Paraffin and wood both used often	25-50%	1 big / 3 small / 2 mixed types	Monthly (every 2 nd week for mussels)
4	Wood mostly, paraffin seldom	50-75%	3 types incl. 1 big	Weekly / every 2 nd week
5	Wood only	>75%	>4, and >2 big	Daily / every 3 rd day

Table 5. Indexes for how energy and food needs are met through environmental security in Cutweni. Four resources have been indexed: Firewood (for energy needs), Agricultural land (for vegetable foods), domestic animals (for meat) and sea resource use (seafood). For every resource, there is a short description of the general and level-specific criteria used for index-ing (longer descriptions in the text).

For food, I created three different indexes - one for vegetables, one for meat and one for sea-food. The vegetable index was based on the question "how big part of your vegetable diet is grown in your own garden/field?". Already when asked, this question had five answer alter-natives, which could be directly converted into five index levels. The majority of the house-holds were on the 0-25% level, with only three households growing more than 75% of their food themselves. This shows how dependent families are on monetary incomes; most of them buy more than 75% of the maize and vegetables that they eat.

For meat, I used the data of domestic animal ownership. Taking away cows (which were counted as money, see below), the meat index was based on types of animals⁹, grouped into "big" or "small" animals. Sheep and goats were counted as "big" animals and chicken, ducks, geese and pigs were counted as "small". Households were relatively well spread over all the index levels, with the middle level most common, and the lowest level about as common as the highest. Keeping animals seems to be related to wealth, as all of the households with many animals were earning at least R 500 in income, and many of them were high-income households. However, there were both high-income as well as no-income households among those that kept no animals at all, indicating that this practice could be a matter of tradition and individual choice.

The index for seafood was based on how often someone in the household used sea resources. As many as 57% of the households were never using sea resources, and only 5% were on level 5. There seems to be no general correlation between wealth and sea resource use, it is rather a question about the social structure of the household. If there are young boys present in the family, they are likely to fish or collect crayfish; if there are girls or women present, they collect mussels. However, not all young boys collect crayfish, this is also a matter of tradition, interest, personal traits and preference.

In addition, the environment can be used to meet monetary needs as well. This is primarily done through selling of foodstuffs, but also through selling refined products. I have data on these activities, and I also decided to count keeping cows as an environmental way of generating money (rather than generating food). Buying cows in the village is similar to putting money in the bank, it is a way of saving that is likely to pay off and give an increase in wealth. Cows are used as money when paying for certain things in the society, primarily *ilobola*, bride wealth. In fact, if a man does not have cows, he can today pay the bride wealth with a significant amount of money instead.

In the final calculation of environmental security, I compared the four indexes in Table 5 with the data I had on monetary environmental security, and created a final index (shown in Table 6). I could identify clearly distinct strategies among the natural resource users. Some focused on collecting sea resources several times per week, others focused on gardening and growing vegetables, usually combined with keeping large numbers of animals, while others still focus-ed on selling foodstuffs or refined products. These categories seldom overlapped, which is quite surprising, since one could expect people who grow a lot of vegetables to try to sell them for example. However, "large-scale" farming and "small-scale" enterprising turns out to be quite different strategies. There were a few households that had spread their

⁹ The obvious problem with the meat index, is that I have no data on how many animals were kept, only the types of animals. It was considered intimidating to ask people how many animals they have, so I decided not to do this. This is a flaw in the data, but there is a point in looking at animal types too - there are strong connections between having many animals and having many types of animals, and people in the village tend to put much more value into having certain types of animals (such as the ones classified as "big" here).

strategies and were using many different resources quite often, but specialization was much more common.

Environmental resource use levels for households (1-5)	Number of Households
1 Nature is hardly used at all for the livelihood.	5
2 Nature is used, but not to a high degree	54
3 Nature is an important addition to the livelihood, a buffer	47
4 Nature is a strong component in the livelihood	26
5 Nature is nearly sufficient for livelihood, an important strategy	14

Table 6. Grouping of the households in Cutweni into five environmental resource use levels. The characteristics of the resource use are given and the number of households in every group is indicated.

