Rural Agricultural Settlement Options for Farm Dwellers:

A Focus on the Amajuba District Municipality, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

By

Lisa Del Grande

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTERS in

URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING (DEVELOPMENT PLANNING)

University of KwaZulu-Natal

SUPERVISOR

Prof. Peter Robinson

August 2009

Dedication

I wish to dedicate this research effort to two sources.

The first dedication is to the memory of Bheki Ndlela, a colleague, friend and activist, who passed away in October 2009. His dedication to supporting farm dweller and other landless families, in their quest for equity and dignity in justice, citizenship rights and development opportunities, was unwavering and all consuming. It is my hope that others come to understand his passion and follow his lead and that this research can help inspire this understanding.

The second dedication is to those farm dweller families and individuals who have all made extraordinary sacrifices, in their own ways, to survive and challenge the effects of the rise of industrialisation of agriculture on their lives.

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was not used. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters in Urban and Regional Planning (Development Planning) in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Lisa Del Grande

4 December 2009

Acknowledgments

This research would not have been possible without the invaluable support of the Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA) staff members, namely Bheki Ndlela, Thabo Manyathi, Zanele Dumisa, and Isaac Sibeko. They willingly and enthusiastically supported the research objective, and analysis and actively helped implement some of the field methods. For this I am eternally grateful.

I also would not have been able to engage with some many farm dweller families around such personal social and economic issues if I did not have the co-operation of the local farm dweller committees in Newcastle, Utrecht and Dannhauser local municipalities. It is my hope that this work will support them to engage actively with government institutions to achieve a better life.

My gratitude must also go to AFRA, my employer between 2000 and 2009, who afforded me the time and support to undertake my studies and this research, and to my supervisor Prof Robinson for patiently supporting me to completion.

Finally I must acknowledge my family for trusting and supporting me to balance work, studies and family life.

Abstract

Processes of dispossession led to the deconstructing and reconstructing of new forms of citizenship through new political identities. Concepts of citizenship and identity are now re-emerging with the reconstruction of a new political order post 1994. Who farm dweller families are in the newly constructed polity, or how their identities are understood by the new state, will have bearing on what they can rightfully access as part of the programmes of redress and transformation.

Making the argument that farm dwellers are neither ‘peasant’ nor ‘labour’ or ‘worker’ in the dominant theoretical sense the research sets out to contextualise the farm dwellers’ development dilemma. This research attempts to situate farm dweller families in a dynamic and historically fraught political economy so that a more accurate consideration is given to the impact of future settlement options on their households’ economy. This study evaluates the relationship between farm dweller settlement patterns and their household food security. in the Amajuba District of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

The situation of the farm dweller families in the Amajuba district tells a story of extreme vulnerability. The vulnerability is a product of their dependent relationship on the owners of the land for permission to access these basic but critical livelihood needs. Their continued dependence on natural resources, rather than the cash economy, is also a product of this decades’ long relationship which has perpetuated levels of generational chronic poverty. The cycle of this level of poverty is clearly vicious and without directed targeted intervention might take generations to overcome, if it is ever broken.

The political economic context of an aggressive global food industry fed by industrial forms of agriculture, the levels of vulnerability, dependency and lack of agency in the farm dweller household economy and the incredibly uncertain government settlement and agricultural policy environment, makes the feasibility of new rural settlements with new forms of economic and social functionality almost unimaginable.

What the research finds is that in presenting the farm dweller perspective a good motivation can be made for developing a specific targeted state intervention that has short, medium and long term trajectories to provide farm dwellers with redress, and economic development opportunities.

Table of Contents

Tables

Figures

Maps

Acronyms

ABP	Area Based Plans
ADM	Amajuba District Municipality
AFRA	Association For Rural Advancement
CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
CS	Community Survey
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DRD&LR	Department of Rural Development & Land Reform
DoH	Department of Housing
DoA	Department of Agriculture
ESTA	Extension of Security of Tenure Act no. 19 of 1997
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FHAP	Farmworker Housing Assistance Programme
FIVIMS	Food Insecurity and Vulnerability, Information and Mapping System
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GHS	General Household Survey
HES	Household Expenditure Survey
HEA	Household Economic Approach
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ISCOR	Iron and Steel Corporation
ISRDS	Integrated Rural Development Strategy
ISRDP	Integrated Rural Development Plan
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LARP	Land and Agrarian Reform Project
LED	Local Economic Development
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LTA	Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act No. 3 of 1996
RDF	Rural Development Framework
RDP	Redistribution and Development programme
RDS	Rural Development Strategy
SA	South Africa
STATS	Statistics South Africa
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
UDS	Urban Development Strategy
WB	World Bank
WDR	World Bank Development Report

1 Introducing the people, their place, and their problems

1.1 Introduction

"Farms came to the people. Our great grandparents were already here when the land was ruled by Amakhosi. The Amakhosi were removed through wars between AmaZulu and the Whites, with the intention to grab our land and make it their own. The Zulus failed. That is why we are being oppressed by the whites. We do not have a say with regard to land ownership. That's how our grandparents found themselves oppressed just as we are". – Farm dweller participant in May 2005 workshops (AFRA report 2005).

This seemingly simple and clear response, to the question of why there are farm dweller families in South Africa (SA), reflects a strong perception by farm dwellers of the cause of their current impoverishment and development plight in South Africa. Reading the workshop report entitled *This is our home-it is our land, our history, our right* leaves one with the sense that this view is quite a general perception amongst farm dweller families and if it is analysed in its spatially specific historical context it suggests an examination of at least four possible development theory assertions that are interrelated in a locally specific way (AFRA 2005).

The first is that a spatially specific historical context is critical for understanding farm dwellers current socio-economic circumstances. This would support the approach of a political economic analysis where the dominant economic theories or assumptions are interrogated for their relevance in their assertions about families resident on farms (CDE 2005,Bernstein 2007, Marcus 1989). It also counters the argument of either global or local factors driving development but rather suggests that globally acknowledged factors play themselves out differently in each local instance. The second is that the concept of "farms", understood as private parcels of surveyed and deeds registered land, is perceived as a socially and politically constructed form of place making and are not primarily understood as economically driven systems. The forms of settlement patterns and tenure systems are influenced by land access, control and use which will vary across socio-economic systems. The third is that the type of agricultural production systems introduced through the "farms" was imposed on an existing agricultural system, forcing change in the existing form of agricultural production. The fourth is that people are asserting their original political right to the agricultural land by suggesting that the socially and politically constructed "farm" found them in that space and it was relinquished involuntarily. Implied in this is that it is "farms" that dispossessed them of their citizenship, through loss of land rights and change

in the social and political system. It is the agreed social and political system that generally underpins membership (citizenship) of political and social communities.

The current political and economic context in South Africa seeks to drive programmes of redress, restitution and transformation as the basis of its new development path. Its reconstruction drive is premised on strong narratives about the past dispossession and its structural effects on peoples' current socio-economic circumstances. The physical removal of families from their homes and loss of property was an obvious aspect of such dispossession. Less visible or obvious was how this eroded the families' means by which they could create wealth and avoid chronic poverty.

Millions of families managed to remain on the agricultural land, under the newly constructed properties, represented by white owned commercial farms (Marcus 1989, SPP 1983, Wegerif et al 2006). They did this despite the colonial and apartheid systems. In doing this they sent South Africa on a developmental path that gave rise to peculiar labour tenancy relationships in the agriculture sector. These households experienced dispossession in such a unique way that, under the democratic dispensation, they were specifically acknowledged (DLA 1997). New land rights laws were passed, post 1994, as an attempt to secure their rights on the farms. In the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) of the country these households were recognized as being the poorest and most marginalized sector in South African society(Gov SA 2000). It is now ironic that this sector of agricultural settlement society should still be experiencing some of the highest poverty levels, food insecurity. As well as continued marginalisation from land, agriculture and general settlement development processes and projects, fifteen years post 1994 (Hall 2006, Hall et al 2004, AFRA 2005, Atkinson 2007).

Agri-villages are being proposed by some municipalities and government departments, as a viable way to address farm dwellers plight (ADM 2006, DLA 2008). Assumptions behind this settlement option seem to lie in the understanding of the agricultural sectors' contribution to the national economy, which is measured mainly through its contribution to the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and to job creation. That most societies shifted into forms of capitalism from feudal states is well recorded. However, how such feudal systems, which were characterised by rural settings and agricultural lifestyles, transformed into capitalism, which is characterised by urbanisation and industrialisation, is a key debate in development theory (Bernstein 2007, Dewar et al 1982). The role of agriculture as an economic sector under capitalist modes of production remains a vexed question, not least because the essentials of 'peasant' forms of production seem to have endured or re-

emerged in the current context of neo-liberal capitalism.

Despite this shifting debate, commercial forms of agriculture are still considered, by a dominant school of thought, as being an important economic sector with high potential for increased employment and an important source of food security for the country (WB 2008). Commercial forms of agriculture are argued to need large scale industrialised forms of farming to be viable. The dominant theory also relies heavily on the notion that only private property forms provide necessary and sufficient security to attain the levels of production needed for economic viability in agriculture (WB 2008). Land, as a commodified property, is argued to be a resource to leverage finances to support industrialised forms of agriculture. This view has relied on a form of private property that constructs tenants on the land as workers or labour rather than land rights holders (Marcus 1989, Mbongwa et al 1996). The effect of this has been to reduce the racial spatial engineering of the past into a narrative about markets and economies.

The drive to further increase commercial agricultural production through the existing social and economic structure of agriculture in South Africa has uncertain implications for the already vulnerable livelihoods and tenure of farm dwellers within commercial farming areas (DLA 2008, GSA 2007). The options for farm dweller families active, and sustainable, participation in the current structure of commercial agriculture, and national food security strategies, is unclear. It is an urgent dilemma that district municipalities, tasked with guiding economic development for all their citizens and guided by transformative land use principles, need to confront. This research will endeavour to make a contribution to addressing the issue of integrating farm dweller families into sustainable and settlement patterns and tenure arrangements.

1.1.1 Research objective

This research attempts to situate farm dweller families in a dynamic and historically fraught political economy so that a more accurate consideration is given to the impact of future settlement options on their households economy. Specifically this study will evaluate the relationship between their settlement patterns and their household food security, and then consider the feasibility of alternative options, like agri-villages, in the Amajuba District of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

1.1.2 Research sub questions

- What are the historical socio-economic issues and trends in the Amajuba District influencing development plans and land uses for the commercial agriculture areas and farm dwellers in these areas?

- How is food security, poverty and development planning understood in the area and how does this influence district agricultural sector plans and land uses?

- How does access to land and existing property systems affect the potential agricultural settlement and land use patterns, considering current systems and proposed agri-village systems?

- What are the feasible motivations which might influence changes in land use through Integrated District Planning towards improved food security and tenure for farm dweller households?

1.2 Approach

The research has attempted to make a unique contribution to the limited existing research on the situation of farm dweller families post apartheid. Through processes of dispossession, the voices and views of families on farms have been significantly marginalised and their relationships with the state (or broader public) is strongly mediated through third parties, in the form of landowners.

The approach used for this research, to increase levels of real participation in the process, was a qualitative method that is influenced by the ideas of discourse analysis and ethnography. It is an Action Research approach that relies primarily on the perceptions and analysis of farm dwellers themselves. This research is about capturing their stories, and with farm dwellers, trying to understand the rationale that gives rise to these perceptions and to seek possible solutions. A simple quantitative economic analysis of their plight is likely to overlook the significant barriers created through their unequal relations with landowners over time. Quantitative approaches might also fail to show how these barriers might still influence their ability to benefit from development opportunities despite a developmental approach to governance in South Africa today.

At the same time it is acknowledged that qualitative research methods are resource and time intensive. They require that the researcher build up relationships of trust that would

elicit the views. However, although the scope of this research was severely limited by resources and time, the unique relationships of existing trust between the Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA, for whom the researcher worked), and the farm dweller formations and families meant a substantive qualitative approach was possible.

AFRA and the farm dweller formations in the focus area agreed to the proposed research objective, approach and method as it provided them with an opportunity to develop a detailed socio-economic analysis of the families on the farms. The results of this research fieldwork was also compiled into a status quo report, which the local farm dweller formations were able to use to engage relevant government departments with to further influence the provision of services to farm dweller families (AFRA 2008).

1.3Methodology

Household level interviews on a sample of 50 farms, as well as sub district focus group sessions, have been employed as a way to elicit current views. The household interviews were set up and undertaken by AFRA staff with the support of representatives of local farm dweller formations. The local formations then set up focus groups meetings to discuss the outcomes of the household interviews captured in draft reports by the researcher. AFRA staff facilitated the focus group discussions under the guidance of the researcher.

The focus group meetings served to confirm the trends picked up by the researcher from the household interviews as well as assist the local families to identify key problems and begin to explore specific solutions for each. The information collected was analysed with farm dweller families in the sub district focus group workshops but has also relied on concepts and frameworks drawn from secondary sources gathered through a literature review process. Where appropriate verbatim quotes from the interviews and other relevant sources have been included in the text to further illustrate and emphasise certain perceptions. These are reflected in italics.

1.3.1 Desktop and literature review - secondary resources

The research required that a number of related issues be explored and analysed. It also tried to outline the way in which these issues are understood by the researcher and how these might concur with or differ from the Amajuba District Municipality's(ADM) Integrated Development Plan (IDP) reports.

The socio-economic situation of households can be analysed in a number of ways. This short dissertation examines a few of the aspects that make up such household level socio-economies. The literature review merely explores the various ways in which the socio-economic make up of households could have been understood and highlights how they have been analysed in this process. The literature review has also highlighted the *de jure* and *de facto* relationship between national policy frameworks and local government responsibilities.

The second part of the desktop review explored the concepts of:

- food security and poverty concepts and measures;
- the role of agriculture in developing economies and rural settlement patterns;
- property systems and their relationship to settlement pattern land uses;
- and the identity and socio-economic sector referred to as farm dwellers.

The third part of the desktop review scanned the study area in more detail through a review of its:

- Integrated Development Plans and reports;
- the agricultural, housing, local economic development and land reform sector plans;
- the strategic Development Framework and any land use schemes that might have been developed or explored; and
- any historical papers, books or reports written about the Amajuba District.

1.3.2 Primary data collection

The case study area is the Amajuba district municipality (ADM). This district has three sub districts of Utrecht, Newcastle and Dannhauser (Map 1). Each area has a number of commercial farming units on which farm dweller families reside.

The primary data collected was done to establish current levels of food security of farm dweller households and the importance of access to agricultural land for the household's food security or livelihood strategies. Through this analysis the families' levels of vulnerability to their context and ability to overcome or manage challenges in their context could be examined.

In total 50 households across 50 farming units were interviewed (Map 1). The interviews were done by AFRA staff under the guidance of the researcher and the interviewers made

use of an interview schedule to ensure uniformity in probing questions (appendix 1). These interviews were captured through digital recorders and transcribed verbatim for the record. The interviews were then summarised identifying trends and issues across the households, and presented to sub district focus groups of farm dwellers for further discussions about how much this reflected the situation of families on the farms and to explore what the alternative solutions might be to problems identified.

Two sub district focus group workshops were held in each of the three Amajuba sub districts with a mix of farm dwellers who had been interviewed and additional farm dwellers (Minutes 2008). These focus group sessions were to report back the findings from the household interviews, to confirm the findings as general trends, and to try to explore possible solutions to the challenges raised.

Sampling and populations

The exact number of families that remain on the farms in the Amajuba area is not captured reliably in any literature. An estimate of 495,345 farm dwellers in KwaZulu-Natal and 42,716 farm dwellers in the ADM was made through research contracted by the Department of Land Affairs in 2005 (Social Surveys 2006). The total population was estimated at 491102 in Amajuba in the Area based plans of 2008/9, with at least 40% residing in rural areas. Basically the rural populace is not disaggregated in local development reports to allow a farm dweller population size to be accurately ascertained. This meant that developing a relevant sample size to meet the objectives of the study required a combination of approaches rather than a simple percentage of a given population.

Consideration was then given to the number of commercial farming units within the ADM as a possible framework within which to estimate farm dweller population size. The number of commercial farming units for KZN was estimated at 4,038 in the ADM Agricultural sector plan but no specific number of units for the ADM was given(ADM 2006). The Census of Agricultural provincial statistics for KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) 2002 suggested that there were 289 commercial farming units for the ADM disaggregated as Newcastle 156, Utrecht 106, and 27 in Dannhauser . This suggests that the ADM has about 7% of the commercial farming units in KZN. However caution in using these statistics was required because the manner in which commercial units were defined differed in that the former relied on business units and the latter appeared to rely on land parcels.

Given that the nature of the research was not one that was attempting to and that it was not

possible to ascertain the exact quantitative extent of the specific population of farm dwellers the approach rather explored the general commonalities in the nature of the problem identified by the households interviewed and confirmed these findings in sub district focus group workshops. Finally the sample of 50 households was settled on, representing approximately 17% of commercial farming units as defined by the KZN Agricultural census 2002.(See Map 1).

These 50 households, which represented an estimated 686 people, was randomly selected but to enable such a sample to be reliable and to credibly reflect the area the criteria for sample household selection also included:

- An acceptable spread across the entire geographical area to capture possible variations affected by variations in farming products;
- One household per farm to be identified by families on the farm where possible as a family that can reflect their situations generally;
- Identification of areas where labour tenant claims were lodged to ensure inclusion of such types of households;
- An attempt to get up to 20 households per sub district;
- Some knowledge or relationship with local formations to ensure immediate basic levels of trust.

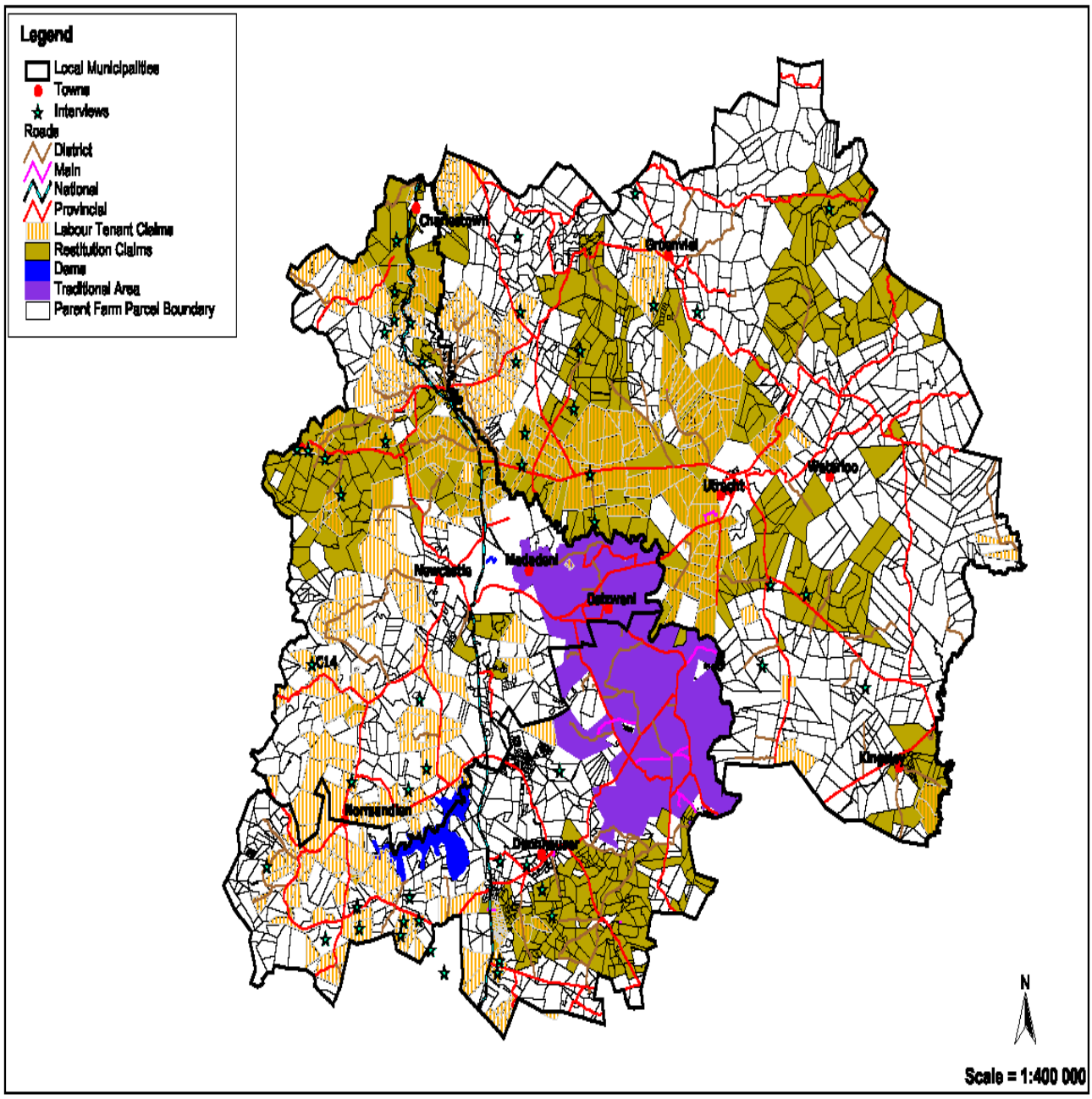
An initial scoping of the responses suggested a high level of similarity in this initial sample of 50 families. Based on these clear trends from the 50 families no further households were interviewed and the researcher was satisfied with the integrity of the sample selection process and size. Confirmation of the trends and issues in the focus groups also justified the sample.

All interviewees were informed of the research objective and all signed consents. Copies of the transcripts and reports were made available to all interviewees.

1.4Structure of dissertation

This dissertation is divided into four sections from here onwards. Chapter 2 gives. a context and outlines a theoretical framework from literature reviewed. Chapter 3. details and analyses the situation of farm dweller households in the Amajuba district based on the primary research findings. Chapter 4 examines the various responses of the South African government to the development complexities and the situation of farm dwellers post apartheid through a further review of literature and attempts to begin to localise the broad

theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2. Chapter 5 concludes with issues to consider in pursuing settlement options with farm dweller families by bringing the findings of Chapter 2,3 and 4 together.



Map 1: Interview points in the Amajuba District 2008

2 Exploring the context that gives rise to farm dwellers

2.1 The Political economy as a context : key factors that affect farm dwellers

The purpose of this literature review is to outline a context within which one can understand the current farm dweller household economy and why and how they function as they do . This enabled an understanding of how they might be supported to overcome their economic social and political challenges. The premise is that existing meta-narratives about the farm dweller households have tended to be defined by and followed the more dominant discourse in economics and development thinking. This is understood to be the broad stream of capitalist market economics with its roots in the cost of production theory of value, currently captured by the narratives of neo-liberalism. The most clearly articulated counter narratives are ones driven by Marxist abstract theory of labour. The latter suffered immense derision by those that uphold the ideology of free markets, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union experiment(Hart 2005). In the last two decades, in the midst of global crises of poverty, food and failing markets, the counter narratives have resurfaced opening up development theories debates again (Hart 2005). Both these narratives rely on quite linear determinist theories of development. The former, suggested societies evolve from backward agriculturally based economies towards more urban and technologically driven spaces (Chang and Grabel 2004,Tickell and Peck 2003) . The latter suggests that market economies face inherent contradictions that will result in economic class conflicts that lead to revolutionary change towards a more egalitarian society, underpinned by a shift from an agriculturally based economy to a more urban manufacturing and service based one (Buroway 2003, WB 2008).

However, for the African continent and the South African situation specifically these types of theories have never adequately explained its growth path (WB 2008, Stiglitz 2002). Countries in Africa have not evolved in such neat linear fashions which has lead to new explanations from both major development streams(Bernstein 2007). Such explanations are captured in phrases like - on the one hand about "good governance", "imperfect markets", "social capital", and on the other "uneven development", "people centred", "structural underdevelopment", "globalisation" and the importance of "historical specificity". Certainly South Africa, in the context of apartheid rascist ideology, faced its own unique path accompanied by a myriad of theories on race and class, emphasising the unique interaction of global factors with local specifics and the need for a political economic theoretical framework to examine the phenomena of farm dwellers in South Africa (Hart 2003, Marcus 1989).

2.2Property and settlement formation and relations

The current South African policy framework which ostensibly guides governments' institutional support to existing and future rural settlements is reported to be ambiguous (DLA 2007). The Rural Development Strategy (RDS) of 1995 was to create "a more diverse agriculture, with farms of many sizes providing incomes (or part incomes) to many more people" (GSA 1995). This was driven by an attempt to redress the spatial chaos that resulted from a dual system of agriculture, forced removals, poverty, poor support services. While noble in its intention the RDS is argued to have overlooked issues of existing small towns and their roles in the economy, urbanization trends, land demand tenure insecurity amongst other issues (DLA 2007). In 1997 a Rural Development Framework was introduced which did began to accommodate some of the gaps in the RDS. However neither documents spoke directly to the issues of families on farms. The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategies (ISRDS) 2000 did however make linkages between the growth path of commercial agriculture and its role in the current rural poverty and rural spatial chaos.

Integrated Development Plans labour under similar problems with regard to necessary spatial re-engineering in rural and urban areas (Hall et al 2007). Although spatial development guidelines allude to the historical distortions of land holdings and settlement patterns the focus is clearly on encouraging organized urban growth, and managing urban and rural sprawl (GSA 2006). The strategy for any new settlements outside existing urban areas or settled rural areas is less clearly articulated. This could be linked to the uncertainty and debates around successful growth models that postulate the role of agriculture and its relationship to small towns and local economic development, internationally.

The global theories explaining the emergence of denser settlements over time in any country or political community's history have relied on the two main theoretical streams. The first, broadly grouped as neo-classical or modernisation arguments and the second as radical or dependency (Dewar et al 1982, Dewar 1996, Satterthwaite 2006). For neoclassical theories the key arguments centre on economic development changes that are caused by and in turn cause changes in the structure of agricultural production from self sufficiency to specialisation and industrialisation. Increases in productivity result in increases in income which changes and increases the type of demand for non farm goods and services. This in turn gives impetus to non-farm settlements which can supply this new evolving demand towards non basic items resulting in more modern economic urban

settlement forms (Dewar 1996). A related argument is that any unequal distribution of labour, land and capital in these changing behaviour patterns, demands and migration towards town will find equilibrium. There is a pull factor, towards urbanisation, in the demand for labour in new denser settlements as economic structures change related to new demands for more complex goods and services and there are push factors brought about by population growth in agricultural areas, carrying capacity of land being finite and mechanisation (Dewar 1996). The general direction of the various neoclassical arguments will be towards an inevitable and almost "natural" urbanisation process as a measure of the success of economic development.

However there are many examples of trends in Africa, Asia and Latin America which suggest that these theories of a neat linear progression towards an ideal form of modern society do not hold (World Bank report 2008, Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2003, Satterthwaite 2006). Satterthwaite and Tacoli suggest that there is a "growing recognition of the importance of exchanges between rural and urban households, enterprises and economies" (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2003). They go further and argue that "both urban and rural households rely for their livelihoods on the combination of rural and urban resources, including non-farm employment for rural residents and peri-urban farming for urban dwellers"(Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2003). The World Bank Development report released in 2008 seems to reflect a shift back to a search for new growth models that better explain why developing economies have not commercialised the peasantry or successfully absorbed the increasing surplus flows of people into urban centres (World Bank report 2008).

The new radical theories, perhaps more in vogue now following admissions of market failure and poor results of the neoclassical growth path theories, now argue that there is no single path or linear model in economic development (Buroway 2003). Uneven development occurs because it reflects a necessary and managed interaction between "modern" and "traditional" economies thereby creating "semi-proletariatisation" maintain cheap labour through an adequate supply of "oscillating migrants" (Dewar 1996, Dewar et al 1983). Dense settlements or towns and cities become centres of 'exploitation" driven by "middlemen" exploiting rural area resources (Dewar 1996). A number of political, economic and social factors need to be examined to understand the key triggers for urbanisation and the main factors affecting peoples successful development in these and the success of the settlement as a whole.

