

Vulnerability to poverty of South African farm worker households and the impact of migration using the example of the Krom-Antonies catchment area



Master thesis

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Measures

1 ZAR \triangleq 0,0819 EUR (01.02.2013)

Abbreviations

HH(s)	Household(s)
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
ZAR	South African Rand

Introduction – A typical farm worker’s story?

Johanna¹ (32 yrs.) differs from all the other seasonal workers that gathered on the veranda of the workers’ hostel on this hot February afternoon. While most of their colleagues came alone or with their partners, she moved with her two small children into the narrow 16-bed room on the edge of the dusty road towards the vineyards. However, farm work is not foreign to her. Born and raised in Wolseley (Breede River Valley Region) she left school after seventh grade and worked on several farms since then. During that time she got two children but the fathers are either dead or don’t care for them. When her mother got divorced from her father due to alcohol-related violence in 2011, she moved to Ceres with her. But as it became clear that there was too little money for her, the mother and the children, she decided to migrate again and started to work in the Krom-Antoniess valley in November 2012. However, life is hard for her and the wage of 347 ZAR/week is barely enough for all three of them. Yet, she’s able to save a little amount of the money that is normally entirely needed for food, in some weeks. Then she buys clothes for the children but no toys because there is not enough money available. But the worst thing, Johanna says, “[...] is the noise in the hostel, especially in the evening when the young workers return, drink alcohol and hear loud music. [...] Then the children cannot sleep and stay awake until late at night”.

Three days after the end of the grape harvest Johanna is still in the hostel and sweeps up the remains of the season (esp. old vine packages, newspapers and other trash). During the visit other women from Cape Town leave the farm in the tiny Fiat of the labour broker. Some of the women argue with him. As it later transpired, promised bonuses were not paid. Johanna, however, will stay in the hostel with her new boyfriend, a permanent resident from the farm. The drive home costs more than two times the weekly wage and her mother had to change to a new but worse paid job in the kitchen of a restaurant. It’s March 3rd 2013. On March 1st the new minimum wage came into force, punctually at the end of the grape season.

Johanna is only one of tens of thousands of seasonal workers that leave their towns and seek jobs on the fruit- and vegetable farms in the Western Cape every year. But migration affects also workers who are normally deeply rooted on the farms on which they are living on. The backgrounds of all of them, as well as the reasons to migrate are as different as the living conditions on the farms they’re living and working on. However, a high vulnerability to become poor is widespread among the farm worker households (HHs), not only in the Western Cape Region, but also in South Africa as a whole².

¹ Name changed by the author

² See also: Atkinson (2007), Jacobs & Makaudze (2012)

I. Research question

The present thesis is dedicated to the examination of this vulnerability to poverty of farm worker HHs and will focus especially on the impact migration has on it. To understand this complex topic, two main questions shall be answered in the examination:

- How are the livelihoods³ and the vulnerability of the farm worker HHs constituted?
- How is migration shaped and what backlashes does it have on the vulnerability of farm worker HHs?

The aim of the analysis is, on the one hand, to gain a better understanding of the life situation of farm worker HHs within the geographically bounded area of the Krom-Antonies catchment and, on the other hand, to learn more about migration and the impact it has on these HHs.

Notes on the structure of the thesis

For answering the above introduced questions the master thesis is designed according to a specific structure. In the following chapter two, the theoretical basis for the research concept will be laid. Here different theories, concepts and definitions on vulnerability, livelihoods and migration will be introduced and discussed. At the end of the chapter several sub-questions that were derived from the theory and the research concept will be introduced. Those shall help structuring the analysis and answering the main research questions from chapter one. Chapter three deals with the methods which were used during the research process and their limitations. Chapter four gives an overview about the context of the thesis, beginning with the country level and ending with the HH level. It addresses the general situation of farm workers in South Africa and migration trends but also the narrow context of the Bergrivier municipality, the Krom-Antonies catchment and the interviewed HHs. Chapter five deals with the analysis of the empirical data. Aim of this chapter is not only to clearly present and assess the data, but also to demonstrate the way, which led to the conclusions in chapter V.3 and VI. To achieve this, chapter five was divided according to the logic “describe-interpret-assess”. By describing the individual steps that led to the total assessment of vulnerability and the impact migration has on it, the author hopes to make way of thinking and the assessment more understandable. Chapter V.3 also includes the risk assessment. The risk assessment intends to sum up and assess the most common risks and trends the surveyed HHs are confronted with. Afterwards the reader can find the total assessment of vulnerability. After the total assessment of vulnerability the significance of migration for the HH’s vulnerability is discussed. Chapter VI sums up the most important evidences briefly.

³ A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (DFID 1999)

II. Theoretical background

Vulnerability in theory and practice

Range of definitions

The term “vulnerability” is used in different disciplines both in theory and in practice. Thereby the range of definitions is huge and reflects the different needs of actors in science, development cooperation, emergency management and environment/climate change (De Leon 2006). Birkmann (2006), for example, counts 25 different definitions and concepts to systematize the term vulnerability. But despite of this abundance of definitions and concepts there is no universal one which is widely accepted through the disciplines (Birkmann 2006). For the purpose of this thesis the following paragraph will start with the introduction of two main concepts that will play a role in the following analysis.

Concepts and models

Double structure of vulnerability

The concept of the double structure of vulnerability provides a theoretical approach to understand vulnerability. It distinguishes between an “internal” and an “external” side of vulnerability. While the external side describes the exposure towards shocks and stresses, the internal side encompasses the complex of overcoming and mitigating negative shocks (Bohle 2001, Chambers 1989). Thereby the coping mechanisms are “[...] highly complex, contextual and dynamical” (Bohle 2001). Bohle (2001) outlines six different strands of theoretical concepts to understand the external and internal side of vulnerability.

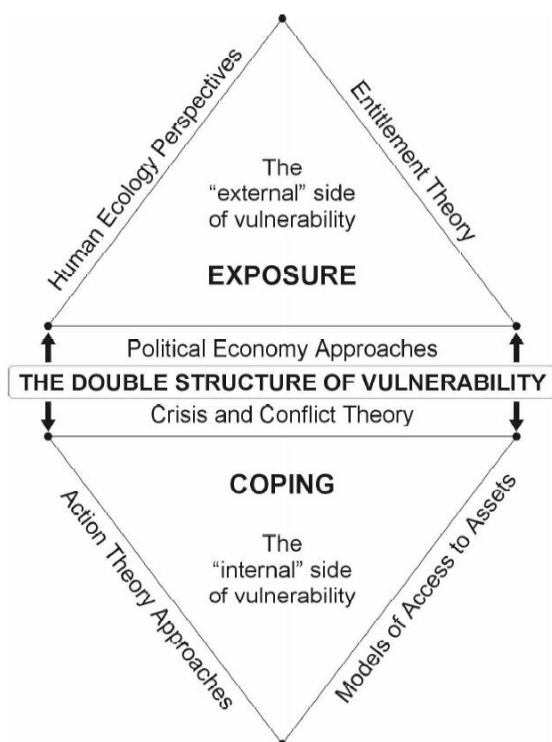


Figure 1 Double structure of vulnerability, Bohle (2001) in Birkmann (2006)

On the internal side one strand encompasses the action-oriented approaches. Here the relationship and the interaction between the internal and external side are of interest. A second strand addresses the access to assets and its importance to understand vulnerability. According to Bohle (2001) the control of more assets (economic, socio-political, infrastructural, ecological and personal assets) leads to less vulnerability and raises the capacities to cope with shocks. Here, a connection can be seen to the Sustainable Livelihoods

Framework (SLF) that will be explained further below. Bohle also emphasizes the importance of “social assets” especially for the most vulnerable groups that lack most of the other assets. Especially this idea seems to be useful for the following analysis. A third strand comes from the “conflict and crisis theory”. Here issues concerning the access to assets or coping capacities are explained by con-

flicts and crises in which they are embedded. The successful management of crises and conflicts is a premise to manage risks and changes.

On the external side the entitlement approach delivers a concept to understand vulnerability. An Entitlement according to Sen (1987) is “the set of different alternative commodity bundles that a person can acquire through the use of the various legal channels of acquirement open to someone in his position”. According to this vulnerability can be described as the risks that arise with the large scale deprivation of entitlements (Bohle 1993). In the political economy, another theoretical strand, vulnerability can be explained as a result of power structures within the society while the human ecology focuses on the interaction of nature and society when explaining vulnerability (Weber 2012).

All in all the idea of regarding vulnerability as a two-sided structure, which not only encompasses “external” factors a HH is exposed to but also “internal” factors to cope with risks will be important for the thesis and especially the risk assessment further below.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The SLF provides a practical approach to assess vulnerability especially in small-scale contexts (Bohle&Glade 2008). In this approach livelihoods are the centre of analysis. These are quite broadly defined and encompass „[the] capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living“ (DFID 1999). Moreover, livelihoods are not restricted to one place and can comprise different HHs so temporary migrants can also be part of one livelihood.

Five “livelihood assets” form the centre of the framework⁴. They are the basis for pursuing different livelihood strategies which lead to different livelihood outcomes and, accordingly, change the assets’ setup (DFID 1999, Fig. 2). The status of assets always changes and particular assets can replace others in their importance. Hence, the low value of particular assets doesn’t necessarily have to mean a high level of poverty. The availability of, resp. the access to different assets takes place within the “vulnerability context“. It comprises shocks and trends but also seasonal fluctuations which the surveyed social groups can only influence in a limited way. Like the assets the vulnerability context is not fixed but can change from time to time to the advantage or disadvantage of individual groups. Moreover the shocks, trends and fluctuations concern different social groups in a different manner (DFID 1999). So natural disasters, for example, may have devastating effects on the rural population while the urban population is less affected. In contrast to that rising food prices may affect the urban population more than the rural one that may be able to cushion the high prices by growing their own food. Transforming structures and processes influence different parts of the framework. So they do not only affect the vulnerability context directly but also the assets and the livelihood outcomes. Laws by

⁴ Human capital: “Human capital represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives” (DFID 1999)

Social capital: “Social capital encompasses” [...] the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives” (DFID 1999)

Natural capital: “Natural capital involves “[...] natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services (e.g. nutrient cycling, erosion protection) useful for livelihoods are derived” (DFID 1999)

Physical capital: “Physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods” (DFID 1999)

Financial capital: “Financial capital denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives” (DFID 1999)

the government, for example, may facilitate the access to education for minorities and hence raise the human capital on a large scale. Laws concerning pension may raise or lower the vulnerability of older citizens and the reduction of the personal income tax may lead to a higher net income and hence a higher financial capital.

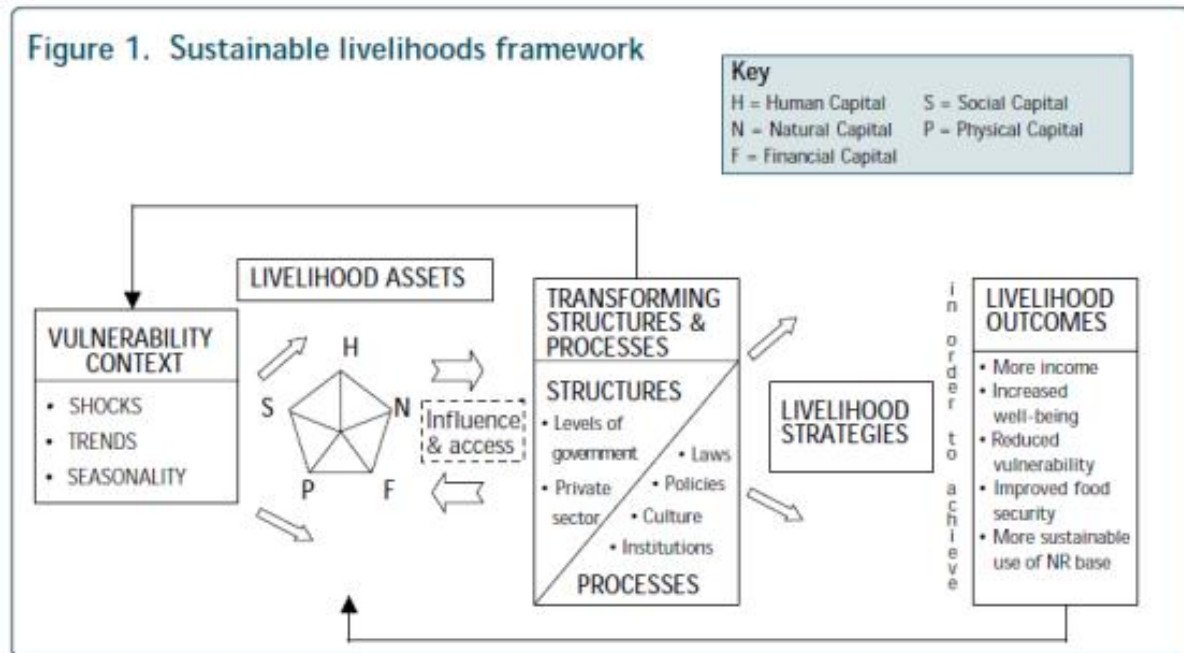


Figure 2 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework DFID (2001)

Migration within the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Within the SLF migration can be seen as a livelihood strategy that produces certain outcomes and, hence, has impact on the different assets. However this connection has to be seen in two ways. So certain assets have impacts on migration as well. The financial capital, for example, plays an important role when it comes to migration since migration is connected to a considerable financial outlay and risk which poor HHs cannot bear (De Haas 2007). On the contrary, migration can also help to raise the financial capital in the HHs of origin and lower vulnerability. Here remittances are of vital importance. But also human capital plays a role when it comes to a migration decision. So migrants tend to have a higher education than non-migrants in the areas of origin (Nawrotzki et.al. 2012). The physical capital can affect the migration decision in a positive or a negative way. On the one hand the sale of personal belongings can bring the necessary capital to finance the migration. On the other hand a high physical capital can be the basis for new livelihood-strategies that make migration not necessary (Nawrotzki et.al. 2012). The social capital also plays an important role. So relatives that already migrated raise the probability of migration in the HHs of origin, lower its costs and increase the benefits (Nawrotzki et.al. 2012)⁵.

⁵ For more details see the paragraph „Social capital and social networks” in “Migration theories”

Criticism

Krantz (2001) criticises that the SLF and the associated Sustainable livelihood approach are very time and cost-intensive what makes an extensive analysis of poverty and vulnerability on a large geographical scale hardly possible. Especially the open procedure in the identification of the target groups and the use of a bunch of participatory methods make it difficult to fit the analysis into a set time frame and requires a lot of flexibility. Also the focus of the framework is criticised. Because of the tendency to concentrate on HHs as a unit of the analysis problems within the HH (for example between men and women) are often not taken into account (Krantz 2001). Although Krantz admits that the SLF is aware of this, the design of the framework can lead to neglecting intra-HH differences. Bohle & Glade (2008) criticise that the framework is quite static and less flexible what neglects the dynamic character of livelihoods. In connection to this the lack of a historical view on vulnerability and poverty is criticised since the approach only focuses on the contemporary situation and the insufficient view on the underlying social structures that lead to vulnerability. Similarly Dörfler et.al. (2003) criticise in a more general way that livelihood-approaches would give good explanations on how certain risks threaten humans and how they react to them but fail in explaining the deeper lying reasons for these risks.

Vulnerability to poverty

As well as the term “vulnerability” also “vulnerability to poverty” was often defined by different authors. Chaudhuri (2002), for example, defines vulnerability to poverty “[...]as the ex-ante risk that a household will, if currently non-poor, fall below the poverty line, or if currently poor, will remain in poverty”.

With this definition he distances himself from other definitions that regard vulnerability mainly as an exposition to welfare shocks⁶. The World Bank on the other hand defines vulnerability in a broader sense:

“Vulnerability is defined [here] as the probability or risk today of being in poverty or to fall into deeper poverty in the future.” (The World Bank).

Both definitions regard vulnerability as a forward looking concept and while Chaudhuri takes a poverty line as a measure the World Bank leaves this question unanswered. However the definition of Chaudhuri poses the question in which way an economic measure can represent the complexity of poverty. So livelihood-strategies which might be important for the assessment of vulnerability are not included adequately⁷. The World Bank definition, on the other hand, does not explain the term poverty which is essentially in its definition. However it gives the opportunity to analyse vulnerability in a broad way without limitation to economic factors, for example. One definition of poverty, which supplements this definition well, might be the following:

[Poverty is] „a human condition characterized by the sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate stand-

⁶ See also Glewwe & Hall (1998): “Vulnerability is a dynamic concept, involving a sequence of events after a Macroeconomic shock.”

⁷ Subsistence agriculture, for example, is not included in the definition.

ard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights.” (United Nations Economic and Social Council - Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 2001).

Although this definition does not clarify all questions⁸, it provides, in combination with the World Bank definition, a good basis for a comprehensive analysis of vulnerability. It is not limited to questions regarding consumption or income alone but also gives the opportunity to examine the background of poverty.

Migration theories

There are numerous ways to classify human mobility may it be in terms of spatial or temporal aspects. They reflect specific needs in regard to their use. So the inclusion of administrative boundaries within the definition, for example, may be important in statistical terms but may be of minor importance for this thesis⁹. For the investigation of the effects of migration on the HHs' vulnerability it is necessary to include more or less small-scale movements, also within a municipality, over a limited period of time. This gets obvious if the investigated farms are regarded as, more or less, open social spaces with a specific formal and informal setup that, among others, co-determines the HHs' vulnerability. Thus, even small movements from one farm to another can result in big changes in the vulnerability setup of the HHs, resp. their strategies to encounter vulnerability.

For meeting these requirements a rather simple definition by the German Department for Migration and Refugees may be useful and shall be the basis for the analysis:

“One talks of migration, if a person shifts the centre of its life spatially”. (Literal translation - Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2011).

Although there are still questions left, especially when determining the centre of one's life, this definition corresponds especially well to the above introduced livelihoods framework.

For a detailed investigation of the effects migration has on the HHs, not only a definition of the term, but also a look into migration theories is necessary. Here, it is certainly important to look at theories that not only explain the “why” but also focus on the consequences. In the context of this thesis those theories that offer a pluralist view on migration (de Haas 2008) seem to be of particular interest and shall be introduced in hereafter. However, this compilation is far from being complete and introduces only some of the common theories which range from the micro- to the macro-level.

New Economics of Labour Migration

The NELM-approach arose in the 1980s and broke with neo-classical models that draw mainly on individual reasons for explaining migration. In contrast to these, it is argued that migration decisions are taken in social groups like HHs or wider communal groups (King 2012). On the decision side migration is seen as a strategy, not only to maximize the income, but to mitigate income risks and market constraints (De Haas 2008). Here remittances play an important role. On the one hand they can

⁸ One question is how an adequate standard of living can be defined or if it is a subjective matter.

⁹ See for example International Organization for Migration (2004): „A process of moving, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants“.

stabilize the income in the sending HHs and on the other hand they open markets for those who are not able to participate. So investments in productive assets, for example, can be made with the help of remittances.

Migration and livelihoods

The NELM concept offers certain parallels with livelihood approaches (De Haas 2008) as described with the Sustainable livelihoods approach. In the history of ideas De Haas (2008) sees in both approaches a connection from neo-classical and actor-oriented approaches towards a HH-level based theoretical perspective (De Haas 2008). One important consequence is that migration cannot be seen isolated from other livelihood-strategies a HH pursues and the whole portfolio of multi-local and multi-sectoral strategies has to be taken into account. Livelihood concepts also put the migration decision into a broader framework where economy only plays one role beside ecological and social matters. Thus, de Haan (2000) sees migration not as a simple reaction to economic or environmental pressure but to be embedded in societal rules and norms. For assessing the impact of migration on livelihoods he identifies two institutions: migration networks and HH structure and management. He describes the interrelation between them as neither direct nor simple. Here new studies that concentrate on migration networks can help in understanding this connection.

On the empirical side, the connection between migration and livelihoods has been investigated by numerous studies which show that there are close interconnections between both. Those, however, cannot be generalised easily (McDowell & De Haan 2012) and are highly contextual. So, different aspects like the seasonality of the movement, the length of absence, assets and social structures and institutions play an important role for the assessment (McDowell & De Haan 2012). Accordingly, the studies deliver different results concerning the implications migration has on livelihoods. So, Mendoza (2006) introduces empirical studies which prove that migration, on the one hand, leads to increasing productive investments in the HHs of origin, as well as studies that, on the other hand, find more consumptive, but less productive investments. De Haan (2000) points out that remittances usually contribute relatively little to the livelihoods but he also admits that the environment to which the remittances are sent plays an important role and can change this picture. Waddington (2003) additionally emphasizes that the way and time remittances are spent are also important for assessing their impact and that migration does not necessarily need to have positive economic effects for the sending HHs. But beside the economic dimension migration can also have impacts on the human capital. So migrants are often introduced to new norms and values and gather new experiences, which, beside the acquisition of education and skills, can lead to new livelihood strategies. However, this connection is not self-evident (Waddington 2003). Moreover, migration impacts the health status of the migrant directly as well as indirectly through the (sometimes poor) access to health services (Waddington 2003).

Migration, livelihoods and vulnerability

Migration can be a livelihood strategy pursued either in response to vulnerability or to manage risk and reduce vulnerability (Waddington 2003). However, migration also affects the vulnerability of the migrants and the remaining HH members in a positive as well as negative way. On the one hand it can reduce vulnerability by diversifying income sources and may help in reducing and managing risks, smoothing consumption or giving access to financial assets (Waddington 2003). Furthermore, there are evidences that migration helps reducing the vulnerability of the migrant as well as the remaining HH members via remittances and forms of co-insurance (Waddington 2003).

On the other hand migration might be a source of new risks and can increase vulnerability. For the migrants bad living and working conditions, legal insecurity, criminality and maltreatment and the exclusion from welfare services may be sources that raise vulnerability (Waddington 2003). However, there are also strategies pursued by the migrants to reduce these risks, like travelling in groups. For the remaining HH members the migration of a person might also result in higher vulnerability. So there are often children and old persons left behind when the young decide to migrate. Those children and old persons, however, need other people to look for them and therefore dependent on kinship ties and remittances (Waddington 2003).

Social capital and social networks

The importance of social networks and the use of social capital is part of many studies and yet not cleared in detail. So there is no doubt that social ties play a role when explaining migration but it is not certain to what extent (Haug 2000). On the one hand close social connections can prevent migration if there is no support by the social group (like the family). On the other hand close social connections can facilitate migration decisions if there is support by the HH at home (Haug 2000). Also the information and support given via social networks cannot always be assessed in a positive way. While it can help the migrant, it also restricts the choice of him to find another, maybe better place (Haug 2000). Closely connected to the social networks is the idea of social capital. According to Bourdieu (1983) social capital can be defined as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition". A high social capital can facilitate migration since it can help to find jobs and accommodation (Haug 2000). The social capital, however, is not only important in the analysis of migration but also plays an important role for the livelihood assessment since a high social capital offers livelihood strategies that can lead to less vulnerable HHs.

The transnational character of migration and New Geographies of Migration

According to the above mentioned livelihood ideas and the importance of social networks and social capital one strand in the migration research focuses on the transnational character of migration (de Haas 2008). In this context the classical categories of "origin" and "destination" or time get increasingly less important (de Haas 2008). Moreover livelihoods are understood multi-locally and livelihood-strategies are not restricted to a single place. So does the integration into the societies of destination not automatically mean a detachment from the societies of origin but societal bounds can persist over generations (de Haas 2008).

This new view on migration comes along with changes in the character and patterns of migration which could be observed since the 1990s. Migration today tends to be more multidirectional and circular what is leading to new, transnational lifestyles. Moreover the initiative to migrate has shifted towards the migrants themselves (Hillmann 2010). The New Geographies of Migration integrate these changes into one concept and put it into the broader framework of a globalizing world where changes in communication and transport but also culture and economy in general are important.

The research concept

The following analysis will draw upon the above introduced World-Bank definition and will be supplemented by the poverty definition of the FAO. Especially the broad definitions of vulnerability and poverty correspond well with the holistic character of the SLF and make it suitable for the analysis. Migration will be understood as a spatial shift of the centre of one's life.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework as an analysis tool

Despite of the critique of the SLF (see above) it will be used in the following as the main tool for the analysis. The reason for that is, beside the possibility to comprehensively analyse the background of vulnerability, the relatively small sample what makes the high effort which comes along with the usage of the SLF acceptable. Moreover, it offers the opportunity to analyse the multilocal character of livelihoods what is necessary with regard to the research questions.

Within the SLF the vulnerability will be represented by the vulnerability context which includes shocks, trends and seasonal fluctuation and the effects of those on the assets and, hence, on the outcomes. According to that especially vulnerable HHs are those with a low asset-basis and/or lacking opportunities to transform these assets into positive outcomes. According to the logic of the SLF one part of the thesis will deal with the analysis of the different assets in the HHs. Here the focus will be laid on the availability, resp. the mobilisation of assets and its contribution to a reduction of vulnerability to poverty.

In parallel different risks will be identified and their effects on the HHs will be examined. Here current processes and general trends will also be taken into account.

According to the research questions migration, here understood as a livelihood strategy, will be a central part of the analysis. For assessing the effects on vulnerability not only the capitals of different HHs will be checked against each other but also the derived livelihood strategies. Here migration shall not be assessed as a single strategy but within the whole portfolio of different livelihood strategies. Hence, migration won't be solely understood as a unique and uni-directional process but as a recurring event within the HHs' biographies. Since the human- and social capital as well as social networks play an important role not only for the migration decision but also for the effects migration has on the livelihoods (see above), a special focus will be laid on the analysis of those.

The sub-questions

In accordance with the research concept and the previous theoretical deliberations the above introduced research question will be supplemented by sub-questions that shall structure the analysis and help answering the main questions.

For answering these two main questions the following sub-questions shall structure the analysis:

- How is the asset-basis of the HHs developed?
- Which risks are the HHs confronted with and how do they affect them?
- Which strategies do the HHs pursue to improve the asset-basis and encounter risks?
- Which forms and patterns of migration can be found in the HHs?
- How is vulnerability shaped against the background of migration?

III. Methodology

All in all 80 HH interviews, 16 expert- resp. key person interviews and one focus group discussion were conducted on nine farms. The HH interviews were conducted by use of a standardized questionnaire which gathered quantitative¹⁰ and qualitative¹¹ data. The expert/key person interviews and the focus group discussion were conducted with the aid of a prepared guiding questionnaire which was customized for each interviewee.

Sampling of the farms and selection of experts

Regarding the selection of farms and interviewees the author tried to cover a range as wide as possible. Accordingly, the surveyed farms differ in regard to their farming methods¹², size, age¹³, and growing/ employment structures. Due to its size it was not possible to conduct a complete survey on five of the nine farms and only some HHs were interviewed. Here especially those HHs which were identified as particularly vulnerable by other farm residents were chosen. Additionally, migratory criteria like the origin or the time already spent on the farm, but also social connections to other interviewees or other special HH characteristics were selection criteria if a complete survey was not possible. In parallel, it was tried to include as many non-permanent residents as possible. On each farm either the owner or the farm manager was interviewed. In two cases where this was not possible two long-term employees were interviewed¹⁴. Additional expert interviews were conducted with a representative of the trade union UASA, the headmaster of the local primary school, a labour broker, a local nurse and several farm workers.

Aggregation of the interviewed households

Generally two different kinds of HHs are apparent and can be divided by the expected length of stay on the farm and the location of their life centre. On the one hand there are the permanent HHs. They are characterised by the unlimited stay on the farm and their life centre can be located on it. In most cases at least one HH member is permanently employed on the farm and the HH normally enjoys all the services and rights the farmer offers. On the other hand there are seasonal HHs. They stay on the farm for a limited time period (mostly the harvest, although some of them drive home every weekend) and their life centre is not located on the farm. At least one HH member is employed for a pre-defined period of time and they don't enjoy all the service permanent HHs enjoy¹⁵. In the analysis the length of stay on the farm and the location of the life centre are the main points for assigning one HH as permanent or seasonal. So in case a HH lives on the farm permanently but is only seasonally employed he was assigned as a permanent HH. Yet the right for accommodation normally requires an employment relationship. Additionally HHs that lived permanently on the farm but were not employed anymore (because of retirement, disability or other reasons) were assigned as permanent HHs as well. A third group can be located between the permanent and the seasonal HHs. Those temporary (or permanent-seasonal) HHs stay on the farm for a pre-defined period of time, which is

¹⁰ For example data concerning the level of income or the length of school attendance

¹¹ For example the personal assessment of the work as extraordinary hard/dangerous

¹² The survey encompasses both agri-businesses and small family owned businesses

¹³ The survey included young farms in its development as well as old businesses that are owned by a single family over generations

¹⁴ On the farms 3 and 6 it was only possible to talk to the workers

¹⁵ They normally receive no advances or bonuses and can't make use of loans from the farmer

always longer than the seasonal HHs¹⁶. Although the farmers can dismiss them when the contract ends, they mostly get a new contract when there is work to do. The contract can be renewed as often as necessary. In most cases they leave the farm for a longer time only during the annual holidays. Because of the length of stay, the life centre of the temporary HHs has shifted towards the farm they're living on. As the seasonal HHs the temporary ones enjoy only limited services on the farm and often stay in the hostels for seasonal workers. Certain services (e.g. lending money from the farmers), however, are sometimes also accessible for temporary HHs.