In Table 6, we can see that about 40% of the households in the village are not highly dependent on natural resources. The families that least depend on natural resources are not the richest families however, since the richest families tend to buy livestock and are thus dependent on nature. The ones who use nature the least are the smaller families that depend on low-income jobs or governmental grants. They have no time or capacity to fish or make a big garden, and don't make enough money to buy animals. Low natural resource use can thus be a sign of relative poverty.

It is common that natural resources are used as a buffer and a complement to other security strategies, but few families rely on nature alone. Those who use resources to a high degree are usually certain types of families that may have a history of farming, herding or fishing. Natural resource use, is thus not as much a question of an available option that people exploit when in need, as it is a question of tradition, family history, knowledge and family structure.

Social Security

The social security index¹⁰ is based on answers to two questions that can be summarized as: "How often does anyone from outside the household send money?" and "How confident are you that you would receive help from someone outside the household in an economic emergency?". Table 7 below shows the results, with the bulk of the households on a relatively low level of social security, where families help each other in emergencies but do not generally receive financial contributions from outside the family.

¹⁰ Unfortunately, I did not attempt to analyse how often families receive food or candles/paraffin from outside, so the social security index measures only monetary security.

The low diversification in answers may be partially due to some difficulties in grasping social security, which is an elusive issue. However, I believe that the answers reflect reality quite well after all - people in the village are moving towards a 'modernistic' lifestyle, with fairly independent families that support themselves. The earlier detailed "Betterment"-policies have probably also contributed to this type of lifestyle through spatially splitting families and supporting a settlement structure with clearly independent homesteads.

Social security levels for households (1-5)	Number of Households
1 Social network weak, can not count on help in emergencies	6
2 Social network OK, will receive help in emergencies but not otherwise	121
3 Good social network, receives yearly financial contributions	2
4 Very good social network, receives monthly to quarterly contributions	11
5 Household is entirely supported by people from outside	6

Table 7. Grouping of the households in Cutweni into five social security levels. The characteristics of the social network are given and the number of households in every group is indicated.

The families who have stated that they have no-one to turn to in an emergency usually have few relatives in the village or have quite recently moved here. With these exceptions, nearly all families in the village said that they were very confident in that they would receive financial help in an emergency. Homesteads that are supported from outside are fairly uncommon - these are usually teenagers who have been left alone in the village by their parents. Some other families may fall into this category periodically, in times of crisis when someone has lost his/her job and the family needs support. However, if a family needs long-term support (e.g. if the breadwinner in the family has died), they usually move in with the relatives who will support them (and thus, in my data, they will no longer be shown as depending on social security, since it does not apply to household members). Living separately but being supported by others is thus not a common lifestyle.

Security Profiles - Categorisation and Analysis

After analysing the four types of securities separately, I will now attempt to combine them and look at household security profiles. Even if all the securities have been arranged into five-level indexes, they cannot be compared without adjustment. The indexes depart from the range of dependence within the village for that specific type of security, and this range is different for every type. Job security, for example, ranges from R 0/month to R 5000/month, while governmental security ranges from R 0/month to R 1200/month. I decided to divide every security index into two categories ("yes" and "no"), in answer

to the question: "Is the security drawn from this security sphere a significant contribution to the household's livelihood?". The resulting groupings are shown in Table 8.

Security sphere	"no" - not significant	Levels	"yes" - significant	Levels
Job	Not having a job	1	Having a job (which means earning at least R 500)	2-5
Governmental	Not receiving anything, or only receiving child grant (R 100)	1-2	Receiving at least pension (R 600)	3-5
Environmental	Environment a buffer but not a strong component in livelihood	1-3	Environment is a strong component in the livelihood	4-5
Social	Receiving yearly or less support from outside	1-3	Receiving at least quarterly support from outside	4-5

Table 8. The index levels for the four security spheres were divided into two categories, "yes" and "no", answering the question "Is the security drawn from this security sphere a significant contribution to the household's livelihood?". The reasoning behind the decision if an index level was significant or not is shortly detailed in the table.