2.2.1 The role of property or tenure relations

The influence of property relations in settlement patterns underpins all theories of growth. The steady onslaught of free market thinking in the 1970's and 80's seems to have diminished the critical understanding of the importance of this driving factor in development, resulting in many uncritical government policy frameworks that make the assumption that land is a necessary commodity for a successful development growth path (WB 2008, De Soto 2000). The key arguments have been that for people to invest in land and ensure its productivity they need secure tenure (WB 2008, De Soto 2000). It was argued until quite recently that such security is best provided through a system of private property relations. In privatising land, as property, it becomes a commodity that can be bought and sold allowing land to be bought up by those that use it most productively.

De Soto (2000) would have us believe, from his work in **The Mystery of Capital** that unless property is clearly and unambiguously legally recognised as belonging to a legal body (individual or group) it is worthless and can be viewed as a "dead asset". The premise for the proponent of this view of property relations in land lies in the emulation of economies like Britain and the United States. In Britain the formation of the property system occurred through processes of the enclosure system during the time of the industrial revolution and changing political systems from feudal to mercantile and finally capitalism (Duncan 1996). Enclosure and the privatisation of the commons played a key role in Britains' economic growth trajectory. While in the United States the private property system has underpinned the economy through the massive, albeit volatile, mortgage bond system, turning a physical asset into an economic concept that has value in the market(De Soto 2000).

In the last two decades however the debates about the necessity of commodifying land have resurfaced and the very influential international institutions, like the World Bank, who previously espoused this thinking are now acknowledging that "Earlier interventions to improve tenure security focused almost exclusively on individual titling, but this can weaken or leave out communal, secondary, or women's rights."(WB2008). Although not entirely abandoning the assumption they do make an argument for "new approaches to securing tenure" (WB 2008). A great influence in this shift has been the failure of the earlier assumptions to hold in continents like Africa (WB 2008, Bernstein 2007). The World Bank Development Report of 2008 "suggests that people in rural areas are not migrating out to urban as quickly as labour is lost in rural areas" causing an increase in poverty in rural areas (WB 2008). The assumption here is that the theory of income redistributing 'to those that drop out of agricultural labour" is not applying as these people

are not moving into non agricultural work (WB 2008). Termed a lack of “occupational transformation” it is attributed to a lack of information, costs, skill gaps, aging and social ties (WB 2008). They go further to say that there is an increasing gap between rural and urban incomes in developing economies as the “transition of people out of agriculture and rural areas” is not keeping pace with restructuring of economies away from agriculture, reflected as a slow “absorption rate”. (WB 2008).

The counter argument has been that property is a social construct and is an institution that “creates and maintains relations between people” (Macphearson 1978). Property is argued by the “radical” theorists to be a form of “primitive accumulation” and later to be “accumulation by dispossession” it follows the more Marxist view that this social construct or institution merely serves to support the necessary processes of accumulation that must take place in a capitalist driven economic system. Linked very closely to this re-emerging debate is the old critiques that land, labour and money 'were fictitious commodities' and still are (Bernstein 2007). Recognition by society of individuals rights in certain things/ property gives rise to the ability to enforce the right. It is the ability to enforce that makes guaranteed rights possible. Most often society will recognise the state as the necessary enforcer and guarantor of these recognised rights. The enforceability of the right implies a third party control over access and use which leads the theorists in the more radical group to assert that property is a political relationship between people (Macphearson 1978). Control over the “asset” does not only increase security for investment but also increases control over people through controlling their access to resources.

A key contention that now arises is whether development through the commercialisation or industrialisation of agriculture (said to be necessary for economic development – see section 2.3 below) requires “the commodification of land in the form of bourgeois private property rights and markets in land” (Bernstein 2007). Eloquently captured by Bernstein in his paper on *Capitalism and Moral Economy : Land questions in sub-saharan Africa*, he confirms the existence of the enduring and unresolved “wide and diverse debates about the moral economy of land that encompass issues of multiple and competing claims to authority over its allocation and uses, the enduring importance of (rural) place of origin to identity and the ‘politics of belonging’, and, not least, the effects of these social and cultural dynamics for (private) property rights in land as a condition of agricultural development” (Bernstein 2007)

2.2.2 Theory and practice in settlement patterns and economic growth

Accordingly, if it is accepted that “capital tends to concentrate”, and “accumulate” the way in which a settlement grows depends on how its’ economy is incorporated into the national and now global economy (Dewar 1996). Each settlement’s level of industrialisation and associate job creation, the role of the state in providing the infrastructure and services necessary for such competitive growth, the relationship of its industry and innovation diffusion with other settlements , levels of income leakage out of the settlement, all affect its growth path and potential (Dewar 1996). Two critical factors to add into this equation are the form of the changing agricultural production systems and the property system created and supported by the state or relevant authority.

While denser settlements, small towns, can emerge from a symbiotic relationship with surrounding agricultural production forms, this relationship can and has changed. Increasing mechanisation and industrialisation of agriculture towards supporting national and global food markets complemented by more competitive goods and services supply from national and global businesses can entirely circumvent small towns economies (Dewar 1996). Linkages between towns and rural areas of agriculture are further weakened by collusion in input supplies, pricing and marketing policies (like quotas), protective policies that reduce risk management, onerous health and safety standards reducing local small holder supplier competitiveness, and transport subsidies which favour agro-processing (Dewar 1996). In fact improved access roads have been argued to support the profit margins of traders or intermediaries (owners of vehicles) rather than reduce the costs of directly accessing markets for small holders(Dewar1996).

In addition, all of these factors will be differently affected by the local social and politically specific context reflecting residents own internal relationships impinging on the settlements agency in the global context (Hart 2003, Dewar 1996). This agency is acutely influenced by the property system that prevails as it will define and control access to and use of land for residence and other related purposes. So while obvious triggers like “shifts in political economies” and technologies (like transport and production) can cause a process of change they will not result in the same outcomes for any two places.

The role of agency, represented through local and official discourses, will need to be considered in understanding settlements growth paths. As argued by Rutherford, in his work **Working on the margins: Black workers, white farmers in post colonial Zimbabwe**, “sites of spatial order of things are not naturalised entities but are identities

produced by an intersection of local and official discourses" (Rutherford 2001). How they are "engaged" and "unsettled" will also determine the effects of the economic factors mentioned in the previous paragraph (Rutherford 2001). This suggests that the organisation of rural land uses towards sustainable development of its society can be directed.

The literature suggests that small towns are more influenced by sectoral economic policies than spatial policies and so an over concentration on the organisation of space through spatial policies through the management of settlement systems i.e focus on hierarchies, size and location can result in an incompatibility with economic policy goals (Dewar 1996). It seems necessary to fuse economic and spatial imperatives for more sustainable rural development. Rural settlement growth and / or management requires a clearer and more local assessment of how historical patterns of resource use have shaped current patterns of resource use enabling some level of livelihood and survival or development. A settlements ability to respond positively to external drivers or pressures will ensure its sustainability. (Du Plessis 2007).

In this sense a settlement will be more than the provision of housing and services, which is unfortunately often the focus of settlement planning. Any new rural settlements would need to be weighed up against the family and public costs of relocation to existing urban areas, the dependency and vulnerability of the settlements (peoples) economic and social relationship with the type of agriculture practiced in the area, the trends in the sustainability of the biophysical environment, the broader economic and social relationship between the rural settlement and the local and district economy. Internationally governments have intervened with varied success, through a number of strategies including nodal settlement schemes, villagisation, rural service centres, industrial decentralisation schemes, mobile services, secondary city concepts(Dewar 1996).

2.2.3 South Africa's settlement pattern

However, because of colonial and apartheid spatial engineering, driven by both political and economic interests, the "normal" evolution of linkages between rural and urban situations are definitely not simple associations of production (i.e. between agriculture and industry growth). The colonial period saw a number of commissions and Trusts established to "organise and manage land" post a number of wars like the Zulu and Anglo-boer wars (PPDC 2008). This organisation included the introduction of a new property system based on Roman Dutch system which required surveyed portions of land which were registered under title deeds in the areas set aside for colonial settlements. Key policies in the apartheid era included influx control, 'betterment planning', industrial decentralisation,

homelands development policy, Group Areas Act resulting in massive upheavals due to removals, relocations and evictions (PPDC 2008).

The result was a variety of rural settlements. Some in the homeland areas each with their own dynamics of intensification and oscillating migration affected by influx controls, employment, betterment schemes, access to development opportunities. Some in the commercial farming areas on farms further affected by a variety of labour legislation and the agricultural production system needs. Some on mission owned land edging towards freehold forms of tenure. A growing number of families on the peripheries of towns and cities in relatively unserviced and poorly developed “townships”. A range of government interventions, driven by a variety of political and economic factors has further influenced settlements. These have included, villagisation through ‘betterment schemes’ and decentralised industrialisation schemes.

Small towns, aside from those in apartheid created homelands, in South Africa have found their origins in either centres that evolved through servicing of the commercial agricultural systems that developed or through having a special purpose or function like mining or tourism. Their patterns of growth were also intimately tied up in the apartheid economy. A study done in 1996, suggested that the majority of these types of settlements were already in decline (Dewar 1996). Many of the towns were characterised by a “static or declining economic base” and an increasing population as more black citizens moved into the towns (Dewar 1996). Dewar goes further to suggest that the growth in these small towns could be attributed primarily to the “displacement of farm labour off white owned farms” (Dewar 1996).

Other critical reasons for the theoretical anomaly of an increasing population and a declining economy in South Africa include the towns’ relationships with the surrounding agricultural production systems which were making decreasing contributions to the economies’ Gross Domestic Product(GDP). For special purpose towns the change in the fortunes of mining or tourism would remove the economic base of the towns. Changes in international and national trade policies and agricultural pricing would affect the original economic base of the towns. Critically, changes in transport technologies and road systems and routes has also meant that the nearest market, represented by the small settlements, is no longer the preferred or best market for sellers or buyers(Dewar 1996). A lack of diversity in the economic base of these towns coupled with their distance from metropolitan or cities, where they might be able to maximise new opportunities from these burgeoning economies, has seen a decline in most small town economies.

A recent study by the Human Science Research Council (2007) highlights some key trends for consideration in planning for development. These include the fact that urban employment is becoming more “sealed off” to “rural-born workers”; “significant” migration into smaller urban centres alongside migration into metro’; the development of dense rural settlements that are not traditionally structured in their property relationships, “demographically unstable” new rural settlements due to poor economic and social functionality of the settlement, decreasing levels of migrant labour, movement being primarily driven by a search for access to resources and not just employment (Cross et al 2007).

For farm dwellers some form of deliberate spatial engineering seems to be required in rural areas to avoid a simple choice of relocating to urban areas or remaining as tenants on farms. The danger lies in creating new settlements without re-engineering the property landscape and the structure of agriculture to support this type of local economic development. Whether this is possible with the current national policy frameworks’ of economic, trade, agriculture and land systems, is debatable.

2.3Agricultural production systems and settlement pattern relations

The farm dweller households are recognised as poor relative to other South Africans (GSA 2000). Their ability to overcome this within the current agricultural production structure by establishing some form of new rural settlement, new agricultural land use using current or alternative farming methods will play itself out within the debates about the role of agriculture in the economic growth of the country. This in turn will be affected by the way in which South Africa is able to engage with the global food system. Identifying possible relations and links in the various debates to the local situation can only be a cursory exercise in this research but should raise the questions for further work.

The publication of the World Banks World Development Report (WDR) in 2008 with a focus on the role of agriculture in developing economies was welcomed by many sectors across the range of schools of thought. For this literature review it also usefully captures the theoretical framework and current thinking of the broadly termed neo-liberal stream of thought. It was welcomed primarily because the role of agriculture has suffered a "generation long silence" as it "went out of fashion in development circles", replaced in some schools, like economic geography, by "model building" and "quantitative methods" in industry(Murphy & Santarius 2007, Page 2000). A renewed focus on agriculture is said to be rooted in "political -economic analyses of agriculture" driven by the failures of

classical growth theories to explain why people were not naturally shifting out of rural agriculture livelihoods, with their associate simple or basic goods requirements into urbanised luxury good lifestyles and technical advanced goods requirements (Page 2000, WB 2008). Such a livelihood – lifestyle shift was, and still is (as reflected in the WB 2008) argued to be a necessary structural transformation from a developing to a developed or modern society (WB 2008). As outlined earlier, current debates are reasserting the argument that the evolution of societies is not linear or uniform in its process or outcomes, requiring a rethink of classical economic arguments (Hart 2003, Tickell & Peck 2003, Buroway 2003).

The political economy lens on agriculture is an analysis that goes beyond "farm business efficiency and performance" into understanding the "consequences of technological change, the rise of large agribusiness farms, the shifting class structure" and the "role of state intervention" in these changes (Page 2000). So while the WDR 2008 report was welcomed it was more for the influence the WDR reports have in opening up debates about key global issues than for its specific content (Murphy & Santarius 2007). In fact the specific criticism of this WDR 2008 report is that it "lacks historical perspective" in that it fails to explain how countries have come to be poor and relies on "mainstream development thinking" in its vision by maintaining the discourse that agriculture as a sector will become less significant in the economy over time because "returns to agriculture are lower when compared to manufacturing and services" (Murphy & Santarius 2007). This vision means that agriculture is not portrayed "as a way of life" but rather an "instrument" to reduce poverty returning to measuring such in money metric terms (Murphy & Santarius 2007).

In reality, industrialisation has not only meant a shift from an agrarian localised economy to a more national urbanised economy but it has resulted in a shift in the mode of production across both primary and secondary sectors resulting in the commodification of primary goods like food, water, land, energy and even air (through carbon credit systems) (Duncan 1996). The rationale here is that processed goods have the capacity to generate new markets as they are endlessly adaptable while primary products have a natural limitation in exports (Rodrik 2006). This is disaggregated further in the WDR 2008 into staple crop sectors and non staple sectors where they suggest that staple crop sectors are the largest subsector and produced mostly for domestic markets (WB 2008). The implication here is that if a transition must be made from agriculture to secondary sector industry, and that changes in types of agriculture production are needed to trigger this, because it is not the domestic market that will create the environment for transformation,

then trade is needed. This has led to current debates on the rationality of comparative advantage arguments that have organised global production and trade, as quite clearly development through trade that is dependent on primary goods cannot be a sound economic development basis, as the terms will be ones that deteriorate (Rodrik 2006).

So while the World Bank Development Report (WB WDR) captures the current thinking or rethinking in the post 'Washington Consensus' school, it still labours under the theory of supply, with its focus on exports and increasing productivity (Murphy and Santarius 2007). In addition to this it skirts the need for regulation even though it acknowledges the problem of uneven market power and focus' rather, on supporting the building of local farmer formations as pressure groups to leverage better prices in the market through improved knowledge and information networks(WB 2008, Murphy and Santarius 2007).

Critiques of the WDR 2008 school of thought are most vociferous amongst those groups arguing for Food Sovereignty. Increasing food dependence amongst developing countries is argued by this group to be an entirely negative outcome of the current global food system rather than something that might have led to "improved and more diversified diets" as expressed by the WDR 2008 group (Rosset 2006). Liberalisation has been measured as a "net cost" even though exports might have increased because "for many developing countries imports of agricultural goods have outpaced export in value terms" (Murphy& Santarius 2007). The prevalence of underpriced (dumped) agricultural commodities in world markets, over the last century, is seen to have undermined local markets by distorting prices, as a long term consequence of a short term solution of cheap foods and over production by highly protected economies like the United States (Duncan 1999, Rosset 2006, Murphy&Santarius 2007). Resultant migration of people off farm lands into urban areas has swelled the ranks of slums(Rosset 2006).

These criticisms stem from a particular understanding of how agriculture has been industrialised and how food production and supplies have been controlled by certain national governments, and increasingly by private oligopolistic commodity sectors, to protect and grow their own economies (Duncan 1996, Rosset 2006). A narrow focus on agriculture and localised contexts in trying to analyse the problems, is also said to undermine and under value the wider local food systems which are "often extensive webs of social relations" and globalised networks of economic and political organisations" (Pimbert et al 2001). The growth of this global food system, that is now dominated by an increasingly concentrated industry of processesors, packagers, distributors and sellers, is argued to have evolved over the past hundred years (Duncan 1996).

A combination of rapid population growth in industrial Europe and slow process of mechanisation before the turn of the twentieth century was met by an expansion of international trade and investment and an expansion of areas under production to "ensure an adequate supply of food and raw materials" (Duncan 1996). However, at the turn of the century, the situation of excess supply developed, when mechanisation increased rapidly, leading to labour saving farming methods. Alongside this transportation modes improved, and the European population also started to decline. This in turn led to a world wide situation of "ruinously low prices" and government "schemes" and protectionism to keep supplies off the market. These schemes included ones in the United States referred to as the "New Deal", which saw enormous areas of grassland "ripped open" initially, resulting in high yields, but later leading to increasing areas under production as yields fell with drops in soil fertility (Duncan 1996). Increased protectionism followed the financial crises of 1930 and 1931 leading to situations of "gross overproduction" globally (Duncan 1996). Government spending in trying to protect the industry, is said to have not matched the "gold standard" nor come from tax causing inflation, which Europe had responded to by decreasing the value of their currency which in turn lead to an inability to pay for imports (Duncan 1996).

While World war II might have picked up the excesses of over production locally the post war period exposed the excess supplies and saw the United States increasingly playing the role of "agricultural supplier to the rest of the world"(Duncan 1996). The apparent Green Revolution success of the United States has been argued to have created environmental problems through its increasingly mass use of chemicals, monoculture mass production, and social problems through the impact of restructuring from family farming labour driven methods to mechanised agribusiness approaches (Lang 2004, Murphy and Santarius 2007).

Today examples of massive market concentration and control over the food industry globally, as a result of agricultural industrialisation, are reflected in some of the following examples: the global chemical market is controlled by just seven companies; the top ten retailers in Europe are predicted to increase their market share from 37% to 60% by 2010; the market share of the top 20 food manufacturers in the United States has doubled since 1967 and 100 firms in the US "account for 80% of all value-added" (Lang 2004). In such markets the farmer is no longer in control of production or retail but perhaps merely a "contractor" in the system of food supplies (Lang 2004).

Again, with some fear of being reductionist, two broad schools of thought on the role of agriculture are obviously informing the debates about why the poor exist and persist and what form economic development should take globally and nationally to overcome local poverty and food insecurity. The one, as broadly represented by the WDR 2008, searches for answers to why the success of certain developed countries market driven progress can't be replicated elsewhere. This broad group has a tendency to focus on local contexts and narrowly on agriculture often avoiding the complex network and connections with the broader political economy of the agro-food system. There remains some persistence within this group of the view that agriculture is a necessary phase in economic development and while issues of environmental degradation are recognised the problematic of industrialisation of agriculture as a key cause of this is not tackled.

The other school, which has been less dominant in the last 50 years, argues against the idea that the developed countries could have succeeded without government regulation, or protection of local markets and against the short sighted environmental degradation through industrialising agriculture. They argue instead for seeing family based agriculture and organic farming practices as a long term sustainable solution to both environmental degradation and for sustainable economic development. They also suggest that this can only be done with key state intervention and protection of local markets over global markets. Although perhaps these two groups are presented as two extremes in reality the range of views is quite diverse across the two. Presentation of the two merely illustrate the key issues for analysis of local situations, in developing appropriate policy and programme choices and hopefully making it necessary to consider the broader food system in relation to the future settlement and development of farm dweller household economies in farming areas.

2.3.1 South Africa's past agricultural production choices affecting settlements

South Africa's past application of this modernisation strategy was mediated by the construction of national identities. This underpinned the purported "agricultural revolution" which fundamentally affected social relations as it included the "concentration of lands, centralisation of capital and the casualisation and differentiation of labour."(Marcus 1989). Between 1930 and 1976, land for agricultural production increased from 83 million to 85.7 million, while the number of farm units decreased, between 1937 and 1984, from 104554 to 70000 (Marcus 1989). This radical transformation of the property system and agricultural production system created an economic sector that

historically was the “single largest source of work” in South Africa while trapping the source of labour in a semi-proletariarised state (Marcus 1989). This was achieved through collusion with the state around labour and land laws, like the 1913 Native Land Act and the Masters and Servants Act affecting families on farms mobility in and out of the agricultural labour sector.

The current global food crisis has emphasised the vulnerability of developing countries who are now net importers of food, due to their quest to shift to manufacturing and processed goods to compete globally (Pimbert et al 2001). South Africa has in the past few years also become a net importer of some foods for the first time. The reasons for this are still being debated. Although the available quantity of food may appear to have been adequate for the South African population for some years, the types of food (nutrition and variety) being consistently accessed is said to be poor and as a result is causing malnutrition, stunting growth, and increasing levels of diabetes and heart disease (OECD 2006). The majority of poor are net buyers of food whose prices are increasingly vulnerable to global markets. Commercial agriculture now operates in a tightly knit global food system dominated by increasingly concentrated industries of processors, packagers, distributors and sellers (Duncan 1996). South Africa’s commercial agriculture is substantially industrialized.

2.4Poverty and food security in relation to agricultural systems and settlement patterns

Definitions of poverty are drawn from many and various constructs and perceptions of the world and humanity. Lipton and Ravallion (1997) usefully summarise the evolution of these debates when they tackle the question of poverty debates by contextualizing them historically. This enables them to assess the effect and impact of the prevailing economic and political systems that might have given rise to poverty and how these systems tackled the perceived poverty (Lipton & Ravallion 1997). The changing rationale and approaches to addressing the plight of the poor shows that society has long been concerned with the problems of the poor and recognized their existence. What has perhaps changed most over time is how society understands the underlying causes of poverty. So whether poverty is argued to be a necessary evil or a matter to solve through redress, containment or charity, is clearly linked to the evolving debates around economic systems (Lipton and Ravallion 1997).

It is only in more recent decades that the concept of inequality has become more strongly

associated with poverty inferring that poverty is a form of inequality that has negative effects for society as a whole (Birdsall and Londono 1997) . The exact causal relationship between inequality and poverty, and between poverty, inequality and economic growth however, is still strongly debated (Birdsall and Londono 1997). From this broad and contested premise economists and others have attempted to define who is poor (Kanbur and Squire 1999, Lipton & Ravallion 1997, Lok-Dessallion 2001, SPII 2007).

Kanbur and Squire usefully highlight this ongoing dilemma by referring to work done through more participatory methods that have allowed the poor to describe their plight and how they might measure this themselves(Kanbur and Squire 1999). Such work, along with that of Amartyr Sen's work on concepts of 'entitlement' and 'capabilities', has given rise to questions of power and vulnerability of the poor, enhancing the discussions around linking poverty and inequality (Kanbur and Squire 1999). Such debates have also, importantly, helped highlight that poverty should be viewed as multidimensional, rather than narrowly defined as a lack of cash or more narrowly unemployment.

These earlier narrow money metric measures tended to also perpetuate the idea of there being a "culture of poverty" which could be "perpetuated" through "inherent socio-psychological, political and economic traits of the poor" where people speak of the "deserving" and "non deserving" poor (Hulme, Moore and Shepard 2001). As Hulme et al (2001) point out these narrow ideas still prevail and are best witnessed in debates around welfare systems and access to grants which are said to lead to low aspirations or the assertions about deliberate pregnancies in young women who are trying to get child grants (Hulme et al 2001).

More commonly, however, theorists seem to agree that poverty is a lack of necessary means to sustain themselves in that society. Kanbur and Squire (1999) refer to a definition which suggests that the "lack" that a poor person faces should be deemed "socially unacceptable" and that such a lack would include both money and "material possessions". "Means" has been extended to include agency and it also seems that there is concurrence that people do develop "coping strategies" as a response to these situations and that it is more useful to examine these strategies as possible forms of preventing poverty or reproducing poverty conditions, because it suggests a sense of agency in the "culture of poverty" discourse (Hulme et al 2001). Lipton and Ravallion refer to an "inadequate command over commodities" as a common definition (Lipton & Ravallion 1997).

Although income remains an aspect of the definition it is no longer the primary form of measurement. The introduction of the idea of command has found strong resonance in the debates through the important contributions from economists like Amartya Sen(1987). Sen's work emphasises the notion of capability and entitlement where he argues for the need to see poverty as linked to other global problems like population growth, health, exclusion, conflict and natural disasters (Drimie & Mini 2003, Hulme et al 2001). The ability of people to "exercise rights" that are legitimate in formal "legal terms" over certain essential entitlements in society like their own trade, production, labour and inheritance affects their agency in that society to overcome deprivation (Hulme et al 2001). Such multidimensionality also then implies a historical, social and political specificity in as much as global problems impact on these as 'legal entitlement' will derive from local and national relations.

Despite this growing acknowledgement or concurrence of the multidimentionality of poverty, and because of it, most of the writers concur that a level of subjectivity and arbitrariness will remain in the approaches to measuring poverty levels and prevalence i.e measuring human need or "adequate command" or levels of "socially acceptable" (Lipton & Ravallion 1997, Boltvinik 2001). Boltvinik suggests that even trying to make a "normative standard" for comparative use with the observed is laden with a "norm" being a concept that is determined by what prevails socially (Boltvinik 2001). So if poverty is a lack of necessities then what constitutes such necessities is critical to explore as "not all needs are economically defined" and wealth and well being can no longer be assumed to be identical (Boltvinik 2001, Hulme et al 2001).

Some literature introduces the concept of the "social wage" which they argue needs to be considered alongside disposable income because it can be shown that "deprivation in capability' or the social wage can lead to poverty even when disposable income stays the same (Hulme et al 2001). The social wage is something that can be carefully and usefully considered in the situation of farm labour who live on the farms they work. Farm labour tend to have the value of their labour, represented in their wages, decreased by the perceived cost of having a home on the employers property and yet still have no long term secure land rights that accumulates over the length of their employ. A social wage is incurred by the farm labourers family rather than the employer.

Through increased collection and access to data and improved "analytical capabilities" Lipton and Ravallion suggest measurement is becoming more useful in considering the

“dynamics and causation of poverty” and that such “empirical analysis of determinant of poverty” can impact on policies and projects to address this situation (Lipton & Ravallion 1997). However, despite this shift to consider the political economy of poverty and focus on agency of people within this, the dominant form of measure remains connected to some form of money metric. This is so even when measuring what is lacking in terms of a basket of foods and non-foods. The Basic Needs approach, which seems to now dominate the measuring, works through formulae which try to identify the “minimum basket of essentials” (Lanjouw 2001) and then what resources are needed to obtain such. Within this there are further schools which either adopt a “least food cost” approach to finding a poverty line or minimum threshold or the “expenditure based” approach (Lanjouw2001). The Least Cost approach relies on knowing peoples regular consumption pattern and defining a standard minimum nutrition level while the Expenditure approach requires a detailed analysis of household preferences which can be costly and time consuming. Both then still require a measurement for what non-food items to include which seems to remain the more subjective and less robust part of the formulas. Consideration of the food aspect of poverty is detailed more in the section on food security.

2.4.1 Levels of poverty

Another more recent evolution in the writing on poverty is the idea that understanding the levels of poverty also matters. This has resulted in concepts of “absolute” and “relative” poverty, where absolute is taken to mean a “subsistence below the minimum socially acceptable living conditions” and relative is a comparison of the lower segments with the upper (Lok-Dessallien 2001). Within the absolute poverty indicator also lies a further decomposition to those that are faced with “indigence (primary) poverty", where they have no access to basic needs and those that face “secondary poverty” meaning they face “degrees of deprivation” (Lok-Desallien 2001).

The chronically poor or those facing "indigence poverty" are now understood to be people who will have the most difficulty overcoming poverty (Hulme et al 2001, Lok-Dessallien 2001). Hulme et al quote sources which suggest, from the "limited empirical findings available", that those "people who have been poor for five years or more have a high probability of remaining poor for the rest of their lives" (Hulme et al 2001). It is now suggested that consideration also be given to the duration of the intensity of the poverty level and to intergenerational durations (Hulme et al 2001).

The introduction of the impact of intergenerational poverty, as a driver in chronic poverty, also emphasizes the need to consider the impact of the social and economic structure of the family and their home (physical and geographical space they hold).

