

**THE RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE: THE AMBIGUOUS NATURE OF
INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
DAGGAFONTEIN SETTLEMENT IN GAUTENG**

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SIBONGISENI KUMALO

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
List of Photographs and Tables	v
Abstract	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
CHAPTER	
1. Introduction and Literature Review	1
1. Thesis objectives	
2. Methodology	10
1. Methods and research procedure	10
2. Involvement	15
3. Dangers in the field	16
4. Appreciating the respondents	16
5. Language used	16
6. Protecting identities	17
3. The Setting: Historical and socio-economic overview of Daggafontein	18
1. Administration of Daggafontein	19
2. Informal settlement – description	21
3. People of the settlement	26
3.1 Length of stay in Daggafontein	
3.2 Where do they come from and why do they come here?	
3.3 How do they hear about Daggafontein?	
4. Lack of infrastructure and problems in the settlement	31
4.1 Unused consumer goods	
5. Daily activities and life in Daggafontein	33
5.1 Perceptions on witchcraft	
5.2 Traditional healing in the settlement	
5.2.1 Diviners	
5.2.2 Herbalists	
5.3 Boredom and the use of alcohol in the settlement	
5.4 Voluntary associations in the settlement	
5.4.1 Political parties	
5.4.2 Prayer groups	

5.4.3 Homeboy/girl groups	
5.5 Community differentiated/ undifferentiated	
6. Conclusion	40
4. Making a living	41
1. Definitions of employment and unemployment	43
1.1 Employment	
1.2 Unemployment	
2. Socio-economic characteristics of community	45
2.1 Family income	
2.2 Access to pensions or grants	
2.3 Characteristics of head of house	
2.4 Females and unemployment rate	
3. Work available in Daggafontein	50
4. Self-employment and the informal sector	59
4.1 Misconceptions about the informal sector	
5. Businesses in the settlement	64
5.1 Less favourable business in Daggafontein – shebeen	
5.2 Shebeen in Daggafontein	
5.3 Other businesses	
6. Housing	74
7. Urban agriculture	75
7.1 Experience of cultivation	
7.2 Community garden in Daggafontein	
7.2.1 FGF Technique	
7.2.2 Problems finding market	
8. Problems facing businesses in Daggafontein	90
9. Other means of making a living	92
9.1 Theft	
9.2 Co-habitation	
9.3 Prostitution	
10. Unemployment and casual jobs	94
11. Social safety-net	97
12. Conclusion	100

5. Patterns of Association in Daggafontein	102
1. Homeboy Groups - <i>Abakhaya</i>	105
2. Drinking Groups	115
3. Religious Groups	118
4. Sports and Cultural Groups	135
5. Political Groups	138
6. Conclusion	144
6. Movement Between Urban and Rural Areas	145
1. Labour migration	145
1.1 Individual Model	
1.2 Structuralist Model	
2. Urban/Rural Links	150
2.1 People	
2.1.1 Sickesses and rural visiting	
2.1.2 Flow of Ideas	
2.2 Goods	
2.3 Money	
2.4 Social Transactions	
2.4.1 Education	
2.4.2 Dispute Resolution	
2.4.3 Traditional Ceremonies	
3. Conclusion	168
7. Perceptions of the urban/rural interface	170
1. Changes that have taken place in the country	172
2. Perceived divisions and continuities between urban and rural areas	173
2.1 Perceived similarities between urban and rural areas	
2.2 Perceived negative aspects of rural life	
2.3 Perceived positive aspects of rural life	
3. Things perceived as urban and as rural	177
3.1 Agriculture	
3.2 Consumer Goods	
3.3 Services and Administration	
4. Where is 'Home'?	180

4.1 Property Ownership and Commitment to the Rural Home	
4.2 Preferred Occupations	
4.3 The significance of being buried in the rural home	
4.4 Ancestral land as home	
5. Conclusion	196
8. Conclusion	200
Bibliography	202
Appendix	210

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND TABLES

	PAGE
Photograph 1:	23
Photograph 2:	25
Photograph 3:	25
Photograph 4:	78
Photograph 5:	81
Photograph 6:	128
Photograph 7:	131
Photograph 8:	132
Photograph 9:	134
Photograph 10:	143
Table 1: Occupation by frequency – Females in Daggafontein	53
Table 2: Occupation by Frequency – Males in Daggafontein	53
Table 3: Preferred Male Occupations	57
Table 4: Preferred Female Occupations	58
Table 5: Where is Home?	183
Table 6: Would take a Job at Home (i.e. not in Daggafontein)	188
Table7: Would Not Take a Job at Home	189

APPENDIX SECTION

Map 1:	212
Map 2:	213
Fax from the Supervisor to the Springs Delivery Centre	214
Fax from Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality to Sibongiseni	215
Ward 50 Committee Structure	216
Agenda for the meeting held by the Ekurhuleni Local Economic - -Development Department:	217

ABSTRACT

The thesis is concerned with the rural-urban interface. It questions and argues against the validity of what used to be called the rural-urban divide, and presents the rural-urban interface as a single social field.

The research makes use of Daggafontein informal settlement in Gauteng, providing a general socio-economic overview of this settlement by discussing the ways in which people in this settlement make a living. Most of the people come from rural areas and the patterns of their association within the settlement reveal that they associate themselves with people from their own rural homes of origin. Movement between Daggafontein and rural areas show some level of commitment to home areas. Perceptions of the urban-rural interface by people of Daggafontein informal settlement show that these two areas are not necessarily separate from each other, but are part of the same continuum as socio-economic relations continue to straddle the rural and the urban.

As people, perceptions and values move in both directions along the rural-urban interface, the classification of the informal settlement becomes highly ambiguous, because it contains both rural and urban elements.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis is concerned with the nature of the rural-urban interface in informal settlements. It addresses the ways that people in a particular informal settlement identify themselves as rural and as urban and the way they commit resources and emphasise relationships accordingly.

Recent work in Anthropology has argued against viewing cultures as localised bounded units (Appadurai, 2001). Driving this movement is the process of globalisation, which is defined by Hall (1992:299) as the “compression of distances and time-scales”. Globalisation refers to those processes operating on a global scale that cut across national and cultural boundaries, integrating and connecting communities and organisations in new space-time combinations, thus making the world more interconnected (McMichael, 2000; Hall, 1992; Appadurai, 2001; Gupta and Ferguson, 2001; James, 2001).

Current studies on rural urban dynamics come up with questions and issues that the much earlier theoretical approaches are unable to account for. Such issues include urban agriculture, peri-urban informal settlements, migrants etc. These classic theoretical approaches see the rural as separate from the urban. They fail to understand the importance of the relationship between these two places, and they do not recognise the integration of individuals into networks of relationships across the entire rural-urban continuum (Hartmann-Mahmud, 2004; Unwin and Potter, 1989).

The earlier focus on fixed localities and social groupings led to the sidelining of those who are “straddling the borders” such as the migrant workers, transnational businesses, immigrants and refugees, as it tended to associate cultures with specific places, under emphasising the increased mobility between cultures (Gupta and Ferguson, 2001). This can be seen in the work done in the early 1940’s such as that of Evans Pritchard on the Nuer of Sudan (Pritchard, 1940). The shift away from fixed geographical and social

boundaries has also led to the idea of home as an imagined entity, rather than as an actual place. It is therefore more pertinent today “to train the anthropological eye on processes of construction of place and homeland by mobile as well as [...] displaced people” (Gupta and Ferguson, 2001:69).

Such considerations have also led to the re-examination of the nature and validity of what has been known as the rural-urban divide. A number of recent studies have reconsidered the rural-urban interface, seeing it more as a single social field (Simkins, 2004; Hartmann-Mahmud, 2004; Kishido, 2004; James, 2001; Cross, 2001; Spiegel and Yose, 2003; Mamdani, 1996; Slater, 2001; Bank, 2001) than as a taken-for-granted divide.

Social and economic relations straddle the urban and rural areas, as the migrant workers spread their risks and responsibilities between the town and the country. Within this rural-urban interface, certain factors¹ lead people to commit resources, relationships, and time, and to see part of their identity in more rural terms; other factors lead them to seeing their identity in more urban terms. This relates to the multiple components of the livelihoods of migrant workers and highlights the urban-rural nexus as a single social field (Slater, 2001; Hartmann-Mahmud, 2004). The process of de-agrarianisation has furthered the development of linkages between the rural and the urban areas with the shift from agricultural to non-agricultural based sources of livelihood (Bryceson & Bank, 2001).

High demographic mobility, improved transport and communication systems, have further strengthened the links between the countryside and the urban areas and reduced the earlier isolation of the rural areas (Cross, 2001).

It is interesting that many migrants and shack dwellers continue to employ something like an urban-rural divide in the way they conceptualise aspects of the urban areas (Spiegel and Yose, 2003). These people² perceive the generalised reciprocity, public space

¹ These could include the nature of activities, and the social networks both in rural and in urban areas.

²Residents of Marconi Beam informal settlement.

interactions, furnishings, spaza shops, and services as distinguishing aspects of either rural or urban area. The urban-rural nexus then allows for construction of images of disparity.

South Africa has seen a significant increase in informal settlements since the removal of influx control, which was used by the apartheid government to ensure that only those who were employed were allowed to stay in urban areas. This policy was to ensure that people did not move to urban areas permanently (Møller, 2001). Recent surveys reveal that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of informal dwellings in South African urban areas and this includes areas in the urban periphery. This is contrasted by a slow increase of formal dwellings in these urban areas (Kane-Berman et al, 2001).

The continual flow of people from rural areas to urban areas can be attributed to a number of factors. Initially, the communal land tenure system in most rural areas does not really make it possible for people to invest in land. Those with enough capital cannot really start big businesses in rural areas because the land is not entirely theirs, as they only have user rights (Kishido, 2004). This land can also not be used as collateral to secure bank loans. In this context, users of the land do not have the right to sell their property at a later stage, which explains why big businesses and successful entrepreneurs are reluctant to direct capital to these areas.

Wilson (1972) used the analogy of the rural area as a source of supply and the urban area as the source of the demand. In this analogy, he argued that there are pressures pushing people to go to the urban areas and these are: 1) Poverty due to the increase of population. 2) The change in methods of agriculture. Modern methods of agriculture require higher capital inputs than before, i.e. hiring tractors and land-management information. 3) Diseases; either of humans or of livestock, needed money for treatment. 4) Indirect measures such as taxes that people were supposed to pay. These and other factors forced people into wage employment in urban areas.

Wilson further argued that there are supply pull (rural pull) factors, but he sees them as fading away and as not as strong as the economic forces pulling people to urban areas. Such rural-pull factors are for instance the kinship-ties that people still have in rural areas obliging them to send remittances and the social transactions that take place between the rural and urban kin. Again, there are the land ties; these seem to offer access and maintenance of membership of the society in the village. These ties offer social security, which ensures at least a place to be buried in old age.

The reason why supply-pull factors are seen as weakening is because of the economic development in the urban areas. Wages are increasing, and people can now afford medical aids and pensions, there is an unemployment fund, as well as new grants being made available to the poor. This allows people to gradually settle permanently in urban areas and stop oscillating between urban and rural areas (Kane-Berman, 2001; Wilson, 1972). This shows that, though unreliable, there is a new type of social security developing in the urban areas and if land claims and kinship-ties are not sustainable rural security seems to decline.

However, in looking at the above issue, one has to consider the fact that there were life cycle factors dictating who and when one should migrate to town. For example, children were believed to be more secure at home in the rural area lest they get bad teachings and temptations in urban areas. Young men had to go to urban areas for wage labour, so that they could start saving for the bride wealth in order for them to build their own homestead. In old age, people who were in urban areas already were expected to come back home to stay with their wives and grandchildren; they were valued for their wisdom in old age. The tendency to permanently stay in urban areas arises if a person has no rural land rights. According to Prof. Whisson (personal communication), this is the case with a substantial and increasing proportion of the total population. It is also noteworthy that during the period of Apartheid, a myth that all Africans have a rural home was promoted, but this is no longer the case (Christopher, 2001). The tendency to live permanently in urban areas is also associated with the development of a permanent urban family, which is associated with education, skills and permanent employment.

In most cases, ties with the rural areas are not completely cut off. Reinforcing this maintenance of ties is the preference by some urban dwellers to be buried in rural areas. I also argue that there is a gradual change in the perceptions of those who are not settled in one place or another. I further assert that if the maintenance of ties between the rural and urban areas is not by choice, it is by force. For example, it has been reported recently that in some urban areas there are no more burial sites available. This will force people to return to rural areas to bury their family members. With AIDS contributing to high death rates, there is almost no doubt that urban areas will run out of burial places, unless they resort to other means such as cremation. Therefore, lines of communication have to be maintained between the urban and the rural kin.

The people who have jobs in urban areas are not assured of job security. Therefore they still need to have some sort of social ties with their kin both in town and in the rural areas who may act as 'shock absorbers' or 'cushions' against the unpredictable socio-economic conditions of urban areas, if needs be. For these reasons, this thesis argues that ties with the rural areas are kept if possible and activated when necessary.

For many people coming to town, their first port of call has usually been the informal settlements in the peri-urban zones. Sometimes life is tough for a newcomer in the urban or peri-urban areas. The reasons are the need for accommodation, money for transport, food, trust from the people and employment. The connections and/or friends the newcomer meets in those areas can be of assistance. Friends and connections play a significant role as far as adaptation to urban areas is concerned. In this context, coming to the urban areas without connections of any form is not such a good idea.

Informal settlements are preferred by many because they are closer to areas of employment (firms) and town where most facilities are available, i.e. health, entertainment, transport etc. In these settlements, people are not required to pay rent. There is also not much bureaucracy involved in getting a site on which to erect one's dwelling. Therefore, it makes sense for a newcomer to settle in such settlements. If this is

where most of his or her home groups are settled, it allows him/her enough time to adapt to the urban environment, after which he/she can explore other parts of the urban area.

Newcomers could be people moving from the rural areas, city centre, townships or formal settlements, escaping municipal bills etc. who come to stay in the informal settlements to have their freedom and get away from parents. The urban fringes thus are home to people from the countryside, as well as from urban areas. Informal areas therefore provide an interesting combination of people with rural and urban origins and orientations, and as such provide a valuable window on the nature of the urban-rural intermediate zone.

Oscillating rural migrants provide social security to each other in the urban areas, i.e. they look after one another, especially the newcomers, who are still vulnerable. For example, to retain their links with rural life, the *abakhaya* groups in Duncan Village involved themselves in ‘*abakhaya* networks’³ in the city, through beer drinking and communal cooking (Bank, 2002; Gunn, 1978; Wilson, 1972). This allows newcomers easier entry into the urban economy and into urban life in general, as peri-urban areas in particular combine characteristics of both the countryside and the urban area. In this way, informal settlements in peri-urban areas serve as a potential transition zone between rural and urban communities (Gunn, 1978; Cross, 2001). Apart from serving as transition zones, most people who stay in these areas cannot afford to stay in formal urban housing, as this requires formal financing with fixed monthly costs.