After grouping the households according to the new system, I could analyse their security profiles. The 16 possible combinations are given in Table 9, along with the number of households belonging to each type. The households in each new category are characterized shortly in the table, but a more detailed profile analysis is given in the text below.

Possible combinations:				Number of Households	Security profile / category
Job	Grant	Env	Soc		
yes	no	no	no	61	A) Wage work in rural setting
no	yes	no	no	23	B) Pensioners with grandchildren
no	no	yes	no	5	C) Natural resource users
no	no	no	yes	3	D) Supported
yes	yes	no	no	7	E) Three-generation households
yes	no	yes	no	22	F) Wage work with natural back-up
yes	no	no	yes	5	G) Responsible siblings
no	yes	yes	no	10	H) Farmer grandpa
no	yes	no	yes	2	I) Responsible children
no	no	yes	yes	2	J) Traditional safety

yes	yes	yes	no	0	K) Risk-spreading strategy
yes	yes	no	yes	1	L) Very good social network and security
yes	no	yes	yes	1	M) Young family with high security network
no	yes	yes	yes	0	N) Pensioners with high security network
yes	yes	yes	yes	0	O) Optimal spread of risks
no	no	no	no	4	P) Chronic poverty, crisis or secrecy

Table 9. Security profiles. The 16 different security combinations are here categorised into different profiles. The number of households belonging to each profile is given.

A brief description of the security profile of each of the 16 combinations in Table 9 seems to be relevant for the analysis at this point. They all represent very different security levels, with many types of securities assumed to be better than few. Every category is usually closely connected to certain types of families or stages of the family life cycle.

A) "Wage work in rural setting" - these families depend only on job incomes, and usually on only one job income. They live in a rural area, but the environment does not serve as much more than a setting for them, as they do not utilise natural resources to any significant extent.

B) "Pensioners with grandchildren" are a typical group in rural South Africa after the pension reform. Since it is common for people who decide to look for jobs in the major cities to leave their children in the village to be raised by their grandparents, many families have this strange social structure with the middle generation missing.

C) "Natural resource users" are a category that can be found in many developing countries - families that survive only on what nature can provide. In modern-day South Africa however, this category tends to be very small.

D) "Supported" households are also uncommon, some of the reasons for this being stated under the part on "social security" above. Usually, these households are in a transitional phase between different security strategies.

E) "Three-generation households" are the homesteads where grandparents, parents and children live together, using both job and pension for security. The parents may have jobs nearby the village or in major cities, but in the latter case they come home often enough to be counted as residents of the village and bring a big part of their income back to the family.

F) "Wage work with natural back-up" are interesting homesteads -usually, one member of the family has a job, but other members of working age (such as the husband or the wife or an adult son or daughter who is still living at home) contribute to the family security by planting vegetables, collecting sea resources, minding cattle, etc. Wage work is often a prerequisite, since it can give the necessary input for planting a big garden or buying cattle.

G) "Responsible siblings" is not a completely correct name for this category, but it suggests that people of working age send money to a household where there are other people of work-ing age who already have jobs. For example, people can sometimes leave their children with a brother or sister in the village who has a job, and then continue to send money to this sibling.

H) "Farmer grandpa" are the households where agriculture or sea resource use is a means of livelihood, but that at the same time also have a pensioner contributing to the security.

I) "Responsible children" suggests that someone of working-age is sending money to a household where there are pensioners. This is the surprisingly uncommon form of category B, where the persons who have left their children with the grandparents actually send money for their support.

J) "Traditional structure" are the homesteads that survive by relying on "traditional" structures only, such as natural resource use and informal networks. Only two households in the village belong to this category, and both of these have elderly persons who should be eligible for pension but had not yet organised this at the time of interviewing. Today, they should both belong to category N.

