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RURAL VILLAGES AS A SUSTAINABLE APPROACH FOR THE PROVISION OF FARM WORKERS HOUSING RELATED NEEDS IN MPUMALANGA PROVINCE

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A research report submitted to the faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning in the field of Housing.

Johannesburg, 2011

DEDICATION

This research report is dedicated to my family who believed in me and supported me in pursuance of this masters degree. Special dedications are to my wife, Gaby, my daughters, Nosipho and Noluthando and my son, Sandile.

I am also very thankful to all the individuals who supported me all the way in accomplishing this degree.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning in the field of housing to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University. All the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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ABSTRACT

The idea of a rural village is a new settlement concept that has been piloted by the Steve Tshwete Municipality in Mpumalanga Province. It has been used as a mechanism for providing basic services and security of tenure to farm dwellers. The purpose of this research is to assess if rural villages can be a sustainable approach for the provision of farm workers housing related needs. Doornkop Rural Village was used as a case study. The location of the rural villages far from urban centres where economic opportunities exist, creates problems such as high transport costs and decreases chances of getting alternative employments. Rural villages are costly to service as they are located far from the municipal bulk infrastructure. This may lead to creation of dormitory settlements. On the contrary, location rural villages 15km closer to urban areas may encourage urban sprawl and sterilisation of agricultural potential of adjacent farms. The rate of revenue collection at rural villages is very low as most of the households are indigent. Therefore, rural villages are not a sustainable approach for the provision of farm workers housing related needs.

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Special thanks are due to Professor Alison Todes. I had lost hope of completing my research report. She became a messiah and gave me her unconditional support and patience. She advised and assisted me in every aspect of the research report.

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1. CHAPTER I: Introduction

In 2004, the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality conducted a needs analysis regarding its community including people living and working on farms. The municipality discovered that the level of service delivery on farms is very low and needed urgent attention. Therefore, the municipality commissioned consultants to conduct a rural study on all farms situated within its area of jurisdiction. In brief, the study revealed that access to basic services such as potable water, sanitation, housing, security of tenure, access to educational and health facilities are still a major problem. The study recommended that the rural village concept be explored by the municipality as a mechanism for providing basic services and securing tenure in a planned and sustainable manner. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has already embarked on a process of creating three rural villages but the sustainability of the concept has not been researched. Doornkop Rural Village has been identified as a case study area for the assessment of the sustainability of the rural village concept. Therefore, the aim of this research is to identify the housing related needs of farm workers and dwellers; to assess if the existing government policies and programmes are effectively addressing those needs; and to assess if a rural village can be a sustainable approach for providing farm workers housing needs.

1.1. Background

According to the Department of Housing Draft Document on Farm Worker and Occupier Housing Assistance Programme (2006), close to a million men and women work on South Africa's commercial farms together with their dependents, and other non-employed and non-dependent farm residents. "It is estimated that there are approximately 5 million people residing on commercial farms. Prior to 1994, a capital housing assistance scheme administered by the Department of Agriculture applied to farm workers on commercial agricultural land, but has since been discontinued"(Department of Housing, 2006:1). This scheme had its problems because the houses were built on land which belongs to the farm owners. As a result the beneficiaries still did not have security of tenure because even then the farmers evicted the farm workers when they could not sell their labour or if the relationship

has turned sour. It is a cause for concern that since the implementation of the South African National Housing policy in 1994 very little progress has been made in terms of addressing the housing needs of farm workers. This is evident from the conditions under which the farm workers live. Wegerif *et al* (2005) argue that about 13% of the households in the Mpumalanga province were evicted. The Mpumalanga State of Environment Report of 2003 indicates that the Mpumalanga Province has a large rural population, which relies on subsistence farming for survival. The situation is worse with farm dwellers because they do not own land and hence depend on whether the farm owner allows them to cultivate crops on his land or not.

In 1994, the government of South Africa developed a housing policy that was aligned with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No.108 of 1996, which emphasises housing as a basic human right. The government sees the housing policy as an integrated approach to resolve the problem of poverty. The key needs and concerns which the White Paper (1994) identified to be addressed by the housing policy particularly for farm workers are the dilemmas facing farm workers when they are old or want to change employment because they do not have security of tenure; the diversity of tenure arrangements and the impact thereof especially the accessing of credit and subsidies; the pre-dominance of female headed households; and the effects of circulatory migration. It is important to note that in the case of farm workers there is no pre-dominance of female headed households as most of the people employed on farms are men.

The abovementioned issues were identified in 1994 and were supposed to have been addressed by the housing policy. Today, in Mpumalanga Province most of the farm workers are still living under subhuman conditions, which are characterised by lack of access to potable water, adequate shelter, basic health service, security of tenure, sanitation, education etc. According to the Statistics South Africa (2007), about 11% of the Mpumalanga Province households live in informal housing and the most affected are farm dwellers. This is an indication that people on farms are living in poverty. This is despite the fact that Sections 25, 26 and 27 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa emphasise access to property, right to have access to adequate housing, health care, food, water and social security. The National Housing

Act No 107 of 1997 has made the formulation of policies aimed at providing basic services and adequate housing an obligation of the government.

After 1994 the government discontinued the capital housing assistance scheme which was meant for farm workers living on commercial agricultural land. The capital was given to the farm owner who would then build four houses on his/her agricultural land. This scheme was discontinued because it did not result in security of tenure. At this point in time the rural subsidy housing scheme is the only housing programme that can be applied to people living in rural areas where people enjoy functional security as opposed to legal security. The people qualifying for this subsidy are those whose informal rights are not contested. Due to this requirement, the farm workers on commercial farms do not qualify for this subsidy because they do not enjoy security of tenure. Without security of tenure, it is impossible for the government to build houses for farm workers on commercial farms and also to provide basic services such as potable water, sanitation, health services, etc.

"Since 1994, a number of pieces of legislation have been enacted with the intention of regulating and improving the conditions and rights of farm workers and farm dwellers. Despite the new legislation, black people living on farms in South Africa remain amongst the most vulnerable people in society" (Wegerif et al, 2005:7). Basically, Wegerif *et al* (2005) argue that despite the existence of many policies and initiatives that aim to stimulate the rural economy, rural poverty has deepened since 1994. "The situation on farms is extremely complex with great inequalities in economic and social relations between farmers and farm workers and occupiers despite the existence of land tenure and labour legislation introduced in 1994" (Department of Housing, 2006: 1). The living and working conditions of farm workers are defined by evictions**,** payment of starvation salaries or bags of maize meal as a monthly salary and long working hours without compensation. There are isolated cases where the livestock of the farmer worker has either been impounded or killed as a form of revenge because the relationship between the farmer and farm worker has turned sour.

One of the arguments put forward by Atkinson (2007) is that the end of apartheid in the late 1980's and the early 1990s was associated with a rapid expansion of innovative service delivery to farm workers. Farm workers and farm dwellers thought that their socio-economic lives would change for the better. This is because this period was marked with policy shifts and the introduction of government programmes such as the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy that is aimed at developing rural areas. Atkinson (2007) has established that contrary to what the government has aimed to achieve, the provision of public services to farm workers has deteriorated significantly since 2000. "With rural areas having been incorporated into municipalities and subjected to a strong institutional urban bias at local government level, a service delivery vacuum has developed" (Atkinson, 2007:9). The arguments made Atkinson (2007) can be summarised as follows:

The black and coloured farm workers were created deliberately as a marginalised and super-exploitable labour force. There is a paternalistic social order on the farms, which is on unequal terms because farmers own the land and pay wages for the farm workers. The farm worker cannot continue living on the farm if his employment has been terminated. Notwithstanding the latter, there are farmers who value the skills of their farm workers and therefore may generally be reluctant to lose a skilled and experienced worker. There is a development gap, which exists between urban areas and rural areas. Atkinson (2007: 9) says the life-world of a farm worker is defined by dysfunctional household dynamics, gender inequality, poor education, a lack of social and organisational skills and chronic substance abuse. Loss of agricultural jobs results in a drift to cities due to the potential provision of livelihoods and services in the cities. She is concerned that the drift affects the development of small and medium sized towns and cities. Atkinson (2007: 9) argues that the usefulness of farm work and experience are not capitalised on; and that farm labour provides social and economic resources, which need to be nurtured.

With the persistence of the problems mentioned above, there is no way that farm workers can live a sustainable life. "Many farm owners blame new tenure and labour legislation and policies, such as the recently proclaimed minimum wage, for increased retrenchments and evictions of farm workers. The new laws are also alleged by some

farm owners and analysts to have contributed to a deterioration of relations between farm owners and farm dwellers" (Wegerif *et al*, 2005:7). It seems as if the legislation of the government is not effective enough. This argument is based on the fact that in 2001 the Department of Land Affairs indicated in its annual report that more than 200 farm dwellers were threatened with evictions and only 23 actual legal evictions occurred. It further states that 800 files were opened for cases relating to insecure tenure.

"Being evicted can be devastating for farm dwellers as it is often accompanied by the loss of work and income, access to land for own production, the loss of homes, as well as other negative effects such as breakdown of family and social structures and disruption to children's education" (Wegerif *et al*, 2005:8). The government has a constitution that protects the rights of all people and legislation that regulates working hours, salaries and wages. The current situational analysis of farm workers suggests that justice is not being done in the case of farm workers and farm dwellers.

Provision of basic services to farms and the building of subsidised housing on private properties for farm dwellers has proven to be difficult. Section 152 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 obligates local government to ensure provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner, to promote social and economic development and to promote a safe and healthy environment. It is against this background that the Mpumalanga Provincial Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs and Agri-Mpumalanga which is a farmers' organisation entered into a memorandum of understanding to provide essential services to farm dwellers in 2003. The memorandum of understanding has placed a huge burden on the majority of municipalities that have rural areas because they cannot cope financially with the provision and management of services to the farms. In the Steve Tshwete local municipality, there are cases where the farm owners have refused to allow the municipality to deliver water tanks to the farm dwellers. This attitude is in breach of the memorandum of understanding entered into between the government and Agri-Mpumalanga.

In an attempt to address the housing needs of farm workers and dwellers, the National Department of Housing has embarked on a process of compiling a Farm Worker Housing Assistance Programme with the main objective of providing a range of tenure options to farm workers and farm dwellers, providing adequate housing and associated services and livelihood opportunities beyond farm employment. However, implementation of this programme has been put on hold because of problems related to tenure options and acquisition of land from farm owners. In the meantime, many farm dwellers continue to live with no access to potable water and continue to be evicted.

1.2. Rationale and problem statement

In light of the problems highlighted above, the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality conceptualised rural villages as a solution to the problems of dwellers. Within the set up of a rural village where stands are registered in the name of farm workers it is possible to allocate housing subsidies and to provide basic services such as potable water, sanitation, electricity, health and commonage land for small scale livestock and crop farming for the community. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality creates rural villages within an average of 20km from the urban areas. Rural villages are also a responsibility of the municipality in terms of providing infrastructure and maintenance. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance for the municipality to ensure that the rural village is socially, economically and environmentally sustainable.

1.3. Aims of the research

The main aim of the research is to assess how effectively the national housing policy is addressing farm worker housing needs and to assess if rural villages can be regarded as a sustainable approach for providing farm workers housing needs. The research will also try to unpack what farm workers housing needs are. Mpumalanga province is presently in the process of compiling a policy on rural villages. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is way ahead of this process because it has identified the farm workers housing needs within its area of jurisdiction. In an attempt to address the needs and challenges of people living on farms, this local municipality piloted a

rural village project in 2004. Therefore the rural village project of the Steve Tshwete municipal will be used as a case study to assess if rural villages can be a sustainable approach to satisfy farm workers housing needs.

This research is not only for academic purposes. Sustainability of rural villages is also my concern as the Chief Town Planner of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality. This municipality sees rural villages as a solution to farm worker housing needs and as a result it is in the process of establishing two additional rural villages. Therefore, the findings and recommendations of this research will be of extreme importance for me because I will be able to advise my municipality accordingly and contribute positively to the task team of the Mpumalanga province, which is presently exploring the possibility of formulating a policy on creation of rural villages.

1.4. Research question

i. *Are rural villages a sustainable approach for addressing the housing related needs of farm workers?*

The sub-questions to be addressed within the context of sustainable development are:

a. Do rural villages address the need for provision of basic services to people living on farms?
b. Are the municipalities able to sustain the rural villages in terms of rendering services in an effective and sustainable manner?
c. Do rural villages create opportunities for farm dwellers and farm workers to sustain their livelihoods?
d. Do rural villages address security of tenure problems on farms?
e. Are rural villages sustainable from an environmental perspective?
f. Does the housing department provide adequate support to rural villages?

1.5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH APPROACH

The purpose of this research is to identify the housing related needs of farm workers and to assess if the rural village concept can be a sustainable approach for addressing

the housing needs of farm workers and farm dwellers. Therefore, the research approach involves interviewing households from Doornkop Rural Village, as well as undertaking a series of key informant interviews. The research solicited opinions and views from housing officers, town planners and engineers from the Mpumalanga province and the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality on matters pertaining to the needs of rural village households and the improvement of the socio-economic life of rural village households as well as their views on sustainability of rural villages. In addition, surveys of farmers owning farms around the rural villages were conducted with the aim of understanding the attitude of the farmers towards provision of basic services to the farm workers and their perceptions of preferred farm worker housing options.

For the purpose of this research, a household was understood to mean a family unit residing on one stand. This survey research has been used to gather information on the behaviour, attitudes, expectations and knowledge of participants. The collected data was analysed and the responses of the participants were quantified. The outcome of the interviews has been used to compare how many people have answered in the same way and also to analyse their views.

1.5.1. Secondary data

An extensive search of the literature on farm workers and rural villages was undertaken in order to be able to comprehend the concepts that are central to the research topic and to validate it. This process involved looking at relevant pieces of legislation such as the National Housing Code (2000), the Housing Act, the Breaking New Ground Strategy Document, relevant policies, published housing books and journals and background information on the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality. This literature should assist in comprehending the legislative frameworks applicable to housing and rural villages, relevant theories, concepts and related problems and the perceptions of authors who have done extensive research on farm dwellers and their housing needs. This data has been obtained from the libraries, government departments, the internet and other relevant institutions.

1.5.2. Primary data

Survey research has been used as a technique for gathering primary data. There were two types of survey instruments used. The first involved circulation of questionnaires to key respondents and the second focused on holding face-to-face interviews with the households within the rural village community between 1 May 2008 and 31 July 2008. Face-to-face interviews were also held with the farmers between 1 July 2009 and 31 August 2009. The data gathered from the participants relate to the research questions/ hypothesis and issues raised in the problem statement.

1.5.3. Face-to-face and telephonic interviews survey with key respondents

Questionnaires were circulated to 20 housing officers, town planners, engineers and developers between 1 May 2008 and 31 July 2008 in order to obtain their views on the sustainability of rural villages. The selection of these participants is based on the fact that they are well conversant with problems associated with the provision of basic services, housing to farms and security of tenure. The technical skills of participants in evaluating the sustainability of the rural village concept were taken into account. Face-to-face and telephonic interviews were used to ensure 100% response and to be able to clarify questions. The key respondents were asked questions such as the following:

- Can rural villages be a sustainable approach for providing basic services to people working on farms?
- Can municipalities sustain the rural villages financially?
- Can rural villages create opportunities for farm dwellers and farm workers to enable them to sustain their livelihoods?

The full list of questions asked is contained in appendix A.

1.5.4. The case study approach

The selection of Doornkop Rural Village is based on the fact the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has established a rural village with the rationale of addressing the farm worker housing related needs. The Doornkop case study is descriptive in nature because it will give background of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality, the rationale of creating Doornkop Rural Village and the challenges and success of the rural village. There are already people settled on Doornkop Rural Village who can be interviewed on issues pertaining to their socio-economic needs and the sustainability of the rural village. Most of the households living in Doornkop Village used to live on farms. Therefore, with this information at hand, one will be able to answer the research question on whether a rural village can be a sustainable approach to providing housing units for farm workers. Therefore, with this case study one can assess if the rural village has improved the socio-economic needs of people who previously lived on farms.

1.5.5. Interview survey with the households of Doornkop rural village

The target population was Doornkop community, which comprises 304 households. The households of Doornkop village are subjects of the study as most of them are from farms and some of them still work on farms. The fact that they know the living conditions on farms and now live in rural villages makes them appropriate subjects for the research survey. The objective of both the national housing policy and the creation of rural villages is to improve the lives of low-income people working on farms and living in rural villages. Therefore, the success in achieving this objective could be measured only by interviewing the beneficiaries.

There are already 310 households living in Doornkop Rural Village and the Mpumalanga Department of Housing and Local Government has already built 300 houses for some of the households. A sampling of 30 households was done randomly, particularly of the household heads. The sample size of 30 households constitutes 9,7% of the total households of 310. If the population is small, it is possible to question all relevant persons to get a complete picture of their opinions on certain

aspects. The sample of households included people who lived on farms and in urban areas in order to ensure representativity in terms of different experiences on living conditions.

The objective of the interviews was to reveal the current socio-economic situation in the rural village and compare it to that of farms. The interviews aimed at soliciting opinions of the residents of the rural village on the sustainability of the rural village. The objective of the interviews was also aimed at observing and experiencing the social conditions within the rural village environment. The interviews were structured in such a manner that they were clear, specific and applicable to the respondents. Attempts were made to ensure that the words used were words familiar to the respondents and those who do not understand English were interviewed in a language they could understand. The interview questions aimed at gathering information on access to basic services such as water, sanitation, housing, education and health. The interviewees were asked if they were employed and whether they conducted any agricultural activities. These questions assist in analysing whether the rural village has improved the socio-economic lives of the farm workers in terms of providing them with security of tenure, basic services and creating opportunities for them to be able sustain their livelihoods. The questions were both qualitative and quantitative in nature. They were open ended in order to solicit the personal opinions and attitudes of the respondents. The qualitative information was analysed while the quantitative information was coded. Interviews were conducted on Saturdays and Sundays in order to ensure that the household heads were available. The household head was understood to mean an adult male or female who is responsible for the household. The households were asked some of the following questions:

- Is the household head a male or female?
- Tell me about yourself, where you were born, the place you lived in, your work history and why you moved from one place and or job to another?
- Is there a household member receiving a grant? If yes, what is the grant for?
- What is the monthly income of the households?
- Which services did you not have access to on farms and you have access to now?

The households were asked twenty questions. The full list of questions asked is contained in appendix B.

1.5.6. Face-to-face interviews with the farmers

Face-to-face interviews were held with the farmers around the areas where Doornkop, Mafube and Bankfontein villages are situated between 1 July 2009 and 31 August 2009. A sample of 10 farmers was drawn randomly. It was difficult to interview more than 10 farmers because geographically they live far apart from each other and it was challenging to set up appointments with them. The interview questions were designed to ascertain the perceptions and views about farmers' attitude towards provision of basic services to farm workers and preferences with regard to housing options for farm workers. Therefore they were asked some of the following questions:

- How many farm workers do you have?
- Would you prefer your employees to live on-farm or off-farm?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of each residence option?
- What basic services do you provide to your employees and do you charge them for the services or provide them free of charge?
- Are you prepared to assist financially towards building houses for your employees?
- If the government was to grant a housing subsidy to build rental housing stock on your farm would you be prepared to receive the subsidy and manage the housing scheme?

The list of the interview questions is contained in the Appendix C.

1.5.7. Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were exercised when conducting interviews with the participants because access to housing and security of tenure are constitutional rights and as such are sensitive matters. The participants might think that you have come to solve their problems. "...deception is common in social experiments, but it involves

misleading or lying to subjects. Such dishonesty is not condoned as acceptable in itself and is acceptable only as means to achieve a goal that cannot be achieved otherwise" (Neuman, 1997:196). This is because some politicians and councillors have a tendency to target homeless and landless people and promise them housing and security of tenure when they campaign for votes. Therefore, the community could mistake a researcher for one of those people when she/he conducts interviews. The government officials may also interpret one's interviews and questionnaires on housing related needs as a technique for evaluating their performance.

In light of the above, it was made clear from the beginning that the interviews are mainly for academic purposes. Participants were informed that they have the right to refuse to participate at any time and consent forms were provided and are included in the appendix. Levels of literacy were taken into consideration because some Doornkop village community members are illiterate.

1.6. Limitations of the study

The initial idea was to collect literature on the concept of rural villages and debates around it. After extensive research and consultation with the relevant people, it became apparent that a "rural village" as defined by the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is not exactly an agri-village. As a result, it was difficult to obtain literature that define a rural village within the context of the research.

1.7. OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

1.7.1. CHAPTER I: Introduction

This chapter gives background information on the current situation on farm workers in Mpumalanga province and government policies related to housing. It introduces the context and circumstances in which the study was done. It focuses on the aims of the research, rationale and problem statement. It also unpacks the key concepts and research methodology employed to validate the research.

1.7.2. CHAPTER II: Socio-economic conditions which farm workers live under in South Africa

Attempts have been made to obtain and appraise literature dealing with the history of farm workers, the conditions under which they live and work and their housing needs. The literature review critically analyses views and debates on farm worker housing needs and the sustainability of rural villages.

1.7.3. CHAPTER III: Contextual framework

This chapter covers a contextual framework, which unpacks the context within which the housing needs of farm workers and the relevant issues are understood and debated in the South African context. The National Housing Code, Constitution, Breaking New Ground Strategy Plan, housing policy, etc explain what housing delivery is, what government interventions for farm worker housing are, and what the housing rights and obligations of government are. This framework also assists in analysing and debating issues that pertain to farm worker housing. The housing options for farm workers are critically analysed in this chapter.

1.7.4. CHAPTER IV: Conceptual framework

The rationale of including the conceptual framework is to unpack the concept of a rural village and develop an assessment framework for sustainable rural livelihoods. This will also assist in evaluating if the existing interventions of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality are effective or not. The conceptual framework unpacks the rural village concept, sustainability and farm workers housing related needs. It also reviews the links between the small towns and the rural villages.

1.7.5. CHAPTER V: Steve Tshwete Local Municipality and Doornkop Rural Village: A case study

This chapter gives the background of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality in terms of location within the context of South Africa. It covers aspects pertaining to the

economy and the population of the municipality. It also outlines the rationale for implementing the rural village concept by the municipality and the financial implication thereof to the municipality. The case study assesses the socio-economic and environmental sustainability of the rural villages. Information gathered from the interviews, questionnaires and the case study is analysed in order to identify gaps in the housing policy and assess the sustainability of rural villages.

1.7.6. CHAPTER VI: Recommendations and conclusion

This section draws conclusions on the findings on the living conditions of farm workers and farm dwellers. It also draws conclusions on the effectiveness of government policies in terms of addressing the farm workers' housing related needs. The sustainability of the rural village is assessed and recommendations on the shortcomings of the rural village concept are made in this chapter.