The informal areas serve as channels for the movement of goods, money, ideas and people between urban and rural areas, and they are where people find their home connections and networks (Lloyd, 1979; Cross, 2001).

With people, perceptions and practices moving in both directions in the urban-rural nexus, questions of identity arise, both at the level of settlements, as well as that of

³ A study conducted by Leslie Bank (2002) in Duncan Village illustrated that rural migrants from the same home areas bonded together and adopted two social institutions: beer drinking and communal cooking, which fostered horizontal solidarities and intergenerational links.

individuals. How do people see themselves and their future in the informal settlement? How is this reflected in the flow of goods, money, ideas, relationships and people between the informal settlements, and either urban or rural areas?

1. Thesis objectives

- To demystify the nature of the interdependence of rural and urban areas, i.e. dependence is usually erroneously seen as one-sided. This thesis will point out that both the rural and the urban area depend upon each other. It will identify the way people in the informal settlement of Daggafontein see themselves, in relation to the urban-rural transitional zone. Do they see themselves as rural, as urban or do they see themselves as belonging to both rural and urban areas and why?
- To identify and document the ways in which they seek to express the rural and the urban components of their identity through, for example,:
 - i. Length of residence in Daggafontein Informal settlement. This will determine how established they are in the informal settlement, and will indicate the degree of their commitment to the area. Are they becoming urbanized or, in some cases, de-urbanized, if they have moved from the more established urban area. This will also determine the process of urbanization of Daggafontein informal settlement as urban infrastructure is gradually being introduced.
 - ii. Patterns of movement between urban and rural areas. This will illustrate people's networks, and where the weight of these networks is situated.
 - iii. Movement of goods and money between urban and rural areas. Again, this will tell us about people's connectedness and commitments to the rural areas.
 - iv. Family organization of informal settlement residents
 - Education of children
 - Obligations such as ceremonies and rituals

The extent to which members of the family living in rural areas are involved will say something about the weight of people's rural as opposed to urban commitments.

- v. Patterns of association in informal areas. With whom do people associate themselves and do they maintain rural based networks or do they form new networks in the informal areas.
- vi. Community level decision-making and politics. How collective decisions are made, and how political competition is organized.

The statistical data used here are sourced from a research project, which was looking at some of the issues addressed by this thesis. This study has been conducted following a project that my supervisor and I undertook in the same research area. This was research conducted for the Environmental Biotechnology Research Unit affiliated to Rhodes University. The research looked at how the community might benefit from treated mine water for agricultural purposes in the informal settlement and the feasibility of such a project.

The former research made use of statistical data, which I also use in this thesis. Regarding the statistics, it is of importance to mention that the sample was not randomized, but was an opportunistic sample. Therefore the use of such statistics can only be indicative rather than definitive. There were no set standards for choosing participants. They were chosen on the basis of their availability and accessibility, as some were at work during the day when the research was conducted. This led to a larger proportion of respondents being female, as most men were at work. The questionnaire used was a general household questionnaire asking about the household and the household members. The emphasis was not on the respondent and/or the head of house per se. It did not make a major difference who answered the questionnaire, as it was aimed at getting general information about the household and the household members

and not only about the head of house. (This assumed that there is a strong relationship between the respondent and the bread winner).

(It is my assumption that) any individual selected in the opportunistic sample would be representative of the social relationships in which all individuals in the settlement are involved. We therefore felt that the sample of sixty was a fair representation of the community. The assumption is that the data gathered are typical of the whole settlement. The survey managed to achieve the general socio-economic representation, for which it was intended.

This thesis was designed as a follow up, using extensive ethnography so as not to rely solely on statistical data.

The next chapter will offer a detailed discussion on the methods adopted in this study.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

The study consists of recording people's subjective experiences and therefore will adopt an interactional epistemological¹ stance. This study is conducted using interactional, interpretative and qualitative research methodologies, such as interviewing and participant observation.

Brewer and Hunter (1989) noted that social science research methods also have weaknesses, and there is no methodology without its weaknesses. It is therefore sensible to adopt a diversity of research methods to supplement and to compensate for the limitations that may be experienced in a single research method. This project has therefore adopted a triangulation technique. Triangulation is defined by Berg (1998: 4) as "a means of mutual confirmation ... and validation of findings". This term was originally used in surveying activities. Triangulation was a method used to locate a more accurate estimate of the unknown point. In social science research, triangulation has been used metaphorically to describe multiple data-collection technologies designed to address a single concept. Data triangulation seeks to tackle the research problem from different methodological viewpoints.

1. Methods and research procedure

The research involved 159 days of fieldwork and was divided into five trips. The first trip was from the 1st until the 27th of June 2003. The second trip was from the 14th July until 16th August 2003. The third trip was from the 2nd until the 26th of November 2003. The fourth trip was from the 9th of February until the 31st of March 2004. The final trip was from the 9th until the 30th of October 2004. These field trips entailed intensive on-site research. I was not staying at the informal settlement, but in an area close by. I actually visited the informal settlement on daily basis. After the end of each trip, I would return to

¹ "Epistemology specifies the nature of the relationship between the researcher and what can be known" (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999: 6).

Grahamstown to discuss the findings with my supervisor. I would also do more reading to obtain more sharpened focus for the following field trip.

During initial visits, I had to find and meet influential people in the community, especially those in leadership positions. The first person I met was Mr Mabasa, a member of the Community Policing Forum (CPF). After many questions, he took me to Mr Zondi, who is the elder in the Street Committee. Again, I had to respond to a set of questions and explain clearly what my whole purpose was. Mr Zondi took my details and promised to call me later after he had had a meeting with other committee members. A few days later, I met Mr Mofokeng, another member of the Street Committee. Mr Mofokeng is the youngest on the committee. When I told him about my meeting with Mr Zondi, he told me that Mr Zondi had not raised my issue in the meeting they had had. He then advised me to go to the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (EMM) to get the permission from there and not from the Street Committee. The following day, I went to the EMM and they required a letter from my supervisor, which he faxed to them. Four days later, the EMM granted me permission to conduct research in Daggafontein, provided that I make the report of the study available to them (EMM). The EMM also advised me to show people in the settlement my letter of permission² to gain their co-operation.

In addition to getting the permission and dealing with gatekeepers³, I also tried to find out how Daggafontein is connected or linked up to its broader economic and political/administrative setting.

After permission to conduct research was granted, I had to find a research assistant. It is stressed by some that research assistants are very useful (Hamel et al, 1993; Allen and Firth, 1984; Berg, 1998). My research assistant was an old woman in her late 50 s, who is active in the community and in organizing community events. She does not hold any

² Both a letter from Prof. de Wet and the permission letter from the EMM of Springs are available and will be appended in the final submission.

³ Gatekeepers are either formal or informal watchdogs who protect the people and/or the information sought as the target for study. These must buy into the research idea because if they do not, they may be an obstacle in the process of research (Berg, 1998). (They can also be neutral and not interested. However, it is still crucial that they do not actively oppose the idea of the project).

specific position in the community, but was once on a school governing body. Her duty as a research assistant was to go with me when visiting each homestead and set up appointments. She was very helpful in introducing me to people and in handling initial relationships, as she was well known in the settlement. This helped to make my acceptance by the community easy. I had to ensure that she was totally convinced that, as the ethnographer, I had no motives other than to conduct research, which I also had to explain to her. I had to come clean because other people in the settlement suspected that I was working for government and possibly campaigning for the national elections to be held in April 2004 and were asking her most of the questions. Spradley (1980) points out that the communication of researchers' objectives as well as their research objectives to the respondents has to be considered at all times and be seen as an ethical principle. I therefore tried to maintain this principle.

One of the tactics adopted during the initial visits was snowballing. For instance, those that I was introduced to had their own contacts and friends whom I also got to know and talk to. The advantage of snowballing is that the network becomes larger thus making access and co-operation much easier. This is also helpful in that one does not rely only on the assistant.

After settling into the settlement, I embarked on a process of gathering brief life histories from some 80 residents, catering for differences in age, gender and area of origin. These life histories involved people's origins, residential histories, home life, employment history and educational history. This was intended to get a general idea of people's social networks, orientations and commitments, as well as a feel for whether they are likely to see Daggafontein as their home in the medium to long term.

In addition to the gathering of life histories, I attended the Daggafontein Methodist Church on Sundays. I also made visits to the community garden and had discussions with some members of the Street Committee and the Community Policing Forum.

Considering the dynamic nature of informal settlements, this first field trip was aimed at looking at issues of permanence of the community, whether the informal settlement has a degree of permanence in terms of people having lived in it for long enough to develop social commitments centered on it, or whether they see themselves as being on the way to somewhere better.

As I progressed with the research cycle, new questions came up. Spradley (1980) advises that in such a situation there is a need to change one's focus and to move from descriptive questions to more focused questions. However, descriptive observation still continues until the end of the project. This zooming in of research focus helps the researcher to overcome the problem of not knowing when he has gathered adequate information (Ibid).

On my second trip, I conducted structured as well as unstructured interviews. Following up on the life histories, which I had gathered in the previous trip, I administered the questionnaire to 60 households opportunistically as said before. These were 60 of the 80 households I had visited during my first trip and from which I had obtained the life histories. While life histories provide detailed information of their own kind, the interviews on this trip were aimed at getting the more standard socio-economic information relating to household demography, education levels, sources of income, work histories and skills. I continued attending the church services, and also held discussions with members of the Daggafontein leadership structure and members of the EMM. This gave me a better understanding of the dynamics of leadership in this community. I used the same research assistant that I had used during the first field trip. During this period I was also taking notes on my observations and on some informal chats I had had with the members of the community.

This trip was somewhat focused on identifying resources, skills, patterns of mobility and commitment at individual and household level, as well as the nature of organization, leadership and integration at community level.

The third field trip was geared to holding follow-up interviews on issues that had come up in the previous field trips. These interviews focused on three main areas of the rural-urban interface, which are: Behaviour Patterns, Perceptions and Urban Agriculture. This time around, I depended heavily on formal interviews where, for example, I would make an appointment and go to interview that particular person. All formal interviews were tape recorded (with the interviewees' consent as they were no longer reserved with me).

Notes were also taken based on the informal interviews and observation. As mentioned before, broader, more descriptive observations were still maintained. For example, I continued attending church services, bible classes, a municipal meeting⁴ and community walks, as well as walking around the settlement.

The fourth trip, which lasted for seven weeks, was a follow-up trip where informal and formal interviews were conducted. Among other issues that this trip focused on was the nature of hierarchical relations in Daggafontein. This was looked at along the lines of age, gender, education, income, as well as political connections. I looked at how these intersect. I also looked at the role of the rural-based associations in urban areas. In this regard, I looked at associations like homeboy groups, church groups, urban-based associations and dispute resolution. Whilst the broader, and more descriptive observation was still maintained, the emphasis had shifted to being more selective.

The final trip lasted for three weeks. Like the previous trip, this was a follow-up on certain issues such as the community garden, street taps, African indigenous churches, traditional healing, shebeens and sex issues. This trip was aimed to find out if there had been any changes in the matters observed earlier. During this session no formal interviews were conducted, it was more like visiting friends; they updated me on what had been happening in my absence. I also used this period to take photographs of some areas of the settlement, people and the community garden. Generally, people had no problem with me taking photographs as they regarded me as their friend and wanted me to remember them by those pictures.

⁴ See the agenda of the meeting in the appendix.

2. Involvement

Making observations when one is conducting research is not enough. A researcher has to participate in some community activities (Hamel et al, 1993). Participating in activities allowed me to experience activities directly and get the feel of what are those events like.

Some social situations or activities do not allow much opportunity for one to participate. For example, I could not be part of political rallies that were often held. This would have lead some people wrongly assume that I belonged to one of the political parties in the settlement. Again, appearing in rallies for these parties would have created an impression that would be detrimental to the research process. Nevertheless, my participation was active as I tried to do what other people were doing, and to more fully learn what was being done. For example, some of the things I learnt to do were to play fingerboard and *pool*, which are the games some youth play in this settlement. I also attended church services of the Methodist Church where I assisted with the registration of new members and with the organization of church ceremonies. I also had talks with members of other church groups such as the Nazareth Baptist Church (Shembe) and Zion Christian Church (ZCC); these took me to their church services so that I could take part. These (Shembe and ZCC) churches do not have a place of worship in the settlement, therefore they go to the nearest township (KwaThema) or even to Johannesburg.

Some days I would go to work in the community garden, where I would help with the watering of the plants. On several occasions I had to take sick people to the hospital and to visit them later. Taking part in what was happening in the settlement created openness and trust on the part of community members. For example, a number of secrets were shared with me. On my departure, I was given gifts including a bed set and a camera. This shows that the relationship I had with the people was generally positive and characterized by generalized reciprocity.

3. Dangers in the field

There are dangers associated with field research. These can be of two kinds: ambient and situational. According to Berg (1998), ambient dangers on the one hand are those resulting from the researcher exposing himself to otherwise avoidable dangers by having to be in a dangerous place to do research. Situational dangers on the other hand are those that result when the very presence or behaviour of the researcher triggers conflict in the research area. This could happen as a result of the researcher not keeping his ideas to himself in the research area. I had furnished myself with the necessary details of things to avoid to avert potential dangers in the settlement.

4. Appreciating the respondents

Spradley (1980) warns also that researchers should not exploit their respondents or informants. In this regard, a fair return should be given to the respondents. In my case, my sponsors made funds available to pay for the research assistant on a daily basis. Funds were also made available to purchase gift vouchers for the rest of the respondents, especially those that I had formally interviewed. This was a token of appreciation from my side for their valuable time they had spent answering my questions. Others were able to get a lift in my hired car from the church, which is not too far from the settlement.

5. Languages used

Members of Daggafontein informal settlement are mainly either Xhosa or Zulu-speaking, however, there are also other non-Nguni languages spoken, such as Sotho, SePedi and Afrikaans. In this regard, my assistant would assist in translating those languages that I do not fully understand such as Sepedi and Afrikaans.

6. Protecting identities

In this research, I promised my respondents that their identities would be protected. To protect my respondents' identities, I have replaced their real names with false names or pseudonyms. Thus, all names appearing in this thesis are not their true names. The real names are listed in a private list so that one name is used for one person throughout the thesis. The names have been carefully chosen to say something about the person. Afrikaans names are used for Afrikaans people and the same applies to gender. For example a female name will be used for a female informant.