K) "Risk-spreading strategy" is a category that was not found in Cutweni.

L) "Very good social network and security" is typical of a big and successful family, where at least parts of the working-age generation have found jobs at home and live together with the elderly (who are receiving pensions), while other family members have moved away but have strong ties to their home and continue to send money regularly. There is only one such family in the village.

M) "Young family with high security network" is also a category represented by only one family in the village. The family is quite young and big, with the grandmother not yet being eligible for pension and with many grown-up sons still living at home. One of the sons is working in the village, one has recently moved to Johannesburg and is sending money home, and the rest are helping with gardening and sea resource collection. This family will probably soon move into other categories, when the sons move away and stop sending money as they grow older, and the grandmother starts receiving pension.

N) "*Pensioners with high security network*" also does not exist in Cutweni, showing that people do tend to stop sending money to people who receive pension, and especially if they are using many natural resources. The pension system has replaced social networks to a certain extent.

O) "*Highest possible security, optimal spread of risks*" does not exist at all. Most families tend to rely on one or at most two types of securities.

P) "*Chronic poverty, crisis or secrecy*" - are the three possible explanations for this worst-case scenario. Fortunately, none of the families have fallen into the chronic poverty category in this village. The explanation I have termed "crisis" would be applicable to three families that seem to be "in-between" jobs (because of retrenchments) or between job and pension (because of bureaucratic problems in the pension system). The last family is somewhat of a mystery since they are obviously doing well but refuse to state any type of income. This is what I have termed "secrecy".

Analysing the Data Through Traditions, Social Structures and Family Life Cycles

Looking at the different security profiles above, many questions come to mind. Why are certain security profiles much more common than others in this village? How come families usually focus on one sphere of security, instead of combining different strategies? How come families do not combine environmental use with other strategies to a higher extent? Many of these questions can be answered through analysis of social structures in the village, and are dependent on family life cycles, tradition and human resources. Other parts of the data can only be understood in a historical context, looking at the Eastern Cape situation and considering the legacy of apartheid rules and regulations. These two types of explanations will be investigated here and in the next part of this paper.

Let's try to imagine the lifecycle of a typical "Category A" family in the village: a middle-aged man and his wife living in a homestead with their children, two boys and three girls. As the children grow up, they face different options for the future. One of the sons may decide to move to Durban to find a job. At first, he may send some money home to his parents, but soon he starts spending the money on himself, as living in Durban is costly. The family has then shortly moved into Category G, but are now back in Category A. The other son helps around at the house for some time, before he finds a job in the village. Finding a job will trigger his need to be independent from the family, and he will probably get married shortly after this and move away to his own homestead. The family has remained in Category A all the time. The three daughters in the family, aged between 20 and 25 years, already have several children. One gets married and leaves the homestead, while the other one finds a job and decides to build her own homestead where she moves with her children. The third daughter decides to look for a job in Johannesburg, and leaves her children with her parents. She may send money home for a while, but will

also soon start focusing on surviving in the big city. As time goes on, this family will move into Category B, when the grandparents start receiving pension. When the grandparents die, the third daughter might move back to the village to raise her children and will try to find a job here. The family has now split into three Category A families that are living in the village, and a few relatives who are living outside the village and come to visit at times.

The typified family life cycle above explains many of the most common security profiles. Families usually move from depending on jobs to depending on pensions, and back to depending on jobs again, as the generations shift over the years. The families focus on one security at the time, and usually even one job at the time, because having a job is considered a secure situation and will prompt people to create a household of their own. The causality thus runs both ways: people get a job to support their household, but people also decide to create a separate household because they can support it. Receiving money from outside is a very transitional phenomenon for most families, and will happen only at certain times in the life-cycle. The data however, represents a snapshot of reality, with families at different stages of this cycle in the village.