2.4.2 A poverty framework

Essentially the literature on poverty analysis varies from a narrow focus on income levels suggesting employment as a primary and critical solution in the vein of linear growth path theories, to a multidimensional focus implying differences in and across societies based on different histories and constructions of those societies. The one end of the scale suggests a unilateral approach to developmental problems and solutions across the globe and the other end suggests that global problems must be locally situated and analysed revealing locally specific links between human agency, poverty and public policy (Hulme et al 2001). The one end suggests that the causes lie in a "culture" which is self perpetuating and the other suggests structural deliberate intervention to support peoples agency to overcome poverty and the political system that creates and perpetuates it (Buroway 2003). Acceptable measures of who is poor and how poor they are, and whether the poor can overcome this situation, are both subjective and relative to local and national political economic situations. This research will examine the research question by developing an understanding of farm dwellers' poverty levels through the multidimensional lens of their household economy. While some consideration is given to income sources and amounts three aspects will be discussed in more detail:

The first is levels of food security as a key aspect and outcome of poverty. Consideration of food security within a multidimensional approach will be done by reference to the food system within which the households must secure food, emphasising the relationships that make up a household economy. Through this lens a more detailed appreciation is developed of the households' livelihood strategies and their links to the broader political economy. Literature on food security and the theoretical frameworks for measuring this aspect are considered briefly below.

The second aspect is control and use of geographical location and physical and environmental space. There is much debate about levels of poverty in urban and rural areas and how migration towards cities has affected households. It is suggested by Hulme et al that "remoteness, marginality, lack of physical and social infrastructure" are characteristics of the chronically poor and that their ability to migrate out of these locations depends on "other forms of social and economic capital" (Hulme et al 2001). Given the dramatic

economic and social consequences of dispossession and physical removals away from urban spaces and off farms (Marcus 1989, Hart 2003, SPP reports 1983) and the current discourse on the structural disconnected(ness) of the poor "trapped" in second economies that require access to services and infrastructure as a mean to alleviate poverty, consideration will be given to these impacts and arguments in relation to farm dweller household economies (du Toit and Neves 2007, GSA 2000).

The third aspect will be an examination of farm dwellers agency or what Sen has referred to as "capability" and "entitlements" (Sen 1987). Variously referred to as farm workers, labour, occupiers, cash tenants, labour tenants or even squatters (Atkinson 2007, Marcus 1989, AFRA report 2005), farm dweller households labour under an identity crisis in their citizenship. Hulme et al refer to the chronic poor as "generally hav(ing) little or (no) voice in policy or governance" and in the post 1994 period of 'reconstruction' or 'development' or 'redress' programmes and policy discourse. With an upsurge in civil society protests globally around global food systems as witnessed at World Economic Forum and World Trade meetings and within the South African context post 1994 the role of civil society has resurfaced debates about civil society and the state in addressing development issues. Here concepts of 'participatory planning', 'developmental government' and 'citizenship' have been bandied around. A brief assessment is made of farm dweller households "social and political asset(s)" which enables or prevents them from accessing or benefitting from such development programmes.

2.4.3 Food security - a key aspect and measure of poverty

Poverty is said to be the "main factor in household food insecurity" and this is the most severe "manifestation(s) of poverty" (Viciani et al 2001, Bonti-Ankomah 2001). The reality of the global economic system is that " The [food] system provides food only to those with money to buy it" with the result that the "poorest households in the world spend more than 75% of their income on food", while households in the richest countries spend less than 15% of their expenditure on food (COCA 2006: US Department of Labour 2006 quoted in Viciani et al 2001, Drimie and Mini 2003). Clearly, households ability to control access to sufficient food is affected by income levels, but given that food is a survival necessity, households are unable to choose to consume much less food without dire health consequences. They are forced to adopt other coping or mitigating strategies to survive if food consumption is dependent on having cash to buy food. Poverty reduction strategies that do not enhance food security are unlikely to change how people choose to spend their limited income (Drimie and Mini 2003). Narrow money metric measures of poverty will

not tell us the whole story of how people survive these increasingly difficult times of food price increases, national food shortages and global currency failures.

The link and relationships between poverty and food security are consequently critical to understand in poverty reduction or economic development strategies. It is suggested that the relationship between poverty and food security "emerges through consideration of vulnerability" where a reduction in adaptive capacity (ability to choose, cope, mitigate) indicates a vulnerability to poverty and food security (Kruger 2006, Bonti-Ankomah 2001). However, much like the literature on poverty, there are numerous debates about how to understand, measure and address food insecurity. These are captured briefly here in two parts - firstly how it is being understood, and why it arises and persists and secondly what the unit of analysis should be.

2.4.4 The political economy of food

Much like the discourse on poverty, food security discussions shifted, in the 1980s, from a focus on the supply of food to consideration of demand and entitlements (Kruger 2006). The supply side argument had relied on the idea that food security was a "food problem" that could be solely or primarily enhanced through increased production, market access, improved fertilisers and seeds, and improved institutional support (Kruger 2006, Drimie and Mini 2003). The ideological assumption behind this would be one based on the belief that an unfettered market would ensure price equilibriums that meet demand, as production increases supply, and that products that are demanded will be the ones that survive in the market. This mode of production relies on a constant supply of commodities (private property/ exchange) and perfect competition (supply and demand/ free markets) and if achieved, everyone would find mutual benefit through market forces (Cole et al 1991, Bowles and Edwards 1993). Such ideas are neatly linked to the growth theory models of development which propagated redistribution with growth or more radically with the 1980's phase of structural adjustment programmes and deregulation in global markets.

The 1980s definitely saw a shift in development theory as the Soviet Union crashed, the Asian currency crashed and the structural adjustment failures in developing countries came home to roost, represented by global figures of undernourishment in 1990 at around 830 million people (Viciani et al 2001, Stiglitz 2002). In sub-saharan Africa the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) said that the number of undernourished people almost doubled during the 1980's from "22 million in 1979/80 to 39 million in 1990/92 (Drimie and Mini 2003). In 1983 the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), possibly influenced by Sen's "entitlement' theory, expanded its definition of food security to include

the aspect of securing access to supplies, trying to balance demand and supply theories (Drimie and Mini 2003). This shift meant World bank definitions like "access by all people at all times to enough food for an active healthy life" now needed to include the concept of ability or rights to accessing or demanding and purchasing such food (Bernstein 1994, Bonti-Ankomah 2001). Such a shift, to considering the demand side, also lead to a need to differentiate between national food security and household food security, avoiding using national "food self-sufficiency" as a "proxy for household food security" or as an "index of national welfare" (Bonti-Ankomah 2001).

National food security is usually a measure of the availability of food at a national level supplied from domestic production and imports, linked very much to Gross Domestic Production formulae (Bernstein 1994, Bonti-Ankomah 2001). It has been shown that in situations of national food security there can be massive household food insecurity. As an example of this South Africa was "defined as being nationally food secure in that it has enough food to feed its population yet more than 40%" of people are food insecure. Put another way, in 1991 South Africa was regarded as self sufficient in the production of major foods but "53% of blacks subsisted below the poverty line" (Drimie and Mini 2003, Bernstein 1994).

What this shift has also meant is that there is new space for alternative theoretical options, giving rise to development theories premised on concepts of "sustainable development", "people-centred", ecology and environmental approaches, "third ways", neo-liberalism, post-modernism and even sociological marxism. For food security approaches this has opened up two main streams of argument, although it must be said that these two streams are not in themselves homogenous, resulting in constant shifts across them and merging in some ideas. For this purpose though the two current thoughts are dominated by one made up of those influenced by Amartya Sen's work, a broad neo-liberal, “deepen democracy”, and “embrace diversity” approach focussed on making markets work for the poor by overcoming market imperfections through improved information flows and competition (Stiglitz 2002).

The other is driven by growing civil society formations and led by global movements like the La Vie Campesina who argue for supporting the re-creation and protection of local food markets, making a case for food sovereignty (Rosset 2006). The first stream emphasises the need to identify "the precise causes of food vulnerability of population groups" recognising that the nature of the problem is diverse (Drimie and Mini 2003), while the second stream argues that current food security definitions are still insufficient as

they do not adequately examine or tackle the global food system, ie. where food comes from and how it is produced and who controls this (Rosset 2006). The second stream focus' much more on power relations at global, national and local level.

2.4.5 Assessing levels of food insecurity

Following these two streams of thought a number of methods for measuring levels of household or national food security have been developed. Measurements have ranged from nutrition and consumption levels, like calorie levels, dietary diversity (quantity and quality), deficiency, malnutrition levels, to expenditure patterns as proportions of income and further still to shocks and coping mechanisms, vulnerability assessments and crop diversity.[1]

Methods are not discussed in detail here except to propose that the most appropriate methods for this research appeared to be a combination of methods rather than applying one. This is mainly because of the excessive resources and time required in the methods and because the analysis requires consideration of both the household and the political economy within which it functions. Analysing both levels will ensure that it is not only the levels of food insecurity in farm dweller households that is understood but also how this insecurity has come to be and what it is that perpetuates this i.e. their sources of capabilities and vulnerabilities. Neither measures will be possible in great detail but will hopefully sufficiently raise enough questions for further useful research.

To do this a model presented by Michael Hubbard in his book **Improving Food Security: A guide for rural development managers (1995)** has been loosely adapted to the research needs and constraints which assisted in the development of a interview guideline. This model places the household within a local system considering its relationship with the food market and sources, its access to health, fuel, water and employment and the health of the local environment. This is shown diagrammatically in Figure 2.

---

[1] Methods developed are numerous and diverse but the World Food Summit in 1996 adopted the Food Insecurity & Vulnerability, Information and Mapping system (FIVIMS) which the Department of Agriculture started in South Africa in 2003. The International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) developed a Household Expenditure Survey(HESs) which measure food collected, while another method called the Household Economy Approach (HEA) focuses on analysing impact of shocks and coping. While others still undertake vulnerability assessments considering a range of possible factors which are seen as external threats to livelihoods and internal risk management and coping abilities.(Kruger 2006, Hulme et al 2001).

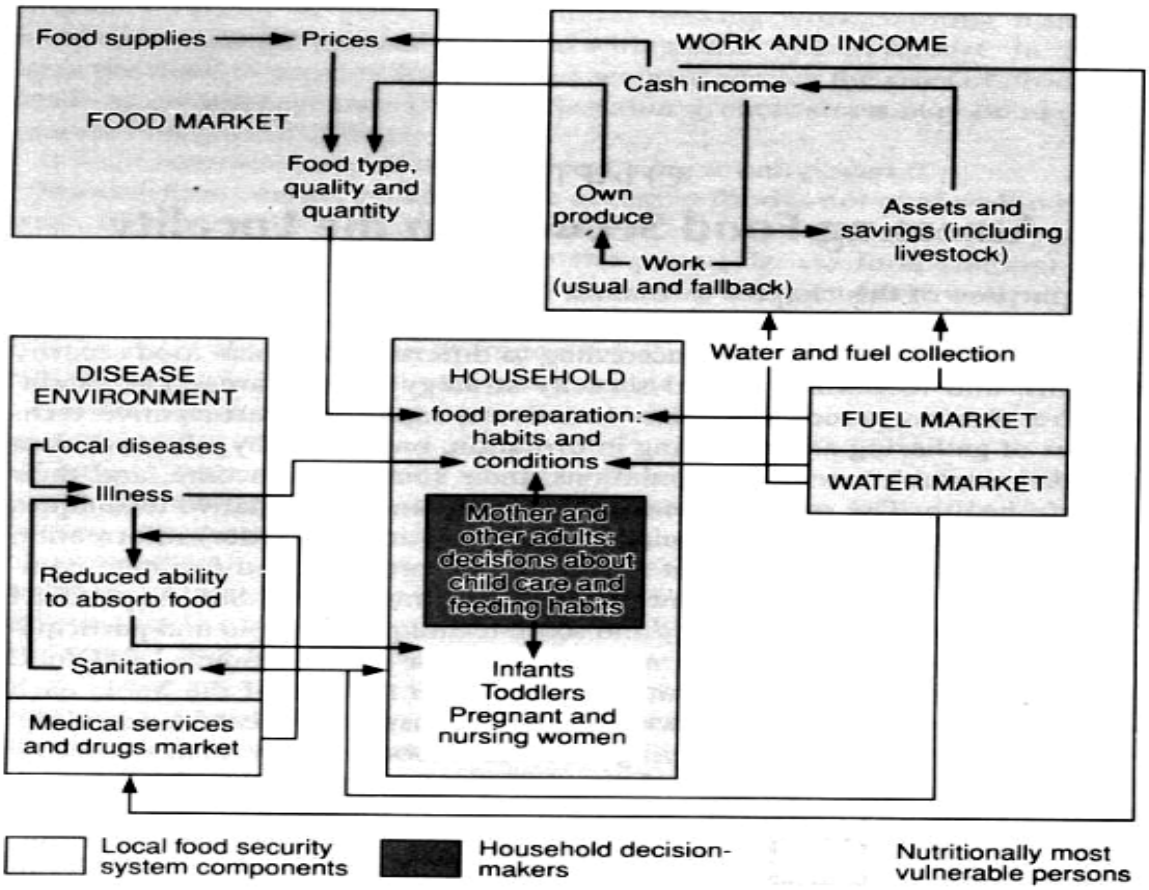


Figure1: A food security analysis model –source Hubbard (1995)

2.5 Citizenship and agency of farm dwellers to influence place making

The province of KwaZulu-Natal(KZN), in South Africa, presented some unique resistance to the apartheid government forced removal programmes and Bantustan establishment processes. This meant that many attempts at consolidation of the Bantustans as an integral building block of the apartheid system; and many later attempts to forcefully remove the families who remained outside of the designated Bantustan of KwaZulu were often resisted or thwarted by the various political interests at play. Processes of dispossession led to the deconstructing and reconstructing of new forms of citizenship through new political identities. Concepts of citizenship and identity now re-emerge with the reconstruction of a new political order post 1994.

Who farm dweller families are in the newly constructed polity, or how their identities are understood by the new state, will have bearing on what they can rightfully access as part of

the programmes of redress and transformation. According to a Statistics SA report produced in 1999 farm dwellers were defined as “those individuals who live on farms. They include farm owners and farm workers, as well as their family members, who lived on farms during the census enumeration” (Stats SA 1999 Census Northern Cape report). The new state in this definition appears to be accepting that families on farms have only retained a class of rights linked to their status as labour or land owners on private property. This is an acceptance of the historical erosion of land rights brought about by the changing patterns of agricultural production and associate land and labour laws under the apartheid system. It is a concern that there is in fact “limited sociological research” into farm workers and farm dwellers as a class in South Africa with much literature resorting to the two main theoretical streams of development thinking which see the families as either peasants who have been commercialised or peasants who have become surplus labour (Marcus 1989, Bernstein 1994).

Marcus proposes that to really explore farm dwellers as a class one would need to “explore their relation to property, its connection to farming as an occupation and as a livelihood” (Marcus 1989). In his work on farm workers in Zimbabwe Rutherford argues that identities, like that of worker, are ones created through racial, gendered and socialised processes and dominant narratives, like those of modernisation, that place ‘peasants’ as the anchor of rural Africa and ‘workers’ as the foundation of urban capital (Rutherford 2001). The class of worker then “falls outside the scope of the state except for concerns of supply and productivity” as they are deemed the “domestic responsibility of farmers”(Rutherford 2001).

Post 1994, in recognition of the specific tenure insecurities faced by families resident on farms government sought to redress this through passing two key laws - the Land Reform (Labour tenants) Act no. 3 of 1996 (commonly referred to as LTA) and the Extension of Security of Tenure Act No.19 of 1997 (commonly referred to as ESTA). Both laws identified certain kinds of tenancy arrangements that require regulation through law. These laws were meant to prevent arbitrary evictions and also meant to provide the identified families with opportunities to gain more secure access to land for homes and for farming.

However, there have been many disputes between the identified tenants and land owners over their land rights status on the farms and which of the two laws, if any, applies to them (KZN LLC 2007,. Wegerif et al 2006). For families on farms the two laws are far too restrictive in their definition of who they, as families, really are and what they believe should be their land rights or rights to land (AFRA 2005, Wegerif et al 2006). Two key

examples of this mismatch between what the law outlines and how farm residents describe themselves are: (1) how families are defined (2) Expectation of what land rights should be restored (AFRA report 2005, DLA report 2007- unpublished). For a more detailed research on these perceptions read the Association For Rural Advancement (AFRA) report entitled "*This is our home - our land, our history, our right*, consolidated verbatim workshop report 2005". As an example the following question was posed to farm dweller families: "*What is the difference between "labour tenant" and "occupier"?(AFRA 2005).*They responded as follows:

- *Occupier is the person who is working on the farm and has a right to stay but labour tenant is the person who on top of these rights has a right to crop, graze livestock and also to stay on the farm.*
- *Labour tenant and occupier is the same but the worker is different because the worker is not obliged to stay on the farm.*
- *We do not think there is a difference it is white people who brought the difference but according to us we do not see the difference (AFRA 2005).*

Critical in these responses is that people differentiate between a farm dweller (encompassing labour tenants and occupiers) and farm workers. According to farm dwellers a farm worker would not necessarily have land rights on the farm, but mainly labour rights.

For families residing in areas designated for agricultural production the "struggle against evictions was very intense since it was so intimately bound up with a struggle for life itself"(Marcus 1989). Ironically the "modernisation of agricultural production, driven largely by support from the state in the 1960- 80's period saw over 1 million people evicted off farms while in this same period South Africa has claimed that the agricultural economic sector was its largest employers, of around 1 million employees between 1960 - 80 (Marcus 1989). Despite deteriorating labour conditions with the attempts at banning labour tenancy many families "clung to the labour form" as a means of resisting further dispossession (Marcus 1989).

So while many families on farms in KZN can attest to being on farms for generations, the various laws (labour and land) under the apartheid system gradually eroded any legal claim they had to the land and rendered them farm labourers (Marcus 1989, SPP 1983). The new land laws after 1994 were an attempt to redress this and reaffirm their rights to land but these have not proven adequate as many sector departments and municipalities struggle to develop policies and programmes that would support their rights to land (DLA 2007, Hall

et al 2004).

Neither ‘peasant’ nor ‘labour’ or ‘worker’ in the dominant theoretical sense farm dweller families could be variously argued to be in transition on farms, or caught in forms of underemployment or marginalised as workers the state is not directly responsible for. Under this development dilemma, explaining their historical context, in order to understand their rights and needs in the present, has become a fiercely contested terrain between private property landowner farmers, the developmental state and hopeful farm dweller families.

The most plausible definition of a farm dweller, albeit not recognised legally, appears to be the one described by farm dwellers themselves and which is captured in the workshop report by AFRA (2005). Here farm dweller families raise two key considerations. The first is a generational connection to the farm or to living on farms expressed as being born on the farm. The second is that the home on the farm is the primary or only homestead where traditional family practices are undertaken including birth and death.

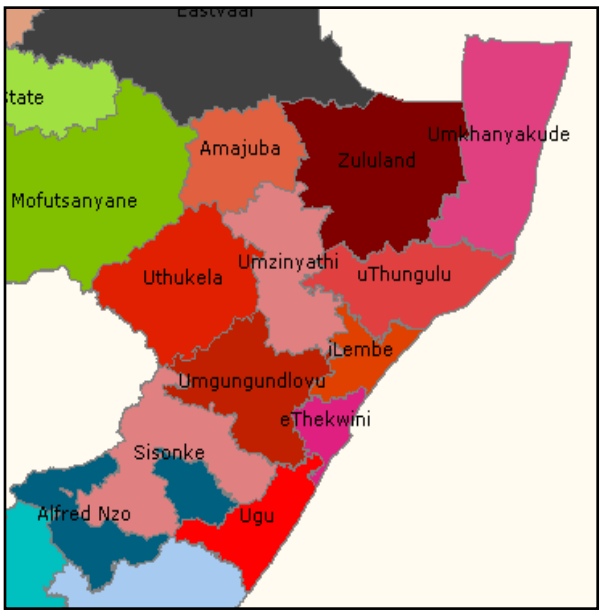
Chapter 3 makes use of primary data, collected with and from families currently resident on land assigned for commercial agriculture purposes, to further explore their family economy and its use of livelihood strategies in the current political economy. A further analysis of this data with the families allows a revisit of the development theories, hopefully carving new ideas and paths that support sustainable long term settlements for the families.

3 Current perceptions and realities of Farm Dweller families in Amajuba

3.1 The historical context of Amajuba and its citizens

The Amajuba District Municipal area was legally established in December 2001 and is made up of three sub districts, namely: - Utrecht (Emadlangeni), Newcastle and Dannhauser (Map 1 and 2). These municipal areas were created post 1994 in line with the post apartheid governments' intention to create "wall to wall" local government for citizens as an attempt to overcome the inequities of the dual system of the past. Map 3 illustrates the locality of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province in South Africa and map 2 illustrates the 10 district municipal areas in KZN.

Amajuba is approximately 693,769 hectares in extent (give or take some discrepancies in the formal cadastre). This includes the former KwaZulu areas, which now fall under the Ingonyama Trust, making up around 18% of the total area (see *map 1 noting the purple area designated as Trust land*). Its landscape is both mountainous along parts of the north, south and western borders but also offers land with agricultural potential, including pockets in the northeast and south west of high potential land. Much of this land, estimated by some as over 65%, has been under commercial agriculture for the last century at least.



Map 2: 10 Districts in KwaZulu-Natal

Map 3: Position of KZN as one of 9 provinces in South Africa

The place of Amajuba today is a product of intense battles over land, reflected in the focus of the tourism industry in the area on "Battle Field" routes. The focus of these tours is on

the battles between Boer, British and Zulu. Ultimately leading to the British redrawing the boundaries of land access for Boer and Zulu (Laband 1995). While many of these battles over land are still commemorated today in one form or another it is possible that the district could "host a very different kind of historical" tour and focus on the history of forced removals and dispossession (SPP 1983). For many thousands of residents of the Amajuba district these are part of the areas historical land battles, albeit implemented through government driven apartheid spatial engineering.

"It's because of battles that took place. Black people lost and White people took all the land. They placed us in small places in the townships and divided us and made us their slaves. The new government is a ploy to make us think we are being given our land back."
Response from farm dweller 2005 AFRA report

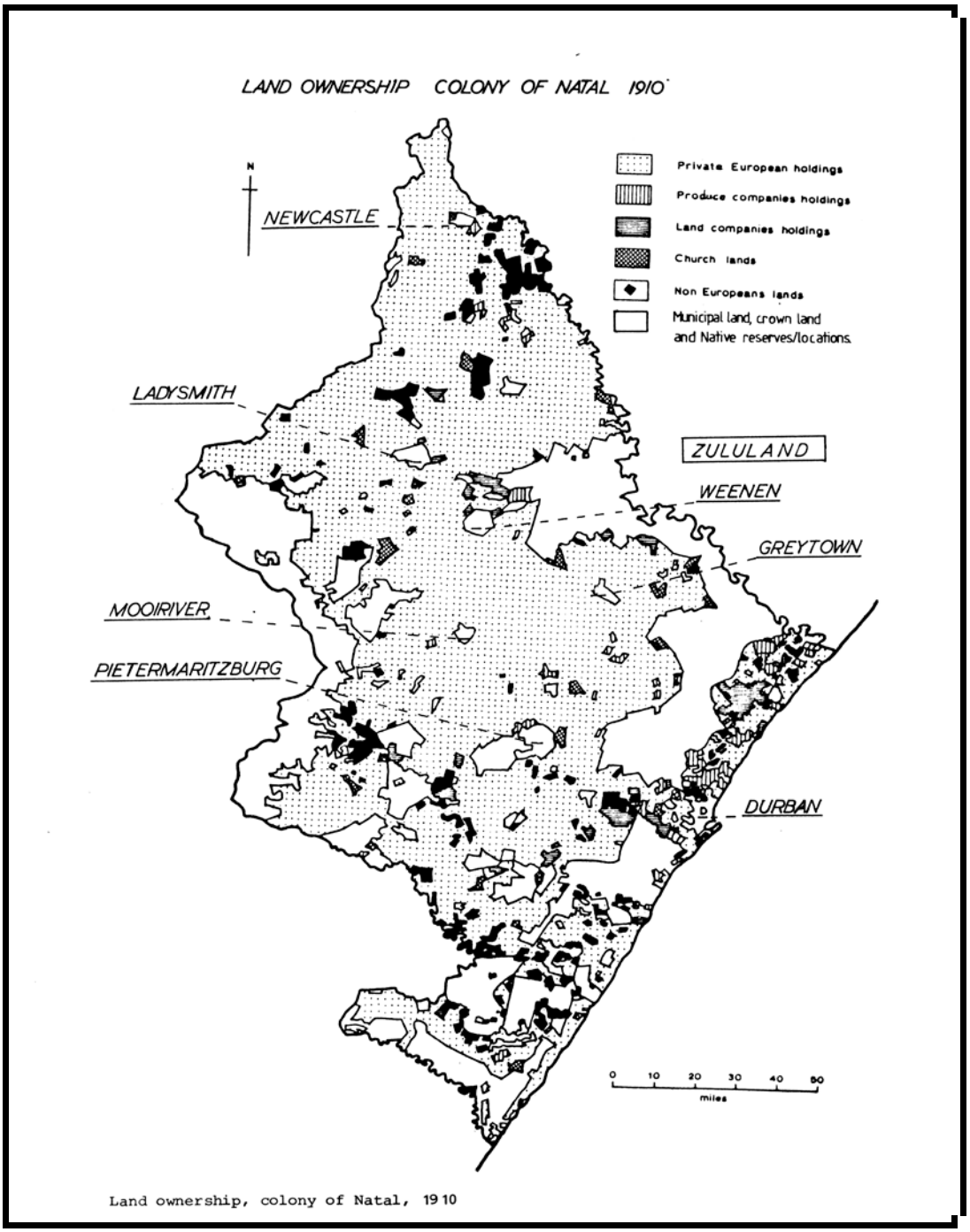
3.2Making places in Amajuba: spatial engineering

The establishment of the Utrecht sub-district has its roots in the second half of the 19th century (SPP, vol 4 1983). Originally this was land under the Zulu Kingdom, but "encroachment by white settler-farmers from the" then "Transvaal" area resulted in a dispute which was settled by the Colonial government. Map 4, dated 1910 outlines land ownership and refers to the eastern part of the current ADM as Zululand. Although officially recognised as territory under Zulu sovereignty the established white farms were eventually confirmed as "boer ownership" in 1887(SPP, vol 4 1983.). Through this effective alienation of Zulu land, many of the families residing in these areas continued to "live on the white farms as labour tenants or rent paying tenants" (SPP, vol 4, 1983).

In designating areas for "Native Reserves" the colonial government did not establish any in the "triangle between the Thukela and Buffalo rivers... a stronghold of stock farming" (Hart 2002). It is also suggested that in the early 19th century much of the land set aside as farms for white landowners operated under a *rentier* system, much like Britain, with absentee white landlords leaving their land in the hands of African crop producers. This is said to have changed after 1891 when the number of white settlers doubled and "new arrivals clamoured for land" (Hart 2002).

Although land was alienated from black families through the various anglo/boer/Zulu wars in the province, it is also recorded that by 1890 black African families had managed to buy up at least 83,482 acres in the Klip River County which included three blocks – to the south-east of Newcastle, the west of Wasbank and North of Ladysmith (SPP, vol4 1983). But this purchasing was finally checked by 1910, when Natal joined the Union.

Landholding patterns at this time is represented in Map 4 below. Any remaining peasantry farming on these and other lands, which had competed with white owned farm production, was finally curbed through various laws to boost white agriculture and restrict the movement of black African families to increase the supply of cheap labour to farmers (SPP, vol 4 1983, Marcus 1989).