2. CHAPTER II: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WHICH THE FARM WORKERS LIVE UNDER IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on the early history of farm workers in South Africa. It covers land dispossession, quasi-feudal relationships between farmers and farm workers and farm dwellers. The relevant government policies are reviewed and limitations thereof are pin pointed. It reviews the living and working conditions of farm workers and farm dwellers during the apartheid era and the current dispensation**.**

2.2. History of farm dwellers and land dispossession

The history of farm workers dates back to 1652 when the Europeans started to settle in South Africa. Wegerif *et al* (2005) argue that the history of South Africa is one of massive and well orchestrated land dispossessions, from the colonial era until the demise of apartheid. "Indigenous people in South Africa were systematically dispossessed through colonisation and apartheid. This saw many trapped in an exploitative labour system as migrant workers, farm workers and labour tenants. The experiences of dispossession for South Africans are common in some ways but different in many other ways, due to people's status in a society based on race, class and gender"(AFRA News, 2005:3). The point made by the authors is that race, class and gender are key factors that determined the type of relationship between white farmers and black farm workers. AFRA News (2005:3) states that:

> *As white settlers took over or were allocated land, many black farmers were either removed completely or forced to reach an agreement with the new 'owner'. Some black farmers gave a share of their crops, others entered into labour tenancy arrangements in terms of which they provided free labour for up to six months a year for the privilege of staying on what had been their land.*

Atkinson (2007) mentions that in South Africa, the bartering relationship between the Dutch settlers and the indigenous groups in the Western Cape gradually evolved into a highly unequal one. The Khoisan inhabitants became servile labourers in the service of the Europeans. After the Khoisan lost their cattle and faced increased poverty, they began to work for European farmers as labourers. "They received in exchange, food and lodging, some tobacco, and security against attacks by settlers and other African groups" (Atkinson: 2007:23).

"Gradually, the conflict over land developed into a struggle to secure sufficient labour. As black people's access to land diminished, the availability as labourers increased" (Atkinson, 2007:24). The black workers found themselves squatting on the Europeans farms. They were allowed to squat on the farms only if they supplied labour to the white farmers. They provided labour to white farmers by cultivating land, herding cattle and shepherding sheep. Most of the black people used to plough land for subsistence purposes. The black people were not only dispossessed of land but their livelihoods were also destroyed and they were left destitute. "While black agriculture was systematically destroyed, the white farming sector was built with the help of black labour and government gifts of land, subsidies, market protection and 'drought relief' handouts that continued to the last days of apartheid" (Wegerif *et al*, 2005:27). According to Atkinson (2007), the white farmers favoured the system of squatting because it made a supply of labour available, often on an irregular basis. The supply of black labour was intensified by the rise in production on white farms. The introduction of the mining industry created competition with white commercial farmers because it paid better salaries. The harassment, bad working conditions and meagre salaries made black labourers migrate from farm to farm. As a result, some of the farmers requested the government to regulate the supply of cheap labour and coerced labour. The government of the day introduced the Labour Regulation Act No.15 of 1911, which separated labour between farms and mines.

2.3. Racial segregation laws that affected farm workers and farm dwellers

The land policy in South Africa over the past one hundred years actively supported the emergence of white commercial agriculture and capitalist production through

eliminating independent African production and restricting access to land in small communal reserves designated solely for the African population. Wegerif *et al* (2005:5) states that by the time the National Party was voted into power by the white-only electorate in 1948, unequal access to land was already thoroughly entrenched. The 1850's is the period where racial division started in the South African society. Racial inequality was demonstrated through labour and ownership of land. The apartheid state consolidated this situation to ensure that no black person was allowed to own land; black people could only reside on a farm at the discretion of the white owner, rental accommodation in townships, or live in 'native reserves' (later bantustans) with permission from a traditional leader.

Racial division and inequality were made worse by the promulgation of certain racial laws such as the Native Affairs Act of 1920, Native Act of 1923, Native Trust and Land Act of 1936. The Native Service Contract of 1932 made provision that the entire family might be evicted from the white farm if any member of the family failed to provide the necessary service. Atkinson (2005) has established that the Masters and Servants Act of 1911 and 1932 prohibited breaking of contracts and changing of employers or the assigning of family members to other employers. The Native Regulation Act of 1911 was modified to state that, from time to time, all black male and female workers over 16 years of age were required to register with a labour bureau. This was meant to ensure that blacks work only on farms. Atkinson (2005:115) mentions that the labour bureaux did not allow black people to leave their family and go to work in an urban area without permission from the white farmer.

In terms of the Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 and the Trespass Act of 1955, a farm worker could be summarily evicted from a farm. It is clear that all these laws were used to control the lives of black people and to ensure that the white farmers have enough cheap labour because industries and commercial farming were competing.

The Pass Law of 1955 controlled the movement of black people in urban areas. The 1913 Land Act determined a racially skewed distribution of land. The black people were allocated 8% of land for occupation while the white people were allocated 92%

of the land for ownership and use. “It is estimated that between 1960 and 1980 over 3.5 million black South Africans were forcibly removed from their land and relocated in so-called “homelands” and “townships” (Centre for Conflict Resolution, 2007:19). The racial laws segregated people in terms of race and socio-economic status. It also contributed to the fragmentation of settlement areas in accordance with the different racial groups. Department of Land Affairs (2004:2) share the same view when they state that:

> *“The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 said that African people could only live on or own land in a few ‘black areas’. These areas were black townships and the rural Trust land. The government used most of the Trust land to create the ‘homeland’. The South African Development trust owned the rest of the trust Land and the Department Of Development Aid controlled and ran it. The Group Areas Act of 1956 divided towns and cities (apart from the townships) into group areas for whites, coloureds and Indians. If the police caught you living in the wrong area, you could be charged in a criminal court”*

The black people were evicted and forcefully removed from farms and urban areas and dumped in the so called Bantustans and homelands. “I believe that the most common forms of land tenure, historically, are based on trusteeship rather than ownership: as in the parts of Africa today, land was regarded as sacred heritage, belonging to the past and future generations, held in trust by those presently occupying it” (Turner, 1986: 23). The people who are mostly affected by insecure tenure are rural-urban immigrants, informal settlements dwellers, farm workers and farm dwellers because they earn low wages and cannot afford to buy land and pay rental for accommodation. The establishment of a rural village may address security of tenure, access to basic services and other social facilities for people living on farms. Some people may not want to live and work on farms for the rest of their lives. Therefore rental housing should be considered for this category of farm workers.

“Labour tenants were forced to work on farms for generations in exchange for residential and farming land. The arrangement did not include any wages” (City

Press, 28 May 2006). Technically this constituted an employment contract although it was not signed between the farmer and farm worker.

These laws also made it easier for the farmers to coerce and evict farm dwellers. On the contrary, there were no laws protecting the interests of farm workers and dwellers. All of these racial laws have since been abolished. However, this type of feudal system between farmers and labourers and inequality still exists even today.

2.4. Living conditions on farms and access to basic services

Better living conditions on the farms are determined by the farm owners. For instance, some farm owners do not allow visitors and children on their farms. Permission to bury the deceased and access to the graves are other serious problems faced by farm dwellers. There have been isolated court cases regarding this crisis where the government had to intervene. Wegerif *et al* (2005) argue that 4,3 % of the households left the farms due to housing related reasons.

Although the government introduced rural development programmes and other interventions aimed at addressing the needs of people living in rural areas and sustaining their livelihood, the living and working conditions of farm workers are not satisfactory. Poverty is a chronic problem for the majority of people living in rural areas. The Rural Study conducted by Urban Dynamics Town Planners in Steve Tshwete municipality 2003 and the survey conducted by Nkuzi Development Association in 2003 revealed that living conditions on farms are defined by a lack of proper sanitation systems, lack of potable water and electricity, bad roads, non-existence of schools, no adequate housing, non-existence of health facilities, poor wages, abuse of labour laws and poverty. However, needs such as housing, schools, roads, health care and potable water are mostly government responsibilities. Therefore provision thereof cannot be blamed on farmers. This is an indication that some farmer workers and farm dwellers still do not receive basic services in an efficient and sustainable manner. These issues have the potential to affect sustainable development adversely. The lack of government service delivery is directly responsible for these problems on farms. According to Statistics South Africa (2001),

the highest concentration of poverty and unemployment is in the rural areas where 46.3% of the population reside. It should be noted that this statistic includes both farms and homelands. The point being made is that the farm workers and farm dwellers are amongst the poor and unemployed.

2.4.1. Reasons for staying on and leaving the farms

Despite the high rate of urbanisation, there are people who still prefer staying on farms. Atkinson (2007) argues that there are people who have lived on farms for more than 27 years. Some of them have lived there for more than 50 years. "There are several factors that lead workers to stay on farms, such as physical security on the farms, the possibilities for family life and the fact that workers can keep livestock…In a number of cases, employment is available for family members, which is an added advantage to stay" (Atkinson, 2007:112). Atkinson (2003:43) has discovered that some of the reasons for farmers preferring to stay on farms were that:

* the owner is good to me;
* there is free food and agreeable working hours;
* I will not feel at home in town;
* towns are frenetic and oppressive;
* living costs are lower than in town;
* farm workers can keep livestock;
* children are safe when parents are at work;
* it is the only way to get work and there is no work in town and there are schools on farms.

Some of these reasons are valid but most of them are not long term solutions because the farmer can evict a household at any time. None of these reasons are linked to security of land tenure. Atkinson (2007) discovered that the reasons mentioned for living in towns are that:

* farms are too far from towns;
* on a farm one does not own a house;

* farm workers do not have security when they get old and have to retire;
* there is inadequate housing on farms;
* some farmers make workers pay for water, housing and electricity;
* access to town is difficult and expensive;
* it is difficult to get accommodation for school children in town;
* on farms one is separated from his family if they live in town;
* when members of a worker's family want to visit they first have to ask the farmer's permission; and
* there are better services such as housing, education, social services and sanitation in town.

The reasons for not staying on farms are valid and outweigh those for preferring to stay on farms. These reasons contribute to rural-urban migration. If one analyses carefully the reasons mentioned for not wanting to stay on farms one would realise that these reasons are related to the basic needs of farm workers and farm dwellers. The government has therefore introduced several programmes aimed at addressing these needs. A few of those programmes are the housing subsidy schemes, land reform programmes, scholar transport programme, the determination of minimum wage for farm workers and mobile clinics.

2.5. Implication of land tenure for farm workers and farm dwellers

The growing population needs land for different priorities such as security of tenure in order to be able to build houses and practise livestock farming. "Informal tenure arrangements are widespread, leaving occupants (owners/ tenants) vulnerable to exploitation and loss of their accommodation" (Public Service Commission, 2003: 3). Access to land and security of tenure are very fundamental needs of the poor people living on farms because land is their source of livelihood. The economic value of land for rural people is cropping, livestock production and the use of natural resources such as water, fruits, roots, trees, wildlife, sand, clay and grass. These natural resources can be eaten or processed further into other useful products such as medicine, building materials, furniture, fuel, etc. Most of the people living on farms are illiterate and the only skill they have is working on farms ploughing fields,

cultivating crops, shepherding livestock and milking cows. Therefore the knowledge of cropping and livestock farming becomes their only human capital that they can use to sustain their livelihoods.

> *"The interdependency of secure tenure and investment is now generally recognised even if it is not yet widely understood. One of the most powerful institutional instrument that can be used to stimulate local investment is the granting of tenure rights; it can also inhibit low-income investment, and drive people out of their communities by inflating land prices"(* Adams *et al,* 1999: 22).

The above means that if you cannot afford to buy land you should go somewhere else where land is cheap or else you remain landless. Land tenure also divides society according to race and class and this is reflected in the spatial pattern of most of the South African cities and towns and in terms of ownership of farms. "Land is one of the most important components in human settlement development. Despite this reality, land is fixed in location, scarce, fragile and hence it has become an asset" (Adams *et al,* 1999:23*)*. Secure land tenure is needed by people to have assurance that they can improve their houses and protect themselves against weather and thieves; to have assurance that their children can inherit property, sell or transfer property; to use the property as collateral when borrowing money and for the property to be serviced with basic services.

"No settlement or development can take place without obtaining land, without people organising and without improvement of land" (Turner, 1986:8). Theoretically, housing production is a process whose end-product is a house, tenure security, economic advantage of ownership and serviced site. The point being made by the author is that there is a relationship between land and housing because you cannot build houses if land is not available. The two components are inseparable. Realising this fact, the government of South Africa used housing provision as a vehicle with which access to housing, security of land tenure and basic services can be obtained by poor and landless people in South Africa. The rationale is that access to housing and land has the potential to boost the dignity of the poor. The objectives of providing

secure land tenure are to integrate the poor, protect them against eviction, reduce social exclusion, improve access to basic services, stabilise communities and encourage investments. The latter forms part of the basic needs of farm dwellers and farm workers because their quality of life is highly dependent on access to them.

2.5.1. Problems associated with insecure land tenure

The problems associated with insecure land tenure in South Africa are historical. Therefore as a result the new government of South Africa which came to power in South Africa inherited the problems associated with insecure land tenure.

> *"Today, South Africa's inequitable and racially-based system of land tenure causes unsustainable imbalances in its citizens' access to land, the legal recognition afforded to land rights, the consequent levels of security of tenure and the registration of land rights"(Umsebenzi, 2005:8).*

Since 1994 the government of South Africa has introduced pieces of legislation and policies such as the Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1998, National Housing Act No.107 of 1997 and housing policies that are aimed at addressing the problems of insecure land tenure. Some authors feel that the policies of the government on land tenure are not effective. For instance, Cousins (2006) argues that current land tenure policies confuse "ownership" with "security of tenure", resulting in significant legal and administrative delays in extending effective security of tenure to the poor. According to Cousins (2006) ownership is linked to real rights which are legally recognised through a public registration system linked to spatially defined land parcels. His argument is that people living on farms and rural areas cannot link to or understand this system. Again, the argument could be also that the government advocates for creation of ownership of land even in cases where it is not necessary. For instance, it is not appropriate to enforce the creation of land ownership on farms for farm workers.

2.6. Reasons for evictions on farms

Evictions are common and a serious problem on farms. "Despite several pieces of legislation passed to protect the rights of farm workers and prevent arbitrary evictions, thousands of farm workers continue to be evicted from their dwellings. Ironically, it is laws that are meant to protect farm labourers that have fuelled a wave of mass action on farms" (South Africa Info, 2005:4).

Wegerif *et al* (2005) argue that only 20% of some 4.2 million displaced from farms between 1984 and 2004 left of their own will, while the remaining 80% left due to external pressure. Those who left farms of their own will, chose to do so because they wanted urban life which comes with access to basic services, social grants, better services and educational facilities. They argue that the reasons for evictions were because of the following:

- too old or sick to work any more;
- the children had to leave the farm due to the death of their parents or grandparents and hence there is no one left to look after them;
- some farmers do not want unmarried women and live-stock on the farms.
- resisting child labour; and
- disputes over working on public holidays, leave, long working hours and wages

2.6.1. Extent of evictions

Evictions have been taking place since farming was commercialised in the early 1960's. The scale of evictions is alarming and hence it needs redress. Wegerif *et al* (2005: 41) argue that almost 60% of adult evictees, representing close to half a million people, lived on the farms from which they were evicted for more than ten years, with 41% having lived on farm in excess of 15 years. These farm dwellers are not just transient workers; they are people who have lost their family homes and way of life. Wegerif *et al* (2005) states that 23% of those evicted were men, 28% were women and 49% were children. Women and children are the most common victims of evictions. The scale of evictions is a cause for concern particularly those of women

and children as they are a vulnerable group in society. Some women and children are employed on farms. However, many farmers still regard men as household heads. Therefore living on farms for women and children is dependent on the employment of male farm workers because they are breadwinners and are allowed to build houses on the farms for the families. As a result, when men are evicted from farms, women and children suffer as well. Research suggested that farm owners do not attempt to find alternative accommodation for the evicted households. "Of the 355 households that were interviewed in depth about their eviction experience, only one has been found alternative accommodation" (Wegerif *et al*, 2005:48).

Economic and political change has contributed to the scale of evictions on farms. Wegerif *et al* (2005) claim that the highest peak in evictions was between 1982 and 1984 where 159 966 people were evicted due to the severe drought. The 1992 evictions was the highest because 179 575 people were evicted which according to the Wegerif *et al* (2005) may be due to the general insecurity felt by some farmers concerning their land rights and political future during the negotiations process that had commenced.

In 1994 and 1997, the scale of evictions also increased due to the first democratic elections that took place in 1994 and the introduction of the Restitution of Land Rights Bill. It is also important to note that the economic pressures also contributed to the evictions as farmers could not afford increased wage expenses. This resulted in the eviction of 122 626 farm workers and farm dwellers. This is because the Restitution of Land Rights Act No.22 of 1994 seeks to provide for the restitution of rights in land to persons or communities dispossessed of such rights after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racial discriminatory laws or practices. The farm workers and farm dwellers happen to be the victims of this situation. Therefore, the farmers were threatened by this legislation. The 1997 evictions coincided with the introduction of the Labour Tenants Act and Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1996 which were never welcomed by the farmers as they oppose illegal evictions.

In 2003, the scale of evictions went up after the government introduced the laws that regulate minimum wage for farm workers and basic conditions of employment for

farm workers. This resulted in eviction of 138 308 farm dwellers. Wegerif *et al* (2005) argue that during this period a high proportion of evictions from farms were due to employment-related reasons and involved disputes around wages, retrenchments and dismissals. Therefore, these regulations had serious impact on the employment status of farm workers and their chances of remaining on farms. For instance, according to South Africa Info (2005), two years ago, a Limpopo farmer, Andries Fourie made history when he sacked 366 workers at once apparently because they had joined a union. South Africa Info (2005) states that a report released by the South African Human Rights Commission highlighted that on South African farms the right to reside on a dwelling on a farm is usually linked to the labour contract between the farm owner and the worker. When a worker is fired, the right to reside in the dwelling is also terminated. Obviously the 366 farm workers sacked by the farmer together with their families had to leave his farm irrespective of whether children will be interrupted in their schooling or not. This action demonstrates that the farm workers and farm dwellers exist at the mercy of farm owners and also proves the fact that security of tenure is fundamental and as such, it is considered a basic human right.

According to Chapter VIII of the Labour Relations Act No. 66 of 1995, a farm worker can challenge the lawfulness or fairness of a dismissal. A farm worker cannot be summarily dismissed without following the correct legal procedures. The figures on the scale of farm evictions presented by Wegerif *et al* (2005) seem very high and therefore are debatable. However, according to Wegerif *et al* (2005), a nationally representative sampling framework that would enable their study to quantify the number of farm evictees in South Africa between 1984 and 2004 was developed. Social Surveys developed a cutting edge approach utilising a geo-demographic segmentation model to assist in undertaking sampling. There are nevertheless questions about the scale of removals claimed in the post-apartheid period.

2.7. Government intervention on evictions

Before 1994 the judiciary system of South Africa was biased in favour of farmer owners over farm workers because it was easy for the land owners to obtain court

orders to evict farm dwellers. Wegerif *et al (*2005) states that the process was handled in the magistrates courts under common law procedures and provided the person applying for the eviction order was the owner of the land, he or she could obtain an eviction order without having to provide any reason. Wegerif *et al* (2005) argue that the court procedures and requirements did not give consideration to the fact that people were losing their homes and there was no need to provide alternative accommodation. The attitude of the court was that as long as farmers are the owners of the land they can do whatever they want with the farm dwellers and farm workers. The human rights of the farm dwellers and farm workers did not mean anything to the court and farmers. It is against this background that the new government of South Africa enacted legislation to correct past injustices caused by the apartheid regime.

2.7.1 Land Reform Act No.3 of 1996

The government entrenched in several pieces of legislation clauses protecting private rights and enforced compensation for people who were forcefully removed because land reforms by the colonial and apartheid governments were responsible for the development of racial inequality in this country. The Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act No.3 of 1996 was enacted with the objective of providing security of tenure to labour tenants and those persons occupying or using land as a result of their association with labour tenants and to provide for the acquisition of land and rights in land by labour tenants. It protects farm workers from unfair evictions. The Restitution of Land Act No. 22 of 1994 provides for compensation for land that was lost due to forced removals during the apartheid era. “Tenure reform is mandated by section 25(6) of the Constitution, which reads “a person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled to the extent provided by an act of parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress"(Nkuzi Development Organization, 2003:3)

The Land Reform Act provides for restitution, redistribution and tenure reform which are three programmes put in place by the government specifically to implement its vision as outlined above. Redistribution aims to assist those who are in need of land for housing and productive purposes. Adams *et al* (1999: 6) states that the aim of the

redistribution is to ensure the transfer of 30% of all farm land into the hands of people who previously were robbed of their land or prevented from owning land. The time frame for this is 15 years. This programme seeks to assist people living in both urban and rural areas, labour tenants, farm workers and people who want to start farming. Restitution aims to address cases of people who lost land after 1913 through forced removals. The land reform programme reviews the old policies and laws in order to improve security of tenure. Under the land reform programme the government issues grants for settlement, settlement planning, land acquisition, land acquisition grants for local authorities and oversees land redistribution for agricultural development. "The LTA requires that any persons claiming to be labour tenants are providing labour to the owner of the land in return for the use of land; that their access to the land is the primary remuneration received for their labour, that they had a parent who was a labour tenant; and that they had a grandparent who was a labour tenant" (Wegerif, *et al,* 2005:36). The latter authors are dissatisfied with these requirements of the Act. They see these requirements as obstacles to labour tenants in gaining ownership of land because they have to prove that they are indeed labour tenants in terms of the Act. Wegerif, *et al* (2005) argue that the combination of the factors mentioned above can be difficult and expensive to prove in court.

According to the City Press newspaper of 28 July 2005, Thoko Didiza, the former Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs identified a number of challenges which make the land redistribution programme ineffective in terms of addressing land tenure related problems on farms. The challenges which were identified by the Minister are:

- the land redistribution is an expensive and tardy legal process;
- the protection of property rights,
- obligation of the state side to undertake land reform and
- current laws regulating evictions do not protect farm dwellers.

2.7.2. Prevention of Illegal Eviction and Extension of Security of Tenure Acts

Pre-1994 many farm workers were illegally evicted. Therefore as a result the government introduced the Prevention of Illegal Eviction Act No. 19 of 1998 which repealed the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951. The Prevention of Illegal Eviction Act No. 19 of 1998 provides procedures for the eviction of unlawful occupants and also prohibits unlawful evictions. The Extension of Security of Tenure Act No. 62 of 1997 provides security of tenure to people living and working on farms, making it difficult to legally evict people. According to the provisions of the Extension of Tenure Act No.62 of 1997, the occupiers of land may only be evicted if a court has issued an eviction order to the owner of the land. Specific procedures must be followed before an eviction order can be granted by a court.