Another factor that should not be overlooked in security analysis is family structures. I have defined the family/household as the basic analytic unit, but family structure may change over time. If, in our example above, the daughter who moves back into the village cannot find a job, she could decide to move in with her sister and depend on the sister's income. Children may also be sent to live with different relatives. Family structures can thus be quite fluid and adaptable to different economic situations.

One of the research questions I have been working with in looking at security has been: "What happens if a family loses the income they depend on? Do they try to find a new income within the same security sphere or do they turn to a new sphere?" (for example, do they replace a lost job with a new job, or can they turn to environmental security instead?). What I have neglected to see in asking this question is a third option: the option to restructure the family itself - e.g. to move back to the parents home, or to split the family and move in with different relatives. Restructuring the family as a reaction to economic difficulties would be nearly unthinkable in 'Western' societies, or at least considered as a very last option. In the rural villages I have studied, this is far from the case. It is very common that family members move back and forward between homesteads and relatives, as responses to economic fluctuations, opportunities or personal preference. Many children end up being raised by people other than their parents - a situation that is considered quite normal and is far from being the personal trauma it would be in the 'West'.

The family life cycle detailed above can explain most of the security categories in Table 9, except the ones that are environmentally connected. If agriculture had been a tradition in the family in the example, they might have combined the job strategy with cultivation. The young boys would have helped the father

with fencing the field and herding the cattle, while the girls and their mother would have done hoeing, weeding, planting etc. The family would thus have been in security Category F and moved into Category H as the parents became older. Why are these categories relatively uncommon, along with Category C, which is very uncommon?

The specific Eastern Cape and apartheid-related contexts that led to marginalisation of agriculture in rural areas have been discussed previously and will be further investigated below. Here, I want to point to effects of apartheid policy on family traditions and local knowledge, factors that can change much faster than the terms would imply. Agricultural knowledge and practices are usually passed down through the generations, which means that a family tradition can come to end if only one or two generations neglect to practice this knowledge. Re-assuming a farmer identity when both knowledge and values connected to agriculture have been lost is not a practically feasible option - even if it is available in theory.

Moreover, agriculture on a large scale may actually not be cost-effective for most households. Making a big maize field demands able-bodied family members with time to spare for the labour-intensive and strenuous work of fencing, ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting. Additionally, money must be invested in fences, seeds and tools - and there will still be the dangers of droughts or heavy rains, pests, etc. This should be compared to the cost of buying a 25 kg bag of already grounded maize meal for R 70. Considering this context, it is not as surprising that many families choose to have small gardens instead of big fields, even if they only have one job that is paying R 500/month. Job security is considered much more labour- and cost-effective than environmental security.

Jobs are furthermore not only historically important but they also represent status, as monetary incomes are considered important. Money can buy all the necessities that nature cannot give, such as clothes, utensils, furniture, school uniforms and books etc. This is the reason that environmental security alone (Category C) is not sufficient to most households in the semi-modernised village that Cutweni in fact is.

Analysing the Data from a Historical Eastern Cape Perspective

The data on securities in Cutweni shows how affected by the Eastern Cape and South African context the village is. The five most common types of securities here would be very typical for South African rural villages, but would probably not be found to any greater extent in other African countries. Reliance on jobs is for instance much more common in South Africa, due to the legacy of apartheid policies as discussed earlier. The South African non-contributory pension system is also something that is quite uncommon in other African countries, where personal governmental security may not exist at all. However, from an African perspective, the relatively low reliance on environmental securities might be

the most surprising aspect of this rural village. To understand this phenomenon fully, one must take into account the unique historical context of the former 'homelands'.