CHAPTER 3

THE SETTING: HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW OF DAGGAFONTEIN

This chapter provides general background information and a socio-economic overview of Daggafontein informal settlement. It considers the location and the size of Daggafontein informal settlement, as well as how the settlement started. It also looks at the administrative situation of Daggafontein, in relation to the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (EMM). In this chapter I discuss the background of the members of the settlement, as well as why they came to Daggafontein. Such background information would be incomplete without a mention of daily activities in Daggafontein. By way of elucidation, I make use of extracts from interviews conducted in the settlement in 2003 and 2004. I also make use of some statistics adopted from the survey conducted in this settlement.

The results of the census conducted in 2001 published by Statistics South Africa (Statistics South Africa, Website) revealed that Ward 50 of the EMM has got a population of about 26831. This ward is made up of both formal and informal settlements. Daggafontein falls under the above-mentioned ward (Ward 50) of the EMM in Springs a town on the East Rand in Gauteng Province. Daggafontein is divided into formal and informal settlements. The informal settlement is within Extension Five, which is about 27.54 hectares, along Vogelstruitsbelt Street¹, and is made up of over 800 household units with an average of four people per household (*de facto*), which means there are about 3200 people living in the settlement. Daggafontein Informal Settlement is in the vicinity of ZINCOR, a zinc producing firm; Sphinx Acrylic Bathroom-ware factory; Lombard Engineering; Pensa Transport (courier company); Africa Engineering; Top Color Panel Beaters; Aztech Metals; Anglo Gold mine (Daggafontein Division); Vitanova Hospital; ERWAT/ ANCOR Sewage Works and many other firms.

¹ See Map 1 and 2 in the Appendix

1. Administration of Daggafontein

Daggafontein falls under Ward 50 of the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, under Councillor Fourie. The structure of the ward is made up of: the Councillor, Secretary and the Ward Committee²

The Ward Committee consists of the following members, each responsible for a sector.

- Religious sector, looking at the moral fabric of the society.
- Business sector, which focuses on business-related issues.
- Youth sector, which deals with youth development and youth-linked projects.
- Women's sector, which deals with gender issues and women's projects.
- Sector for the Disabled, which encourages arts, culture and handwork among these people.
- Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) sector, which focuses on community development.
- Community-Based Organisations (CBO) sector, which deals with civic organizations and with dispute resolution.
- Education sector, which deals with education-related matters.
- Sports and Culture sector, which promotes and deals with sports issues.
- Health sector, which deals with issues of health.

The above-mentioned sectors are unpaid structures acting at an advisory level. They provide the people with the means to make an input towards developmental local government, for the integrated delivery of services to the residents. Though these sectors act in an advisory capacity they contribute towards decisions made by the municipality. Those portfolio holders that I managed to talk to said sometimes they are very busy organizing activities and meetings in the settlement. The Ward Committee aims to communicate information about Municipality's activities to residents of the geographical area within this ward. The committee also aims to facilitate the implementation of all Municipality projects in the Ward area. It is also the Committee's task to monitor the behaviour and performance of project employees on, for example, municipal projects.

² See Organogram 1 in the Appendix

Other tasks of the Ward Committee include assisting with the resolution of problems within the ward and between wards and promoting local economic development activities. This shows that the Ward Committee has some sort of authority in this regard. Members of the Ward Committee holding different sector portfolios do not necessarily work individually for each portfolio, but assist each other.

The Ward Committee is accountable and responsible to the residents of the ward. Members of the committee report to the Councillor and interact closely with the Coordinator.

The way in which the Ward Committee system works is a two-way channel of communication and monitoring. It is the intermediary between the community and the municipality.

According to the Ward Coordinator, Ward 50 still has a problem in getting things to run smoothly. For example, he still has problems in getting all the committee members to attend meetings as they are at work most of the time.

Daggafontein informal settlement has a Street Committee, which is a Community Based Organization (CBO) that is linked to the Ward Committee, by one Street Committee member. In other words one street committee member also serves on the Ward Committee. The functions of the Street Committee are more focused on day-to-day and localized issues. Another Community Based Organisation in Daggafontein informal settlement is the Community Policing Forum (CPF). A member of this forum told me that they are a forum of 24 members. These were nominated by the members of the community and had to sign that they had accepted the nominations. Members of the forum patrol the settlement at night. They are based in different parts of the settlement, but when they patrol they go all over the settlement. Some of the cases they encounter are those of theft, where children steal from the neighbours. Such trivial cases are not taken to the police, but are resolved in the settlement. Most cases reported to the forum are those of people fighting in the shebeens and some of these are taken to the police,

especially if someone has been badly injured and wants to open a case. Community members think that it is better that there is a CPF in the settlement, because, in most cases, police take too long to respond to their complaints. Miss Hlophe said "... when you see them (police) come here you should know they are visiting their girlfriends and are not patrolling" The local newspaper "Outlook" confirmed that there is a shortage of police in the Greater Springs area, and this often results in delays in responding to complaints. According to the newspaper "... reactive police and crime prevention police and detectives are 107 members short." Mr Stones of the DA party pointed out that not only are the police stations in this area understaffed, but they are also short of "equipment that is necessary to combating crime" (*Outlook* Reporter, 2004).

2. Informal settlement – description

In most of the international literature, the term 'squatter settlement' is used to describe all forms of informal housing (Emmett, 1992). However, the case of South Africa is slightly different in that differentiation has to be made between informal settlements and squatter settlements. This division should be based on the "legal nature of the settlement" (Ibid:1) Squatter settlement is the "illegal occupation of land and the construction of illegal makeshift dwellings on the land so occupied". One therefore asserts that Daggafontein informal settlement is a settlement recognized by the authorities such as the municipality, which cannot legally relocate people. In that sense, the settlement is not illegal and will only be illegal if occupation of the land is prohibited by law.

The Municipality of Ekurhuleni officially acknowledges Daggafontein informal settlement (Conversation with the Chief Town Planner). There is no piece of legislation prohibiting these people from staying in Daggafontein.

In the national census conducted in 2001, the terms formal and informal dwellings were used to describe accommodation buildings and structures. The term formal dwelling was used to define all buildings and structures that could be described as house of brick structure, flat in a block of flats, town/ cluster/ semi-detached house, unit in retirement

village and buildings in back yard (Statistic South Africa, Website). According to this definition of a formal dwelling, anything falling outside what was described as a formal dwelling is informal. This in a way confirms the definition given by Emmett (1992) above.

To physically describe an informal settlement Knight (2004:1 website) says:

It is “rows and rows of shacks built of rusted metal and corrugated iron fixed together to form the shape of a housing structure. Plastic and cardboard are also used to reinforce these structures with an organic town planning of sorts giving it shape”.

Daggafontein informal settlement is no exception to this description by Knight .

An informal settlement is also regarded by Manona et al. (1996) as cheap accommodation. It is cheap in the sense that it is not costly to build, as well as in the sense that it is easy to demolish move to a new location. Its residents do not have tenure or any permanent occupational right to the land on which they live (Robert et al., 1988).

Some informal houses or shacks in Daggafontein are better built than others and their premises are fenced and decorated with flowers. This is similar to what was found in Casablanca Informal Settlement in Holland Basin in the Western Cape in March 1991, where they found that residents place great emphasis on the appearance of their dwellings and their premises (Emmett, 1992).

In Daggafontein, the interior of some of the houses is very beautiful, i.e. with clean floor tiles, wallpaper stuck on the corrugated iron wall, plastic flowers and framed photographs on display. Furnishings are very basic in many dwellings, but in others, there were television sets, beds with matching bedding, refrigerators connected to gas cylinders, chairs, televisions and hi-fi music sets connected to car batteries (**see photograph 1**). For example Mr Shezi uses a car battery for his small black and white television set. He likes to watch soccer on weekends and the news every day when he comes back from work in the late afternoon. His wife watches soapies, dramas and the news in the evening. The

batteries are charged at Lombard, a nearby firm, for R10.00. Mr Shezi suspects that the Lombard employees sometimes take the batteries out of the charger before they are fully charged and because there is long queue of other batteries waiting to be charged as well. He said that “I know if the battery is full it lasts up to four days”. Nonhlanhla, their neighbour’s, battery lasts for more than a week. This is because she does not have a television set, but only a hi-fi, and she only listens to the radio and rarely plays tapes and compact discs. Nonhlanhla always disconnects the battery terminals whenever she leaves the house as she believes that if they are not disconnected, this could cause a fire.



Photograph 1

Daggafontein informal settlement is planned in such a way that people do not just erect a house wherever they want to. The Street Committee members are responsible for locating people in shack rows. Some rows are more congested and narrow than others. The passages in between the shacks are quite spacious as cars can pass without a problem. Problems only arise when there is rain because it becomes muddy and slippery. People of

each row jointly ensure the cleanliness of the passage i.e. picking up papers and this is usually the task delegated to the children after school and during weekends when they have nothing to do. The settlement is generally clean. The Methodist Church runs a recycling project, collecting tins and cardboard which helps to keep the settlement clean. There is also a cleaning project called *Hlabahlaba*. This project employs people to pick up all the garbage in and around the settlement. These two projects will be explored in chapter 5. One of the firms in the area Zincor, has provided the community with rubbish containers, which are placed all over the settlement. These are collected every Friday by trucks to be emptied at a municipal dumping site.

Having spent some time in the settlement I noticed that some people are generally untidy and do not clean their premises, unlike most of the people. Their untidiness cannot be generalized to the rest of the people in the settlement. Abandoned or unoccupied shacks are among the ones that have untidy premises.

Social workers who visit the settlement on a weekly basis encourage people to clean their houses. The social workers have also appointed the community health workers to bathe those who are very sick and also clean their premises.

Some parts of the settlement are somewhat chaotic in the manner in which they are structured. Usually the shacks are arranged in rows, but part of section A and part of section B there is no order. Instead of passages, in these parts there are footpaths in between the shacks. Unlike in section C where there is high car ownership, I noticed that in these parts of the settlement there is no vehicle ownership. In Section C, passages are wide enough for cars to pass. The dense parts of section A and B are crowded and have a large number of shebeens. Moreover, these areas are notorious. This is where most fights occur. In these areas, should anyone require an ambulance, it certainly would not be able to reach the shacks. Also in cases of fire, the fire brigade cannot reach the shacks and the fire would easily spread across from one shack to another as these are very close to each other. I also noticed that in these parts of the settlement, shacks are 'uglier' than the ones in section C, which is along the main road.

Some shacks are built with highly flammable materials such as canvas, plastic, cardboard and planks (see **Photograph 2 and 3**).



Photograph 2



Photograph 3

Dwellings are all numbered, and this was explained by Mr Shoba (a member of the Street Committee) as a way of administering the settlement. They wanted to know how many dwellings there are in the settlement and to register them according to occupants. The settlement is divided into sections from section A to section C. Section B is far away from the road and people have to walk some distance to catch a taxi. Sections A and C are the ones along the road (Vogelstruitsbelt).

Daggafontein informal settlement is not fully connected to municipal services, as it is too small to justify the municipal services such as electricity and a sewerage system (Personal Communication; Springs Chief Town Planner, 2003). Daggafontein is still behind in terms of the provision of basic infrastructure. People use the pit latrine toilet system. Again, the settlement is without electricity and the only street lamp post is near one of the firms. This does not provide light to all the streets of the settlement, but only to those near the firm. It was only in early 2004 that street taps were provided by the EMM. Before these taps were provided, there were only two taps for the whole settlement. Right now there are seventeen street taps scattered across the settlement, which means that about 48 families share one tap.

This settlement is built on land which has not been surveyed to ensure that it is suitable for a residential area. Residents of this settlement do not appear in the lists of ratepayers to the municipality.

The only clinic available to the people of Daggafontein is the one in town. Fortunately, town is not too far from the settlement and R4.50 by taxi. This is a public clinic serving the whole of Ward 50.

3. People of the settlement (Daggafontein)

In 2003, a socio-economic survey was conducted in the settlement, involving a sample of 60 respondents out of about 3200 in total. This sample was not randomised, but was an opportunistic sample. This means there were no set standards for choosing the participants. Participants were chosen on the basis of their availability. The questionnaire was aimed at establishing the socio-economic status of the household, which is generally known to any adult member of the household, especially the married couples.

Associated with the 60 households surveyed are some 245 people, of which 163 are adults and 82 are children below the age of 18. Of the 163 adults, 87 are females whose average age is 33, and 76 are males, whose average age is 37 years.

3.1 Length of stay in Daggafontein

A few people have been living in Daggafontein from as far back as the late 1940s. Mrs Gumbi is an example:

Her parents were working on a gold mine nearby. At that time people were not allowed to erect shacks in Daggafontein, nevertheless after the mineshaft closure, her parents joined the few who had already erected their shacks in this forbidden area. She was then born at this time, in 1946. The police later forcibly removed most of the shacks. Apparently, the owners of the remaining shacks were paid to work as police informers against new people coming in to erect their informal dwellings. Her family was among the removed families. They then went to stay at KwaNdebele and came back to Daggafontein in the late 1970s, when the police had stopped harassing people. In the late 1980s, the number of shacks had grown significantly in the area, and has been increasing since then.

3.2 Where do they come from and why do they come here?

Members of Daggafontein informal settlement have diverse origins, with the majority coming from rural areas. Only a small number of people come from nearby townships. This means that almost all members of Daggafontein informal settlement have rural as well as urban characteristics as they have two houses, one in their rural places of origin, and one in Daggafontein. The majority of people interviewed have come to the Springs area and Daggafontein, in particular, in search of a job, as the interview extracts below indicate. The majority of these people would like to retire to their areas of origin, i.e. rural areas. Daggafontein informal settlement has provided a convenient residential area, in terms of access and affordability, for these people. It is close to the town, which is also

another attraction as people pay only R4.50 to go to town by taxi, which saves them a lot of money.

3.3 How do they hear about Daggafontein?

There seems to be a well-established system of networks and connections within this settlement. This is exemplified by a large number of people having come to Daggafontein through connections such as relatives, a spouse, friends, church links, work mates, etc. People who come to stay in Daggafontein can be divided into two categories: those who came straight from their homes in rural areas to Daggafontein, and those for whom Daggafontein was not their first urban port of call. This suggests that people usually relocate according to where they find employment, thus lessening the degree of permanence in one place. This can be illustrated further by the following extracts from the interviews conducted in 2003 and 2004.

Manjoro and Jomo (below) had a lot to say about the significance of having connections in the settlement. They also pointed out that Daggafontein is a convenient residential area for them. The need for one to visit home also comes out clearly, as they point to the connectedness between the rural and the urban areas. Mr Mashazi also illustrates the significance of a well-established system of social networks and connections within the settlement.

The people below are just ordinary people who do not hold any position in the community of Daggafontein.

Manjoro

“...It is not easy if you don’t know anyone around, life becomes miserable. It is better if you know someone. When I came here, I came to stay with someone I knew from home. After some time I then erected my own shack. This you do by communicating with the local authorities first...”