Feature	Permanent HHs	Temporary HHs	Seasonal HHs
Stay on farm	Permanent	Temporary (but longer than seasonal HHs)	Temporary
Life centre	On surveyed farm	On surveyed farm	Not on surveyed farm
Farm services/employment	All/Permanent	Restricted/temp. contract – rather flexible	Restricted/seasonal contract – not flexible

Table 1 Characteristics of different household types

Categories of permanent households

For getting a deeper understanding of the migratory feature and its impact on the vulnerability of permanent HHs two groups will be additionally surveyed in detail.

- Old-established vs. new HHs on the farm: Here the time the respondent has already spent on the farm is crucial for the allocation to one of the groups. In old-established HHs the respondent came to the farm in 1990 or before. This group encompasses 13 of the permanent HHs. In new HHs the residents went to the farm in 2009 or later. This group consists of 14 HHs.
- Origin of the respondent: Here, a distinction is made between those HHs where the two oldest members are born within the catchment (10 HHs) outside the catchment (20 HHs) or one is born within and one outside the catchment (14 HHs).

These categories however only give hints to the migratory background of the HHs. Because the HH structures are complex the distinction mainly focuses on the respondent or the two oldest HH members. However it is possible that certain members of the HH were born outside the valley or joined the HH later.

Delimitation of households

All surveyed HHs, whether temporary or permanently in place, show at least a slight variability in their setup. This concerns the number of residents in the mutually used accommodation as well as their contribution to the HH's income and expenses. Especially within those HHs that are not rooted in place this raises the question of the connection to a "household of origin" and the attribution to

¹⁶ Normally the interviewed temporary hh stay for at least six months to one year on the farm

another livelihood. Here the connection to other HHs ranged from daily commuting at home (only seasonal HHs) to a yearly visit (only temporary HHs) where economic and social ties to the HHs of origin were barely there. In practice the assignment problem within the permanent HHs was solved by questions concerning the affiliation of individual members to a HH. Crucial for an assignment was not only the ordinary cohabitation but also the economic ties among the HH members. The following questions were of importance for the permanent HHs:

1. *How many people are living in this house?*
2. *Do you cook together?*
3. *Do you pay your bills together?*

These questions were also asked to the temporary and seasonal HHs in place for delimitating the HHs in place from those of origin. Additionally there were questions concerning the setup of the HHs of origin. For identifying these HHs a personal attribution to a HH of origin by the interviewee was requested. Beside this personal attribution also the economic and social connectedness was crucial. Questions regarding remittances to this HH and the level of detailed information (resp. their topicality) a HH was able to provide about its HH of origin were decisive. During the analysis of the data it became clear that only the seasonal HHs showed a deeper connection to their HHs of origin in the sense of an entirely shared livelihood and an analysis must include these HHs of origin. The temporary HHs, on the other hand, showed few connections and acted mostly on their own. Although nearly all temporary HHs were sending money home only few were able to provide detailed and hardly any current information concerning income, expenses, setup or possessions of the HHs of origin. If at all, the interviewed temporary HHs were visiting their HHs of origin only rarely and during holidays.

Based on these insights from the interviews the focus of the analysis was laid on the permanent and temporary HHs in place and the seasonal HHs in connection to their HHs of origin.

Data collection

The data collection started on 20th February 2013 with the first expert- and HH interviews. At this time the wine and table grape harvest was about to be finished so the interviews started with the seasonal HHs. Each interview took about one hour and most of them were conducted after work (in the evening). In some cases voluntary interpreters helped to translate the questions in Afrikaans and Xhosa. As far as it was possible the farm managers- and owners were interviewed before the HHs to get a first overview of the farm setup.

Expert	Topics
Farm worker „Fritz“	New tendencies concerning setup and living conditions in the refugee camp „Trajekte Camp“; issues with the labour broker
Headmaster of the local primary school	Education infrastructure; development and living conditions of children and youths.
Local representative of the trade union UASA	Involvement of unions on the farms; status of the negotiations on the new minimum wage with the employer; issues in the relationship of farmers and farm workers
Nurse	Health infrastructure; chronic and acute illnesses in place; health status of old people and children; alcoholism
Labour broker	Making contact with managers and workers; transport of workers, payment and bonuses, issues between workers and brokers
Farm worker „Henry“	Working safety on Farm 1
Owner of Farm 1	Geographical/ economic setup of the farm; planned changes in the property and impacts on the employees; infrastructure and services for farm residents
Manager Farm 1	Impacts of the new minimum wage, social setup of the farm residents, issues on the farm (alcohol, violence etc.); seasonal residents (contact, transport, employment, payment, issues)
Manager Farm 2	Geographical, social and economic setup of Farm 2; provision of services by the farm owner/manager (payment, transport, farm shop and prices, loans, working conditions/ working safety etc.), issues (alcohol, violence etc.); reactions on the new minimum wage
Farm worker „Mani“ on Farm 3	Geographical, social and economic setup of Farm 3; provision of services by the farm owner/manager; issues; reactions on the new minimum wage
Sister of the deceased, former owner of Farm 4 and her husband	Geographical, social and economic setup of Farm 4 after the death of the owner and the adoption by the son and his wife; plans for the further usage
Manager Farm 5	Geographical, social and economic setup of Farm 5; provision of services by the farm owner/manager; issues (esp. alcoholism); reactions on the new minimum wage
Farm worker „Jon“ on Farm 6	Geographical, social and economic setup of Farm 6; provision of services by the farm owner/manager; issues (esp. alcoholism); the new minimum wage (reactions of the owner/impacts on the HHs)
Manager Farm 7	Stage of development of the farm/ estimated labour requirements in the course of time; contact to new workers; geographical, social and economic setup of Farm 7; provision of services by the farm owner/manager; issues (esp. alcoholism); reactions on the new minimum wage
Manager Farm 8	Geographical, social and economic setup of Farm 8; provision of services by the farm owner/manager; issues (esp. alcoholism); reactions on the new minimum wage; development of agriculture in place over the past decades
Manager Farm 9	Geographical, social and economic setup of Farm 9; provision of services by the farm owner/manager; issues (esp. alcoholism); the new minimum wage (reactions of the owner/impacts on the HHs)
Focus group discussion: Foreign, temporary HHs on Farm 2	Estimated impacts of the new minimum wage; further plans for the time when work ends on the farm; experiences with racism

Table 2 Overview of key-person and expert interviews conducted in place

Data analysis and presentation

The analysis of the data was performed qualitatively/interpretively and quantitatively/statistically. At first the digitally recorded expert interviews were transcribed roughly and the discussion topics were summarized. The information from the questionnaires were gathered in a SPSS-Database and statistically analysed due to its frequencies. The analysed data were supplemented by information and personal impressions which were additionally gathered in informal talks or during the interviews and registered in the field notebook.

According to the request of some interviewees the names of the farms and interviewees were anonymised.

Farm	Permanent HH interviews	Seasonal HH interviews	Temporary HH interviews
Farm 1	8	13	1
Farm 2	4		12
Farm 3	5		
Farm 4	1		
Farm 5	12		
Farm 6	5	1	
Farm 7	2	2	7
Farm 8	4		
Farm 9	3		
Sum of the interviews conducted	44	16	20
Sum of HH-members in place	177	25	22
Sum of HH-members at the HH of origin (deducting migrants)	---	45	76

Table 3 Summary of the interviews conducted on the farms

Methods of analysis

In the past years different approaches were developed to measure vulnerability quantitatively. This led to numerous indicators¹⁷. However the analysis will not rest on an overall index for measuring vulnerability but present a set of variables which offer an individual assessment of vulnerability. The reason for that is that the field work showed that individual variables contributed to the vulnerability in different ways what would make their weighting more or less arbitrary¹⁸.

Derivation of variables from the assets of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Table 4 shows different variables that will be used for the analysis and the assessment. These variables describe the assets and were chosen due to experiences in the field. So the variable for the access to clean water, for example, describes the access to water in the vicinity of the house. Because nearly all of the HHs had access to water a crucial difference was given by the fact how they access

¹⁷ An overview can be found in Birkmann (2006) for example.

¹⁸ The seasonal HHs, for example, showed a better education on average than the permanent HHs in place. However most of them weren't able to generate a higher income or other "outcomes" from that. Also other variables could not be generalized easily and played different roles in the particular HH.

water. This is reflected in the variable. As stated in the paragraphs above, however, the quantitative variables represent only a part of the entire analysis. The qualitative data of the access to and the availability of the assets and their relationship among each other also play an important role.

Poverty Line

For comparing the income of the HHs among each other and getting an impression of the consumption expenditures a poverty line will be introduced in the context of the vulnerability analysis and assessment. Following the poverty definition above this line, however, shall not be understood as an absolute measure for poverty but a means of orientation.

The introduced poverty line goes back to Hall & Chennells (2011) and bases on findings of Hoogeveen & Özler (2005). Both introduce a lower bound of 552 ZAR /person and an upper bound of 1016 ZAR /person and month in the prices of 2009.

The lower bound is defined as *“[...] the cost of meeting the minimum daily energy requirement recommended by the South African Medical Research Council. Added to this is a small monetary amount spent on other basic household necessities which are so essential that households at this level of poverty will sacrifice food in order to purchase them. (Hall& Chennells 2011)*

The upper bound *“[...] is derived in the same way as the lower bound, but allows for households to meet their basic nutritional needs and adds an amount for basic non-food necessities.” (Hall& Chennells 2011).*

Based on the current consumer prices of January 2013¹⁹ a lower bound will be defined as 654 ZAR/month and an upper bound as 1205 ZAR/month and person.

¹⁹ Derived from the Consumer Price Index (Statistics South Africa 2013)

Table 4 Quantitative variables used in the analysis and assessment

Asset-Dimension	Feature	Quantitative Variables	Source
Human capital	Share of the potentially active and dependent HH members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dependency-Ratio: Ratio of the population under 15 and over 64 years of age to the population between 15 and 64 years of age multiplied by 100. 	Hahn (2009), The World Bank [2]
	Access to education infrastructure/ education status of the HHs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Average school attendance in yrs. of all HH members over 18 yrs. of age No. of HH members with highschool degree or higher 	
	Access to health infrastructure/ health status of the HHs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with access to sanitary infrastructure / Water in the house or yard % of HHs with at least one person who is not able to contribute to the HH income because of a disease / injury 	
Social capital	Quantity and quality of social networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with relatives in the valley / at home % of HHs with exchange of money / material goods with relatives in place % of HHs with a membership in a club or organisation 	
Natural capital	Access to natural resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs which go hunting / fishing % of HHs which have a garden / land for agriculture % of HHs which own livestock 	
Physical capital	Access to and quality of basic infrastructure (electricity/communication/transport)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with access to electricity % of HHs with mobile phone, TV/radio 	
Financial capital	Income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Average HH-income per Person (divided by stable / unstable sources) Average number of income sources per HH 	
	Indebtedness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs which took out a loan Average amount of the loan 	

Limits of the survey

Sample size

Among the non-permanent HHs the sample size encompasses only 36 HHs. Statistical coherences have to be assessed against this background and conclusions on other areas have to be drawn very carefully. Although tendencies and findings from community reports can also be found in the data, the data can't be transferred to the community level without limitations. Moreover the quantitative data has to be seen in combination with qualitative data and against the background of the study.

Information deficiencies: Information on households in place

Especially delicate topics like indebtedness, but also the consumption of alcohol and illnesses within the HHs are often difficult to address although they're important for assessing vulnerability. Notwithstanding, attempts have been made to specify the information with interviews of persons from inside and outside the farm worker community (see above). Those secondary sources, however, are often incomplete and characterized by personal assumptions. Also personal observations by the author can be biased in this way.

Information deficiencies: Information on households of origin

Because only some of the seasonal HHs could be interviewed at their places of origin, much of the data is based on the estimations of the migrants. Since the migration routes were mostly short and the connections to the HHs close, wasn't considered a big problem. Especially among the temporary HHs, however, a regular communication to the HHs of origin was only possible via mobile phone so some information given might not be current or differently important for the HH of origin.

Assessment of social capital and social networks

Especially the assessment of social capital is difficult since not only the number but also the quality of social ties and exchange relationships are important. Because conflicts especially with relatives are often (but not always) concealed, the very existence of social contacts can only be an indication of high social capital. Because of the high effort, the HH interviews were limited to family relations only. Although friends play an important role, they could only be included in some special cases. Also the important relationship between some HHs and the farm managers (resp. owners) could only be included superficially in the thesis.

IV. Context

Situation of farm workers in post-apartheid South Africa

The agrarian sector has undergone a phase of massive restructuring in the time after 1994 what also impacted the farm workers in South Africa (South African Human Rights Commission 2008). So while the number of commercial farming units has decreased from 58.000 in 1993 to 40.000 in 2007, the gross farming income rose from about 20 bn. to 80 bn. ZAR (Statistics South Africa 2010). And while at the same time the number of permanent employees diminished from 1.1 mil. to 770 k, the casualization of the labour force has increased from 33% to 49% between 1996 and 2002 (South African Human Rights Commission 2008). This trend, however, seems to have slowed down a bit in the last years (Liebenberg 2013). But beside the permanent farm workers there are 3-4 million people that live on farms without being employed (South African Human Rights Commission 2008).

The complexity of farm labour

Often, and especially in statistical publications, a difference is made between workers that are permanently employed on the farm and those who are not. On the one hand this seems to be logic and is, in the specific case, surely sufficient, since life and work are closely interconnected on South Africa's farms and the working contract not only defines the length of stay but also the farm perks, which a worker can receive. Moreover, the legal setup differs and often the perception of those "foreign workers" in the farm context is also different and has to be assessed correspondingly. On the other hand, the, above mentioned fact that considerably more people are living on farms who don't work than people that do work, points to a problem which arises when classifying farm worker HHs. When using terms like "permanent workers", "seasonal workers" and "casual workers", it has to be considered, that the reality of farm life often exceeds these definitions (Atkinson 2007). So mixed HHs with seasonal and permanent employment, for example, can equally be found as HHs which can't be attributed, neither to the permanent employees nor to the non-permanent ones. The temporal component makes this picture even more complex and employment in agriculture fluctuates seasonally (Liebenberg 2013). The inclusion of other factors is necessary to receive a more complete picture.

Paternalism

Despite of the massive changes in South Africa's agricultural sector, and the diversity of farm workers, the life of many farm residents in South Africa is still diversely interlinked with the farms they're working on. Since over 50% of the workers in South Africa's agricultural sector are employed on a full-time basis (Liebenberg 2013), and sometimes live on the farms for generations, the life centre of most of them lies on these farms. So it is not only their working place but also the place where they live and essential nodes of the social net are located. In this context the relationship to the employer has also always been more than just a working relationship. Even today it is often characterised by paternalism and dependency. Atkinson (2007) describes this relationship:

"Historically farmers acted as paternalistic service intermediaries to farm workers, in the sense that certain basic services, including water and energy, have formed part of the total package of employment benefits. This micro-welfare system is often accompanied by various types of informal assistance to farm workers such as medical services, transport, grazing rights, small loans, clothing and housing. The welfare package is an informally negotiated, frequently adjusted relationship, depending on face-to-face discussions as the need arises. It is also typically based on voluntary contributions

of money and effort, due to the participants' own normative understanding of the residents' rights and entitlements."

These informal structures and regulations have to be considered when assessing the gap between legal rights and the reality on many farms as well as the vulnerability of farm workers and especially the question why farm workers stay on their farms even if they don't have a job anymore. On the other hand the loss of certain rights can explain why farm workers migrate in cases when they have a permanent job.

However, as agriculture changes, paternalistic structures also change and there are signs that this century old system transforms to a more co-operative and labour-focused relationship between employer and employee (Atkinson 2007). There are also evidences that the progress in labour legislation leads to a weakening of these bonds (Atkinson 2007). This topic will also be part of the impact-analysis of the new minimum wage further below.

Between rights and reality

The legal basis for farm workers in South Africa has significantly improved over the last twenty years. So there are wide-ranging regulations concerning the rights farm workers enjoy and the surroundings in which they work. Among others the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) regulates several work related issues like working time, leave, remuneration and working contracts (Republic of South Africa 2002). It is supplemented by the Employment Equity Act which deals with unfair discrimination and workplace equality (Republic of South Africa 1998) and the Labour Relations Act which aims at trade unions and the organisation of workers (Republic of South Africa 2010).

The implementation of these laws, however, is difficult and grievances on the farms are common (Human Rights Watch 2011). Despite efforts from the state and the private sector these bad conditions did not substantially change in the past decade, at least not on a large scale (South African Human Rights Commission 2008, Human Rights Watch 2011). So regarding the working conditions fundamental rights, although legally guaranteed, are often not granted. Many permanent and seasonal workers work without a contract what leads not only to legal problems but also to the situation that many workers do not know about their rights and have to rely on the farmers regarding wages and deductions (Human Rights Watch 2011). Some of these rights, like sick and annual leave, are not or only partially granted (Human Rights Watch 2011). Certain groups of farm workers seem to be more concerned by this than others. Especially women and workers from foreign countries are often discriminated (Human Rights Watch 2011). On the fields, regulations concerning the safety at work, the working time and the provision of drinks are often contravened (Human Rights Watch 2011).

The living conditions on many farms are a special problem all over South Africa. Beside the widespread issues in context with the municipal provision of basic infrastructure, also many farmers by themselves fail to provide houses and infrastructure that meet even minimum standards on their own farms (Human Rights Watch 2011). So the lack of sanitary facilities, a bad access to water or insufficient housing conditions can lead to a spreading of diseases and are often directly interrelated to diseases like Asthma or Tuberculosis (Human Rights Watch 2011).

Another problem that is connected with the housing situation is the eviction of permanent farm worker HHs from their houses. Though there is a legal procedure farmers have to adhere to²⁰ many farm workers are evicted illegally by using various forms of pressure. According to estimates, 930.000 people were evicted from South African Farms between 1994 and 2004 (Human Rights Watch 2011). This is aggravated by the fact that the houses mostly belong to the farmers and the workers, even if they live in the house for decades, have no rights, neither on the land nor on the accommodation. In the worst case the entire HH gets homeless and is dependent on state shelters.

The Trajekte Camp

The Trajekte Camp is a camp for refugees and homeless people on the edge of Piketberg. It offers emergency housing units for those who did not yet receive a government house. The last 25 “wendy houses” were setup in 2011 (Bergrivier Municipality 2012). Although the camp is conceived as a temporary place, several interviewed people that worked on Farm 1 as seasonal workers lived there for three or more years.



Box 1 The Trajekte Camp

Considering the still difficult legal situation of farm worker HHs, the opportunities for self-organisation remain limited. Although guaranteed in the Labour Relations Act many workers face problems when trying to organise themselves in unions. So union organisers are often prohibited to enter the farms and workers get threatened by the farmers. In some other cases farmers found own “workers’ committees” to avoid the unions (Human Rights Watch 2011).

However, the span of farms is very high and there are farms that fully comply with the law and some that don’t. As the analysis will show the differences between the farms and even on one farm can be huge even in such a small area like the surveyed one.

The legacy of the Dop System

The drinking problem, especially in the Western Cape region, is partially rooted in the Dop System, a classical truck system. It describes the payment of cheap wine in lieu of wages and dates back to the early days of the Cape’s colonisation when local people were recruited to work on farms by offering tobacco, bread and wine (London 1999). Not before the 1960s this system was legally abolished. But even today there are cases where the workers get partially paid by alcohol (Human Rights Watch

²⁰ See also: Republic of South Africa (1997): Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997. ESTA.

2011). The Dop System has to be considered when analysing the high rate of alcohol abuse in the Western Cape today and the effects it has on the farm worker's lives and their vulnerability.

An unsteady life - Migration of South African farm workers

Two trends can be observed when it comes to migration of South African farm workers. On the one hand there is a clear trend towards a rural-urban migration (Atkinson 2007). On the other hand, many farmworkers decide to stay in the farm context but change their farms very often. So the HSRC survey (HSRC 2003 in Atkinson 2007) showed that 49% of the farm workers had stayed on their current farm for 5 years at maximum, while only 11% stayed for more than 20 years. At the same time 45% of the workers had over 20 years of experience in the farm context. This trend however is not new but has been already described in the 1950s²¹.

Evidentially, better income opportunities in other places are important when explaining rural-rural or rural-urban migration. But economic considerations are not always crucial or even predominant when it comes to migration and various environmental, social and cultural factors also have to be taken into account (Atkinson 2007). So the general attractiveness of the urban lifestyle, for example, may be, among other factors, very important when explaining the strong rural-urban migration trend, especially among young people (Atkinson 2007). On the other hand there are various factors that keep farm residents in place. Beside local social networks, other factors like the physical security on the farms, the family life or the opportunity to keep livestock may be important. Nevertheless, the lack of education or lacking job opportunities may hinder the farm workers to migrate (Atkinson 2007).

The demographic structure of rural-urban migration in South Africa shows a tendency towards young people. Beside the young age profile of the labour force in agriculture in total, this can also be attributed to better educational and job opportunities in towns or a general dislike of farm work and farm life among young people (Atkinson 2007).

Overview of the Krom-Antonies catchment area

The Bergrivier Municipality

The Krom-Antonies catchment is located about 20 km north of Piketberg the capital of the Bergrivier municipality (West Coast District – Fig 3). The municipality encompasses nine settlements which spread on an area of 4400 km² (Bergrivier Municipality 2013 [1]) and is mainly agricultural; 30% of the employment is located in the Primary Sector (Bergrivier Municipality 2013 [1]). A persisting high poverty rate of 33,8%, a low level of education and problems in providing social services (esp. outside the villages) are also characterising (Bergrivier Municipality 2013 [1]). In the last years the municipality recorded a population increase partly due to immigration. This manifested mainly in the few small towns and villages (Bergrivier Municipality 2008). Most of the migrants from out of the region came from the economic weaker regions Eastern Cape (745), Northern Cape (562) and from out of South Africa (594) (Statistics South Africa [2]). Earlier calculations show that especially coloured and black people migrate to the Bergrivier municipality (Western Cape Provincial Treasury 2006)

²¹ See also: Roberts 1959

The Krom-Antonies catchment area

The catchment of the Krom-Antonies, a tributary to the Verlorenvlei, is bordered on its eastern, southern and south-western side by the Piketberg mountains. The valley extends for about 14km

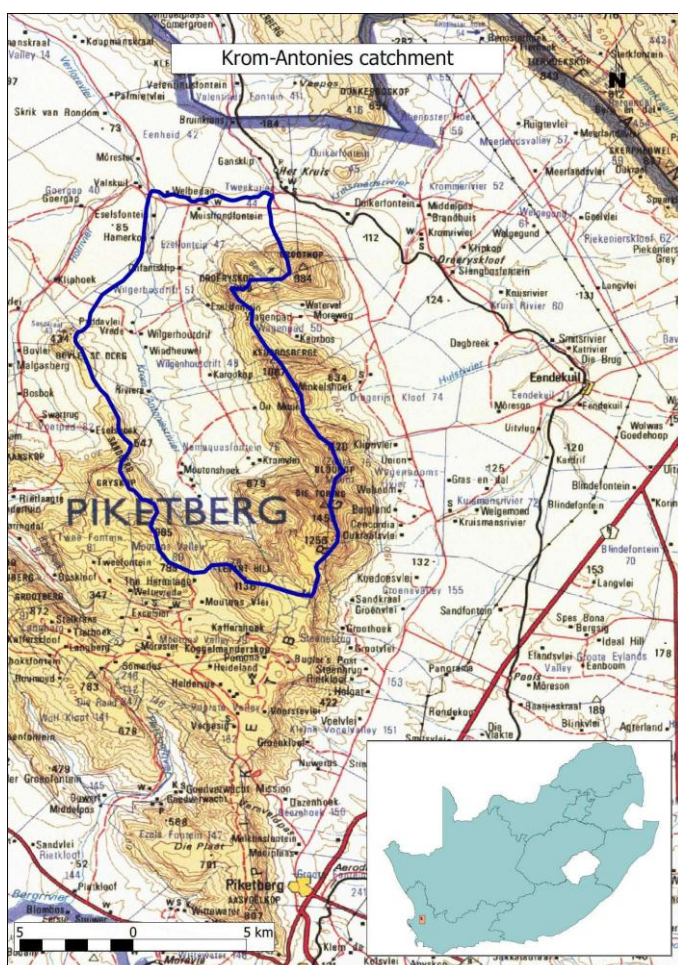


Figure 3 Location of the Krom-Antonies catchment

from north to south. Beside the farms there are no settlements within the valley. The next villages are Redelinghuys (840 citizens – about 21 km from the valley exit), Eendekuil (1000 citizens – about 26 km from the valley exit) and Piketberg (11900 citizens – about 40 km from the valley exit) (Bergrivier Municipality [1] 2013). Piketberg, as the municipal capital represents the administrative centre. Most of the social infrastructure and shopping facilities are located there.

Economy and the job market in the Krom-Antonies catchment

As the entire municipality the catchment area is predominantly agricultural. Thereby small and medium-sized family businesses can be distinguished as well as agro-businesses. The span of agrarian goods ranges from vegetables, potatoes and wine grapes to livestock, including horses. Beside the cultivation and the harvest of the products a part of the further value-added process takes place in the valley. The seasonal and permanent employment

nearly totally concentrates on agriculture. Solely the local elementary school and the houses of the farmers (and managers) offer few additional jobs²².

Since there are no official statistics for the catchment area and the resolution of the census data is not high enough the number of employees in the catchment can only be guessed. However it is certain that the number of employees and hence of inhabitants in the valley as well as the job opportunities fluctuates strongly between the seasons. So Farm 2, for example, regularly employs 28 people while during the wine season about 200 people are employed for harvesting and packing the grapes. On Farm 1, 38 men and women are employed regularly and about 120 during the wine season. These numbers however are not fix and change every year according to the demands of the farmers. This makes those farms dynamical and always changing social places. Yet there are also some other farms

²² The jobs as domestic workers encompass the working in the farmer's house and kitchen (only women) or in the private garden (men and women). For details see also the analysis of the farm worker's income sources further below.

(e.g. Farm 3, 6 and 8) where the employment is low and the workforce is more or less fixed (sometimes over decades).

In the past twenty years the growing patterns as well as the patterns of the ownership within the catchment area have changed. In the course of this, more and more foreign investors occurred. So in place of family-owned businesses with, partly, a long tradition, agribusinesses (Farm 2, 7) as well as



Figure 4 The catchment with farm borders

financially strong private owners (Farm 1) with a focus on profitability concerning growing and land use appeared. These farms were able to enlarge their growing area gradually in the past years. While some of the long established family-farms found their way on the changing agricultural market, other surveyed farms fight for survival or are actually not in use anymore. According to some farmers the reasons for that are the low prices for their agricultural commodities in relationship to the increasing production costs (especially for wages, electricity and water). But also with regard to the growing patterns there are differences between the farms. So especially the agribusinesses and the financially strong private farmers increasingly invest in monocultures like wine grapes or horse-breeding while the small family-farms often still show a mixed usage of potato/vegetable, winegrowing and livestock breeding.

Natural hazards

The catchment is located within a high-risk area for bush-fires (Forsyth et.al. 2010). Especially during the summer months those are a considerable danger for the farms in place. The last big fire occurred from the February 5th to 8th 2009. Thereby large parts of the farm land between Redelinghuys and the catchment area were destroyed (McKune & Johns 2009). Especially the surveyed farms 1,3 and the land of the later farm 7 were hit badly, but also Farm 6 was affected. Since then there had been smaller fires in the catchment from time to time.