Map 4: 1910 land ownership: Source SPP 1983

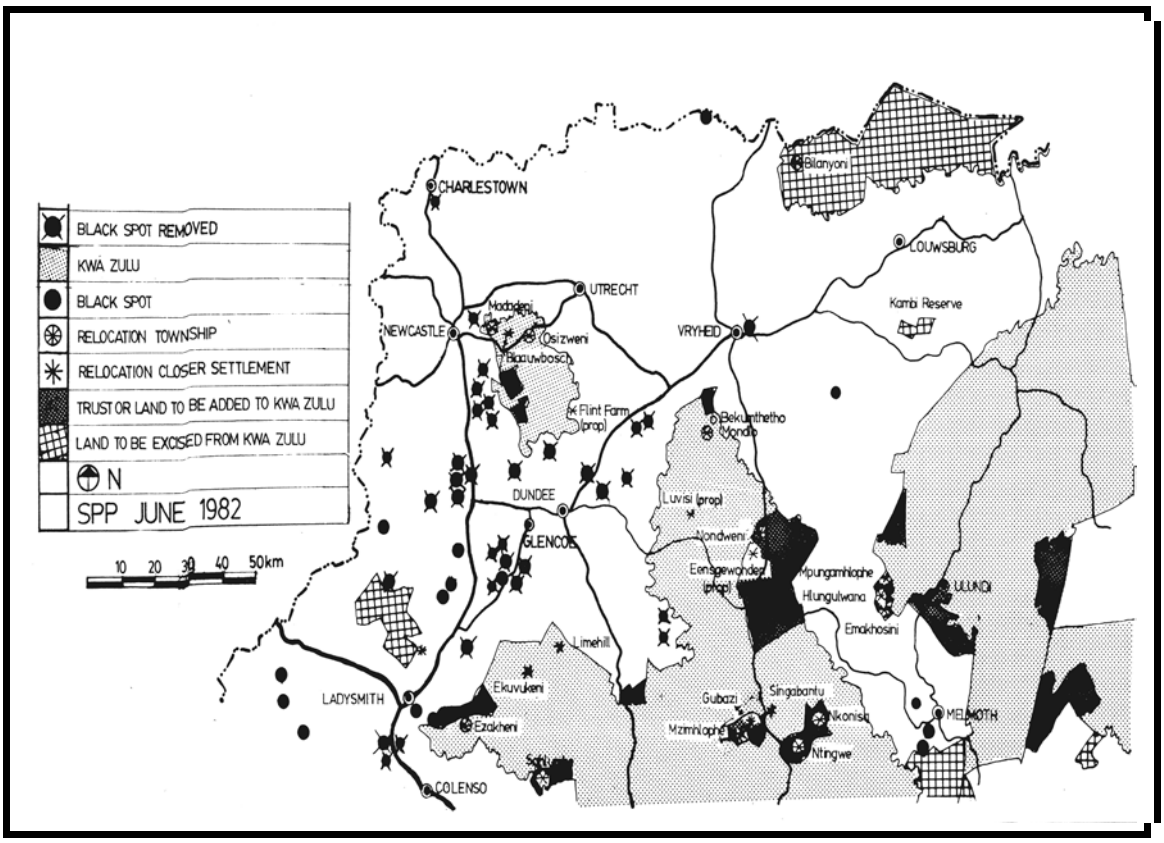
It is recorded that in the "central and northern Natal labour tenancy was deeply entrenched as the most common form of labour'. Given the preceding history of the area it is an

arrangement that would have suited white farmers who were now trying to increase their productivity and competitiveness. It is also where 'farm evictions have taken place on a massive scale in the late 1960s and 1970s'(SPP, Vol 4,1983). Although no accurate record of numbers exist one source suggests that there were '42000 registered labour tenants in Natal' in 1960 translating to around 300 000 people in these relationships on farms (SPP, vol4 1983- pg43). In 1970 The Natal Agricultural union is quoted as saying that there were 'then about 400 000 labour tenants' on the farms in Natal (SPP 1983). However many tenants were not registered which meant far more would have been resident on farms. Various state attempts to change this system took place between 1920s and 1970s to curb the numbers of families on farms and to control the supply of labour to farms (Marcus 1989, SPP 1983).

Between 1948 and 1982 massive scale evictions and removals took place. As a result a 'large number of closer settlements were established in Northern Natal to soak up the flood' from the farms (SPP 1983). The moving of people off the farms was both through forced removals and evictions imposed by the government's laws to ban labour tenancy, and also because of people's resistance to becoming full time employees of farmers, as an alternative to the labour tenant arrangement[2] (SPP 1983, Marcus 1989). Although officially banned by 1980 the tenancy system continued on many farms or if not then families had been forced into more contractual full time worker relationships with land owners.

Towns like Madadeni and Osizweni, established in 1960 and 1969 respectively, through the purchase of two white farms in the vicinity of Newcastle, respectively, were to 'soak up' families from northern Natal farms, Charlestown, Utrecht township, and Newcastle and Dundee townships schemes. See Map 5 below for a representation of the effects of removals. The population of Madadeni is said to have increased from 16568 in 1960 to 313888 in 1991 (Hart 2002). Alternative places for settlement by displaced families became areas like Blaauwbosch, situated between Madadeni and Osizweni near Newcastle. Madadeni and Osizweni acted as labour pools for Newcastle, which developed into an important industrial centre with Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR) and surrounding mines (SPP 1983).

[2] Labour tenancy system generally worked on a 6 month on and 6 month off labour basis in return for the right to build a home and use agricultural lands on the farms. Their were numerous variations of this arrangement.



Map 5: Black spot removals in North Western Natal 1982 : source SPP 1983

Post the official expiry of labour tenancy in 1980, evictions of families from farms have continued in waves over the last three decades. In addition to evictions, disputes over numerous associated land rights have continued to take place, despite the promulgation of new land laws after 1994 to secure these families rights. Between 2001 and 2008 at least 285 disputes were recorded and cases opened in the Amajuba farming districts by the AFRA Land Legal Cluster Project.

The devastating economic and social losses to families and community groups through the 'land battles' under apartheid engineering were massive. In the removals people lost homes, cattle, crops, income, dignity, access to education opportunities and social networks. Today poverty levels and unemployment is extremely high in the district relative to other districts which still carries an urban population of around 60% of a total of 491102 (IDP 2008/09). The same report indicates that 55.39% of the population of Amajuba live below the minimum living levels, many of whom are concentrated in the Newcastle area and the traditional authority area.

Although integration of settlements in the urban areas has started, vast tracts of agricultural land have come under land claims - totalling 826 land parcels covering the commercial

farming areas, by restitution claimants who were removed from these farming areas, as well as 8628 labour tenant applications to acquire the farm land they have lived on and used (ADM IDP 08/09). The IDP also suggests that while the number of households in urban areas is increasing the number of rural has also increased in the period 1996-2001 at a slightly lower rate, while household size also appears to be increasing.

Essentially Amajuba, in terms of population spread and geographical land use remains a district with one main urban centre, Newcastle, and two secondary towns of Utrecht and Dannhauser, where the majority of the populations now reside. In addition to this it supports a large geographical area, which falls under the traditional authority system situated in the Dannhauser area. This is also densely populated and Dannhauser consequently remains the poorest sub district. Dannhauser's existence was linked to the mining which took place in the neighbouring Durnacoal area. Since the mines' closures the town's economic situation has deteriorated although it does provide some agricultural service to the surrounding farms. The remaining area of land available for agriculture in the district, excluding that held by the state or conservation, is said to make up around 552,977 hectares (70% of the district).

Stats SA agricultural census in 2002 suggests that there were 289 commercial farming units but the Amajuba Local Economic Development Plan (LED) in 2004 suggested the number of farming units was over 480. The discrepancy might lie in the manner in which commercial farming units are identified which is linked to gross income and this level has changed over the last few years. The LED 2004 report outlines current agricultural potentials proposes that 84% of the total land in Amajuba has moderate to high potential. The report also usefully outlines the type of crops produced in the sub district areas. It is not clear however, how many landowners hold this land. It has been suggested that there are 44,963 farm dwellers resident on this commercial agricultural land (Social Surveys Africa 2006).

3.3 Current situation of Farm Dweller families in Amajuba District Municipality

The following section presents the findings of the primary research undertaken with the 50 farm dweller households in Amajuba in 2008. It is an attempt to describe and analyse the current reality and perceptions of farm dweller families in the ADM and place this within the context provided by the literature review in chapter 2. The interviews with the families resulted in information that allowed an assessment of the families' vulnerabilities,

dependencies and ability to transcend their current situation of being “betwixt and between”, a useful concept coined by Rutherford for workers on farms in Zimbabwe, living in poverty on commercial farms (Rutherford 2001). To do this the interviews covered issues of family structure and identity, household size and dependencies, use of land for homes, cropping and livestock, use of natural resources, access to water, access to food, income sources and institutional relationships for support.

Following this assessment, chapter 4 will consider how the South African government has responded to the context and this farm dweller socio-economic reality to understand how it further inhibits or enables farm dweller families to find long term settlement options. This chapter will also draw on the analysis and proposals from the families interviewed and other farm dweller families from the district who participated in sub district focus group workshops after the household interviews (Minutes of workshops 2008).

For the purposes of statistical correlations with the broader South African society, some attempt is made to quantify and analyse information collected. Not all families answered all questions well. This has meant that where quantification is done it is not always off the total number of 50 families. The total number of adequate responses per question is revealed in each section. Where quantitative analysis is possible reference is made to surveys done by Stats SA, the Community Survey of 2007 and the General Household Survey of 2007, the Amajuba IDP of 2007, the Amajuba Agricultural sector plan 2006, and the draft Amajuba Area based plan 2007. A total of 50 families were interviewed across 50 farms in the Amajuba district (see Map 1). All families and family members interviewed fell into the census classification of Stats SA of Black African.

3.3.1 Family and household demographics, relations and dependencies

The household economy of families living on farms is both complex and rudimentary in its system. The simplicity arises from the relatively limited variety that exists in their expenditure and income patterns. The complexity exists in the understanding how these families organise themselves to ensure that their limited income and expenditure underpins the social reproduction of the family life. The responses from interviewees about the demographics and relationships of their families underscores this important function.

While the overall picture, built through the family interviews, is of families living incredibly vulnerable existences there remains a strong sense of place in their presence on

the farms and in the changing South African landscape. The respondents consistently referred to the homes on the farms as their primary and only homes as opposed to worker accommodation. These are not families living in transit, who would be primarily driven by household labour opportunities, as employment patterns decline across farms. Nor are they simply workers who need accommodation or housing.

They are well-established strong family systems working relatively cohesively to support the family economy. In this regard the household is taken to mean those "that live together and share resources as a unit" in line with the community survey of 2007 definition (CS 2007). The expression of "eating from the same pot" captures the interviewees expression of family succinctly (CS 2007).

3.3.1.1 Household head profile

A recurring problem made in planning settlements and housing tends to be the conflation of household heads with the private property concept of “ownership” of the homestead. This often confuses who the home “belongs to” and who has the right to use this homestead. From the interviews it appears that the head of the household is usually the eldest male but there are a number of widows who were acknowledged as the heads of households too. The table below confirms this by showing a much smaller and older age range for women than men in the household head category indicating that the women are usually widowed.

The head of the family, significantly, is also predominantly someone who lives on the property. Many respondents indicated this very specifically. Only one family suggested that the head of the family worked away from home but visited the home frequently. In this way they are able to act as a daily reference point for the family in decision-making.

Head of family	Males	Age range	Females	Age range	Total HHH	Male	Female
Dannhauser	11	24-83	7	42-85	18	61%	39%
Newcastle (13)	*8*	*36-80*	*5*	*44-81*	13	62%	38%
Utrecht	14	47-81	3	50	17	82%	21%
Total	**33**		**15**		**48**	69%	31%

Table 1: Household heads age and gender profile - source primary research data collection 2008

While many respondents indicated that the family head “owned” the homestead or that the homestead belonged to the head this did not necessarily imply that the head could

unilaterally exclude anybody. The homestead was simultaneously regarded as a family home and whoever qualified as family has rights to live there and participate in the household functional economy. For example the respondents would claim that the house belonged to their father or grandfathers, but after they passed away they were now in charge. In other words the head of household changed over time and is passed from one generation to the next. In this way many homesteads were described as belonging to a family with certain surnames. Understood in this way, the physical nature of the house as an alienable asset in the hands of one person/ owner ceases to exist. Future scenarios involving housing premised on the creation of wealth through the possession of an alienable asset will be problematic for the functionality of the present household economy.

3.3.1.2 Family members profile and size

Families ranged from a household of 2 members, a father and son of 13, to households of 28, which included sometimes 4 generations and two or three married sons with their own children. The concept of a homestead with western defined nuclear family is almost irrelevant in this situation. Families have remained as one large homestead because of economic, social and political drivers and through choice.

Pressures from their relationships with land owners, who tried to prevent families from spreading out geographically across the farms, and economic choices to maintain a sustainable family unit under extremely deprived political circumstances have defined who the family is today. Attempts to probe the reasons for adult family members remaining in the homestead was resoundingly that this is their only home! Essentially people who are regarded as family are either born into the family or marry into the family. Daughters who do not get married can remain in the home. It is assumed daughters who marry will move to the husbands' family home.

"It is not easy to become a family member forever if you are not of this house. A person that can become a family member should be a blood relative from Mazibuko, Buthelezi or Zwane. They are of this family" D2"

"If you have the same surname you are taken as a family member."D10

Being a family member implies that you get access to room for personal use if there are enough buildings and you are old enough or married. It also means you contribute to the household economy where you can. While rooms for personal use like sleeping are separate for each adult or adult couple, the family shares the kitchen, sanitation, and ancestral buildings, the cooking of meals and food.

Table 2 indicates the varying size of the families interviewed. The average family size in the District is 13.72 with a median of 13. The Community Survey of 2007 (CS2007) suggests that the average household size in KwaZulu-Natal is 4.6 against a total household number of 2,734,129. The IDP 2008/9 for Amajuba sets the average household size at 5.1 against a total of 96,846 households. This would suggest that the farm dweller households sizes are at least 3 times larger than the provincial average and at least twice the size of the District average.

Reasons for this could be found in both the economic and cultural history of the family unit on farms, within the historical constraints of land rights conflicts over expansion of household structures and families, and in the economic vulnerability and dependencies that have been created through severe poverty levels and related aspects. These issues are picked up in sections further on.

Sub districts/district	Tot. families interviewed	Total people	Avg family size	Median family size
Dannhauser	18	237	13.2	11.5
Newcastle	15	198	13.2	14
Utrecht	17	251	14.8	13
Amajuba	**50**	**686**	**13.7**	**13**

Table 2: Range in family size – source: primary field research data 2008

3.3.1.3 Family gender profile

The 50 families interviewed represented 686 family members. Out of these people 329 were female family members and 357 were male family members. This reflects a sex ratio of 108 males for every 100 females, reflected in table 3, which does not correlate with that picked up in the Community Survey South Africa 2007, of 93 males for every 100 females (CS 2007).

Overall the population demographics amongst the 50 households suggest that there are a higher percentage of males than females except in the Newcastle area, which was dramatically different. A possible reason for this difference could be the increased urbanisation and land reform activity in this area disrupting family units but this was not easily verified. The General Household survey of 2007 also suggests that the breakdown in gender in the Black households in KwaZulu-Natal is 47% male and 53% female. This is also different to those families on farms, which suggests a higher ratio of men at 52% to women at 48% in total. However the Newcastle statistics would correlate more strongly

with the general survey findings. The Amajuba IDP 2008/9 also states the gender profile as 53.8% female to 46.2% male.

A deeper gender analysis would be useful to understand this difference in gender profiles between provincial and district averages with those of families on farms. The survey undertaken through the Area based plan process by the Department of Land Affairs in 2007 also suggests, through a larger population sample, a slightly higher proportion of males to females (ABP 2007).

Sub district	Females		S. ratio	Males		S.ratio	Totals
Dannhauser	115	*49%*	*100*	122	*51%*	*106*	**237**
Newcastle	*107*	*54%*	*100*	*91*	*46%*	*85.05*	***198***
Utrecht	107	*43%*	*100*	144	*57%*	*134.58*	**251**
Totals	**329**	***48%***	***100***	**357**	***52%***	***108.51***	**686**

Table 3:Gender ratio on farms – source: primary field data 2008

3.3.1.4 Family age profile

In terms of age the spread appears more significant in that it reflects a high number of young people on the farms possibly refuting the prevalent view that it is an aging population that remains on the farms, with grandchildren while parents work elsewhere in towns and cities.

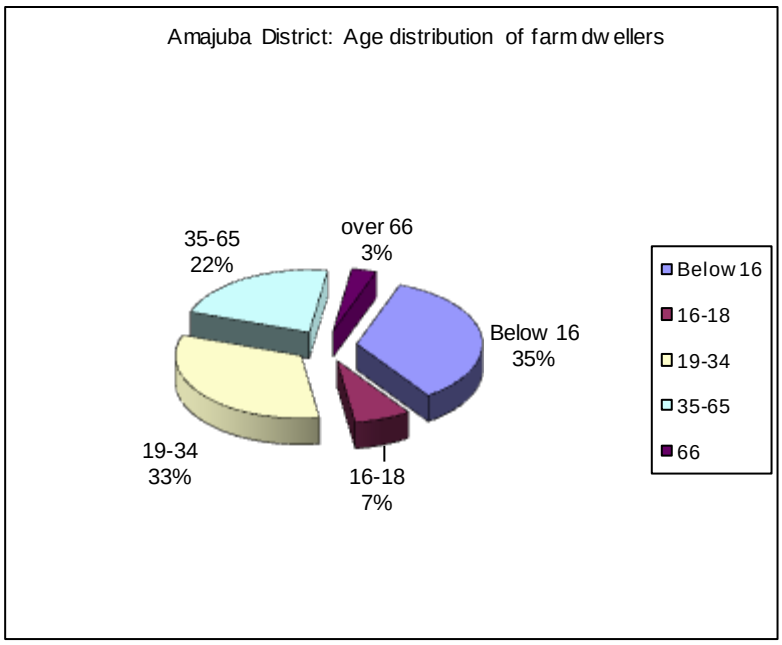


Figure 2: Age distribution on farms -source: primary field research data 2008

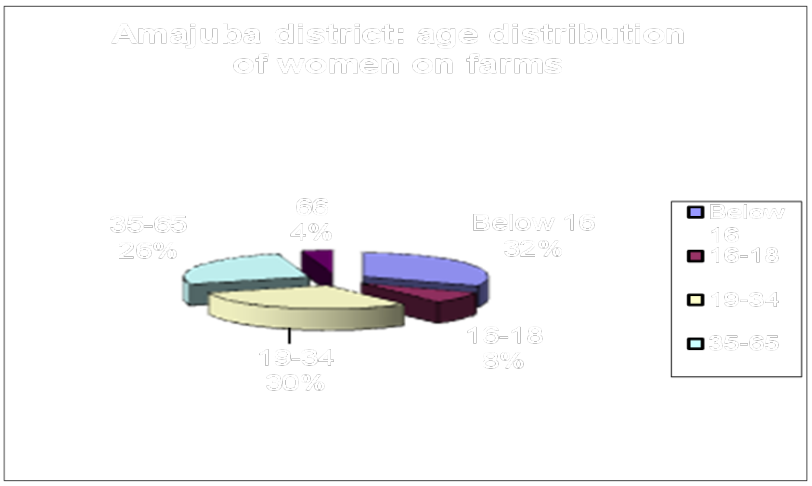


Figure 3: Age distribution of women on farms - source: primary field research data 2008

Figure 2 and 3 above indicate that the working age group of 19-65 represents the largest age group on farms at 55% of the total sample population. Males account for 53% of the group and females account for 56%. This section of the population reveals a very different sex ratio to the overall ratio mentioned in section 3.3.1.3. If the group includes those 16 and over, the total working age population, then the percentage increases marginally to 62%. Those in retirement age, over 65 make up the smallest percentage, defying the notion of “gogo’s (grandmothers) and grandchildren” on farms with a tiny total percentage of 3%. This could indicate a strong lack of mobility amongst people old enough to work. Such immobility can stem from a lack of adequate or competitive skills and also under employment as suggested in more detail in the section on Income Sources below. Clearly the grouping below 18 is also significantly large, calculated here as 42%.

3.3.2 Vulnerabilities

Eighteen is still a significant age for the families in their relationships with landowners. An assumption seems to be made by many landowners that those who are over 18 are adults and no longer "dependents". This is then used as a reason to force children over 18 to seek shelter off the farm. The research’s analysis of the household economy clearly shows that this is a blatantly unfair assumption that has had and still has significant economic and social repercussions for the household. Accounts of families being forced to send their children over 18 to stay elsewhere were given during the interviews. The economic costs for the household definitely grow, as these dependents still require financial assistance from the family who now has to support two separated households.

The concept of dependents and the use of the age of 18 should be contextualised and

assessed more carefully as these are key issues playing themselves out in land rights conflicts on farms. It is also a key consideration in designing future settlement and possible housing options. South Africa regards 18 as the age at which children can carry adult legal contractual responsibility. However the age at which a person can seek employment is 16.

For the purposes of calculating levels of employment and unemployment Stats SA uses the 15-65 age group. It is unclear how the use of 18 on farms is linked to any legal land tenure sense i.e. of independence or a working age. Given the make up of families on farms and the range of family members who remain dependent despite being older than 18, despite being married and often despite being employed the use of 18 as a marker in who makes up a legal family unit on farms remains significantly untested in court and contested out of court.

A far more pragmatic and developmental approach needs to be adopted by those seeking to support farm dweller families in future changed settlement and/or housing options. This pragmatism would require a consideration of the household economy and how members of the household are dependent on it and contribute to its sustainability.

Another area of concern is the number of women in households on farms in the working age category and the number who are becoming household heads carrying responsibility for co-ordination of household economic units. The sections on income sources, employment and skills further in the report indicate that focused support to women in accessing education, improving skills and access to health care would do a great deal to support the families household food security.

There is growing literature on the role of women in household food security systems and the vulnerability they have in the farming sector where they are primarily regarded as contract and casual workers by employers. In addition, secure land rights will most often be tied to permanent employment which is predominantly held by men in farm labour situations. The role of landowners and farm managers perpetuating the patriarchal hierarchies and the dependency of women on men through offering permanent employment only to men is a significant factor in women on farms continued vulnerabilities. There are numerous cases in the post 1994 period, despite new land rights legislation giving families on farms land rights, of women losing land rights and homes on farms perpetrated by landowners with paternalistic views and perpetuated by paternalistic interpretation in courts.

3.3.3 Spatial patterns of households

The interviews included a discussion with households about the use of space for building structures that make up the home. An attempt was made to draw these (although not to scale) to develop any impressions of trends in allocation of space to use. The motivation for exploring the use of physical space for the homesteads was to enable a realistic comparison and possible analysis of how changes in physical space use or structures will impact on the family relationships and economic functioning. In other words, if proposals are made to move into villages or towns a better assessment can be done of gains and losses and impacts.

A challenge in doing this was with regard to poorly structured guideline questions on choices in sites and sizes of sites on the farms, and also in realistic and comparable measurements of current homestead yard sizes and building sizes and the reasons behind the size chosen. This might have allowed more understanding of internal and external drivers affecting choices. Despite these possible limitations certain commonalities can be raised. Two examples of the layout of the homesteads, in appendix 2, illustrates the common uses depicted in figure 4 below. Almost all families list the following uses of the homestead space, differing only in relation to family size and limitations from landowners. The subsections in 3.3.3.2 below this figure explain common uses of each of the listed structures and use of space.

Figure 4: Use of homestead space - source: primary field research data 2008

3.3.3.1 Uses outside the fenced yard: (see access discussion in 3.3.12-3.3.17 below)

Families indicated quite clearly where the boundaries for the homestead ended but were also quite clear about the need to access land outside of the homestead boundary for other critical purposes. These outside uses included fields for cropping even if only garden size, grazing veld for cattle, access to water sources, access to wood sources, and access to grasses for thatch and weaving and medicines.

The homestead is normally fenced off, however many families consider the uses outside of the yard as also part of the homestead. All families are able to identify the boundary of the yard and have fenced this off. It would appear that the most common driver in homestead size and location is originally the landowner. Many have retained this over time except where new landowners have tried to change the original agreed boundary. This remains a key source of conflict as it limits the families ability to build new structures for adult family members.

3.3.3.2 Buildings for personal use

Each homestead allocates space and builds a structure for adult members of the family, either as individuals or as married couples for use as bedrooms and personal space. Children are understood to share such rooms with each other but preferably not with adults. The buildings are normally separate structures with space between the structures. Two main reasons for this physical separation of rooms is that the materials that the buildings are made of (wattle and daub/ mud) are not strong enough to create large conjoined rooms and secondly, the space creates a necessary and important sense of privacy between adult members of the family.

Rondavel

All families see this as a necessity, since it is the physical place within which religious and cultural practice is adhered to. As all families interviewed regard these homes as the family home, even members of family who have left the home will return to adhere to ancestral issues through this physical space. Many families spoke of needing a room for visitors. Often these were other family members who might have actually moved away in earlier or current generations.

" A house that belongs to ancestors cannot be demolished as they are still using it. If you demolish it, you have to build another one to replace it. It must be there whether you use it or not. This is where you consult your ancestors." N7

Kitchen/ communal areas

As the family operates as one economic unit the sharing of cooking and eating plays an important communal function.

"Our custom as blacks is that when, they the bride, comes we show her pots to cook. Brides do the cooking. We cook one for everyone. We are doing this so we can share. If you want to cook your own pot with your bride you better go and have your homestead somewhere else." N2

Most families indicated that mothers or daughters and daughter-in-laws' did the cooking, and all family members ate from the same prepared meals. In addition to a separate space for meals some families indicated a need for adults to have spaces where they could get together and discuss matters or socialise and children could get together and study or play.

Animal rooms or pens and storage space

These varied depending on the families financial situation and the rules and restrictions on the farms. In the case where families did have animals these would either be kept close to home safe from wild animals or brought back to the homestead after grazing during the day for safety. Storage buildings were sited as a place to keep tools, equipment, seed etc.

Graves

All families would have these sites near the homestead where all members would be buried in accordance with cultural and religious practices. The location is most likely to be primarily affected by restrictions from the landowner. This remains a significant area of contestation on the farms.

Sanitation/Toilets

All families currently make use of pit latrines constructed slightly away from the other buildings.

Vegetable gardens

See Access to cropping section 3.7. Families speak of a small garden within the fenced yard of the homestead and sometimes a larger field outside of the fenced homestead yard, depending on restrictions and finances.

3.3.4 Vulnerabilities

Most homes are still built of wattle and mud and stones and thatch. A few families have tried to improve the quality of materials and build with brick and cement. This is far more

expensive and has resulted in some conflict with landowners, perhaps because they appear more permanent! The majority of interviewees indicated that the homes they lived in were built by themselves at their own expense. Changing ownership of the private registered property has led to changing access to and use of land for the homestead. Most often the restrictions appear to have increased perhaps with or in response to the governments' attempts to increase tenure security on the private property through legislation. This result of overlapping tenure rights on land used for the creation of homes can and has resulted in conflicts. Many interviewees, if not most, believe the long term solution lies in separating tenure rights altogether, implying that they should have their own independent rights of access and use of land. In these cases it would require either the land owner or the farm dweller family to move to another piece of unoccupied and unencumbered land.

3.3.5 Education and skills

Due to the relationship with landowners Farm dweller families access to education has been restricted over previous generations. A significant amount of household income is spent on education indicating the high level of importance given to this by the families. It is a means to overcome the poverty levels and break the dependencies created in their land tenure relationships with landowners on the farms.

Important research into the causes of chronic poverty (where it is difficult to overcome without considerable support from external sources) indicate that poor education levels can increase the chances of intergenerational poverty (Hulme et al 2001 & Aliber 2003). While families seem to recognize this, signified in the sacrifices made towards education costs, without external intervention and support it is unlikely that they will succeed in overcoming current levels of poverty on any significant scale in the district.

According to the 2007 General Household Survey education is compulsory for the 7-15 age category. Not all interviewees were clear in their responses on education levels. From the available information the following has been ascertained.