> *"Those who have lived on a farm for more than ten years and are over 60 years old or unable to work due to a disability are allowed to stay on the farm for the rest of their lives, unless they breach conditions defined in the ESTA or in the agreement in terms of which they stay on farm" (Wegerif, et al, 2005: 35).*

The concern is that the conditions contained in the agreement in terms of which farm dwellers stay on farm may sometimes be unfair and unjust. For instance, the common condition is that the farm worker may stay on the farm as long as she or he is employed by the farm owner. What this means is that the family of the farm worker must leave the farm when the farm worker has been dismissed. The experience is that there are many people who are illegally evicted from farms and farmers are usually not charged for the crime they have committed. "At the same time, there has been insufficient support provided by the state to assist farm workers to claim their rights. Most farm workers are unaware of the provisions of ESTA and so are not well positioned to seek help" (Hall, 2003:21). This situation has made it easier for the farmers to undertake illegal evictions.

2.8. Limitations of government policies

Nkuzi Development Association (2003) argues that the biggest weakness has been the failure of the Act to move farm dwellers out of an inferior tenancy arrangement to a situation of having their own land**.** Section 4 of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997 states that:

> *"The Minister shall, from moneys appropriated by Parliament for that purpose and subject to the conditions the Minister may prescribe in general or determine in a particular case, grant subsidies-*
>
> *(a) to facilitate the planning and implementation of on-site and off-site developments;*
> *(b) enable occupiers, former occupiers and other persons who need long-term security of tenure to acquire land or rights in land; and*
> *(c) for the development of land occupied or to be occupied in terms of on-site or off-site developments.*

These provisions make it very difficult to force an on-site settlement where the owner is unwilling and there is no right in the legislation for a farm dweller to claim security of tenure if the government is failing to provide it for them. Wegerif, *et al,* (2005) share the same perspective with Nkuzi Development Association because they argue that without long-term security of tenure, farm dwellers continue to live as tenants on other people's land and, even where evictions are prevented, ongoing harassment is common.

"One of the primary weaknesses in the implementation of the legislation is that the responsibility has been left with farm dwellers to defend their own rights with no effective support. Less than 10% of farm workers are unionised, and these unions tend to be weak and under-resourced. Farm dwellers who are not working are even more poorly organised, while the state has been largely reactive and has done little to create awareness amongst farm dwellers as to their rights" (Hall, 2003:9)

From what Hall (2003) says it is clear that the problem of the farm workers is compounded by the fact that they lack access to information, are illiterate as well as the fact that they do not have financial backing to acquire legal advice and representation by lawyers.

> *"The CRLS has found that farmers have responded to ESTA in three ways. First, it has led farmers to be much more cautious about building new houses or providing access to existing housing to those who are not already living on the farm. At a workshop held by the CRLS and through research in the Western Cape, we have heard from farmers that many of them have empty houses on their farms that they will not allocate to workers because of ESTA" (Wegerif et al 2005:47).*

Many farmers and their representative organisations remain hostile to ESTA and the protection it provides to farm workers. The attitude of farmers towards ESTA is that it undermines the extent of the control the farmers can exert on farm workers who live on their land. The Act also makes it difficult for farmers to evict farm workers. Some farmers are even willing to contribute financially to ensure that farm workers can obtain housing elsewhere. Given this willingness, farmers should be considered as potential partners in implementation of the rural village concept.

In terms of Section 6(4) of ESTA, any person shall have a right to visit and maintain his or her family graves on land which belongs to another person, subject to any reasonable conditions imposed by the owner or person in charge of such land in order to safeguard life or property or to prevent undue disruption of work on the land.

> *"In the 2003 HSRC survey, the farmers were asked whether farm workers have burial rights on the farm. Out of 57 respondents, 36 farmers still allow burial, while 21 have abolished the system. Several farmers have suggested that only workers with a long history of service are entitled to make use of the farm cemetery. But in recent years, there have been several publicised instances of farm workers wanting to bury family members on a farm or to visit family*

cemeteries, with employers denying them permission to do so"(Atkinson, 2007:100).

The shortcoming of section 6(4) of ESTA is the qualification of 'reasonable conditions' because what is reasonable to one person might not be reasonable to the next person. As a result many people have been refused access to graves of their relatives perhaps because of security reasons.

> *"Lack of focus on farm dwellers in the implementation of the land reform programme is unfortunate and somewhat surprising, especially given the intentions of the Freedom Charter and their identification as intended beneficiaries in the White Paper on South African Land Policy...Farm dwellers also lack access to basic information such as the location of the DLA offices and DLA has not taken proactive steps to reach the farm workers or farm dwellers"* (Wegerif *et al*, 2005:39).

In a nutshell, Wegerif *et al* (2005) argue that the Department of Land Affairs keeps no records of the extent to which farm dwellers benefit from the redistribution and restitution and that independent studies have shown that they benefit very little. Wegerif *et al*, (2005) have established that only 8.4% of evicted farm dwellers were given written notices and the remaining 91, 6% were given verbal notices. The latter authors have also established that 74% of the evictee families did not know where they could get assistance when evicted. This is an indication of how poorly informed farm dwellers are.

2.9. Working conditions of farm workers

According to Atkinson (2003), labour relations between the farmers and farm workers in the agricultural sector have always been unique. Historically, the class of black and coloured farm workers in South Africa were deliberately created by the segregationist and apartheid regimes as a marginalised and super exploitable labour force. "Farm labourers are extremely challenged by poor remuneration which is well below acceptable standards to support a decent quality of life. They are burdened by

poor working and living conditions" (Sangonet, 2003:14). "The 1996 Agricultural Survey reported that average earnings for farm workers were R419 per month in that year, and the 2002 survey found that workers earned R551 per month on average"(Wegerif, *et al;* 2005:52). On the other hand, Dispatch Online (1999) established that about 72 percent of farm workers received an income below the poverty line, according to a submission made to the parliamentary labour committee in October. The average monthly remuneration was R457, with some earning as little as R40 or R50, the Labour Department told the committee. This is in breach of minimum wage policy for farm workers. From the two surveys, one has established that between 1996 and 2002 there has been a slight increase in salary between R457 and R551 per month.

> *"In 1999, the Department introduced the minimum wage for agricultural and domestic workers. This idea was criticised by Agri SA and the Freedom Front stating that it could have negative effects on the same people it was intended to help because they felt that farmers would have to rationalise their labour force even further if labour costs increase"(Dispatch Online,1999).*

According to Polity (2002), the Freedom Front did not sympathise with the farm workers because they felt that regulating the wages of farm workers would create more unemployment and social problems among farm workers. As a result, there were reports of forced evictions, violence and non-compliance. In 2002, the government concluded the farm worker deal. On 2 December 2002, Labour Minister Membathisi Mdladlana announced that in terms of the new deal, the farm workers are expected to be paid for every hour or part of an hour worked. Wages for farm workers will also be payable according to the productivity of different farms. He further announced that those working on certain farms would get a minimum wage of R800 a month. Workers in other areas will get a minimum wage of R650 a month. Farm workers will also receive an annual wage increase (Polity, 2002:3). The Minister further announced that the farmers would be allowed to deduct 10 percent for food and accommodation respectively from the new minimum wage for farm workers if required.

There are farmers who contravened the farm worker wage deal by paying farm workers wages that are far below what the law stipulates. This was confirmed by the observations and interviews conducted by Nkuzi Development Association in 2003 in Limpopo Province. The findings were that there were still people earning wages ranging between R100 and R300 per month before deductions. The Sectoral Determination, which lays down conditions of employment for farm workers, stipulates that as from 1 March 2008 to 28 February 2009, a farmer must pay a farm worker who works less than 45 hours per month an hourly rate of R5, 59 that translates to R1 090 per month.

There is a problem of child labour on farms. For instance, the survey conducted by Wegerif *et al* (2005) has revealed that 12 302 children who were employed as seasonal labourers could not attend school during the harvest season which put them at considerable educational disadvantage. It has also been established that the majority of children working on farms were between the age of 11 and 15 years old. "Some of the household evictions recorded in this study were as a direct result of families attempting to resist child labour" (Wegerif *et al,* 2005: 53).

Despite the existence of the Labour Relations Act and Conditions of Basic Employment, Nkuzi Development Association (2003) has discovered that there are farmers who still dismiss farm workers without warning and compensation, deny farm workers the right to affiliate to a trade union, do not pay maternity, sick or annual leave, enforce excessive working hours, non-payment of UIF and the use of child labour. These cases are exceptions because only a few farmers are responsible for these acts. This however, is a demonstration of abuse and non-observance of labour laws by certain farmers and perpetuates the poverty of farm workers.

2.10. Conditions of employment

Since 1994, there has been a policy change in the agricultural sector aimed at governing labour relations between farmers and farm workers. The government introduced Labour Relations Act of 1995, Extension of Security of Tenure and Labour Tenants Act of 1996.

> *"To a large extent these policies were designated to create equity, more commercially viable agricultural sector and to protect the interests of both farm workers and farmers. The contradiction however is that farmers were forced to make use of labour saving technology to become more competitive whilst at the same time being expected by the state to provide a social welfare tab for farm workers" (SAHRC, 2003:1)*

The latest conditions of employment for farm workers provide that farm workers may work 45 hours per week, but not more than 12 hours per day including overtime. Farm workers are entitled to three weeks paid leave, sick leave cycle of 36 months, three days for family responsibility. "Maternity leave is four months and starts four weeks before the expected date of birth. A farm worker may only resume work, six weeks after the birth of a child" (Department of Labour, 2003: 5). "A number of farm workers were also fired for taking unauthorised time off. On occasion, this was due to illness or pregnancy in circumstances where employers gave workers no leave time". (Wegerif, *et al*, 2005:69). The farmers in this instance were in contravention of the provisions of the conditions of employment. The implication of this action is that female employees may not fall pregnant and if they do, working relations with the farmer may become problematic. This conduct disrespects the rights of women. There are also significantly more unemployed women living on farms as compared to men. "Although surprisingly, the full time average income of men and women did not differ substantially before 2000, in the past five years a notable difference has emerged, with men now earning more than women"(Wegerif *et al,* 2005:52). This is an indication that women still do not receive the same treatment as men and are not given the same opportunities as men.

"Labour tenants were forced to work on farms for generations in exchange for residential and farming land. The arrangement did not include any wages" (City Press, 28 May 2008). It is a legal requirement that the farmer must give a farm worker written particulars of employment and that the farmer has the responsibility to ensure that the farm worker understands the contents of the agreement. "Only 3% of people who were evicted due to losing their jobs approached the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration or some other authority in an attempt to

exercise their labour rights. This has contributed to 69.4% of farm dwellers being evicted as a direct result of one of their family members losing their jobs" (Wegerif, *et al,* 2005:48). It is raised as a concern that many farm workers are not conversant with their conditions of employment because seemingly they are not equipped and adequately supported in exercising their labour rights by the government.

Nkuzi Development Association (2003) argues that there are farmers who abuse foreign workers by paying them less than the local farm workers pay. The foreign workers are used to replace the local farm workers because they can be paid lower wages. This situation has positively contributed to xenophobic attacks. Nkuzi Development Association (2003) claims that the foreign workers are not given benefits, and that some farmers withhold wages of foreigners and report them to the authorities as illegal immigrants if they demand their wages.

2.11. Conclusion

It is has been noted that the current living and working conditions of farm workers in South Africa have emerged historically. During the 1650's and up to 1994 some farm workers and farm dwellers were living under conditions which are characterised by no access to potable water, proper sanitation housing and security of tenure. The people living on farms also did not have access to education and health services. The old regime has contributed to these conditions because it has introduced pieces of legislation that encouraged racial segregation between whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians. Even today, the situation on farms has not improved much. This is despite the attempts made by the South African government in 1994 by repealing all the racially segregating and oppressive laws and introducing laws that protect the human rights of farm workers, prevent illegal evictions and encourage development of rural areas. These laws also regulate the working conditions and wages of farm workers. Of utmost concern is that when the new laws were introduced the rate of evicting farm workers went up.

The government has since 1994 introduced several pieces of legislation specifically to provide security of tenure, improve working conditions and protect the human rights

of people working and living on farms. These pieces of legislation include the Land Reform Act No. 3 of 1996, Prevention of Illegal Evictions Act No. 19 of 1998, Extension of Security of Tenure Act No. 62 of 1998, Housing Act No. 107 of 1997, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1998, Basic Conditions of Employment and Sectoral Determination. The impact of these pieces of legislation has been minimal because the farm workers and their families still complain about working and working conditions on farms. This is a clear indication of gaps and shortcomings in the drafting, implementation and enforcement of government legislation, policies and programmes. The living conditions on farms were also made worse by the abolition of the Transitional Rural Councils and removal of social services that had been provided for farm workers by the government before 1994.

3. CHAPTER III: CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Contextual framework

This section unpacks the context within which the housing needs of farm workers and farm dwellers and rural villages can be understood. The research is conducted within the context of the Constitution of South Africa, South African Housing Policy and the National Housing Act No 107 of 1997. This section also reviews the existing housing policy with a view of assessing the degree at which it is able to address the housing needs of farm workers.

3.2. Constitutional obligation and South African housing policy

In South Africa and in many other parts of the world access to housing is regarded as a basic need and human right. "The UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has adopted the analysis of a number of commentators, the human rights create three forms of state obligation: the right to health, like all human rights, imposes three types of level of obligations on States parties, the obligation to *respect, protect* and *fulfil* the right. Some commentators add a further element, namely the obligation to '*promote'* the right" (Budlender, 2003:20). The Constitution of this country strives to achieve these outcomes through the housing process. For example, Section 26 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 provides that:

"(1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.

(2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of the right.

(3) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions"

The Constitution of this country regards access to housing as a means of restoring dignity, alleviating poverty and securing of citizenship. "This was affirmed by the

Constitutional Court in the Grootboom case, where it was held that human dignity, freedom and equality, the foundational values of our society, are denied to those who have no food, clothing or shelter" (Khan and Thring, 2003:20). The court ruled that the policy that ignored the needs of the most vulnerable members of society was not reasonable. The ruling of the Court basically emphasised that no member of a racial group, privileged or unprivileged should be made to feel that they are not deserving of equal concern. Since then the Grootboom case is regarded as a landmark case on social and economic rights. My concern is that as much as the Grootboom case is regarded as a landmark case it is not widely applied to the farm workers and farm dwellers who are evicted on a regular basis, denied access to basic services and adequate shelter. A factor contributing to this is that in most cases the farm dwellers and farm workers are not well informed of their rights.

In 1996, South Africa's new Constitution recognised tenure rights as fundamental human rights and entrenched these in the Bill of Rights. Section 25(6) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996 states that "a person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress". As a result the government introduced legislation and policies aimed at securing land tenure rights mostly for the farm dwellers and other landless people. Such legislation includes the Extension of Security of Tenure Act No.2 of 1998, Labour Tenants Act No.3 of 1996 and Restitution of Land Act No. 22 of 1994.

The National Housing Act No. 107 of 1997 obligates the national, provincial spheres of government to give priority to the needs of the poor in respect of housing development. The Act further determines that the three spheres of government must not inhibit housing development in rural or urban areas. The situational analysis indicates that the government is presently not able to meet these objectives as there is no clear farm workers housing policy put in place by the three spheres of government.

"The, RDP, which was essentially the election manifesto of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994, had five key programmes: "meeting basic needs; developing our human resources; building the economy; democratising the state and society, and implementing the RDP" (Nkuzi Development Association, 2003:5). The main objective of the Reconstruction and Development Programme was to improve the quality of life of all South Africans specifically those who are poor and marginalised. Obviously this objective includes people living on farms. The quality of life of people living on farms can be improved by access to needs such as potable water, sanitation, adequate shelter, land and security of tenure and employment.

3.3. Background of South African housing policy

Practically, housing production should be seen as a process whose end product is a house, tenure security, access to basic services and the economic advantage of ownership. Therefore the South African housing policy sees provision of housing as a basic human right, a means of alleviating poverty, restoring dignity, providing basic services and providing security of tenure. "Beside poor housing standards and the lack of basic services, farm workers face a more important issue around housing. Historically, the houses which farm workers occupy have been tied to their employment. This has meant that workers are assured of accommodation if they continue working on the farm" (AFRA News, 1993:10). Compounds were a common form of accommodation. The problem of farm evictions has been rife despite the fact that the government has been subsidising farmers for farm workers housing. The farm worker housing subsidy did not solve the problem because the houses were built on the land owned by the farmers. This has indicated a problem of insecure tenure. As a result the government has, in 2000, introduced a housing policy in order to address some of these problems. The housing policy has made provision for seven housing mechanisms in terms of which the basic services, security of tenure and adequate housing can be provided to the poorest of the poor. Those housing mechanisms are project linked, credit linked, institutional, individual housing, people's housing process, affordable housing and rural housing subsidy schemes. The main problem is that none of these housing instruments are appropriate for delivering housing to farm dwellers.

The rural housing programme is also not appropriate for farm workers because the national housing policy provides that the beneficiaries of rural subsidies will be able to access the subsidy if they occupy land by virtue of the laws and customs of a tribe, or if the land is State land. It further stipulates that people who have access to land in terms of the informal rights protected in the Interim Protection Act can also benefit from the rural subsidy. "Rural subsidies may only be accessed on a project basis. Rural subsidies are however, to be regarded as subsidies of the last resort. If, in any particular area, it is possible (for example in terms of the Less Formal Township Establishment Act, 1991) to create secure rights of tenure for subsidy beneficiaries, preference must be given to subsidy forms which are based on these rights" (Housing Code, 2000:312). The other shortcoming of the housing policy is its requirement for tenure security which is linked and confused with ownership.

"The existing supply-side and commoditised housing programme reflects a significant and inherent urban bias. There is a need to address this through a stronger focus on rural housing instruments" (Department of Housing, 2004:12). This statement is valid because at the moment all housing delivery efforts are urban biased yet people in rural areas and farms still live under subhuman conditions that are characterised by a lack of potable water, sanitation, adequate housing, security of tenure, etc. The existing housing situation on farms is not in line with what the National Housing Act No 107 of 1997, the Rural Development Framework and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa are hoping to achieve. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa emphasises that everyone has a right to adequate housing, an environment that is not harmful to his or her health and well-being, the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation. In this respect the Constitution of this country does not differentiate between urban and rural areas.

The Breaking New Ground plan seeks to address most of the shortcomings of the housing policy. The Department of Housing (2004), envisages developing a rural housing programme which will deal with a range of rural housing related issues such as tenure, livelihood strategies and broader socio-cultural issues. "The programme will also respond to the needs of farm workers and farm dwellers and will consider the economic, social, and institutional sustainability of farm worker settlements"

(Department of Housing, 2004:20). According to the Department of Housing (2004), the rural housing programme will also enhance traditional building technologies in rural areas, improve shelter, services and tenure. It is a concern that most of the proposed changes aim to address the shortcomings of the housing instruments that can only be implemented in urban areas. As a result of this intervention, the Farm worker Housing Assistance Programme was developed in 2006.

3.4. Farm worker Housing Assistance Programme

After realising that the housing needs of farm workers and farm dwellers are not catered for in the existing housing policy, in 2003, the Department of Housing embarked on a process of developing a farm worker housing policy in consultation with all relevant stakeholders. The main reason for failure of the rural housing programme to deliver houses on the farms is that the programme requires the applicant to acquire a secure right to occupy, use or own a property in terms of a tenure form which can be registered with a competent authority. "Securing such a registerable right on farms is the greatest obstacle to housing delivery under the current mechanisms" (Umhlaba Development Resources, January 2005:4). The other challenge was that some farmers did not support the program as they feared that they would lose control over land should farm workers obtain ownership to land. The possibility of selling the house to somebody not working on the farm was also amongst the concerns of the farmers.

> *"First, the provision of water, sanitation and electricity on farms is tightly linked to land tenure. The delivery of housing on privately owned land is similarly a challenge for service provision. That is because farms are privately owned, it would be difficult for the State to invest public funds on land where the ultimate accrual of value serves to benefit farm owners" (Umhlaba Development Services, Discussion paper on farm dwellers housing options, 2005:5).*

The above-mentioned challenges prompted the government to develop the Farm Worker and Occupier Housing Assistance Programme in 2006. According to the Draft Programme of March 2006, the main objectives are to provide a range of options for

improved farm worker and occupier tenure security, to provide adequate housing and associated services to farm occupiers and workers and their dependants, to promote healthy and safe living environments for farm occupiers and workers and their dependants. The programme also aims to ensure that farm workers and occupiers are fully engaged in municipal settlement planning processes. It further emphasises the empowerment of women working and living on farms. According to the Department of Housing (2004: 20), the policy will make provision for

> *"...exit mechanisms for farm workers detailing rules for both off-farm and on-farm housing while considering the protection of the State's assets in such cases, suitable strategies for the management of on-farm settlements and agri-village, mechanisms for capacitating all stakeholders in construction and building of farm worker and farm dweller housing".*

According to the Draft Farm Worker and Occupier Housing Assistance Programme of March 2006, housing will be provided to farm workers and farm dwellers through individual, project linked and institutional subsidy mechanisms on off-farm settlements. Only the institutional subsidy mechanism will be administered to on-farm settlements in order to be able to provide long term security of tenure. The policy is not clear on how the institutional subsidy mechanism will be administered to on-farm settlement. Perhaps the municipality is better placed to play the role of a housing institution. However, this would constitute an unfunded mandate as the local municipalities cannot afford to manage the rental stocks that would have been created and scattered throughout the farms. The provision of bulk infrastructure in a sustainable and cost effective manner on the sparsely populated farms will not be possible. Again, one is not convinced that farm workers could afford rental accommodation due to the low salaries they earn.

The programme has since been put on hold also because of the issues of land ownership rights and the inability to reach agreement with the farm owners on how to manage the growth of on-farm settlements and the provision of a sustainable supply of basic services could not be resolved. "The issues of tenure insecurity, public investment on private land and local government involvement were identified as

challenges to effective housing and service delivery to farming communities" (Hartwig, 2004: 26). With these challenges the on-farm housing option is difficult to implement.

The sustainability of off- farm settlement has not been properly assessed as some people feel that off-farm settlements will in the end be dumping zones for unwanted unproductive and older farm workers. Some government departments, developers and some members of the public have a perspective that on-farm settlement will also not be a sustainable approach as according to the draft Farm Worker Housing Assistance Programme, the municipality should assume the responsibility of supplying municipal engineering services. As long as there is no clear plan of dealing with the sustainability of off-farm and on-farm settlements it is not going to be possible to provide farm dwellers and farm workers with adequate housing and related needs.

3.5. Perceptions of farmers on provision of basic services to farm workers and housing options

The interviews held with the farmers revealed that perceptions that farmers charge their employees for rendering basic services cannot be generalised. Out of the 10 interviewed farmers, only 3 farmers said they charge their farm workers nominal amounts for electricity which is connected to the brick houses built by the farmers. None of the farmers said they charge their farm workers for potable water. All farmers confirmed that they do not allow farm workers to keep their livestock on their farms as it constitutes a conflict of interest.