The setup of the surveyed farms

Farm	Type	Cultivation	Modes of employment	Employees permanent/non-perm.
Farm 1	Private	Grapes/Citrus/Livestock	Permanent/non-perm.	38/120
Farm 2	Company	Grapes	Permanent/non-perm.	28/about 213
Farm 3	Private	Vegetables/Potatoes	Permanent/non-perm.	3/2
Farm 4	Private	-	-	-
Farm 5	Private	Potatoes	Permanent	37
Farm 6	Private	Grapes/Livestock	Permanent/non-perm.	10/1
Farm 7	Company	Grapes	Permanent/non-perm.	about 30/20
Farm 8	Private	Grapes/Livestock	Permanent	4
Farm 9	Company	Fodder Crops	Permanent/non-perm.	17/ about 4

Table 5 Overview of the farms

Farm 1

Farm 1 counts among the newer ones in the area. Originally part of a bigger farm it was privately acquired in the 1990s and successively extended since then. The big fire of 2009, which burned 90% of the farm land and big parts of the infrastructure, however, set back the expansion (Mc Kune & Johns 2009). Mainstay of the farm today is the horse breeding where 19 persons (mainly men) are employed. Connected to this, are the cultivation of forage crops, the breeding of cattle and some hectares of wine grapes (9 employees). The cultivation of table grapes was left to a tenant in the season 2012/13 due to lacking profitability. In future the business will focus exclusively on horse breeding. The farm includes a small farm shop which is run by the manager's wife and a crèche which is privately managed by one of the female workers. For the permanent workers there are wooden buildings which mostly provide electricity, sanitation and water. The condition of the buildings is good. For the seasonal workers there is a hostel. It features four rooms for 12 persons each. The hostel is equipped with in-house water, a shower, a toilet and electricity. When the new minimum wage was introduced at least the permanent workers started to pay for rent and electricity. For transportation there is no general rule but the manager takes people along when he drives to Piketberg.

Farm 2

As Farm 3 and 4 Farm 2 belongs to one formerly bigger farm. Around 1999 the land of Farm 2 was bought by an agro-company and developed to a wine/ table grape farm. Formally there is no connection to the other farms anymore and cooperation (for example in providing childcare or in regard to the farm shop) does not take place. In the last years the cultivation of grapes was extended so the farm features 40 hectares of table grapes and 30 hectares of wine grapes at the moment. The extension of the cultivation led to a higher demand in seasonal workers. However the capacities for their accommodation are still limited albeit there are plans to build a new hostel. The management of the farm follows a Code of Conduct which sets uniform standards for working contracts, accommodation etc. The infrastructure on the farm encompasses a crèche, a small farm shop and a workers' café. The shop can be used by dwellers from other farms but only those from Farm 2 can buy on credit. The permanent HHs live in stone houses which are mostly in a good condition or in some old farm home-

steads which are partly in a bad condition²³. The temporary and seasonal HHs live in the hostel. The hostel also features in-house water, sanitation and electricity. All HHs don't pay for the accommodation and the electricity. This didn't change after the introduction of the new minimum wage. For transportation purposes the farm informally provides a tractor once a month. Beside this, there is the possibility to join the manager when he drives to Piketberg. Loans are only available for permanent HHs. Only some of the permanent HHs have an own garden. Up to now there is no space for the temporary HHs to do gardening.

Farm 3

In contrast to Farm 2, Farm 3 is hardly used anymore. Beside some vegetable cultivation about 150 sheep and 60 goats are being held. The vegetables are directly sold to traders. Currently only three men and two women are working on the farm although 24 people are living on it. Especially in the last six to seven years the economic situation of the farm deteriorated according to interviewed farm residents. This led to the dismissal of many workers. In some cases workers that passed away were not replaced. The fire of 2009 hit the farm additionally and destroyed big parts of the orange trees, the wine grapes and of the irrigation infrastructure. Up to now these damages could not be replaced. The accommodations in place are partly in a very bad condition²⁴. According to the farm residents there were no repairs carried out by the farmer neither regarding the houses nor the infrastructure. Although in-house water is available, it is cut off by the farmer during working time. The relationship between the farmer and the residents is partly stressed. So some residents claim to be betrayed by the farmer with the electrical bill. Moreover, according to the farm workers there are several frauds against labour law. So there is no sick leave to be paid, the workers don't receive appropriate working clothes and the billing of the wage isn't transparent²⁵. Regarding services, the farm offers a small shop but no childcare. Two female workers look after the kids during working time. Gardening is possible for the residents. There is no formal arrangement regarding the transport but sometimes the workers can join the farmer when he drives to Piketberg.

Farm 4

Farm 4 also experienced a massive downfall in the last years. Due to the deteriorating owner's health status the farm was hardly used in the last years. After the owner's death in 2010 the son inherited the farm. However he does not care for the farm and the owner's wife is informally responsible for it. At the moment there is no economic activity on the farm and a revival seems to be unlikely. According to the owner's sister there are only plans to privately keep some livestock in the future. Currently there are still some HHs living on the farm whereby their members partly work on other farms in the area. The farm houses are in a very bad condition and shall be demolished in the future. According to plans of the owner's wife the farm dwellers must find accommodation on other farms. There is a lack of basic infrastructure on the farm. None of the occupied houses has a toilet or electricity and the water for daily use is being taken from an open irrigation line. There are no services offered by the owner's wife neither transportation nor money or any other.

²³ The defects encompass leaking windows, cracks in the walls etc.

²⁴ The defects include broken doors and windows, leaking roofs and old electrical infrastructure

²⁵ Some of the interviewed residents state that they don't understand the payslip and the deductions on it and rely on the farmer

Farm 5

Farm 5 is family-owned and mainly specialised on potato farming. In the last years the area for potato cultivation was extended from 208 ha (2010) to 248 ha (2012). In the upcoming years this area will continue to grow. According to the farm manager this will not provide new jobs but the current workers will be used more intensively. Currently 42 people are working on the farm but there are more people that live on it and don't work. Most of the HHs already stayed on the farm for many years. With the appointment of a new farm manager in 2010, an improvement of the existing infrastructure for farm workers went along. So the accommodations are renovated one after another. However, the quality of housing today still differs a lot. Beside some houses which are in a very good condition there are houses that show serious defects. Nearly all of the interviewed HHs have electricity and about 50% water inside the dwelling. The HHs pay the electricity by themselves but get discount when buying the prepaid-electricity cards from the farm manager. Some HHs have a small garden which is provided by the farm manager. The farm infrastructure encompasses a small farm shop but there is no crèche up to now and three women have to look after the children²⁶. There is no official regulation regarding the transport. In case of an emergency the manager and the owner arrange the drive. Once in a week the manager of Farm 5 or the owner of Farm 8 drive the children to the school. Since lately, loans from the farm owner or the manager can only be obtained in exceptional cases or when the new school year starts.

Farm 6

Farm 6 is part of a former bigger farm, which dissolved in the 1980s and 1990s²⁷. In 2010 the farm was bought and is, since then, managed part-time by the owner. Due to family ties between the farm owner and the owner of Farm 8, there is a close cooperation when it comes to the management of the farm. This shows, for example, in a part-time or complete exchange of workers or the undertaking of management tasks by the owner of Farm 8 when the owner of Farm 6 is not in place. The economic focus of the farm lies on winegrowing and livestock farming. The fire of 2009 damaged the livestock but the farm was able to recover from this. At the time of the interview 10 employees worked on the farm while about 20 people were living on it. Although all HHs in place have electricity and 5 of 6 water in the house or the yard, the accommodations are partly in a very bad condition. According to some dwellers there had been no repairs carried out by the farmer. So, at least one community toilet is broken. The HHs don't pay for electricity but for the rent of the accommodations. With the raise of the minimum wage the weekly deductions for the rent rose as well²⁸. The farm offers a little shop but no crèche. The crèche on the neighbouring Farm 1 is not used either. There seem to be tensions between both farm owners, so the children join the workers on the field. There is no official regulation concerning the transport on the farm. If somebody needs to go to Piketberg he can drive with the farm owner but has to pay about double the price the weekly bus takes. Moreover it is not possible to lend money from the farm owner. According to workers' interviews there are several frauds against the labour law and other irregularities. There is no sick leave or redundancy pay when workers leave the farm. Moreover there is no indication of the deduction of money for the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF). Furthermore the workers do not own a copy of

²⁶ At least one of the women complained about this situation but according to the manager there is no money for the crèche at the moment

²⁷ The land of Farm 1 was part of this previous bigger farm

²⁸ Each farm worker pays about 20% of its weekly income. Also persons that do not work on the farm pay rent

the working contract. According to some workers the work clothes are not sufficient, especially during winter, and the workers have to pay for it.

Farm 7

Farm 7 is part of an agribusiness which is mainly engaged in fruit cultivation and has other farms beside the surveyed one throughout South Africa. The farmland was purchased in Dec. 2011 after the farm was not in use for 8 years. The fire of 2009 caused severe damage on the farmland with the result that the irrigation infrastructure and the accommodations have to be rebuilt again. At the moment the farm is under development and shall encompass 80 ha of wine grapes when it's finished. During the time of the interview, there were 50 people working on the farm. Some of them are recruited from other farms of the company. About 20 are employed by subcontractors. According to the manager employees will be recruited more locally in the future. All in all the accommodations for the permanent and non-permanent HHs are in a good shape and feature in-house water, sanitation facilities and electricity. About 12 people share one room in the hostel. Up to now the farm features neither a shop nor a crèche but in future at least a small crèche shall be build. As Farm 2 the company follows a code of conduct. Once in a week rented bus drives the workers to Piketberg. There is no possibility to receive money from the farm management. According to the interviews with permanent and non-permanent HHs there are no complaints about frauds against the labour law. All workers have a working contract and the management observes the law. Moreover all workers receive working clothes – either for general purpose or for special tasks for free.

Farm 8

Farm 8 is privately managed and family-owned for several generations. At the time of the interview there were four HHs on the farm with four people permanently employed. When more workers are needed an exchange with Farm 6 takes place. If the owner of Farm 6 is not in place the owner of Farm 8 manages his farm. In the past 20 years the crop-cultivation on Farm 8 has changed from vegetables to wine-grapes. According to the owner the wine is not sold due to the high marketing costs. Main source of income is sheep farming. Additionally the owner undertakes conservational tasks in the Krom-Antonies-River from the local government. For this he receives the wage for the workers. According to plans of the owner permanent workers that leave the farm will not be replaced and seasonal workers not be recruited in the upcoming season. The residents' houses are in need of renovation²⁹. Only two of four houses have a toilet and in-house water. Only the farmer's house and some agricultural buildings have electricity. The HHs pay a certain amount of the weekly wage for the accommodation. There is no farm shop but the HHs can use the shop on Farm 6; the owner of Farm 8 drives them every week. An official arrangement about the transportation however does not exist on Farm 8. If there is an emergency the owner drives personally or arranges something with neighbouring farm owners. Small loans can be negotiated by the HHs with the owner.

Farm 9

As the Farms 2 and 7, Farm 9 is also part of an agro-company. The headquarter lays down the management rules quite strictly what means that the wage and credit administration, for example, are regulated by it. The focus of the farm lies on the provision of fodder for the neighbouring farm that is also part of the same company. The exchange between the farms is very high. Currently 5 HHs with

²⁹ The defects encompass broken windows and doors, cracks in the walls, roofs leaking and faulty toilets

22 members are located on the farm. However only 5 men, but no women, are permanently employed. Additionally workers from Eendekuil support the farm from time to time. The infrastructure on the farm is old but is renovated regularly. The accommodations offer in-house water, electricity and sanitation which the HHs do not have to pay for. There is no farm shop but unless the other surveyed farms, Farm 9 offers simple medical services which are provided by the farm manager's wife. One farm tractor drives the residents to Piketberg once a week. The school children are carried to school by a buggy from the neighbouring farm. From the resident's side there were no complaints about frauds against the law. Beside sick leave they receive holiday pay. Additionally all workers (but not their relatives) are compulsory insured. A certain amount of their wage is used for a company-internal funeral insurance.

Overview of the interviewed households³⁰

Farm	Permanent HHs	Temporary HHs	Seasonal HHs
Average HH size (Persons)	4,02	1,1	4,5 (1,56 in place)
Average HH age	30,18	28,05	27,68
Average no. of persons under 18 yrs. per HH	1,48	0	0,94
Average no. of persons over 64 yrs. per HH	0,09	0	0,06
Population group in % (Coloured/Black/White)	95/5/0	22/78/0	87/13/0
Language in % (Afrikaans/other)	95/5	18/82	93/7

Table 6 Overview of the interviewed households

Permanent households

Among the permanent HHs small and medium-sized HHs dominated. The average size of the permanent HHs was four persons and only three HHs consisted of seven or more persons. Moreover 34% of the permanent HHs consisted of two persons or less. The average age was 30 yrs. and a little higher compared to the other surveyed groups. Concerning the population group and the language nearly all of them were coloured and spoke Afrikaans as a main language.

Temporary households

Nearly all temporary HHs were single-person HHs. Although there were connections to other workers only two showed a deeper relationship in form of a HH³¹. None of the temporary HHs had members below 18 or over 64 yrs. of age. In contrast to the seasonal and permanent HHs the temporary ones were mainly black and didn't speak Afrikaans. However this has to be seen in the migratory context of the HHs and the small sample of the groups³²

Seasonal households

The seasonal HHs were a little bigger than the permanent HHs. Also were they younger, had fewer children and fewer old people. Regarding the population group and the language the seasonal HHs did not differ a lot from the permanent ones and mostly were coloured and spoke Afrikaans. Averagely 1,56 of the HH members migrated to the surveyed area. 10 out of 16 of these migration HHs

³⁰ Permanent and temporary HHs in place and the seasonal HHs in connection to their HHs of origin

³¹ One interviewee with his brother, one with his girlfriend

³² See also: Descriptive migration analysis

consisted of one person. On the other hand three HHs consisted of three persons and three HHs of two persons.

V. The Analysis

V.1 Description of the results

The Migration data

Fundamentals of the migration to the valley

When analysing the origin of the migrants one has to consider that it is often closely linked to the farmer's preferences and, in some cases, the regional anchorage of the mother company. Especially the methods for recruiting new workers affect the creation of migration routes that were found on different farms in the study area. When it comes to non-permanent employment, one can distinguish between methods that are performed by farm members or external service providers:

- Farm 1 outsourced the recruitment, the payment and partially the administration of the workers to an external labour broker. The manager and the broker negotiated a sum of money per worker and the rest is left to the broker. The broker, who by himself is locally rooted, recruits the workers via telephone chain and picks them up in locations around the valley on a certain date. During the analysis several workers reported irregularities with the payment of bonuses. These and other issues that come out of the system shall be discussed further below.
- Farm 2 organised the recruitment of workers by themselves. Before the season about ten team leaders (most of them out of the permanent workers) are picked. They are assigned to supervise the recruitment and the work of the seasonal employees. For that, they receive the contact details of former seasonal workers by the manager and take care that their team gets the needed number of employees. For the transmission of information a click-and-tell system is used. On two fixed dates the workers are collected in Philadelphia (about 20 km north of Cape Town) and Bellville (District of Cape Town). The reason for the long journey is the lack of sufficient workers in the Bergrivier municipality. The recruitment of the workers of Farm 7 is partially organised by the contractors that develop the farm and partially by the manager himself. Because it is still a young farm most of the workers are recruited from the company's other farms. The new workers on the other hand shall be recruited locally and by the workers on the farm.

Often the seasonal work is not a one-off. According to estimations by a farm manager 40-60 % of the workers from the previous season return in the following one.

Migration of seasonal households

Who migrates to the surveyed area?

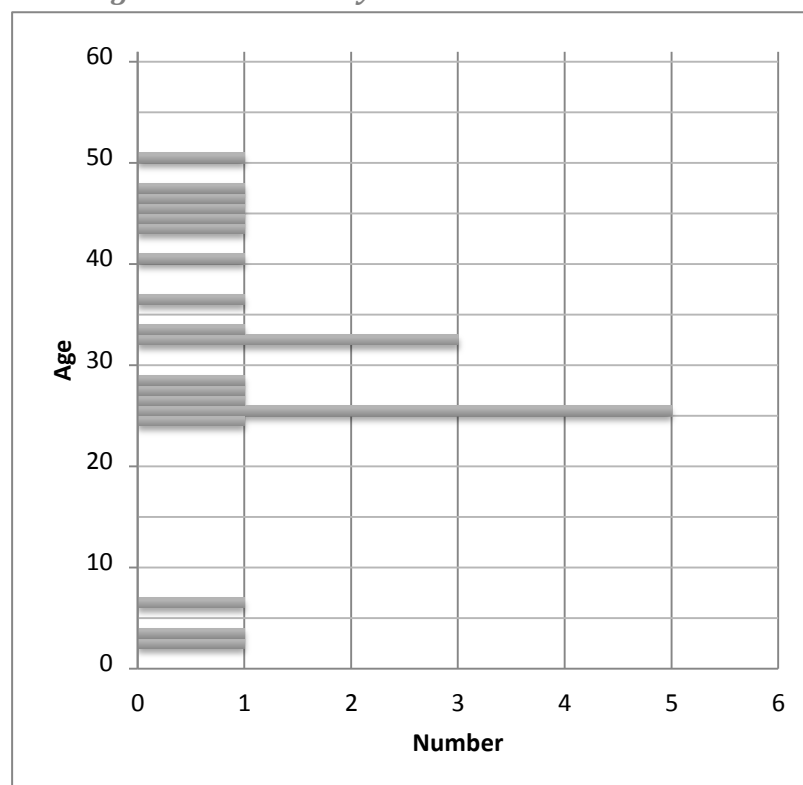


Figure 5 Age distribution of all seasonal residents in place (N=24)

The demographic profile of the interviewed seasonal HHs in place shows a tendency towards young, male migrants. Although the median age was 32 yrs., 32% of the HH members were 40 yrs. and older. There were 3 children among the seasonal HHs in place. The data is biased towards male migrants. Only one of the 16 interviewed seasonal HHs in place was female headed. Fig. 6 shows the setup of the seasonal migrant's HHs of origin. 47% of the interviewees have parents in their HHs of origin and 27% have own children.

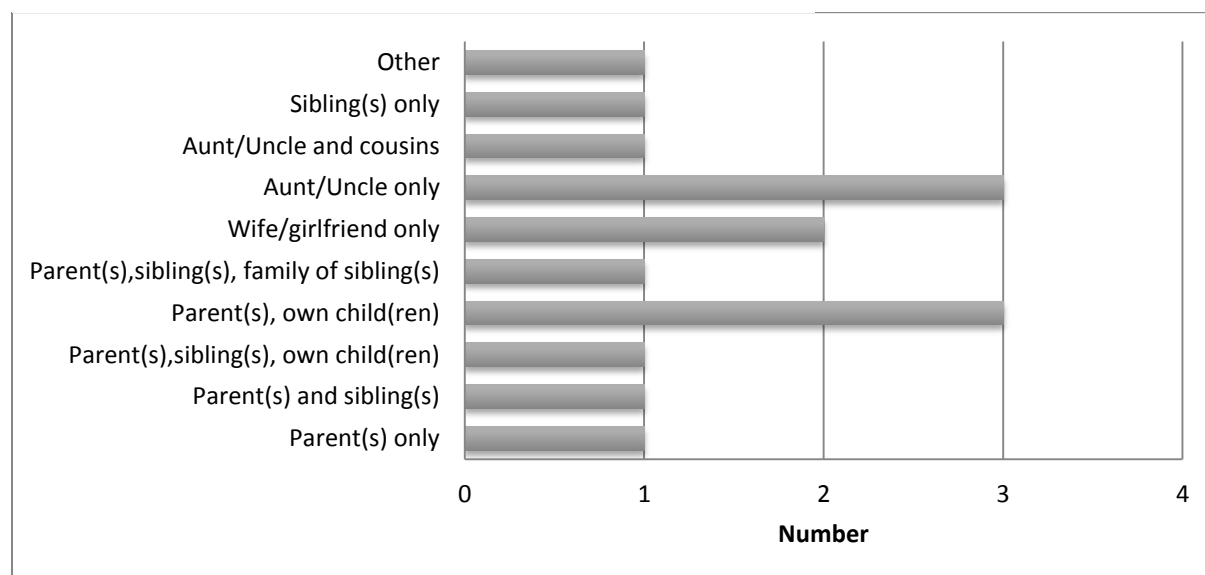


Figure 6 Setup of the households of origin of seasonal households in place (N=15)

Connection to a households of origin

All of the seasonal HHs came to the current farms because they found work on it and in 15 of 16 cases it was possible to determine a HH of origin with which the interviewed HHs were sharing a livelihood. In one case there was no connection of the migrant HH to another HH and the migrant HH was

moving from one farm to another and, if he found no job on a farm, was looking for shelter with friends.

Origin of the migrants

The analysis of the data shows a regional focus for the seasonal workers. 11 out of 15 HHs are rooted in villages and farms within the Bergrivier municipality.

No.	Place	Munic./District
7	Piketberg	Bergrivier/WC
2	Cape Town	-/Cape Town
1	Eendekuil	Bergrivier/WC
1	Porterville	Bergrivier/WC
1	Vredenburg	Saldanha Bay/WC
1	Kuruman	Ga-Segonyana/NC
1	Farm "Heimat"	Bergrivier/WC
1	Farm "Georgap"	Bergrivier/WC

Table 7 Origin of the seasonal households in place (N=15)

Types and periods of migration

Within the seasonal HHs in place one can distinguish between commuters that drive home every weekend and those that visit home only at the end of the season. Seven of the 16 interviewed seasonal interviewees are commuters and drive home every weekend. Seven drive home at the end of the season, in one case it was not clear and one HH had no home anymore respectively he could not be assigned to a HH of origin.

Remittances

Most of the seasonal HHs supported their HHs of origin and did not use the money for themselves alone (11/15 HHs). When they go home they mostly bring cash and/or material goods. Only one HH used a bank for transferring the money. The amount ranged from 100 to 3k ZAR.

	Commuters (N=7)	Non-Commuters (N=8)	Total (N=15)
Support of the HH of origin	4	7	11
Only money	1	3	4
Only material goods	0	1	1
Money and material goods	3	3	6
Remittance time (Data incomplete)			
Every week/several weeks per month	3	2	5
Every month/several month per season	0	1	1
At the end of the season	0	2	2
Irregularly	0	1	1
Remittance way (Data incomplete)			
Brings personally in cash	1	1	2
Brings home material goods	0	1	1
Brings home cash and goods	2	3	5
Bank transfer	0	1	1

Table 8 Structure of remittances of seasonal households in place to their households of origin

Migration history of the seasonal households in place

Most of the seasonal HHs show a history of frequently changing home places. Although most of the interviewees are young, 67% have been on 1-3 farms before. Especially the older respondents, however, have a long migration history with a lot of farms before the current. Some of the respondents had times where they have changed farms very often and those where they have stayed longer on one farm (e.g. S13). Other respondents (e.g. S1 and 3) have always changed farms and never stayed in one place for a long time. 69% have stayed in the last place only for one season or shorter but 15% stayed there for over 5 yrs. Although the biographies of the respondents are mostly exclusively connected to farm work and 12 of 13 the respondents have worked in the farm context before, there are also some that have worked in other contexts as well³³. Most of the respondents have stayed in a place within the municipality before they moved to their current home place. Within the HHs it is common that several members work as seasonal employees at the same time.

	Number	Share
Farms before current (N=13)		
0	1	8%
1-3	8	62%
4-5	2	15%
>5	2	15%
Last location of the respondent (N=10)		
Within the catchment	3	30%
Within the Bergvriër Municipality	5	50%
Within the Western Cape	2	20%
Time spend in last place (not current home) (N=13)		
Season or shorter	9	69%
1-5 yrs.	2	15%
6-10 yrs.	2	15%
> 10yrs.	0	0%

Table 9 Migration history of the seasonal households

Migration of temporary households

Connection to a households of origin

In contrast to the seasonal HHs in place, the temporary HHs showed a clear distance in economic and social matters towards their HHs of origin and acted mainly autonomously. Because of this it was not possible to attribute them to the livelihoods of their HHs of origin although there was a monetary connection in form of remittances. But although their focus lies on the farm, none of them stayed on the farm the whole year. In holidays they went to their relatives or friends. However, they mostly returned to the farm after the holidays when they got a new working contract for the year.

Origin of the migrants

In geographical terms the temporary workers were mostly of supra-regional or international origin. Only two of them came from within the study area.

³³ For example on construction sides (S9) or in drug dealing (S16)

No.	Place	District/Country
5	Border Post/King Williams Town	Eastern Cape/SA
3	Geysdorp/Delareyville	Ngaka Modiri Molema/ SA
1	Sterkspruit	Eastern Cape/SA
1	Welkom	Lejweleputswa/ SA
2	Mohale's Hoek	Lesotho
1	Quthing	Lesotho
2	Harare	Mozambique
1	Gweru	Zimbabwe
1	Ndola	Zambia
1	Eendekuil	Western Cape/SA
1	Farm 1	Western Cape/SA

Table 10 Origin of the temporary households (N=19)

Remittances

Nearly all of the temporary HHs supported their HHs of origin (18/19 HHs). 15 of the temporary HHs sent money, 3 sent money and material goods. Most of them support them regularly and several times a year. The amount of the money sent ranged from 50 to 3000 ZAR per transaction. 15 out of 17 HHs stated that they believe that the remittances they send are used for daily expenses only. Only two thought the remittances can be saved.

	Number	Share
Support of the HH of origin (N=18)		
Only money	15	83%
Only material goods	0	0%
Money and material goods	3	17%
Remittance time (N=18)		
Every week/several weeks per month	1	6%
Every month/several month per year	15	83%
Once a year	0	0%
Irregularly	2	11%
Remittance way (N=18)		
Brings personally in cash	1	6%
Bank transfer	6	33%
Sends relative/friend	4	22%
Shop/Other	7	39%

Table 11 Structure of remittances of temporary households in place to their households of origin

Migration history of the temporary households

The temporary HHs show a great mobility. 45% of the interviewees spent one year or less in the last place. The 20% who spent 10 yrs. or more, were young men who moved directly from their home places to the farm. Although 80% came from a town to the current farm, 55% of the interviewees have worked on a farm before. However this is less than the permanent HHs where 78% have worked on another farm. Moreover 90% came from a place outside the Bergrivier municipality to the current farm. 55% of the interviewees came to the current farm in 2011 and before and, hence, stayed on the farm for more than a year at least. 15% stayed even more than three yrs.

	Number	Share
Last location of the respondent (N=20)		
Within the catchment	1	5%
Within the Bergvriër Municipality	1	5%
Within the Western Cape	6	30%
Outside the Western Cape	12	60%
Type last location (N=20)		
Farm	4	20%
Town	16	80%
Time spend in last place (N=20)		
0-1 yr.	9	45%
2-5 yrs.	7	35%
6-10 yrs.	0	0%
> 10yrs.	4	20%
Year respondent went to current farm (N=20)		
Before 2010	3	15%
2010	2	10%
2011	6	30%
2012	7	35%
2013	2	10%

Table 12 Migration history of temporary households

Migration routes and examples

Migration routes: Temporary households from Geysdorp

The temporary worker T 18, his nephews (son of sister/son of brother), his neighbour (T 15) and one friend from the football club in Geysdorp work on farm 7. The farm is owned by a company whose headquarter is located in Upington. They share a room in the hostel with another worker from a village next to Geysdorp (T 21) whom they didn't know before they went to the farm.

Geysdorp is located about eight km north of Delareyville in the Tswaing municipality (Northern Cape). The rural area shows a high unemployment rate (28,7%), especially among the young (40,1% - Statistics South Africa 2011). Although the supply with basic services improved since 2001 there are still big problems in supplying water, electricity and sanitary fittings (Statistics South Africa 2011).

An employee who works for the company in Upington (about 550 km west of Geysdorp) recruited T 15 and T 18 and brought them to company's headquarter in Upington. There they were able to choose on which of the company's farm they wanted to work on. They decided for the farm in the study area. T 18 also managed to convince the farm manager to employ his friend from the football club and his nephews. In September 2012 T 18, a nephew of T 18 and the friend from the football club arrived on the farm in the study area. In January T 15 and the second nephew of T 18 followed. The contracts for the workers end in August 2013. Maybe they can stay on the farm for another year. During the interview the workers state that it is the better income opportunity which brought them to the farm.

T 21 lives in a small village next to Geysdorp but seems not to have a lot in common with the other workers concerning his migration background. He started to work for the company in Upington in 2009. There he had to work the debts off he contracted with the local farm manager. His friend (and

supervisor) on the farm in Upington has called him there. In January 2012 T 21 joined his friend on Farm 7, who has left Upington previously. T 21 was accompanied by his nephew. It is not clear if and how the friend of T 21 and the employee who recruited T 15 and T 18 are connected to each other.

Migration routes: Temporary households from Border Post

Border Post is a small village about 20 km north-east of King Williams Town (Eastern Cape). It has about 2900 inhabitants (Statistics South Africa 2011). Five interviewees on Farm 2 and 7 came from Border post (T4, T10, T11, T12 and T14). Although they are not directly related to each other their migration background shows certain similarities. Especially the relational ties of some workers to Cape Town connect them to Farm 2, where most seasonal workers are recruited (see above).