3.3.5.1 Amajuba education levels

Table 4 and 5 give a breakdown of the levels of education attainment amongst the different age groups. The categories are closely aligned with those in the General Household survey

of 2007. Of the respondents who gave information on these education related questions it appears that the numbers of adults accessing tertiary level education is between 2.1% and 3.3%. The national percentage in 2007 was set at 9.8% (HHGS2007: Stats SA). The number of people obtaining more than primary level education seems to be between 54% and 65% amongst the farm dweller families against a national percentage of 69.4% in 2007 (HHGS2007: Stats SA). Just under 6% of respondents said they had no education. Women still have a higher dropout rate than men in both primary and secondary levels.

The Amajuba IDP statistics on education levels of adults suggests that in 2005 those obtaining only primary was 30.9% and those obtaining secondary was 52.1%. As these cannot be directly compared to this research's findings it is possible to suggest that the averages are quite similar on farms to the broader district if secondary includes the obtaining of a matric. Table 4 and 5 below indicate that between 30%- 39% of farm dweller adults obtained some level of primary education while around 52%-60% of farm dweller adults obtained some secondary level. If the Amajuba IDP statistics do not include matriculants then the comparative farm dweller statistic for adults obtaining some secondary level drops to around 32%-36%.This would imply that the dropout rate on the farms is dramatically higher than those in more urban environments (Amajuba DM IDP: 2008/9).

Ages		**"1-5**	**6-15**	**16-18**	**% <19**	**Adults (19-)**	***% > 18***	**Totals**
preschool		37			*33.04*		*0.00*	37
Some primary	**GradeR-6**		39	2	*36.61*	57	*39.86*	98
Some secondary	**Grade 8-11**		7	23	*26.79*	52	*36.36*	82
Matric	**Grade 12**			2	*1.79*	23	*16.08*	25
Tertiary				1	*0.89*	3	*2.10*	4
No education				1	*0.89*	8	*5.59*	9
Unknown level					*0.00*		*0.00*	0
					0.00		*0.00*	0
		37	**46**	**29**		**143**		**255**
No information								74
Total sample population								**329**

Table 4: Females education levels - source : primary field research data 2008

Ages		"1-5	6-15	16-18	% < 19	Adults (19-)	% > 18	Totals
preschool		41			*35.04*			41
Some primary	**GradeR-6**		52	1	*45.30*	36	*30.00*	89
Some secondary	**Grade 8-11**		6	8	*11.97*	39	*32.50*	53
Matric	**Grade 12**			9	*7.69*	34	*28.33*	43
Tertiary					*0.00*	4	*3.33*	4
No education					*0.00*	7	*5.83*	7
Unknown level					*0.00*			0
					0.00			
		41	**58**	**18**		**120**		**237**
No information								120
Total sample population								357

Table 5:Male education levels - source: primary field research data 2008

3.3.6 Vulnerabilities and challenges

Access to decent schools, particularly high schools, in the farming areas remains a serious challenge. A key concern is that many farm schools or rural schools are primary schools only. Parents are then forced to send their children to the nearest township to complete school. The costs of accessing schools remains high primarily due to remoteness, resulting in high transport costs and high risk for those who have to walk. Drop out rates at high school level were also raised as a concern A grave concern of parents is that the drop our rate is high amongst daughters due to high rates of pregnancy. In addition young men seem to be susceptible to alcohol abuse which causes them to drop out as well. In some of the areas young men are simply refusing to finish school. (Minutes 13 Dec 2008).
Reasons given for not attending or low or problems with schooling....

There was no limit as I said I didn't go to school because I had to look after cattle. -D1
I did not go to school because I grew up in a farm. When you started to become smart, you were sent to look after the farmers calves. U9

Some respondents felt that certain landowners were still summoning male youth to provide labour preventing them from attending school (Minutes 6 December 2009).

3.3.7 Skills

Generally people are poorly skilled in much more than semi-skilled forms of labour. Although a number seem to be completing Matric little opportunity to further develop skills through tertiary education or work opportunities seem to arise. Agriculture remains a dominant skill across the families. It can be sited as traditional, semi skilled and skilled given the variations of practices taking place on the farms. Little baseline data exists that could be drawn on for comparisons on farms. Further research could be done into information available in the district or the Department of Labour.

Traditional skills sited included traditional mats, beadwork, knitting, sewing and other handworks, midwifery, art/ craft, gardening, pottery, cooking, agriculture. Semi-skilled work included building &plastering, cooking, driver, domestic worker, tractor driver, child minder/teacher, home based care, agriculture. While skilled work was limited to taxi ownership (indicating self employment), woodwork, electrical – light, welding, health worker, soccer players, ABET teacher, plumbing, computer skills, mechanic, agriculture

3.3.8 Dependency and vulnerability in skill levels

The predominant skill remains farming and traditional craft in the families. These skills are self taught, and often indigenous, in that they are passed on through generations in the families. There was a general perception that even these skills were declining in quality due to lack of practice following limitations in accessing agricultural lands.
With this decline and increasing difficulty in accessing adequate agricultural lands and resources to expand production greater pressure was put on those members who can farm to find ways of ensuring some contribution to the household economy. It is perceived by some respondents that landowners are trying to prevent them from improving their skills by denying them access to land (Minutes 13 Dec 08).

At the same time greater pressure is put on family members to seek employment off the farms to make up for the reduction in household food production. It is perceived by some youth that better opportunities lie in towns (Minutes 15 Dec 08). Without access to further information to improve skills or to encourage interest in farming such intergenerational knowledge is lost and can only be replaced through directed outside support.

The range of alternative skills is also limited to relatively unskilled work requiring people to compete with the generally high numbers of unemployed in towns and cities from a weak economic family base. The prospects for improving skills in these areas through

employment is slow and limited making natural change or improvement in family lifestyles unlikely in the near future without targeted skill training intervention.

Around 21% of family income is spent on ensuring children do attend school, but without access to additional skill training to enhance current abilities or capacities they will be forced to compete in a fiercely competitive environment with their constraints of distance and family dependence.

3.3.9 Income sources

Income sources were explored with households rather than just employment levels. This was done to ascertain what the sources of income might be aside from employment and perhaps make inferences about their dependencies and vulnerabilities with regard to cash income in the household economy.

Information collected from respondents about income levels was not meticulous in the details of the levels and consistency of amounts. This was partly because the interviewers did not interrogate this information carefully or similarly and partly because households were not always clear in their responses. So, where levels of wages are articulated it is not always clear if this is the amount the household receives to support the family or if this is merely the amount earned. A number of respondents who said family members worked in town claimed that they did not know how much these people earned. Sometimes it seems that children who have found employment do not divulge their earnings to parents or elders and merely make contributions.

As said by one respondent -

"They do not come home with money. They hide their money in town bins called banks"U4.

Despite this some important points can be raised about the research findings on income sources. These findings are categorized under Employment, Grants and Self-employment.

Perceptions on adequacy of income levels for family needs: -

The money we earn is not enough for family needs. We are not satisfied but we cannot do anything. D2

The income is not enough for the needs of this family as there are kids still going to school. D3

The money we earn is not enough for family needs. We use it only for foods. D4

The money we earn is not enough to cover our needs. N1

The income is not enough to pay family needs. I sold a cow to pay for the other instalments and I am done with that. U8

3.3.9.1 Employment

The working age population of the group interviewed is about 62%. Only 26% of the working age respondents claimed to have employment, which included temporary work like that of the Department of Transports' Zibambele road maintenance programme. From the comments made with regard to employment it is clear that high levels of despondency exist and many might qualify as "discouraged work seekers". Families claim that they have actively sought employment but there are few local job opportunities generally and for them specifically, there are low levels of industry in their areas that would create jobs, jobs available are often casual or temporary, job seekers have to leave home to find work in cities, there are fewer jobs on farms

Comments by farm dwellers on employment -

We do not get jobs because we are not educated. The solution is that government should buy land for us. D9

If you live in farms it is difficult to get a job. Most women here are employed on road projects. We can create job opportunities by self-employment projects. D10

There are no job opportunities here, which is why children are doing nothing. The one who is doing carpentry in Newcastle did go to as he has matric but he cannot be employed. The one who is doing piece jobs in Johannesburg has matric too. If government can assist us with farming we can create our jobs. N2

They can work if they are jobs available. Job opportunities are not available as a result we are staying at home. We would be happy if you can provide us with job opportunities. You can give us advice on directions to get jobs. Farmers do not employ us anymore. We have no solutions. It is better to be self-employed, as I cannot afford to work anymore. N3

There are no job opportunities here. We have to be self-employed. We do not have land to start our own businesses in farming. The solution is to get land and be self-employed by selling our products. The farmer will never employ anyone from this family. He also informed other farmers not to employ us. N4

The biggest problem is to find a job. They have educated us so we have to provide for them. There are no job opportunities here. You have to go to Johannesburg or Newcastle to seek for a job, which cannot afford. Taxis to Newcastle are very expensive. Transport to Newcastle costs R20 a day a return trip so you can imagine how much you spend on a week. We have tried to open a goat project. They told to seek permission from farmer who told us that his title deed is not with him but it stays with his lawyer. Land ownership is

then problem. N6

The challenge to seek work is there are children staying here therefore it is difficult to leave home without anyone. Job opportunities are far from home. We need money a lot. The simple solution is to start selling something and you need starting capital. I am the oldest person at home so it is difficult to leave home because children respect me more than anyone. N15

The challenge in seeking employment is that they want matriculants and qualifications. U8

We do not have enough money to look for jobs. U12

Out of 45 families who responded to questions on employment, 39 indicated that at least one family member had some form of employment that contributed to the families cash income. This employment includes both tog/contract and permanent positions although the majority of jobs were said to be contract positions.

Between 26% and 58% of families received income from farm employment. Newcastle respondents indicated the lowest levels of employment on farms at 26%. This could be because of the stronger linkage to the dense settlement of Newcastle due to its proximity. The income range from farm employment was between R500 – R1300 a month. Around 60% of those employed received income from employment in town. This income was generally indicated as being higher than farm income but generally not high enough to allow families to migrate. All three sub district indicated the Zibambele public works road programme as a source of income. The lowest level being Newcastle at 13% and the highest being Utrecht at 75% which probably indicates its target group as being more remote rural groups. Income from this programme averaged at about R400 per month.

Education levels and employment relationship

The table below indicates broad findings from the research. As no attempt or assumption was made to explore any strong correlations between education levels and employment detailed analysis is not possible However it is possible to obtain a general picture of the types of employment various levels of education are attracting.

Education level	no. employed female	no. employed male	Types of occupations
Illiterate	0	2	Pension, taxi owner, electrician, farm labourer
Pre school	1	1	Zibambele, builder
Junior primary	14	9	Zibambele, farm labourer, crèche worker, Iscor, Self employed, florist, electrician, driver
Std6-8	5	15	Zibambele, health worker, farm labourer, plastering, building, security guard, driver, healer, Iscor, garage
Std8-9	6	16	Farm labourer, coal miner, health worker, zibambele, electrician, driver, shop attendant, selling, self employed
Matric	11	22	Health worker, construction, factory, bus, driver, iscor, timber, driver, farm labourer, teacher, chef, teller, zibambele, ABET
Tertiary	2	2	Labourer, zibambele, salesman
Unknown		8	Farm labourer, construction, abet teacher

Table 6: Education level and types of employment - source primary field research data 2008

3.3.9.2 Grants

Families interviewed in the Utrecht sub district respondend poorly to questions on access to grants but from the responses in the other two sub-districts the trend suggests at least 50% of the families rely on grants a key income source. The majority of these were pension grants amounting to R940 per month. Second were child grants of R210 per month per child and then a few disability grants of R940 per month.

3.3.10Self employment

Very few respondents claimed to be self employed. While this is probably correct given the general responses to employment it could also indicate some reluctance to be too open about other sources of income. As this self-employed taxi owner explained :

I would be lying on how much I earn with a taxi. This other one standing outside is also helping in getting some money. The best earning per money is around R10 000 minimum is around R7000. This amount includes all other minor costs. ' D1

3.3.11 Vulnerabilities and dependencies in family incomes

Family cash income is not always clear given that many children employed in town did not give clear wage levels. Rather, in response to questions posed in the interview, many families spoke of children seeking work in cities and towns but were often not clear of the level of income earned as compared to the level contributed to the household economy. However if this is weighed up against the responses about few family members moving out of the home permanently it could suggest that incomes earned are below the threshold required for any family member to exit the household completely. This is aside from the strong family responsibility ties that exist in the families to continue contributing.

It would appear that for most families a combination of employment income and grant income is what sustains them. Given the wage levels of farm labour at an average of R800 and town employment at an average of R1000 the pension grant at R940 is tantamount to another person being employed. A loss of either would have a tremendously negative impact on the family economy.

Ability to live at the current income levels requires co-operation amongst family members given the transport, rental and food costs, as well as the cost of education of the children. The employed could be said to be dependent on the family economy as much as the family economy is dependent on their ability to earn.

The main issues appear to be that most of the jobs are temporary, access to the few jobs requires money for transport, decreasing employment on farms; and access to adequate education and skill training to compete for jobs. Underemployment is clearly a problem given the apparent dependency levels of the employed and unemployed on the family economy,[3]. Farm dwellers perceive this to be a key problem with farm employment which compels job seeking in towns to overcome the high levels of dependency underemployment can create(Minutes 13 Dec 09).

3.3.12 Access to Natural resources

The table 7 below summarises the key natural resources accessed by families and the

[3] Underemployment is taken to mean that the income earned in employment is lower than the costs to the employed persons, associated with being employed.

general uses. The numbers in brackets represent the total respondents. The respondents uses of the resources were very similar across the district as was there accessibility issues. Primary accessibility issues were seasonal limitations, and limitations placed by the land owners.

	Type	**Uses**	**Accessibility issues**
Dannhauser (18)	Grass- utshani (16) Trees/wood/forest (14) Grass-incema Grass- uphepheto Clay/mud Herbs (2) Stones/rocks Fruit trees (1) Nothing (1)	Thatching, selling, feed Fire, building, medicinal Mats, sell Sell blooms Building, Medicinal Building Eating	Seasonal – winter Owner/ farmer limits access of about a third of families
Newcastle (15)	Grass- utshani (4) Trees/wood/forest (9) Grass-incema Clay/mud Nothing (4)	As above	As above Restrictions Resources depleted
Emadlangeni (Utrecht) (17)	Grass- utshani (10) Trees/wood/forest (7) Grass-incema (3) Nothing (4)	As above	As above

Table 7: Frequency of access to natural resources - source : primary field research data 2008

3.3.13Type and frequency of use

Families in all three areas indicated a high level of dependence on natural resources for building shelter and homes. This would also imply a need to access mud/clay and poles. A number of the respondents in the Newcastle area spoke of there being no resources on the farm anymore as a result of restrictions and as a result of depletion. It appeared that respondents in the Newcastle sub district accessed natural resources less frequently than the other two sub districts. All families indicate that they cook using pots over fire and all have no electricity. All need access to wood but some are having to collect wood from nearby towns adding dramatically to household monthly expenses.

Grass for weaving and selling of blooms is less frequent depending on access and skill in

the household. It is used for selling as extra income. This is limited to households where there is skill. Very few mentioned the use of herbs for medicinal purposes. This might indicate a decreasing knowledge of the skill and also perhaps less access but there little to measure this against in terms of past practice. When discussing health and types of food and nutrition this issue also arose in some families where grandmothers were described as having some skill with herbal medicines.

Only one1 family mentioned access to fruit trees. Nine families indicated that they had no access to any natural resources as they were prevented from accessing these by the landowner. A few of these families indicated that they ploughed small gardens within their homestead boundaries.

"We used to get this service but now we are not allowed to access them. He (the land owner) took some of our tools to the police station. We were once charged for trespassing."

3.3.14Dependencies on natural resources and vulnerabilities

Access to thatch, mud, water, and wood is clearly still critical for the building of homesteads, and families. Self-built homes remain the primary form of shelter for the families. If one considers the size of the families and the spatial patterns of the family homes, accessing sufficient supplies makes for good shelter. If considered in relation to the earlier section 3.2.3 on home layout which shows the number of buildings required for good family relationships then access to these resources is important.

Such building materials require indefinite repairs and are extremely vulnerable to the inclement weather – (susceptible to both heavy rains and fires). Also when considering the monthly and annual incomes of the families, access to these natural resources for building materials substantially reduces the costs of building and maintaining a healthy family home.

"Trees were given to us by the Creator to give firewood". (N5)

All families speak of cooking using pots and fire. A small minority spoke of gas but even they use wood as well. Again this is a critical aspect of their lives as it is used to feed the family. Access seems to be limited in a similar manner to building materials but in some cases it includes the fact that there is no firewood on the farm they are on.

Firewood is the key source of fuel and energy and is needed daily. It is clearly not something any of the families can do without. Where it cannot be sourced on the farm people are resorting to neighbours or towns. Those that are able to are purchasing it or collecting it every couple of months. This requires the hiring of a vehicle or the use of a tractor costing in the region of R250 per use.

Accessing medicinal herbs/ trees is on a much smaller scale and could be argued to be of less importance on a dependency scale. However, when one considers the number of families who indicated doctor's fees as a core expense in their budgets it might be worth reconsidering how to support this dying skill or improve access to skills and knowledge around primary health care.

Access to natural resources to sell featured less frequently than for the use of building and cooking. This could be linked to decreasing skills such as weaving, but also to limitations of access generally. Often access seems to be limited to what is needed for building as in some cases land owners are giving access to other farmers to sell. An issue of ownership of the resource is at play here.

Aside from the natural wear and tear of such materials for building, which makes families dependent on continued access to them, the families are particularly vulnerable because these resources are not under their control. They do not own them and these natural resources are not regarded as public goods. The families must rely on the good will of the landowners and their ability to continually negotiate access to the resource.

However, rules of access set by land owners vary from farm to farm. Some families say there are no rules and others have to ask permission and yet others have no access whatsoever. Some families had access in the past and have had to renegotiate this when the land was sold to new owners. It seems that this has often lead to a situation of increasingly limited access or increasing rules of access.

Clearly these building resources are not ones that families can live without if they continue to reside on the farms. Their ability to build good family homes depends on their access to these resources. The same argument can be made for accessing firewood, a critical source of energy for cooking and heat.

3.3.15Access to water

3.3.15.1 Types of sources, uses and amounts needed

Families get water from a variety of sources. The main source in the Dannhauser and Utrecht sub districts is natural sources which includes, springs, streams and rivers. Some supplement weak springs with water from dams. In a few cases landowners have assisted in installing piped water and tanks. A few mention access to boreholes. In Newcastle sub district the sources are more varied with farmers and councillors assisting in some of the sources, like tanks, boreholes and tapped water.

3.3.16Dependencies and vulnerabilities

"We need water for living. We cannot live without water." (D10).

All families need water for washing, cooking, and drinking. In addition to households consumption they also need it for cattle and irrigating crops. Problems of access include distance to collect, reliability of natural sources, energy required to collect sufficient amounts of water over long distances, sharing water with cattle (needing to get to the water before cattle in the morning as it gets used up or is very dirty once cattle have been there), having money for diesel for pumping water.

Like access to other natural resources for building homes, water is another key source of concern and conflict. Respondents stories vary from uncontested access to high levels of conflict. Very few have clean potable water sources. Those that do have clean potable water have usually obtained this through a co-operative relationship with the landowner or a councillor.

However water remains a basic need. On farms it remains tied to peoples land rights arrangements which are often themselves disputed. The following account reminds us of the underlying problems around accessing water supply:

"Water is healthy. We drink water. We clean with water. We use water in the garden. Our stock also needs water. Our stock walks a long distance to drink water on the other side of the farm. Fortunately the neighbouring farmer assisted and installed water for us. But stock broke taps. We drink with animals. This water is not clean because it comes straight from that dam. We have reported this to the councillor. When the councillor came to dig a borehole the farmer denied, saying he does not want here anymore. But, the widow of

Franz wrote a letter to the council requesting them to install water for us, so we are waiting for that. We have applied for water before and got them, but the farmer installed an electric fence so we could not access them. We reported the matter to the police who told us the farmer has the right to sell water on his land. That farm has no owner ever since. We spoke to the farmer before to have access and use of the farm. He accepted our proposal and requested us put fence and everything. After that we heard news from residents of the other farm telling us their farmer has bought the farm. There were confusions about that, until the landowner brought a new white man. The new man summoned to us to remove our stock from the farm, but we did not. He told us he would shoot them. We responded by telling him that if he shoots 10 cows we would take 20 from him. He then told us that he would impound our cattle. We then told him we would take his cattle to our kraals. We played that game and won the grazing fields. It is big grazing fields. Our cattle do not graze in this farm because the farmer left some as his tenant who has the rights to grazing land." (n6)

3.3.17Access to agricultural land for crops

3.3.17.1 Type and frequency of use

Table 8 below summarises peoples responses to questions about the crops they are able to produce. The range of vegetables grown varies little between the three sub districts. Maize, potatoes, and pumpkin are the most commonly grown vegetable. Although spinach and cabbage also featured quite frequently in the Dannhauser sub district. Beans seem to be grown more in Newcastle and Utrecht than Dannhauser. Focus on these six vegetables is clearly linked to the overall diet of families (see section 3.6 on food).

The additional types of vegetables include tomatoes, spinach, onions, sorghum, brinjal, sweet potato, carrots. One family was trying to grow peanuts but indicated that it was a lot of work. Another indicated that they grew watermelons. Maize, a key part of the families staple diet, is also used for animal feed.

Utrecht types	Newcastle types	Dannhauser Types	Uses	Issues/ constraints
Maize (15)staple	Maize (11)staple	Maize (12)staple	Own consumption & animal feed	Small plots, can't plough as they have no traction,
potatoes (10)	potatoes (8)	potatoes (7)	Own consumption	insects eat vegetables, no
cabbages (5)	cabbages (4)	cabbages (9)	Own consumption	manure for fertilising , too much sun, hail, insufficient
imfe (8)	spinach (2)	spinach (11)	Own consumption	rainfed water supply,
beetroot (2)	beetroot (1)	beetroot (3)	Own consumption	Livestock eats crops,
	carrots (2)	carrots (4)	Own consumption	time consuming
tomatoes (4)	tomatoes (4)	tomatoes (8)	Own consumption	
	brinjal(3)	brinjal(1)	Own consumption	
ground bean (12)	beans(7)	beans(4)	Own consumption	
pumpkin(11)	pumpkin(13)	pumpkin(7)	Own consumption	
	sweet potato(2)	sweet potato(1)	Own consumption	
onions(1)	onions(2)	onions(2)	Own consumption	
sorghum(3)	sorghum(2)	sorghum(1)	Own consumption	
water melon (1)	none (1)	peanuts (1)	Own consumption	
marrow (2)				

Table 8:Frequency of types of crops produced - source: primary field research data 2008

Attempts were made to establish plot sizes, amounts planted and yields to establish a general trend. However the respondents and interviewees were unable to establish a consistent measurement of input, ranging from mugs, litres, packets and bowls, or of output, which ranged from bags, actual numbers, and weight. Where answers were given these have been recorded and could be evaluated more carefully if required in further research efforts.

Instead it seems possible to confirm a general concern of families as lacking access to large enough fields to produce the quantities that they feel would cover at least their own consumption and in some families cases allow them to sell produce. At the moment no family is able to produce sufficient quantities of any of the crops to cover their own families consumption needs. A few families indicated that they produce levels of certain crops some times to enable them to sell to mainly neighbours or local markets e.g. tomatoes, potatoes.

Aside from access to sufficient arable land other constraints included lack of ploughing implements (including oxen in some cases where landowners have forced families to sell off their ploughing oxen in return for using the owners tractor. Once the owner's tractor became unavailable then the family had no access to ploughing implements.). This has severe constraints on the size of fields people are able to plough. Linked to this is access to

fencing to secure the crops.

A further constraint was access to sufficient manure for producing sufficient organic fertilizer. This can be attributed in some cases to a lack of sufficient numbers of cattle due to lack of grazing. In other cases it might be a lack of sufficient knowledge of how to utilise manure for fertilising.

Many families also complained of pests or insects and a lack of skill and knowledge to control these. This raises the question of access to knowledge about chemicals and/or more natural and sustainable(affordable and ecological) ways to control pests. It seems clear that accessing chemicals for this purpose will be incredibly costly and unlikely to be sustained. Finally many also raised concerns about access to sufficient water.

3.3.18Dependency levels and vulnerabilities

The majority of families are trying to produce crops under various levels of difficult circumstances and these crops are being used to supplement the families nutrition levels. While some families have access to a larger variety in diet it is usually linked to some level of access to alternative income to purchase seeds, some knowledge of seed production and access to sufficient land to enable this variety. Due to poor access to irrigated water systems crops are rain fed and cropping is done in accordance with rain seasons. The success of the crops then depends on the weather.

A few families indicated that they no longer have any access to land for cropping and one family spoke of receiving a bag of maize a month from the land owner. When this level of yield is weighed up against the fact that over 65% of their monthly of income is spent on food (see section 3.5 on expenditure), then this access to productive agricultural land for food gardens as an additional food source is critical. The ability to increase yields for family consumption should have a highly positive correlation with the amount of income freed to spend on items other than food.

The majority of families are still cropping and using this to supplement their food supplies. They rely on their own skills passed on from each generation and additional experience gained through employment in farms. As with access to natural resources the vulnerabilities lie in the fact that they have little control over their access to this arable land. It must be negotiated where landowners are still using the land. There are cases where this has changed and some farms appear to have been abandoned and in these cases families lack sufficient support to complement their skill, knowledge and tools to increase

their production level. Such knowledge includes dealing with the changes in climate affecting output through changing rainfalls.

A lack of access to sufficient income to even support family production includes not having oxen, fencing, ploughs, seed:

" I do not have enough power to plough. If I can get a tractor it would be good."(d1)
"Crops are no longer the same as before, as they depend on rain. Sometimes rain comes but maize does not grow and there is poor product."(d1)
"Our skills are worsening as we can only do what we can afford and it depends on manpower. We love farming but our bodies get tired sometimes." (d3)
"The harvest is not enough so I have to sell incema and blooms so I could buy more food in town."(D5)
"My skills are worsening because you work hard and get fewer products." (D6)
" We do need latest and modern farming methods from an academic expert so that you need not rely on experience only."(d6)

3.3.19 Access to Seed

Respondent households were asked about where they sourced the seeds they used for cropping to establish how dependent and vulnerable they were to this source. Given that household production, even with its problems, remains a critical food source of the family having sustainable access to seeds is key.

Only two families indicated that they had no problems in collecting their own seed from their production. Four families indicated that they only buy seeds and never collect their own from their crops produced. Five families did no cropping at all. The remaining twenty four families, as only 35 families responded to this question, indicated that they sourced their seeds from a combination of own crops and buying from towns.

Maize, pumpkin, beans, and tomatoe seed were mentioned as seed they could save from their own crops. Problems with saving seed are related to skill, knowledge, rotting seed, drying out, too few seed, cattle eating crops, mistrust in ability to produce from saved seed. Saving is also affected by poor harvests due to rain, small harvest because of small fields, animals eating crops and knowledge.

Purchased seed is sourced from towns like Newcastle, Volksrust and Dannhauser, or from

neighbours. Some go as far as the Free State for seed. Most buyers indicated that they source the seed from the cheapest places. The greatest challenge they faced in buying seed was having the cash to do this at the correct time and the rising cost of seeds which affects how much people are able to buy. Problems with saving seed is getting sufficient quantity anymore due to restrictions in field size and ability to plough by hand, and that saved seed was not good for the soil. Bought seed was also said to not generate its own seed anymore.

3.3.20 Vulnerability and Dependency

Access to seed remains a critical issue in the majority of families lives. The few that no longer need seed are those who have been stopped from being able to crop. Even some of these families indicate that this lack of access to land to crop is problematic as they must now buy all food, which is increasingly expensive.

There is also a shift towards buying seed but at the same time there are still many attempts to save seed from own crops to save on the cost of buying. The limitation to sufficient land to produce sufficient quantities of crop to save sufficient seed is a vicious cycle for these families. However the choice is stark. These families must access seed. Their families food supply does depend on this.