Jomo

“... This place (Daggafontein) is much closer to a workplace, there are taxis and we do not pay rent. These things are important to someone who is still looking for a job. I came here to stay with my sister. I am not sure that I would have come if there was no one to stay with. She got a job in Durban and left me with the shack”

Mashazi

Mr Mashazi is 38 years old, originally from Mount Frere in the Eastern Cape. He has lived in Daggafontein for 11 years. He is married and has 4 children. One of the children is at home in Mount Frere, and the other 3 are with him and his wife, as they are still too young to attend school. When he came to Springs, he first stayed at Strubenvale. He knew some people who were living in Daggafontein. He then came to Daggafontein, because this is where he has home connections and it is affordable as there is no rent. Where he used to stay he had a very small room, which could not accommodate his family. In Daggafontein he has a nicely built shack.

Manjoro

“... We cannot separate the rural from the urban life because the majority of those who stay at home in rural areas still largely depend on those working in the urban areas. People come to urban areas to look for money in order to better their lives back in the rural areas, so one cannot really separate the two areas”

Mrs Nkosi is a good example of someone who has lived in various other places before coming to live in Daggafontein.

Mrs Nkosi moved three times before she and her family settled in Daggafontein. All these other places were also on the East Rand. First she stayed at Ogies, a farm where her parents worked. After her mother passed away she and her father had to leave the farm. They then went to stay at Endicote, another farm, where they stayed for about three

years; she was about 18 years old at that time. She also got a job on the farm as a domestic worker. After three years they moved to stay in Tsakane Township. Her father passed away before the relocation was completed. She then had to leave her younger siblings and go and look for a job so as to support the family. She got a job in East Daggafonten; this was in 1991. In that year she got married and continued to live and work in East Daggafontein. In 1999, she got fed up with her employers because they were racists, especially towards her child, and she decided to leave them. For instance, they did not want her child to play with theirs. A family friend who was living in Daggafontein told Nkosi that there was space available to erect their dwelling in Daggafontein and so they moved in.

Mrs Mtambo and Mrs Nhlapho below, indicate the desire to retire back in the rural areas.

Mrs Mtambo is originally from KwaNongoma in KwaZulu-Natal. She has previously worked on a pineapple farm in Natal. She came to join her husband in Daggafontein informal settlement in the early 1990s. She is staying with her son and her husband who are both employed by nearby firms. She visits the rural home every three months. She points out that as soon as her husband retires, they will go back home to settle there. However, she says that maybe her son would like to remain in Daggafontein, continuing to use his fathers' shack.

Mrs Nhlapho had this to say:

“... Men have to work for their rural homes because they don't work forever, there is a time when they have to retire and go back home. That is why they have to make sure that they make their homes a better place whilst they are working”

The above interview extracts have shown that people come to Daggafontein informal settlement through connections and in search of jobs. These examples also show that people do not see themselves as living permanently in Daggafontein and give reasons why people are looking forward to retiring in their original rural areas.

4. Lack of infrastructure and problems in the settlement

It has been argued extensively by many scholars that urban growth in Africa has brought with it a barrage of problems, such as unemployment, deteriorating infrastructure, overcrowding, environmental degradation, etc. (Cheru, 2002; Caldeira, 1999; Tripp, 1997; Gunn, 1978). There is also the problem of population growth, which has led to increasing pressure on basic infrastructure. Daggafontein is not immune to such problems as it is still without electricity and an hygienic sewerage system. There is no drainage system whatsoever and when it rains the passages between shacks become large pools of dirty water, increasing the risk of infections associated with such conditions.

I drove around Daggafontein formal and informal settlements to compare the two places. The informal settlement looks neglected in many ways. In terms of infrastructure, the formal settlement is far better off than the informal settlement where infrastructure is virtually non-existent. Up until March 2004, people of Daggafontein informal settlement had been sharing two water taps. It was only after March 2004 that street taps were provided in the passages between the shacks and the number of taps increased from two to 17. This has been a project implemented by the municipality. Some residents thought that this was an electioneering tactic (because of the elections in April 2004) and did not believe that there would be any further development to the settlement.

The street lamp between one of the engineering firms and the settlement had raised hopes that electricity was being installed in the settlement. These hopes were shattered at a meeting held in the settlement on the 15th of March 2004. At this meeting, a representative of the engineering firm had come to plead with the community to stop stealing from the firm. He pointed out that in order to scare off the thieves at night, the firm had to put up a lamp post and that this had nothing to do with any Daggafontein development projects. There are ongoing debates about this lamppost and these will be looked at in chapter five.

The settlement has a high number of households with no source of income. In response to this, the Department of Social Welfare has sought to give food parcels to those families. However, this has caused tensions between the Social Auxiliary Worker and some members of the community. Apparently, a survey was conducted by the Social Workers together with the Social Auxiliary Worker to identify those who are eligible to receive food parcels. People were supposed to fill in the forms at the Social Auxiliary Worker's house. Those who did not fill in the form did not get any food parcels, and were angry, saying that they had been discriminated against by the Social Auxiliary Worker. The timing of these food parcels coincided with the period of electioneering for the 2004 elections. However, in a number of instances, I was present when the Social Auxiliary Worker was inviting people to come and fill in the forms. To me this did not appear to be necessarily aligned to any party politics and electioneering.

4.1 Unused Consumer Goods

Despite all the existing problems and the fact that there is currently virtually no infrastructure, i.e. electricity, roads etc. in the settlement, a substantial number of people own a number of electrical appliances, such as televisions, stoves, microwaves and washing machines. Some people bought these items when they were still staying in town, while others were given such goods as gifts by their employers. Therefore, the people who own such consumer goods are not necessarily affluent. They have decided to keep these goods for when electricity is provided in the settlement. However, some of these goods are being used, powered by car batteries, and others are used for storage. For example, Mr Sukude has got a microwave, which he uses to store his plates and saucers.

Mzwakhe has got a powerful sound system. For this he uses a car battery. To charge his battery, he pays R10.00 to a neighbouring firm. When the battery is flat and he does not have enough money to charge the battery, his street (passage) is quiet and described by others as "boring". When the battery is charged, he takes out the speakers and starts playing his music, almost all day.

5. Daily activities and life in Daggafontein

Like many informal settlements, Daggafontein is a vibrant overcrowded place where people are always on the move. It looks as if everyone is always up to something. There are taxis moving up and down the road, throughout the day. There are hawkers walking up and down the passages between the shacks, selling ice cream, eggs, meat or clothes. There are quite a large number of business activities in Daggafontein, all of which are on a small scale, but the entrepreneurs are very passionate about their business endeavours. These businesses vary from spaza shops, to shebeens, bottle stores and phone shops to individuals selling fruit and sweets next to the road. There is also a community garden, which is run by the members of the community. A number of individuals would like to open their own spaza shops, but cannot do so because of a lack of start-up capital.

5.1 Perceptions on Witchcraft

There is a strong belief in the power of black magic in the settlement. I came across numerous stories of witchcraft. For example, Malibongwe Chonco lost his job at the acrylic firm near the settlement. His feet just became swollen, so that he could no longer continue working. He then had to be replaced as he was a casual employee. Neighbours and people close to him, such as friends and relatives, believe that his live-in partner (girlfriend) is the one responsible. Apparently, Malibongwe was no longer supporting his partner financially and he had gotten himself a new girlfriend with whom he had moved in, leaving his former partner in the shack. The partner got angry and bewitched him so that he would lose his job and so that his new girlfriend would dump him because he would have no money. In that way, the partner hoped that he would then come back to her. Instead he left the settlement and went to stay in KwaThema township with his sister. The former partner is surviving on the government grant for the children.

Another incident of perceived witchcraft is that of Mr Duma who, after being promoted, had an accident in which he cut off his hand. Duma works for a furniture manufacturing factory in Daggafontein. He was supposed to cut a piece of wood using an electrically

powered saw. He does not know how it all happened, but only remembers himself running out of the factory, with colleagues running after him in order to catch him. It was only when they caught him that he realized that he had completely cut off his left hand and he passed out. Next he woke up in a hospital. He still works in that factory, but he now has a supervisory task.

Amputation of his hand is attributed by many to witchcraft. First, he does not know how it happened. Secondly, he does not drink and it was his first task early in the morning. Apparently, he was still new at work having spent about a month in the factory. In the second month, he was promoted to a 'better job'. Therefore people in the community point to him as a perfect example of a bewitched person. They believe that he was bewitched by a jealous colleague because he got promotion.

5.2 Traditional healing in the settlement.

5.2.1 Diviners (izangoma)

There are diviners in the settlement and a commonality among them is that they spend most of the time away from home consulting. Some members of the community make use of them, but this is not done during the day. People from the settlement tend to be embarrassed by the fact that they see local diviners in the evenings. Mrs Shezi has once visited a diviner who is her neighbour and relative. She said "he was very expensive and I did not think he would charge me that much money. In the rural areas where I come from, *sangomas* are very cheap, but here it is like you are going to a medical doctor". The reason why they are so expensive is because they struggle to get herbs in urban areas. Some have to go to rural areas to fetch their *muthi* and travelling costs them a lot. They then consider all these factors when they charge their patients.

5.2.2 Herbalists

Some people are very open in the way they talk about traditional healers. In Daggafontein, there is a popular herbalist called Nkombose. There are people who know

him from the Eastern Cape where he is from originally. He has healed a number of people in the settlement. He heals women who can't conceive and many other illnesses. However, he specializes in toothache. He gets people from town coming to him to heal their teeth. He has got a special mixture that stops the toothache and gum pain.

5.3 Boredom and the use of alcohol in the settlement

Having mentioned the liveliness of Daggafontein, one also has to mention that there is virtually nothing an unemployed person can do to occupy him or herself during the day, except become self-employed, or seek employment outside the settlement. This results in boredom. I have observed young unemployed individuals who wake up late, take a bath, and prepare something to eat, and then start visiting friends. Older men do not visit each other in their houses, but meet in shebeens, where they gather in large groups.

The young men without partners have other mechanisms to cope with boredom, such as doing washing, cooking, cleaning their premises and job-hunting. They also like to play board games and cards. The boredom levels seem therefore to be higher among older married men who spend the day drinking. Married men with their wives in the settlement do not have to do all the household chores such as cooking, and washing. After drinking in a shebeen, some men become abusive to their wives. Most cases of such abuse have been attributed to alcohol consumption.

Mrs Hlongwa (who has an abusive husband):

Almost every week this family has a fight resulting from alcohol. Mr Hlongwa drinks too much and spends most of his time at work where he also has a room. Each time he comes home to the shack, he fights with his wife. She has actually taken steps to chase him away from the house. Their fights usually start when Mrs Hlongwa asks for money to buy food in the house. These fights are mostly verbal.

Mrs Mchunu, originally from Dundee, came to stay with her husband, who works in a firm near the settlement, in 1987. They have three children, and their first-born is fifteen years old. Her husband usually beats her up when he is drunk. During the week when I visited her, she had not been beaten. “He has not beaten me since I came back from home last week”. Mrs Mchunu thinks her husband beats her because he drinks too much and when she confronts him about that he starts to beat her. She had been at home for a month and she mentioned that she had only come back for the sake of her children, who go to school in Daggafontein.

5.4 Voluntary associations in the Settlement

This section briefly introduces the existing voluntary associations in Daggafontein. A more comprehensive account will be provided in Chapter 5 (Patterns of Association in Daggafontein).

5.4.1 Political parties

Except for the few members who are prominent branch leaders, people do not talk about politics. There are three main political parties in Daggafontein; those are African National Congress (ANC), popular among the youth, the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), popular amongst the older generation. One observed constant clashes between the ANC and DA parties during the campaign for the 2004 elections. During this time, only the ANC had its posters put up at every street corner and in Spaza Shops.

5.4.2 Prayer groups

The Methodist church members have formed a voluntary prayer group. This group visits the sick in their dwellings to say prayers, and in some cases they bring foodstuffs to the needy families. This group is largely made up of women, as they seem to dominate religious activities in the settlement

5.4.3 Home boy/girl groups

There are *abakhaya*³ groups in Daggafontein and these usually form drinking groups among the older men and prayer groups among women. However, drinking groups are not always made up of people from the same home area. Rather, these groups are formed by people with common interests, such as those who work together; the unemployed; neighbours, same age group, and same gender, but not necessarily same home area. Francis (2002: 9) seems to agree when he claims that “networks are not limited only to issues of identity”.

5.5 Community differentiated/ undifferentiated

To further describe Daggafontein patterns of association, two models of human interrelatedness are adopted. According to Wilsworth (1980), a differentiated community is a hierarchical one that shows elements of individualism. She sees an undifferentiated community as one with equal individuals. Such a community is made up of individuals who mutually recognize the importance of each other, where there are no differences in terms of wealth in the community. The latter model shows a strong social bond among community members.

Daggafontein to a certain extent reflects both models and I think this makes the settlement rather ambiguous.

This is observable in the fact they all live under similar conditions. They all live in the ‘shacks’, in life-threatening conditions. In this sense, they are all exposed to similar dangers. This makes them talk of the problems in the settlement as “our problems”. They all seem to be looking forward to seeing an improvement in conditions in their settlement. These problems affect each one of them, young and old, schooled and

³ *Abakhaya* (plural form) is a term referring to people from the same home area

unschooled. The bad conditions of the settlement seem to draw the community together. I therefore assert that in this sense, the community of Daggafontein is undifferentiated.

However, there are some elements of differentiatedness within the community. This is caused by the generational or age differences and by the fact that some people see Daggafontein as urban and adopt an urban individualistic behaviour. Some see Daggafontein as not so urbanized and behave in a rather more rural manner, and these tend to be the elderly. Some people are slightly better off financially than others and this leads to visible community differentiatedness in terms of, for example, of what people wear and drink.

Community differentiatedness is displayed by some of those who are in positions of leadership in the community. For example, an elderly member of the Street Committee seems to use his seniority to exert more power. On my initial arrival in the settlement, this elderly member tended to be a stern gate-keeper and, according to his co-members, he wanted to be above all of them. Generally, older people demand more reverence from the youngsters. They often see young people as “lazy”, as “not seeking employment” and as “disrespectful”. I see this as a potential threat to the undifferentiated nature of the community.

Again, the fact that some people are unemployed, seems to relegate them to a rather lower status than those who are working. Most people who have full-time employment are older males. Somehow they seem to think that this gives them the right to regard the younger male counterparts as unworthy of equal social status. In fact, in long term poor settlements, power relations are very crucial for survival. In these circumstances, the older and the wealthier tend to lead the community. These differences are more familiar in rural areas where there are clear distinctions between age-groups, gender groups, etc. Assuming that Daggafontein is urban, such behaviour is inappropriate. Many people come to urban areas because they want their own personal space and freedom from being subject to the elders and especially to male parents. It is unfortunate therefore that the

young males are continually being subjected to social relegation. This also shows some sort of rural extension, where the rural behaviour is extended to the urban areas.