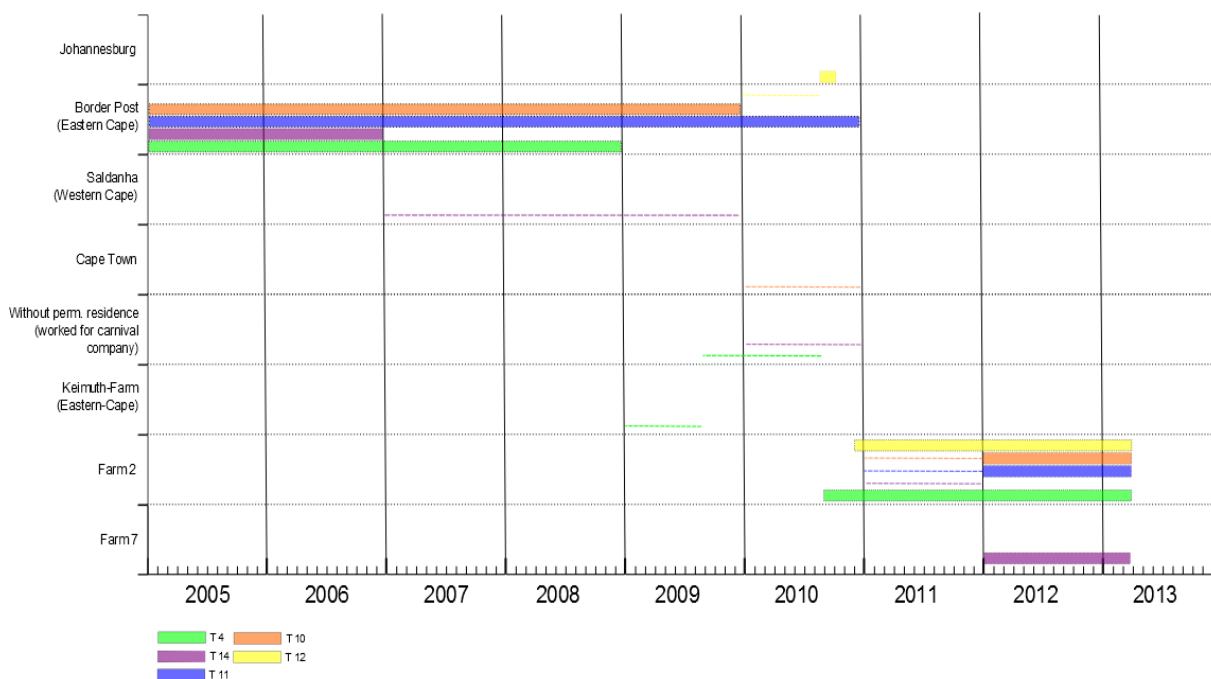


Figure 7 Migration routes of the interviewed households from Border Post (the broken lines represent insecurities in the timeline)

T 4 is 31 years old. His mother and his brother live in a clay house. Since an accident in 2010 the brother isn't able to work and the family lives from the salary the mother earns as a domestic worker. His sister, who has her own HH, stays with him during the week when the mother is away. In 2009 T4 started to work on a livestock farm near Key Mouth (about 100 km east of Border Post). After that he worked for a company which constructs carnival machines with T 14 and T 11. In August 2010 T4 went to Farm 2. T 14 told him about the job.

T 14 (24 yrs.) still has one brother in Border Post. His mother and father are dead and T14 supports his younger brother with money. The brother goes to school and makes his living by selling livestock sometimes. T 14 also has a brother and a sister in Cape Town. In 2007 T 14 went to Saldanha (West Coast District) where he worked for a security company. In 2010 he joined T 11 and T4 on the carnival company. T11 told him about the job. Afterwards he went to Farm 2. In 2011 he was dismissed from the job on Farm 2 because he had a fight under the influence of alcohol with another worker. In January 2012 he started working on Farm 7.

T11 (30 yrs.) has one father and three siblings in Border Post. Compared to the other workers from Border Post his HH of origin is quite well off. The father owns a tractor and makes the living by offering services with his tractor, driving people to work, and sometimes selling livestock and maize. Additionally T11 and his three sisters from Cape Town send money. T11 started to work in a butchery. In 2011 he started to work on Farm 2.

T10 (24 yrs.) has one mother and two siblings in Border Post. The mother works as a domestic worker and the siblings go to school. Despite of social grants for the brother the money is, according to T 10, not enough for all of them. He supports his mother financially. Beside that he has a cousin in Cape Town he visits every month for the weekend. In 2010 T14 went alone to Cape Town to work for a toy company. In 2011 he went to Farm 2 after his friends told him about a job there.

The roots of T 12 (24 yrs.) go back to Zimbabwe where his mother and father went to in 1962. In 2010 T12, his parents and siblings went from Zimbabwe to Border Post. In Border Post they make a living by selling livestock, the sister's domestic work and the father's work as a carpenter. In Sept. 2010 T12 went to Johannesburg to find a job. A Zimbabwean friend told him there of the work on Farm 2 where he started in November 2010. The friend now works in Cape Town. All members of the HH of origin have been granted status as asylum seekers.

Migration routes: Temporary households from Mohale's Hoek (Lesotho)

Mohale's Hoek is a small town of about 24,000 inhabitants in the south-west of Lesotho, near the border to South Africa (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.). Two interviewees on Farm 2 came from there (T6+T9).

Initial spark for the migration to Farm 2 was the migration of the mother of T9. When T9 was a child the mother went from Mohale's Hoek to Ceres³⁴ where she worked as a farm worker. In 2010 T9 followed his mother to Ceres and left his father, sister, brother-in-law and niece behind. In 2011, T9 came to Farm 6 because there was no work in Ceres anymore. In 2012 he lost his job on Farm 6 because he returned too late from his holiday in Mohale's Hoek where he cared for his father who wasn't able to work. So he started on Farm 2 in 2012. His HH of origin makes a living by some livestock he owns, 5 ha of farmland and the salary the brother in law earns as a shepherd. According to T9 the money is not enough.

T6 (28 yrs.) has a father and two siblings in Mohale's Hoek. The mother passed away in 2005. Main income source are about 15 sheep and vegetables they grow on a field which has "half the size of a rugby field". T9 is a friend of the brother of T6. He told him in 2011 of the work on Farm 2.

Migration of permanent households

As the non-permanent HHs, the permanent HHs in place show certain mobility when it comes to migration. In fact, only two of 44 interviewees were born on the farm on which the interview was conducted. However, the migration patterns differ a lot from the non-permanent HHs in place. So remittances, for example, played only in three of 44 cases a small role.

³⁴ West Coast District – about 90 km from the study area

Migration history of the permanent households

As stated in the categories further above, ten HHs originated entirely from within the catchment, 14 partly from within the catchment and 20 from outside the catchment. From the 20 persons from outside the catchment 6 were born outside the Western Cape. Although 50% of the respondents went to the current farm in 2004 and before, 30% went there after 2009 and even 12% of the interviewees went there between January and April 2013. As reasons for the movement to the current farm 44% of the interviewees stated, that it was a personal decision like the prospect of higher earnings (N=32). In 9% of the cases a dismissal by the employer was the case. Other reasons were companionship of the family (mostly as a child – 19%) or move in to the partner (13%). Most of the HHs migrated from inside the catchment area (38%) or at least from a place within the Bergrivier municipality (76% in total). They either came from another farm (73%) or from a town (27%). In their last place they stayed 7 years (median time). 26% have been there for more than ten years but also 19% only for one year or less.

In total the migration of permanent workers shows a regional, rural focus and the tendency to stay on the farms for a longer time. Of course these data show the centre of the HH head's life and not the temporary migration of particular HH members. This should be discussed in the following paragraph.

	Number	Share
Last location of the respondent (N=41)		
Within the catchment	16	39%
Within the Bergrivier Municipality	15	37%
Within the Western Cape	8	19%
Outside the Western Cape	2	5%
Type last location (N=40)		
Farm	29	73%
Town	11	27%
Time spend in last place (N=27)		
0-1 yr.	5	19%
2-5 yrs.	5	19%
6-10 yrs.	10	37%
> 10yrs.	7	26%
Year respondent went to current farm (N=43)		
Born on farm	2	5%
1970s	4	9%
1980s	6	14%
1990s	7	16%
2000-2004	4	9%
2005-2009	7	16%
After 2009	13	30%

Table 13 Migration history of the permanent households

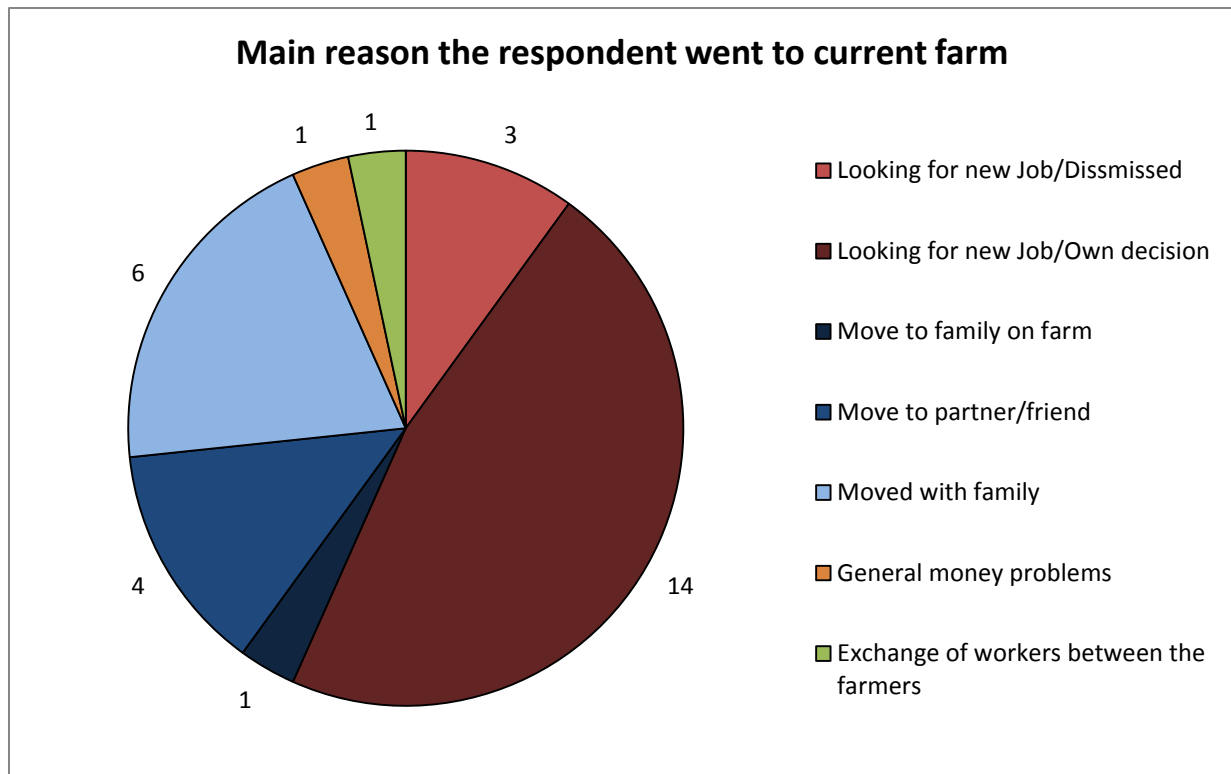


Figure 8 Reasons for the migration of permanent households to the current farm (N=30)

Partial migration of household members

One reason for a time-limited migration of permanent HH members is education. So the commuting of children to the high school in Piketberg was common. According to the interview with the local headmaster most of the children stay in the high school hostel during the week and only return on weekends. When they finishing high school, or dropping out of it, most of the young people return to the study area and seek a job. Even if they find a job elsewhere most of them return to the valley after a while and raise a family according to the observation of the headmaster. Concerning young children the move to relatives within the study area because of their vicinity to the local primary school could be observed in at least two HHs (P23, P32).

Another complex of reasons is connected with the work on the farm. So there were five HHs where particular members worked on other farms or outside of the study area. Those HHs were all situated on farms where work was scarce (Farm 3, 4 and 8). However there was only one case in all permanent HHs where a member commuted to his workplace outside the valley regularly.

A third group of reasons are of personal nature. The move-out to the partner (e.g. P2) or to other relatives as well as the move-in of the partner (e.g. P14) could be described in several HHs, especially among young HH members.

Non-voluntary migration could be described in at least one case (P20). Here the whole HH had to leave the farm because the respondent was not able to work anymore. In another case (P18) the eviction was threatened but not enforced yet. However the migration history of many other farm workers also included cases of non-voluntary migration among the HHs in former times.

Differences in the setup of permanent households with migratory background

Old-established and new households

When comparing the new permanent HHs with the old ones the lower average HH size of the new HHs is apparent. The new HHs tend to be a little older, have fewer members under 18 and fewer members over 64 yrs. of age on average compared to the old-established HHs. The population group and the language don't differ a lot among the groups. Most of the interviewees belong to the coloured group and spoke Afrikaans. Old established HHs concentrate mostly on the farms 3 and 5 and new HHs mostly on the farms 1 and 6.

Households with origin from within or outside the catchment area

Concerning the origin of the HHs those from within the study area are smaller and older on average. Moreover they include fewer persons under 18 yrs. and no persons over 64 yrs. of age. Statistically the mixed HHs tend neither to the local HH nor to the non-local HH. In regard to the population group and the language both groups don't differ much.

Both HH-types can be found on most of the farms but some farms include more HHs of a certain type. So HHs from outside the valley are mainly found on the farms 1,5 and 9 while local HHs have a focus on the farms 3 and 5. The mixed HHs reside mostly on the farms 5 and 6.

	Perm. HHs total	Permanent: on farm	Resident	Permanent: Origin		
		Old est.	New	In study area	Outside study area	Mixed
Avg. HH size in place (Persons)	4,02	4,0	3,43	2,9	4,35	4,36
Avg. HH age	30,18	30,46	32,18	32,43	27,86	32,95
Average persons under 18 yrs./HH	1,48	1,69	0,93	1,0	1,65	1,57
Average persons over 64 yrs./HH	0,09	0,08	0,07	0	0,15	0,07
Pop. Group in % (Coloured/Black)	95/5	92,3/7,7	90,9/9,1	100/0	94,1/5,9	92,3/7,7
Language in % (Afrikaans/other)	95/5	100/0	100/0	90/10	94,1/5,9	100/0

Table 14 Statistics of different permanent household types

Farm	Old-established	New	Origin within the valley	Origin outside	Mixed
1	0	4	1	6	1
2	2	1	1	1	2
3	3	0	3	2	1
4	0	0	1	0	0
5	6	1	2	4	5
6	1	3	0	2	3
7	0	2	1	1	0
8	1	1	1	1	2
9	0	2	0	3	0
Total	13	14	10	20	14

Table 15 Number of different permanent household types on the farms

Migration routes and examples

P29

P29 (37 yrs.) lives with her husband (41 yrs.), two sons and one daughter on Farm 2. The daughter has serious problems with her right eye. Although both adults have a job and even own a car, they state that they sometimes lack money when school fees have to be paid or the daughter needs to visit the doctor. They don't have any savings.

P29 and her current husband married in 1996 on a farm near Paarl (Western Cape). He worked there as an irrigation foreman. In 2009 both moved to Porterville where they worked as team leaders for the male workers respectively the female workers for the current manager of Farm 2. In 2010 the manager took up the job on Farm 2. In June 2012 the husband of P29 applied for a job as an irrigation manager on the farm. He states that the good connection to the farm manager helped him with his application. As a reason for the new job P29 named problems with the farm workers on their last farm in Paarl.

P19

P19 (74 yrs.) lives with his wife (64 yrs.) on Farm 3. He was born on a farm next to the study area, west of the Piketberg-Mountains. On that farm he married in 1957 and then moved to Elandsbaai (about 50km west of the catchment area). At the age of 30 or 35 yrs. he went back to Farm 3. During the 1990s his wife died. His current wife has her roots in Paleisheuvel a village about 14 km north of the valley. She lived there with her husband, children and family next door until her husband died in 1996. She met P19 when she worked as a seasonal worker on Farm 3. In 2003 both married.

P19 and his wife are dependent on pension. Beside this they have an additional, very low income by growing and selling their own vegetables. This income source is very unstable and brings about 25 ZAR/week when a demand is given. Additionally they own a few chicken. According to them the pension is enough for most of the time. Until recently P19 earned a little income by helping a local farmer. At the moment, however, P19 has some issues with his kidney so he has to see the doctor sometimes. The high doctor's fees and the private transport from the farm ate up their savings.

Today there are still ties to Paleisheuvel because a part of the wife's family lives there (nieces, daughter, uncles, aunts & cousins). The exchange with her relatives however is limited to vegetables

she grows in the garden. From the husband's side there are two children on Farm 5 and one, next door, on Farm 2. They visit each other regularly but don't exchange money.

The Vulnerability data

The Asset-Dimensions

Human capital

Health and education infrastructure in place

There is no public clinic in the surveyed area. The next clinic is in Piketberg and visiting hours are only during the week. The travel time to the hospital is about 45 mins., dependent on the distance to the main road. The ambulatory care is taken over by professional nurses. Depending on the HH's income medical treatment is either totally free or subsidised (Department of Health 2009). End of March 2010 no doctor was employed in the primary, public health system of the municipality (Bergrivier Municipality 2012). Beside some dentists there are very few private specialists in Piketberg. For complex medical treatment facilities in Cape Town have to be consulted (mostly Tygerberg hospital). A retirement home also exists only in Piketberg. Once in a month a mobile clinic visits the farms and offers basic health services to the residents. These encompass free vaccinations and preventive medical examinations for infants and the dispensing of contraceptives. At least on one farm this is complemented by a private nurse who has weekly visiting hours. However this offer is restricted to the farm staff and only comprises basic services.

In the catchment area there is a primary school for the classes one to six. According to the headmaster nearly all the children of school age in place visit the school. The number of pupils increased from 60 in 2004 to 134 in 2013 (according to the headmaster). This increase mainly traces back to the dissolution of a primary school nearby in 2010. However the increase of pupils could not be balanced by more teachers or rooms for them. So, only four teachers are in charge for 134 children. Especially the classes 4-6 need additional teachers. Institutes of higher education exist only in Piketberg. Because of the bad transportation infrastructure the hostel in Piketberg is used by most of the pupils during the week.

Training opportunities within the catchment are scarce and only offered for activities in the narrow farming context. So many farmers pay the advanced training for tractor drivers or for the handling of chemicals. An independent vocational training is not offered.

For the care of infants there are at least two kindergartens in the area. These are operated by the farmers themselves and only local farm residents have access to them. At least on one farm a trained farm worker supervises the children. On those farms where there is no formal child care women that do not work supervise the children informally or the children accompany the adults to work. In some cases the children weren't supervised at all.

Health status and dependency ratio

The survey shows that 14 % of the permanent HH included one member that was not able to contribute to the income because of an injury/illness (at the time of the interview). Between the different groups of permanent HHs there was no difference between the old-established or new HHs (8% vs. 7%). However the rate between those HHs from within the catchment and those from outside

differed a lot (20% and 5%). The dependency ratio was higher in the old HHs (compared to the new ones) but did not differ a lot concerning their origin.

The temporary HHs included no persons that were not able to work and all members were between 15 and 64 yrs. of age so the dependency ratio was zero.

The seasonal HHs in total showed a dependency ratio that was below the ratio of the permanent HHs. The dependency ratio of the migrated parts of the seasonal HHs (the HHs in place) was lower than of the remaining HHs. In place there was no person in the seasonal HH that could not contribute to the income. 13% of the seasonal HHs stated to have at least one person at home who is not able to work.

However, a minority of HHs have members that cannot contribute to the income, all of them experience illnesses from time to time. 57% of the permanent, 31% of the seasonal and 30% of the temporary HHs stated to have a case of illness at the moment, chronically or had a case in the past three years. When looking at the types of illness a tendency towards respiratory diseases is apparent. Especially Asthma and Tuberculosis were mentioned. This is in accordance with statements of a local private nurse who mentioned a high rate of TB in place. However the distribution of HIV/AIDS and mental illnesses is not certain. Also some cases of stress-related illnesses were reported, but don't show in the statistics.

Another health related problem is the massive alcohol abuse. Especially on weekends and in some cases also during the week this leads to violent disputes between the farm residents. A widespread problem is also the alcohol consumption during pregnancy. Although there were no HH data collected for this the local headmaster estimates that 20% of the children in school are affected by Foetal Alcohol Syndrome.

Unwanted teenage pregnancies also occur frequently within the surveyed area. This can be deduced from statements by the headmaster, the nurse and two affected HHs (P6 and P34).

	% of HHs with at least one person who is not able to contribute to the HH's income because of an illness / injury	Dependency (mean)	ratio
Permanent HHs (N=43)	14	53,4	
Perm. HHs: Old/new (N=13/14)	8/7	62,95/26,67	
Perm. HHs: Origin in catchment/ origin outside/Mixed (N=10/20/14)	20/5/21	58,67/55,8/43,9	
Temporary HHs (N=20)	0	0	
Seasonal HHs total (N=16)	13	37,2	
Seasonal HHs in place	0	15,6	
Seasonal HHs at home	13	71,15	

Table 16 Dependency and health related statistics

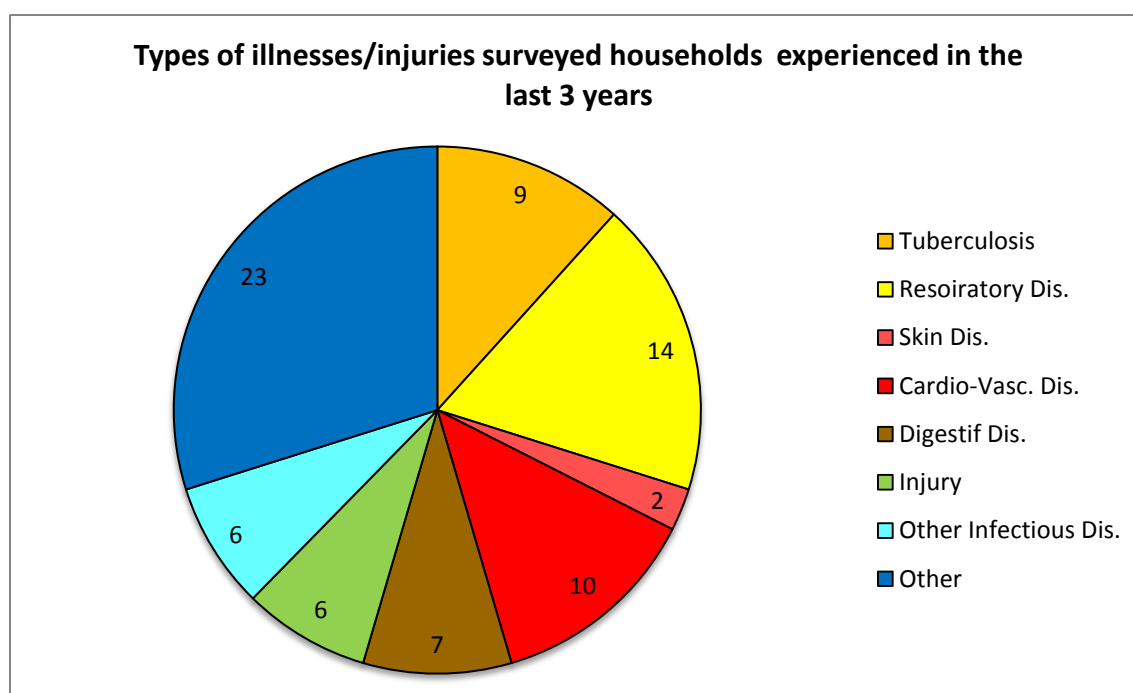


Figure 9 Types of illnesses/injuries the surveyed households experienced in the last 3 years: Total number of reported cases of illness (N = 268 household-members); permanent and non-permanent households; multiple references per household-member possible; Other: Non specified illness/pain.

Educational background

The educational background of the interviewed HHs is very different. In total the seasonal and temporary HHs show on average a higher educational level than the permanent ones. Within the permanent HHs there is only a difference between the new HHs and the old ones. The new ones went longer to school on average. Comparing the temporary and the migrated parts of the seasonal HHs the difference is not much. But the difference between the migrated seasonal HHs and their HHs of origin is high. In conversation with the local headmaster a high rate of school dropouts is mentioned. This can also be found in the data. So, only two of 37 permanent HHs include a member with a high school degree. Within the seasonal HHs this rate is similar. These numbers correspond to the official municipal statistics after which 48% of the pupils drop out of school during high school (Bergrivier Municipality 2013 [2]). In contrast to that 20% of the temporary HHs have finished high school.

	Average yrs. of schooling of adults (mean)	No. of HH with high school degree or higher
Permanent HHs (N=37)	6,47	2
Perm. HHs: Old/new (N=12/13)	6,27/7,2	1/0
Perm. HHs: Orig. in catchm./outside/mixed (N=9/16/12)	6,38/6,59/6,37	1/1/0
Temporary HHs (N=20)	9,33	4
Seasonal HHs		
Seasonal HHs in place (N=13)	8,91	1
Seasonal HHs at home (N=6)	7,94	1

Table 17 Education statistics

Physical capital

Transportation infrastructure

A connection to Piketberg is only given by the linkage to the R366 (Piketberg-Elands Bay) at the end of the catchment. While this two- to three-lane road is well developed the catchment area only features a small sand road of differing quality.

There is no public transport to the area. Only one private bus drives to Piketberg once a week (on Saturdays). The price is 50 ZAR (outward and return journey) what makes about 10% of the current weekly minimum wage. Other transportation opportunities are only of informal nature and differ from farm to farm. While some farmers regularly provide free busses and tractors other farmers don't provide any informal mode of transportation or only very rarely (especially before the Christmas holidays). In these cases there are informal arrangements with the few farm residents that own a car. The prices for these arrangements differ a lot. An entitlement to transportation services, however, isn't given on any farm not even on those which are closely connected to its parent company with a code of conduct. It's up to the farm manager to provide transportation services.

A regular transport of children exists only to the local primary school. The transport of the children to the high school in Piketberg is differentially regulated on the farms. Mostly the farmers agree in advance about who will drive the children.

Accommodations



Figure 10 Accommodation of a permanent household on a farm

The houses in place differ a lot regarding their quality and equipment. The structure of the houses is especially on the small, family owned farms in a very bad condition. Leaking roofs and windows, not closing doors, wet walls and a dangerous electrical setup are especially apparent. The houses are often not renovated because of cost concerns. The accommodations for seasonal and temporary HHs are mostly better equipped and less in need of renovation. The main part of the non-

permanent HHs lives in hostels (31/36 HHs). The rooms in the hostels are

heavily occupied with about 16 persons/room. The houses of the seasonal HHs at home are mostly in a good condition. 5 of 15 interviewees stated to live in "Government houses", 3 in the "Trajekt-Camp" at the edge of Piketberg.

Sanitation/Water

All accommodations for seasonal and temporary HHs in place were equipped with sanitation facilities (either inside the accommodation or right next to it). However 15% of the permanent HHs did not have access to sanitation facilities. Moreover 1/3 of the permanent HHs with access to a toilet stated to sometimes have problems with it. The HHs without access were among the new ones. 1/3 of the

HHs with origin in the catchment had no access to a toilet. HHs from outside or mixed HH had access more often. Concerning the home of the seasonal HHs the equipment with toilets was a little higher than in the permanent HHs.

Most of the permanent houses, and all accommodations for the seasonal and temporary residents, had access to tap water. Some houses, however, had to take the water from access points that were out of the own yard. Only on one farm there was no water connection in or next to the houses and the HHs had to fetch their water from an irrigation line. Within the permanent group there was only a difference between the HHs from within the catchment and those from outside but not between the old and the new ones concerning the water access. Moreover 22% of the permanent stated to sometimes have problems with their water access in place.

In the HHs of origin of the seasonal interviewees the water had more often to be fetched from an access point.

	% of HH with access to a flush toilet	% of HH with access to water inside the dwelling or yard
Permanent HHs (N=41)	85	88
Perm. HHs: Old/new (N=13/14)	100/86	85/86
Perm. HHs: Origin in catchment/ origin outside/mixed (N=9/19/13)	67/90/92	67/100/85
Temporary HHs (N=19)	100	100
Seasonal HHs total (N=15)	-	-
Seasonal HHs in place (N=15)	100	100
Seasonal HHs at home (N=12)	92	83

Table 18 Equipment with water and sanitation facilities in the households

Electricity

The supply of electricity and its payment distinguish a lot among the farms. So on some farms electricity is totally free (e.g. Farm 2) while other farmers subsidise it (e.g. Farm 5) or bill it completely (e.g. Farm 3). All accommodations for seasonal and temporary HHs feature electricity while only 83% of the permanent HHs have electricity. Within the permanent group there is only a difference between the HHs from within the catchment where only 55% have electricity and those from outside. Concerning the HHs of origin of the seasonal HHs the distribution of electricity was similarly to the permanent HHs (82%). However the electricity is mostly not subsidised in the seasonal HHs and has to be paid by the users alone. This limits its availability.