The total number of people employed by the farm owners on different farms was as follows:

Farms	**Total number of employees**
1. Portion 15 of the farm Wonderhoek 376 JS	9
2. Portion 22 of the farm Elandslaagte 368 JS	12

3. Portion 43 of the farm Doornkop 246 JS	10
4. Portion 1 of the farm Wonderhoek 376 JS	15
5. Portion 48 of the farm Doornkop 246 JS	4
6. Portion 34 of the farm Mooiplaats 242 JS	7
7. Portion 3 of the farm Driefontein 240 JS	9
8. Portion 6 of the farm Driefontein 240 JS	18
9. Portion 111 of the farm Goedehoop 244 JS	6
10.Portion 4 of the farm Leeuwpoortjie 267 JS	9

Table 1: Farms on which interviews were held.

Of the 10 interviewed farmers only 2 have said they prefer housing the farm workers on their farms. Their thinking was that having farm workers living on the farm helps to reduce theft and labour is readily available when needed during emergencies. Mostly, those were farmers involved in intensive agriculture. The remaining 8 farmers said that they prefer their workers to live off-farm because they are concerned about the implications of the Extension of Security Tenure Act and Labour Act. They argued that keeping more farm workers on farms also has financial implications for the provision of basic services to their employees. Only 3 farmers said they were prepared to assist financially towards building proper houses for their farm workers on or of the farm. The rest said that the profit margin they make from the agricultural business is not enough and said that housing was actually a responsibility of the government. The survey has revealed that with the establishment of the two additional rural villages in the vicinity of their farms the number of farm workers living on their farms is gradually declining as they relocate to the village.

The farmers who prefer having workers on the farm have tried to convince two or three farm workers to remain on the farm. The farmers support the establishment of the rural villages in the vicinity of their farms because this would address some of their problems and they believe that the labour supply will still be available. However, they are also concerned that the rural villages might bring criminals closer to their farms and hence they might lose their livestock and crops due to theft. They are concerned about the cost of transporting their farm workers to and from the farm.

Some farmers said the reason why they are not willing to release land lying closer to their commercial farms for housing development is fear of livestock theft.

The farmers also did not support the implementation of the institutional housing scheme on their farms because only 1 of them was in favour of the option. They felt that housing is not their core business and this would require their involvement in managing the rental stock. They suggested that government should rather subsidise the farmers who prefer keeping farm workers on their farms. One farmer suggested that the subsidy should be limited to four or five households per farm. The thinking of the farmers makes sense because the urbanisation rate has increased and therefore it is not a good idea for to build many houses on farms. The disincentives such as lack of access to basic services, housing, education and health facilities, land for livestock farming and tenure insecurity on farms, burial rights and improved technology in agriculture have contributed to urbanisation. The establishment of rural villages at Steve Tshwete Local Municipality makes it more appropriate for the local municipality and government to install infrastructure and build houses in the rural villages in order to ensure economies of scale rather than building houses on individual scattered farms.

3.6. CONCLUSION

The status-quo is not different from the past. "Therefore it will not be an overstatement to assert that even up till today, our government cannot in statistical terms, tell what exactly its achievement has been in the different areas of service delivery to farming communities. That is: How much has been done? How much still remains to be done? Whatever has been done, has it really had a significant impact on the lives of people?"(Premier's Office, 2007:38). This is happening despite the fact that the issue of farm dwellers in South Africa has since 1994 been discussed in many forums and entrenched in many pieces of legislation. The current situation urgently requires government to begin developing strategies that will have a positive impact on the lives of people living on commercial farms.

"The plight of people working and living on commercial farms in South Africa has become an endless anguish. In Mpumalanga Province this population comprises 16% of the total population of the province" (Premier's Office, 2007: 37). According to the Premier's Office (2007), in 2004 the Research Unit in the Office of the Premier was commissioned by the Governance and Criminal Justice Cluster to conduct an investigation on the status of service delivery on farms. The key focus areas of the study were human rights issues, safety and security, labour conditions, integrated development planning, local government, housing, water, sanitation, electricity, education and social services. The latest investigation was done in 2006. In brief, the findings of the study were that the farm workers still live in absolute poverty, the lives of farm workers have not changed because they still lack basic services. It was also discovered that most of the municipalities have not yet included farm dwellers needs in their Integrated Development Plans. A concern was raised that certain municipalities did not sign the memorandum of understanding pertaining to the provision of essential services to the farm dwellers.

It has become clear that the current South African Housing policy is failing to deliver houses to farm workers. The emphasis on security of tenure by the housing policy makes provision of services and delivery of houses on farms difficult. Therefore the government should continue conducting in depth research on the farm worker housing assistance policy and make recommendations that are practical. "Furthermore, residential choices are influenced by a wide variety of other issues, such as the availability of services, the relationship between the farmers and workers, the workers' rights to other kinds of livelihoods (e.g. livestock keeping) which supplement wage incomes, the farmers' needs regarding the quality of labour, and farm workers needs regarding training" (Atkinson, 2003: 4).

It is true that farm workers may be better off living off-farm where they can be provided basic services, security tenure and be built government subsidised houses. Off-farm settlement will only be sustainable if the farm dwellers get employment nearby or are self-employed. It is therefore imperative for government to pay attention to diversification of livelihoods and skills development of farm workers.

4. CHAPTER VI: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. Definitions and concepts

Some concepts and definitions can have different meanings to people. Therefore, this section seeks to define and develop the key concepts within the context of this research in order for any reader to be able to follow this research.

The purpose of this section is thus to review the literature on sustainable rural livelihoods in order to have an in-depth understanding of how rural people sustain their livelihoods. This section identifies the capital assets which rural people have and also outlines strategies which rural people employ to sustain their livelihoods.

The rural village concept is defined in many ways in different countries. Therefore, this gives background of the evolution and application of the concept. Some people, as well as some government departments, have a concern that the rural village concept is not sustainable and also see it as a strategy of dumping farming workers and farm dwellers in dormitory areas where they will not be able to sustain their livelihoods. Therefore, the background information on sustainable rural livelihoods has been used to develop a framework for assessing sustainable livelihoods of the Doornkop rural village households.

4.2. Housing related needs

In 2003, the Western Cape Department of Housing conducted a housing demand assessment in order to find out what is acceptable housing and housing needs. The housing needs for people living in informal settlements turned out to be security of tenure, accessibility to job opportunities, basic engineering services, access to basic health, educational and recreational facilities and improved forms of shelter. This study also covered people from rural and farm areas. “The housing needs of this customer group included improved security of tenure, access to basic engineering services, community facilities, and improved shelter”(Western Cape Department of Housing, 2003:2). Access to the housing subsidy was not raised by the people from

the farms. Perhaps it is because they are not well informed of any housing programme which can be used by the government to deliver low-cost subsidy houses to people living on farms. From a sustainable development point of view, the identified housing related needs on farms can only be realised through a working collaboration of farm owners, government and farm dwellers especially regarding providing security of tenure and basic services to people living on farms. These needs can only be realised if the on-farm or off-farm settlements are planned in a way that services can be provided in a cost effective and sustainable manner. The planning of the settlement should be in a way that provision of security of tenure is possible.

Sandham and van der Walt (2004) used a case study of Leliefontein on the West Coast of South Africa to investigate the social aspects of sustainable rural development. They discovered that the economic development needs of the rural community were potable water, electricity, proper roads, medical facilities, shopping facilities, recreational facilities, agricultural land and a police station. The unavailability of these basic services and facilities was indicative of the fact that the aspects of social and economic sustainability were never carefully considered when Leliefontein settlement was planned.

Breaking New Ground Strategy envisages developing a rural housing programme which will deal with a range of rural housing related issues such as tenure, livelihood strategies and broader socio-cultural issues. “The programme will also respond to the needs of farm workers and farm dwellers and will consider the economic, social, and institutional sustainability of farm worker settlements” (Department of Housing, 2004: 20). Government policy acknowledges that the rural poor are vulnerable particularly because of insecure land tenure which makes it easier for evictions to take place.

The issues identified above are housing related and affect farm dwellers and farm workers on a regular basis. The quality of life of rural people can be improved by addressing these issues. Therefore in the context of this research exercise, housing related needs for farm dwellers and farm workers will refer to potable water,

sanitation, energy sources, and security of land tenure, housing, employment, medical and educational facilities.

It is of utmost importance to highlight that housing and services are not the only needs of farm workers. Skills and training are part of the human capital which farm workers and farm dwellers need for the successful construction of different livelihood strategies. This includes schooling of the children of the farmer workers and skills and training of the farm workers. "Schools for the children of farm workers, one of the poorest groups in the country, have been built by private farmers, with state subsidies. Teachers' salaries are provided by the state. With few exceptions, these schools are even more poorly resourced than the community schools" (Rural Development Task Team, 1997: 66). As the agricultural economy began to require skilled workers after the 1970's, farmers began to display a definite interest in farm worker training and advancement" (Atkinson; 2007: 228). Farmers must also be commended for contributing towards the establishment of the schools. Farm workers need education to improve their life chances on and off the farms. It is expressed as a concern that the closure the agricultural colleges such as Boskop Kromme Rhee by the government contributed to the decline in the statistics of skilled farm workers. According to Atkinson (2007) about 6000 agricultural workers received training in the programme and about 4500 of unemployed people were trained in agricultural skills in 1987. This illustrates how important the agricultural colleges were. To date the government has no plans of re-opening of such colleges.

4.3. Definition of rural villages and their characteristics

Countries define rural villages in different ways. In South Africa, the rural village and agri-village concepts are often confused and hence used interchangeably. An off-farm settlement could also mean either a rural village or an agri-village. Various sources define agri-village and rural villages as follows:

The Draft Report of Farm worker and Occupier Housing Assistance Programme (Department of Housing, 2006:11) defines an agri-village as a private settlement established and managed by a legal institution that is situated within an agricultural

area and the residence is primary intended for farm occupiers and farm workers. Agri-village developments generally represent a partnership between farmers/landowners, the state, and farm occupiers and farm workers and may involve agricultural, as well as residential land use. "Off- farm settlement refers to a situation where farm occupiers/workers reside on land that has been donated and subdivided from the farm, and where occupiers/workers are now the title holders of the property/ies. It may also refer to situations in which land has been purchased through the application of state subsidies for housing and land acquisition in which beneficiaries are individual titleholders, or hold property jointly through a Trust, Communal Property Association (CPA), or other legal entity" (Department of Housing, 2006, 12). Off-farm settlement may also refer to instances in which municipalities establish a housing institution and offer housing stock, on a secure rental basis.

According to the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality, a rural village is a formally established rural settlement, which is located within a 15 km radius from the urban area or a node and commercial farms as a source of livelihood It is a settlement where people can live together as a community on serviced stands registered in their names and where community facilities such as clinic, schools, businesses, recreational facilities and commonage land for agricultural purposes can be provided in an economic and sustainable manner. The other needs identified are training and skills development in order to enable the community members to get secure and better jobs. The settlement is limited to 500 households and the minimum stand size is 1000m^2. The target households are people living and working on farms. The inhabitants of the rural village are free to work wherever they want to.

"Agri-village is envisaged as a rural township where dislocated farm residents can reside. The main idea being that concentrated settlements are easier to service. A few rural villages have been established on wine farms in the Western Cape (Kelly, 2003: 12). It is also cheaper to install services on concentrated settlements compared to the dispersed and scattered settlements.

"Rural towns and villages are small rural settlements that are planned (mainly residential with a small number of commercial and business premises) or unplanned

(traditional or resettled areas). Agri-villages are planned, dense settlements in rural areas servicing the surrounding farms and act as dormitory areas for farm workers" (Du Plessis and Landman; 2002:21).

"Agri-village is a private settlement of restricted size established and managed by a legal institution that is situated within an agricultural area and where residence is restricted to bona fide farm workers and their dependents on the farms involved in the development. Security of tenure does not include right of ownership, but can include Trust, Communal Property Association or Sectional Title" (Province of Western Cape, 2000:1). The definitions by Du Plessis and Landman (2002) and the Province of Western Cape have made it clear that an agri-village and rural village is not the same thing because their functions and roles have been differentiated.

eThekwini Online (2006) defines an agri-village as a private settlement of restricted size, established and managed by a legal entity, that is situated within an agricultural or rural area and where residence is restricted to bona fide rural workers and their dependents of the farms, forestry, or conversation enterprises situated in the area.

The Natal Agricultural Union presented an agri-village as "Plots of land laid out in the form of a rural village on a separate sub-division of land. The sub-division may accommodate the farm workers of one or more farmers" (AFRA News, 1993:11). According to AFRA News (1993), the motivation for the establishment of these villages is that they will provide workers with increased security of tenure and the ability to own their own homes. They also felt that the villages reduce the cost of providing services such as water and electricity. AFRA News (1993) has confused the two concepts. This shows that rural village and agri-village as concepts are sometimes used interchangeably and confused. This is what has made it difficult to obtain a more relevant literature on rural villages.

In some countries like United States, Australia, North America an urban settlement can still be referred to as a village. The size is the determining factor. The rural village model is regarded as an alternative growth strategy, which aims to discourage urban sprawl. In Australia, small communities are usually known as townships and larger

settlements as known as towns. “The term village is used to refer to a relatively small unincorporated community similar to a hamlet in New York State. This informal usage may be found even in states that have villages as an incorporated municipality, although such usage might be considered incorrect and confusing” (Free Reference Library: 2009:15).

The rural village and agri-village are not the same settlements. Livelihood in a rural village is dependent on farm employment and urban employment and to a smaller extent on subsistence farming. In the case of an agri-village, livelihood is based on working on the commercial farms. One of the objectives of creating a rural village particularly for the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is to provide ownership of serviced land to farm workers. In the case of the policy for settlement of farm workers in the West Cape Province, security of tenure is afforded by way of lease or notarial deed of servitude as the land and housing remain the property of the institution.

4.4. Defining and distinguishing small towns

Small towns are defined and distinguished in many ways in different countries. As a result, this has opened many debates on this subject matter. A conclusion has been reached that there is no absolute categorisation of small towns. “Towns can be compared with other settlements with potential town-like qualities…More problematic are the trading settlements scattered around the countryside, some of them villages with chartered markets and market places, which bear a topographical similarity to small towns”(Dyer, 2003:99). Du Plessis and Landman (2002) share the similar view with Dyer (2003) on small towns because according to them, small towns generally only have a central business and commercial area, surrounded by suburban area and often separated from the township and informal settlements. What can be drawn from this is that the functions provided by the town determine its order in the hierarchy of towns. Again, small towns in rural areas are characterised by less commercial and industrial activities and hence the difference in economic development.

"Settlements in South Africa are broadly divided into seven typical settlement sizes" (Du Plessis and Landman; 2002:20). According to Du Plessis and Landman (2002), the hierarchy of settlements found in South Africa starts with metropolises, medium cities, large towns, small towns, large and small rural villages in order population size. The estimated population size of small town is 50 000 or less while the rural villages are estimated not to exceed a population of 50 000. Rural settlements are last in the hierarchy of towns. According to Du Plessis and Landman (2002) a rural village has a population size ranging between 5 000 and 50 000. Gibb and Nel (2007:72) state that "small towns in South Africa are generally acknowledged to be centres with fewer than 50 000 inhabitants, of which the Centre for Development Enterprise (1996) estimated that there are some 500 of such places across the country". According to Dyer (2003), small towns are larger than most villages, have few houses and limited market places What has become clear is that population size is used to determine the hierarchy of towns in South Africa. Social structure, occupations, markets, outlets, hinterland, central place functions, location are mostly used to measure the level of economic development of towns.

"Some rural towns can be larger than urban towns in terms of population size and economic scale. It is also important to note that the status of a town, either rural or urban can change" (Li and An, 2009:2). There are also small towns, which have high population but are not economically well developed. Therefore using population size as criteria for determining the hierarchy of a town may be misleading. The increase in population size of small towns may be ascribed to natural population growth. "From this perspective, it is imperative for the factors accounting for the growth of these towns to be explored and analysed" (Owusu, 2005:53).

4.4.1. Functions and roles of small towns

The rural and urban centres play different roles and functions in contributing to the regional development. The most common role of most small towns is to act as the market centres for rural areas where a variety of fresh produce could be sold. "They can provide local markets for agricultural produce which are essential for small scale farmers" (Tacoli, 2004:3). Small towns also act as centres for the production and

distribution of goods and services to the rural areas, other high order centres and to the global market. Small towns are important development nodes that serve the rural hinterland and its population and discourage dispersed settlement patterns in rural areas. However, Li and An (2009) have established that using small towns as a strategy to decrease migration to large cities has not been successful as the small towns authorities do not have resources to address the needs of the rural people.

In addition to the above, the socio-economic changes such as need for employment, basic needs, industrialisation, the traditional role of market centres are no longer enough to sustain development within small towns. It has thus become necessary for the small towns to consider alternative economic development strategies in order to sustain the needs of its people.

The targeting of local market has proven to be unsuccessful because the inhabitants of some of the small towns earn low income and some are unemployed. The challenge may be that some small towns business people do not have access to efficient transport modes and hence are not able to access the market in higher order centres. In light of this challenge, Tacoli (2004:5) argues that "access to markets is a prerequisite to increase rural agricultural income".

4.4.2. Vulnerability of small towns

The long terms future of small towns is questionable as research has proven that most of them are vulnerable. "Rural deindustrialisation, a rationalization of agricultural industries and the shift of economic activities to larger centres have led to the rises in unemployment and left local people questioning the future of small town economies" (Gibb and Nel: 2007). The location distance, poor road networks and transportation system and poorly developed economic policies are also major causes for this weakness. Hinderink and Titus (2002:388) suggest that in order to address this challenge, "small towns functions should be reinforced in such a way that more surplus is kept within the region-for example, by improving its distributive and collecting trade functions or by establishing local processing industries". The positive spin-offs of this initiative are regional development, creation of more job

opportunities and hence discouragement of migration of people from the rural villages to higher order towns.

The input costs for processing raw materials and manufacturing of products and distribution are too high for businesses in small towns. Due to the low level of economic development and insufficient population threshold, the businesses in small towns are not sustainable and are not sufficient to support everyone in the town. The infrastructure may also not be adequate to cope with the demand raised by the small businesses "This in turn leads to rather fragmented and inefficiently organised rural-urban trade relations, which then are increasingly 'by-passed' by more efficient traders operating from higher-order centres" (Hinderink and Titus, 2002:380). As a result of this fragmentation, small towns are regarded as only production areas of raw materials. The situation is worse in settlements where the agricultural system is based only on self-sufficiency and there is no cash crop farming.

In light of the challenges mentioned above, Hinderink and Titus (2002) conclude that small towns rarely play a prominent role in starting regional development in the hinterlands. Tacoli (2004) argues the policies that were implemented to promote the role of small and intermediate urban centres and regional development have not incorporated an explicit attention to poverty reduction and understanding of micro-level implications of rural urban linkages. "Policies to strengthen the role of small and intermediate urban centres have often gone under the name of 'growth centre' or growth pole policies" (Tacoli, 2004:18). According to Tacoli (2004), these policies were costly and failed since growth centres provided less stimulus to their surrounding region than expected. Again, the lack of recognition of the spatial influences of micro policies led to a lack of integration of the proposed policies with macro-development policies and sectoral priorities.

Tocali (2004) argues that the most successful small and intermediate urban centres have developed when conditions such as supporting forward and backward linkages between agriculture and services and industry located in urban centres are in place. Again, regulation and management of local natural resources use, accountable

governance with adequate resources and capacity are necessary for the development of small towns.

4.4.3. Relevance of small towns to rural villages

Small towns and rural villages are not the same settlements. There is unequal distribution of resources such as physical infrastructure, social services and economic activities between the two settlements. The small towns are more developed than the rural villages. The rural villages are dependent on the small towns for the socio-economic needs. As a result of this linkage, the rural villages as planned by the Steve Tshwete Municipality, are located within a 15km distance from the economic development nodes, which mostly are categorised as small towns in terms of the hierarchy of towns. Middelburg Town is a large town in terms of the hierarchy of towns in South Africa as its population is estimated at 120 000. The other towns in Steve Tshwete Local Municipality including Hendrina, Pullenshope, Rietkuil, Komati and Blankpan Village fall within the category of small towns. The people from the rural villages commute to small towns for services including health, education, employment, banking services, postal services, wholesale retail, manufactured goods and other government services. Therefore, small towns serve as economic nodes for rural villages. This makes transport infrastructure between the rural villages and small towns critical to the creation of a functional rural-urban linkage.

"The formation of many towns came later than the presumed period of village nucleation, but the processes were not completely separate, and both types of settlement formation involved an element of planning" (Dyer, 2003:106). In terms of hierarchy of towns, rural village and small towns are located close to each other. This implies that in terms of spatial distribution of settlements, small towns are located in between the middle to large towns and rural villages. Therefore "prosperous small towns may also expand their administrative boundary into peripheral rural areas and absorb the population of nearby villages" (Li and An, 2009:1). The demand for additional land for housing and economic development causes the sprawling of the town. This implies that the location of a rural village very close to small towns may encourage urban sprawl.

"Small town dwellers move out to seek higher incomes or different life styles in large cities" (Li and An, 2009: 1). On the contrary, rural village dwellers migrate to small towns in search of better life. Therefore, unavailability of job opportunities in small towns may imply extensive commuting for people living in rural villages because they have to pass small towns and proceed to the larger towns.

"Small towns, internationally and in South Africa specifically, are generally experiencing a phase of slow economic decline" (Gibb and Nel, 2007:69). Therefore, if small towns are not doing well in terms of economic development, the rural villages are also bound to face economic downturn due to the economic dependency of rural villages on the small towns.

4.5. The concept of sustainable development

The concept of sustainable development came about when the world realised that there is depletion of non-renewable resources such as the fossil fuels on which much of current economic activity depends. The world also noted the destruction of the environmental balance that creates the conditions supporting human life on earth. Human activities such as agriculture, urbanisation, industrialisation, deforestation, soil erosion, poisoning of rivers, aquifers and hunting and the by-products of human activities such as depletion of the ozone layer are directly responsible for the depletion of the species and ecosystem. "In the late 1980s the concept "sustainable development" was introduced into the environmental debate as an expression of interdependence between the three systems identified as basic to development: the economic system, the social system and biophysical system. (Du Plessis and Landman, 2002:7). Elliot (1999) shares the same feeling because she has established that all forms of economic and social activity make demands on the resource base. For instance the raw materials such as soil and water are needed in agricultural production. Energy is needed as a source of input into industrial production, construction and maintenance of human settlements and urban lifestyles. Elliot (1999:39) mentions that absolute resources scarcities have not generally materialised but the previous development has shown that there is over extraction of resources.