A study conducted by Spiegel and Yose (1998) in a Cape Town informal settlement is another good example of this dilemma. In this, it appeared that the residents of Marconi Beam (informal settlement) saw it as a rural space and talked about the formal housing settlement as an urban space. In this case, some behaviours, especially the egalitarian interactions such as reciprocity, visiting, etc. are seen as more appropriate to rural areas than to urban areas. Though in this case such rural and urban distinctions were seen by Spiegel and Yose as tropes or to be used in a figurative sense, the point here is that some behaviours are more appropriate in rural areas than in urban areas. In Daggafontein, which some older people continue to regard as a rural space while the younger people see it as an urban space, this creates differences and disparities.

The younger people in the informal settlement seem to be more educated than their older counterparts. This is an interesting scenario as it shows that arrows of 'social relegation' point to both sides. For example, the educated members of Daggafontein seem to undermine those who have no formal education at all and this happens in subtle ways. The case briefly mentioned above is that of the elderly member of the street committee. His younger colleagues do not take him seriously. One of his colleagues told me that I must "... just ignore the old man, he does not understand and he will not understand even if you explain the purpose of your research because he is not educated." This was when the "old man" delayed the process of granting me a permission to conduct research in the settlement. Apparently, he (the old man) believed that I was going to disturb projects in the pipeline. This was eventually solved at the Municipal offices. In this instance, therefore education seems to play a differentiating role in the community of Daggafontein.

Conclusion

In summary, Daggafontein informal settlement is recognised and falls under Ward 50 of the EMM. It is a settlement surrounded by firms that offer employment to many of its residents. It is made up of about 800 unserviced makeshift dwellings made from corrugated iron, plastic and cardboard.

Most of the people in this settlement come from the rural areas of Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Northern Cape and from North West province. A large number of people, who come to Daggafontein through connections, come to seek employment.

Though a number of street water taps have been installed, the settlement is still without electricity, a drainage system, proper toilets, tarred streets in between the shacks, etc.

This settlement is lively, with people moving up and down the streets, and going about their daily household chores. As in many societies, members of this community have perceptions about witchcraft and also make use of local diviners and herbalists. There are also voluntary associations, such as political parties, church groups and drinking groups. These offer certain patterns of association in the settlement.

This chapter has provided a general overview and background of Daggafontein and has served as an introduction to subsequent chapters. What has been briefly discussed here will be discussed in greater details in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4

MAKING A LIVING IN DAGGAFONTEIN

Life may be tough in Daggafontein with high unemployment rates and poverty, but people still fend for themselves in order to make ends meet. Somehow people have found ways of making a living in this informal settlement. People rely not only on full-time employment, but on other means of making a living. Most people rely on full-time or part-time paid employment. Some people own small businesses, while others have resorted to agriculture out of which they make a living. There are also those who are not employed and do not have businesses, who depend on others who are able to support them; such as those who receive disability grants for various ailments and others who resort to illegal sources of income such as theft. Based on observation, a number of people would be in serious poverty and would not survive without some supplementary means of making a living. It is also noteworthy that a family may survive by means of more than one source of income generation.

In exploring the ways in which the community of Daggafontein makes a living, this chapter will consider the definitions of employment and unemployment. The discussion will show the flexible nature and the manner in which these terms are used by various research institutions. The chapter will also explore the socio-economic characteristics of the community of Daggafontein. In so doing, the chapter will look at family incomes and access to government grants.

It will also be pertinent to look at the types of work available in the settlement and what such work requires. In this section the occupations preferred by the people in this settlement will be discussed. By preferred occupation here one refers to the best possible, most realistic and appropriate job a person can get. A preferred occupation is not necessarily the best paying job and has little to do with competence. In this sense, a preferred occupation is a job that a person likes. This discussion will give a hint as to whether or not the people prefer urban oriented types of jobs or not.

Some of the work available in the settlement is self-created work, in other words some people are self-employed and are running their own small businesses. In this regard, the chapter will define what it means to be self-employed and will consider the arguments and debates in the literature regarding self-employment in the formal and informal sectors. The discussion will show that the formal and informal sectors are part of the same continuum and that they coexist.

Using examples, one will discuss a number of small businesses operating in the settlement. Some of these businesses are well accepted by the community and others are not and are thus less favorable, at least to some members of the community. In this section one will point out people's perceptions of such less favorable enterprises. This discussion will further explore the businesses that are not doing well financially and will consider the factors affecting their lack of success. Urban agriculture will be considered as a sub-section of this section of the chapter as a community business venture that is not doing well financially.

Problems facing small businesses in the informal settlements can be generalized throughout the country. In other words, there are common problems facing small businesses everywhere. This section will offer a discussion of these problems.

Again, other than employment and self-employment, there are other means of making a living such as theft. This section will discuss theft as a way to top up and /or supplement incomes.

This chapter will also offer a discussion on prostitution in the settlement. This business is among those that are frowned upon by members of the community. However, it is one of the ways in which some people make a living.

The formal definition of employment does not include those who are in casual employment; and this chapter will discuss unemployment together with casual employment in the settlement in the same section of the chapter.

Finally, the chapter will also argue that there is socio-economic security available in rural areas for some Daggafontein urban-based individuals. In this section one will argue that people in Daggafontein have got a safety net available in their rural areas. This is a socio-economical safety net.

1. Definitions of Employment and Unemployment.

There are many subtleties involved in defining employment and unemployment, and this is caused primarily by the fact that the employed and the unemployed are not homogenous groups. Within the employed and the unemployed there are many other divisions and/or groups. This has led to a number of definitions for either employment or unemployment being adopted to suit those defining the terms. Resulting from this is the use of stricter and expanded definitions of these terms. For example, this was the case in a study conducted by Møller from 1987 to 1990 in Soweto, Mdantsane and KwaMashu. In this study, Møller was looking at the quality of life in unemployment in three townships. Also there is a study by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) conducted between 1998 and 1999 in the Eastern Cape, Northern Province and KwaZulu-Natal, where they were looking at the coping strategies of the unemployed. In both these studies the formal definitions of employment and unemployment were acknowledged, but expanded definitions were also developed.

1.1 Employment

In economic terms Rutherford defines employment as “the engagement of a factor of production in a productive activity with the result that it receives a factor income. Employment gives people wages or salaries and rewards capital with interest or profits” (Rutherford,1992:147).

Below are other definitions of employment. Employment is defined as including “everyone who is fifteen years and above who works five or more hours a week for a wage, profit or family gain, either in cash or in kind (Erasmus, 1999).

The official definition of employment by Statistics South Africa is as follows:

An employed person is:

- a) “any person, excluding an independent contractor, who works for another person or for the State and who receives, or is entitled to receive, any remuneration”
- b) “any other person who in any manner assists in carrying on or conducting the business of an employer” (Statistics South Africa, Website).

In brief, employment is a situation where members of a labour force are in employment (Barker 1992 cited in Erasmus, 1999).

The formal definition of employment is rather subtle and not specific in terms of days and times worked in a week, but it is the embodiment of other employment definitions. It therefore goes without saying that the professionals like doctors fall into the group of the self-employed and do not fall under the above definition.

1.2 Unemployment

According to Barker (1992 cited in Erasmus, 1999: ix), unemployment is “a situation where members of the labour force are without work and are currently available for work, and are seeking work”.

Another definition given by Møller (1992) is that which classifies the unemployed as those persons of fifteen years and older who are not in any paid employment or self-employment and have not worked for five hours in a week for salary, profit or family gain in cash or in kind. This definition further adds that such persons must be currently

available for paid employment or self-employment; and they must be willing to find paid employment or self-employment.

In other words, an unemployed person is a work seeker whose attempts to find employment are repeatedly discouraged by the lack of job opportunities or by his/her lack of marketable skills. This excludes those who are unemployable such as the aged, the incapacitated and those who are too young to be able to work, i.e. infants and scholars, as they are not currently looking for work.

The formal definition of unemployment as adopted by Statistics South Africa, is that which defines the unemployed as the economically active people who do not work and want work and are available to start work. They must also be taking active steps to look for work or to start self-employment activities, this includes only persons who want to work and no students, those at school or infants (Kane-Berman et al, 2001 website; Erasmus, 1999).

2. Socio-economic characteristics of community.

2.1 Family income

According to the survey, an average well off family in Daggafontein earns about R3000.00 a month. About R2475 a month is spent in the settlement and about R525 is sent home to those looking after the house in the rural areas. Money is spent mostly on the following items in Daggafontein: food, paraffin and coal, transport, alcohol and tobacco, church, clothing, health and cleaning materials.

Each family differs on the kinds of foods it spends its money on. However, it emerged from the survey that the types of foods most popular are: rice, mealie meal, bread, tea, chicken, fruits, potatoes, eggs and fish.

From observing the passengers offloading their groceries from taxis, one noticed that these groceries are bought in small sizes and quantities. Discussing this with a number of people, four reasons were established, and those are that most people get paid on a weekly basis and cannot afford to purchase large sizes of whatever they purchase. They also cannot afford to buy all their groceries in one go; they would rather buy bit by bit. The second reason is that it is not convenient to carry large bags in a taxi and if you do “you have to pay more for each of your big bags”. Taxi drivers are very strict with luggage, and they require each passenger to put his belongings on his lap so as not to take space for other passengers. The third reason according to Jomo is that “when the neighbours see you carrying big packets of groceries, they will immediately follow you and ask for (borrow) whatever it is that they saw you carrying”. The fourth reason is that when you are seen carrying a large number of groceries, “it creates an impression that you have more money or you are better off financially than the rest of the people in the neighborhood.”

2.2 Access to Pensions or Grants

Out of the 60 households, which were involved in a sample survey, there are 5 households with access to a child support grant and only one receiving an old age pension. Thus, based on this sample one can say that 8.3% (5) households of the surveyed population have people with access to a government support and disability grant or old age pension. Sixty per cent (37) have relatives receiving grants and/or pensions, who are not in Daggafontein, but who support their members in the settlement. The remaining 30% (18) do not have any one in their household who has access to either a grant or pension. While these statistics may not necessarily be representative of the whole Daggafontein population, they give a glimpse of the reality in the settlement. During my final visit to the settlement, I was asked by Ms Qali to read her a letter she had received from the Department of Social Welfare. The letter was written in English and she does not understand English. This letter was telling her that according to the doctor’s report received by the department she did not qualify to receive a disability grant. Ms Qali told me she could not understand why the doctor wrote such a report

because she was still sick. Apparently, Ms Qali is diabetic and claims that she cannot see properly, she often faints and she therefore believes that she is disabled and deserves a grant. She said she was going to appeal to the Department of Social Welfare.

The adult population of Daggafontein seems younger than would be the case in established rural or urban settlements, and it seems to be the case that it is mainly the economically active job-seekers that come to Daggafontein in the first place, and who stay there.

Walking around the settlement one would hardly ever come across a very old person, and even those that appear old are still very active. For example, Mr Mlambo is a pensioner, but he still rides his bicycle to work in the community garden. He also runs a spaza shop. He currently stays with his wife and grand children in the settlement. He mentioned that his older brother's wife did not get along with his own wife and so he decided to leave his family to come and settle in Daggafontein.

There is the case of Mr Motlakoane, who came to stay in Daggafontein in the late 1950s. At that time, he was working as a domestic worker in the White neighborhood near Daggafontein informal settlement. Mr. Motlakoane has a beautiful vegetable garden surrounding his shack. He sells these vegetables to his neighbours. From this garden he is making enough money to keep him going. Since he does not have a wife and children, he sends some of his pension money to his brother's grandchildren who go to school in the rural areas of Lesotho.

Another example is that of Mr Makhanya, who was retrenched from the mines. He stays with his wife in the settlement and runs a shebeen. He mentioned that his two sons, who also have shacks in the settlement, do not support him, instead they are the ones who sometimes borrow money from him. This gives the idea that since Mr Makhanya is not a pensioner yet he finds it difficult to go back home because there no one will support him financially. This explains why he is still in Daggafontein even after his retirement. He visits home when there is a need and also during the December holidays.

It appears that those old people, who are no longer employed, do not go home either because of family problems or because they do not have families to go back to or even property back home. All in all, there is a low proportion of pensioners in Daggafontein.

By contrast, interviews reveal that some people are looking forward to going back home to the rural areas soon after they retire from work. These people seem to have a strong social security network. For instance, their children are old enough to take over the support of the family.

2.3 Characteristics of heads of house (sampled)

Twenty-three respondents (38%) are heads of household; 9 of these are men and 14 women.

All nine men are married, with an average age of 39 years. Their average educational level is Grade 7. Six out of the 9 are employed, with the remaining three being unemployed. None of these men receive any grants or pensions. Their spouses support them. The average time that they have lived in Daggafontein is 8.3 years; with the maximum period being 22 years, and the minimum period being 2 years.

Of the 14 women, 7 (50%) are single; 1 (7.1%) is married; 5 (35.7%) are widowed and 1 (7.1%) is divorced. Their average age is 38 years and educational level is Grade 7. Four are employed, and 10 are unemployed. None of the women receive grants or pensions. The single women have spent an average of 4.1 years living in Daggafontein, with the widows and the divorcee having spent substantially longer there. Women who came to Daggafontein with their husbands would thus appear to stay on after the termination of their marriages – most probably because of what they see as better livelihood opportunities in the urban areas.

The above statistics indicate that there are women heading their households. It also shows that some unemployed men are actually financially dependent on their spouses who are

employed. It has to be noted that being the only employed member of the family does not necessarily make the women the head of house. The head of house is the one who decides how the household income is spent. However, as seen in the statistics above, in urban areas, some women are breadwinners of their families.

2.4 Females and unemployment rate (sampled)

The rate of unemployment among females (48%) is higher than among males (30.5%) in the settlement, according to the sample. Those who are employed are slightly better educated than their unemployed counterparts, and are also older which makes sense, as they would have had longer to find their way into the employment market. This has also been confirmed by other surveys conducted in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. According to these other surveys, the unemployment rate is 38%, with the female rate of 48%, higher than that among males (30.5%) (Pulles et al, 2003:7).

Cited by the Government Department of Labour are the unemployment statistics provided by Statistics South Africa, which revealed that out of 6 263 674 women in South Africa in 1996, 2 631 730 of them were not employed in March 2004. This is against 2 039 917 of 7 521 820 males in the country, who were also unemployed (Department of Labour, website). These figures cut across race lines.