	% of HH with access to electricity
Permanent HHs (N=41)	83
Perm. HHs: Old/new (N=13/14)	84,6/85,7
Perm. HHs: Orig. in catchm. /outside/mixed (N=9/19/13)	55,6/94,7/84,6
Temporary HHs (N=20)	100
Seasonal HHs	
Seasonal HHs in place (N=16)	100
Seas. HHs at origin (N=11)	81,8

Table 19 Equipment with electricity in the households

Communication and household objects

The permanent HHs are often equipped with communication amenities. 81% stated to have an own mobile phone, 76% a television and 60% a radio (multiple answers possible). Moreover 74% of the permanent HHs owned a fridge and 55% tools (whereas this can be borrowed from most of the farms). Within the old/new permanent group the results are similar (except for the fridge and the radio). Concerning the origin, the HHs from within the catchment were worse equipped.

The equipment of temporary HHs was mostly limited to a cooking plate, some dishes and, in some cases, a shared Hi-Fi/ a TV. There was no fridge in any of the hostels. Most of the temporary and seasonal HHs owned a mobile phone. The HHs of origin of the seasonal HHs were similarly but a little worse equipped as the permanent HHs. So, fewer people own a mobile phone or a fridge. None of them owned a car.

	% of HHs with own mobile phone	% of HHs with own television	% of HHs with own radio	% of HHs with own fridge	% of HHs with own car
Permanent HHs in place (N= 42)	81	76	60	74	7
Perm. HHs: Old/new (N=12/14)	75/79	67/71	54/36	85/57	8/7
Perm. HHs: Orig. in catchm./outside/mixed (N=10/20/12)	70/80/92	50/85/83	50/65/58	40/80/92	10/10/0
Seas. HHs at origin (N=14)	64	71	43	64	0

Table 20 Equipment with household items

Shopping facilities

Shopping facilities are very scarce in the surveyed area. The Farms 1,2,4,5 and 6 have small shops which open several times a week and offer essential goods³⁵. The shops are mostly run by the wives of the farm managers or close relatives and farm members have the opportunity to buy on credit. Alcohol is not sold in the shops but there is a shop on a farm at the end of the catchment area. The

³⁵ These goods encompass basic cooking stuff (rice, pasta, cooking oil etc.), canned food, bread, non-alcoholic beverages, sweets, cigarettes and basic non-food items (soap, diapers etc.)

prices in the shops are partly much higher than in the supermarkets in Piketberg. But the supermarkets are only accessible on weekends because of the bad transport situation. Special goods like clothes, tools etc. can only be bought there. Since 13 of 15 interviewed seasonal HHs come from an urban surrounding the provision of simple services like shopping facilities is not a problem.

Security

The next police station is in Eendekuil. A patrol only visits the area from time to time.

Social capital

Most of the permanent HHs show extensive social connections both quantitatively and qualitatively. 84% of the interviewed HHs stated to have relatives in the surveyed area. In 89% of the HHs which have relatives in the catchment area an exchange of money and/or material goods takes place. Additionally 91% of the permanent HHs have relatives outside the catchment, but in the Western Cape Region. 72% of the HHs exchange money and/or material goods. Only 19% have relatives outside the Western Cape Region. Here 88% of the interviewed HHs exchange money/material goods with its relatives. None of the permanent HHs has relatives outside South Africa. Within the permanent groups the social capital did differ a little. While all old HHs had relatives in the catchment only 11 of 14 new HHs had relatives in the catchment area. The quality of the social network was similar. Regarding the origin there was no big difference either. The mixed HHs had a little more connections inside the catchment and less outside compared to the HHs that came totally from within or outside the area. Concerning the quality of social networks the exchange of indigenous and mixed HHs with local relatives was 100% while the exchange of those from outside catchment was 75%. Informal networks often exist between neighbours. Via those networks food that was home-grown or left over during farm production is traded.

Formal networks in the form of clubs and institutions can hardly be found in place. The local church and a rugby club are the only institutions all farm workers have access to. Moreover there is the trade union UASA which is established on Farm 2. According to its local representative 15 permanent and one temporary farm workers are member of the union. This is about the half of all permanent workers and makes it possible for the union to negotiate on behalf of the workers. The work of the union is limited to Farm 2 at the moment. On other farms unions are partly rejected by the famers, also partly by threatening consequences. At total 46% of the interviewed permanent HHs are member in an organisation (34% in a church and 9% in the sports club).

	% of HHs with relatives in the geographical area	No mutual exchange	Only material goods exchange	Only money exchange	Material goods and money exchange
Relatives within the catchment	84	11	9	17	63
Relatives outside the catchment but in the Western Cape region	91	28	8	21	44
Relatives outside the WC but in South Africa	19	13	13	38	38
Relatives outside South Africa	2	100	0	0	0

Table 21 Social networks of permanent households in the catchment area (N = 43 households)

	% of HHs with relatives in the geographical area	Mutual exchange with relatives in the area
Relatives within the catchment (old/new)	100/79	100/93
Relatives outside the catchment but in the Western Cape region (old/new)	85/86	73/68
Relatives outside the WC but in South Africa (old/new)	15/14	50/100
Relatives outside South Africa (old/new)	0/7	0/0

Table 22 Social networks within the old/new permanent household group (N =13/14 households)

	% of HHs with relatives in the geographical area	Mutual exchange with relatives in the area
Relatives within the catchment (Orig. in catchm. /outside/mixed)	80/75/100	100/75/100
Relatives outside the catchment but in the Western Cape region (Orig. in catchm. /outside/mixed)	90/95/85	67/74/73
Relatives outside the WC but in South Africa (Orig. in catchm. /outside/mixed)	20/25/8	50/60/100
Relatives outside South Africa (Orig. in catchm. /outside/mixed)	0/5/0	0/0/0

Table 23 Social networks dependent on the origin of the permanent households (N= 10/20/13 households)

In contrast to the permanent HHs none of the seasonal and only one temporary HH had relatives in the catchment. But 74% of the temporary and 80% of the seasonal HHs state to have relatives in their places of origin (beside their HHs of origin). Within the seasonal HHs 2/3 of the interviewees state to exchange money and/or goods with the relatives in the home place. 92% of the temporary HHs of origin exchange money/goods with relatives nearby.

Informal networks, beside the relatives, also show within the non-permanent HHs in place. Among the temporary HHs it is apparent that many of them come from the same villages but were often not related to each other³⁶. Also some of the temporary HHs build new HH-like structures that were more than just living-together. So some groceries, for example, were bought together. Moreover three of the 20 temporary HHs stated to have friends in Cape Town whom they visit from time to time. 32% of the temporary and 13% of the seasonal HHs stated to be member in an organisation (N=19/16). Of those, six of nine were member in the rugby club.

³⁶ See also migration analysis

			% of HHs with rela- tives in geograph- ical area	No mu- tual ex- change	Only ma- terial goods exchange	Only mon- ey ex- change	Material goods and money exchange
Relatives within the farm/ village/ town of origin	Seasonal HHs	80	33	17	0	50	
	Tempo- rary HHs	75	8	23	54	15	
Relatives in the Western Cape re- gion	Seasonal HHs	69	9	9	46	36	
	Tempo- rary HHs	42	63	0	13	25	
Relatives outside the WC but in South Africa	Seasonal HHs	19	33	0	0	67	
	Tempo- rary HHs	42	50	0	38	13	
Relatives outside South Africa	Seasonal HHs	6	100	0	0	0	
	Tempo- rary HHs	16	100	0	0	0	

Table 24 Social networks of non-permanent households (N= T: 20 households, S: 16 households)

Examples of households' kinship ties

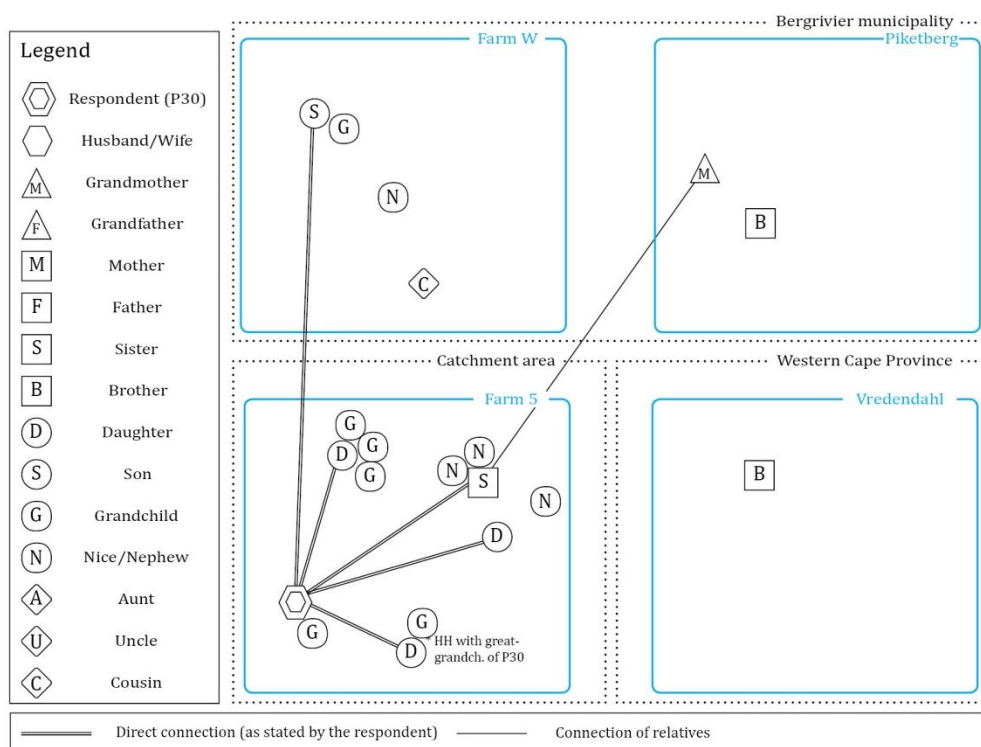


Figure 11 Kinship ties of a permanent household with a focus on Farm 5

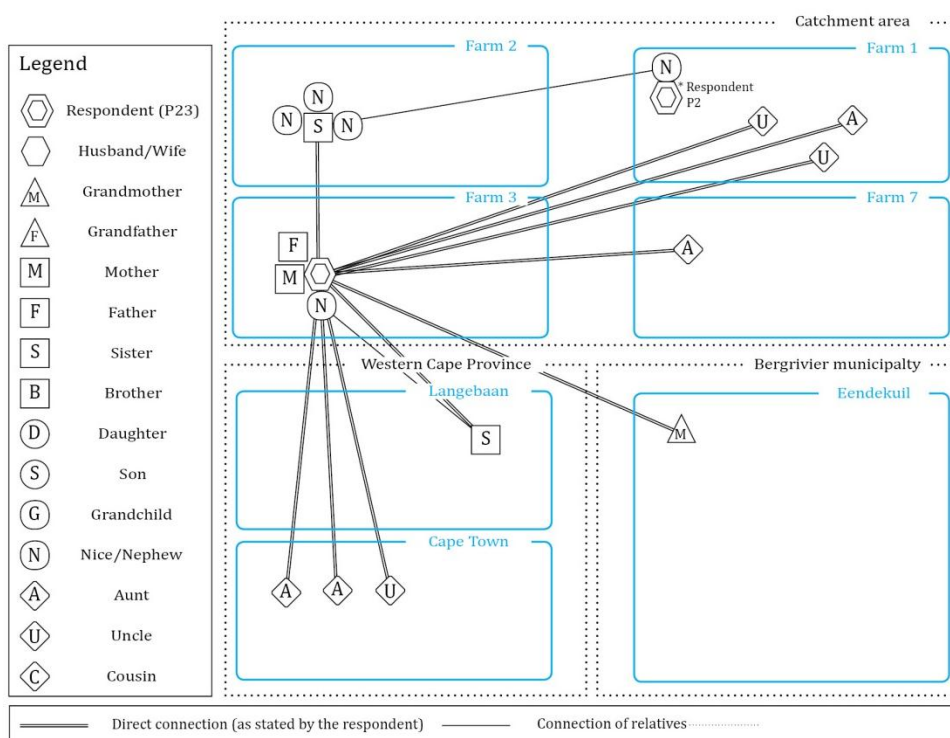


Figure 12 Kinship ties of a permanent household with a local and regional focus

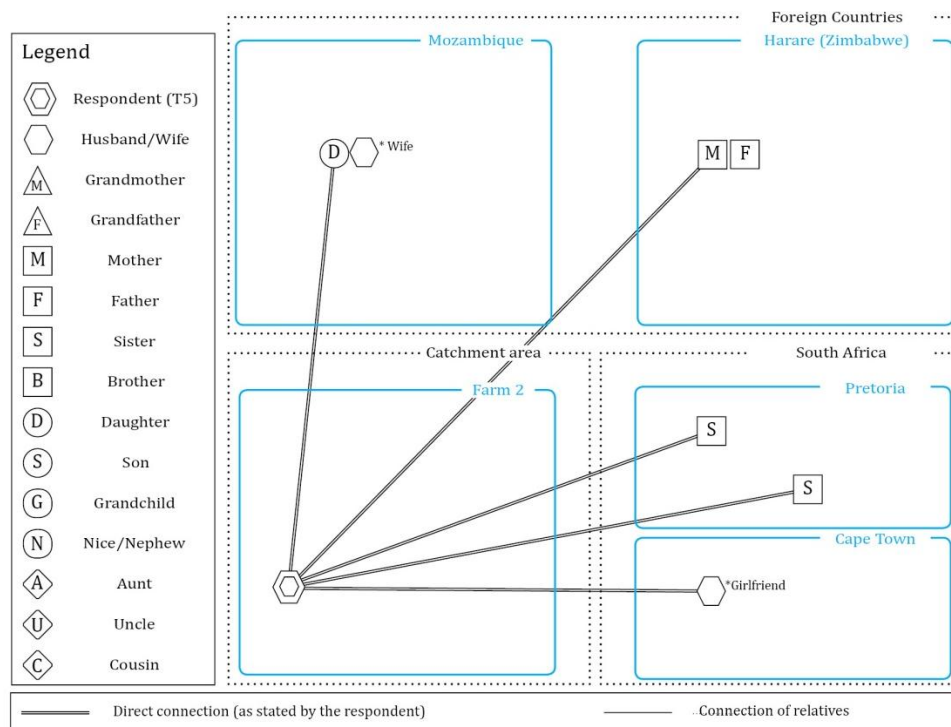


Figure 13 Kinship ties of a temporary household

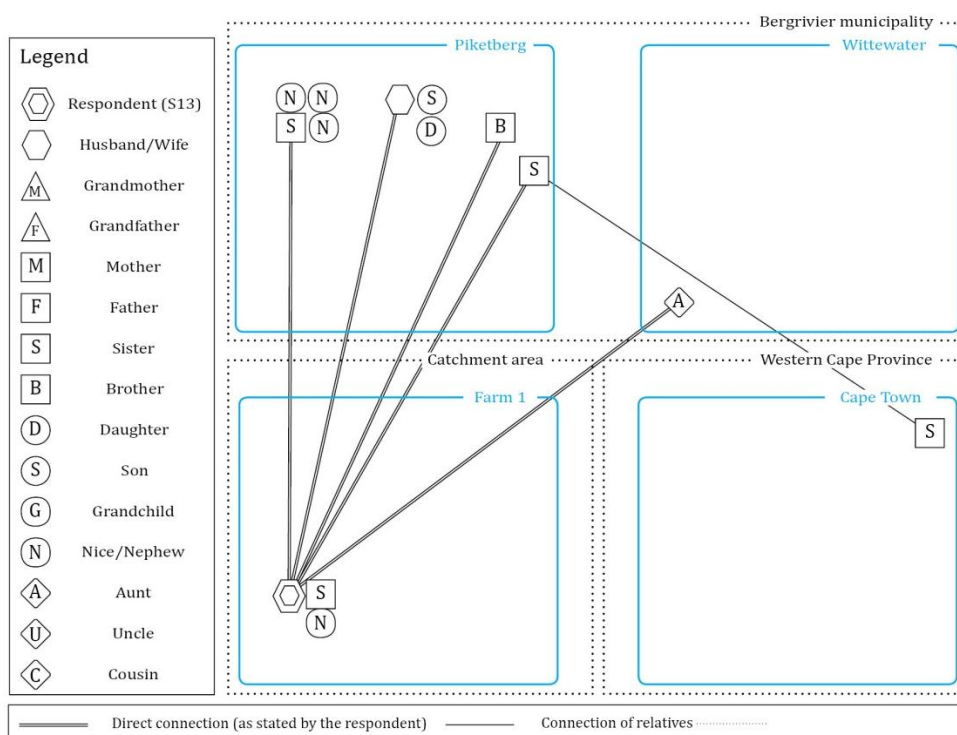


Figure 14 Kinship ties of a seasonal household

Natural capital

The use of natural resources differs among the permanent HHs and the farms. Especially in HHs with a lack of electricity wood is still used for heating and cooking. But also among the other HHs wood is often used for camp fires and for barbecuing. 75% of the interviewed HHs stated to collect wood from time to time. In total the growing of vegetables is limited in place. 33% stated to have a garden and 64% of those who have a garden use it for self-supply only. 21% exchange the harvest and only in two cases (14%) the garden is a regular additional income source. Among the permanent's group the old HHs on the farms more often have a garden than the new ones and the HH from outside the area and the mixed HHs more often than those from within the area. Especially on old "family-farms" livestock can be found. 28% of the permanent HHs own livestock. The old HHs more often own animals than the new ones and those from outside more often than those from inside the catchment. Here almost entirely chicken and, in some cases, geese are of importance. The livestock is mostly used for self-consumption and only in very few cases animals are swapped. Only 9,1% of the HHs do fishing and hunting. The small reservoirs on the farms and the mountains surrounding the area give opportunities for that.

For permanent and non-permanent HHs the access to farm products which can't be sold and are given to the workers plays a certain role. These products are consumed or exchanged for other goods. Many of the seasonal workers take them home, at least if they're commuters. Since there is no regular market for the farm workers this happens on informal ways. At total 61% of the interviewed permanent HHs stated to get farm products from time to time. Although there are no statistics for the non-permanent HHs these numbers should be similar since the non-sellable goods are mostly evenly distributed among the workers.

The use of natural resources was hardly given within the temporary and seasonal HHs in place. None of the interviewed HHs did gardening or had livestock. Only one temporary HH planned to grow some vegetables with a friend and under the agreement of the farmer. The use of natural resources was limited to collecting wood for making camp fires.

The HHs of origin of the seasonal HHs showed a different use of natural resources. Here gardening and the use of livestock were of minor importance.

	% of HHs that go hunt- ing/fishing	% of HHs that have a garden	% of HHs that own livestock
Permanent HHs (N=43-44)	9	33	28
Perm. HHs: Old/new (N=13/13-14)	8/14	54/31	46/14
Perm. HHs: Orig. in catchm./outs./mix (N=10/20/13-14)	0/15/7	10/35/46	0/30/43
Temporary HHs (N=20)	0	0	0
Seasonal HHs			
Seasonal HHs in place (N=16)	0	0	0
Seasonal HHs at origin (N=14-15)	13	21	20

Table 25 Use of natural resources in the households

Financial capital

Income

The number of income sources among most of the permanent HHs is one or two. Only 28% have three or more income sources. Regarding different permanent HH-types 31% of the old HHs had more than two income sources in contrast 21% of the new HHs. Concerning the origin only those HHs coming from outside the catchment (40%) and mixed HHs (21%) had more than two income sources. These sources, however, are mainly focused on wage labour in the agricultural sector. Beside this the work in the gardens and houses of the farmers offer additional income sources. Rarely an employment in the school or a kindergarten is possible. Very rarely there is a possibility to earn money by offering transportation services or sell alcohol or groceries. Alimony for the children is important in several HHs. One interviewee had no income sources at all and was only living from the money she received by her sons. On Farm 3 there were three HHs which only had one stable income source. Due to the bad economic situation on the farm two HHs could only work part-time while one HH was mainly living from some self-grown vegetables.

Number of income sources ³⁷	Perm. HHs (N=44)		Temp. HHs (N=20)		Seas. HHs at origin (N=14)		Seas. HHs total (incl. migrant parts; N=16 HHs)	
	Number	Share	Number	Share	Number	Share	Number	Share
0	1	2%	0	0%	2	14%	0	0%
1	15	34%	18	90%	7	50%	2	13%
2	17	39%	2	10%	2	14%	10	63%
3	6	14%	0	0%	1	7%	2	13%
4	3	7%	0	0%	1	7%	0	0%
5	3	7%	0	0%	1	7%	0	0%
6	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	13%

Table 26 Number of income sources per households

Activity	Perm. HHs in place (N= 44)		Temp. HHs (N=20)		Seas. HHs at origin (N=14)		Seas. HHs total (incl. migrant parts; N=16)	
	Number	Share	Number	Share	Number	Share	Number	Share
Farm work	66	71%	22	100%	6	29%	28	65%
Company Work	0	0%	0	0%	4	19%	4	9%
Domestic Work	8	9%	0	0%	3	14%	3	7%
Farming	3	3%	0	0%	1	5%	1	2%
Daily Work	2	2%	0	0%	4	19%	4	9%
Other (alimony f. children, work in school etc.)	14	15%	0	0%	3	14%	3	7%

Table 27 Income activities of the permanent, temporary and seasonal households

³⁷ Excl. grants and remittances

The income of the permanent HHs ranged from 0 ZAR/person and week (no secure income source and no social grants) to about 550 ZAR/person and week in the minimum estimate³⁸. The maximum estimate ranges from 81 to 925 ZAR/person and week. The median is at 232 ZAR/person and week (minimum estimate) and 288 ZAR/person and week (maximum estimate). Bonus payments which are mostly paid at the end of the season are not included since their height is dependent on the farm's turnover.

The permanent groups differed a little in its income. So the new HHs earned more than the old ones and the mixed HHs a little less compared to those from within or outside the valley.

The non-permanent HHs in place are all employed as wage labourers in agriculture. Except two HHs where children migrated with their parents all HH members in place are employed. The income of the temporary HHs ranges from 347 ZAR/person and week (old minimum wage) to 700 ZAR/person and week (new minimum wage plus extra time). There are no bonuses for the temporary workers. The seasonal workers partly received bonuses albeit problems regarding the payment were reported³⁹.

Regarding the income of the seasonal HHs it is remarkable that two of the 16 HHs had no additional income sources (except social grants) beside the money of the migrated parts of the seasonal HHs in place. In total the income sources are more diverse and encompass factory and daily work but less domestic work. The income ranges in total from 0 to 525 ZAR/person and week (minimum estimate) to 175 to 525 ZAR/person and week (maximum estimate) The median is at 98 resp. 247 ZAR/person and week.

	Median in- come/Person and week (Minimum- estimate)	Median in- come/Person and week (Maximum- estimate)
Permanent HHs (N=44)	232	288
Perm. HHs: Old/new (N=13/14)	240/259	268/363
Perm. HHs: Orig. in catchm./outs./mix (N=10/20/14)	242/222/213	306/301/263
Temporary HHs (N=20)	347	700
Seasonal HHs total (N=16)	98	247

Table 28 Income of different household types

³⁸ **Minimum HH income:** Sum of all "stable" income sources in its minimum estimates by the interviewee. Excluded are seasonal/temporary/ daily-work and remittances from relatives as well as alimonies. Included are social grants.

Maximum HH income: Sum of all income sources in its maximum estimates by the interviewee. Seasonal/temporary/ daily-work and remittances from relatives as well as alimonies are included as well as social grants.. Included are social grants.

³⁹ See also: Paragraph „Labour brokers and the insecurity of the seasonal workers“

Social grants

59% of the interviewed permanent HHs made use of social grants (N=44) and 46% of the interviewed HHs made multiple use of them (e.g. for several children). 86% of the used social grants were child support grants, 9% disability grants and 5% grants for older persons. Among the seasonal HHs 56% made use of grants (N=16 HHs) and 50% made multiple use of them. The temporary HHs did not were not supported by grants.

Expenses

The data for the expenses differ a lot among the HHs. In total the high expenses for food are apparent. On average 57% of the permanent HHs' expenses were used for food (N=44). Among the temporary it was 50% (N=20) and the seasonal HHs in total used 54% (N=12). After food the expenses for clothes take the second place. At the moment the expenses for water/electricity and rent don't stand out in the statistics of most of the permanent and temporary HHs. However, there are farms where there are no (or low) subsidies for electricity so the costs for the HHs are higher. On Farm 6, for example, 20% of the weekly income is deducted for rent. On Farm 3 about 25% is deducted for electricity. According to some farmers these costs might rise because of the new minimum wage. In most of the seasonal HHs at origin there are no subsidies at all which means that rent, electricity, water and services by the municipality have to be paid by the HHs themselves.

Access to loans/ indebtedness

Receiving a loan is possible in various ways. Beside a bank loan and the payment by instalments in the shops some farmers offer cheap loans. In the latter case it is up to the farmer to decide who is able to get a loan. Often there are informal agreements (especially when the loan is small) and the instalment is automatically deducted from the wage. Mostly it is also possible to buy on credit in the farm shops.

Within the permanent HHs 51% stated to have debts in form of a loan (old HHs a little more often than new ones; HHs from outside the catchment more often than those from inside). 14% stated to have several loans at the time of the interview. 82% of the HHs with a loan have debts that are above the weekly minimum wage (525 ZAR). The median of the debts is 3900 ZAR. The main sources for loans are shops in Piketberg. 50% of the borrowing HHs have loans in one or several shops. In general it is notable that most of the HHs buy everyday things (like clothes or HH items) on credit even if some of them have the money to pay in cash.

33% of the seasonal HHs also mentioned to have a loan (N=15). The sources are manifold and range from banks to shops but also include loans from friends. The median of the debts is 6800 ZAR/HH.

Insurances

Insurances, and especially "funeral plans", are common in many HHs. Most of the insurances have a small premium and therefore a small limit of liability. 44% of the permanent, 21% of the temporary and 20% of the seasonal HHs are insured.