Their ability to control the source of seeds is limited. Seeds that are not saved from their own crop must be bought on the open market. Their ability to purchase what they need at an affordable price is constrained by their own income and budgets. Purchasing seed must be weighed up against buying foods. And their ability to source cheaper seeds is constrained by their ability to travel widely, again linked to costs and their own budgets. Families do not seem to be collaborating around purchasing which might enable them to buy larger quantities at possibly more affordable prices.

At the same time saving seeds is happening at family level with few indicating that they might share seed. Given the limitations and costs this is unlikely to happen. Their key vulnerability lies in the decreasing knowledge about how to do this effectively and also in their decreasing yields due to limitations of filed size and ability to plough.

3.3.21 Access to agricultural land for animals

Access to agricultural lands for keeping livestock remains a common practice and need in the family economy. How this need is being met and their ability to use the resource for this economic purpose is limited by a number of factors. The table indicates for each sub

district, the type of large stock unit or animal, how many households have these (denoted by the bracketed number), what use they are to the family and what issues the family faces in keeping them.

The numbers are meant as indicative and are not reflected as averages because it is not deemed as useful in this exercise. It would be possible to provide this should it be required for further more detailed analysis.

	Type	**No.**	**use**	**Issues/ constraints**
Dannhauser	Cats (11)	1-4	Curtail rats	Wild animals, expensive to feed
Newcastle	Chicken (44)	2-50	Meat, eggs, selling	
Utrecht	Cattle (44)	1-150	Milk, selling, ploughing, culture, meat	Farmer restricts numbers, access to water, access to grazing, starvation, stock theft, fencing
	Dogs (27))	1-9		Dogs have also been shot due to hunting conflicts
	Ducks (9)	2-20	Security, hunting	Farmer restricts, feed, disease feeding
	Geese (12)	2-13	Own consumption	feeding, wild animals
	Goats (35)	4-60	Own consumption	farmer restricts numbers, grazing, water, theft,
	Horses (15)	1-8	Meat & culture	impounding
	Pigs (2)	5-10	Transport, herding	feed & water
	Sheep (8)	1-40	Meat	feeding
	Turkeys(8)	2-4	Meat& sell (few)	wild animals
	Donkey (2)		Meat & sell	

Table 9: Frequency and use of land for livestock- source:primary field research data 2008

3.3.21.1 Type and frequency of use

While, from the tables, the types of animals, their household economic usages and the issues that constrain this seem quite similar across the districts some differences can be ascertained in the numbers kept and the range in the size of the herds. Overall cattle, goats and chickens are most prevalent in households.

Cattle

Cattle remain a critical means of banking for households as very few families keep cattle as a direct food source.

"The limit was 12 cattle per household. The farmer knew you would pay lobola with 11 cattle and keep one fore cultural practices. So you would end up with nothing. We defied this because we could not get milk for children and we were working free of charge. We get soap or nothing for Christmas." U9.

The primary uses are for income when cash is needed for other family purposes, and for cultural occasions. A direct food source from cattle would be milk but this is limited to certain months of the year affected by grazing access. Few respondents mentioned using cattle for ploughing although this does still happen.

Despite this important asset there are households who claim to have no cattle. In these cases it appears that there have been specific changes at a land ownership level that have lead to quite severe restrictions e.g. The one family now lives under a Trust and another family spoke of the landowner rapidly subdividing his land and "giving" them a piece before government arrived and "grabbed" farms but they are still uncertain about who actually owns the land. Such restrictions then limit their ability to create and maintain wealth through ownership of increasing numbers of cattle.
Generally most families face some level of restriction on the numbers of cattle.

"Right now I milk only one cow because they starve." (d3).

Not all of them appear to adhere to these restrictions. Some are managing to develop large herds where either no restrictions exist or little policing of limits is done while others are reporting ongoing conflicts with landowners. This restriction is imposed through either rules on maximum numbers allowed per family, or through restricting grazing and access to water and through impounding.

"..not better right now, because stock dies every winter unlike before, as there was a lot of grass." (d2)

"... they are thinner than before so you cannot sell them now."(d4)

Accessing medication to keep the herd healthy is also a general complaint. Linked to this is adequate knowledge and skills to keep the herd healthy and growing. Much of the traditional knowledge seems to lie with the older men, if it still exists in the families, and very few families seem to be sharing knowledge across families.

Goats

A high number of families reported that goats were kept as a source of direct food as well as for income and cultural purposes. This again makes keeping them important to the household economy. Like cattle they face restrictions in terms of numbers by landowners, access to grazing, and water and impounding. They also are reportedly stolen.

Chicken

Nearly all families keep some chickens. All report using them as a main source of protein, eggs and meat in their diets. The main problems they faced were feeding them, wild animals poaching them and diseases. In fact, the issue of feed arose in many interviews and it has lead to families decreasing numbers of chicken kept despite this being a key part of their weekly or monthly diet. In these situations people are buying chickens for meals as their own numbers are too low. It is not clear if they have reduced the amount of chicken they eat altogether. Some families are also selling chickens when cash is needed.

Other animals

Aside from cats, dogs, horses and donkeys all other animals are kept mainly for food. Ducks, geese and turkey face similar problems as chickens in terms of being susceptible to poaching by wild animals and also dying from lack of feed. Very few households confirmed keeping dogs for hunting although this was the case with households who had large numbers of dogs.

Similarities in animals and Large Stock Unit's in Dannhauser, Newcastle, Utrecht

While the similarities are high across the sub districts it seems that the Newcastle district has the most varied situations across its sub district. Here families range from small numbers who often have few skills, limited access to grazing and arable land through to large families with high numbers of family members who are dependent on the household.

In Dannhauser and Utrecht this range seems less varied. This might be because the Newcastle district stretches across quite a large area with quite varied topography and biophysical properties leading to quite varied farming types and systems. It could also be that land reform has taken hold more strongly in some areas of Newcastle, as the more desperate families appear to have had changed land ownership and land rights circumstances and appear to be more fractured and less wealthy in terms of stability over time.

3.3.22 Vulnerabilities and Dependency levels

Families wealth is undoubtedly tied up in their ability to keep and grow stock numbers, particularly cattle. Their ability to supplement income for buying foods and other needs is also tied up in their ability to keep cattle. Their ability to sustain cultural practices which are necessary for healthy family life is also tied to their ability to keep cattle.

"The farmer said there should be 5 as there is no grazing land. We denied that as they pay us very little so we survive with livestock." (D2)

Goats and chickens and other livestock play a larger role in directly supplementing diets than cattle. While chickens can be purchased goats straddle the food/ culture needs. Chickens and other animals do however act as a backstop when income is needed and sold on this basis.

From the interviews of families it seems clear that those families with poor access to grazing land and with no or small numbers of livestock are far more food insecure than those with higher numbers of stock. These families are forced to become cash dependent with no prospect of supplementing this cash with boosts from sale of any livestock.

An important concern raised by respondents is lack of access to supportive knowledge and skills that would enhance and improve their own skills for keeping livestock. This apparent decreasing skill means that families needing livestock are keeping them with little to no knowledge about how to do this in a cost effective manner greatly increasing the risks of losing them to diseases and jeopardising their limited wealth.

3.3.23Primary expenditure patterns

Although the information collected hoped to capture the amounts spent on monthly items this was not done consistently. Respondents struggled a bit to answer the questions mixing annual and monthly costs. Figure 5 represents the most common responses given on types of expenses whether annual or monthly. Families did not necessarily pool all their income and then budget this out carefully to enable a direct answer to this question. For many, their family income is insufficient and also inconsistent in when it arrives, so it requires that they constantly juggle critical items bought. This is also affected by the annual expenses like school uniforms, as well as unforeseen medical costs, animal medication, building materials.

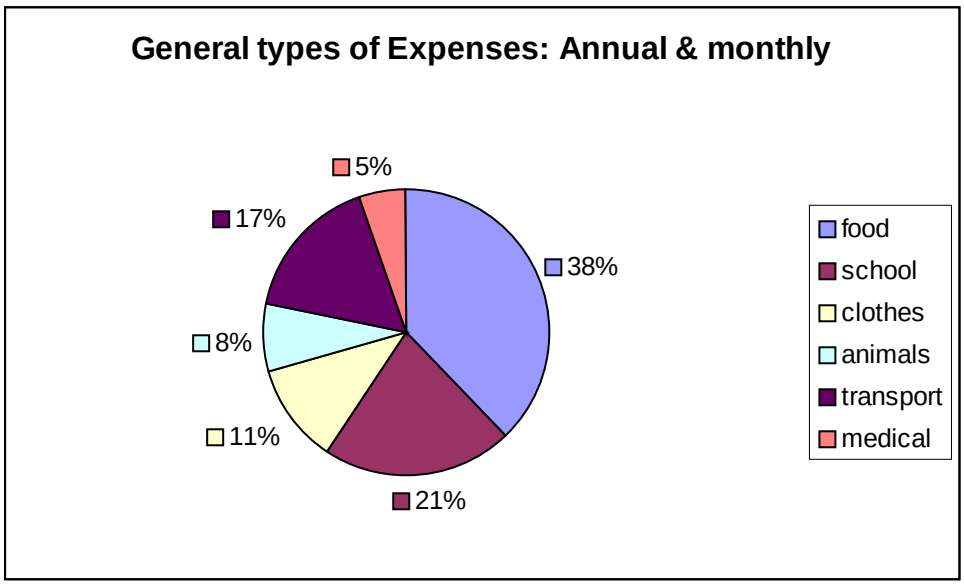


Figure 5: Annual and monthly expenses - source : primary field research data 2008

The important issue here was to be able to ascertain the main needs of the families to allow an analysis of the lifestyles, vulnerabilities and levels of poverty. The responses given within the constraints of the interview, do allow some understanding of their situation and highlights food insecurity and poverty levels. Costs indicated are just indicative ranges.

It is clear that the primary consistent expense each month is on food and transport related expenses as reflected in figure 6.

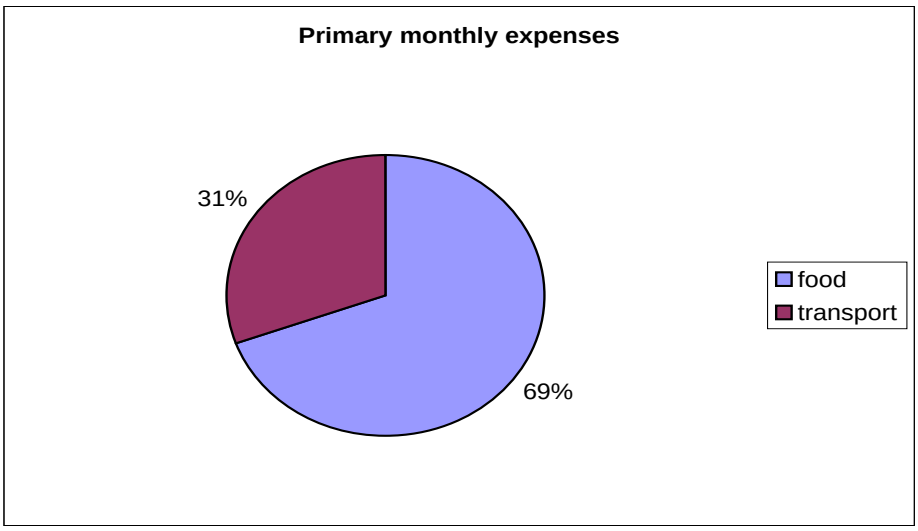


Figure 6: Primary monthly expenses - source: primary field research data 2008

Depending on access to natural resources some families might need to buy in energy sources every month for cooking and heat. This was not cited as a monthly expense as

most access natural resources now. Given that many families collect grants and have children attending school, and employed family members working in towns transport features more frequently in the responses. Most other costs are related to income levels allowing further more regular expenditure.

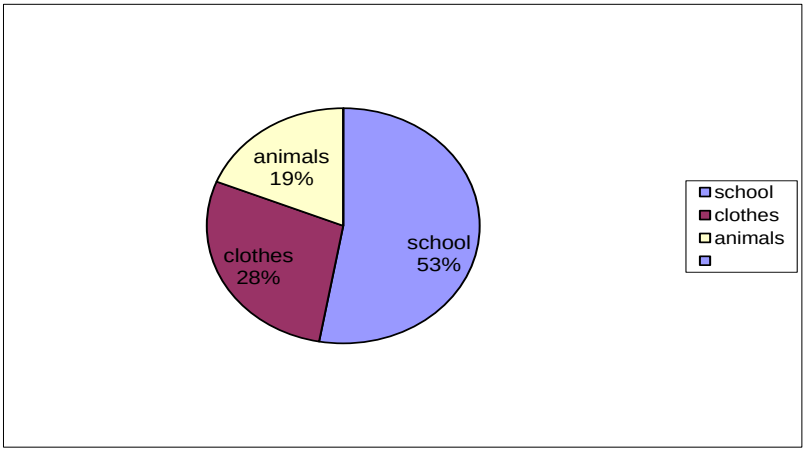


Figure 7: Primary Annual expenses - source primary field research data

3.3.24Food types, nutrition and health factors

The exploration of these issues are meant to add value to the preceding by introducing some reflection from families on the consequences of their situation on their nutrition and health levels. It remains unexplored and would be an important area for further discussions and research and support. As interviews were done with families these types of matters are also not easy to sift through and might be better explored in focus sessions with women, youth and men.

Table 10 illustrates food types and the sources of these foods. It illustrates the general consistency in types of food sourced and the sources for families.

	Dannhauser	Newcastle	Utrecht	Amajuba	*bought*	*harvested*
maize	18	15	11	**44**	Y	Y
potato	15	12	12	**39**	Y	Y
cabbage	13	12	12	**37**	Y	Y
beans	12	6	10	**28**	Y	Y
rice	10	8	6	**24**	Y	N
meat chicken	12	2	6	**20**	Y	Y
samp	2	4	5	**11**	Y	N
spinach	5	1	5	**11**	Y	Y
meat red	2	5	2	**9**	Y	N
milk	3	1	5	**9**	Y	Y
amasi	2	2	5	**9**	Y	Y
tomato	6	2	1	**9**	Y	Y
pumpkin	1	1	5	**7**	Y	Y
bread	3	0	3	**6**	Y	N
flour-jeqe	0	2	2	**4**	Y	N
tea	4	0	0	**4**	Y	N
eggs	2	0	2	**4**	Y	Y
mielie-rice	0	2	1	**3**	Y	N
tin food	0	1	1	**2**	Y	N
butternut	1	0	0	**1**	Y	Y
sorghum			1	**1**		

** *this does not tie up with the families indicating what they crop. It seems under counted because it might be assumed that it is already answered in the crop production section*

Table 10: Frequency of types of food consumed - source primary field research data 2008. Y=Yes and N=No

Foods eaten most frequently – Maize, potatoes, cabbage and beans, are also foods which families suggest are both harvested from their crops and bought from towns. Maize remains a staple diet on farms and is a way in which deprivation or hunger can be measured:

If we have no meat to eat it is not a nice situation. But, if there is no maize meal it is very hard situation. Maize is the main course unlike rice. The cause for hunger on farms is that we are no longer ploughing but now we buy everything. N4

We never go hungry. If there is no mealie meal, then that is the difficult situation. N9

When maize meal, sugar and teabags are finished that is when we say we are hungry. Maize meal is the main food and use can eat pap with tea. We never sleep without a meal while our grandmother is still alive. N11

The difficult situation in the family is when we have no maize meal, because maize meal is our main food of the family. That is why we want to plough more maize in the garden. We do really go hungry. The solution is to cultivate our own crops. N12

If we have no maize is like we have no food. I asked for food from neighbours. N13

3.3.25 Vulnerabilities :Adequacy of food levels – perceptions of hunger

It was not the intention of the research to accurately or scientifically measure the food levels per person, given the limited time and resources for the task. It is clear that the diet of the families is primarily starch and protein and that there is a lack of variety in the vegetables eaten. Much of this can be and is attributed to access to land, seed and support to produce the variety of crops (see section on cropping) as well as affordability of food. Families are spending at least 65% of their monthly cash incomes on food qualifying them in some of the food insecurity definitions as being critically food insecure families. Their limited control over food sources due to low cash incomes and poor control over agricultural lands and inputs required for cropping and keeping livestock exacerbates their vulnerabilities.

Aside from measuring the average income per person and weighing that against poverty lines this section tries to ascertain what foods are actually sourced with the limited funds available. The effects of such a lack of variety or adequate nutrition level in people's diets cannot be determined here but is certainly a cause for some concern given the distances that school children and adults must walk to attend school or work, or the effort required to produce small amounts of crops from their gardens.

When asked to self reflect on whether their families experience hunger the responses appear relative to their immediate circumstances, even though people were asked to reflect on changes in access to food over time. The effects of increased costs of food and changes in access to land for food production are key reasons for changes in their access to food sources. The actual responses seldom obviously suggest deep hunger but the existence of such hunger is generally present in the responses:

There are changes in the food that we get annually. Sometimes we live with tea. Until our

father gives permission to take one from livestock. It is also difficult if I do not have money to go to town and buy some cabbage. It does happen that there is no food at all. I make sure that I look after maize meal. Sometime you get AFRAid to ask for everything at our father so I take my own money and buy some maize and sugar. U1

We do lack food sometimes. We get the same amount every month although we are big family. U3

The maize meal is going much faster than before. I need firewood, water and pots to prepare meals. They use to sleep without a meal but I have faced such a situation since I was born. U5

We do sleep without a meal sometimes because there is no one working here. We do face a situation where there are no vegetables and we cannot eat pap alone. Sugar does get vanished so we cannot drink tea. We depend on child support grant in such situations. Grandchildren do receive social grants once a month. U6

We never go hungry. U7

The time when the farmer took our cattle was difficult time for us. We slept without meals and we relied to neighbours. U9

We do sleep without a meal and there is nowhere to ask for food. We have to eat bread and tea. It is very difficult to be a woman because kids cry for you. U10

If we have no meat to eat it is not a nice situation. But, if there is no maize meal it is very hard situation. Maize is the main course unlike rice. The cause for hunger on farms is that we are no longer ploughing but now we buy everything. N4

It doesn't happen that we sleep without having meal. D2

We do sleep without a meal sometimes. The reason is that food gets finished before we get money. D3

We do have less food sometimes but we do not sleep without a meal. D15

Exploring the food security level in a slightly different way, by discussing health issues, only alluded to flu/ headaches and "stomach sickness", which could be related to poor water sanitation levels. There was a general feeling amongst farm dwellers that they were relatively healthy.

I am healthy enough unless if there is no milk. We are healthy but one may never know as there illnesses such diabetes and bones diseases. Our sicknesses vary from headache to stomach that is not a problem. U1

We do not suffer from nutrition related sicknesses. We normally suffer from stomach sicknesses and headaches. U6

We are happy with our health situation. We normally suffer from stomach sickness. U7

At the same time there was also some recognition that an increase in the variety of vegetables accessed could improve peoples health and that this needed to be tackled.

I hear from the clinic saying people get sick because of not eating healthy food. If there gardens we can plough our own healthy food. N7

I plough vegetables to keep me healthy. N10

We have two sick persons at home and I can say nutritional food is needed. N11

Kids do suffer from sickness related to nutrition. N14

I have not noticed whether we have sicknesses related to nutrition. But I know vegetables are healthy and they have all nutrients. We normally suffer from flu and headaches. N15

I can say family members are affected by some sicknesses related food although they are shy to speak out. Sometime the stomach can speak at a time where someone has to look for a transport to town to buy some food. So in such cases, we do not eat during the day until afternoon. Well family members are healthy enough. Let me make an example by myself, I have diabetes which I can understand where does it come from, but it not through hunger. D1

Generally health issues are difficult to explore without more detailed discussions about the nature of illnesses. It was notable that many mentioned diabetes and also that few people spoke of HIV/Aids.

3.3.26Institutional relations

Since I was born I have not seen any government officials.U11

This section attempts to place farm dwellers in the development stakeholders context. In other words how they perceive their relationships with anyone else. The existence of support networks and relationships can play an important role in providing families with access to resources as they often help leverage these.

Importantly growing such networks also helps build up new ways in which families can interact with the broader public and break down the paternal relationship created on farms. Such paternal relations have often acted as “gate keepers” controlling their access to development opportunities.

Table 11 illustrates peoples responses to the existing networks and relationships they have. It

summarises the main responses given by the families and the key trends emerging in the identified relationship.

With whom	General trend
Neighbours	generally said to be good
Police	do interact with them
Medical professionals	in towns
Mobile clinic	monthly in some areas but seems to have decreased in frequency of visits in some areas.
Department of Land Affairs	generally said to be scarce and decreasing level of trust – *"DLA came once to do nothing."D*
Farmer / landowners	a few are said to assist with credit and implements, cattle medication
Farm dweller committee members	referred to in all three sub districts
Councillors	some frustrations expressed about relations
Lawyers	LAB, AFRA

Table 11: Networks and relationships - source: primary field research data 2008

3.3.27Dependency

Many families speak of good relations with neighbouring families on the farms, and some on neighbouring farms. Most say they are not dependent on their neighbours but do share some food, knowledge/ advice, and cattle medication etc. Councillors are not mentioned much but a few seem to have tried to help bring about development projects. These interventions seemed to have stalled because of the concerns around land ownership. Local committee members play an important role in empowering members with advice and access to other places if families are aware of the members.

None of the relationships except perhaps neighbours make any substantial contribution to the household economy. The ability of farm dweller families to engage in these relationships depends on their knowledge of what to source from whom and then their ability to make contact and influence these relationships to function in their favour.

They remain vulnerable in these relationships because they are so far removed from everyday functioning of government institutions. The distance is not just geographical or horizontal but also vertical in that they have been unable to establish direct relations with

institutions that might enable them because they are tenants on someone else land. Even councillors who are closest to them eventually draw back because they feel they cannot overcome private property rights and relationships.

They are also challenged because of their distance from one another which affects their capacity to develop a coherent strong group identity which might act as a lobby group in their favour and break down some of the distance in the relationships. The potential for this is evidenced in their views of reliance on committee members as an important relationship in solving or addressing problems.

3.3.28Expectations of government: Summary

The primary expectations families hold of government include support to access agricultural land, support with tractors and farming equipment, access to training and information on improved farming methods – fertilizers, pest control, support in access to seeds and to water, health and specifically HIV information, support with school transport and support in mediating labour relations including adequate compensation for work and injury.

In addition a few additional comments made by families emphasise the marginalisation they face:

Government should not receive information from farmers who speak without getting our viewpoint -U13

The problem is that I do not know who can really help me. Those who have tried to help me get lost on the way. N12

We do not know which departments we must approach. N15

We would be happy if government can give enough land and fertilizers and check which crops are good in this soil. U6

The government did not tell us during election campaigns that we would only access development if we relocate to townships. So we will stand for our rights.U8

We would like to get development here on farms. We want land ownership and everything to come on us not to relocate to township. U9

4 Settlement and production options in Amajuba

The processes of building a new democratic state required decisions about whether it was a process of incorporation of the dispossessed into an amended polity and economy or whether it was to be about creating a new polity through transformed economic strategies and objectives. Clarity around these intentions in the post 1994 period is best reflected in the way the South African Constitution principles have been translated and retranslated into policies and programmes. Considering the variety of analytical frameworks, as outlined in chapter 2, that could be used to guide choices underpinning a new growth path for South Africa, and given the current socio-economic status of farm dweller families in 2008, as outlined in Chapter 3, this chapter will try to analyse how the actual choices made have impacted on the families options for long term settlement through redress. This chapter will work towards the specifics of farm dwellers in the Amajuba area through an assessment of the national legislation and policies that were intended to bring about transformation.

The situation of the farm dweller families in the Amajuba district tells a story of extreme vulnerability. This is evidenced in the limited control they exercise over accessing food, accessing natural resources for energy for cooking and warmth, accessing natural resources for creating and maintaining their physical structures that make up their homes, accessing clean potable water for healthy lifestyles, and even accessing sufficient land for simple home vegetable gardens. The vulnerability is a product of their dependent relationship on the owners of the land for permission to access these basic but critical livelihood needs. Their continued dependence on natural resources, rather than the cash economy, is also a product of this decades' long relationship which has perpetuated levels of generational chronic poverty. It is further exacerbated by their limited skills to access adequate employment levels that would allow them to better engage in the cash economy and break their dependence on the privately owned natural resources. The cycle of this level of poverty is clearly vicious and without directed targeted intervention might take generations to overcome, if it is ever broken.

In situations where the land owner intervenes and evicts them off the land altogether their ability to access alternative accommodation within the current property or tenure system either in rural or urban areas is severely limited. Most often they will find themselves joining the growing informal settlements in urban areas or accessing land in traditional authority areas, which are themselves completed overpopulated and underserviced (Wegerif et al 2005). If the Amajuba research results of the farm dweller families is more

or less a reflection of the situation of families across the country on farms post apartheid, then the South African government faces a monumental developmental task, as there are an estimated 3 million families still resident on farms (DLA report 2007).

Yet in 2005, ten years into South Africa's new democracy, research captured in a book entitled **Still Searching for Security: The reality of farm dweller evictions in South Africa** claimed that in the period 1994 to 2004 approximately 940000 people were forcibly removed from farms (Wegerif et al 2005). There appeared to be no reliable government statistics, on the situation of families on farms, available for the period prior to 1994 or post 1994, to refute these findings. This report followed hard on the heels of a land summit which had been hastily called by the Minister of Land and Agriculture in early 2005 and was held in June 2005. The summit was seen as a public acknowledgement that the land reform programme was not achieving its desired objectives and that it required a review(DLA website – land summit speeches). A key call made in the summit, amongst numerous others, was for a moratorium on evictions from farms. Although this was discussed and acknowledged as a key concern the call never translated into a formal recommendation of the summit and in the final report the call disappeared into the annexures of the formal summit report (DLA summit report 2005).

Despite the strong narratives of dispossession that underpin South Africa's current constitutional principles of redress and restitution under a developmental state, the continued forced removal of nearly one million people in the new democracy failed to move the state to act decisively to stem this apparent ongoing crises. Such evictions flew in the face of new land laws which had been passed to improve security of tenure. The evictions would also clearly have resulted in increased impoverishment of these families and also contributed to increased informal urban settlements and rural traditional settlements (Wegerif et al 2005). There is irony in the fact that all these related matters were ones that the new developmental state was working to combat.

The question that arises from this is whether the state acted with intention by not coherently and effectively tackling the authority that private land owners exercised over South African citizens security of tenure. It could be argued that, until the release of the Wegerif et al (2005)research, the statistics were not known, as these are people who clearly have little agency and as a result, are incredibly marginalised over a wide geographical area. It would not have been as obvious as a mass eviction from an urban area. It could equally be argued that the incoherent response from the state was intentional as the underlying view is that interfering with private property rights or with agricultural

production has a destabilising effect on the economy. It is most likely that it was a combination of the two views, as South Africa continues to battle to agree on the most suitable and acceptable economic development strategy that supports growth and provides redress.

4.1 Government response and approach to these questions

4.1.1 Rural economy

Given the dire situation of the families in the ADM in 2008, fourteen years post apartheid, it is assumed that the policy and programme choices made by the state have had minimal impact on their socio-economic situation. South Africa's economic strategy, post apartheid, has been driven by one that sees a shift from an agriculture dependent economy towards manufacturing. This is based on the idea that the economy needs to trade globally to grow effectively. For a country to trade competitively and sustainably it needs to have processed goods to trade and not rely on primary goods, like those produced in farming. Primary products are believed to have greatest demand in domestic markets and have declining returns in international trade while secondary products are seen to be endlessly adaptable (Rodrik 2006, WB 2008). Hence, South Africa's decision to lower tariffs, and set its agricultural policy objective to becoming globally competitive (OECD report 2006).