The reason why more women are unemployed especially in Daggafontein can be attributed to the fact that places of employment surrounding Daggafontein are factories, which employ mainly males. The only places that offer employment to women are the hospitals and the white neighbourhoods where women are employed as domestic workers. From my own observations, women did not seem to be active job seekers. For example, on one hand each and every weekday and on Saturdays, large numbers of males sit outside the gates of the firms and next to street intersections hoping to be hired to do either permanent or casual employment. These guys are up for anything. On the other hand, women are more visible in the settlement going about their daily household chores and at the taxi stops, going to town. They do not seem to have the boldness to go hunting

for jobs the way that males do. This could be because most women have and stay with partners who offer financial support and have other things to do, as pointed out later in the chapter. For example, Nomonde told me that though she was looking for a job, which she eventually found in a restaurant in town, her boyfriend was very supportive financially.

3. Work available in Daggafontein

It has been mentioned in the previous chapter (Chapter 3), that when factories were opened, the number of Daggafontein residents started growing as people came from all over the country to look for employment. Firms provided accommodation for their employees. Until the late 1960s, only 1% of the Black labour force qualified for and was allowed to stay in family housing especially on gold mines. In the early 1970s, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner (in some areas) ruled that children were no longer permitted to stay in the company accommodation (Wilson; 1972). The bulk of the accommodation provided by the gold mines was single sex compounds, in which no women and children could come and stay with their husbands.

Some companies still provide accommodation for their employees. However, the wives and children of the employees are not accommodated in the company accommodation. These are not dormitories such as were used in the past, before the abolition of influx control. It is interesting that some men would rather have two places of accommodation, the one provided by the firm and the one in the informal settlement. The following case of Mrs Mzimela is a good example of this.

“My husband came here earlier than me; we have been here for eight years now. When he came, he came with a friend of his whom he stayed with for a while. I do not think that if that friend of his was not there he would have come to stay here. Actually he wanted to stay where he works, but I insisted that he actually erects a shack here because I had also found a job nearby and I could not stay where I worked. I preferred that we stay together here.”

Again, the number of women grew because they followed their husbands to town, but Daggafontein started off as a place for people employed by the nearby firms.

The following firms near Daggafontein provide employment to the people of this area: ZINCOR (a zinc producing firm); Sphinx Acrylic Bathroom ware factory; Lombard Engineering; Pensa Transport (courier company); Africa Engineering; Top Color Panel Beaters; Aztech Metals; Anglo-Gold mine (Daggafontein Division); Vitanova Hospital; ERWAT/ANCOR Sewage Works; SANEL and Springs Town Council. Daggafontein is a strategic area for people looking for both accommodation and employment. Some of these firms mentioned above do not have accommodation. In fact only one firm still offers accommodation to some of its employees but only permanent staff. Lombard Engineering for instance still provides accommodation for its five permanent staff members. These are not proper houses, but structures made of corrugated iron. They are right behind the factory. They are single rooms that serve as a kitchen, bedroom and a bathroom. I spoke to Mr Hlongwa who also has a room at the back of the firm. His room is cramped with his wife's electrical appliances (stove, fridge, and a washing machine), it also has a single bed belonging to him. The room has electricity and one window next to the door. Mr Hlongwa says he does not always stay in this room. During the period when I was there, he seemed to be using the room only to keep his lunchbox. He stays with his wife in the informal settlement or '*emkhukhwini*' as they call the settlement. People say he only stays in this room when he has had a fight with his wife, and he stays there for a few days to cool off.

Mr Hlongwa also told me that he uses the room during the Christmas holidays when the firm is closed. Apparently, the firm trusts him to act as a security officer during this time. The firm has an alarm system and security lights, but over long holidays there has to be someone in the yard. He says he gets paid R1400.00 for this job in January when the firm re-opens. During these holidays, other employees who stay full-time in these rooms usually go home and there is no one left in the premises of the firm. Therefore, one can say that accommodation is also offered for strategic reasons on the part of the firm, as

this firm has had many incidents of break-ins and theft during weekends when some people have gone home to places outside Springs.

Another employee told me that Lombard was initially a Church building and it was later used by a certain firm from outside Johannesburg as a workplace, this firm came with its employees and had to offer them accommodation. When the firm left, it left some (five) of the rooms to Lombard Engineering which was taking over the premises.

It is said that in the past, other firms also offered a place to stay to their employees. One of those firms is Zincor. A large number of Zincor employees stay either at KwaThema Township or in Daggafontein with the exception of a few who stay in town. In closing its accommodation, some people believe that Zincor is trying to cut down on expenses. For example, it retrenched 60 employees between April and September 2004, and it is now making use of casual employees. People therefore believe that accommodation was a liability to the firm as it needed to be maintained and provided with water and electricity.

Most of the other firms do not really need to offer accommodation as they work 24 hours a day and make use of casual labourers. Mr Mbuli who also works in a nearby firm, Befcan, said that there are over 700 people working in the firm, only 7 of whom are permanent employees, and the firm does not offer accommodation to any of the employees. Most of the employees either stay in Daggafontein, town or KwaThema and travel by taxi everyday.

The following tables show the occupations of members of households in Daggafontein in employment. People were not necessarily happy with these occupations, but were happy that they had a job.

These tables show the frequency of the occupation according to gender. It is noteworthy that the figures below are taken from the sample of 60 mentioned before and serve as indicators of the situation. The figures should not create the impression that these are the

only jobs or occupations available in Daggafontein. In all probability there are other occupations in Daggafontein.

Table 1: Occupation by frequency – Females in Daggafontein

Occupation	Frequency
Domestic work	12
Catering	3
Cleaner	2
Social Auxiliary Worker	1
Security Officer	1
Spaza shop attendant	1
TOTAL	20

Table 2: Occupation by Frequency – Males in Daggafontein

Occupation	Frequency
Manual Worker	19
Driver	3
Mine Worker	3
Security Officer	3
Cleaner	3
Machine Operator	2
Engineering Assistant	1
Office Administrator	1
TOTAL	35

Those working full time in the formal sector had different stories of how they secured their jobs, and whether it was their choice or not. The most typical of these stories is that they were referred or heard about the job opening by someone they knew, either a relative or a friend. They have changed jobs a number of times in different parts of the country

before they found their current occupations. Below is the typical example of Mr Matshatshi:

Mr Matshatshi

He is from the North West Province. He is coming from a family of two brothers and two sisters. They are all married now. He goes to the Zion Christian Church and did not complete his standard ten, due to financial problems in the family.

He came to stay in Daggafontein in 1994 with his wife. They have two children, a boy and a girl. The boy was born in 1996 and stays at home in North West. They have their daughter who is still very young (about a year old) with them.

Mr Matshatshi worked at Witbank in a certain firm for a number of years and was later retrenched. He knew some people who were in Daggafontein. He then came to join them. He immediately found employment in a firm called Aluminium Chemicals cc. at Springs. This was not a specialized job, but a general manual job. His second job was that of a Security Officer in a “small security firm in town” (Springs). He is now working for a bigger security firm (SA Security) also in town. He thinks he has a good job there as he is getting paid more than he used to get in the previous security company.

He is happy in Daggafontein except that “there is poor infrastructure”.

As mentioned before, some people in the settlement are employed in the formal sector or are not registered employees, but are employed by individuals in the community. Again, their employment history is not different from that of those in the formal sector. What also emerges is that people have to have connections in Daggafontein before they can secure employment. The following interview is with a single woman who secured her current job with the help of her sister, who works in Daggafontein:

Doris Segoje

[Researcher] “Tell me about your employment history”.

[Doris] “My first job in 1996 was at Tzaneen in a restaurant. A friend of mine was working there; we were from the same home area. She is the one who told me about the job. I went there and spoke to the owner of the restaurant and he asked if I could speak Afrikaans, and I said yes. He then said I should start immediately. I used to be an all-rounder doing a bit of everything. Sometimes I would clean at his house and wash glasses for the bar in the restaurant. I was very busy because I used to work from six in the morning until six in the evening; there was no time for me to rest. People (co-workers) were nice. We got along very well”.

[Researcher] “Why and how did you leave that job”?

[Doris] “There was too much work and the money was very little. Sometimes I would work until twelve o’clock midnight, especially when someone was absent from work. On Saturdays the place used to be very busy and we did not sleep at all. I told the boss at some stage that there was too much work for the money he was giving us. In response, he used to promise that he would definitely increase our pay. I was getting R300.00 a month. I was also not allowed to take a day off because no one would do my work when I was off. There were people who could do my job, but they could not speak Afrikaans. I then told him that I could no longer cope with the workload he was giving me. I was also unhappy because he did not increase my salary. I then told him I was leaving the job. He pleaded with me, promising to transfer me to another restaurant. I refused his offer because, that other restaurant was far and there was no accommodation provided and there were no taxis, which I could take. I then quit the job”

[Researcher] “When you left your first job, did you have another job waiting for you or did you still had to look for one and how long did it take you to find another job”?

[Doris] “I had no job waiting for me when I left the first one, I was still looking for one. I could not find another job for approximately two years”

“I got my second job at Dion, a shop in Tzaneen. Another boy from my village called me for a job opening. He was a store manager there. It was a temporary job at the parcel counter. It lasted for two months.”

[Researcher] “Where did you go after this”?

[Doris] “I wet to work at Orange farm, this was temporary domestic work. It lasted for about four months. After this I went back home to Tzaneen. Again I stayed at home for two full years without a job.”

[Researcher] “What was your next job and where”?

[Doris] “ The next job was this I am doing here. I am a Spaza shop attendant. The owner of the Spaza shop does not stay here, so I am looking after it selling and buying stock. My sister who works here (Daggafontein) got the job for me. When I came here, I already had this job waiting for me.”

The above stories also show that generally, people who are looking for employment do not really have a choice in the jobs they do, most people are desperate and accept anything that comes their way. There are however, a few that can afford to be selective in the jobs they do. Supposedly, these individuals can afford to be selective because they

have kin backing and are thus not too desperate. However, once people have a job, they feel that they have the power to change jobs, especially if they are not satisfied.

Besides the jobs in the above tables, the people in the sample said they would prefer other jobs. Those “other jobs” are listed in the following tables (**Table 3 and 4**). Note that the following tables include responses by individuals who are currently unemployed, so the figure will be higher (60) than in the tables above.

Table 3: Preferred Male Occupations

Occupation	Total out of 17	Percentage
Mechanical Engineering	5	29.4
Farming	2	11.7
Business Administration	2	11.7
Any Job	2	11.7
Chemical Engineering	1	5.8
Office Administration	1	5.8
Social Work	1	5.8
Electrical Engineering	1	5.8
Traffic Officer	1	5.8
Machine Operator	1	5.8
Total	17	100

Some of the preferred occupations were not exactly realistic because the men were not qualified for such occupations, for example, mechanical engineering, chemical engineering, and electrical engineering. I mention these few because they require a rather expensive and high level of education. These are the careers that they would have chosen if the circumstances allowed. These were the occupations that they would have liked.

Table 4: Preferred Female Occupations

Occupation	Total Number out of 43	Percentage
Business Administration	11	25.5
Catering and Hospitality	10	23.2
Any Job	10	23.2
Farming	3	6.9
Dressmaking	3	6.9
Computer Science	2	4.6
Hairdressing	2	4.6
Teaching	1	2.3
Radio DJ	1	2.3
Total	43	100

These tables revealed that a large number of people both men and women would like to be employed in urban type occupations. This could be because these are highly paid jobs, or because these individuals prefer the urban lifestyle with which these occupations are often associated. These occupations are different from the actual jobs that they (the people of the settlement) are currently doing, in the sense that their status is clearly not the same.

The women's preferred jobs have a higher status than the actual jobs, and also require higher education levels. Unlike with the men, most of these occupations are not unrealistic aspirations and do not require higher-level education and/or training and can be attained easily.

4. Self-employment and the informal sector

Empirically it is not an easy task to determine what falls into the informal sector and how the informal sector differs from the formal sector. In this regard, the October Household Survey (OHS) of 1997 – 1999 has to be considered in order to shed some light on this area. According to OHS and Labour Force Surveys in the years mentioned above, three criteria were used to determine if the enterprise falls under formal or informal sector: 1) “whether the enterprise offering employment is a registered company, 2) whether the enterprise pays tax and 3) whether the enterprise regards itself as ‘informal’” (Simkins, 2004: 256). In the light of these three criteria set by the OHS and the Labour force Surveys, one would see anything falling outside of these criteria as falling into the informal sector. To be employed in this sector would then mean that one is employed in a business that does not have a value added tax number, or does not pay tax and is not registered.

Defined by Barker, the informal sector is an area of “unorganized, unregulated and mostly legal, but unregistered economic activities that are individually or family owned and [that make] use [of] simple labour-intensive technology” (cited in Erasmus, 1999:x).

Statistics South Africa defines the informal sector as a sector consisting of “those businesses that are not registered in any way, [such businesses] are generally small in nature and are seldom run from businesses premises. Instead, they are generally run from homes, street pavements and other informal arrangements” (Statistics South Africa, Website).

In its 90th session in 2002, the International Labour Organization (ILO) acknowledged the potential of this sector for reducing unemployment. The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) estimated that in 1996, 16% of South Africans took part in informal sector activities. According to the ILO there was 26.1% South Africans involved in this sector in 2002 (ILO Bureau of Statistics cited in ILO, 2002 website). According to recent

statistics provided by the Statistician-General, Pali Lehohla of Statistics South Africa, South Africa's informal economy employs up to 1.8 million people (Boyle, 2004).

These statistics suggest an increase in terms of the number of participants in this economy. However, it is not known exactly how many people participate in the informal sector in South Africa, especially because they are not registered anywhere. It is noteworthy also that the numbers can be fluctuating seasonally for instance; there are more participants in summer than in winter depending on a type of enterprise.

The ILO conference highlighted how vulnerable the participants of this sector are. It noted that the work in this sector is not "decent" compared to the recognized, protected, secure, formal employment" (ILO, 2002:1 website). However, this also varies as some informal jobs pay well, and have generous benefits. Nevertheless, the sector remains vulnerable and unprotected.

This sector is characterized by Sofisa (1991: 4) as having "easy entry; reliance on ... [natural] resources, family ownership, and labour-intensive production techniques". Before the new political dispensation in South Africa, the informal sector businesses were and to a certain extent are still not receiving support from the government, which has favoured the large-scale multi national corporations (MNC's). However, the government is gradually establishing financial structures, falling under the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and business incubators to assist the informal economy. The only question to ask now is how accessible are these institutions to the majority of the informal business participants both in urban and in rural areas? It should be noted that most of the informal business people do not have legal representation and also do not have security of property and thus financial institutions are reluctant to grant them loans.

It is asserted by Bank et al. (1996:2) "the informal sector businesses create economic opportunities for the previously disadvantaged communities". It is within this sector that people start their own business ventures and are regarded as self-employed. Some characterize being self-employed in this context as being denied the security of the labour

market or enough opportunities for employment as provided in the macro economic policies. The self-employed are denied employment security, which would protect them against unfair dismissal and other regulations related to employment security. They are also not protected against accidents or illnesses at work through the enforcement of proper health and safety standards. Finally, the self-employed in this sector do not have security of income, and their incomes may also not be a living wage (Unni and Rani, 2003; ILO, 2002 website).