Table 29 Quantitative results: permanent, temporary & seasonal households

Asset-Dimension	Feature	Quantitative Variables	Permanent HHs	Temporary HHs	Seasonal HHs
Human capital	Share of the potentially active and dependent HH members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dependency-Ratio: Ratio of the population under 15 and over 64 years of age to the population between 19 and 64 years of age multiplied by 100. 	53,4	0	In place: 15,6 At home: 71,15
	Access to education infrastructure/ education status of the HHs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Average school attendance in yrs. of all HH members over 18 yrs. of age 	6,47	9,33	In place: 8,9 At home: 7,94
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No. of HHs with at least one member with high-school degree or higher 	2/37	4/20	In place: 1/13 At home: 1/6
	Access to health infrastructure/ health status of the HHs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with at least one person who is not able to contribute to the HH income because of a disease / injury 	14%	0%	In place: 0% At home: 13%
Social capital	Quantity and quality of social networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with relatives in the valley / at home 	84%	Western Cape: 42%	80%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with exchange of money / material goods with relatives in place 	89%	Western Cape: 38%	67%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with a membership in a club/organisation 	46%	32%	13%
Natural capital	Access to natural resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs which go hunting / fishing 	9%	0%	13%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs which have a garden / land for agriculture 	33%	0%	21%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs which own livestock 	28%	0%	20%
Physical capital	Access to and quality of basic infrastructure (electricity/ communication/ transport)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with access to electricity 	83%	100%	82%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with access to sanitary infrastructure / Water in the house or yard 	Sanitary: 85%	S: 100%	S. in place: 100% S. at home: 92%
			Water: 88%	W: 100%	W. in place: 100% W. at home: 83%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with mobile phone, TV/radio 	81%, 76/60%	N/A	64%, 71/43%
Financial capital	Income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Average HH income per Person and week (median) 	232-288 ZAR	347-700 ZAR	98-247 ZAR
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Average number of income sources per HH 	1-2 (73% of all HHs)	1-2 (100% of all HHs)	1-2 (75% of all HHs)
	Indebtedness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs which took out a loan 	51%	N/A	33%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Average amount of the loan (median) 	3900 ZAR	N/A	6800 ZAR

Table 30 Quantitative results: different permanent households

Asset-Dimension	Feature	Quantitative Variables	Permanent HHs	Permanent: Re- sident on farm (old/new)	Permanent: Ori- gin (In study area/ outside/ mixed)
Human capital	Share of the potentially active and dependent HH members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dependency-Ratio: Ratio of the population under 15 and over 64 years of age to the population between 19 and 64 years of age multiplied by 100. 	53,4	62,95/26,67	58,67/55,8/43,9
	Access to education infrastructure/ education status of the HHs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Average school attendance in yrs. of all HH members over 18 yrs. of age 	6,47	6,27/7,2	6,38/6,59/6,37
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No. of HHs with at least one member with high-school degree or higher 	2/37	1 of 13/0 of 14	1 of 10/1 of 20/0 of 14
	Access to health infrastructure/ health status of the HHs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with at least one person who is not able to contribute to the HH income because of a disease / injury 	14%	7,7/7,1%	20/5/21,4%
Social capital	Quantity and quality of social networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with relatives in the valley / at home 	84%	100/79%	80/75/100%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with exchange of money / material goods with relatives in place 	89%	100/93%	100/75/100%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with a membership in a club/organisation 	46%	46/50%	50/40/50%
Natural capital	Access to natural resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs which go hunting / fishing 	9%	8/14%	0/15/7%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs which have a garden / land for agriculture 	33%	54/31%	10/35/46%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs which own livestock 	28%	46/14%	0/30/43%
Physical capital	Access to and quality of basic infrastructure (electricity/communication/transport)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with access to electricity 	83%	85/86%	56/95/85%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with access to sanitary infrastructure / Water in the house or yard 	Sanitary: 85%	100/86%	67/90/92%
			Water: 88%	85/86%	67/100/85%
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs with mobile phone, TV 	81%, 76	75/79 -67/71	70/80/92 - 50/85/83
Financial capital	Income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Average HH income per Person and week (median – min. - max guessing) 	232-288 ZAR	240-268/259 -363	242-306/222-301/213-263
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Average number of income sources per HH 	1-2 (73% of all HHs)	1-2 (69/79% of all HHs)	1-2 (100/60/79% of all HHs)
	Indebtedness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> % of HHs which took out a loan 	51%	53,8/42,9	40/60/46,2
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Average amount of the loan (median) 	3900 ZAR	7000/2175	10350/2423/8250

V.2 Interpretation of the results

The Vulnerability data

Human capital

Human capital seems to be an asset that is not evenly distributed within the study area and among the studied groups and has to be seen before the background of the socio-economic profile of the valley. In educational terms there is a distinction between the permanent and non-permanent HHs as well as between new and old permanent HHs. So the analysis reveals that especially the migrants show a better education when comparing them to the HHs in place as well as with them at home. These findings seem to underpin the theoretical ideas mentioned above, that especially well educated HHs- and HH parts seem to migrate.

Concerning the dependency ratio the observed differences between the permanent, temporary and seasonal HHs in place reflect the migratory background. So it was obvious that within the seasonal HHs mainly the non-dependent members migrated. Sometimes children joined the seasonal HH. The differences in the dependency ratio between new and old permanent HHs can be attributed to the fact that the new HHs on the farms had considerably fewer children⁴⁰. Similarly the dependency ratio of the HHs rooted in the valley was smaller than those from outside which can be connected to the high ratio of single-person and two-person HHs within the first group. Although the sample is small it can be assumed that there is a connection between the number of children and the mobility.

Notwithstanding that all HH types had few persons that did not contribute to the income, the non-permanent HHs in place had no sick persons. This may be connected to the fact that most of them leave the farm when they are seriously ill. However, it is not possible in the context of this thesis, to determine the reasons why particular diseases (like respiratory diseases) seem to be frequent.

Physical capital

The quality of the houses and its equipment differ a lot among the HHs. While most are in a decent condition and are equipped with electricity, water and sanitary facilities, some, especially on the smaller farms, lack minimum standards. In total the non-permanent HHs in place live in better accommodations than the permanent ones. This seems to correlate with the overall economic status of the farms. So the farms 1, 2 and 7 where nearly all of them are located are either part of an agribusinesses or well off private owners. Although there are also differences within the farms, they count among the better equipped farms. Within the permanent group the statistics show that HHs from within the catchment, averagely, live more often in worse equipped houses⁴¹. On the other hand the new and the old HHs do not differ a lot. In fact the new HHs show even a little worse equipment with sanitation facilities. In combination with observations about changing HHs on farms where the accommodations are bad (like Farm 6), it can be supposed that the condition and the equipment of the houses may be not a sufficient reason for changing the farm in many cases⁴².

⁴⁰ See also: paragraph „Overview of the interviewed households“

⁴¹ 4 of 10 HHs with origin in the catchment were living on the farms 3 and 4. These farms show an especially bad infrastructure.

⁴² See also: Box „A new relative in the household“ in the chapter „Risks that manifest in the households“

Regarding the different endowments with HH items between the permanent and seasonal HHs a connection with the lower financial capital of the seasonal HHs is likely. The fact that the temporary HHs had very few personal belongings seem not to be connected to the lower financial capital, but to the lack of space and the unclear future prospects. Moreover, it has to be assumed that certain HH items are shared among the HHs. Especially television receivers were used by several neighbours so the access to HH items seems to be higher than the ownership.

Social capital

All in all the data show that especially the permanent HHs have strong social ties in the surveyed area and are also regionally but less supra-regionally rooted. The new permanent HHs are less locally anchored in some cases. This can be attributed to the short stay on the particular farm. Although there are no quantitative differences concerning their kinship ties between HHs from within or outside the catchment, the quality seems to be higher in the HHs of local origin and the mixed HHs. This may also be attributed to the deep rootedness of the HHs.

The seasonal HHs are regionally rooted, within the Western Cape Region and most of them within the Bergrivier municipality. This regional focus of the social network mostly correlates with their origin⁴³. The focus of the temporary HHs is more supra-regional and less regional. In most of the non-permanent HHs, more or less well marked social ties to their areas of origin can be found.

Natural capital

Permanent households

The use of wood for making camp fires was widespread and could even be observed in some seasonal HHs in the “Trajekte-Camp”. These camp fires seem to have a social function and even on those farms where electricity is given people gather around the fires, esp. on weekends, and drink alcohol. The analysis also shows that the old HHs (resp. those from outside) use natural capital (garden and livestock) more often than the new ones (resp. those from within the catchment). Beside the longer stay, which might have helped to accumulate natural capital, the concentration of some groups on particular farms, where the owners support the residents, might also explain a part of the differences.

Temporary and seasonal households

As seen in the interviews the access to natural resources is hardly possible for non-permanent HHs in place. As it is with other farm services (like bonus payments – see above) they don’t have access to land and other resources. On the one hand this might be connected to the farmer’s perception of temporary HHs. Often they’re not regarded as belonging to the farm or the trust towards these “outsiders” is not given (see interview manager Farm 2). On the other hand many temporary HHs shy away from investments (e.g. in a garden) because of the unclear length of stay on the farm. So the use of natural resources is often limited to the collection of wood for making camp fires. This is aggravated by the fact that many of the surveyed temporary HHs have a legal status as refugees or asylum seekers which can be withdrawn by the government.

⁴³ See also migration analysis: 11 of 16 HHs come from within the Bergrivier municipality

Within the seasonal HHs of origin, the fact that many come from an urban surrounding might hinder them to use natural resources. Especially in the “Trajekte-Refugee-Camp” where three seasonal HHs were rooted there were few possibilities to use natural resources. These HHs however were waiting for “government houses” to leave the camp and, hence, hardly showed any initiative to invest in a garden or livestock.

Financial capital

In total the employment opportunities in the valley reflect the rural character of the area and non-agricultural jobs are mostly in seasonal HHs of importance only. The fact, that the new HHs earn a little more than the old ones may be connected to the lower dependency ratio within the new HHs. The temporary HHs earn the most because they were mostly on their own and could use the income entirely for themselves. The lower income of the seasonal HHs is connected with fewer total and more instable income sources like daily work. As stated in the interviews, daily work is especially important in the off-season. The numbers don’t show this fact because the interviews were conducted during the season. The differences in the numbers of the income sources of different HH types are mainly connected to different HH sizes. So, new HHs are smaller than old ones and those from inside the catchment smaller than those from outside and mixed HHs.

But what does a median of 200 or 300 ZAR per month mean? And how much is needed to make a secure and healthy living? For sure every interviewee has a different idea of what he or she needs for making a good living. On the other hand a poverty line like the one introduced above can help comparing income levels and gives an idea about the HHs’ monetary needs.

	Income/week/person Minimal guessing	Income/week/person Maximal guessing
Poverty Line – Permanent HHs total (N=44)		
„upper-bound“ 1205 ZAR pP/Month (= 301/week)	68,2%	52,3%
„lower-bound“ 654 ZAR pP/Month (= 164/week)	25%	11,4%
Poverty Line – Seasonal HHs total (N=12)		
„upper-bound“ 1205 ZAR pP/Month (= 301/week)	91,7%	50%
„lower-bound“ 654 ZAR pP/Month (= 164/week)	58%	0%

Table 31 Percentage of households that fall under the poverty line (Children’s Institute - introduced further above)⁴⁴

The poverty line reflects the big range between stable and instable income sources and the big share casual work and remittances have on the total income. More than half of the seasonal HHs fall below the lower-bound when subtracting the instable income sources. Regarding the upper bound, the picture is similar. While nearly all seasonal HHs fall below the upper poverty line, casual work and remittances help 50% to exceed the poverty line. In accordance with some respondents who state, that casual work is not always available, it has to be said, that income poverty, according to the poverty line, must be a recurring phenomenon in the seasonal HHs. In regard to the permanent HHs, it is apparent that fewer fall below the poverty line (upper and lower bound) in the minimal guessing. This can be attributed to more permanent jobs within these HHs. However, there are also five HHs which fall below the lower bound even if one includes all stable and instable income sources. Here HHs that had no additional stable income sources beside social grants (esp. on Farm 3) were affected.

Social grants are widely used by seasonal and permanent HHs. The temporary HHs did not use grants partly because they were not entitled to due to their residence status and partly because they did not match the requirements (had no children/were all employed).

The high expenses for food, which don’t differ a lot in the HHs, have to be seen before the background of massive alcohol consumption in most of the HHs. Although the questionnaire included a question where the interviewees had to state the expenses for alcohol, it is likely that many of them added these costs on the food expenses.

⁴⁴ **Minimum HH income:** Sum of all “stable” income sources in its minimum estimates by the interviewee. Excluded are seasonal/temporary/ daily-work and remittances from relatives as well as alimonies. Included are social grants.

Maximum HH income: Sum of all income sources in its maximum estimates by the interviewee. Seasonal/temporary/ daily-work and remittances from relatives as well as alimonies are included as well as social grants.. Included are social grants.

The high indebtedness of many HHs reflects the quite easy access to loans for most of the HHs. Here formal and informal ways are important.

Livelihood-Strategies

As seen in the description of the capitals further above the Livelihoods-Strategies are limited within the study area and are focused on income generating activities. Non-income generating activities (like subsistence gardening or livestock farming for own purpose), however widely distributed, play a minor role and are only of certain importance if HH members are unemployed and not able to find a regular job on the farm. So the wage labor on the farm stays the main source of income for the most HHs. Only rarely small businesses or services offered by the farm workers diversify the income sources. Trading of self-grown vegetables and small livestock seems to be widely distributed but only on a small scale⁴⁵. Only two of the interviewed permanent HHs sold food and other goods, which they bought by themselves, to neighbors on a regular basis. Certainly this is only possible on bigger farms where there is a market for goods that are not covered by the farm shops. Only one out of three HHs that owned a car offered regular transport services. For the seasonal HHs the livelihood opportunities are less stable and the pressure to fit them is high. Since the financial capital is mostly low investments stay limited to very small business and services⁴⁶.

The seasonal HHs followed different livelihood strategies, which were also limited to income generating activities. Beside the partial migration of the HH members to the farms during the season the work in companies or daily work were important as well. In most cases those strategies were mixed. The temporary HHs relied on the wage labour on the farms only.

The Migration data

Migration in the permanent households

Migration is a fact which concerns almost all of the permanent HHs since only two out of 44 were born on the farm on which the interview was conducted. Due to the analysis migration is mainly a rural to rural one and takes place on a regional level. Main reasons to migrate are either job concerns or personal matters. So there are some reasons to say that there are nearly any HHs without a migratory background. Nevertheless, some HHs are more mobile than others and also differ in the setup.

So a look at the setup of the HHs reveals that the new permanent HHs are smaller and have fewer children compared to the older ones. This can also be connected to the fact that many of the interviewed HHs did not migrate as a whole (even those that were longer on the farm) but in parts. Some started a family in place after being there for a certain time (e.g. as seasonal worker) or they came to the valley and got their family to join later⁴⁷. On the other hand this can also mean that those HHs were more mobile because of fewer dependent members. Moreover the focus of new HHs towards the farms that are better off is not surprising since they are still growing in economic terms. Concerning the origin there is no clear distinction between the farms.

⁴⁵ Especially to relatives, friends and neighbours

⁴⁶ See also: Cigarettes selling of S9 and occasional drug dealing of S9 and his friend S16

⁴⁷ As seen with P5 where the move of the family (wife and children) was laying ahead

Migration in the seasonal households

Migration in the seasonal HHs of origin mostly affects the younger parts of the HH. Often the HH-heads have the only stable income source, may it be in form of grants (e.g. S4) or a job (e.g. S8 as a domestic worker). In this connection migration towards the surveyed area can be seen as a livelihood strategy to diversify income sources that are scarce in many of the HHs of origin, but also to lower the financial pressure on the HHs that are mostly a little bigger than the surveyed permanent HHs. The higher dependency ratio in the seasonal HHs of origin seems to confirm this assumption. The remittances data show that not all seasonal HHs support their HHs of origin. This might be attributed to the fact that the money for the migrating HH member is simply not enough to support the HHs of origin.

In a broader context the data show that many of the seasonal HHs have a long history of frequently changing homes and workplaces. But although many stay in insecure and temporary employment relationships for years, some show at least times when one or several HH members are permanently employed. On the other hand the data shows that 4 of 15 respondents have stayed in their last place for more than one season. Obviously, the way from a long-term to a seasonal worker is also possible.

Migration in the temporary households

As well as the seasonal HHs, the temporary HHs also came to the current farm because of higher income opportunities. The fact that many of the temporary HHs have stayed on the current farm for several years, although their contracts are formally limited to one year or less but can be renewed, reflects the insecure status.

As the origin of the HHs, the migration history also reveals a supra-regional focus of the migration patterns. Interestingly five out of 20 respondents went directly to the current farm, without stopovers in other places. This and the migration routes from the respondents from Geysdorp, for example, show that there is a high exchange of information between the respondents.

Moreover, as it is with the permanent HHs, migration is not random and takes place along migration routes where labour brokers and agribusinesses play an important role⁴⁸. This explains the regional, resp. supra-regional origin of the temporary and seasonal HHs.

When looking at the remittances it is apparent that temporary HHs mostly send money. The different preferences to the seasonal HHs are connected to the far distances between the temporary HHs and their HHs of origin.

⁴⁸ See also the examples: Migration routes: Temporary HHs from Geysdorp /Border Post

V.3 Assessment of the results

Significance and interaction of capitals and their components

Human capital

While the primary education doesn't seem to be a problem with any of the groups, the lack of secondary education in connection with a low level of professional specialisation of the workers seems to be a limiting factor when it comes to acquiring well-paid jobs and, hence, building sustainable livelihood strategies that protect against poverty. Especially the high rates of young people dropping out from school but also the lack of sufficient education infrastructure are big issues⁴⁹. For the very poor HHs the permanent need for money gives little space to develop higher, tertiary educational skills. Also the fact that most of the training opportunities are fitted to the farm demands and the access is limited to the permanent staff makes it difficult for seasonal and temporary workers to obtain a higher qualification level. Clearly more training institutions and institutions of further education are needed. On the other hand the demand for high skilled jobs is low within the study area and the whole municipality⁵⁰ which limits the possibilities of skilled and well educated workers to transform their skills into higher earnings. Furthermore even better paid jobs on the farm (like team leaders) often do not require a higher formal education and the farm managers often choose the workers for these positions in informal ways. Here personal relationships and sympathy play a high role and make it difficult for workers from outside to obtain the job⁵¹.

Good education in a vulnerable household

S9 (25) lives with his mother (63), father (60), one brother (24) and one adopted nephew (20) in the Trajekte-Camp – a refugee camp on the edge of Piketberg. The family moved there in 2004 from Cape Town. Although all of them, except the mother, went to a secondary school, none of them finished metric. S9 completed 11 years but had to drop out because of his baby-child that now lives with his former girlfriend. He has little contact to it. During the time of the interview he worked with his new girlfriend on Farm 1 as a seasonal worker. Because of his high language skills he helped out as an interpreter for other interviews with seasonal workers. After the season he stayed unemployed for a few weeks but then tried to learn driving under the instruction of some friends to get a new job. His girlfriend also finished 11 years but then dropped out of school. She states personal reasons for this decision. She went back to Cape Town after the season. His nephew goes to school and is now in grade 12. His father went to school for six years. He cannot work because of problems with his lungs and back. His mother never went to school and stays at home because of several illnesses (Asthma and others). In total the family is dependent social grants (1x Old age pension, 1x Foster Child Grant) and the selling of cigarettes to the neighbours by the mother, what brings about 200 ZAR/week.

Box 2 Good education in a vulnerable household

⁴⁹ See also: Bergrivier Municipality (2013)

⁵⁰ Source: interviews with the managers on Farm 5 and 8

⁵¹ See also: Migration route of P29 further above

However, not only education but also health plays a crucial role when assessing the human capital of the particular HHs. In total the access to health facilities in the area is a more limiting factor than financial considerations when it comes to medical emergencies. For nearly all poor HHs a basic supply with health services is secured by the state. But these services are not always accessible. So the clinic offers visiting hours only during the week. Because of the working time, the bad transport infrastructure and the long waiting time it is hardly possible to consult the free clinic for the workers without losing money. Moreover the trust in free medical services is low especially among the temporary HHs from foreign countries⁵². In case of an emergency the ambulance takes about 45 min. from Piketberg what can be too long. The next hospital, where surgeries take place, is in Tygerberg (Cape Town). Regarding the infrastructure most seasonal HHs in town are better off.

Despite the free services by the state injuries and sicknesses within the HHs can have big impacts on their vulnerability towards poverty.

- The working power of the person and the money he can contribute to the HH budget can be lost for a certain time.
- Although seasonal and temporary workers are entitled to have a certain number of days for sick leave by law (Chennels 2008) this seems not to be implemented on some farms. In the seasonal HHs one part of the problem can be the use of labour brokers who are formally in charge of the payment and the communication between them and the farmers. But also permanent workers complained that they only receive the money for the days they work and no sick leave⁵³.
- Thirdly the free health care system covers not all costs which may arise. So the visit of relatives in the hospital in Tygerberg for example can cost a lot of money. Another problem may arise in HHs which are, in contrast to the most income-poor HHs, not fully subsidised and have to cover parts of the costs for the treatment by themselves.

As the numbers show, however, medical problems are only in some HHs of importance when assessing vulnerability. Moreover those HHs which lack physical or financial capital often also show some diseases⁵⁴. It is also apparent that severe diseases are cumulating in some HHs while others are quite healthy. When looking at the diseases in particular, alcohol abuse and the implications for the health status need to be taken into account. On the primary level alcohol abuse diminishes the working power of those affected. On the secondary level it fosters domestic violence as well as violence on the farm. Solely during the field work three interviews were interrupted by people who were recently injured in a fight with another drunken resident. Additional cases could be observed during interviews on the weekend. Beside the direct influences of violence on the health, indirect influences are given by alcohol abuse during pregnancy and thereof the mental retardation of the children. This, furthermore, limits the accumulation of human capital in the long run.

⁵² So 29% of the permanent HHs prefer a private doctor when they are sick, 50% prefer the clinic and 19% decide from case to case (N=42). Among the temporary HHs 53% prefer a private doctor and 41% the clinic (N=19). Regarding the seasonal HHs 86% prefer the clinic and 8% the private doctor (N=12),

⁵³ As reported on the farms 3 and 6

⁵⁴ See also the box "Several diseases and an unhealthy environment"

The number of dependent vs. independent HH members (the dependency ratio) has to be seen before the background of the social welfare system in South Africa when assessing human capital. So even persons that are not working can contribute to the income and, in some cases, even own the only stable income source because of the grants they are receiving. This however does not mean that HHs with a high dependency ratio are less vulnerable. On the one hand the money every child receives is so low that it can't cover the whole expenses⁵⁵ for it and never equals the loss of earnings especially for the mother in the children's early years. In this context prejudices expressed by some farmers during the interviews have to be seen very critically! On the other hand the lack of infrastructure makes especially elder residents dependent on relatives and neighbours.

Several diseases and an unhealthy environment

P18 (45) lives with her husband (54) and her son (16) on Farm 4. Her house is in a very bad condition – the roof is leaking, the windows are broken. She is not able to work because of an accident which affected her leg when she was a child. The injury was not given follow-up treatment and she hobbles today. Additionally she suffers from epilepsy. Since there is no work on the farm her husband works on farm 6 but only receives the minimum wage. In 2012 he suffered from stomach problems and had a surgery. The stomach was not given follow-up treatment and he has problems up to now. According to him it is too time and money-consuming to go to Piketberg. There is no transport provided by the farmer. Additionally he suffers from dizziness. The son suffers from heartburn and nausea. He never went to the doctor but only gets medicine. He quitted school in 2012 to care for his mother. He works on Farm 3 but only when there is work to do. In total the bad health status of the HH members limits the opportunities to achieve a secure livelihood. Although the background of the diseases is not totally clear the unhealthy environment in the house and the bad infrastructure on the farm (no sanitation, water from an open pipe from the reservoir on the farm) might play an important role.

Box 3 Several diseases and a unhealthy environment

Physical capital

Permanent and temporary households

As mentioned above the lack of sufficient infrastructure plays an important role for the livelihoods in place and hence for the vulnerability of the HHs. The transport limitations have impacts not only on human capital, but also on other capital dimensions (like the financial and social capital) and on possible livelihood strategies. Since only 7% of the permanent HHs own a car by themselves, the only opportunity on some farms to drive to Piketberg is the bus which only drives on Saturdays and costs 50 ZAR per ride (about 10% of the weekly minimum wage). Piketberg is important for the HHs not only because of the shopping facilities, which can only partly be replaced by local farm shops, but also because of the administrative infrastructure and the maintenance of social connections. Furthermore the monthly pay of social grants, which is vital for most of the HHs, has to be fetched in Piketberg. If there is no transport by the farmer the only other opportunity are informal arrangements which can be quite expensive. Especially older people that are more dependent on the sup-

⁵⁵ The child support grant is 290 ZAR/child and mth. This is far below the introduced lower poverty line of 654 ZAR/mth.

port by relatives may get problems because of the bad transport infrastructure and the long distances, not only to Piketberg but also within the valley. For all the people the bad transport opportunities diminish livelihood opportunities. So the markets for selling vegetables and other goods stay limited on the particular farm plus one or two that are in its vicinity and reachable by foot.

But also the accommodations of the farm residents play an important role for assessing vulnerability. Beside the above mentioned implications on health, the bad condition of some houses hinders the accumulation of productive assets. On Farm 8, for example, there is no electricity available and the



Figure 15 Old farm house, just recently in use again

farm workers stored the electrical devices (like fridges, T.V. etc.) in the shed of the farm owner which was electrified. Here some of the devices could be used. In some locations the condition of the buildings lead to serious risks for the inhabitants if the electric setup was in a bad condition or the door of the house did not close properly. Especially in the hostels, where most of the seasonal and temporary HHs stay, the lack of space and privacy may also lead to other problems. On the one hand this can trigger conflicts, especially if the temporary HHs stay together over

months. On the other hand there are few opportunities for the temporary HHs to store HH items. In fact the personal belongings were mostly limited to clothes, mobile phones and other basic stuff. Especially for the temporary workers communication plays an important role since relatives and friends often live far away.

The belongings of the permanent HHs encompassed, mostly, a telephone, a televisions and (few) HH items. In contrast to the temporary HHs it was not the lack of space or the unclear future prospects what hindered the HHs to invest in bigger items (like cars) but often a lack of financial capital. As an advantage most of the permanent (and some temporary HHs) have access to tools and, in some cases to fertilizers and other assets for producing fruits and vegetables. Here land and the lacking support of the farmers were sometimes hindering factors to transform the physical into natural capital (e.g. a garden) and diminish vulnerability.

Seasonal households

For the seasonal HHs in the towns transportation and hence the access to markets and public infrastructure was not a problem. Also the equipment with water, sanitary facilities and electricity was mostly given. However, the lacking subsidies for water, electricity and the rent of the houses was more or less a problem and could lead to considerable debts⁵⁶.

⁵⁶ In one case a seasonal hh had 3900 ZAR debt with the municipality for rent, water, electricity and waste. The municipality deducted money from him when he was buying a new electricity card.

But also the equipment of the seasonal HHs, that was a little poorer on average, has to be assessed in interaction with other capitals, and especially the financial capital, that was also poorer on average and may limit investments.

A household that owns almost nothing

P21 (38) lives with her two sons (9 & 5) on Farm 3. She was born on the farm but stopped working regularly there several years ago. She can only earn some money during the season when there is more work on the farm. During the rest of the year all three live from the child support grant the mother receives for the two children and food she gets from neighbours and three relatives that also live in the valley (2 brothers, 1 sister). The house in which the family lives is in a bad condition; the windows are broken and the door doesn't close properly. The flush toilet is broken, there is now electricity and, besides some old furniture the HH owns nothing that can lead to a more secure living. Although she has one sister in Piketberg they don't meet very often. She states that the way is too far.



Box 4 A household that owns almost nothing

Social capital

A high social capital plays a very important role, especially for the temporary but also for the permanent and seasonal HHs. Since the opportunities for a regular income are limited in place the contact to farmers, either personally or via relatives is important for securing the livelihoods in place. Information about vacant jobs, not only within the valley but also beyond, are often transmitted by relatives or friends; only high-skilled positions that cannot be filled with local workers are announced in newspapers or the internet. When it comes to time-limited employment social networks, as seen at the temporary workers, play a crucial role. For the recruitment of seasonal workers farmers actually explicitly use social networks what can be seen on Farm 2 and the methods used there⁵⁷.

But the importance of social networks goes beyond the mere access to job opportunities. Especially in HHs with mostly insecure income sources the contact to relatives and the exchange of food and money plays a vital role in periods with a low monetary income.

⁵⁷ See also paragraph "Fundamentals of the migration to the valley"

Surviving with relatives

P16 (57) lives alone on Farm 6. Since her childhood she suffers from chronic bronchitis. When the farm was bought by the current owner in 2010 he didn't keep her on but allowed her to stay in the house. Since she doesn't receive any social grants and has no income source, she is totally dependent on her children. One son (P15) who lives with his wife on the same farm gives her 65 ZAR/week. 2 other sons, who live in Piketberg, give her 300 ZAR/week. Additionally she receives about 50 ZAR from her sisters. All in all she states that this is enough for her daily expenses

Box 5 Surviving with relatives

The function of institutions in place is limited since there is only one, the workers union on Farm 2, which has a direct impact on the people's livelihoods or the power-structures in place. Although there is the church and a local rugby club, they don't seem to have a big impact on the situation on the farms or the farmers. Their function can be seen in the connection of the farm worker HHs among each other and the expansion of social networks. Greater influence can be expected from local key persons, like the headmaster of the elementary school or the owner of Farm 8, that have a good reputation among most of the farmers in the valley. Incentives like the installation of a rugby field or education courses for adults go back to these persons. The seasonal HHs are rarely members in clubs or organisations even if they come from towns where the number of civil society organizations is higher.

Natural capital

In total the size of the natural capital and its contribution to lower the vulnerability is low in most of the analysed HHs. This has different reasons:

- On the one hand the access to tools and other productive assets that are necessary for growing vegetables and breeding animals is not a problem if the farm owner supports its workers. But on the other hand the free disposal of land and other resources is not possible for the farm workers since all the land and its resources are owned by the farmers. Even resources that are vital on some farms (like wood for the stoves) can only be used if the farmers give their permission. This makes the accumulation of natural capital for the temporary and permanent HHs, as well as the seasonal HHs with origin in rural areas dependent on the farm owner's good will.
- Especially land and water are scarce in the region what leads to an extensive use of it. Most of the farm land is used by the owners themselves and only small areas are at the workers' disposal. Only on the farms 3 and 4 there is a little more space.
- The distances between the farms and the next villages are far, so a regular marketing of agricultural goods is hardly possible especially as the transport infrastructure is bad.
- For the temporary HHs either the access to natural resources is difficult or the investment doesn't pay.
- The seasonal HHs in urban areas have few possibilities to use natural resources.