The problems mentioned above were noted with such serious concern that the concept of sustainability had to be emphasised and endorsed in the UNCED Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992. The purpose of the summit was to identify principles of sustainable development and also to reach consensus at the highest level. "Overall, the general advocacy was for sustainability, aimed at joining environmental, social and economic development in housing and urban applications" (Pugh, 2001:408). This gave birth to Agenda 21, the Habitat Agenda and the Earth Chapter. "What most of these Agendas have in common is a sense of urgency, the assumption that if we do not act soon, it may be too late" (Du Plessis and Landman, 2002).

4.5.1. Definition of sustainable development

Some authors define sustainable development in different ways. Elliot (1999:6) mentions that literally, sustainable development refers to maintaining development overtime. Sustainable development is fundamentally about reconciling the development and environmental resources on which society depends. However, she acknowledges that there are more than 70 suggested definitions of sustainable development. Elliot (1999) established that the core issues identified by the World Commission on Environment and Development were population and development, food security, species and ecosystems, energy, industry and the urban challenge.

According to the Department of Housing, Local Government and Traditional Affairs discussion document of 2006, sustainable development is a form of development or progress that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Sandham and van der Walt (2004) also advocate this definition.

"Sustainable rural settlements are socially cohesive and stable rural communities with viable sustainable economies and universal access to social amenities, able to attract and retain skilled and knowledgeable people, who are equipped to contribute to growth and development" (The Presidency, 2000:10).

"Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs…. As such it requires the promotion of values that encourage consumption standards that are within the bounds of the ecologically possible and to which all could reasonably aspire" (Du Plessis and Landman, 2002:5). This definition was developed by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987.

The Minister of Housing, Lindiwe Sisulu, in her speech on Black Business Quarterly Awards held at Sandton on 30 November 2007 defined sustainable development as development that is based on partnerships, efficient stewardship of scarce resource and their merger with the realization of a quality of life. Hence, it encompasses the economic, social and environmental context of development. It entails a number of complex processes with many interacting factors, which affect the lives of people and make it everybody's business. Sustainability could be achieved through involved of everybody and that is why the Minister of Housing emphasises partnership.

From the above definitions one will realise that the Western Cape Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs, Sandham and van der Walt (2004) and Du Plessis and Landman (2002) advocate the same definition. In all definitions the emphasis is on the present and future society, economic activities that do not compromise environment and human beings.

4.5.2. Principles of sustainability

According to Sandman and van der Walt (2004:68) the first principle of sustainable development as contained in the Rio Declaration places people at the centre of concerns for sustainable development and emphasises the importance of people as one component of the three components along with economics and the environment. In the opinion of the latter authors social sustainability has a local and historically defined content which will include elements of livelihood, social participation, justice and equity. The second principle stresses that the present society has the responsibility towards its successors and future societies. Therefore the social system

has to be environmentally and economically viable if it is to be sustainable. The third principle stresses that a sustainable future satisfies basic human needs.

Adherence to these principles is a responsibility of the whole society. Therefore in South Africa sustainable development features in many pieces of legislation and policies including the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996, the National Environmental Management Act 107 of 1998, The National Housing Act No 107 of 1997, etc. Therefore sustainability of Doornkop rural village will be assessed within the context of these principles.

4.5.3. Sustainable development in context of the research

"Sustainability in housing and human settlement can be understood in terms of the four pillars that support sustainable development" (Irurah *et al.,* 2002). According to Irurah *et al,* (2002) those pillars are about addressing environmental challenges, generating economic empowerment, enhancing social capital and building institutional capacity.

"A sustainable village, therefore, is one that has full water supply and sanitation such that the human waste products of the village can be processed to produce energy for the village. The energy content of human waste is invariably not sufficient to cater for all the energy needs of the village so that usually it is necessary to supplement the human waste with a high proportion of suitable animal and organic waste material"(Sustainable Villages Africa, 2005:7). Water and sanitation are some but not the only requirements for a sustainable rural village. Irurah *et al* (2005) emphasise the application of modern sustainable practices in terms of usage of waste materials, renewable energy and other sustainable environmental practices. The community should learn to take advantage of every type of capital available within its community in order to sustain their livelihoods and economic development.

"Sprawling environments, which result in unrestricted land-take from competing uses such as agriculture, natural habitats and open space, are born of unsustainable practice. The alternative of creating more compact settlement is often achieved by

locating housing near economic activities" (Irurah *et al.*, 2002:7). In the context of this research, this means that a rural village should not be planned on a high potential agricultural land and on environmentally sensitive areas and also should not be far away from places where economic activities exist in order to ensure the households do not spend much on transport costs for travelling to work places and commercial agriculture is compromised at the expense of residential development. One of the planning principles recommended by Urban Dynamics (2004) in the Middelburg Rural Study Report is that a rural village should be located within a 15km radius from the active business nodes. This is meant to ensure that the rural village community is not very far from the town and does not spend much on transport costs. It is also imperative to note that a sustainable rendering and maintaining of services within Doornkop rural village is dependent on the financial sustainability of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality. Therefore this aspect determines the number of villages which the municipality can develop in a sustainable manner.

Generally, the farm workers and farm dwellers are not taught or made aware of simple and good environmental practices such as using rain water for laundry and agriculture, facilitation of on-site handling of storage and seepage, waste management, resource recovery, prevention of soil erosion and deforestation. The failure of government policies in undertaking water and sanitation education for farm workers and farm dwellers has contributed to this problem. The low cost housing units are not designed in a manner that results in an improved indoor air quality in order to minimise the use of energy.

The potential value of biodiversity within ecosystems, species and genetic materials is impossible to quantify" (Elliot, 1999:37). As we speak now, the effects of global warming are felt as we experience abnormal weather manifested through hot weather and heavy rains. Many industrialised areas experience air, water and noise pollution. Here in South Africa we are currently experiencing load shedding because there is a shortage of energy. South Africa burns coal, which is a non-renewable resource, to generate electricity. Burning coal pollutes the environment. These practices are born of unsustainable development.

4.6. Definitions of livelihood

People define livelihoods in many ways. For instance, Khanya (1991) states that livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. Elliot (1999) defines livelihood as stocks and flows of food, cash income in kind upon which individuals and households live. Again, "a livelihood is a way of making a living; and to make a living one needs to own or have access to particular assets and resources, both material and non-material" (Association for Water and Rural Development, 2006:1). What is common from the three definitions is that livelihood is a way of making a living. Assets and resources have been singled out as important components of livelihoods. The link between assets and livelihoods is that the stock of useful assets provide a reliable income stream.

4.6.1. Sustainable livelihoods

The concept of 'sustainable livelihood' has become key in debates on sustainable development. Therefore it is equally important to assess if the rural villages will present opportunities for the households to sustain their rural livelihoods. "A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Carney, 1998)" Khanya (1999:1). On the other hand the Association for Water and Rural Development (2006:1) defines sustainable livelihood as "a better way of making a living"; where people are able to maintain or even enhance their way of living on an ongoing basis, relying on the assets and resources available to them". In other words, this implies that a livelihood is sustainable when people can sustain the capabilities, assets and activities they need to make a living. Again, these capabilities and assets should be enhanced and maintained without undermining the natural resource base. What is noted from these definitions is that people are only able to sustain their livelihoods if they have resources and assets. The resources and assets are in turn used to develop sustainable livelihoods.

Scoones (1998) clearly defines 'sustainable livelihood' by breaking it down into five key elements which are the creation of working days, poverty reduction, well being and capabilities, livelihood adaptation, vulnerability and resilience and natural resource base sustainability. These elements, as explained by Scoones (1998), are summarised as follows:

- Working days relate to the ability of particular livelihood strategies to create gainful employment for a certain portion of the year. This may be on a farm or off-farm, part of a wage labour system or subsistence production. The three aspects of employment that have been noted are income, production and recognition for being engaged in something worthwhile.
- Poverty reduction is a key criterion in the assessment of livelihoods
- According to Scoones (1998) the concept of well-being and capabilities encompass far more than the material concerns of food intake or income and human capital, which allows people to do things. This may also include self-esteem, security, happiness, power and capability to deal with vulnerability and stress.
- Livelihood adaptation, vulnerability and resilience. This relates to the ability of a livelihood to adapt and cope with stresses and shocks as those who are unable to cope or adapt are vulnerable and unlikely to achieve vulnerability.
- Natural resource base sustainability refers to the ability of a livelihood to maintain productivity even when subject to disturbing forces. In other words, this relates to the ability to avoid depleting stocks of natural resources because if natural resources are depleted the community will not be able to yield products or services for livelihoods.

The above five elements are in turn considered as indicators of sustainable livelihoods. Understanding of the definition of sustainable livelihood in this context is very important because it can assist in assessing sustainability of a rural village before it is created. Wegerif *et al* (2005) have established that the outcomes of sustainable livelihoods include more income, increased well being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and sustainable use of resources.

Scoones (1998) states that the term 'sustainable livelihoods' relates to a wide set of issues which encompass much of the broader debate about the relationships between poverty and environment. This thinking is also supported by the Association for Water and Rural Development (2006:2) when they point out that a sustainable livelihoods approach is one that recognises economic, political, social and environmental spheres because these aspects have an influence on the production of people's livelihoods. The rationale is that these spheres can either help or hinder household's or community's ability to create livelihoods.

In the context of this research 'rural areas' is defined as the sparsely populated areas in which people farm or depend on natural resources including farms and rural villages that are dispersed through these areas. Hussein *et al* (1998) have established that rural people construct their livelihoods through agricultural intensification, livelihood diversification and migration. However, in the context of this research the households are unlikely to engage in agricultural intensification because the available land is sufficient only for subsistence farming. Therefore, the livelihood strategies that could be possibly employed by the people living in the rural village may be migration and diversification. In the case of Doornkop Rural Village, the households may engage in employment, subsistence agriculture and informal economic activities because the village is located relatively close to economic areas.

4.7. Types of assets or capital which rural people have

In order to be able to have sustainable livelihoods people must have resources and assets, which they can use to implement their livelihood strategies. "People engage in different activities and strategies to make a living. The strategies they use will depended on the resources available to them...If people do not own or have access to the resources they need, they will be limited in how they are able to make a living" (Association for Water and Rural Development, 2006:1). There are five capitals or assets, which people have. These types of capital are natural, social, human, physical and financial capital. These assets help people to cope with stress and shocks during vulnerable situations.

"Today, land and labour almost ubiquitously have a monetary value in rural areas of the developing world; people have to sell some of what they produce and buy some of their households requirements, Certainly, the relationships between people in rural areas and between people and the environment have changed dramatically through all these forms of incorporation"(Elliot, 1999:111). The point being made by Elliot (1999) is that these types of capital and resources are interlinked. For instance, the Association for Water and Rural Development (2006) has linked water with the other resources as follows:

- For example, knowledge to access water, skills to use water, manpower to collect water and skills to manage water services require human capital such as farming skills to materialise.
- Water infrastructure, water containers and means for transporting water such as wheel barrows or donkey carts are physical resources
- You need financial resources to pay for the operation and maintenance of water infrastructure and services rendered.

People need to be able to combine these types of capital in order to be able to develop a sustainable livelihood system. Therefore, a rural village, which is developed within an area where a combination of these resources does not exist will not constitute sustainable development. These types of assets are in a rural area context understood as follows:

4.7.1.Natural capital

In rural areas, land, water, wildlife, bio-diversity and environment are natural resources which rural people depend on for sustaining their livelihoods. Access to land as a natural resources has a serious bearing on security of tenure. That is why the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has made provision for commonage land in the rural villages. The farm workers living in the rural villages can thus engage and rely on subsistence agriculture to supplement their low household income.

It is of cardinal importance to highlight that this livelihood strategy will not be sustainable if there is no trading taking place or the trade areas are located far away. These activities can also result in destruction of the environment and wild life if there are no good environmental practices. Destruction of the environment can take place through hunting all the wildlife, soil erosion and deforestation.

4.7.2. Financial /economic capital

The cash, credit, savings, wages, livestock, basic infrastructure and other economic assets are essential for the pursuit of any livelihood strategy. This is the most common problem for rural people. "If people do not own or have access to the resources they need, they will be limited in how they are able to make a living" (Association for Water and Rural Development, 2006:1). Most of the rural people are poor because they do not have access to financial capital. Even if employed, the rural people are paid very low wages.

4.7.3. Physical resources

Access to resources such as shelter, water, sanitation, energy, roads and other equipment are very important physical resources for the households and community to be able to sustain their livelihood. Access to these resources, income and livelihoods is sometimes used as a measure of poverty. Most households in rural areas use wood, paraffin and coal as their resources for cooking and heating. This has resulted in unsustainable development because the natural resources are depleted through deforestation, pollution of the environment and in turn their health is affected. There are cases whereby the paraffin, which is commonly stored in cool drink bottles, has been accidentally drunk by the children. There is also a fire risk associated with paraffin stoves and heaters. Discouragement of the use of these sources of energy has a negative impact on the sustainability of livelihood of rural people because they do not have access to financial capital which, they can use to buy electricity.

4.7.4. Human capital

The skills, supply of labour, good health and ability to work are fundamental in the successful construction of different livelihood strategies in a rural community. Wegerif *et al* (2005) define human capital in simple terms. They see it as the ability to be economically active or the ability to pursue livelihoods. Good health is a critical component of human capital because it enables households to obtain or make use of other types of capital in order to produce positive livelihood outcomes. Many rural people are vulnerable to shocks and stress such as HIV/AIDS because their human capital is not well developed and they are not well informed about this disease, which has already killed many people and contributed to poverty. Wegerif *et al* (2005) emphasise that the ability of an individual to be productive depends to a greater extent on the health status of that individual. Lack of access to health and educational facilities and low wages have contributed to the vulnerability of households living in rural areas.

Some rural households have a belief that a large family is necessary to create human capital, which will in turn assist the family to sustain its livelihood when they get employment. This has proved to be unproductive when they do not get employment. Some farmers evict members of households if they are not employed on their farms. Wegerif *et al* (2005) have established that farm workers and farm dwellers have the lowest levels of literacy and education of all labour groups. Another problem is that the vast experience and skills, which farm workers develop over the years is not recognised as human capital by farmers because they continue paying them low wages.

4.7.5. Social capital

Social networks, relationships of trust, affiliations and associations are very important within a rural community in cases where the community has to execute a project as a collective in pursuit of their livelihood strategy. Certain institutions or actors require that an association or co-operative be first established before they can fund a community project. This is because social cohesion is critical for societies to

prosper economically and for the development to be sustainable. Strengthening of social capital is critical in the context of a rural village. This is because in instances where communal land has been provided by the municipality or the government, it is expected of the community to come together and work as a collective on a project. Social capital is necessary for projects such as livestock and crop farming. The emphasis is on a labour sharing arrangement, which depends mostly on social networking and co-operation.

The creation of social networks is very important for the community in times of need particularly in the case of burial societies, religious gatherings, the establishment of community policing forum and looking after people infected by HIV/AIDS. Sometimes social networks like stokvels are used for creating financial capital and recreational purposes. The government can promote social networks through the implementation of social programmes such as sports and recreation.

4.8. Rural livelihood strategies

The common rural livelihood strategies in South Africa are subsistence agriculture, migration and formal and informal employment. Subsistence agriculture is dependent on the availability of natural resources such as land, human capital for labour supply and skill, financial capital for purchasing equipment, social capital for the mobilisation of labour and physical capital for water, equipment, etc. Therefore, it is imperative that a rural village should be planned in such a manner that the affected households are able to construct one of these livelihood strategies or survive through several strategies.

Diversification of livelihood strategies is very important for every household in order for them to cope with shocks and stress. In the context of a rural village, this means that a household living in a rural village and working on a farm can reduce the risks of shocks and stress by cultivating vegetables at the back of their yard or accessing a piece of land from communal land. A household member can also run a spaza shop or public phone business from his/her residential property in order to develop a wider

income portfolio so that when he is no longer employed on the farm he can have an income to sustain his/her family.

Usually households migrate from one farm to another if they are not able to sustain their livelihood through employment or agricultural strategies. In the South African context, evictions from farms contribute to the migration of farm workers from one farm to another. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality approach to this problem is the creation of a rural village whereby farm workers will have flexibility to look for work at any farm or even in Middelburg Town because it is only 19 km away. Therefore one of the criteria for assessing sustainability of a rural village is to assess the livelihood strategies and capital assets of households and the community in order to determine a livelihood portfolio and net livelihood effects. "For instance, a successful agricultural intensification strategy pursued by one person may provide an opportunity for another person's agricultural processing or petty trading livelihood diversification strategy" (Scoones, 2006:10). What is worth noting here is that the linking of livelihood strategies and capital assets results in sustainable livelihood strategies because many households participate in the process and at the same time get income.

4.9. CONCLUSION

Today, it is generally agreed that there may have been separate and different origins of the village, each area developing independently according to its specific history" (Free Reference Library, 2009: 2). What could be deduced from the literature is that agri-village and rural village are not the same concepts. The history and the purpose for which the village was established should be the guiding aspects for defining a village. Therefore, an agri-village is an old concept that was developed to address the residential needs of people working on commercial farms. In today's context it is difficult to develop rural villages because there are competing trade-offs that should be made. There are many pieces of legislation, government programmes and environmental issues that should be complied with. For instance, a rural village should be located within a reasonable distance from existing nodes in order to create support systems for the village.

The implication of the above is that a rural village should be established in an area where it is possible for the community to construct their livelihood in a sustainable manner. In other words, a rural village should be located in an area where there is natural capital, which may be used by the community members to sustain its livelihood. The economic, social and human capital of the rural community should be developed in order to create a sustainable rural village and improved quality life for the households. The source of livelihoods for the village community should not only be agricultural employment. Self-employment, mines and industries should be seen as other sources of employees in order to diversify the livelihoods strategies of people living in the rural villages. If the farm employees are equipped with the necessary farming skills, they remain indispensible. The provision of municipal commonages can help to create food security for the rural village households.

The livelihoods of most of the households living in rural villages is supported by the commercial agriculture. The villages that were created as residential areas for mine employees are likely to become dormitory towns when the mines closed down. The lesson learned here is that an economic base is vital for the sustainability of a rural village. Therefore, a rural village that has no economic base will not be sustainable.

Small towns play a key role in linking rural hinterlands with both domestic and international markets. Small towns are economically better developed than rural areas and therefore, in line with the principle of rural-urban linkages, people from rural villages migrate to small towns in search for better economic opportunities. However, it is difficult for people from the rural villages to get employment in small towns because they compete with the people from the small towns who may be better skilled than them. Due to this dependency, the economic development of rural villages is destined to decline if the economy of small towns is not doing well. Most of the authors have agreed that most small towns in South Africa are experiencing economic decline. The long-term future of small towns is thus questionable, likewise the rural villages.

5. CHAPTER V: STEVE TSHWETE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY AND DOORNKOP RURAL VILLAGE: A CASE STUDY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the case study of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality. It locates the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality in the context of South Africa for orientation purposes. It gives a historical background of Middelburg Town and explains the name change of the municipality from Middelburg to Steve Tshwete. It provides a socio-economic background of the municipality. It goes further and explains the findings of the rural study and the rationale behind developing a policy around rural villages. It also presents a status-quo overview of Doornkop Rural Village.

5.2. Location context

The headquarters of Steve Tshwete Local Municipality are based in Middelburg Town. The name of Middelburg Municipality was changed to Steve Tshwete Local Municipality in 2003. The local municipality was named after the late Minister Steve Tshwete, a former activist against apartheid and a member of the African National Congress (ANC). In the context of South Africa, Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is situated within the Mpumalanga Province. It is located 25km away from Witbank which is about 100km away from Pretoria. It is accessible mostly through the N4, Groblersdal and Belfast, Hendrina and Bethal Roads. This municipality is linked to Swaziland and Mozambique through these road links.

5.3. Historical background of Middelburg Town

"The Lydenburg "Volksraad" resolved on 25 October 1859 to establish a town halfway between Pretoria and Lydenburg on the farms Klipfontein and Keerom and named it Nasareth" (Grundlingh, 1952:2). According to Grundlingh (1952) the name Nasareth was never supported by the farmers who lived in that vicinity and hence changed the name to Middelburg because the town was halfway between Pretoria

and Lydenburg. “In 1874 Middelburg was just a church town that consisted of 409 stands. At the beginning of the previous century Middelburg was planned and surveyed to consist of 880 sites” (*ibid*:2). The Mhluzi Township which is located to the north west of Middelburg Town was developed simultaneously with Middelburg Town. Middelburg acted as the main service centre for the surrounding community. The focus has changed over the years from that of a service centre to agricultural, mining and electricity generating sectors.

“During 1872 there were already not less than 550 surveyed farms on which sheep and cattle farming and maize production were conducted. The mining of coal on an economic basis commenced in 1894 and this contributed positively to the development of Middelburg as a town” (ibid: 3). Middelburg became a local municipality in 1904. Currently the municipality comprises a vast area including Middelburg, Mhluzi, Hendrina, Rietkuil, Pullenshope, Komati, Blinkpan, Doornkop, Naledi, Presidentsrus, Kwazamokuhle and Kranspoort. Agricultural farms constitute most of the geographic area of this local municipality. The estimated geographic area of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is 18 904 km^2.

Middelburg was initially established to accommodate mainly whites. Due to the growing black population and applicable legislation by then Mhluzi Township, Eastdene and Nazaret Townships had to be established for Blacks, Indians and Coloureds respectively. This is the spatial representation of the apartheid cities where people were segregated according to race. However, racial integration is gradually taking place now.

5.4. Socio-economic and demographic features

According to the Statistics South Africa (2007), the population of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality was estimated at 182 503 of which 6% reside on farms. Statistics South Africa (2007) also established that there are about 50 449 households within this local municipality. Blacks dominate the population followed by Whites, Coloureds and Indians. As usual there are more females than males. The white population is mostly found in Middelburg Town. The level of education is very low within the Steve

Tshwete Local Municipality**.** The survey conducted by Urban Dynamics Town and Regional Planners in 2004 revealed that only 3% of the population have studied beyond matric. There is a possibility that this percentage has increased by now given the fact that Middelburg Town has grown since 2003. More people have relocated to Middelburg Town since then and some of them have studied further. Unavailability of tertiary institutions, unemployment and poverty could contribute to the low level of education**.**

The community of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is made up of people coming from all the provinces of the country and by immigrants from the neighbouring countries. The pulling factors are job opportunities. "Agriculture is the main economic sector, with cattle and maize topping the list. Coal and platinum mining are also the main contributors of the municipality's economy... The world's fifth largest stainless steel producer, Columbus Steel in Middelburg, anchors the stainless steel cluster" (South African Local Government, 2006:224). Therefore the community of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is employed by the mines, two Eskom power stations, industrial companies such as Columbus Steel, Ferrochrome, Thosbegie, etc, construction industries, financial, institutional, trade and transport industry and agricultural sectors. The people who cannot secure jobs from these sectors earn a living through self employment and hawking. According to Global Insight (2003) between 1996 and 2002 the average growth rate of Middelburg was 4,2%. According to the 2001 Census 64,6% of labour force is employed while 35,4% of the labour force in Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is unemployed.