The people who came to live in Cutweni were up until the beginning of the 1960's living in scattered settlements located a few kilometres northeast along the coast from where Cutweni is today (that village was referred to as Bhobe). They were moved to the present location and assigned plots for building their homesteads and making their gardens, as a part of the government's "Betterment"-scheme. Furthermore, they were allocated places, which were usually quite far from the village and their homesteads, for making maize fields. Thus, they were faced with the task of ploughing and fencing new gardens and fields, and possibly also coping with new soil types (there are quite big differences in soil types around Cutweni - for example there are both sandy and clayish soils, which require quite different farming approaches). These new fields were also much closer to a big forest reserve, which introduced previously un-experienced problems of baboons and other forest animals eating the crops. It would thus take at least a few years for the people before they had mastered this new situation and could count on living off agriculture in the same way as they had been used to. This reality, coupled with the possibilities for wage-work in mines and sugar-cane plantations, led to many people abandoning large-scale agriculture in Cutweni.

The women and children who were left behind in Cutweni when many men left as labour-migrants, focused on the smaller garden that was in front of the homestead (and thus easily fenced and watched over). However, due to the condensed housing pattern in Cutweni (typical of "Betterment" villages) gardens could not be made much bigger than a few thousand square meters - this means around 2-4 months of maize and vegetable supply. Consequently, most of the yearly food supply had to be bought. Today, a few families have moved back to the Bhobe area and re-assumed a scattered settlement pattern. These families state that they find it easier to look after their cattle as it can graze close to the homestead, and they are also making much bigger (field-sized) gardens that give yields that last most of the year. McAllister (1992:205ff) traces the strategy of making big gardens instead of fields back to the 1940s, and points to some of the advantages of this practice: gardens were easier to work, manure and protect than fields. This historical context gives further explanation to the fact that most of the families in Cutweni today focus on earning a monetary income and do not use agriculture as a major livelihood strategy.

So, the situation in Cutweni is a product of the South African, and people depend on the environment to a higher degree in other African countries. However, there is a clear trend of labour migration in Africa in general, and the opinion that jobs are more valuable than other securities is by no means unique for South Africa. The trend of urbanisation shows this tendency, according to Nel and Davies (1999:257): "Urban populations in Africa since the 1960s have often been growing at the rate of 5 - 7% per annum [...]. Among many reasons for urban growth has been the low status of agriculture and lack of rural facilities,

resulting from government bias in favour of city investment associated with the need to keep the urban masses at least quiet, even if not happy. [...] One result of all this is the low esteem with which farming and rural life are held in many parts of the continent." Thus, the same symptoms of wage work orientation could be present in other African villages, for example in those that are close to major towns and capitals or major employers (such as a factory, an attractive tourism area etc.). A tendency towards buying the things one has previously gotten from the environment (such as food, clothes, medicines, utensils etc.) is in any case growing stronger in most areas. The results from this study, although specific for a South African context in many ways, could therefore be interesting to keep in mind in other parts of Africa as well.

The quote from Nel and Davies above also points to the clear connection that urbanisation and modernisation tendencies have to national policies. Rural areas are never isolated islands but are often more influenced than we would think by national policies and projects, as the case of Cutweni has shown very clearly. The point of this paper has been not only to understand the local dynamics of rural areas, but also to understand the connections these have to national policies. The following part will reveal these connections.

Conclusions: Policy Implications in a South African Perspective

Cutweni is, despite its apparent isolation, about as far from being an independent village where the population gets by on its own as a rural village can be. The vast majority of the population is dependent on jobs generated from outside the village, or on governmental grants. In Table 10, the developments that the people in Cutweni would like to see in their village are listed, in priority order (agreed on within the community). The responsibility of meeting all these needs lies with the local municipality, which has to prioritise strongly as it has very limited finances. The needs that are not featuring on top of the list will probably not be met within the next few years.

<i>Development needs:</i>	<i>Financing:</i>	<i>Job creation:</i>	<i>Financing:</i>
Improve the road	Local municipality	Mazizi Tea Plantation	Private corporation
Build a clinic	Local municipality	Coast Care	Governmental programme
Improve the school	Local municipality	Working for Water	Governmental programme
Install electricity	Local municipality	Nature Conservation	Governmental employment
Provide water-taps	Local municipality	Tourism Project	EU-funded programme
Install telephone network	Local municipality	Fruit and vegetable-growing project (planned project)	Governmental programme
		Poverty relief project, small enterprises (planned project)	Governmental programme

Table 10. Development needs in Cutweni (as listed by the community) along with possibilities (potential and already realised) for job creation, and the type of financing that these needs have today.