These strategies are encapsulated by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) framework introduced in 1996, and seen by many to have replaced the earlier Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) approach. The latter, RDP envisaged growth through active redistribution by the state while the former, GEAR, proposes redistribution through economic growth. The state has argued that GEAR is really a fine tuning of the RDP rather than a replacement. The Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) has faced increasing criticism as employment levels have decreased, and poverty is argued to have increased. The rural and urban development strategies, spatial development frameworks, housing(settlement), land reform, agricultural support, poverty relief and food security, labour and local governance policies and programmes have been carved out within these ongoing debates. The result, for farm dwellers, is a confusing and contradictory context within which they clearly would need to assert their rights to influence their development opportunities and outcomes.

The development rationale of the overarching frameworks of the RDP and later the GEAR appear to be contradictory but they could equally be argued to have been interpreted into

policy and programmes with the same underlying assumptions. These assumptions underpin most of the sector department programmes but are seldom directly explained or addressed to allow a clear understanding of how the political economy's key aspects are defined and interrelated to form a development or growth model. The main aspects of such assumptions referred to here are the necessary property relations(tenure arrangements), the necessary trajectory of human settlements in supporting economic growth (a sustainable spatial economy), and the role of agriculture in economic development, poverty and food security, and the relationship between these.

The Urban and Rural Development Strategies (UDS and RDS) developed in 1995 were underpinned by the Redistribution for Development Programme (RDP) principles but were developed in parallel processes resulting in two separate strategy documents. While they make reference to one another they distinguish between urban and rural development, with rural development being driven by a land reform programme and urban areas being touted as "centres of social and economic opportunity for all" and also being "key to economic growth and global competitiveness"(UDS 1995). The link or relationship between urban and rural areas is not explored in the documents and neither is the preferred relationship projected. On the one hand the Rural Development Strategy (RDS) anticipates a stimulated rural economy through land reform and diversified agriculture, while on the other hand the urban strategies are premised on urbanisation increases and the role of cities as engines of growth. The later Rural Development Framework (RDF) of 1997 focussed more intently on the role of small towns, the provision of services and the importance of social sustainability of rural settlements and economies in rural development (DLA 2007). However, it was still not clear if this implied that sustainable rural settlements were an end in themselves in achieving national economic development or if the underlying assumption was the neo-liberal or modernisation theory as outlined in section 2.2, where deagrarianisation and depopulation of rural areas would naturally occur as people moved towards employment and a cash economy in the developed towns and cities.

The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) introduced in 2001 is argued to be more of an implementation approach for rural development, than a new strategy even though it was developed in response to a higher sense of urgency to address rural poverty and underdevelopment (DLA 2007). From this it can be assumed that the state understood the lack of delivery problem under the RDF and UDS as primarily institutional rather than a poor or unclear development framework. In terms of resourcing the implementation plan of the ISRDP each sector department was relied on to commit to the plan and channel its resources into the identified critical nodes. While theoretically

possible, in practice it really required each department to have developed policies and programmes, along with associate products and grants, along the same economic development rationale or framework as the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP). Clearly a problem if it is accepted that this was not clear. A quick scan of some of these departments' policies highlights a lack of such coherence.

4.1.2 Land reform and property systems

For the land reform programme the debate has been the creation and securing of tenure rights over land that is simultaneously seen as an asset in the property market and in commercial agricultural production. The result is overlapping land rights and increasing contestations between various interests. The Department of Land Affairs has been slow and at times unwilling and unable to tackle the underlying property system or the structure of agriculture. In addition to this land reform has been implemented directly by the Department in a project by project or claim by claim approach resulting in an extremely spatially unco-ordinated change in land ownership and use. This criticism was acknowledged at the 2005 land summit and resulted in a proposed new Area Based Planning(ABP) approach and later the Land and Agrarian Reform Project(LARP)(DLA 2008). Despite this both the ABP and the LARP focus on improving collaboration and co-ordination to achieve higher levels of delivery to meet the identified land needs in the area, rather than on collaboratively developing a more spatially coherent and integrated economic development plan (DLA 2008).

The Department proactively speaks to the plight of farm dwellers through its legislation and its policies and yet by 2005 only 7543 farm dweller households had achieved long term security of tenure through these targeted interventions (Wegerif et al 2006). The LARP, launched in 2008, prioritises farm dwellers as a key target group of the programme but this support is premised strongly on supporting black emerging farmers to enter and compete in the existing agricultural market and the creation of agri villages and vibrant rural towns that have economic and institutional linkages with the "hinterlands" and each other to stimulate related service industries. Despite new policies, like Land and Agrarian Reform Programme (LARP), the Department continues to deliver forms of tenure and approaches to agriculture that have remained focussed on group ownership and commercial large scale production enterprises. The redistribution and restitution programmes continue to be criticised for this result. It is really the tenure reform programmes, like those which extend land rights to families on privately owned land or those that are trying to provide new forms of tenure in former homeland areas that have shown the poorest progress in the land reform process. Here the complexity of protecting

private property rights while securing tenants tenure rights remains a challenge. While the process of passing new legislation, like the Communal Land Rights Act, to offer new forms of tenure in traditional authority systems has not yet been implemented 15 years post the end of apartheid.

Following the national elections in 2009, the Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs was reconceptualised into the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform(DRD&LR). The initial policy framework developed for this department did not tackle the dilemma of securing land rights through tenure reform while simultaneously securing the existing property system. While the department, which previously only focussed on land reform, now also talks about Agrarian reform in practice it refers to agricultural production levels, and while it now also talks of rural development in practice it refers to service and infrastructure delivery to support agriculture and local economic development (DRD&LR 2009). Again the Department highlights the farm dweller community for targeting in the developed programmes for this new policy. It is not clear how farm dwellers will benefit except through intentions to ensure improved access to basic services and the development of agri-villages to support local economic development (DRD&LR 2009).

4.1.3 Agriculture in the rural and national economy

The agricultural policies have approached the development issues by proposing that programmes work to bring the existing small scale farmers into the “mainstream” and working towards a “market directed farming sector” with a wide “range of farm sizes” (DOA 1995). The role of agriculture in the national economy and in national food security remains a key focus but it is now also recognised that small scale agriculture has not been adequately understood or acknowledged for the role it plays in household food security (DOA 1995). The relationship between these forms of agricultural production and the current relationship between agricultural production and the rural economy is not clearly spelt out except to acknowledge that a relation exists (DOA 1995). The result has been an “either - or” approach underpinning the idea of a “dual system” or the existence of “two economies”, with the commercial still touted as the ideal target for all. A key difficulty is the assumption that increased productivity across commercial and small holder agriculture will lead to a decrease in food prices and thereby improve peoples’ ability to access foods. Under this, contested assumption, smallholders will need to be assisted to increase productivity levels and transcend subsistence status.

Essentially there is an underlying assumption in policies and programmes that formerly

white farming areas are viewed as commercial agriculture and traditional authority or former homeland areas as subsistence agriculture, or a form of small scale farming, inadequate to increase national food security and bring down food prices. Even if this argument is accepted, how the so called subsistence farmers might evolve into commercial farmers within the traditional authority property systems is not clearly documented, perhaps suggesting that new emerging farmers would need to use the land reform programme to penetrate the former white farming areas. Essentially, the question of whether commercial agriculture production could succeed without relying on a privatised property system is not tackled at all. In relation to farm dweller families the department has been silent, primarily because it simply only recognises them as farm workers (DoA 1995). These families are not included in the category of 'black smallholders' estimated to be around 4 million individuals despite the fact that most do practice at least a subsistence level of agriculture(Stats SA LFS 2008).

The Labour Force Survey (LFS 2008) of Stats SA distinguished between those who produced mainly for food versus those who produced for income within this category of 4 million. The exclusion of farm dweller families is most likely based on two assumptions. The first is that the families are primarily workers on the farms and the second is that they are not "owners" of the land. While the second point could equally legally hold for the 4 million "black small holder" category in the LFS it would appear that the form of tenure in the former homeland areas is regarded as a sufficient functional form of ownership to suggest they are 'smallholders'. The farm dweller family participation in agriculture was envisaged at the level of training with some suggestion of being included in agricultural programmes. This has not materialised in any coherent or targeted manner from the Department of Agriculture and there is little reporting of any work that might have been done to date.

The link between the land reform programme and the agriculture programmes has remained weak over the years post 1994 despite specific acknowledgement in the Department of Agriculture (DoA) white paper in 1995 of the need for land reform. The most significant attempt to bridge the gap was through the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) which has also suffered severe criticism for its lack of effective delivery (DLA 2008). The new Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, which tried to bring together agriculture, land reform and rural development, is really a culmination of a path the DLA has trodden since around 1999. Around this time the Department shifted its focus from a tenure reform and rights based approach towards one that has become more focussed on using land tenure reform to directly support

agricultural production for rural local economic development. This is evidenced in the focus of all new programmes on agricultural production and business and a deracialised agricultural landscape. Such a focus has also lead to heavy criticism from government, of land reform beneficiaries who do not continue to farm the lands they have taken over, as being lazy or incompetent with threats that the state would take this agricultural land back should they fail to farm it productively (Business Day 5 March 2009).

4.1.4 Urbanisation and housing

A National Department of Housing (DoH) was established, post 1994, to address people's new right to "adequate housing" as stipulated in Article 26 of the South Africa Constitution. From the outset the Department laboured under two problems. The first was its primary focus on urban forms of settlement within which housing could be provided. This was evidenced by its tardiness in developing policies, programmes and subsidies for rural housing as guidelines only emerged in 2000. The guidelines then spoke of rural subsidies as being last resorts i.e. if people could get assistance from other departments then this would be encouraged. The guidelines also required applicants to have 'functional' security of tenure which, while allowing subsidies to be applied in traditional authority areas, also opened up the application process to protracted and unclear assessment to establish what would qualify as 'functional'. This subsidy was obviously aimed at extending the housing programme into former homeland areas.

Farm dweller families have not qualified under these criteria primarily because the department has consistently failed to acknowledge them as anything other than labour. In 2005 the DoH developed a Farmworker and Housing Assistance Programme (FHAP) but still required that the families have some form of registerable rights or face the prospect of the houses belonging to the landowner i.e. once employment was terminated they would lose the house (DLA 2005). The underlying problem remains the lack of clarity of farm dweller families' tenure status on farms. Clearly farm dweller families have not benefited from this approach at all as their contested tenure status on the farms would not have met the 'functional' criteria. The reality and irony is that all families interviewed in Amajuba had built their own homes, at their own cost, on this same land that their tenure status is inadequate for the state to deliver its housing programme on and that their tenure security remains inadequate despite the same state passing legislation to secure it. The key underlying economic development assumption hampering the resolution of this situation remains the private property system.

The second problem was its narrow focus or mandate of planning for the provision of housing on a settlement by settlement basis. This meant that housing projects in rural areas, outside of cities, would be planned outside of a spatial development framework analysing and linking settlement patterns in an area. The Department, despite holding a vision of 'habitable, stable and sustainable... residential environments to ensure viable..communities..", has relied on the Urban and Rural Development Frameworks, the ISRDP and the municipal interpretation of these in their IDPs and SDF's to provide 'adequate housing' (DoH 2007). This coherent spatial framework vacuum, as suggested in section 4.1, has led to a 2020 urban and rural settlement vision that could be argued to have a broad integrated environmentally sustainable focus for urban settlements and a narrow access to services focus for rural settlements (DoH 2007). The underlying assumption seems to be that urbanisation is inevitable and positive for economic growth but this is not that clear. As recently as July 2009, the World Bank and Development Bank of Southern Africa(DBSA) released a report criticising the South African government for being "out of step with mainstream thinking on economic development approaches" (Business Day 16 July 09). The WB and Development Bank of Southern Africa argue that SA is not focussed enough on urban development and urbanisation strategies to support this because of their plan to "inject resources into rural areas to stimulate economic activity". (Business Day 16 July 09). This is a critique of an economic policy specifically but it highlights the contested understanding of the relationship between spatial and economic planning and also the possible incoherence in the South African governments frameworks for this across its sector departments.

Recent research, by Cross et al (2007), suggests that 50% or more of rural population in the central provinces and KZN are living in denser settlements, accounting for around 10 million people. This is a far higher figure than those migrating into rural smaller centres alongside metro's. Many of the densifying rural areas are also said to be non traditional settlements of disadvantaged people in search of resources. It is suggested that these types of settlements will be made up of people who are less self supporting and dependent on land production strategies and more inclined towards needing to access the "outside economy". Permanent movement into urban areas requires significantly more capital and with the decrease in employment in these centres this is less likely to happen. This move towards new denser rural settlements outside of urban centres, will fundamentally affect the nature of the rural economy towards a more cash and grant dependent one as people are able to rely less on access to natural resources due to increasing densities. Key factors driving this migration include access to infrastructure, age (as younger seek new options) and employment (Cross et al.2007) .

The provision of ‘adequate’ housing that ensures ‘habitable’, ‘sustainable’ and ‘stable’ settlements within this context depends on a logical spatial economic development framework. The change of name for the Department of Housing to the Department of Human Settlements appears to have been done in some recognition of these problems but a new settlement policy framework remains confounded by the lack of an overarching one as well as poor IDP’s which should guide settlement planning locally (Minutes PMG 9 June 2009: Policies and Legislation of Department of Human Settlements: workshop)

For farm dwellers, seeking long term tenure solutions that improve their livelihoods the choices become more stark. The current housing or settlement programme requires a form of tenure they do not have on the farms. It also requires some form of settlement planning within which physical housing and associated infrastructure can be delivered. Farm dweller families, living remotely on farms which are privately owned, cannot be planned for in terms of a settlement unless they move closer together and out of this contested tenure relationship off the farm. Should they wish to remain on the farms or to take ownership of agricultural lands as families or small groups it is equally unlikely that they will benefit from programmes under the Department of Human Settlement.

The choice for the Amajuba farm dweller families currently seems to be that they either stay on the farms as tenants and try to assert their rights to secure their tenure using the new land legislation like ESTA or they move off the farms into more urban or dense rural settlements. This rationale has been used to promote the concept of Agrivillages in the Amajuba District (ADM 2006). It remains unclear how confirming and securing rights of rural dwellers, as a form of post apartheid redress, is compatible with the underlying assumption that urbanisation be accepted as an inevitable and positive consequence of economic growth.

4.1.5 Settlement and integrated development planning in local government

The establishment of district wide or “wall-to-wall” municipalities in South Africa, post 1994, as a third sphere of government was an attempt to integrate citizens and provide redress through accountable, accessible and participatory local governance (SA Constitution). Local government developmental duties included prioritising basic needs of communities, promoting social and economic development and participating in national

and provincial development programmes. These obligations were to be achieved through Integrated Development Plans (IDP) which, as economic development visions and strategies, would provide coherent spatial development frameworks within which sector departments, like land affairs, agriculture or housing, could meet the citizens needs.

Municipalities have, however, struggled to establish their capacity to provide effective developmental local governance for which they have been consistently criticised (Business Day 4 June 2009). Much of the analysis of the reasons for their dismal performance is attributed to a lack of capacity and resources, and more recently also corrupt practices (Business Day 4 June 2009). This is evidenced in the large number of municipalities being taken under curatorship of the Department of Local Government. Yet it could equally be argued that within the apparent lack of coherent overarching economic development strategy, as suggested in the previous sections, the municipalities had little hope of driving or guiding coherent integrated development in their areas.

Critiques of IDPs have included their poor strategic vision for economic development and associated poor spatial development frameworks(SDFs). Development plans do not seem to succeed in integrating economic and spatial planning and even if they do, the spatial frameworks do not significantly tackle current land use patterns, which arose through apartheid spatial engineering (Hall et al .2004). This is often reflected in the perpetuation of land uses and practices in areas currently under large scale commercial agriculture, and held through the private property system, in the associated spatial development frameworks.

As a specific example, although the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) provincial development strategy and the ADM development priorities still include the agriculture sector as a key economic and development driver, the inclusion is driven by the classical argument that "exploiting the provinces enormous latent agricultural potential and comparative advantages" will lead to "basic income and food security", and "stimulate growth, employment creation and the eradication of poverty in rural areas" (GSA 2007). This is seen to be part of a strategy to assist people to enter the "mainstream economy' through a stepped phase of poverty alleviation. The IDP review of 2008/9 and the Amajuba LED report of 2004 interestingly speak to the importance of environmentally sound practices on agricultural lands (ADM 2004). Linked to this the reports suggests considering small scale farming options, organic farming methods and organic fertiliser production, amongst other ideas. In the final SDF review for 2008/9 areas of highly productive lands are identified for intensive agriculture(ADM 2008/9). It is also proposed that if land reform beneficiaries

wish to engage in intensive agriculture then they should settle in such highly productive areas.

The inclusion of agricultural land use options that break from the blanket large scale agriculture approach and the linking of land reform options to this scenario is a marked improvement in strategic thinking for municipal IDP's. It still falls short though in not posing a clear long-term strategy for these as alternative land uses, or settlement patterns, or property forms, to the current practices. It does also not outline how compatible these options would be with current agro industry farming methods. While agriculture is identified as a key economic driver in the district there is no attempt to identify the current relationship between commercial, subsistence and small scale agriculture and the former white towns or the dense more traditional settlements in the area. Nor does it analyse the specific forward and backward linkages to input suppliers and product markets for each of these forms of production. It is unclear where inputs are sourced and which markets are supplied. The measure of agricultural GDP contribution to the district economy, even in decline, does not highlight the specific contribution in the local system and the impact this has on households livelihoods. The proposed options are based on the assumptions that increased productivity is important and commercialisation of small scale is necessary. Along with this it is also assumed that a land market should be preserved, allowing more successful farms to buy out the less interested families who can then urbanise. Contradictions begin to arise in these assumptions when the reports are silent on the tenure arrangements in traditional authority areas and how these underlying assumptions would play out in these areas.

The ADM spatial development framework specifically interprets the national and provincial spatial development perspectives as ones that ultimately encourage urbanisation as they make use of the concepts of nodes, corridors and hierarchy of settlements. Using the rural service centre concept the ADM identifies the level of services each settlement could get depending on its location in relation to the identified nodes and corridors of development. It is not clear if the hierarchy presented is in fact a functional one given that it works off the existing spatial form artificially constructed through apartheid planning. The nature of the relationships between the settlements in relation to livelihood strategies is not spelt out. It appears to be premised on the theoretical assumption of accessing services, the provision of which is the priority of local municipalities, but without a clearer understanding of the households socio-economic situation and livelihood strategies in each settlement analysis of this approach is difficult (ADM 2008). The SDF also suggests densification, compaction and integration of the existing more dense settlements with

existing towns possibly resulting in a large agglomeration type settlement around its primary centre, which is Newcastle. Amidst these approaches to agriculture and urban settlement, and despite the general proposed trajectory of urbanisation and the use of service centres, a new type of settlement is also proposed, which is termed agrivillages. This form of settlement is proposed in both the Agricultural sector plan and in the Spatial Development Framework section on provision of services in Amajuba. In the SDF the settlement type is proposed as a means of meeting required densities for services like education and health. In the Agriculture sector plan the apparent motivation for such a village is to provide for the development of small scale farming options directly linked to agro-processing by integrating a series of small holder settlements with the village settlement (ADM 2008). Neither the SDF nor the Agriculture sector plan clearly identifies a target group for such concepts except to suggest they be in remote rural areas. It is possibly implied that the target group might include farm dweller families.

However, without considering the trajectory of agriculture in it's current form or alternative forms and how such villages cohere with this trajectory, isolated pockets of marginalised settlements might be the result. The relationship between such settlements and the proposed hierarchy of settlements and service centre strategy is also unexplored in the ADM IDP plans, making it no better or different than the current group acquisitions of agricultural land where settlement is taking place on farm lands. The Local Economic Development (LED) plan for the ADM confirms that existing small towns like Dannhauser, which have traditionally performed as agricultural service centres are threatened by the projected "long term economic decline of the agricultural sector" (ADM IDP LED sector plan).

Critical in the consideration of such concepts is that the concept of agri-villages is steeped in South Africa's historical political economy with regard to access to land and settlements. Experiences of such settlement types for families on farms have been tied to employment and provision of labour as a means to remove peoples land rights on farms on the one hand and to the failed betterment scheme plans for the former homeland areas on the other (Dewar 1996, Payne 1994, Totman et al 1993). Overcoming this history and suspicion of politically motivated spatial settlement planning will be a key challenge.

5 The future of Farm Dweller's land access in commercial agricultural areas

While not disputing the validity of possible theoretical assumptions guiding the IDP and SDF's logic, the presence of the farm dweller community in the ADM and their lack of presence in the same IDP and SDF helps highlight possible problems with such logic. Department of Land Affairs (DLA) statistics suggests that there are 44,963 farm dwellers resident on this commercial agricultural land which makes up between 68-84% of the total land surface area of the ADM (Social surveys 2006, IDP SDF 2008/9). The ADM calculates the number of farm dweller households at around 9500. If this research's average household size holds true then the number of families on the farms could range to 123500 residents representing around 25% of the total population of the ADM. If the research finding that most of these families mobility is highly inelastic and that family members are unable to transcend the situation through employment off farms then there is a possibility that the numbers of farm dweller families will grow rather than follow the classical or modernist economic path of surplus labour naturally urbanising. Primary drivers of changes to these households' residence on farms would come from outside factors like evictions, or land reform or housing projects.

Despite the criticisms and concerns that can be raised, the idea of new forms of rural settlement through planned interventions, and of changes to the current form of large scale agriculture to include small scale or small holder farming do begin to offer new access points for poorer families to engage with agriculture and avoid a radical transition into an urban economy. It would suggest a step forward from the current stark choices of remaining on the farms as tenants, urbanising into the cash economy completely or grouping together to buy out and run existing commercial farms. Nonetheless, given the political economic context of an aggressive global food industry fed by industrial forms of agriculture, the levels of vulnerability, dependency and lack of agency in the farm dweller household economy and the incredibly uncertain government settlement and agricultural policy environment, the feasibility of new rural settlements with new forms of economic and social functionality are almost unimaginable.

This dissertation set out to explore the social and economic situation of farm dweller families in the political economy of the Amajuba district municipality with a view to being able to assess the impact various settlement options would have on their household economy. Four sub questions have assisted this dissertation process and to a large extent

have been explored through the structure of the paper. The first question, outlined in 1.1.1 and 1.1.2, led to an examination of the makeup of the general political economy and the associate economic development debates. This was then explored in the choices of the development rationale in the Amajuba Integrated Development Plan and Spatial Development Framework (SDF). A general conclusion from this would be that the ADM has premised its strategies on the more modernist approaches to economic development. At the same time they have attempted to introduce some new possibilities in terms of suggesting small scale farming or intensive agriculture as a complementary option and fixture in the agricultural landscape. They have also suggested new settlement forms by proposing agri-villages. Spatial re-engineering to redress apartheid spatial planning is only weakly linked to the economic planning as, despite the few new settlement and agricultural ideas they rely on the classical economic development rationale of using targeted service provision and industry development and investment in promoting urbanisation. For farm dwellers the history is a stark and vicious one which led to dispossession on a large scale and acute levels of poverty and food insecurity.

The second question was explored by understanding the debates about poverty and food security through the political economy lens. The ADM approach to the issues of poverty and food security are trapped in the debates about the role of agriculture in our economy. Issues of subsistence agriculture and its contribution to citizens in Amajuba are not explored in depth and the focus in agriculture is on supporting emerging farmers and small scale farming to commercialise and increase productivity. This is however not consistently clear as the ADM introduces areas for intensive agriculture and proposes training and skill support. Without an exploration of how agriculture should or could be better linked to the local economy, like through relations with dense settlements, through supply and demand from these centres, agriculture is not clearly influenced by or influencing food security and poverty.

The third question is also explored through the debates about property systems in political economies and then in the way the ADM has tackled agriculture and settlement planning in its IDP. A key issue here is that the existing property system lays the basis for future land uses. While there are suggestions of other forms of tenure, like leases and rental markets, the private property system is argued to be the mainstay of an effective land market which then ensures that those who wish to exit agriculture sell out to more efficient agricultural land users, thereby retaining and improving productivity levels and value in land. The fact that such a property market inhibits access to land by poorer citizens except through government intervention, which then affects how any economic development and

migration unfolds through concepts like nodes and corridors is not tackled. The levels of co-ordinated intervention required across the spheres of government to ensure that the nodes and corridors and settlement hierarchies actually function are immense and possibly currently not happening. Sector departments would need to adhere to the SDF guidelines, and yet key departments like the Department of Rural Development & Land Reform (DRD&LR) who could assist the ADM to intervene in the property market have failed to date to integrate their strategies and plans with those of the municipalities.

The agency of the municipality to make whatever spatial development framework, and associated settlement plans, practicable is clearly limited. This comes about because the relationship between the local, provincial and national spheres of government needs to be both complementary and supplementary to succeed with integrated and developmental approaches, but which sphere leads and which follows at which point in this planning and implementation process is confusing and ambiguous enough to lead to inaction or stagnation. Despite this the ADM, in an attempt to align its obligations with those of the national and provincial spheres, has based its development plans on an interpretation of the development rationale of the national and provincial government, who in turn have presented mixed signals over what this development rationale might be.

So, in trying to answer the fourth sub question posed in this research it is a general conclusion that this research process cannot provide definitive conclusions on feasible motivations that would influence changes in current land uses and align its obligations in favour of farm dweller families. It is only able to present the possible choices the ADM has and the consequences of these for farm dwellers. The value of this research lies in considering these choices from the perspective of a specifically affected and vulnerable sector of our society, which has been under researched and supported. This lack of research and support is in turn a result of how, and why, they became, and remain, marginalised in South African society.

5.1 Key factors influencing farm dweller ability to cope in various settlement options

What can be proposed is that in presenting the farm dweller perspective a good motivation has been made for developing a specific targeted state intervention that has short, medium and long term trajectories to provide farmdwellers with redress, and economic development opportunities. They live in situations of chronic poverty which has been argued to be difficult if not impossible to break out of and they live within property

systems that render them dependent on the will of fellow citizens. There is clearly no quick fix for farm dweller families who are vulnerable and dependent on a variety of levels and in a number of ways. A holistic approach will be the most effective as the intervention must offer a number of paths out of their current situation. This is most important as each family's dynamic and each individual will respond to the interventions within their own constraints, capacity and interests. Such opportunities must entail an examination of alternative tenure forms to the one they currently reside under, and if possible must support improved access to natural resources and agricultural farm lands at least in the short to medium term. Such forms of tenure rights and systems must first support land uses that improve production for household food security.

Only once household food security levels, being their control over access to consistent amount of nutritious food source, have improved will it be feasible to support families to improve production levels for commercial purposes. This proposed rural and agriculturally based path is motivated for because of the families' current vulnerability in the job market and cash economy. Should the municipality wish to improve the families' access to jobs they would need to support interventions that provide better education and skill training to improve their ability to compete in the market and to find employment that pays higher wages taking them out of the current levels of underemployment and intra-dependency in the family.

5.1.1 Subsistence and Small scale agriculture path

In pursuing this path of subsistence and/ or small scale agriculture as objectives, it should be possible to explore ways to initially intervene to combat the high input costs and access to water for improving household agriculture production levels. Simply expecting a transition from the current tenure arrangement, levels of agricultural production and household economy to commercial agriculture, even if on a small scale, would face high risk of failure. Levels of support required by government initially for small scale intensive commercial agriculture will be high as this will be a relatively new agricultural tenure form and production system. It is best done on highly productive land but then can have most damage if agricultural practises are not environmentally sensitive. This would require further training and skill. The size of the land would also need to be manageable in terms of families' resources and support available. Accessing markets will also remain a problem with these families who have limited resources. Suggestions by the ADM of what is produced on these lands can be counterproductive if those markets fail and farmers are inflexible to adapt because they rely on specific types of support from the state.

A key threat to this approach would be the high cost of land. This is primarily because of the governments' historical and current approach to preserving agricultural lands and pursing large scale agriculture to achieve economies of scale. Through this approach, carving up agricultural lands requires state permission and as a result small holdings tend to achieve a higher market value than large farms. Specific intervention would be needed from the state to overcome this initial cost. Either way, without government grants farm dweller families are in no position to leverage finances to purchase land or inputs. This option also has limitations in the number of families that could benefit as highly productive land is limited.