The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is an ideal tourist destination because it boasts game reserves, safari lodges, guest houses, eco-tourism, hunting and birding areas. This municipality is a proud recipient of three Provincial Masakhane Town Awards for 1996, 1997 and respectively and the national winner of this award in 1998. It has also won the Provincial Cleanest Town Competition in 2003, 2005, 2006 and 2008, Khomanani Excellence Award in 2005, Vuna Provincial Champions in 2003, 2006 and 2008 and Vuna National Project Consolidate Champions in 2006. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has a consumer payment rate of 98%. Some of its strengths are

financial viability, good municipal infrastructure and maintenance thereof and high levels of service delivery and abundance of natural resources such as coal.

5.5. Major linkages and connections between sub-regions

N4 is the major road linking Middelburg with the other towns and cities such as Pretoria, Nelspruit, Maputo and Swaziland. This corridor is commonly known as the Maputo Corridor. N11 links Middelburg with Groblersdal and Hendrina. Middelburg is linked with Bethal and Secunda through R35 and with Witbank through both the R555 and the N4.

5.6. Availability of basic services and infrastructure

The towns within the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality are well serviced in terms of provision of water, waterborne sewerage system, electricity and tarred streets. The townships that are developed with low-cost houses are also serviced with all basic services and most of the streets are tarred. The municipality has gone the extra mile in providing communal water taps, biological toilets that each serves four families and in tarring an internal ring road within the informal settlement area which is known as Newtown. This informal settlement serves as a transit settlement area for the landless.

5.7. Social and political dynamics

The community of the Steve Tshwete Municipality is constituted by all race groups and different ethnic groups. The Ndebeles dominate the rest of the ethnic groups. The dominating political organisations are the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA), New National Party (NNP), and Vryheid Party (VF) in sequential order. Most of the wards were won by the ANC. There is little integration in terms of race because the former white suburban areas are mostly inhabited by whites.

5.8. Control of informal settlements

The municipality has a strict control measure on land invasion. The municipality has appointed squatter control officers whose functions and responsibilities are mainly to patrol all municipal vacant land parcels and remove shacks immediately before they are completely erected. Newtown is a transit settlement where landless people are temporarily accommodated on informal stands while waiting to be settled on serviced stands and to have built low cost houses. The informal settlement has about 2500 households. This area is serviced with communal water taps, one biological toilet for every four families, electricity and the main local collector road is tarred. The beneficiaries pay nominal levies for the services rendered by the municipality. The other informal settlements are on privately owned land parcels on which the municipality does not have direct control.

5.9. Development challenges in urban areas

Middelburg and other towns within the geographic area of the Steve Tshwete Municipality are characterised by many mineshafts, undermined land and high potential agricultural land and mountainous areas, which pose development constraints. The other challenge is that the open cast mining activities conflict with agricultural activities. The available land is either privately owned by farmers or is far away from the town and economic opportunity areas. While there are physical development constraints, the housing backlog in this municipality is at the moment estimated at 15 000 including rural areas. This is because people flock to Middelburg Town in search of work opportunities because there are many mines and industries around this area. As a result people end up living in backyards and informal settlements because they cannot afford formal housing. There are 2500 families within the transit area who are waiting to be allocated stands and housing units. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has therefore established a township of 2900 residential stands and three rural villages comprising 452, 499 and 450 residential stands in order to address the demand for low cost houses by the poor.

5.10.Living conditions on farms

The problems such as a lack of basic services, evictions of farm dwellers and farm workers prompted the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality to investigate the status-quo of living conditions on farms. In 2003 the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality appointed Urban Dynamics to conduct a study on all farms within its area of jurisdiction. The rural study revealed that many people come to the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality with no place to stay or accommodation hoping to get jobs. Some of them go to farms to search for employment. According to Urban Dynamics (2004) people have a tendency to establish informal settlements on farms that are closer to the mines in order to be closer to the place of work. As a result some of the people live illegally on the farms because they have no work relationship with the farm owner. This group either work on the neighbouring farms or in the mines. This has resulted in evictions and a huge demand for basic services and housing on the farms.

According to the study done by Urban Dynamics in 2004 there were 2152 farm portions situated within the area of jurisdiction of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality and that there are 4246 households living on farms. The rural study revealed that 70% of the community living on farms obtain water from boreholes while 16, 5% obtain water from dams and springs. The remainder does not have access to water on the farms they live on. As a result they walk to the neighbouring farms in order to get water. There are no proper sanitation facilities. The pit latrine is the common form of sanitation system. Electricity is only available to the farm owners. However, the efforts of some of the few farmers who have undertaken to provide basic services and housing to the farm workers must be appreciated.

The study established that there are 28 tuck shops and 6 churches serving the 4246 households living on farms. There are no clinics. It also established that the mobile clinic visits only 68 farms out of the 2152 farms. The police stations are not available of farms. Learners walk long distances to schools. This is an indictment of poor government service delivery on farms.

"A total of 4246 households reside in the rural areas of which 24% are accommodated in permanent houses and the 76% is housed in informal structures" (Urban Dynamics, 2004:4). The informal structures are mud houses and shacks made of corrugated irons and other forms of material. The study has revealed that only 2% of the informal structures are in a good state of repair. Urban Dynamics (2004) has also established that the housing backlog on farms is estimated at 5000 because the existing 4246 households include extended families. This demand can only be addressed by the government because many farmers cannot afford to provide the farm workers with adequate shelter as they make slim profit margins in the agriculture enterprise.

5.11. Opinions on government interventions on housing related needs of farm workers and farm dwellers

Questionnaires were circulated to 20 key respondents between 1 May 2008 and 31 July 2008 in order to solicit opinions on how effectively government policies and programmes have been able to address the farm worker housing related needs. The key respondents comprised 8 town planners, 5 housing officers, 4 developers and 3 civil engineers. The key respondents were asked if the government has policies that address the provision of potable water, sanitation, adequate housing, access to education and health facilities and access to land for agricultural purposes. They were also asked if the government has policies or programmes that are aimed at alleviating poverty on farms. The key respondents were also asked if a rural village can be a sustainable approach for provision of farm workers housing related needs. The questionnaires circulated to the key respondents are attached as an appendix to this report. The responses are as follows:

All the 20 key respondents have identified provision of potable water and sanitation to farm dwellers as still a serious problem on farms. It is clear that the government does not have policies and programmes that address the provision of potable water and sanitation to farm dwellers. The water crisis is not adequately addressed by the government despite the fact that it is one of the key Millennium Development Goals identified by the United Nations. The farm dwellers are actually at the mercy of the

farmers for provision of potable water. The main factor contributing to this problem is that it is difficult for the government to provide water in a sustainable and cost effective manner to the households living on farms because the farms are privately owned and the households are scattered all over different farms.

Some of the key respondents have mentioned that there are areas where the municipalities have intervened and drilled boreholes on farms for provision of water to the households. They indicated that this intervention has been limited to a few areas due to budget limitations of the municipalities and lack of cooperation by some of the farm owners. This has been successful only on farms where the farmers are cooperative. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is presently transporting water with tankers to the farm households on which farm owners are cooperative. According to Mr R Bouwer, the Deputy Manager Civil Engineering Services of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality (2009 personal communication) there are only four cases where farmers were reported to have refused the municipality access to their properties to provide potable water to the farm dwellers.

Those who do not have access to potable water fetch water from the rivers, dams, streams. This situation has a health risk because human and animals drink water from the same river or dam. The potential of contamination of water is very high because the households use either pit latrines or veld as a sanitation system.

Most farm workers live in mud houses or houses built with inferior quality building materials and that constitutes a travesty of human livelihood. There are only a few farm workers living in old brick houses belonging to the farm owners which they must vacate when they no longer work for the farm owner. Some of the farm workers still live in the compounds. So far, the government does not have a policy addressing the housing backlog on farms. The proposed Farm Worker Housing Assistance Programme has not been implemented yet due to security of tenure issues which have not yet been dealt with adequately. The government has Land Reform Programmes and Extension of Security of Tenure Act No.2 of 1997 in place which aim to provide security of tenure to the farm workers and dwellers.

Some of the respondents are of the opinion that the government is not doing enough because there are still many cases of illegal evictions on farms. In certain cases, the farms have been restituted to the farm dwellers for settlement and farming purposes. Some of the problems arising out of these arrangements are that the restituted land is sometimes not well located for the purpose of developing a sustainable human settlement. In other instances, you find that the beneficiaries are not able to practise commercial agriculture on those farms due to lack of capacity and financial support. The beneficiaries are also not well organised to run a cooperative due to lack of administrative skills and commitment.

The government has put in place the Integrated Rural Development Strategy and Poverty Alleviation Strategy specifically to assist rural people to acquire skills and financial support in order to be able to sustain their livelihoods. However, the challenge is that the farm dwellers have not been able to benefit from these initiatives because the programmes have not been properly and adequately communicated with them and implemented by the government. This situation has resulted in farm workers and their families continuing to live in poverty because they earn meagre salaries.

Many farm schools accommodate only grade 1 up to grade 7. The scholars wanting to learn beyond grade 7 have to look for other schools and accommodation in urban areas. This situation has discouraged many scholars to study beyond grade 7 hence the level of education is low on farm households. The government has put in place Scholar Transport and Mobile Clinic Programmes for dwellers. However, there are concerns that the scholar transports are not efficient and reliable as some of the farm pupils still have to walk long distances to the bus pick-up points and sometimes buses do not arrive to fetch them because of mechanical problems and payment disputes with the government. The mobile clinics do not reach all the farm households and are not available everyday to give medical attention to the farm households. Sometimes the ambulances struggle to reach these areas because of poor road conditions and directions. This has led to situations whereby the sick have to travel long distances to get medical help.

The perception of farmers' unwillingness to release land for housing development purposes has been confirmed by the 10 farmers who were interviewed. The main reason was that the farmers fear that the creation of rural settlements closer to their farms will pose a theft problem for their livestock and agricultural produce. The other concern was that their agricultural land will be virtually worthless if it cannot be farmed due to crime.

Some 90% of the respondents agreed that the rural village concept can be a sustainable approach. This group see the concept as an approach that brings together scattered farm households to one area where basic services and security of tenure are available. They see the concept as a tool which the local government can use to deliver basic services and build low cost houses for people wanting to live in rural areas and continue working on farms. Some of them indicated that a rural village can provide farm workers with opportunities to engage in subsistence agriculture. In a nutshell, they see the concept as a solution to all the problems being experienced by people living and working on farms. It is clear that this group did not take into account that once the rural village has been created, the municipality must render the services in a cost effective and sustainable manner. This is because many local municipalities have not piloted the rural village concept. Therefore, many people have not yet identified its shortcomings.

The remaining 10% did not see the rural village as a sustainable approach for provision of housing related needs for farm workers because it creates a financial burden for the local municipalities. It will be expected of the municipalities to extend services to the rural areas. These services must be rendered in a sustainable manner once it has been installed. Due to the financial constraints which the local municipalities are faced with, these respondents have suggested that the provincial and local government should bear the financial burden.

5.12. Rationale behind creating rural villages

Many complaints regarding unavailability of basic services such as water, sanitation, housing and evictions are reported to the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality. On 9

December 2003 the Mpumalanga Department of Local Government and Housing entered into a memorandum of understanding between the local municipalities and Agri-Mpumalanga wherein the department undertook to provide essential services to people living on farms within the Mpumalanga Province. The services to be provided included access to education, roads, electricity supply, housing, water and sanitation, health facilities, telecommunication services, burial rights, respect for human rights and participation in government matters. This agreement was concluded within the context of Section 27 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 which provides that everyone has the right to have access to health care services, sufficient food and water. Since then the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has been providing water tanks, biological toilets and mobile clinics to the 105 farm settlements. According to Mr Rudolf Bouwer, the Acting Chief Civil Engineering Services of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality, costs for provision of services to the farms per month are as follows:

*	water tanks and transport	R 72 000 p/m
*	Cost for maintaining wind pumps and boreholes	R 30 000 p/m
*	Eskom electricity account	R 6 200 p/m
*	**Total**	R108 200 p/m

These services are provided free to the farm dwellers. According to Mr Rudolf Bouwer the municipality has already spent R59 000,00 on purchasing and installing biological toilets on some of the farm settlements. Despite this effort being made by the municipality, it is a concern that about 10% of the farmers do not allow the municipality access to their farms to provide basic services to the farm dwellers.

According to the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality Budget Report for 2008/2009 Financial Year, the annual costs for providing services to the farm dwellers translate to R1 298 400, 00 per annum. The municipality felt that they spend a lot of money in providing services for the rural areas because farm settlements are scattered all over the farms. The municipality also felt that the spatial arrangements of farm settlements are of such a nature that it is not possible to reticulate services such as water, sanitation, electricity and build houses on farms settlements in a cost effective

and sustainable manner. Therefore it is against this rationale that the Steve Tshwete Municipality felt that the rural village concept will make it possible to provide surveyed and serviced stands. The farm dwellers and farm workers will then be allocated stands thereby creating security of tenure. It also becomes possible to deliver government subsidised houses to the farm workers. The farm workers can still sustain their livelihoods by selling their labour to any farm owner without having to live on the farm where he/she is employed.

The Steve Tshwete Municipality realised that if people were to be removed completely from the farms the commercial agriculture would not be sustainable. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is of the opinion that removing people with farming skills from the farms will have detrimental effects on the sustainability of commercial farms. Therefore the rationale is also to keep farm workers closer to the commercial farms so that they could avail their farming skills to the farmers. It is also against the background that some of the farm workers prefer staying on farms than in urban areas. Atkinson (2007) has also established that despite the high rate of urbanisation there are people who still prefer staying on farms for reasons such as employment opportunities, physical security and possibilities for keeping livestock.

5.13.Purpose of developing the rural villages

According to the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality the purpose of developing rural villages is to enable farm workers and farm dwellers to obtain security of tenure within a properly developed off-farm settlement wherein basic services, housing and other government services can be provided in a sustainable manner.

5.13.1. Planning approach

The rural study conducted by Urban Dynamics in 2004 recommended that the rural villages should be established at specific nodes where there are large concentrations of people and work opportunities in order for the affected community to maintain and sustain their livelihoods and for the settlement to be sustainable.

- In order to ensure linkages and also to utilise the existing infrastructure optimally;
- In order to ensure that the people from rural areas can have access to public transport and pay less on transport costs;
- The rural villages are located within a 15km radius of nodes (towns) in order to ensure that farm dwellers are closer to towns where they can access facilities and services that are not available within a rural village;
- The maximum number of households accommodated within the rural village is 500 households. The rationale behind limiting the size of the rural village to 500 households is based on the ability to manage the settlement and the fact that the source of water is boreholes. The households exceeding 500 may cause a strain on the water resource and hence render the rural village unsustainable. Additional households are accommodated in other rural villages. The rural study conducted by Urban Dynamics suggested that the municipality should consider creating at least 8 rural villages in order to be able to deal with growth and limit household size to 500 in a rural village;
- The minimum stand size is 1000m^2. This is based on the principle that rural people prefer bigger yards because they believe in keeping their livestock within their yards. The design of the rural village layout makes a provision for church, business, crèche, clinic and park land uses in order to ensure that the settlement is vibrant and sustainable;
- Provision for communal land is made to enable the households to sustain their livelihood through crop and livestock farming; and
- Planning of the rural villages is coordinated with all the relevant government departments.

5.14.Background on Doornkop Rural Village pilot project

Doornkop Rural Village was created in 2005 for two basic reasons. The first reason was to explore the rural village concept and hence it was considered as a pilot project. Secondly, it was created to address the land invasion problem which took place on the land of the Doornkop Communal Property Association. The people who invaded the land of the Doornkop Communal Property Association were mostly farm workers

and farm dwellers who were evicted from the farms. A few of them were people from the former KwaNdebele homeland who came to look for jobs around Middelburg Town. The government departments were approached by the municipality to assist in solving the land invasion problem. As a result the Mpumalanga Department of Land Affairs offered to purchase Portion 28 of the farm Doornkop 246 JS for the purposes of establishing a rural village. Portion 28 of the farm Doornkop 246 JS was found appropriate for resettlement of the land invaders because it lies adjacent to Portion 12 of the farm Doornkop 246 JS which is the land belonging to the Doornkop Communal Property Association. The Mpumalanga Department of Agriculture and Land Administration assisted with the funds for planning and establishing the rural village. The municipality was responsible for the costs of installing the basic municipal engineering services. The land of the Doornkop Communal Property Association shares a boundary with land on which the Doornkop rural Village is established. After completion of the rural village 310 unlawful occupants of the land of the Doornkop Communal Property Association were relocated and settled on stands within the rural village.

It is worth mentioning that the municipality is already in the process of establishing another two rural villages. Therefore it is critical to assess the sustainability of the already existing rural village.

5.14.1. Location

Doornkop Rural Village is located about 18km away from Middelburg Town on a farm known as Doornkop Portion 28 along the Groblersdal/ Middelburg Roads. It is surrounded by farms. The community of Doornkop Rural Village travel to and from Middelburg Town by taxis. The public transport costs them R34,00 for a return trip. The location of the village is shown on the Locality Map which is attached below:

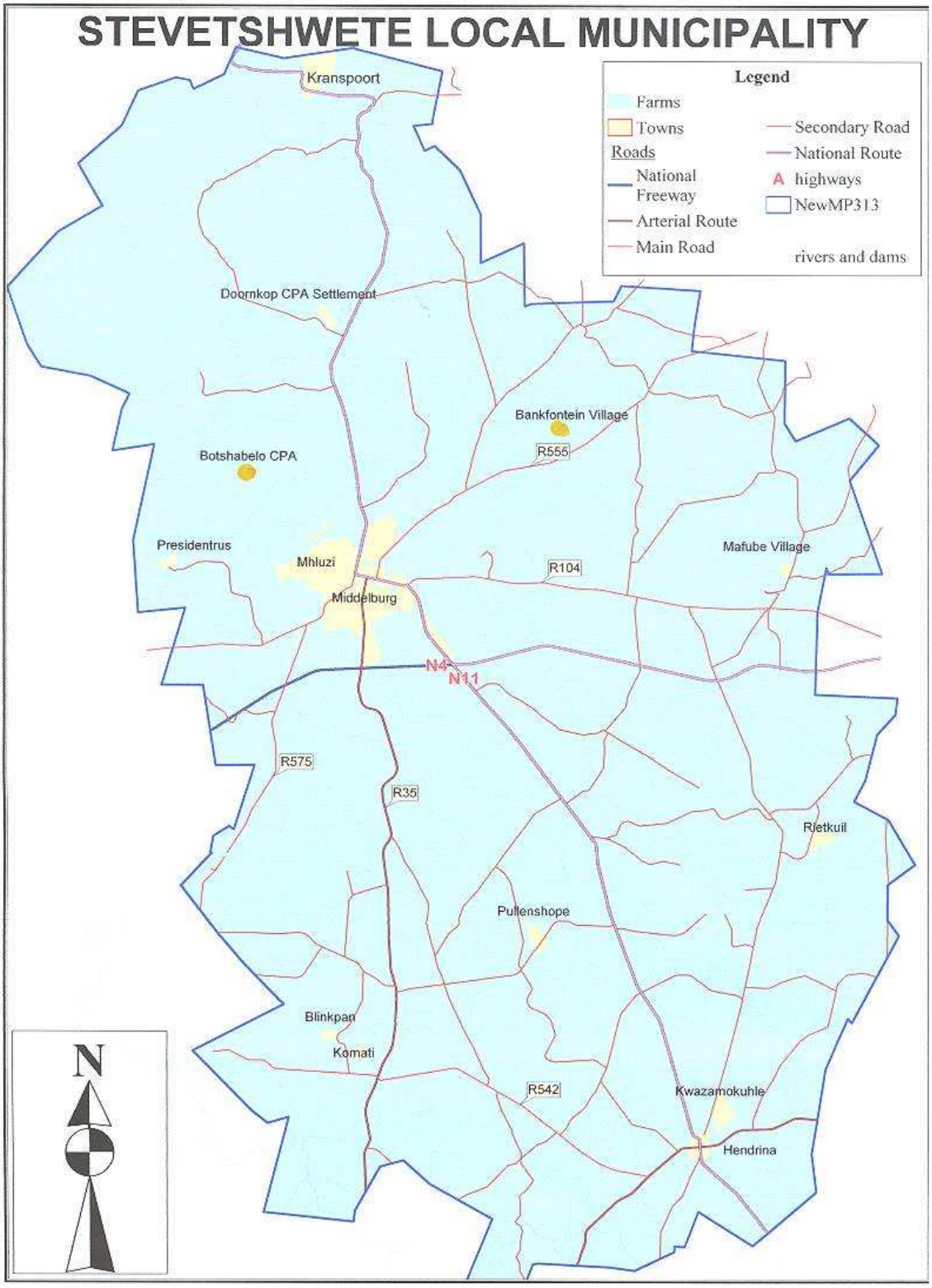


Figure 1: Locality Map of Steve Tshwete Municipality

5.14.2. Provision for land uses

The Land use Plan attached as Figure 2 on page 98 of this report, indicates that Doornkop Rural Village comprises of 456 residential erven measuring between 1000m^2 and 1573m^2 in extent. There are 3 business sites, 2 crèche sites, 5 church sites, a municipal cemetery site, and 14 park sites. The site visit revealed that there is a crèche which is in operation. The Steve Tshwete municipality indicated that the costs for constructing this crèche were borne by Ferrochrome as part of their corporate social responsibility. The municipality has built a community centre which will cater for a clinic and library. There are 5 tuck shops run within the residential stands by the households. The municipality has reserved a 60 hectare piece of land for communal use. There is only one school site provided within the rural village. At the present moment the children travel about 3km to the nearby primary and secondary schools. The Land Use Map of Doornkop Rural Village is shown below:

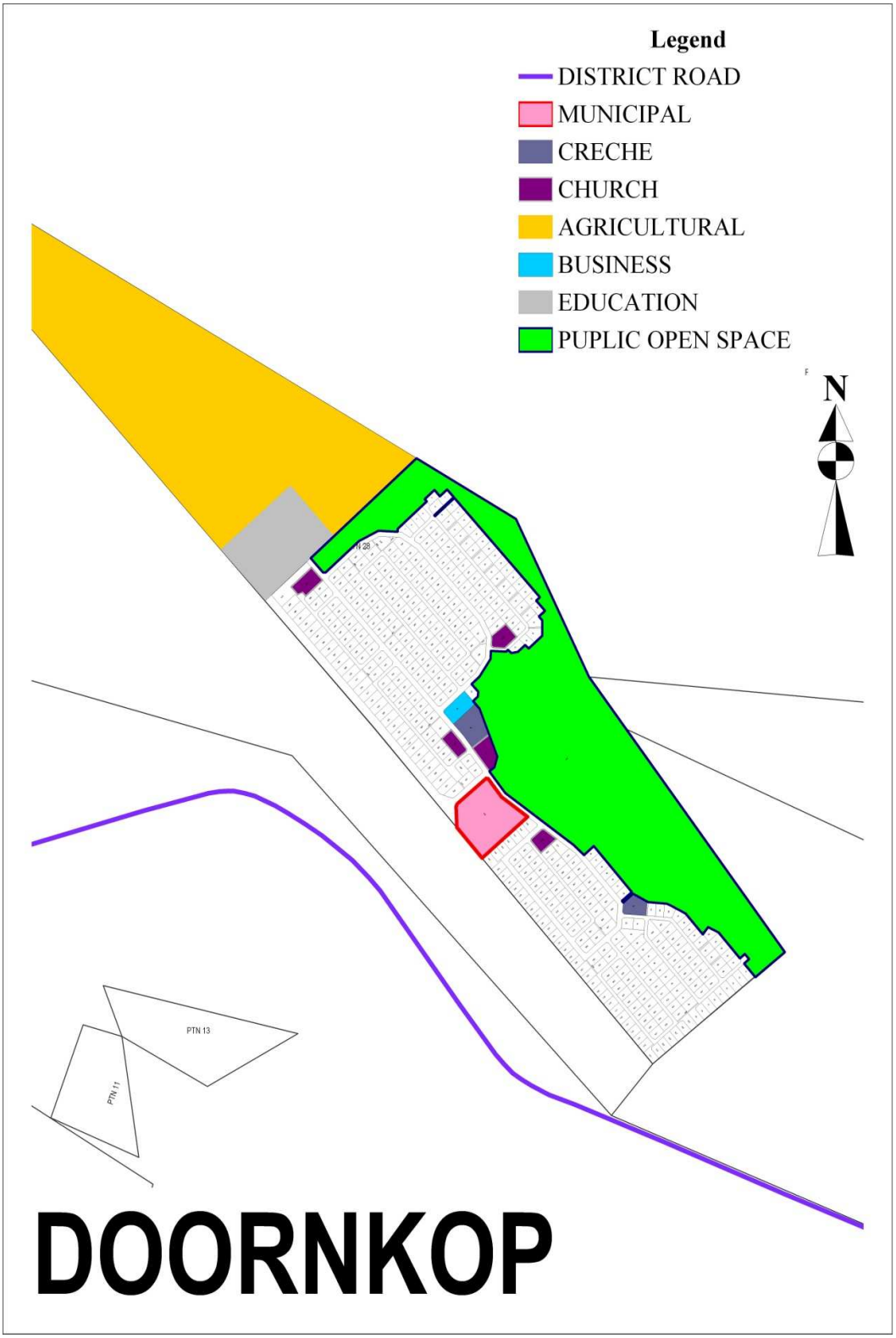


Figure 2. Land Use Plan of Doornkop village

5.14.3. Level of services

There are 20 communal water taps installed 200m apart within the road reserves. These taps draw water from a 250 kilo-litre elevated water reservoir which draws water from two boreholes. The two boreholes have capacity to pump 4000 and 5 500 litres of water for 24 hours respectively. According to Mr Rudolf Bouwer, the Acting Senior Civil Engineer from the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality the water reservoir can sufficiently service a maximum of 500 households. The plans of providing household water taps are being investigated. Each household is provided with a biological toilet. Electricity is reticulated within the village and there are 9 flood lights erected to provide light within the village. The streets are graded. The municipality collects refuse from the village on a regular basis.