Job creation is also very important for development in the village, but as can be seen in Table 10, most of the options for this development also have governmental financing. If many rural villages have the same dependencies as Cutweni, the government indeed has a major task at its hand, especially since the people in the villages are usually not tax-payers. The lack of private or corporate investments and small enterprises is a major problem in the area. Small-scale enterprising is a good means of poverty relief, but the only such enterprises that exist in the village today are informal ones such as shebeens or spaza-shops, which are in fact illegal and discouraged by the authorities.

Most of the securities on village and household level in Cutweni can thus be traced back to one single source: the government of South Africa. The government should of course take a lot of responsibility for

re-building the structures in rural villages; in many areas, they should perhaps do more than what they are doing now. However, this one-sided dependency has its drawbacks and is not a stable or sustainable situation for a village to be in. Means for the villagers to support themselves to a higher extent need to be created, and I believe that small-scale enterprising is one of the answers to this problem. Projects focusing on this survival strategy need to address the problems of enterprising: the risk-taking issue, how to generate a starting capital, how to develop the human resources for enterprising and how local people can resume their self-esteem and the self-confidence needed for such ventures. Bringing development to poor rural villages is in the end about much more than political will and financing possibilities; it is about creating lasting, stable and sustainable structures - and for this one needs to depart from local needs and perspectives and analyse how development influences local structures.

From a policy perspective, I believe it is very important to understand certain local issues that influence the way people think and perceive their options. Looking at security profiles, one is tempted to think that families in Cutweni have 16 different security combinations to choose between and that their choice is dependent on preference, available options and strategic thinking. In fact, these families exist within a complex web of historical influences, traditions, values, family structures, life cycles and human resources. These factors may limit the available strategies to such an extent that it is not really a matter of free choice, but of doing what one perceives as the only thing to do. A spectra of choices that from a perspective stripped of local context would seem available to every family, become narrowed down by many factors: the gender and age structure in the family, the family traditions of livelihood strategies, and the educational level and personal traits of the people in the family, to specify but a few. I have seen many examples of this: crayfish collection is not an available option in a family lacking men, making fields is not an option in a family with elderly and children only, agriculture is not an option in a family lacking the tradition for it, certain jobs are not options for those who do not feel confident in their English skills, and persons perceived as irresponsible or those who drink beers at *shebeens* all day long will not be recommended for jobs within poverty relief programmes. Only by understanding the options that local people actually feel are open to them, can their choices be understood and their perspectives appreciated.

Local securities, viewed within their historical and social contexts, can be useful for understanding these local perspectives. In South Africa, there are several policies that could benefit from this. Policies on natural resource restrictions for example, need to be complemented with projects that lend alternatives to resource dependence for the affected families. Job creation in the villages is not necessarily this alternative, since the securities approach has shown us that families who depend on natural resources are usually not the same type of families that are first in line for jobs. Poverty relief programmes are another example of policies that reach local areas - here the problem is the programmes would need to be more flexible in order to reach all the poor people. Those who suffer from psychological problems, diseases, malnutrition, abuse, debts and addictions - all problems that have strong connections to poverty - are

likely to have difficulties with getting jobs in poverty relief programmes. These programmes could be complemented with outreach projects on family level that make sure that poor families receive some form of help.

Decision-makers and local people live in different worlds and have different perspectives, as was stated in the beginning of this paper. Bringing these two worlds closer together is a big task that needs many approaches and tools to facilitate understanding and communication across the different barriers present - spatial, cultural, social, economic and political barriers to name a few. I believe that local securities could be one such approach.

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