All in all these reasons lead to the fact that the use of natural resources to secure the livelihoods stays very rudimentary. Although a big part of the permanent HHs, for example, own a garden or livestock, it's mostly for own consumption or for the exchange with neighbors and relatives. Only on farms where the employment opportunities are very low, the use of natural resources plays a more

important role for the income and the food security. The use of other natural resources in form of hunting or fishing can hardly be found and must be seen more as a hobby than a livelihood strategy or a regular contribution to lower the vulnerability. Only the use of wood is of importance in some HHs. In the light of the high expenses for food (see above) the access to agricultural goods, which cannot be marketed by the farmers, play a certain role for all of the HHs. These goods can be consumed by the HH members or swapped.

Gardening as an additional income source

P24 is one of two interviewed HHs which gardens not only for self-consumption but also for marketing the goods. He lives with his three daughters (21, 21 & 14 yrs.) and his grandchild (5 mths.) on Farm 3. Main income sources are the employment of P24 on the farm (as one of three remaining workers –s.a.) and the employment of one of his daughters on Farm 2. Additional income sources are the money for the grandchild, which the HH receives by the father who works in Morreesburg and the marketing of vegetables grown by P24. He sells his vegetables to a trader who comes every month from Cape Town. According to P24 he gets a bag full of groceries and 120 ZAR for his vegetables. Compared to his normal earnings on the farm (about 2100 ZAR/month) the money he receives only plays a small role in the HH's budget. On the other hand the investments stay low since he receives the fertilizers for free. He takes what is left over on the farm.

Box 6 Gardening as an additional income source

Financial capital

The assessment of the financial capital cannot only encompass the income height and the number, stability and security of income sources. Moreover the expenses, the access to loans and the indebtedness are important measures.

When starting with the income it is apparent that the temporary HHs have the highest income per Person and the most income sources – normally all temporary HH members work on the farm. This might lead to a quite high financial capital, especially when looking at the fact that none of the temporary HHs falls below the upper poverty line. However, one has to consider that this capital is not secure and the temporary workers can be dismissed at the end of the season when there is no work on the farm. In case of the loss of the job they don't only lose their only income source but also the privilege of accommodation on the farm. The only opportunity is to migrate to another farm or town or to return home, if possible. On the other hand the fact that most of the temporary HHs consist of one person that has not the full rights like a permanent HH (and is often regarded by the farmers as a "permanent seasonal" HH), makes it hard to broaden the income sources in the context of the farm. Another fact that lowers the financial capital is that certain advantages like bonus-payments, a severance- or holiday-pay are only available for permanent but not temporary workers.

For the permanent workers the granting of these advantages, however, is dependent on the farmer. Although most of the payments to the workers are regulated by law the implementation seems to be a problem on some farms. So some workers on Farm 6, for example, complained that they would not receive any sick leave or severance pay when they finish their job. Moreover they didn't own a copy of the work contract and there were no contributions to the UIF on the pay slip. Similar complaints were mentioned by workers on Farm 3 and, regarding the UIF, Farm 8. On the latter there was now

pay slip at all – the workers were paid in cash⁵⁸. But even on farms where there was a pay slip some HHs didn't understand it and were not able to check the deductions the farmer made independently. Those deductions however can be fairly (and sometimes illegally) high even if the provided infrastructure is not sufficient⁵⁹. Beside monetary issues, the entitlements of used land and houses were sometimes not clear communicated and the farm residents often did not know about their rights⁶⁰.



Figure 16 "Payslip" of a farm worker, Winkel (Afrikaans) = Shop

All in all, the bad administration of and the poor communication with the farm workers on some farms can lead to legal problems when discrepancies between the farmers and the workers occur. This legal insecurity however raises the vulnerability and the dependency of the HHs towards the farmer. In total the bigger part of the permanent workers has a, more or less, secure job on the farms as long as there are no changes in the setup of the farm. These can occur in form of long-term changes or short-term shocks and shall be discussed later.

As in the temporary HHs, the income in most of the permanent HHs might be enough to cover daily expenses. However, the lack of job opportunities and alternative income sources, as well as the low total wage, limit investments and make them more vulnerable to long term trends in the agricultural sector. This is exacerbated by the high expenses in most of the HHs. Beside the expenses for electricity or rent that can make up to 25% of the HHs monthly budget

(Farm 3), but disappear on other farms, especially the expenses for food eat up a big part of the weekly or monthly income. In this situation several credit sources for bridging temporary financial gaps and for investments play a big role. This role will be analysed more detailed further down⁶¹.

Regarding the seasonal HHs the income sources are far more instable and insecure. Here a seasonality of job opportunities on farms has to be considered when assessing the financial capital. This gets clear when looking at the different poverty lines. Especially for those who are rooted in Piketberg and have less or no relatives in the valley it is difficult to get a permanent job in place. In contrast to the permanent and the temporary HHs the job opportunities in the towns are diverse and encompass company as well as municipal work, what can hardly be found in the valley. Nevertheless the income of seasonal HHs is lower compared to the other HHs. This has effects on the accumulation of other capitals, like physical or natural capital. As in the permanent HHs the knowledge about the

⁵⁸ Source: Interview P36

⁵⁹ A farmer can only make up to 10% deductions for housing and 10% for food (Atkinson 2007). A condition for that is that the provided food/accommodation fulfils the minimum requirements. This is very likely not given on some of the surveyed farms.

⁶⁰ In one case a farm resident claimed that the farmer had told him, that he owns the house in which he was living and he could do with it whatever he wants

⁶¹ See also: chapter „Indepthedness“

legal rights of the farm workers was often not given within the seasonal and the temporary HHs. If there was some knowledge, it came from secondary sources like friends or relatives.

The expenses of the seasonal HHs do not differ a lot from those of the permanent HHs. Because of the mostly lower income and the more instable income sources loans but also the money from relatives and friends play a big role in securing the livelihoods and preventing the HHs from falling into deeper poverty.

Insurances are for all the HHs a means to reduce the impact of shocks. Since the insurances are not very expensive their effect is quite limited. So most of the insurances cover the basic costs of a funeral or are life insurances with coverage of a few thousand ZAR.

„We struggle every day“- Insecure income sources in a seasonal household

S16 (44) lives with his wife (32) and his two sons (12&6) in the Trajekte-camp in Piketberg. During the grape harvest he worked on Farm 1 for one week but then quit the job because of the low payment. The only stable income source during the time of the interview, which was conducted after he had left the farm, is the child support grant the HH receives for the two children (145 ZAR /week). Additionally S16 works as a daily worker in private houses or on farms for several people he knows. According to him he finds work on one or two days per week what brings him 150-300 ZAR. In some weeks he doesn't find any job. His wife is working as a seasonal worker on a farm but comes home every day. She only has work for three to four days per week. Sometimes S16 is able to get some marihuana by his friends. From the money he gets by selling the drugs he buys clothes or electricity for the house. Otherwise the money is only used to buy food and sometimes paying debts. He has debts with the municipality because he cannot pay the rent for the house regularly. When there is not enough money for groceries, he goes to his sister and asks for food. Beside her he has only his mother in Clanwilliam but no other relatives.

Box 7 „We struggle every day“- Insecure income sources in a seasonal household

Significance of different livelihood strategies

The livelihood strategies for the permanent HHs are very limited and mostly restricted to wage labour only. Other income sources are normally of minor relevance. The temporary HHs are even totally dependent on wage labour. However, it is important to see wage labour on the farms not only as an income source. Moreover, the voluntary and non-voluntary services provided by the farmers, that are mostly connected to an employment, need to be taken into account and affect the livelihoods beyond the mere financial dimension. The lack of alternative livelihood strategies on the one hand and importance of wage labour for many parts of the livelihood, on the other hand, surely impacts the vulnerability to poverty. In this environment of few opportunities, the strategy of the part-time or full migration of HH members within the valley seems to be normal if workers cannot work on the farm anymore⁶² and surely is very important to secure the livelihoods.

⁶² Since most of the permanent workers are rooted within the valley an interesting question is what happens if the employment opportunities in the whole valley diminish

The livelihood strategies in the seasonal HHs are normally more divers but also mostly limited to income generating activities. Furthermore, they are often temporal limited (e.g. daily work), seasonally fluctuating and mostly do not contribute to a significance reduction of the HHs' vulnerability resp. do not help to build up the asset basis.

Risk assessment

Surely it is not possible to analyse all the risks that concern the HHs and their interactions in the context of changing political-institutional framework conditions. Moreover individual risks affect the HHs in a different way, even if they live on the same farm. Hence, the following identification of risks and trends in the political-institutional context only represents an overview which was derived from interviews with farm workers, farmers and own observations. According to the author this might be of importance for most of the surveyed HHs.

Unemployment and the loss of income sources

As stated in the analysis the work on the farm plays an essential role for the permanent and temporary HHs. Not only is it the main and often the only income source on the farm, but it also secures access to an accommodation and services. Those, however, are normally reserved for the farm workers and their relatives and the loss of the job often means the loss of the accommodation and the need of a HH to migrate to another farm. Moreover those HHs where all members work on farms on which they are not living on, count among the most vulnerable HHs on the specific farms and are often dependent on social welfare (e.g. Farm 3: P21, Farm 5: P30, Farm 6: P16). A part of those tolerated HHs are pensioner HHs where at least one person has worked on the farm for several years. For the HHs from foreign countries which own a working permit, the loss of the job, additionally, can mean deportation to their countries of origin.

For the seasonal HHs unemployment and the frequent change of the workplace, at least of parts of the HH, is a common and often seasonally returning feature. Since most of the seasonal HHs are rooted within the municipality most of them try to find jobs on the local farms during the season and work as daily workers when the season is over. It is not unusual to work on several farms per year and change them according to the harvest cycle. It is also common to return to the same farm every year⁶³. However, there are also HHs where one or more members have a regular income and the seasonal job is meant for diversifying the income sources and its height⁶⁴. All in all at least the seasonal HHs which live in the villages are not dependent on the farm when it comes to accommodation and services. However they always have to adapt to changing income sources what needs flexibility in the provision of capitals and the usage of different livelihood strategies. Compared to the permanent HHs in the valley the seasonal HHs in the villages are less dependent on the farming sector and can obtain jobs in other sectors (e.g. retail, municipality). This makes them less vulnerable to economic shocks in the farming sector.

Changes in the household setup

Most of the surveyed HHs show a certain flexibility concerning their setup. So it is usual that relatives or partners of HH members join the HH for a certain time or permanently. Reasons for that can be manifold. So the loss of a job on another farm or the recruitment on the current farm are as

⁶³ According to estimations by a farm manager 40-60% of the seasonal workers return every year.

⁶⁴ 9 of 16 seasonal HHs include one person who has a regular income

common as practical reasons⁶⁵. Other reasons may be the care for HH members (P38) or the wish to live together with close relatives (P5). On the other hand some HH members live only part-time in the same accommodation (e.g. children from the high school hostel in Piketberg that return home on weekends). In some cases (e.g. P14, P17) several generations lived in one house, even if some inhabitants had their own HH. The birth of a child or the death of a HH member also changes the HH and hence the vulnerability setup. Hereby a change in the HH's assets and sometimes a change in the choice of livelihood-strategies can be observed. In what way the assets change and whether the vulnerability is raised or lowered depends on the reasons why the setup changes. So the birth of a new child surely means a financial burden for the HH, while an additional adult HH member can mean an additional income source⁶⁶.

In total social grants on which 59% of the permanent and 46% of the seasonal HHs draw on (often several times), are important in mitigating a change in the HH setup. But also the high social capital and the close connection to relatives in place of most HHs are certainly important.

A new relative in the household

P38 lives with her father and two sons on Farm 6. The father is suffering from cancer and receives pension. Although P38 and one of her sons work on the farm the money is not enough for buying the food for the entire week and that's why she buys in the farm shop on credit at the end of the week. The reason for that is that the son only works 2 days per week. Before the new minimum wage each HH member had about 216 ZAR/week. When the second interview with the HH was conducted the new minimum wage was introduced and the second son was working on the farm for three to four days per week. At the same time her sister from Vredendal moved in but was not working and mostly caring for the father. All in all each hh-member now has 271-292 ZAR/week what is more than before but still below the above defined upper poverty line. One can say that the new member uses up a big part of the financial improvements in the HH. This gets even clearer facing the fact that the rent for the house was doubled with the new minimum wage (84 ZAR). Furthermore, P38 mourns that she is not able to pay the debts in the shop in weeks when there is not enough work on the farm and the wage for the sons is low. Then she can't buy enough food and asks the neighbours.

Box 8 A new relative in the household

Alcohol abuse as an important feature of the households' vulnerability

Although the scope of alcohol abuse and the problems connected to it differ among the farms, issues can be observed on all of the surveyed farms and in all of the surveyed groups. However, the extensive consume of alcohol mainly shows on weekends and when the farm workers meet, there are also cases where farm workers drank during the week and alone. Although there were generally no big differences concerning the age and gender of the consumers there were some farm specific differences. So there was a group of youths on Farm 1 that could be interviewed during drinking on a Sun-

⁶⁵ In two cases the vicinity to the primary school were reasons to keep the children with relatives

⁶⁶ HH P 17 serves an example: On the weekends the boyfriend of the respondent joins the HH. During the week he works as a truck driver in Cape Town. Not only does he add money to the HH's budget but also does he diversify the income sources that are limited on the valley only. He lowers the vulnerability

day afternoon. On Farm 9, however, heavy drinking seemed to be common especially among the women that were not working on the farm in contrast to their husbands.

Although some of the farmers and there managers seem to be engaged in controlling the drinking habits of the HHs, others are not really interested or accept it as a matter of fact. There was actually one case where a worker was paid his extra time in wine what is illegally according to the law⁶⁷. However there is a bunch of problems arising from the massive drinking which impacts the vulnerability directly and indirectly:



Figure 17 Children playing with schnapps bottles

- The important relationship between the farmer (respectively the manager) and the local HHs is often tense because of problems arising from alcohol abuse. These problems encompass criminal damage (as reported e.g. on Farm 5 and Farm 7), verbal and physical assaults (mostly not against the farmer or the manager but among themselves) and other occurrences. In many cases this leads to the withdrawal of informal privileges (like transport opportunities and loans) but often also includes a dismissal.

- Alcohol consumption directly and indirectly influences the accumulation of human capital. Besides the known short- and long-term health effects it often goes along with massive physical and psychological violence, both domestic and within the community.

During the survey several cases of violence could be personally observed among the permanent HHs (Farm 5 and Farm 2), the seasonal HHs (Farm 1) and temporary HHs (Farm 7). Other cases that range from battery to manslaughter were reported by interviewees. Especially children are affected by violence and negligence as reported by a local nurse, the headmaster of the elementary school and the manager of Farm 5. So at least on one farm one of the women who was looking for the children when the parents go to work was a heavy and frequent drinker. Due to the abuse of alcohol the mental and physical development of the children was sometimes delayed (according to the headmaster about 20% of the children showed symptoms of the Foetal Alcohol Syndrome) what can prevent the children from obtaining higher education.

⁶⁷ See also: Department of Trade and Industry (2003)

The capabilities of the other HH members are often limited after the weekend. So the manager on Farm 1, for example, mourned that a lot of workers wouldn't appear to work on Mondays because of a hangover.

- The alcohol consumption makes up a certain, but probably big part, of the weekly HH's budget. This prevents from accumulating financial capital and gets especially problematic if the budget for food and clothes is reduced for buying liquor. It is probable that some HHs take out loans if the money is not enough for both – the liquor and the food. Mostly they take the food in the farm shops on credit, since there is no liquor they can buy on credit in the farm shops. In the big supermarkets in town they have to pay in cash. Here the drinking is part of the indebtedness-problem.
- It is likely that damages on the accommodations (like broken windows) and destroyed HH equipment (Farm 5 and 7) is partly connected with drinking. However this should be not mistaken with the general bad condition of some houses (especially on Farm 3 and 4) due to poor maintenance from the managers' or owners' side (although they blame the workers for the bad condition of the houses).

Scope of the problem

51% of the permanent, 61% of the temporary and 33% of the seasonal HHs admitted to buy alcohol regularly (mostly weekly). However the number of people drinking on a regular basis seems to be higher:

- As stated in the methodological chapter many HHs withhold the real extent of their drinking habits. Interviews with neighbours, interpreters (as on Farm 5) and farm managers confirm this assumption.
- Alcoholic beverages are often shared with other farm members so there has to be no regularly contribution and especially income poor HHs can beg for alcohol.
- Within the seasonal HHs there was a number of interviewees that considered themselves as Rastafarians. Here the consumption of marihuana plays a more important role than alcohol.
- Some workers press wine by themselves. They use grapes which they collect during the work and ferment the juice with yeast. This phenomenon could be particularly observed among seasonal HHs on Farm 1.

As stated by the manager on Farm 2 the problems include a temporal component. So there are more problems at the beginning of the season when the new seasonal workers arrive and tensions between them, respectively their relatives (esp. partners) who visit them on the farms and the local workers occur.

One explanation why drinking is mainly a problem during weekend is that the wages are paid out on Friday and the only regular transport opportunity (the bus) goes on Saturdays. However there are some possibilities to obtain alcohol during the week⁶⁸, this seems to limit the drinking. Concerning the seasonal HHs in the town at least the geographical barriers are missing so alcohol is (theoretically) available all the time.

⁶⁸ Especially farm shops outside the valley sell alcohol. But there are also expensive opportunities to privately drive to Piketberg

Reaction of the farmers and managers

The reactions of the farmers range from active support of the HHs to complete indifference concerning the drinking problem. On farms where there is a code of conduct the reactions to misbehaviour are more regulated. So the responsibility concerning problems in connection with alcohol on Farm 2 is delegated to the team leaders of the particular group of seasonal workers. In cases where there are problems with permanent HHs or when severe problems occur the manager intervenes personally. The sanctions range from a verbal warning to an instant dismissal. The HH T14, for example, experienced that and now works on Farm 7. Similar sanctions can be found on Farm 7. On Farm 1 the labour broker is formally responsible for “his” workers. Problems are negotiated between the manager and him.

All in all most of the farmers only try to cure the symptoms of alcoholism without caring for the deeper lying reasons. Only on Farm 2 and 5 the managers try to address these reasons. While on Farm 2 an self-governed “Worker’s Café” shall offer an alternative location for those not willing to drink, the manager of Farm 5 offers “spiritual (means Christian) guidance”. However none of the farms follows an accepted concept.

Indebtedness

Loans play an important role for the mitigation of short-term shocks and the accumulation of capital in the surveyed HHs. Especially two main types of loans could be observed:

- Loans for bypassing short term income deficiencies (e.g. in the middle of the week when the wage was not yet paid)
- Loans for investments (e.g. for HH items, clothes)

The sources for the first group are mainly farmers, resp. their managers and, esp. within seasonal HHs where the farmer as a credit source fails, neighbours, friends and relatives. Beside the credits in the farm shops these types of loans are hardly regulated and their access is closely connected to the social capital of a HH and the relationship to the farmer⁶⁹. This makes them an important but insecure factor for the assessment of the HH’s vulnerability.

The second group, the loans for investments, are also very important, not only because of productive investments but also for obtaining everyday things like clothes. Here not only the farmers play an important role, and are often the first person to go to, but also shops and, to a lesser extent, banks. Especially the shops shall be viewed critically and play an important role for the indebtedness of many farm worker HHs. So the “Lewis”-Shops, for example, promote a very simple credit system where the latest payslip is sufficient and no further assessment is made (Lewis Group Ltd.). The bought products, however, are two to two-and-a-half time as expensive as they are compared to the cash pay.

⁶⁹ The company owned farms form an exception. Here loans are more regulated, but the farm managers also have certain liberties.

Loans as part of patriarchal structures

Many workers on Farm 2 leave the wage, which they don't need for daily expenses, with the manager. He stores this money. However it is not regulated in the code of conduct, only the permanent HHs have the opportunity to receive a loan from the manager. The maximum height of the loan is limited by the money the workers have saved. Due to the manager the reason why only the permanent and not the temporary HHs can access the loans is that the trust to the temporary workers is not given and it can't be assessed whether they will pay the loan or not. For securing that all workers pay their debts in the farm shop three days of the weekly wage are held back by the manager until the following week.

Box 9 Loans as part of the patriarchal system

Effects

Short term and long term loans are often combined so it is not unusual that a HH has loans with different shops and additionally buys the food in the farm shop on credit. Interestingly some HHs, where the money is sufficient for small investments, buy certain HH articles like clothes also always on credit in the shops. The debts however hinder the accumulation of financial capital what can be of a particular problem if the framework conditions change and certain shocks occur. So a new management on the farm or a new policy of the management might raise the vulnerability of the HHs if no alternative credit sources can be found. The loss of income sources (esp. when a HH member loses its job) can become even worse when the remaining income is used for paying the debts.

High indebtedness in a low-income household

P35 (37) lives with his wife (38), two daughters (18&12) and one son (6) on Farm 8. In the last years the employment opportunities on the farm gradually diminished (see above). The family makes a living by the income of P35, the child support grant for two children and the occasional work of P35's wife. This makes secure income of about 665 ZAR per week for the entire HH. During the time of the interview it is not clear when there will be work for her again. In 2012 the financial situation of the HH was better because the wife worked full-time and all three children got money from the state. So the HH took three loans at the local store for furniture and HH appliances: With the help of the annual bonuses (that are canceled in 2013 because of the raise of the minimum wages) they bought a fridge for 3000 ZAR in January 2012, an entertainment cabinet for 3000 ZAR in March and benches for 3500 ZAR in September. At the moment they pay for all the loans 245 ZAR in a week when they have enough money. Because of the financial situation the HH is not able to service the loans without limiting the expenses for food drastically. Some relatives in the valley help with food when they need it. Since the future of the farm is not secure it is hardly to assess how long P35 will have a job on the farm and whether he will find a new job. Certainly the indebtedness of the HH will be a burden in the future too.

Box 10 High indebtedness in a low-income household

Among the 20 temporary HHs there were seven HHs which came from foreign countries. Since none of those HHs had the South African citizenship, they faced special risks concerning their residence status and discrimination. On the one hand there were HHs which had a (general) working permit.

This permit is closely linked to the working contract on the farm. It has to be renewed after 12 months and employment has to be proven (Department of Home Affairs [1]). The rights of “temporary residents” (like those with a working permit), incl. the access to health care and education, are not yet clearly defined since they have some but not all rights of permanent citizens (The Black Sash & Education Training Unit 2011). On the other hand there were HHs which had the status as asylum seekers. Here the threat of a loss of the status as asylum seeker and a deportation is given. Also the asylum seekers do not enjoy the full rights as other South African citizens do. Although they have the right to access health care service as well as education (The Black Sash & Education Training Unit 2011) they cannot apply for social grants. Only refugees are entitled to enjoy social grants. In practice, however, there are still problems for the asylum seekers making use of the rights granted⁷⁰.

The insecure residence status and problems accessing basic health and education infrastructure in connection with the lack of social security from the state may hinder the accumulation of capital and raise the vulnerability of the HHs. This can be enhanced if discrimination in administration or within the majority population occurs. So at least one of the interviewed workers reported to be physically attacked because of xenophobic reasons while two other reported not to have had such experiences.

A new management

The change of the farm owner or the manager has big impacts on the HHs that live on the farms. Firstly it comes along with a revaluation of the farm setup. Hereby not only the infrastructure but also the personal of the farm is assessed and arranged due to the needs and ideas of the manager in accordance with the farmer. This can have positive and negative effects on the HHs respectively their vulnerability as seen in the following examples:

- After the death of the owner of Farm 4 in 2010 his wife is informally in charge. Although not working, two HHs still live on the farm. One HH (P18) has to leave the farm according to the owner’s wife as soon as possible because she claims to need the house. Actually there are no plans for a usage of the farm in the short run (according to the sister of the owner). One member of the HH works on Farm 6 but it is not clear if he can stay there.
- P 16 is 57 yrs. old. She came to Farm 6 in 1998. When the farm was bought by the new owner in 2010 she was not kept on but was given the right to stay in her house. Right now she’s dependent on her sons’ money that partially also work on the farm.
- When the manager of Farm 5 was employed to assist the owner in 2010 he started to renovate the farm worker’s accommodations, which had been in a bad condition before. Currently he renovates two houses per year.

Secondly a new management can mean new informal arrangement concerning transportation, loans etc. The formal and informal change on the farm will have effects on the accumulation of capital and the possible livelihood strategies that include a partly or complete migration of the HH.

⁷⁰ See also: Gontsana (2013) and IRIN (2011)

Demise of farms

An equally important event is the slow demise of family run farms as seen on Farm 3, 4 and partly Farm 8. This takes several years and often goes along with the successive dismissal of the workers and the cut back of services for the HHs. In an extreme case this can lead to a complete cut off of all services including the renovation of basic infrastructure (accommodation, water, sanitation) as seen on Farm 4. The vulnerability of a HH is strongly connected to his capability to substitute these services on other farms. So a migration to other farms as seen in HHs on the farms 3 and 4, may be a solution.

Disasters

Different kinds of disasters can hit the farm and have effects on the farm workers as well. Especially the private small-scale farmers usually insure against crop failures by diversifying their crops or mixing it with livestock (Farm 1, 3, 6,8). However the risks of other disaster are harder to minimize. So bushfires are a permanent danger, especially during the hot and dry summer months. One fact which raises the risk is that the next fire station is far away and most of the farmers are not insured against fire damage because of the high insurance tariffs, especially for the farm infrastructure⁷¹. During the last big fire in 2009 at least the farms 1,3,6 and the land of the current farm 7 were hit:

- Farm 1 was hit badly but today expands again. The destruction of the fire seems to be mitigated but since then the farm doesn't grow wine grapes anymore.
- On Farm 3 large parts of the orange trees and the wine yards were destroyed. According to a longstanding farm worker this, however, did not lead to big changes in the farm setup or dismissals since most of the workers were already gone.
- On Farm 6 the fire damaged the houses and killed parts of the livestock. According to an eyewitness there were no direct effects on the HHs. Shortly after the fire the work went on.
- The land of Farm 7 was owned by the bank. Due to the fire large parts of the infrastructure (houses, irrigation infrastructure) were destroyed and now needs to be rebuild again.

The example shows that especially farms with a low resilience against shocks can be hit badly by disasters what can lead to permanent (possibly negative) changes that also affect the HHs if the shocks cannot be mitigated.

Rising consumer prices

The consumer prices in South Africa rose in the past years significantly (Statistics South Africa 2013). This concerns high price consumer goods as well as food and other things for daily living. The prices for food and non-alcohol beverages, for example, rose by 25% between Dec. 2010 and Dec. 2012 (Statistics South Africa 2013). The perception of the interviewees seems to confirm the statistics. Out of a sample of 20 permanent HHs all of them stated to pay more for food and other items than five years ago. Especially food items (bread, flour, meat) became more expensive. The higher prices in the farm shops exacerbate this trend. Moreover, this seems to be important since the interviewed HHs spend over 50% of their budget on food (see above). With the new, higher minimum wage this trend could be mitigated. However the reaction of the farmers to the wage will be very important. So some farmers raised their on-farm shop prices for food (e.g. Farm 6), introduced deductions for rent and electricity (Farm 1) or raised them (Farm 6) or reduced the working time for some employees (Farm

⁷¹ Source: Interview with the manager of Farm 7

5). These measures might eat up the additional income of a HH and, hence, makes it more vulnerable to raising prices.

Political and institutional changes and their impact on vulnerability

South Africa's social security system

South Africa's social security system has significantly expanded since 1994. Among others the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) was founded to uniformly manage the access to social assistance benefits. Moreover the benefits for children and unemployed persons were extended (Department of Social Development 2010).

At the heart of the system today lie several contributory and non-contributory (tax-financed) services that are intended to lower poverty all over South Africa. The non-contributory services encompass: grants for older persons, disability grant, war veteran's grant, care dependency grant, foster child grant, child support grant, grant-in-aid and social relief of distress. By far the most used grant (in terms of recipients) is the child support grant, followed by Old Age Pension and Disability grant (Department of Social Development 2010). Although the old-age and disability grants rose by 5%, the foster child grant by 3,9% and the child support grant by 3,6% in April 2013, it barely makes up the inflation rate that was estimated by 5,7% in 2012 and 5,6% in 2013 (Kahn 2013).

Among the contributory services the UIF is the most important one, at least in the context of this study. But beside these private insurances and the subsidised access to health and educational facilities play an important role for the HH's vulnerability.