According to Elmarie Wasserman of the Finance Department of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality, out of 310 households in Doornkop village 160 households are indigents. This means that they enjoy free 50 Kwh of electricity, 10 kilo litre of water, refuse removal and assessment rates. Elmarie Wasserman has pointed out that the number of indigents may increase as they are still receiving applications from the households.

According to Urban Dynamics (2004) only 27% of the households have access to electricity. The rest rely on wood, coal and paraffin as their source of energy. The study has also found that 35% of the households obtain access to their settlement through a graded road while 46% use gravel link roads.

5.14.4. Housing

There are 310 families already settled on the stands within Doornkop Rural Village. The survey has established that 63% of the economically active household members work on the neighbouring farms while 23% work in Middelburg Town and 3% in the mines. Some of the people were evicted from the neighbouring farms. In 2006 the Department of Housing and Local Housing made a housing allocation of 300 houses for the Doornkop Rural Village under the farm worker housing programme. So far all

the 300 houses have been completed and occupied by the qualifying households within the rural village. The qualifying requirements are that the household must be:

- a first time house owner;
- a South African citizen;
- 21 years of age and above;
- earning an income of less than R3 500, 00 per month;
- have been relocated from the land of the Doornkop Communal Property Association;
- married or have financial dependents and
- working on the farm.

However, people earning more than R3 500, 00 per month will be allowed to be build their own houses. People who were not evicted from the land belonging to the Doornkop Communal Property Association are not allowed to own a property at Doornkop Rural Village.

5.14.5. Agricultural activity

Some 60 hectares of communal land is provided for livestock farming and crop farming for the community. Most of the households do not have cattle, goats, or sheep. The allocation of communal land to the households is managed by the Local Economic Development Unit of the local municipality. Chickens are the common livestock kept within the residential premises.

5.14.6. Costs for installation of services

According to the relevant Heads of Departments within the municipality the costs for installation and rendering municipal services to Doornkop Rural village on monthly basis are broken down as follows.

*	Water	R3 310 000
*	Sanitation (biological toilets)	R2 500 000

*	Electricity	R3 624 000
*	Town planning	R 500 000
*	**TOTAL**	**R9 934 000 VAT incl**

5.15.Findings and analyses of Doornkop rural village households survey

The interviews were conducted for the purpose of finding more information on where the households come from, their economic situation and livelihood strategies and level of satisfaction about the level of services and living in Doornkop rural village. Some of the findings are based on personal observation.

		Total in %
Household heads	Female	16.66%
	Male	83,34%
Households evicted from the farms		73,3%
Households coming from homelands and urban areas		26,7%

Table 2: Household heads and origin of the households

The survey has revealed that 73,3% of the interviewed households come from the farms and were evicted. This is why most of the households in Doornkop Rural Village still work on farms because farming is the only work experience and skill they have. Therefore if a farm worker is fired by a farmer he looks for employment from another farm and continues living at Doornkop Rural Village. The rural village concept was developed by the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality specifically for these circumstances. The remaining 26,7% represents households who come from the former homeland areas and urban areas. The households from the homelands came to settle on Doornkop Communal Property Association land in order to be closer to the towns of Middelburg and Witbank where job opportunities exist. The coal mines, power stations and other industries found in these towns are pulling factors for job seekers. They could not find a place to stay in urban areas and therefore they decided to invade the land belonging to the Doornkop Communal Property Association. Those who come from urban areas also could not find a place to stay in Mhluzi Township

and Middelburg Town because it is difficult to erect a shack within the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality due to strict squatter control measures and they could not afford back yard rentals.

It was also found that the average family size of the 30 interviewed households was 5 while 16,6% of the households were headed by women. Some 40% of the female household heads are unemployed and survive on a child grant. Only 6,68% of male household heads were found to be unemployed. This is an indication that many women are still dependent on their partners or family members for sustaining their livelihoods.

Income of economically active household members	**Income brackets**	**Total in %**
	R0,00 pm	6,68%
	R300-R500 pm	10%
	R501-1500 pm	70%
	R1500-R3500 pm	6,66%
	R3501 pm and more	6,66%
Household members receiving grants i. Pension ii. Child grants	 R970 pm R 220 per month	 0,72% 5,97%

Table 3: Income of economically active household members and access to grants

It has been found that 66,66% of the economically active household members in Doornkop rural village still work on farms while 26,66% are employed in towns and 6,68% are unemployed. Most of the Doornkop households work on farms because they were born and worked on farms for quite some time. As a result, they do not have skills other than farm working experience. This has a negative effect because if they do not find employment on farms they have nowhere to search for employment.

Table 2 above reflects that 86,66% of the economically active force earn less than R1400,00 per month which means that they qualify to be registered as indigents. Scoones (1998) has identified poverty and food security as some of the indicators of sustainable livelihoods. Therefore, this category of people may be vulnerable because low income does not reduce poverty. This is a clear indication that there are farmers who still do not comply with the stipulations of the Sectoral Determination.

Some 5,97% of the economically active labour force is unemployed and survives on child grants. One couple revealed that they survive solely on the grant of their three children as both of them are unemployed. This category of people is vulnerable because their income is not enough to reduce poverty.

	Livelihood source	**Total in %**
Household members with more than one income sources	i. Crop farming ii. Livestock farming iii. Tuck shop	13,3% 6,66% 13%

Table 4. Household members with multiple livelihoods

Table 3 indicates that 33,32% of the economically active household members have multiple livelihoods as they are formally employed and have family members running their tuck shops. Some practice livestock and crop farming at the same time. This figure is very low and hence it raises concerns with respect to the sustainability of livelihoods of the households of Doornkop Rural Village. This is when it becomes very critical for the households to be innovative in terms of diversifying their livelihoods strategies. It is thus advisable for the local municipalities to develop programmes that will assist rural households to develop skills that will enable them to construct different livelihoods strategies. The Department of Agriculture should also play a much stronger role to encourage the residents to take up small-scale farming seriously.

The low percentage of people involved in business could be ascribed to the fact that Doornkop rural village is a small community of only 310 households. Therefore many businesses will not be economically viable. Again, most of the households come from

farms and hence do not have enough knowledge about running a business or accessing funding for establishing a business.

The economic value of land-based livelihoods in rural villages is land, housing, cropping, livestock production and natural resources such as wood for fuel, fencing, thatch grass and sand. It is important to note that these types of livelihoods are influenced by security of tenure. Therefore access to land in rural areas is considered as a mechanism of eradicating poverty through engagement in subsistence and livestock farming. Therefore there is 60 hectares of land reserved for each of the households to engage in crop and livestock farming activities within Doornkop Rural Village. Contrary to the latter, the survey has revealed that 13,33% of the surveyed households are involved in crop farming activities while only 6,66% is engaged in livestock farming. Some of the reasons contributing to the percentage of households involved in agriculture may be that the farmers did not allow some of farm workers to keep livestock on their farms as that would create a conflict of interest because farmers are also involved in livestock farming. Again, buying and farming livestock have become expensive these days.

The communal land is for the households to utilise for subsistence agriculture in order to create food security and reduce vulnerability caused by poverty. Some of the reasons why some households do not farm are that they do not know the channels for accessing financial assistance and do not have the human capital to use land for their benefit. The lack of capacity building in the form of training and financial support from the government's side also contributes to this problem. It is very important to note that people's livelihoods are composed of the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. Brustinow (2003:18) argues that "livelihood strategies and outcomes do not just depend on assets /capital but are determined by the enabling environment". The enabling environment can be realised through the implementation of policies, which are usually developed by the government. Provision of rights to land and property on its own does not improve the socio-economic situation of people. "Poor people need a range of supporting measures to allow them to turn rights of access into livelihood benefits" (Brustinow, 2003:10). In this particular instance, the government has a Poverty Eradication Strategy, which is

not implemented effectively. The rural community alone cannot realise the value of the resources presented by the rural village. Therefore this implies that the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has a responsibility to provide the households with information and advice. It should also train them on how best to use the resources that are available to them. The Departments of Labour and Economic Affairs are also crucial stakeholders as they can assist the rural households with capacity building programmes.

Age structure	**Total in %**
0-10	25,36%
11-20	21,74%
21-30	11,6%
31-40	15,22%
41-50	14,50%
51-60	10,86%
61-70	0,72%

Table 5. Age structure of household members

The above table denotes that 46,83% of the interviewed household members are children which means that the rate of dependence is very high. Therefore, it becomes incumbent upon the household heads to have various sources of income in order to be able to fend for his or her household members.

Grades	**Total in %**
Grade 0-2	13,99%
Grade 3-5	34,97%
Grade 6-8	27,97%
Grade 9-12	20,97%
Certificate	1,4%
Diploma	0,7%
Degree	0%

Table 6. Level of education of adult household members

The level of education is very low within Doornkop Rural Village because only 2,1% of the adult household members has studied beyond Grade 12. This calls for the introduction of capacity building programmes to empower the unskilled households. Such programmes could assist the households to create economic opportunities within Doornkop rural village itself or look for employment opportunities outside Doornkop.

Satisfaction of households about the level of services in Doornkop Rural village		**Total in %**
	Satisfied	100%
	Dissatisfied	0%
Access to low cost houses	Low cost built	96,66%
	Low cost not built	3,33%
Satisfaction about the public transport cost to and from town	Satisfied	0%
	Dissatisfied	100%

Table 7. Level of satisfaction and access to low cost houses

Other than the high public transport cost, the households of Doornkop are satisfied with the level of services and living in the village. They feel that living in Doornkop Village has positively changed their lives in the sense that they now have access to free basic services including low cost houses. This is because 96,66% of the surveyed households have low cost houses except for only one household who did not qualify for the low cost housing subsidy because he once had a government subsidy for a bonded house in an urban area. His monthly income is also above R3 501,00. One household head was found to be earning more than R3501, 00 but had a low cost house built on his stand. This abuse of the government housing subsidy scheme is common and meanwhile the government has done very little to address it.

Table 6 indicates that all the households are dissatisfied about the public transport cost, which is R34, 00 for trips to and from Middelburg Town. This means that a

person staying in Doornkop village working in Middelburg town and travelling to and from on a daily basis will pay transport cost of R680 per month, which is too high. Due to the high transport cost, some 26, 6% of the surveyed economically active household members working in Middelburg, Groblersdal or Witbank Town come back to Doornkop Rural village during weekends or month ends. Some of the households working on farms walk to the farms and use bicycles. It has been established that 25% of the household members working on farms walk to the farms and some use bicycles. The farmers fetch those who work on farms that are 10km and more far away from the village. This constitutes 48, 4% of the economically active household members.

This raises the question whether the location and distance of the rural village in relation to the economic active areas and towns is appropriate or not. Clearly, the location of a rural village in relation to economic opportunity areas needs to be assessed and unpacked thoroughly before a rural village can be created as it has an impact on the economic life of the households.

5.16. CONCLUSION

The rural village has improved the lives of people living on farms and those who had invaded the land belonging to Doornkop Communal Property Association in the sense that they now have access to municipal engineering services such as potable water, sanitation and electricity and access to health facilities. This concept has created conducive conditions for the Mpumalanga Department of Local Government and Housing to deliver adequate housing and security of tenure to farm workers and people living in rural areas. Now that the farm workers have security of tenure they can work for any farmer without posing a threat to their security of tenure. However, it has been noted that housing delivery has also benefited people who do not work on farms. For instance, 23% of the 30 interviewed households were working around Middelburg Town and only 3% were working in the mines. This is because the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality was solving the land invasion problem and had to build houses for every qualifying household who had settled on a stand within Doornkop Rural Village. Therefore this has, to a certain extent, defeated the objectives of the

Farm Worker Housing Assistance Programme and the policy of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality on the creation of rural villages.
The community uses taxis as a public transport mode which takes them to town within 20 minutes at a return fee of R34, 00.

The creation of Doornkop Village has saved the municipality the costs of supplying water tanks and providing health services through mobile clinics to the different farm settlements. However, at the same time it has created serious financial implications for the municipality. The municipality has spent R9 934 000 as costs for establishing the rural village and reticulation of municipal engineering services. It is not clear if the municipality will ever be able to recoup the money it has spent from the households through rates and taxes because of the fact that most households are low income earners and some are not employed at all. Therefore most of them are regarded as indigent meaning that they qualify for free 50 kilowatts of electricity, 6 kilo-litres of water and refuse collection and are exempted from paying property tax. The municipality was not required to render all the latter services while most of the farm workers were living on different farms.

Given the prevailing socio-economic situation, the question which one may raise is, Can the Steve Tshwete Municipality supply and maintain provision of basic services to the rural village in a sustainable manner? The sustainability of the Doornkop Rural Village is dependent on the availability of the resources and capital which the community and the households can use to sustain their livelihoods in the event of stress and shocks.

The initiative of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has prompted the Mpumalanga Government to investigate a policy on agri-villages. They have proposed principles which are similar to those of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality. Their draft policy emphasises broad consultation involving government departments, mixed land uses and provision of agricultural land to promote subsistence agriculture. They also emphasise that only people working on farms should be accommodated in the rural village in order to discourage expansion and destruction of agricultural land.

Of utmost concern is that the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has already started establishing two additional rural villages. The estimated total costs for establishing and servicing the two additional rural villages is estimated at R23 554 256 excluding maintenance costs. The municipality has not yet assessed the sustainability of the Doornkop Rural Village which is the first established rural village. It is against this background that an in depth research on sustainability of the rural village model is conducted.

The survey has confirmed that about 93% of the surveyed economically active labour household members are employed or have some source of income. However, a concern is raised that about 80% of the 93% earn less than R1500 per month, which may not be a living wage for some of the households given the high cost of living caused by the current bad economic climate. These households may not be able to cope with and recover from future economic stress and shock. This is because the income levels and poverty are directly connected. The contributing factors are that very few households have multiple incomes and the level of education of the economically active households is low. Basic life skills that are essential characteristics of a healthy and socially sustainable community. Again, very few households make use of the communal. These are indications of the lack of livelihood strategies and capabilities. It calls for the local government interventions in order to create a sustainable human settlement.

6. CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

The objective of the research is to identify the farm workers housing related needs and investigate how effectively the government policies and programmes have been able to address those needs in a sustainable manner. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has attempted to transport basic services such as potable water to the farm dwellers on different farms using water tankers. However, it could address other needs such as the provision of sanitation, housing, electricity, security tenure, health and educational facilities. Therefore, the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality introduced and piloted the rural village concept as a mechanism for addressing the farm worker housing related needs. One of the limitations of the study has been that the rural village concept as defined by the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is a new concept in the South African context. This has made it difficult to obtain published literature on rural village and debates around it. Therefore, a framework for assessing whether a rural village can be an approach for providing the farm worker housing related needs was formulated. The Doornkop Rural Village was identified as a case study from which the sustainability of the rural village concept may be assessed.

6.2. Access to basic services and housing on farms

It has come out very clearly that the historical problems such as primary health and education on farms still exist. The farm workers and farm dwellers are still illegally evicted. Poverty and inequality have been getting worse and have not improved even since 1994. This is despite the fact the government has introduced an explicit constitution and other pieces of legislation that are aimed at protecting the human rights of all people including those living on farms.

The housing related needs of people living on farms have not been addressed. It appears that the National Housing Policy has not been an appropriate mechanism for addressing housing related needs on farms mostly due to unavailability of suitable land and the non cost-effective manner of providing basic services to sparsely located

households on farms. It has been established that both on-farm and off-farm housing options have advantages and advantages as they are aimed at addressing specific needs of farmers and farm workers "The issues of tenure insecurity, public investment on private land and local government involvement were identified as challenges to effective housing and service delivery to farming communities" (Hartwig, 2004:10). With these challenges, an on-farm housing option is difficult to implement. On-farm housing option is also a concern for some farmers in light of the implication of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act No.62 of 1997. On-farm rental housing, not full title housing, is appropriate for a few farm worker households and seasonal farm employment. The off-farm housing option minimises farmers' security risks and other responsibilities.

Although the off-farm housing option addresses farm workers needs such as provision of basic services, health care and educational facilities, housing and security of tenure, it cannot be generalised nationally. Off-farm housing is more appropriate and sustainable in areas where farms are closely located and linked to urban areas with transport routes and where economic opportunities exist for the rural community to diversify its livelihood strategies. The increased transport cost has been singled out as a shortcoming of the off-farm housing option. "…there are numerous factors which determine farmers' and farm workers' decisions to provide on-farm or off-farm housing. These reasons include issues of service delivery, social relationships on the farm and family needs. Consequently, it will be difficult to find a "one-size-fits all" solution to the issue" (Atkinson, 2003:92). I agree with Atkinson (2003) as farmers and farm workers themselves have different opinions on this matter. A conclusion is then drawn that preference on housing options is influenced by individual's needs.

The government has introduced the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy and Poverty Alleviation Strategy that did not have an impact on the lives of people living on farms in terms of reducing poverty and creating sustainable livelihoods. This failure could be ascribed to unsuccessful implementation and other institutional problems such as incapacity and unavailability of funds.

The living conditions on farms should be assessed in line with Sections 25, 26 27 and 29 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996 which emphasise rights to property, housing, health care and education respectively. One has realised that the government of South Africa has many pieces of legislation and policies with good intentions but lacking implementation and enforcement. Skills development and training of farm workers is another area that has been neglected by government yet it is very fundamental for farm workers and farm dwellers in constructing their livelihoods and for stimulating local economic development. Most of the training programmes provided by the Department of Labour are not suited for farm workers and farm dwellers. Skills and training are some of the very important human and social capital needed for a rural village to be sustainable. Therefore, one can draw the conclusion that the living conditions of most farm workers and farm dwellers are not sustainable.

6.3. The rural village concept

The rural villages have been created by the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality to cater for farm workers who wish to have security of tenure in rural areas and continue to work on farms by virtue of the fact they have been involved with farming for their whole lives. Some of them have gained invaluable experience working on farms and do not like city life. Certain government departments in the Mpumalanga Province and individuals questioned the sustainability of a rural village. This has also led to Mpumalanga Government proposing its policy on agri-villages but with principles similar to those of a rural village as defined by the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality. The rural village concept presents opportunities for farm dwellers to be closer to areas where opportunities exist. It also emphasises provision of basic services such as water, sanitation, housing, creation of security of tenure, education and health facilities. The target beneficiaries are farm workers and their families. The settlement size is limited to 500 households in order to ensure a sustainable supply of basic services within the rural village. Therefore, this concept subscribes to the principles of sustainable human settlements as contained in the Breaking New Ground Strategy Document of the government and Guidelines for Settlement Planning and Design Document. The Mpumalanga Province has also embarked on a process of formulating

a policy on agri-villages, which has more or less the same principles of the rural village concept as defined by the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality.

It has become clear that some of the people living on farms and rural areas are paid starvation wages. Some have less access to basic and social services such as potable water, sanitation, shelter, security of tenure, health, education, and recreational facilities. Provision of most of these services is the responsibility of the government. Knowledge of rights and information about how government functions is lacking on farms. This has made it difficult for the farm workers to effect change in their lives by accessing resources that will assist them to construct their livelihoods and eradicate poverty. The government of the day has introduced programmes such as the National Rural Development Strategy, Poverty Alleviation Strategy and housing policies but so far, their impact is insignificant.