Whether or not this sector can really provide sustainable employment without the backing of the formal sector is also still in question. The government can intervene, by offering more business incubators, loans, the necessary training, protection and security of employment.

The ILO (ILO, 2002 website) generally argues for the formalization of the informal economy. There may be many ulterior motives for this argument by the ILO, both positive as well as negative. On the positive side, it could be because this international organisation genuinely feels the need to protect the vulnerable participants of the informal economy; or it could be that the informal sector poses a threat to the formal economy by evading tax, and thus the ILO wants to end tax evasion by formalising this economy. This would be disadvantageous to the informal sector.

4.1. Misconceptions about the informal sector

One should at this point correct several misconceptions about the informal sector. Firstly, it would be erroneous to assume that the sector is small because over the past decade this sector has created more jobs than the formal sector (ILO, 2002 website). Again, some of the informal businesses are not small and are required by the South African Revenue Services (SARS) to pay tax, which some of them deliberately avoid. This is illegal. Secondly, this sector is not restricted to the poor as many would assume. Thirdly, it would be a mistake to argue that the self-employed are necessarily part of the informal sector; this is not necessarily the case. In other words as long as the business is registered

it becomes a formal and legal entity. Fourthly, informal activities are often mistaken for criminal activities. For example, it may be true that the business is not formally recognised, but that does not make its services or its products illegal or criminal. Finally, as stated by ILO, there is always the misconception that the informal sector does not have any rules, arrangements, financial institutions etc. and that is not true. The informal sector has access to its own small financial institutions such as micro lenders etc. They also have their own informal structures representing them. These above-mentioned misconceptions about the informal sector will be discussed below.

The informal sector is made up of a wide range of vending, productive, services and trade activities in rural, urban areas, in the inner cities and in the periphery, suburban and informal settlements. Therefore informal sector can operate anywhere and at any scale, but if they (enterprises) remain unregistered, regard themselves as informal and do not pay tax, they still remain informal.

Within the informal sector there are legal as well as illegal business activities. These businesses can sometimes be illegal. For example drug trafficking, prostitution etc. (ILO, 2002 website; Maasdorp, 1981). According to Sofisa, (1991), examples of legal informal activities would be primary production businesses such as gardening and farming; tertiary enterprises such as transport, small-scale distribution such as hawkers, traders etc., and services such as hairdressers, traditional healers, mechanics etc. Logically, there can be both legal and illegal business activities in the informal sector, however, there cannot be an illegal business in the formal sector.

While Sofisa (1991) provides a distinction between the legal and the illegal businesses within the informal sector, one has some criticism to level against him. For instance there is an overlap of activities that he disregards, where activities can be both formal and informal. However, it should be noted that the activity itself is not what is formal and informal. There are two approaches to the definition of what is formal and what is not, in terms of business activities. The formal approach would focus on whether or not the business operates within the bounds of the law. Another approach would be a more

ethnographic one focusing on a set of common characteristics, which most informal or formal bodies have. Examples from the informal business sector would be the lack of access to formal institutions for capital, self-taught skills etc.

There is a close relationship between the formal and the informal sector. A good example would be that of subcontracting, where businesses from the formal sector outsource to the businesses in the informal sector. Another example would be that of the informal sector businesses relying on the formal sector for purchases. Finally, there is a close relationship between these two sectors especially when they are competing against each other; and therefore are constantly monitoring each other's moves and strategies. It would therefore be proper to understand the two sectors as coexisting on the same continuum (ILO, 2002 website).

The National White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Small Business in South Africa of 1995¹ classifies small businesses under 1) survivalist 2) micro 3) small and 4) medium enterprises. People who cannot find employment are usually the ones forming the survivalist enterprises. The income made from their activities is usually very little. These people lack the skills and training in this field, which to a certain extent minimizes their chances of growing their activities into viable businesses. Micro enterprises are also very small in operation, and are run by family members. They are usually not registered and are unlicensed. Those running such businesses usually have business skills. They have the potential to grow into viable small businesses. Small enterprises are somewhat established businesses employing from five to about fifty people. The owner usually manages the enterprise. They operate in industrial premises and are licensed. Finally, there are medium enterprises, which are managed by their owners. They employ about two hundred people and are fully registered businesses with the government. However, it is noteworthy that these formal categories are more convenient for census purposes and in most cases are an oversimplification of the economic realities of what is actually happening.

¹ White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Small Business in South Africa as Gazetted on 28 March 1995. Cited in Bank et al. (1996).

5. Businesses in the settlement

Against the background of the above arguments, the following section will consider exactly what is happening in Daggafontein informal settlement in terms of business activities, giving relevant case studies and tables where necessary.

Some people came to Daggafontein purely for business reasons. They started their own small businesses, which vary from spaza shops to shebeens, from phone shops to hawking.

Interestingly enough, some of the people selling next to the road do not see themselves as employed but consider their income-generating activities as a survival strategy. They see their activities as a way in which to survive while they await formal employment. These are the individuals who are self-employed.

However, some people have no intention of looking for a job because they already have their small businesses. The case below is that of Mr Zapo, a local businessman who is enthusiastic about his business. He is among those who came to Daggafontein purely to make money. He employs people to assist him in his garden, which he also uses to supply his shop with fresh vegetables.

Mr Zapo

Mr Zapo is 32 years old, and is originally from Sekukuneland in the former Lebowa. He is married with three children, and has lived in Daggafontein for 11 years. He goes home every month to visit his parents, his brother and his brother's children. They all visit him about three times a year. He has some cultivation experience, which he learned from his father at home. Both his parents are pensioners and stay with his younger brother. He regards Daggafontein as his home. He makes it clear that he will stay in Daggafontein for as long as he makes money. He did not complete high school, dropping out in Grade 10. He is the first-born and he had to leave school and go to look for a job so that he could

support his younger siblings. He could not find a job as soon as he had hoped, so he then went to a college to study business administration and obtained a certificate. He then started selling sweets from home. He could not find a decent job, until he went to a college to study electrical engineering, in which he was also interested. He obtained another certificate, after which he got a job at Befcan in Springs, as an electrician. He continued to sell sweets and vegetables from his room. Six years later he got married, in 1997. His friend lent him money to buy a car, after which he quit his formal job. He then focused solely on expanding his spaza shop. He moved to Daggafontein because he saw a great opportunity to make money there. The business went very well and he paid back the loan from his friend and was sending his siblings to school. At that time he was also supporting his younger brother who was at university; he (his brother) is now working at Grootvlei Mine, and is doing very well as a surveyor. Seeing that his car was in demand as a taxi, he bought another one. He uses his two cars as taxis as the ordinary taxis (kombis) can't take lots of luggage when transporting people. He takes people as far afield as the Eastern Cape.

He complains that almost all his neighbours have opened their own spaza shops. He nevertheless still believes that he is more experienced than they are and that therefore he can still make it. Mr Zapo is also involved in the community garden as the chairperson. He hires casual workers to work in his garden plots, in which he plants maize, vegetables, beans and potatoes. His garden supplies his shop with almost all its vegetables. He hopes that if things go well he will be able to buy a truck and open a hardware shop back home in Sekukuneland, where he will specialise in selling electrical appliances. He also hopes that, should formal housing be provided in Daggafontein, he will also benefit in that he will be installing electricity to those houses. At the moment, Mr Zapo's business activities are informal because he has not yet registered his business.

5.1 Less favourable businesses in Daggafontein – Shebeen

During the apartheid years, a shebeen would have been defined as an illegal drinking enterprise. Today there are many licensed shebeens, however, the unlicensed ones still remain and they seem to be “outnumbering those that are legal” (Mona, 2004:3 website). Shebeens are a successful business and range from shack dwellings to luxurious nightclubs. They are an institution of Black social life.

They are a way in which their owners earn a living. Initially, shebeens sold a variety of home-brewed mixtures. These would be drunk from big jam tins that would be passed around in a circle for each person to drink. In fact some shebeens still sell these concoctions. This is generally the case almost everywhere, but the situation in Daggafontein will be discussed below.

There is a generalised perception (especially amongst those that hate alcohol) that shebeens are terrible places. Shebeens are not necessarily bad places but are places to hang out for a drink, a chat, a date or for beautiful music often played there. Some shebeens also have games such as snooker or pool. In the evenings or in bad weather, customers pack themselves into the house of the owner of the shebeen. During the day or in good weather, patrons sit outside under a tree in summer or in the sun in winter with their drink in front of them. As described by Wilsworth (1980), shebeens provide a friendly atmosphere for their patrons.

In 1984, the government of the National Party officially recognized the shebeens and for the first time the shebeens were able to get licenses to sell liquor (Mona, 2004). However, since the earlier days of this institution, some people have always been against shebeens and have sought to demonize them. The police raided illegal traders. The politicized youth during the times of the struggle saw them as a hindrance to closely controlled or disciplined political resistance (Ibid). Church groups continue to see shebeens as responsible for breaking up families. To this day shebeens are still operating registered or not. They continue to be seen in a bad light by many in the communities where they operate. Not everyone sees them negatively in every community. This is observable in the number of people who still visit them. In order to access a larger market, shebeens do

not only sell liquor, but also cool drinks, snacks and other small goods. For this reason, even those who generally hate these establishments still visit them. During one church gathering in Daggafontein, children were sent to buy cool drinks from the shebeen next to the church. This creates a love/hate relationship between the shebeen and the members of the community.

5.2 Shebeens in Daggafontein

Shebeens in the settlement sell all sorts of concoctions that are usually called traditional beer. Some of these are more harmful than others. While in the settlement, I visited a number of these outlets, and managed to come up with a list of most of the beers sold to people: a) *Sporoporo* - No one seems to know where this originated from and the meaning of its name is not known. This is made up of brown sugar, battery powder and some yeast. It is left to ferment, after which it is ready to be sold in various container sizes ranging from small affordable containers to bigger containers like 5 litres. b) *Takunyisa* – this drink is originally from Swaziland. The meaning of the name *takunyisa* is “it’ll make you shit”. Indeed people who imbibe this beer are embarrassingly known to dirty their pants, which is very humiliating and shameful. However, people still continue to drink this mixture. Its ingredients are brown sugar, brown bread and water. It is left to ferment, strained, and is then ready to be sold. Like *Sporoporo*, it is available in different container sizes ranging from below R5.00 upwards. c) *Carry me home* - This is wine and is not home-made, but shebeen owners purchase it from the bottle stores in town and sell in the settlement. d) *Njemane* - This beer is made from the roots of the palm tree. It is pure juices not mixed with anything. It is greenish in colour. Apparently, it has some alcohol properties that make people drunk. e) *Gavin* - this is made from brown sugar, water, malt, yeast and is left to ferment, after which it is strained and ready to be sold. f) *Papsak* - This is a white wine bought by shebeen owners from the bottle stores in town and sold in the local shebeens. g) *Pineapple* - Pineapple peels are put in a container with water and placed in a direct sunlight until they ferment. The water coming from this seems to have an alcohol content as people do actually get drunk from drinking it. h)

Mqombothi - this is traditional beer made from malt, water, meliemeal and/or sorghum. This too makes people drunk, but is known to be nutritious.

Besides the above-mentioned drinks, also available in the settlement are the popular brands of beer, vodka, whisky, brandy and ciders. The shebeens cater for everyone from all economic levels. For example, those who are slightly better off, don't buy the previously listed concoctions, but rather buy the most popular commercial brands. The former concoctions are cheaper and rather despised by those who are more financially stable.

Following is a case study of a disreputable shebeen in Daggafontein, where a number of people have been killed in the fights that sometimes take place there.

Peters' is a shebeen along a narrow dusty road on the way to the church. It is right behind one of the firms. This shebeen does not only sell liquor but also sells 'concoctions', soft drinks and foodstuff. In a way, it serves as a convenience shop. There is always music played on a jukebox, as there are always customers. This place is safeguarded by the vigilante group "*Mapogo Amathamaga*" staffers. Despite such tight security, fights still occur every now and then. Apart from fights, it seems to be a nice place where local bands are invited to perform over weekends. There is not enough space inside to accommodate all the patrons, hence people just grab empty beer crates and sit outside, while others play pool inside.

It emerged strongly in church services² that some people are not happy about the businesses that sell liquor in Daggafontein, especially the notorious shebeen mentioned above. One of the street committee members commented that he has "never attended a funeral of a shebeen queen or shebeen king, because no one fights with them owners yet people (patrons) die in these shebeens". According to his observation, when they fight, patrons do not fight the owner of the enterprise, but they fight among themselves. This

² Less than ten men attend Methodist church services regularly and these men don't necessarily distance themselves from those men that don't go to church, as most of them are their homeboys.

man was merely voicing his anger towards the existence of the shebeens in the area. Another respondent commented that even the “traditional beer” sold there “contains toxic elements such as battery powder or battery acid”. This however, cannot be regarded as a fact. One woman told me that she actually went to the shebeen just to confront the shebeen queen about the concoctions she sells. However, once she got to the shebeen she did not confront her because she “... was so respecting and soft spoken... I just could not let myself to confront her.”

It is therefore clear that some of the businesses in the area are seen in a negative light, as having a negative affect upon the community. However, it appears that such businesses will continue to operate for as long as they make money, as Mr Zapo pointed out in the case above. In the case of the infamous shebeen, based on observation, one may assert that it is the patrons that drink irresponsibly that exacerbate the hatred in the community against this establishment. Those who drink irresponsibly spend all their money and even buy beer on credit. They come home drunk and violent. Clearly, this is not good for a family. Mrs Sonwabo had R3.50 and asked me for another R3.50 so that she could go to town for a meeting. Apparently, her husband had taken R3.50 to pay for his credit at the shebeen without asking from his wife. She was unhappy about this and said she would not be able to confront him when he got back because he would be drunk and deny it. In a drinking group, men buy and share and they all take turns to buy a drink and this goes on for the larger part of the day. By the end of the day they would all be drunk. This is just one example to show how people cope with shebeen customers in their families.

5.3 Other Businesses

Some businesses are small as mentioned before, but their owners are willing to grow them. The following case is that of Ms Mtolo who came to Daggafontein following a boyfriend, who got a job in a nearby firm.

She was born in Ermelo and she came to Duduza township near Springs looking for a job; she worked as a domestic worker and she had bought herself a house, then moved to

Daggafontein following her boyfriend, where she also got herself a job working as a domestic. The house in Duduza is left in the care of her younger son whom she visits weekly. She came in Daggafontein in 1994.