5.1.2 Large scale commercial agricultural groups

This option of accessing large scale commercial agriculture ventures and land already exists for farm dweller families. To access this they need to form large groups and pursue industrial level agriculture ventures. Given their current tenure arrangements and geographical spread, cultivating a cohesive group dynamic to achieve sufficient consensus to run such ventures is highly risky. These businesses also require a high level of business skill, which few families currently have. Even if they are supported through mentorships and training the risk of not achieving sufficient levels of productivity and profits is high. In addition the group would need to settle on the same lands they farm unless they lived off the farm. Given that the trends in this type of agricultural production is that of fewer land owners, as they sell out to larger agro-industries, resulting in larger farms, the risks will be high even if families did have the necessary skills. If they reside on the land and the business fails, large farms will lie unproductive or they will have to sell off the land which might result in further hardship.

Included in this option would be share equity options which would see families as shareholders but there are few successes in this regard and mere shareholding in a commercial venture will not provide for the required holistic targeted support, unless families lived in some form of agri-village as proposed, that had forward and backward linkages to the venture. The risk of course is that if the venture fails then the village's economic rationale disappears.

In these types of situations issues of access to education, skills training, health and other employment remains a key concern. Unless families live off the farm and closer to or in denser settlements they will have no better access to these services than they have currently as they are unlikely to achieve the required thresholds and this is contrary to the ADM's SDF.

5.1.3 Integrating into existing denser settlements including towns

This alternative tenure option must be made an option even if agricultural options are presented. There will be families, due to their own vulnerabilities and interests, that simply cannot pursue any form of agriculture. Transitional or rural dense settlements closer to opportunities and services could be identified along with targeted skill training and grant support to ensure they are able to compete in the urban cash economy. Given the current trends in migration as outlined in section 2.2.3, this would be a high risk move for the families with little prospect of finding employment in their current socio-economic situation. Accessing the property system would also require access through the state housing programme. Coping with associate costs of maintain property and accessing services could present further critical problems and affect their ability to stay in this property system without further support. This will be compounded by the high levels of unemployment in the district and the declining economies of the smaller towns.

5.1.4 Creating new rural settlements

All settlements require a political, economic and social rationale to be sustainable. For new rural settlements the political rationale of creating the settlement is driven by the redress and transformation agenda of the state. However the social and economic rationale would require further exploration in the current economic climate. This would need to be weighed up against a strategy of enhancing or revitalising the economic and social capacity of existing settlements which seems to be the current strategy. Provision of graded service levels to an identified hierarchy of existing settlements and targeting nodes and corridors for development supports the idea of working with existing settlements rather than the creation of new settlements.

Farm dweller families would still require support in improving skills through education and training interventions but employment opportunities in new settlements will not automatically arise in these centres. The relationship of these centres to the surrounding agriculture production systems would be important to define and develop to create related business ventures and improve employment opportunities. Given the trends in large scale commercial agriculture of decreasing levels of employment, low wages and decreasing reliance on local towns for inputs and markets building a reliable, economically viable and sustainable relationship with a new rural settlement would be artificial and tenuous. Unlike the state’s intervention and support, private sector driven agriculture would not be obligated to maintain relationships with the settlement if such relations became

economically unviable or there were insufficient incentive from the state to do this. If the settlement was linked to, or surrounded by, small scale agriculture or small holders and if they possibly also farmed some of the small farms, there is a stronger possibility of building a viable economic relationship through the existing social relationships. The possibility of developing a local economy with some state support might be possible. Whether the type of agricultural production needs to be directed in terms of product and markets rather than open to develop and evolve at its own pace for the local settlement to develop a sound economic rationale needs further exploration.

The settlements economic rationale would also be affected by the relationship of the settlement and surrounding agriculture to the district economy and associate settlement patterns and development frameworks. For farm dwellers such an arrangement would provide access to agricultural lands, access to government support to improve agricultural production at a scale they might manage, as well as access to services through increased densities in the village. However, similar concerns about linking a settlement's sustainability too closely to commercial agriculture can apply in this arrangement and concerted efforts would need to be made to develop diversity in the settlement's economy without necessarily growing the settlement. Again this points to the need for a settlement that is closely socially tied to surrounding agriculture. Alternatively the settlement would need to be situated so that it could develop into an economic satellite of economically developing urban centres as its economy diversifies and its population grows.

5.2Conclusion

How farm dweller families manage any transition will depend on the state support provided to the settlement, which will need to be holistic in its approach. This might present the key obstacle to farm dweller families succeeding under any of the outlined options. Some caution is also therefore required in following a targeted intervention approach. Targeted intervention implies a guided support, but without a holistic approach, which would require co-ordination across departments and spheres, options that include rural denser settlement could result in underserviced and marginalised settlements with even poorer access to agricultural lands. This could result in a further decline in the farm dweller households' levels of food security and in increased poverty as their access to food from even subsistence agriculture is lost.

6 References

AFRA, (2005), *"This is our home - it is our land, our history and our right"*. - Consolidated verbatim report of workshops with farm dwellers 2005

AFRA/PLAAS Workshop report (2007)**,** *Towards a Vision and Policy Proposals for Land & Agrarian Reform***,** A Rural People's Workshop jointly hosted by the Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA) and Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) 10-11 September 2007, Newcastle, Amajuba District, KwaZulu-Natal, *Monday 10 September 2007*

AFRA 2008, *Situational analysis and development recommendations by and for farm dwellers in the Amajuba District Council 2008*, report complied by local farm dwller formations and AFRA

Aliber, M., (2003), *Chronic Poverty in South Africa: Incidence, Causes and Policies*, ***World Development***, 31(3):473-490

ADM (2006), *Agricultural Sector Plan* for the Integrated Development Plan for Amajuba District Municipality

ADM (2008) ,*Integrated Development Plan Review* for 2008/9 for the Amajuba District Municipality

ADM (2008/9), *Amajuba Spatial Framework*, 2008/9 review, http://www.amajuba.gov.za

ADM (2004), *Local Economic Development plan: Amajuba District Municipality*, Final Draft2, 15 June 2004, produced with support of the Department of Economic Development and Tourism, http://www.amajuba.gov.za

Atkinson D., (2007), **Going for Broke: The fate of farm workers in arid South Africa**, Human Science Research Council, Cape Town

Bernstein, H., (1994), Part Three: General Thematic Papers. *Food Security in a Democratic South Africa*, in **Community Perspectives on Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa,** by Levin, R., and Weiner,D., (eds), a Final Project Report prepared for John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Chicago, Illinois

Bernstein, H., (2007), *Capitalism and Moral Economy: Land Questions in Sub-saharan Africa*, paper presented at Poverty and Capital conference, Global Poverty Research Group and Brooks World Poverty Institute, University of Manchester, 2-4 July 2007

Berry, S., (1993), **No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa**, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press

Birdsall, N. and J.L. Londono, (1997), *Asset Inequality Matters: An Assessment of the World Bank's Approach to Poverty Reduction*, ***American Economic Review***, 87(2), 32-37

Boltvinik, J., (2001), *Poverty Measurement Methods: An Overview*, http://www.undp.org/poverty/publications/pov_red/Poverty_Measurement_Methods.pdf

Bonti-Ankomah S., (2001). *Addressing food insecurity in South Africa*, The National Institute for Economic Policy, paper presented at SARPN conference on Land Reform and Poverty Alleviation in Southern Africa, Pretoria

Burawoy, M., (2003), *For a Sociological Marxism: The complementary convergence of Antonio Gramsci and Karl Polanyi* in ***Politics and Society***, Vol. 31, no. 2, pp 193-261

Business Day , press article, 16 June 2009

Business Day, press article, 5 March 2009

Business Day press article 4 June 2009

CDE , (2005), *Land Reform in South Africa: A 21st century perspective*, Centre for Enterprise and Development research report no. 14, Jhb

Chang, H. and Grabel, I. (2004), **Reclaiming Development : An alternative economic policy manual**, South Africa, David Phillip (an imprint of New Africa Books)

Cross, C., Harwin, S.J., Schwabe, C., Morris, N., and Kekana, A. (2007?), *Rural and Urban Densification in South Africa, A preliminary review of policy implications for migration and infrastructure*, Human Science Research Council Durban and Pretoria

DoA (1995) **White paper on Agriculture**, Pretoria, Department of Agriculture

DoH (2007) Breaking New ground policy, www.capegateway.gov.za/Text//2007/10/bng.pdf

DoL (2005) , *Report of the employment conditions commission on the investigation into the farm worker sector with a view to amend the sectoral determination: 8 farm worker sector, South Africa and to respond to the minister's request to investigate the sector,* Department of Labour, 2005

DLA, (2007) *Progress towards the realisation of the socio-economic rights of farm dwellers: A Situation Analysis and Recommendations for a Future Trajectory,* Report commissioned by the Department of Land Affairs to the Deputy President, the Honourable Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (unpublished)

DLA (1997). **White Paper on South African Land Policy**, Pretoria: Department of Land Affairs

DLA (2008), Land and Agrarian Reform Project (LARP), concept document issued by the Department of Land Affairs

De Soto, H. (2000), **The Mystery of Capital: Why capitalism triumphs in the west and fails everywhere else**, Great Britain, Bantam press

Dewar, D., Todes, A., & Watson, V (1982), *Theories of Urbanisation and national settlement strategy in South Africa*, Project report for Urban Problems Research unit, University of Cape Town, working paper No. 21

Dewar, D. (1996). *Small towns in development: a South African perspective.* Development Bank of Southern Africa, paper 122, Midrand

Drimie S., & Mini S., (2003), Food *Security and Sustainable Development in Southern Africa*, in Integrated Rural and Regional Development Research programme, Occasional paper 6, Human Science Research Council, Cape Town

Du Toit A., and Neves D., (2007). *In search of South Africa's second economy: Chronic poverty, vulnerability and adverse incorporation in mt. Frere and Kayelitsha*, prepared for

the Living on the Margins conference, Stellenbosch

Duncan, C. A. M. (1996). **The Centrality of Agriculture: Between humankind and the rest of nature**, McGill-Queen's University Press

Du Plessis, C. (2007), *Analysing the Sustainability of Human Settlements in South Africa – challenges and methods*, CSIR research paper

Government of South Africa,(2000) Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy

Government of South Africa (GSA), KZN province (2007), Provincial Spatial Economic Development Strategy for KwaZulu-Natal, Development of an Economic Cluster Programme of Action 2007

Government of South Africa (1995) Rural Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity, Ministry of the Office of the President.

Government of South Africa (2006) KZN Provincial Department of Traditional Affairs and Local government Spatial Guidelines

Hall, R. (2006), *Tenure Reform on South African Farms*, Report for the Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies research into Evaluating Land and Agrarian Reform, UWC, Cape Town

Hall, R., Isaacs, M., Saruchera, M. (2004), *Land and Agrarian Reform in Integrated Development Plans*, report prepared for GTZ in collaboration with DPLG, (unpublished)

Hart, G. (2002). **Disabling Globalization: Places of Power in Post-Apartheid** South Africa, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press, 2002

Hart, G. (2005?). 'Beyond Neoliberlism? Post Apartheid Developments in Historical and Comparative Perspective', Forthcoming in Padayachee, V. (ed) **The Development Decade? Economic and Social Change in South Africa 1994 – 2004** , Pretoria: HSRC Press

Hubbard, M., (1995), I**mproving Food Security: A guide for rural development managers**, Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd., London

Hulme D., Moore K., Shepard A., (2001). *Chronic Poverty: meanings and analytical frameworks*, CPRC working paper 2, Institute of Development Policy and Management, United Kingdom

Kanbur, R. and L. Squire, (1999), *The evolution of thinking about poverty: Exploring the interactions*, downloaded 14 June, 2005 from http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/poverty/evolution_of_thinking_about_poverty%20Kanbur%20Sept%201999.pdf

Kockott F., (1993) *The Fields of Wrath: Cattle impounding in Weenen*, AFRA special report, Pietermaritzburg

Kruger E (2007), *Governments approaches to food security*, Unpublished report for the KZN provincial department of agriculture

KZN LLCP (2007), *Some kind of civil war* , KZN Land Legal Cluster(LLC) trend report , AFRA , June 2007

Laband,J., (1995), **Rope of Sand: The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century**, Jonathan Ball publishers, Johannesburg

Lanjouw, J.O., (2001), Demystifying Poverty Lines, http://www.undp.org/poverty/publications/pov_red/Demystifying_Poverty_Lines.pdf

Lipton, M., and M. Ravaliion, (1997), Section 1-3: *Chapter 41: Poverty and Policy*, in Behrman, J. and T.N. Srinivasan (eds), **Handbook of Development Economics, Vol 3**, Amsterdam, pp 2553-2583

Lok-Dessallien, R., (2001), Review of Poverty Concepts and Indicators, Http://www.undp.org/poverty/publications/pov_red/Review_of_Poverty_Concepts.pdf

Marcus, T., (1989), **Modernising Super-Exploitation: Restructuring South African Agriculture**, Zed books ltd., London

Mbongwa,M., van den Brink, R., and van Zyl, J., (1996), *Evolution of the agrarian structure in South Africa*, in van Zyl J., Kirsten J., and Binswanger H.P., (eds)

Agricultural Land Reform in South Africa: Policies, markets and mechanisms, Oxford University Press, Cape Town

Macphearson, C B (1978) **The meaning of property** pp 1 -13, University of Toronto Press

Minutes: Dannhauser farm dweller research meeting – 15 December 2008, AFRA, Pmb

Minutes: Newcastle Farm dweller research meeting – 13 December 2008, AFRA, Pmb

Minutes: Utrecht farm dweller research meeting – 6 December 2008, AFRA, Pmb

Minutes PMG 9 June 2009: Policies and Legislation of Department of Human Settlements: workshop, Parliamentary Monitoring Group, www.pmg.org.za

Murphy, S., and Santarius, T., (2007), *The World Bank's WDR 2008: Agriculture for Development: Response from Slow Trade- Sound Farming Perspective*, EcoFair Trade Dialogue Discussion papers, No. 10, sponsored by MISEREOR and Heinrich Boll Foundation

OECD, (2006), *OECD Review of Agricultural Policies: South Africa*, OECD publishing

Page, B., (2000), *Agriculture*, Chapter 15 in **Economic Geography**, Shepherd E. and Barnes T. (eds), published by Oxford Blackwell

Payne, B., (1994), *Farm worker housing in South Africa*, a publication of the National Land Committe's Community Investigation and Research Programme, compiled by the Farmworker task group of the NLC

Pimbert, M.P., Thomson J., and Vorley, W.T., 2001. *Global Restructuring, Agri-Food Systems and Livelihoods*, in Gatekeeper series No. 100, International Institute for Environment and Development, Natural Resources Group, Sustainable and Rural Livelihoods Programme
Press articles : www.news24.com/News24/.../0,,2-7-1442_1882654,00.html

Press articles : Business Day 16 July 09

PPDC (2008), *Assessment of Rural Settlements in KwaZulu-Natal*, prepared by Rural Planners Group for the KZN Provincial Planning and Development Commission, Standard series vol 86

Rodrik, D, (2006). "*Industrial Development: Stylized Facts and Policies*", draft unpublished August 2006.

Rosset, P., 2006. *Chapter 16: Conclusion, Moving Forward: Agrarian Reform as part of food sovereignty*, in **Promised Land: Competing visions of Agrarian Reform**, published by Food First, pp301-321

Ruetlinger, S., 1987. Part III. *Food Security, trade and aid, Food Security and Poverty in Developing Countries*, in **Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution and Consumption**, Price Gittinger, J., Leslie, J., and Hoisington,C., (eds), published for the World Bank, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London

Rutherford, B., (2001), **Working on the margins: Black workers, white farmers in post colonial Zimbabwe**, Zed Books series in association with the International Centre for Contemporary Cultural Research, University of Manchester and Keele

Satterthwaite, David (2006), *Outside the Large Cities: The demographic importance of small urban centres and large villages in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, Human Settlements Discussion paper series, Urban Change :3, IIED

Sen, A., 1987. Part III. *Food Security, trade, and Aid , Poverty and Entitlements*, in **Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution and Consumption**, Price Gittinger, J., Leslie, J., and Hoisington,C., (eds), published for the World Bank, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London

Social Surveys Africa (2006), Estimation of the number of Farm Dwellers in SA 2006 presentation

SA CS (1996), The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

Statistics South Africa Community Survey (CS) 2007.

Statistics South Africa (2007) General Household Survey (GHS)

Statistics South Africa (2008), Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Q1 and Q2, 2008

Stiglitz, J. (2002), **Globalisation and its discontents**, London, Penguin group

Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute (SPII), 2007. *The Measurement of Poverty in South Africa Project: Key Issues*, downloaded on 5 October 2007

SPP, (1983). **Forced Removals In South Africa**, Surplus People's Project Reports Vol.4, Cape Town

Survey of Large Scale Agriculture 2006, Statistics South Africa

Tacoli, Cecilia, and David Satterthwaite (2003), *The Urban Part of Rural Development: the Role of Small and Intermediate Urban Centres in Rural and Regional Development and Poverty Reduction*, Rurual-Urban briefing papers :08, IIED

Tickell, A. and Peck, J. (2003). *Making global rules: globalization or neoliberalisation?*, published in Peck,J. and Yeung, H.W-C (ed), **Remaking the Global economy: economic geographical perspectives**, London Sage.

Totman, D., Murphy, C., Pollet,E.A., A'Bear, D.R. (et al)(1993), *Villages for Farm Workers in the context of rural settlement needs, The Agri-Villages concept: Final Report* prepared for the Natal Agricultural Union, INR Investigational Report No. 82

Vinciani, F., Stamoulis, K.G., and Zezza, A. 2001. *Summary of results of the survey*. In: Stamoulis, K. 2001. **Food, Agriculture and Rural Development: Current and Emerging Issues for Economic Analysis and Policy Research**. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, Rome., downloaded from FAO website on 13/3/2008

Wegerif,M., Russel, B., Grundling,I. (2006), **Still searching for Security: The reality of farm dweller evictions in South Africa**, published, by Nkuzi Development Association and Social Surveys, Jhb 2006

World Bank (2008). **Agriculture for Development**, World Development report 2008, World Bank Washington.

Appendix 1: Household interview schedule

Interview questions conducted by AFRA and the local farm dweller committee
Date:

Interviewers names: Organisation:

Signed

Interviewees names: Organisation:

Signed

Informed consent explained: yes/ no

Consent given and signed: yes/ no

Consent form attached: yes/ no

Please note that the interview will be recorded to ensure we capture what you say accurately. Is this acceptable: Yes/ No

Cadastral Name and number of farm:

Local farm name:

farming district:

Municipal sub district and number:

Households membership and dependencies

Whose homestead is this?

Who is the head of this family?

Does that person live in this homestead?

If not, where does he/she live?

How do you become a member of this homestead?

Draw a diagram of homestead – pace out the boundary of the homestead if there is one, note if there is a fence, write in the length of the boundary on the diagram, draw each structure, note the size and what it is for, note the distance between structures in the homestead, note where sanitation is, water sources, cattle pens, fields, gardens etc, anything within the homestead boundary. Tape conversation as the diagram is drawn. Label each structure with a letter of the alphabet and note this on the table of names.

Name&surname	Relationship to family	Age	Which structure they live in? Marked as letter on diagram	Why do they live here? 1:Only home 2:dependent – minor 3:unemployed – 4:dependent 5:elderly 6:marrriage	How long have they lived here? 1: less than 6 mth 2:less than 1yr 3:1-3yr 4:4-14yr	Education level 1: preschool 2:junior primary 3: std6-8 4:std8-9 5:matric 6: tertiary	Skills: 1:Farming 2:business 3:social/health 4:manufacturing 5:admintration

				7:sickly 8: disabled	5: 15-40yr 6: life	7:illiterate	6:teaching 7:Other (state what)

Has anyone left this home to live elsewhere in the last few years? If yes who is this and why did they leave?

Where did they go to? Will they ever come back? If not, why won't they

Is there anyone else that can come and live her who does not live here now? Who is this? And why do you say that they can come and live here?

Do they visit here and how often?

Household layout and use of space (back *to the drawing)*

Where is the boundary of the area you can use on the farm? How do you know this?

Is this your land? Why do you say this?

What can you do with it? What can you not do with it? Is this a problem? Why?

Who uses which buildings and what do they use it for?

Are their any limits to increasing the number of buildings on your property? Who puts the limits there and why?

If you could control how many buildings there were how many extra ones would you build and why?

Are there any limitations to the size of buildings on your property? Who puts the limits and why?

If you could increase the size would you? What would you add and why?

Resources – access and use

What resources do you access on the farm that is not in your homestead boundary? List these.

Resource	Usage? Why do you use it?	How often (daily, weekly, monthly, annual, irregular, needs based)	Limitations? By who

Land uses- how much land is used for cropping? Where is the cropping area (in the homestead boundary or outside) If outside how far away?

Type of crop	When is it planted? season	Why this crop?	How much is planted? Land size used & amt of seed	Why that much?	How much do you get (yield)?	Key problems with this crop?

Is it enough for the family to eat? If not what do you do?

Do you share any with neighbours? Why?

Do you sell any? Why? Do you sell And where do you sell? Who buys from you?

Are the fields or gardens big enough? How do know if they are big enough for you?

Where do you get the seeds? Is it the same place each year? Are there any problems with getting all the seeds you need?

How is it collected? How often/ and how much? Is it the same each time? Why or why not?

Do you grow any of your seeds and save any? If not why not?

Has the kinds of crops you plant changed over the last 10 years? What has changed that you notice the most? And why has it changed?

Who tends the crops? Who ploughs the fields?

Who has knowledge or skills for cropping? Where did they get these? Is the skill getting better or worse? Why?

How is this knowledge shared? Is this method working?

What knowledge is missing that you think you need? Why do you say this?

Type of animals kept	Why do you keep these animals? What do you use them for?	How many do you have?	Why that many?	Key problems with farming this animal?

Is it enough for the family to eat? If not what do you do?

Do you share any with neighbours? Why?

Do you sell any? Why? Do you sell And where do you sell? Who buys from you?

Is the land big enough to keep the animals? How do know if they are big enough for you?

Has the kinds of animals you keep changed over the last 10 years? What has changed that you notice the most? And why has it changed?

Who looks after the animals?

Who has knowledge or skills for looking after the animals? Where did they get these? Is the skill getting better or worse? Why?

How is this knowledge shared? Is this method working?

What knowledge is missing that you think you need? Why do you say this?

Who in your family is interested in continuing to farm? Why do you say this?

Are there things that government could do to assist you in farming? What are they?

Can anyone else assist you to do this? Why do you say this?

Water sources

What do you need water for?

How much do you need? How do you know this?

Do you get this much? If not then what do you do about this?

Where do you get it from? And how?

Are there any problems with this source? What? And how do you address this?

Food sources

Who cooks the food? Who eats this food?

Does everyone eat the same food and amount? What are the differences and why?

Food type	Daily amount cooked and eaten	Source and amount (own crops or bought)	How often in the month is this eaten?	How often in the year?

What changes happen in the month or year in the types and amounts of food your family gets to eat?
Why do these sources of food change?
On average how much does food cost every month?
What do you need to prepare the food? Fire, etc. pots etc. and where do you get this? What does it cost you?
How do you describe the situation when there is no food? Do you ever go hungry? What do you not get that makes you hungry? Do you get sicknesses from not having enough or the right food? OR Are people healthy enough.. what sicknesses do people in the household suffer from often?

Income sources

name	Employed to do what	Temporary/ permanent	Wage rate	Distance to work	Cost of travel (other) to work

Is it enough to cover the things you need to pay for?

Need to pay for?	How often?

What problems do you face looking for work?
How can this be addressed?

Institutional

Who are your neighbours? How often do you mix with them and what for?
Do you rely on your neighbours for anything? (include land owner/ farmer)
Does anyone in the family belong to any groups or work with any groups that support your family?
What are they? What satisfaction do you get from this?
Do you ever see people from government? Who? What for?
If you have problems where is the first place you go for help? Why? And then?
Where do you go for assistance with sicknesses? Does it help? Why?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME. Is there any question you want to go over with me or is there any other issues you would like to ad or questions you would like to ask.

Appendix 2: two examples of hand drawn homestead layout : source field research 2008

Figure 1: diagram of homestead for interview

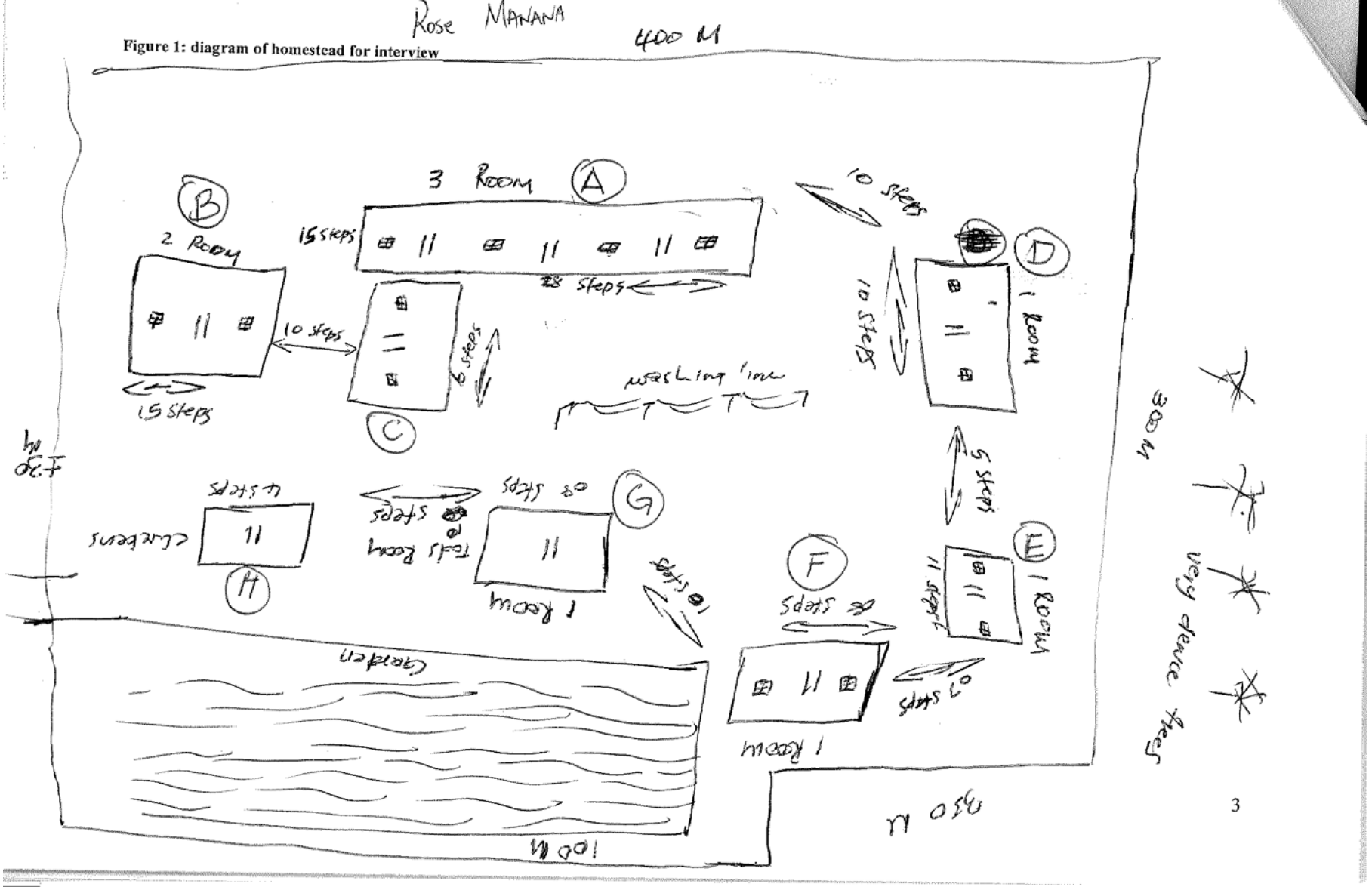


Figure 1: diagram of homestead for interview