It has been established that sustainability of a rural village is a multifaceted problem that involves spatial planning, environmental conditions, economic viability, geographic location, social relationships and institutionalisation. The sustainability of a rural village should be demonstrated by the quality of life provided by the village, the relationship of the households with the biophysical environment and institutional functionality. Research has found that the common threats to the sustainability of any development are water scarcity, growing poverty, location and lack of support from the public sector. Therefore, the following principles, which guide any land development, have been identified:

- the recognition and acceptance of the limitations of the earth in supporting the people's action
- recognition of the linkage between the environment and development
- the prioritisation of the meeting of basic needs, with equitable access to all
- promotion of economic growth.

Smart Communities Network (2006:2) shares the same sentiments when they say "a sustainable community effort consists of a long-term, integrated, systems approach to developing and achieving a healthy community by jointly addressing economic,

environmental and social issues. Fostering a strong sense of community and building partnerships and consensus among key stakeholders are also important elements of such efforts". This principle is relevant for the implementation of cooperative projects and for exploitation of social capital, which the rural village household might have. Therefore, the adoption of a sustainable development approach addresses issues like poverty, high population growth rate, physical planning, sustainable farming practices and economic growth.

6.4. Assessment of sustainability of a rural village

Achieving a sustainable rural village is a difficult task that involves spatial planning, environmental management, economic viability, construction of livelihoods, geographic location, social relationships and institutionalisation.

The research questions and the five indicators for sustainable livelihoods, which were identified by Scoones (1998), have been used as a framework for assessing the sustainability of rural villages. Therefore, the sustainability of a rural village has been assessed as follows:

6.4.1. Rural villages address the need for provision of basic services to people living on farms

A rural village is a formally planned and proclaimed human settlement wherein provision of basic services such as potable water, sanitation, shelter, health services, electricity, education, etc are made available. Doornkop Rural Village is a typical example where basic services have been successfully provided.

6.4.2. Ability of the municipalities to sustain the rural villages financially

It is of cardinal importance to note that the local municipalities that are not in good financial standing and mostly rural will not be able to sustain the rural villages financially for the following reasons:

Firstly, the idea of a rural village is a new concept, which so far has been piloted only by the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality in the Mpumalanga Province. It has become clear that rural villages are responsibilities of the local municipalities. Secondly, the study has revealed that the Doornkop Rural village draws huge funds from the budget of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality.

> *"It cost the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality R9 943 000 to establish and reticulate services within Doornkop Rural Village. Already 160 of the 310 households of Doornkop rural village have been successfully registered as indigents. More applications are being received and indications are that most of the households will qualify to be registered as indigents as most of them work on farms and earn low wages. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality loses about R73 160 as potential monthly revenue from the Doornkop rural village households if an average monthly household consumer account of R236 is used as a benchmark"* (Wasserman, 2008, personal communication).

Wasserman (2008) also indicated that so far the costs for rendering the basic services in the rural village are drawn from the equitable share grant.

Thirdly, notwithstanding the above, it should be borne in mind that there is a close relationship between the provision of free basic services and the setting of tariffs for rendering of such services. Therefore, one is concerned about the financial sustainability of the municipality in terms of rendering the free basic services to the Doornkop village if the Steve Tshwete Local municipality does not generate any revenue from the households. This is because the sustainable provision of basic services is dependent on the determination of an appropriate tariff and the ability to collect it. The financial strain to the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality has increased because two additional rural villages comprising 450 and 500 residential erven respectively are on the verge of being completed. The beneficiaries may be settled in those villages in the near future. The possibility that most of the households may qualify to be registered as indigents is very high because farm workers are normally paid low wages. The rural study conducted by Urban Dynamics in 2004 has recommended that at least 8 rural villages be created within the geographic area of

the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality in order to address the farm workers housing related needs.

For now, the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is able to render the basic services to the rural village in an effective manner because it is in a good financial standing. However, it is clear that if the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality continues developing more rural villages, the municipality will not be able to sustain the rural villages financially because the equitable share grant will also not be sufficient should more rural villages be created. This is also against the background that the very same equitable share grant is used to render free basic services to the other indigent households within the urban areas of the municipality. It is common knowledge that the rate of urbanisation is high in South Africa. This will result in a situation whereby the revenue collected from the urban households is used to render free basic services to the households in the rural villages.

Some 90 % of the key respondents interviewed have agreed that the rural village can be a sustainable approach for provision of farm worker housing related needs. However, it has become clear that those key respondents have not taken into account that the local municipality has a responsibility to render the basic services in a sustainable manner. They also did not take into account the fact that the local municipality will not be able to collect meaningful revenue from the rural villages as most of the households in the rural village qualify to be registered as indigents.

In light of the deliberations, a conclusion is drawn that the local municipalities with many rural households and which also have a bad financial standing will not be able to sustain rural villages financially. Doornkop rural village and the other two rural villages that are in the pipeline are surrounded by mines. Therefore the sustainable supply of quality water is a threatened by contamination which could be caused by the mine operations. This is a concern because should the underground water be contaminated, it will be required of the municipality to devise means of providing clean water in a sustainable and cost effective manner.

The policy of the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality limits the size of the village to 500 households. However, it does not say how it intends dealing with the growth of the population within the rural village itself because the size of a family may grow due to births and the renting of back yards for living space. It is also silent on how it intends dealing with the sustainable rendering of services to the households as at this point about 52% of the households are indigent. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality should also address the issue of the households who relocated to Doornkop rural village because they could not get housing in town.

6.4.4. Ability to create opportunities for farm dwellers and farm workers to be able to sustain their livelihoods

The rural village provides all the basic services to the households. Services such as water, refuse collection and electricity are provided free of charge and assessment rates are not levied to the indigent. Almost all of the households have been built low cost houses by the government. All of these reduce the impact of poverty. It leaves the households with some cash flow for maintaining their families and also to attend to some of the households needs. The rural village is located in the close vicinity of commercial farms, which serve as a source of employment for the households as most of them have invaluable farming experience. The farmers also need their services. The rural village is located within a 15km radius from the nodes where economic opportunities such as jobs, education, commercial, industrial, mines and financial services exist. However due to high public transport costs, it has become costly for the Doornkop households to commute on a daily basis to and from Middelburg Town. Reduction of the location distance from 15km closer to town should reduce the high transport costs but on the other hand it could encourage urban sprawl.

The planning principles of a rural village encourage provision of communal land within the village in order to promote livestock farming and crop cultivation. This creates a conducive environment for the creation of food security. There is provision of 60 hectares of communal land, therefore commercial agriculture, with training and financial support from the government and other relevant institutions could also be practised to a limited extent. The urban area, which lies about 15 km away, could

serve as a market place for their produce. The minimum stand size is 1000m^2 to allow for space for vegetable gardens and fowl runs. This is against the background that most of the households are from the farms and hence like keeping livestock within their yards. The stands can also make provision for those who run tuck shops. A provision for business stands has been made so that any household who is interested in business can purchase a stand to provide the day-to-day commodities like bread, milk, eggs, etc to the households. However, the survey has revealed that these opportunities are not taken up by the household members due to the lack of financial and human resources. The local municipality has a responsibility to inform the community about the available local economic development opportunities.

6.4.5. Rural villages address the security of tenure problems on farms

Doornkop Rural Village is a typical example. The creation of a rural village involves the formal establishment and proclamation of the settlement, which ultimately results in titling of land. There are farm workers in Doornkop rural village who already have the residential stands registered in their names and low cost houses built on them. It is no longer incumbent on the nearby farmers to provide farm workers with accommodation on their farms. Actually, the rural village serves as the labour pool for the farmers. All they need to do is provide transport for their workers. In this context, the outcome of the created rural village is the provision of security of tenure to farm workers, reduction of the extent of farm evictions and access to basic services to farm workers.

6.4.6. Sustainability of rural villages from an environmental perspective

Another planning principle of the rural village is to protect farm portions that have high agricultural value. The application for developing a rural village must first be assessed and approved by the Department of Agriculture. The process of establishing a rural village also involves an environmental impact assessment, geotechnical investigation and engineering services assessment in order to ensure that the development is environmentally friendly and sustainable. Electricity is reticulated in the rural village. However, a concern is raised that 66, 66% of the surveyed

households do not have electric stoves and hence they rely on wood and coal as a source of energy. This situation will lead to deforestation, which is not good environmental practice. Burning of wood and coal further contribute to air pollution.

6.4.7. Provision of adequate support to the rural village by the Housing Department

The government has attempted to develop a Farm Worker Housing Assistance Programme, which aims to deliver low cost houses on what they call off-farm and on-farm settlements. The implementation of this programme has not been successful so far due to tenure issues that could not be resolved. Although the rural village is still a new concept that has not yet been widely piloted and explored, the Mpumalanga Department of Housing and Local Government has already built 300 houses for the Doornkop rural village households under the Farm Worker Housing Assistance Programme. This is an indication of support from the government's side.

Research has established that environmental degradation and depletion of natural resources have resulted in unsustainable development. This in turn has contributed to poverty and unemployment in many rural areas of South Africa. Lack of financial, natural, human and physical capital in rural areas has also contributed to the latter problem because without these resources rural people cannot sustain their livelihoods. This situation calls for organisation and empowerment of rural communities in order to manage natural resources and agricultural resources in sustainable manner. The rationale behind this is that rural villages can be sustainable only when the values of sustainability have become the basis from which the decisions to create and manage settlements are made.

Based on the above deliberations a conclusion is drawn that the rural village can be a sustainable approach only in the following manner:

i. It can be a sustainable approach for provision of basic services such as potable water, sanitation, schools, clinics, convenience shops and communal land for people working on farms.

ii. It can address security of tenure and housing problems of people working on farms and their families.
iii. A rural village is located within a 15km radius from an economic active node such as a town, which creates an opportunity for the rural village households to search for employment either in town or on farms.

However, it is also important to mention that local municipalities cannot sustain rural villages financially due to the fact that the prospects of collecting revenue from the households are very slim. There are many mines around the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality, which may contribute to the contamination of ground water. Therefore providing a sustainable supply of potable water could be a threat because all the rural villages depend on boreholes as source of water.

It has also been noted that a rural village could contribute to urban sprawl. For instance, Doornkop Rural Village is located about 15 km away from Middelburg Town. There are two farms belonging to the Doornkop and Botshabelo Communal Property Associations lying between Middelburg Town and Doornkop Village. The location of the two properties is depicted on Figure 1. The Doornkop CPA land is already settled on and in the process of being developed into a formal rural village. There are also plans to develop a rural village on the land of Botshabelo CPA. Therefore the probability of creating urban sprawl is very high because the Middelburg urban edge shares a boundary with the land of Botshabelo CPA. The Doornkop CPA also shares a boundary with Doornkop Rural Village. The Steve Tshwete Local Municipality is likely to incur even more financial burden because it is way ahead with the process of developing two additional rural villages. The villages are to be known as Mafube and Bankfontein Rural Villages and are clearly shown on Figure 2.

There are no economic activities taking place at the rural villages to support the livelihoods of the households. The survey of Doornkop rural village has proven that commercial farms do not offer enough job opportunities for the whole community due to the introduction of new technologies in agriculture such as machinery, intensive use of commercial agricultural land, etc. Again, there are not enough socio-

economic activities to support all the rural village dwellers. Therefore the youth from these villages will be tempted to migrate to the small towns in search of job opportunities, better living conditions, better medical services, safety and security. When young families leave, the rural village communities are left with ageing population which is not economical active. The migration of rural to urban areas put pressure on the services, land, housing and job opportunities available in the small towns.

6.5. RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the challenges outlined in Chapter IV, the rural village approach is not recommended for implementation by other local municipalities at this stage. Well planned and managed urban areas save land because people live in high density areas and basic services are provided in a cost effectively and efficient manner to the large section of population. There is reduced time and expense in commuting and transportation while improving access to job opportunities, education, housing and other services.

In light of the above, it is therefore recommended that the creation of rural villages be considered only after the government has developed a well-researched policy on creation of sustainable rural villages. The survey has confirmed that a rural village is a huge financial burden to the local municipality. It has proven that a rural village has to be strategically located where economic opportunities exist in order for the benefiting households to construct their livelihoods. The ability to construct sustainable livelihoods in rural areas is of profound importance because it can reduce poverty. Rural people need access to good information in order to be able to empower and capacitate themselves in different aspects of life. It has been established that there is a fragmentation of funding streams and a lack of dissemination of public information regarding availability, criteria and access to the different funding streams which the government and other institutions have. The government is better positioned to play a supporting role in this regard. It is recommended that the government should develop a policy that will take into account the following aspects:

6.5.1. The local government should create close links with organs of civil society and business through which priorities and needs of different people in the rural village can be expressed.

Without the support of the government and other institutions rural households will not be able to identify the available resources within the rural village. They also cannot make use of the available resources to construct their livelihoods. Economic sustainability is a sustainable flow of goods and services essential for human consumption and reproduction of wealth. Therefore employment and job creation become the key goals of economic sustainability. Achievement of these goals results in poverty alleviation and sustainability of a rural village.

There are donors and non-governmental organisations, which can capacitate rural households and build their capacity in a manner that they are able to sustain their livelihoods. The government and other actors could introduce LED projects that may contribute to poverty alleviation through nurturing existing economic networks and building the capacity of the poor in order to be able to fend for themselves. The main challenge is that rural households do not know how to access such information. Therefore in this instance it is imperative for the local municipality to play a co-ordination role given that it has resources and is well positioned to access such information. Such coordination will ultimately create wide recognition of multiple actors and the range of potential partners.

6.5.2. The local government should assist to create a healthy and productive environment, which is capable of sustaining the biological components upon which the many agricultural, social and cultural activities depend on.

This principle can be realised through implementation of a policy on sustainable development. Sustainable development should be seen as a strategy by which the communities seek to achieve economic development in a manner that will benefit the local environment and quality of life. The constitution of South Africa and other legislation, regulations and policies have strengthened the legislative framework for environmental management in this country. However, one feels that there is still

considerable progress that can be made in the joint agreements between stakeholder groups and government regarding environmental management.

For sustainable development to be effective, it is advisable to involve the rural village community in the compilation of policies on sustainable development and implementation thereof. Such policies should be used by the local government and the community to identify all key environmental concerns and address them using the capacity and resources available to them. This stem from the rationale that a community that has been involved in conceptualising and developing a policy is likely to develop a sense of ownership and implement it with understanding.

6.5.3. The local government should create structures to which everyone and within which women can play an equal active role.

The survey has revealed that 16,66% of interviewed households are headed by women. It is common knowledge that women and children are the most vulnerable household members because in most cases they depend on their husbands for a living. Most of them are unemployed and yet have responsibilities of bringing up children. This is to a certain extent a historical socio-cultural problem that does not contribute to sustainable human settlements. This situation calls for the development of an enabling, equitable, non-discriminatory and just social system that will address the rights of vulnerable groups such as women, children and the aged. Therefore it is imperative for the local municipality to conduct an extensive household survey within a rural village with the objective of finding out how women are able to sustain their livelihoods and how many children have access to education. This should also investigate if the aged are well housed and receive the necessary grants. Ultimately, the efforts of the municipality should be directed at introducing capacity building programmes and projects that are aimed at empowering women economically. Such programmes should capacitate the women in a manner that at the end of the day they are able construct their livelihoods without depending on their husbands.

6. 5.4 Planning principles for improving the conditions in rural villages

Sustainability of a rural village is to a certain extent influenced by its location in relation to the economically active areas. For instance, the households of Doornkop rural village are not happy about the high public transport fee they pay for a return trip from Middelburg Town. The following strategies and spatial planning principles are recommended for the rural villages that already exist:

i The linkages between the rural village and urban areas should be strengthened to improve the commuting between the places of employment and residential areas. This could be achieved by encouraging agro-processing industries along the routes between the rural village and urban areas and upgrading of road infrastructure.

ii. Vigorous protection of commercial agricultural land between the rural villages and towns may be used as a strategy to discourage urban sprawl.

iii. Public facilities such as libraries, schools, recreational centres, clinics etc should be provided to ensure a vibrant, functional and sustainable human settlement.

iv. There is a need to develop strategies on poverty alleviation, rural development and local economic development, which are based on a real understanding of the economic realities in the rural villages. This will create an enabling environment for mobilisation and empowerment. Government should provide encouragement, funding and expertise to the rural people. This will create an environment, which will be conducive for the introduction of local economic development projects and hence help unemployed households to fend for themselves. Agricultural development should be encouraged within the existing rural villages.

v. The design of a rural village should integrate economic and quality of life concerns with physical and aesthetic factors.

6.5.5. Provision of financial support by the national and provincial government departments.

It has been proven from the Doornkop case study that the creation of a rural village and rendering of municipal services in a sustainable manner can be a costly exercise especially when most of the households are indigents. The provision of basic services has both a capital and operational expenditure impact. Many local municipalities cannot afford to create rural villages and render services in a sustainable manner due to the high rate of unemployment and poverty. Therefore the government should conduct an in-depth research on sustainability of rural villages and develop a policy in this regard. Government grants such as the municipal infrastructure grant, the settlement planning grant, the equity grants and the low cost housing subsidies should be secured and used for the development of the rural villages that are already existing.

APPENDIX A : Interview questions for the Doornkop rural village households

My name is Meshack Mahamba and I am currently conducting research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an MSc Degree in Town and Regional Planning with the University of the Witwatersrand. My contact details are as follows: Cell: 082 669 7048, (013) 249 7178 and Fax: (013) 243 2550, mmahamba@stevetshwetelm.gov.za. My research is titled **"Rural villages as a sustainable approach for provision of housing related needs for farm workers in Mpumalanga Province".**

Please note that this interview is only for academic purposes. First of all you are hereby informed that you are entitled to refuse to participate and you can stop at any time if you feel like. This is the consent form which you should sign if you decide to participate in the interview.

Name of participant, contact details and stand number only if available
_____

i. Please tell me the details of all people living in the household.
_____
_____

ii. What are the ages of people living in the household?
_____

iii. How many males and females live in this household?
_____

iv. Could you please give me your background history? Tell me about where you were born, the places you have lived in, your work history and why you have moved from one place and /or job to another?
_____
_____

v. When did you come to this rural village and why?
_____
_____

vi. What is the occupation of the households, if employed?
_____
_____

vii. Who is schooling?
_____
_____

viii. What is the highest level of education of the household members?
_____
_____

ix. Is there a household member getting a grant or pension? If yes, what is the grant?

_____

x. What is the total household monthly income?

R100-R200	R201-R300	R301-R400	R401-R500	R501-R1000	R1500-R2000	R2000-R3500	R3501 +pm

xi. Has living in a rural village changed your life? Please explain how?

_____

_____

xii. Is the level of basic services better in the rural villages or the same as on farms? Please explain.

_____

_____

xiii. Which services did you not have access to on farms and you have access to now?

_____

xiv. Is the property that you currently stay on registered in your name or leased?

_____

xv. Where do you get water for drinking and cooking?

_____

xvi. What type of sanitation do you have access to?

_____

xvii. Do you use electricity in your house?

_____

xviii. If employed where is your work place and how far is it from here?

_____

xix. If employed, how do you and other members of the household usually get to work?

_____

_____

xx. Do you have access to community facilities such as a clinic, church and shops and where?

_____

_____

xxi. Are you happy with the size and quality of your low cost house?

_____

_____

xxii. Do you undertake any agricultural activity within the village?

_____

xxiii. Do you have livestock? If yes where do you keep it?

_____

_____

xxiv. Is the household head male or female?

_____

APPENDIX B. Research questionnaire for the key respondents

Dear Participant.

My name is Meshack Mahamba and I am currently conducting research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an MSc Degree in Town and Regional Planning with the University of the Witwatersrand. My contact details are Cell: 082 669 7048, (013) 249 7178, Fax: (013) 243 2550, mmahamba@stevetshwetelm.gov.za. My research is titled **"Rural villages as sustainable approach for provision of farm workers housing related needs in Mpumalanga Province".** This questionnaire is only for academic purposes.

My case study is the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality which is presently piloting the concept of "rural village". The "rural village" concept is defined by the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality as a formally established rural settlement located which is located within a 15km radius from an urban area or business node. It is a settlement where people can live together as a community on stands that are serviced and registered in their names and where facilities such as clinics, schools, businesses and recreational facilities and commonage land for agricultural purposes can be provided in an economic and sustainable manner.

Please indicate your name and your occupation (e.g. housing officer, town planner, engineer, developer, etc)

_____

The research questions are as follows:

i. To what extent has the policies of the government of South Africa been able to effectively address the below listed farm workers housing related needs?

a. Provision of potable water

_____

_____

b. Sanitation

_____

_____

c. Access to adequate housing. (e.g. quality, size, etc)

_____

_____

d. Provision of secure land tenure and addressing related problems, such as eviction, right to burial of deceased family members, etc.

_____

_____

e. Access to land for agricultural uses such as crop cultivation and livestock farming.

_____
_____

f. Poverty alleviation;

_____
_____

g. Access to education and health facilities;

_____
_____

ii. There is a perception that farm owners are not willing to make land available for housing farm workers. What is your opinion on this perception?

_____
_____

9. In your opinion, can rural villages be a sustainable approach for providing farm worker housing related need? Please elaborate.

_____
_____

APPENDIX C: Face-to-face interviews with the farmers

Dear Participant

My name is Meshack Mahamba and I am currently conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an MSc Degree in Town and Regional Planning in the field of Housing with the University of the Witwatersrand. My research is titled **"Rural villages a sustainable approach for provision of farm worker housing needs in Mpumalanga Province".** This interview is for academic purposes and all responses will be kept confidential. If you wish to stop the interview at any time, please feel free to do so.

The interview questions are as follows:

1. How many farm workers do you have?

_____

2. Where do your farm workers live?

_____

3. Why do they live in these places?

_____

_____

4. If your workers live off the farm, how do they get to and from work?

_____

_____

5. Would you prefer your employees to live on-farm or off-farm? Please give reasons.

_____

_____

6. What are the advantages and disadvantages of these locations from your perspective?

_____

_____

7. Would you be prepared to employ people who have experience as farm workers who live in Mhluzi and Middelburg Town?

_____

_____

8. Would you be prepared to transport your workers from urban areas to and from work on a daily basis? Please give reasons.

_____

_____

9. There is a perception that farm owners are not willing to make land available for housing farm workers. Do you think this perception is correct?

_____

_____

10. The Steve Tshwete municipality is exploring the idea of rural villages to house farm workers. Is this a concept that you would support? What would you see as advantages and disadvantages of this idea?

_____
_____

11. Are you prepared to assist financially towards building houses for your employees irrespective of whether they reside on-farm or off-farm? Please give reasons for your response.

_____
_____

12. If government was prepared to grant subsidies to farmers to develop rental housing on farms for farm workers, would you be prepared to receive such subsidies?

_____
_____

13. Do you provide your employees who live on the farm with basic services such as potable water, sanitation, electricity and housing for free or do you charge them (and if so, how much)?

_____
_____

14. Would you allow government to deliver water tanks and erect sanitation facilities on your farm?

_____
_____

15. Do you allow your employees to engage in livestock farming on your farm? Please elaborate.

_____
_____
_____

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