Social Grants

The knowledge about social grants is very high among all the interviewed HHs. All interviewed permanent (35/35) and seasonal (11/11) HHs stated that they knew about social grants and how to access them. Also among the temporary HHs the knowledge was high (9/12). As stated in the analysis over 50% of the permanent and seasonal HHs make use of social grants. For many surveyed HHs those play an important role to secure their livelihoods. For 50% of the permanent HHs the social grants (and here esp. the child support grant) make up to 20% of their weekly income (minimal guessing). However in extreme cases the HHs are part-time or even full time dependent on social grants as the only income source. While most grants seem to be enough to cover the expenses of one person⁷², it gets critical if several persons are dependent on one grant (e.g. S16, P21). No less than three of the interviewed permanent and five of the 16 interviewed seasonal HHs are at least occasionally totally dependent on social grants⁷³. However a lot more are threatened if they lose their job on the farm and, hence, their only income source. But there may be also problems in receiving those grants:

⁷² Old-age and disability grants are 1260 ZAR, Foster child grant 800 ZAR and child support grant 290 ZAR/mth. (Kahn 2013/ Effective: Apr. 2013). The above defined poverty line is 654 ("lower") resp. 1205 ("upper") ZAR /mth.

⁷³ "Totally dependent" means the hh have no regular income sources beside the grants.

- The grants are paid out at pay points or via bank transfer. The farm residents need to go to town by themselves to receive the money⁷⁴. Problems can occur for older and immobile persons since the transportation opportunities are bad (see above).
- Since the money is often scarce at the end of the month, as stated by many farm residents, it can be assumed that most recipients draw the grant on the first day they receive it. The long waiting time in town may exceed the return of the only formal bus to the valley. Then hitchhiking is the only opportunity.
- Especially older people often don't trust bank accounts what, for example, hinders the complete changeover to wage payments via bank account on Farm 2⁷⁵. This lacking trust can lead to the fact that many recipients withdraw their whole money at a time (Steyn 2012) and might hinder the accumulation of savings.
- Beside South African Citizens only refugees are entitled to receive social grants.

Unemployment Insurance Fund

The UIF is intended to support workers in cases when they're unemployed or not able to work (e.g. sickness or maternity). The employer and the employee deduct 1% each and pay it to the fund. The money can be claimed at the employment office. However, there were some irregularities on the surveyed farms. So there was at least one farm where there were no deductions for UIF on the payslips. It is not clear if the UIF was deducted anyways. The same problem occurred with seasonal workers where no UIF was declared on the payslip. Talks with different farm workers showed that the knowledge about UIF and their legal rights is partly poor. While all of the 35 asked permanent HHs knew about social grants and how to access them, 7 out 35 didn't knew about UIF or how to access it (2 more knew about UIF but not how to access it). However there were some farms where the knowledge was much poorer than on others. So on Farm 6, for example, only one of four interviewed HHs knew about UIF.

Among the temporary workers the knowledge about UIF was similarly bad. Seven out of 13 asked HHs replied not to know about UIF or how to access it. Among the seasonal HHs the situation was similar. Out of 6 asked HHs only 3 knew about UIF and how to receive the money, while all knew about social grants. However there are also administrative obstacles in receiving UIF:

- The registration procedure takes time and needs the corporation of the farm manager, resp. the employer or the labour broker who is de facto the employer. If he is not willing or not able to deliver the needed information problems may arise.
- If the worker resigns the job voluntarily he has no right to obtain UIF (The Black Sash & Education Training Unit 2011).
- The right to receive UIF is dependent on the time the employee has worked for the last employer. Short-term employees like seasonal workers only have the right to get UIF-money for about 2 to 4 weeks.

Especially for seasonal workers who change their job very often, the benefits by the UIF do not make up the effort for receiving it, if it is possible at all. Beside the lacking knowledge about UIF this may be a reason why none of the interviewed HHs with unemployed persons received UIF money.

⁷⁴ The new biometric card ensures that only the recipients can draw the money

⁷⁵ According to the manager 70% of the workers on Farm 2 are paid via bank account. The rest is paid in cash.

Subsidies for health and education

South Africa's health system encompasses a public and a private branch. Within the public branch the payment of health services is regulated by a payment schedule that distinguishes between full-paying, partially and fully subsidised patients according to their income (Department of Health 2009). However, medical treatment is free of charge for them, many analysed HHs prefer the consultation of a private doctor. One reason may lie in the lacking trust towards public health care. So many interviewees state that the private doctor offers qualitatively better medical treatment. Another reason is that some farmers (e.g. Farm 1) give money in advance if a farm member wants to go to a private doctor. But also practical reasons are important. So many stated the waiting time is much shorter and the private doctor also offers consultations on the weekend; facts that are important considering the difficult transport situation. However the subsidies are vital for all HHs when looking at the expensive treatment of severe health problems.

Education in South Africa is generally not free but it is not uniformly regulated how much money the schools can deduct from their learners. Additionally pupils from low-income HHs can qualify for an exemption from the payment of school fees (Education Training Unit). But despite of these subsidies, the costs for school uniforms or the high school hostel can make up a certain amount in the HHs' budget at the beginning of the school year. Several farmers (e.g. Farm 5) offer special loans for this reason. Especially higher education, however, is nearly unaffordable for many farm worker HHs. Furthermore, many HH members state, when asked for the reasons why they've quit school, that the parents were not able to finance further education. Although this can only partially explain the tremendous dropout rate, esp. from high school, the interviewed HHs' financial considerations certainly play a role.

Conclusion

All in all social grants and subsidies by the state play an important and partly vital role for most of the interviewed HHs although their access might be critical in some aspects. In vulnerability terms they help accumulating capital (e.g. human and financial capital) what might lead to new livelihood strategies also outside the valley. However the implementation of strategies from governmental side also needs to consider the farmers as it can be seen on the UIF-topics. But also voluntary services like transport of school children (like on Farm 6 for example) or a voluntary medical service for the employees (like on Farm 9) complement the important state efforts.

The new minimum wage and its effects

On March 1st 2013 the new minimum wage for farm workers became effective. It raised the minimum wage from 345 to 525 ZAR/week. Nevertheless the adaptation measures on the farms were not yet finished when the study ended on April 8th.

Reactions of the farmers

To the end of the survey period on April the 8th all farmers had introduced the new minimum wage. However different, often combined strategies were pursued by the farmers to handle the additional expenses. Those strategies encompassed measures to raise the income or lower other expenses but partly lead to conflicts with workers (Farm 1). Only on Farm2 there was an official dialog between the workers and the farmer.

Farm 1: The reaction of the management of Farm 1 encompassed the introduction of deductions for the farm worker HHs and the attempt to raise the efficiency of the workflow. According to the manager this efficiency raise shall be achieved by a new personnel policy. So the choice of new workers will be strictly oriented on their performance (resp. their working speed) and the workflow will be tightly controlled. Additionally current workers will be shuffled due to their capabilities. Deductions for the accommodations of the workers were introduced to lower the financial impact. Those deductions ranged from 50-70 ZAR/week and made up a big part of the raised wage.

The new measures lead to conflicts between the management and the workers. At the peak of the conflict voluntary services (like transport) were cancelled. At least one worker (P2) has quit his job. According to a member of the union on Farm 2 a mediation by the union was not possible due to the farmer's resistance.

Farm 2: Since more than half of the workers were members of the union the management was obliged to negotiate with the union and a worker's committee about the implementation of the new minimum wage. Although the negotiations on Farm 2 were not yet finished at the end of the survey, certain measures were already adopted. As on Farm 1 the main measures concern more efficient modes of practice. So all working women receive temporary contracts what makes it possible not to employ them for the entire year. This goes along with the rationalisation of the workflow. So certain tasks that were performed by the women in times where farm work was scarce (like folding the grape cardboards on rainy days) are now mechanised. Although the workflow is strictly observed at the moment, this observation will be expanded in future. Seasonal workers that do not meet the targets will be dismissed and permanent workers will be, if possible, installed in other positions. The next season will start with fewer workers what is made possible by a new technique to bind the wine grapes. In contrast to Farm 1 there will be no deductions from the worker's HHs. However like on Farm 1 the prices in the farm shop raised.

Beyond the described measures the new minimum wage had substantial effects on the temporary HHs in special as well as all HHs in total. At the end of the survey it was still not clear if the temporary HHs would receive a new contract after the Easter holidays. Moreover the owner of the company plans to sell the farm because of the new minimum wage and lacking profitability. Concerning this, there was no decision yet.

Farm 6: As a reaction to the new minimum wage the rent was raised for all HHs, even those who are not employed but only live on the farm. Here the rent is set off against the other HH members' wage. The children do not pay. For the employees the rent was raised in the weeks following the new minimum wage. When the last interview was conducted, the rent was about 20% of the weekly income. Several farm members also stated that the prices in the farm shop raised after the introduction of the new minimum wage. At least in one case the weekly working time was lowered from 5 to 4 days.

Farm 7: The plans for the development of Farm 7 were changed after the introduction of the new minimum wage. Instead of 1,5 to 2 workers per hectare only 1 worker will be employed in the future. The new workers will be employed only for three months and only the most efficient ones will be reemployed for the next job. This measure will be accompanied by a procedure that evaluates the performance of the workers.

Farm 8: Due to the new minimum wage the owner considers not to employ any seasonal workers in the coming season. The grapes will either be cut by a machine or the cultivation will be abandoned.

Farm 3,5 and 9: On Farm 3 the raise of the wage seems not to have led to a direct reaction by the farmer. The three permanent employees receive the new minimum wage but don't work extra-time. The managers of Farm 5 and 9 state, that the new minimum wage does not concern them because most of the workers earn more anyways. However interviews with permanent HHs in place (e.g. P13) show that on Farm 5 women recently started to work only for 3 days in a week instead of 4 days. Also the prices in the shop seem to be a little higher. As on the other farms, it was not clear if bonuses are still paid at the end of the season.

Assessment by the households

Among the temporary HHs on Farm 2 the rise of the minimum wage was considered mainly positive⁷⁶. However several workers were afraid that they would lose their jobs on the farm. This anxiety was exacerbated by the fact that they didn't participate in the negotiations and its current status was not communicated towards the temporary HHs. According to a local labour broker several workers have claimed that they can't take the workload anymore since it was nearly doubled by the farmers with the new minimum wage.

Assessment by the labour brokers

According to an interview with a labour broker the higher minimum wage will also have impacts on his business. So the demand for seasonal labour will be lower and in those cases where the farmers can't go without workers the prices, they are willing to pay for a worker, will be less. The increasing competitive pressure between the brokers might have negative impacts on the workers and especially those who are not able or willing to carry on the workload.

Conclusion

The new minimum wage has manifold impacts on all of the surveyed HH types. However, the impact is difficult to assess especially so short after its introduction. Moreover, the reaction of the farmers is essential in the assessment whether the new minimum wage will have positive or negative effects. As seen on Farm 2 the temporary HHs might profit in the long run from higher earnings but also might lose their jobs and, with that, their accommodation and, in some cases, their working permit.

Based on the interviews with different managers a trend towards a less and more effective use of the available workforce can be seen (Farm1,2,5 and 7). However this can be at the expense of very vulnerable groups like women (Farm 2 and 5) or older/weaker employees that are not able to fulfil the strict performance target. Moreover these measures and the introduction/raise of deductions from the workers cast doubt that the new minimum wage will actually lead to a higher income of the permanent and temporary HHs on some farms.

As seen on Farm 1 the new wage may lead to conflicts between the farmers and the workers but definitely change the formal and informal setup.

For the seasonal HHs the job opportunities might be smaller on some of the surveyed farms (Farm2, 8) while other farms will offer new jobs due to their expansion (Farm 7). As with the permanent

⁷⁶ Source: Focus group discussion

workers the selection of seasonal workers however will be stricter (e.g. Farm 7), what makes it more difficult not only for older/weaker job seekers but also for those who were dismissed from a farm or went to jail (S12, 13, 16). According to one interviewee (S12) the farm offers one of few working opportunities because they don't ask for previous convictions.

Total assessment of vulnerability

The tables on the following page represent the vulnerability-assessment of the particular HH-types. Additionally the chances and constraints that derive from the assets were included as well as the chances and constraints to increase the capitals.

Permanent households

The overall vulnerability towards poverty in the surveyed permanent HHs differs from very high to medium. Although strong social ties and social grants might help to mitigate most of the severe shocks, lacking chances to increase human, financial or physical capital and the bad infrastructure prevent the HHs from obtaining a more resilient state. In total the new HHs are a little less vulnerable than the old HHs, mainly because of a higher human and financial capital. Regarding the origin, those HHs which came entirely from outside seem to be a little less vulnerable, mainly due to higher physical and natural capital.

Temporary households

Within the temporary HHs the vulnerability to poverty is mostly medium. The unsecure and unequal status on the farm and the lack of social integration in place might prevent the HHs from building secure livelihoods. HHs from foreign countries are more vulnerable because of the temporary residency status and the lacking access to some state services.

Seasonal households

Most of the seasonal HHs are highly vulnerable to poverty. Among others the bad and fluctuating financial capitals (including less job opportunities) as well as bad living conditions prevent the HHs from building sustainable livelihoods.

Assets-Assessment for permanent HHs	Assessment (two colours represent the range in the HHs)		Chances	Constraints
Human capital	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div><div></div><div></div></div><div>+ Rel. low dependency ratio</div><div>+ Good health status - few HH members that cannot contribute to the income</div><div>+ All children go to school</div><div>- Low secondary education</div></div>		+ Theoretically free education- and health services for income poor HHs	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div>- Insufficient education/training infrastructure in place</div><div>- High school dropout rate</div><div>- Lack of health services in place</div><div>- Alcoholism and (domestic) violence</div></div>
Social capital	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div><div></div><div></div></div><div>+ Most HHs deeply rooted in the study area- great exchange of money and material goods</div><div>+ Nearly 50% of the HHs are member of a church or the sports club</div><div>+ Mutual help between neighbors</div></div>		+ Social ties offer new chances for farm independent income opportunities	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div>- Few organisations in place</div><div>- Few opportunities to articulate problems on most farms</div></div>
Natural capital	<div><div></div><div></div></div>	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div><div></div><div></div></div><div>- Entitlements to natural resources limited ...</div><div>+ ... but gardening, fishing, hunting and the collection of natural goods on some farms possible</div><div>+ Livestock ownership in some HHs</div><div>+ Access to non-saleable agricultural goods on some farms</div></div>	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div>+ The marketing of natural goods offers income opportunities</div><div>+ Good access to agricultural resources (fertilizers, tools etc.)</div></div>	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div>- Lack of water and land within the valley (s.a. disputes between the farmers)</div><div>- Lacking support by some farmers/farm managers</div><div>- Few opportunities to sell agricultural goods</div></div>
Physical capital	<div><div></div><div></div></div>	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div><div></div><div></div></div><div>+ Most HHs equipped with electricity and sanitary facilities</div><div>+ Most HHs own a mobile phone or a TV</div><div>0 Quality of the accommodation ranges from good to very bad</div><div>- Very bad transportation infrastructure</div><div>- Bad security infrastructure</div></div>		
Financial capital	<div><div></div><div></div></div>	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div><div></div><div></div></div><div>+ Several credit sources</div><div>+ Social grants</div><div>+ On medium term a lot of jobs seem to be safe</div><div>- Few income sources outside the farm</div><div>- Generally low income levels</div><div>- High indebtedness</div></div>	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div>+ Secure farm jobs offer possibilities for additional income sources</div><div>+ Easy available loans allow productive investments</div></div>	<div><div></div><div></div></div> <div><div>- Low income prevents from big investments</div><div>- Bad connection to markets</div></div>

Assets-Assessment for temporary HHs	Assessment (two colours represent the range in the HHs)	Chances	Constraints
Human capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + No HH members that cannot contribute to the HH's income + Good education + No dependent HH members 	+ Right for asylum seekers to the same basic health services and basic primary education as South African Citizens (Refugee Act 1998)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Insufficient education/training infrastructure in place - Lack of health services in place - Alcoholism
Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Migrant networks and close connection among themselves + Rudimentary social ties in place (partnership with local inhabitants, membership in the sports club/church) - Most respondents barely rooted in place - Close relatives live mostly far away 	+ Mobility because of relatives in other parts of South Africa – less dependent on local employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Large distances to the relatives - Unknown length of stay on the farm prevents integration in the valley
Natural capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Access to non-saleable agricultural goods on some farms - Entitlements to natural resources strictly limited - no livestock 	+ Rural background of many temporary HHs implies knowledge in agriculture and animal husbandry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unknown length of stay on the farm prevents from investments - no infrastructure for temporary HHs (esp. land)
Physical capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Good accommodations + Accommodations well equipped with electricity, Water and sanitary facilities + Communication is not a problem - Few personal belongings - Bad transport/security infrastructure 		- Little space in the accommodations prevents from acquiring HH items
Financial capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Normally all HH members working + Several credit sources + No HH below the poverty line 0 Social grants for refugees (not asylum seekers – Social Assistance Act 2012) - High food/alcohol expenses - No bonuses - Normally only one income source 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Limited investments in producer goods possible + Easy available loans offer productive investments 	- Relatives need to be supported – No free disposal of money

Table 34 Assets-Assessment for seasonal households

Assets-Assessment for seasonal HHs	Assessment (two colours represent the range in the HHs)		Chances	Constraints
Human capital			+ Theoretically free education- and health services for income poor HHs	- Alcoholism and domestic violence
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Good access to primary educational and health institutions in the towns + Low rate of HH members that cannot contribute to the income because of a disease/injury + Low dependency ratio 0 Good primary education of some migrants, bad secondary education in total 			
Social capital				
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Good connections to relatives in the home villages/on the farms - Low connections to organisations and clubs 			
Natural capital				- Little access to natural resources limits the opportunities in the towns
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Access to non-saleable agricultural goods on some farms - Limited access to natural resources in the urban surrounding 			
Physical capital			+ Housing projects by the municipality offer cheap opportunities for income-poor HHs...	- ... but the waiting lists for these houses are very long
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Good transport infrastructure in the towns + Most HHs are close to markets + Good equipment with electricity in most HHs - Mostly no subsidies for water, electricity, rent etc. - Partly bad equipment with mobile phones, fridges etc. 			
Financial capital			+ Easy available loans offer productive investments	- Bad job opportunities in the municipality and in many other rural places in South Africa
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Several credit sources + Social grants - Few income sources - Often unstable income sources (Daily work, seasonal work) - Low income - Indebtedness 		- Low income prevents from big investments

Significance of migration for the households' vulnerability

Permanent households

The use of migration as a livelihood strategy may not be a permanent phenomenon but happens in nearly all HHs from time to time and it's common that individual members migrate if the circumstances make it possible or even necessary. So especially on the farms 3 and 4 where the job opportunities were scarce the migration of some HH members was common, either on a neighbouring farm (e.g. P24 on Farm 2) or on another farm within the area (e.g. P18 on Farm 6). However the search for new income sources was not the only reason for the HHs to migrate and changing framework conditions for the residents⁷⁷, the withdrawal of individual services (mostly in connection with arguments with the farmer) and personal reasons are also of importance. Moreover, the reasons for migration are complex and private and job reasons can often not be separated from each other since working and living are often interrelated in the farm context.

When looking at the empirical findings, migration might have a positive impact on the HHs. So the investigation of especially vulnerable HHs shows, that those, which have a high vulnerability mostly stayed on the farm for many years⁷⁸. On the other hand, when looking at the farms with deteriorating living conditions and job opportunities those HHs which were able to find other income sources outside the farm are way better off than those, which are totally dependent on the farm. Here not only money but also services that can be found elsewhere play an important role. Clearly the capability to relocate the life centre, at least of some HH members, is important for lowering the vulnerability, esp. when the life situation on the farm deteriorates. The question why some HHs stay on the farms even if there are no job opportunities and the life situation is deteriorating is not easy to answer. Many of the very vulnerable HHs have illnesses (P15, P21) or are old (P37) what makes it difficult to find a new employment. The reasons, however, are often very complex and need further investigation.

However, since the reasons for migration are complex, the effects on vulnerability don't need to be positive in all cases. So in some cases a deterioration of the living condition, especially in form of a worse accommodation, was accepted when moving from one farm to another⁷⁹. Here strong social ties were essential for the migration decision. In total the social ties of all permanent HHs within the area play an important role for the migration within the area. Not only do they provide different but also new and better job opportunities⁸⁰. On the other hand a strong social connectedness can't only explain why some HHs don't leave the farm even if the living conditions worsen. So on Farm 9, for example, none of the women in the three surveyed HHs works neither on the farm nor anywhere else, although they are deeply rooted in the area. Because the HH income is limited to the husband's income only, the financial capital is very low.

⁷⁷ Example: P2 left his farm after deductions for the rent of the houses were introduced

⁷⁸ Examples: P21 was born on the farm (see also the box: „A household that almost owns nothing“), P16 stayed on the farm for 15 yrs. (box: „Surviving with relatives“), P18 also came to the farm about 15 yrs. ago (box: „Several diseases and an unhealthy environment“)

⁷⁹ Example: P35 voluntarily moved to another farm after an argument with his farmer. Because of lacking accommodations he moved to a very dilapidated house that did not match even minimum standards. The sister of P35 who was living on the farm convinced the manager to employ him. The hh of the sister also hosts the daughter of P35 who is living there because of the vicinity of the farm to the school.

⁸⁰ See also paragraph „Examples of migration routes of permanent HHs“ P19 and P29

Beside the voluntary migration also forced migration takes place in the area and is often connected with arguments between the worker and the owner. In one case a farm resident (P20) had to leave his farm because he was not able to work anymore because of an illness. In another case (P18 on Farm 4) the farm owner wanted to get rid of the remaining HHs because he didn't need them anymore. In these cases the forced migration raised the vulnerability of the HHs.

But beside the contemporary migratory behaviour, the migration background of the permanent HHs also seems to play a role for the HHs' vulnerability. This gets especially obvious when looking at the statistical data. So the new HHs show a higher financial and human capital on average. On the other hand the better education and the lower dependency ratio in the new HHs might also facilitate migration. It is likely that both interact and a higher financial and human capital facilitates migration as well as migration increases capital. This is supported by the fact that the new HHs were rather located on the farms which were economically better off. Concerning the origin, those HHs from outside the catchment and the mixed HHs showed a better natural and physical but a little worse social capital. In total the vulnerability of those HHs is a little lower. This may be a hint that the origin of the HHs and, hence, its migration has a positive effect on vulnerability. Moreover, there were no hints that HHs which came from outside the catchment were discriminated by the farm managers or the workers, what could lead to an increase in vulnerability. So they basically had the same access to farm resources (like land for gardening) and services even if they came from other parts of the country⁸¹.

Seasonal households

Migration plays an important role for securing the seasonal HHs' livelihoods especially when other livelihood strategies fail. Since employment opportunities are often scarce in the places where they come from, seasonal work is an opportunity for the HHs to increase the income for a certain time. Moreover the seasonal work on farms secures accommodation and services (like transportation) which can be of great importance for the migrants too. One interviewee (S5) stated that he would earn more money as a daily worker in town but preferred to work as a seasonal employee because of the free accommodation. This and the fact that 4 seasonal HHs stated not to bring anything home (although driving home every week) suggest the assumption that migration is not only intended to raise the HHs' income but as an accumulation strategy to release stress from the HH in times of lacking money.

The long-term effect of seasonal migration on the vulnerability of the HHs as a whole, however, seems to be low in most of the cases. So, three of the seasonal HHs that sent money home stated, that it is used for daily expenses only. Moreover, the money brought home at the end of the week ranged from 200 to 300 ZAR in four of the seasonal HHs and in no case a continued long term employment was offered after the season. Only a handful of workers had the opportunity to stay one week longer after the season. They were involved in workings concerning the farmer's garden.

The margins between seasonal, temporary and permanent HHs aren't fixed and a seasonal HH can become a permanent HH and vice versa. On the one hand it is not unusual that a seasonal HH member becomes a permanent resident on a farm if he finds a job there (often in connection with a partner who lives on the farm) and many older seasonal interviewees have stayed permanently on other

⁸¹ Only 6 of 44 permanent hhs did not come from the Western Cape region

farms during their migration history. On the other hand many seasonal HHs can't find a permanent job and stay seasonal workers for years. According to the manager on Farm1 40-60% of the seasonal workers return to the farm every season.

In contrast to the permanent HHs the social ties are weaker within the valley. For the migration routes the labour brokers and the farmers resp. their manager are important.

Labour brokers and the insecurity of the seasonal workers

Labour brokers play an important role for the connection between farmers and labourers and impact the seasonal livelihoods as well. As seen in the migration analysis brokers often undertake most of the tasks the farmers normally undertake. Between the poles of workers, farmers and brokers, however, conflicts arise what could also be observed during the survey⁸². In one observed case several seasonal workers (e.g. S9 and S12) stated to have not received the money for overtime. In the interviews the manager of the farm stated to have paid the overtime to the broker. The broker stated to have given the money to the workers but on the payslip only a bonus of 200 ZAR was listed. This bonus didn't make up even a little part of the money some workers claimed to have earned in overtime. Personal claims of the workers towards the broker were rejected with the threat to call the police.

This example shows the difficult situation the seasonal workers face. When it comes to irregularities concerning payment or frauds they have little opportunities to oppose it. In such cases farmers and brokers can blame each other. Unions, on the other hand, can't interfere because none of the seasonal workers is a formal member. Moreover many factors in the business of a labour broker stay informal, especially when it comes to additional services that are granted. Despite of a licence all brokers have to purchase, it is difficult for the workers to estimate a job offer and many have to rely on the broker especially because of lacking other job opportunities.

Temporary households

As for the permanent HHs migration also plays an important role for the temporary HHs and happens from time to time. Since almost all of the interviewed temporary HHs are single person-HHs migration normally means a complete relocation of the entire HH. The high human capital, which is also based on the low dependency ratio, makes it possible to change the place quite easily. However, the low social connectedness in the region (especially concerning kinship ties) and the insecure status on the farms make the HHs vulnerable to shocks and can lead to problems if the HHs have to leave the farm rapidly (e.g. after a dismissal). Since the social ties to the HHs of origin are often weak and mostly depend on remittances and rare visits, friends and colleagues in place play a very important role for securing the HHs and preventing them from falling into poverty. As it can be seen by the examples from Geysdorp or Border Post these social nets can be large and effective.

The origin and migratory background of the temporary HHs seems not to be crucial in the context of the farm. Neither the group discussion, nor the HH interviews revealed forms of discrimination between the temporary HHs. Moreover, the payment and the access to services were uniformly regulated. However, there were partly big differences in the access to farm services between the permanent and the temporary residents.

⁸² Additional stakeholders like subcontractors or tenants, as found on Farm 1, can make the situation even more complicated

VI. Conclusion

The aim of the thesis in hand was not only to explore the specific vulnerability of farm worker HHs in the Krom-Antonies catchment area, but also to get a little more insights into the complex impact migration has on them. As it shows, the vulnerability differs a lot, not only between different types of farm worker HHs, but also within the groups and even on the same farm. Moreover, the vulnerability setup of the HHs is not fixed and shocks as well as long-term stresses can change it in a negative way, as well as measures on the local, regional and national level in a positive way. As seen by the example of the new minimum wage, the measures, however, have to be assessed carefully since they affect the farm workers in different ways and while some may profit from it, others may not. Regarding this, the farm owners and managers are still crucial actors that have important impacts on the HHs' vulnerability.

In this *specific, risky environment*, in which the investigated farm residents live and work, migration plays an important role for all of them and there were hardly any HHs which had no migration experience. Not only is it a mean to mitigate risks that occur, but also an important and partly vital strategy to secure the livelihoods of the HHs in place. But more than that, it doesn't always follow economic reasons. Moreover, the reasons are complex and personal matters, for example, are at least equally important as social nets when explaining it. Because of this complexity of reasons, migration doesn't always need to have positive effects on the HH's vulnerability.

But beside these current findings the investigation shows that farm life in South Africa is changing and will change in the future. New modes of employment, an increasing specialisation and professionalization in agriculture and the demise of old family farms are challenges, farm workers are confronted with. At the same time changes in legislation, like the new minimum wage influence each farmer worker in a specific way.

In this *changing environment*, where a quick adaptation to new framework conditions becomes increasingly vital, migration, and esp. the short-term relocation of the centre of one's life will definitively play an important (if not more important) role in the future. But beside that, the relationship between farmers and farm workers also changes gradually from a paternalistic to an employer/employee relationship. This can not only be seen on the new farms which are owned by big companies but also in the reaction of the farmers to the new minimum wage. Nevertheless, this relationship will also remain important in the future for both sides. Not least because of this, it is necessary that the dialog between farmers, managers and workers will be intensified, as well as it is important that the farmers will keep an eye on the needs of their workers rather than seeing them as mere economic factors.

The challenges of South Africa's future agriculture can only be handled if farmers and farm employees work together on an equal basis. The elaboration of this basis, however, cannot only stay a task for unions and other stakeholders but also has to start with the daily work on the fields.

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In dedication to all those who made this thesis possible and supported me in any possible way.

Thank you!



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