She has been running a spaza shop since 2001. She started this to fight poverty. She says she would have joined the people at the community garden except that the garden takes too long to generate a profit, and that the risks in agriculture are too high. She wants to grow her business but she still needs a business license so that she does not have to live in fear of police raids. She had heard that licences are obtainable from the town council, but she is very scared to go there and does not know the procedure. She started the spaza shop business a long time ago. Even in Duduza she had a spaza until she was robbed and stopped running it.

Her shack in Daggafontein is strategically positioned so that people will buy as they pass it. She also seems to have very good people skills. Most people just come to her for a chat, even if they do not buy anything.

She is looking forward to expanding her shack in the future so that she will be able to store everything for her spaza shop. For this she would prefer to ask her boyfriend to take out a loan from a micro lender for her. She needs about two thousand rand.

She cannot take out a loan because she does not have a bank card, which is required by the micro lender and she is also not employed, which is also required by the particular micro-lender of which she knows in town.

Some businesses are not doing very well as there is tough competition with too many people selling similar items in the settlement. Bhinkosi had a stand next to the road where he was selling sweets, paraffin, milk, snacks, vegetables, fruits, cigarettes and matches. This stall was in a strategic location because it was at a taxi stop, but Bhinkosi noticed that it was not doing well anymore. He said that he used to buy stock for R900.00 a month and make no profit in return. He saw that he was operating at a loss

and spending too much money on traveling to purchase his merchandise and has since closed it down. He was purchasing his merchandise (especially vegetables) from Germiston, which he regards as having lower prices than Springs. Germiston is in the region of 25 to 40km from Springs. This on its own is enough to explain why he was operating at a loss. He is now selling a few items from home that he buys in Springs. Bhekinkosi thinks that Daggafontein is not only saturated with similar businesses, but is also “economically dried up.” He thinks that it is either that everyone is selling similar items or there is just no money anymore in Daggafontein. For example, the large number of people in the settlement is not reflected in the amount of money circulating in the community. He believes that this could be caused by the fact that a large number of people are not employed. He argues that, four years ago, when he first came to Daggafontein people used to have lots of money despite the many spaza shops that were already there. He says he used to make a profit and that is how he managed to buy a car for himself and one for his wife.

It is possible that one of the reasons for the change is that now there are many more businesses operating than before. Another reason could be that transport operating between Daggafontein and Springs is more efficient than ever before, so people can easily catch a taxi to buy from town rather than from the tuck shops and stalls in the settlement.

As with the above-mentioned business, the following business does not generate any form of profit. In fact, the owner even borrows money to keep it going. Presently, her enterprise is not making any profit, but she would like to see it grow to become an efficient business venture from which she would be able to make a profit.

She runs a day care center. Her services are needed in the community, but the parents of the children that she is looking after do not have enough money to meet the needs of this crèche. She complained that even those parents that get child support grants spend the money on “... fancy clothes and fancy hairstyles ...” and do not pay for her services.

Below is the case study of the woman in question (Mrs Ngubo). This case will say something about her background and/or brief history.

Mrs Ngubo

Mrs Ngubo borrows money for her crèche. She borrows this from her friends and this is always interest free. She pays it back when she receives money from the disability grant. She often needs money to buy fuel so that the children are warm in the cold weather. The background information about her family is as follows.

Mrs Ngubo is 48 years old and originally from Denelton in Middleburg. She has lived in Daggafontein for about 11 years. She has three household members in Daggafontein with her. At home in Denelton, she has 5 other members of her family. They usually visit her every two weeks. They come to get the money and other things, which they need for the house at home. Her parents-in-law are both very old and receive old age pensions. She is the only working member of the family, and she is self-employed. She regards both Daggafontein and Denelton as her homes. In both these places she has ties. At home in Denelton, she has family ties and in Daggafontein she has crèche ties and family ties as well, and she has spent a lot of time in Daggafontein, so she also regards it as home. When she was young her family struggled financially, with her mother selling clothes to make ends meet. She went to school up to grade 7. Her parents could not support her financially. She married Mr Ngubo in Newcastle, and she came with him to Johannesburg, looking for employment. He has subsequently passed away. She has three children and a fifteen year old grand-daughter. Her older son went to school up to grade 9 and could not continue because of financial problems. Her younger son is hopefully going to complete school. He is now in grade 10. The elder son is now 30 years old. When they arrived in Johannesburg, she worked for a firm called CNC; she then moved to Booysens Hotel, still in Johannesburg. After some time she left the hotel and got a job in a hospital, where she worked until 1975. She had to stop working because she fell ill. Since then she has been self-employed, selling clothes. In 2003, she opened a crèche, which currently has seven children with ages ranging from one up to four years. She wants her crèche to grow. This is not a registered crèche. She charges by the month. She

still needs more space, toys and the equipment with which to cook for the children. She wants to register her crèche if possible in future. She thinks that she can actually make a living out of running her crèche. The reason why she chose to start a crèche is that children love her and she is fond of them and their parents trust her.

Besides the lack of start-up capital for some, the lack of infrastructure in Daggafontein seems to be a serious impediment. For example, if there was electricity in the settlement people could open new businesses. The following is the case of Ethel who is being prevented from starting her own business by the lack of electricity.

Ethel is originally from Upington. She is from a family of six sisters and she is the first-born. Their mother passed away and they are only left with a father who is also sick. She came to look for work in Daggafontein in 1994. She never completed school because her siblings also had to go to school and there was not enough money for her to continue studying.

At present she works as a domestic worker and thinks she has a talent for dressmaking and this is what she would love to do in the future when there is electricity in Daggafontein. With electricity, she would be able to work for longer hours and it would be efficient and quick. She already has got an electric sewing machine that she received as a gift from her late mother.

Another example, similar to that of Ethel, is that of Mrs Hlongwa, who has an electric stove she bought when she was staying in a flat in town (Springs). She told me that she has some formal training in baking. Apparently, whilst she was still in town she used to bake and sell biscuits to supplement her income. Like Ethel above, she only needs electricity to be able to use her stove for baking. Presently, she is keeping the stove at a friends' place. Her friend works as a domestic worker in the formal settlement of Daggafontein; and has a spacious flat there.

By way of contrast, Mrs Mdlalo argued that the electrification of the informal settlement would pose a danger to the residents, as their shacks are not safely built. She suggested that they should be provided with formal housing and then with electricity.

6. Housing

Contrary to Mrs Mdlalo's argument, the issue of provision of formal housing has sparked a lot of debate in the National Government Department of Housing. The majority of people who need formal housing usually also list a number of basic facilities such as running water, health care and electricity. However, those who are planning the houses "do not always survey the needs of local communities who frequently would prefer security of tenure on their existing, usually informal dwellings to the construction of new [formal] houses" (Kane-Berman et al, 2001:47). This clearly, shows that there is a lack of coordination between what people want and what the department can provide.

Like Mrs Mdlalo, those who would like to have formal housing provided for them usually do not take into account the costs that accompany such housing. About 80% of government houses given to the poor are on pure subsidy, meaning there is no contribution required from the beneficiary (Ibid.). However, these people will then have to pay to sustain the services, such as electricity, water, and sanitation. This creates and/or facilitates a vicious cycle of poverty, as needy people have to trade off and /or sacrifice certain things and ending up with less money than they would have to spend on other things.

It is established by the SAIRR that 40% of poor South Africans are getting poorer and in this instance it can be said that subsidies can lead to further poverty, as people need more money to maintain their formal houses and sustain the services at the same time (Ibid.). Moreover, these government houses cannot be used as collateral as security for bank loans as in many cases these houses cannot be repossessed. They are usually built in areas where the housing market does not operate. For example, banks are not keen on buying in these areas. There are also threats to burn down these houses if repossessed, so the banks

would lose out in the end. Therefore, these houses have a great potential for further exacerbating poverty among the poor. However, this is not to say that people do not enjoy their government houses. Some make business out of these houses either by renting out or reselling the “RDP” houses, while they queue for another house using a different family member.

On the basis of the above argument, one can argue that people in the informal settlements should obtain security of tenure of their informal settlements first, so that they can make some improvements to their houses, rather than pushing for formal housing, which they would be given for free. It actually does not make much sense to give someone who is not employed a house and hope that such a person will be able to maintain it and pay for services at the same time.

It is a fact that, without electricity, some businesses will never materialize in this settlement. However, the settlement will see a burgeoning of paraffin sellers (yet another business opportunity).

7. Urban Agriculture

Before discussing urban agriculture³ in Daggafontein, it would be proper to situate it within the broader literature on urban agriculture. The broader literature would serve the purpose of introducing and highlighting issues within this domain. Slater (2001:365) defines urban agriculture as “agricultural and gardening activities (vegetable production, livestock rearing, aquaculture and flower and ornamental gardens)....” Slater further argues that the value attached to urban agriculture is associated with its ability to generate income. Tripp (1997) also emphasizes the potential of urban agriculture to boost family incomes. He bases this submission on his study conducted in Tanzania where wages were not enough to sustain families. In this situation, people resorted to gardens to boost their incomes.

³ Agriculture as such involves the utilization of land for growing crops and breeding livestock. Since the level of agriculture in Daggafontein is still low, horticulture would be a more appropriate term. Horticulture refers to gardening, irrespective of what is grown and this excludes the keeping of animals and can be for commercial or subsistence purposes.

While Phororo (2001), in a study she conducted in Lesotho, does not refute the potential urban agriculture has to generate income, she argues that urban agriculture on its own does not generate large amounts of money as Slater argued was possible, but rather that it supplements incomes from formal employment.

Kirsten and Sartorius (2002:490) also see urban agriculture in a positive light, as having the potential to empower communities. They believe that urban agriculture “should be able to strengthen and enable communities to [...] become more responsible for improving their well-being in relation to their economic, social, cultural and physical environment”. In Cape Town, Khayelitsha urban agricultural projects were initiated to contribute economically to the community of Khayelitsha (Karaan and Mohamed, 1998). The above scholars seem to be generally in agreement that urban agriculture can positively contribute to the development of impoverished and disadvantaged urban communities.

Webb (1996) agrees that there is high unemployment and poverty in urban areas and that these are caused by urban expansion and are serious challenges facing governments, especially in the developing countries. Webb seems to hold a rather different view in as far as the economic success of urban agriculture is concerned. He does not believe that the research undertaken on urban cultivation is based on sufficiently detailed investigation. In this regard, there are problems when it comes to the methodology that has been adopted when studying or researching urban agriculture. Whilst Webb acknowledges the general support of urban agriculture in the literature, he sees urban agriculture as “offering low yields and even smaller monetary gains” (Webb, 1996: 4).

Therefore considering the above arguments, it is apparent that the opinion on whether or not urban agriculture can positively contribute to impoverished urban communities is thus divided. It can therefore be said that the literature is not yet detailed enough to reconcile the perspectives on urban agriculture, and more research is still needed in this field.

It is noteworthy that the successes of urban agriculture cannot be oversimplified as success would mean different things to different people. Also a large number of issues should be considered when dealing with the success of urban agriculture. These include the fact that in some areas there is free access to an adequate water supply. In some areas, there is no market to purchase the products. In other areas, the land is generally fertile and in some there is passion and a tradition of gardening. Therefore variations would have to be considered and the successes and failures of urban agriculture should not be seen as homogenous. In light of the above discussion, agriculture cannot be seen as either a rural or an urban endeavour, but can belong to both.

Having presented a brief discussion on the available literature on urban agriculture let me consider urban agriculture in Daggafontein. Before that, it will be appropriate to give statistics of people who have experience of cultivation and also of those who do not have cultivation experience in Daggafontein. Note that the statistics (numbers) here are based on the sixty people who filled in the questionnaire. There may be more people with cultivation experience in the settlement that the quantitative technique (sample) could not reach. The statistics are those of the heads of household who answered the questionnaire. The statistics will be according to gender, age and education.

7.1 Experience of cultivation

The 23 heads of household who answered the questionnaire stated that, if given the opportunity⁴ to grow crops:

- i) 18 (78.2%) of them would sell and eat the produce
- ii) 3 (13%) would only eat the produce
- iii) 2 (9%) would only sell the produce

There thus appears to be room for entrepreneurial development in relation to the marketing of crops.

⁴ Opportunity was understood in the context of the cultivating area being available near the settlement, fenced and water for irrigation being available.

Some people in the settlement already have some experience in cultivation. This experience was gained either from commercial farming on the white⁵ farms or in subsistence farming in the rural areas.

7.2 Community garden in Daggafontein

Daggafontein has access to a community garden, right next to Vitanova Hospital, which is roughly 150m in breadth and 150m in length (**See Photograph 4**). Social workers suggested that the community should start a community garden. Vitanova hospital made a piece of their premises available to be used as a community garden.



Photograph 4

The garden has been the initiative of the Department of Social Welfare, which suggested that people should start a community garden and sell vegetables to the neighbouring hospitals. Vegetables planted in the garden are: spinach, beetroot, carrots, onions, tomatoes, cabbages, lettuce, cauliflower, green beans. Others have potatoes and mealies in their plots. These hospitals (SANEL, Vitanova, and Struitbelt) had agreed to purchase

⁵ This experience may not necessarily be relevant as farm labourers are not involved in decision making. A more relevant experience would be that of subsistence farming where farmers make decisions on what, where and how to plant etc.

the produce from the garden. This community garden is one of the ways that people use to enhance their livelihoods. The initiative has been going on for about four years.

After the community had been given the garden, basic training was offered. Not everyone in the community attended the training, as not every one was interested and not everyone had time to do so. Again, not every one has followed the guidelines given during training.

Initially, people were allocated their garden plots by the social workers, but the Community Garden Coordinator later did this. Seeds are given free of charge via the Coordinator, who distributes them to the people. Some⁶ of the gardeners were concerned that the administration of the gardening project should be handled by the social workers, as they do not fully trust the coordinator in this regard.

The garden committee has now got a new sponsor (ZINCOR). The gardeners through a street committee member approached the company. The Human Resources Officer of the company, Mr Walaza attended to their plight. At first the people needed pesticides, which he organized for them. ZINCOR provided the community with tools such as wheelbarrows, spades and forks; while this was highly appreciated, people still need to share tools. The tools are supposed to be locked in a tool room, which is at the community garden; however, sometimes people take the tools home. This causes unhappiness when someone wants to use a specific tool and it is not there. Mr Walaza has promised that the company (ZINCOR) will be sponsoring the community garden until 2005.

The project is not sustainable as it still depends on handouts from sponsors. Gardeners are still receiving seeds for free. Moreover, there is no paperwork or book keeping. Gardening in this case is probably a last resort for people with no alternative source of income. Though sponsoring the garden will not help much in helping the project to be self-supportive, it is still greatly appreciated by the people.

⁶ Seven of them are regular gardeners.

In April 2004, a meeting was called by officers from the department to inform people that they will be getting all that they need for the garden, but the money has to go through the right channels, i.e. the Garden Committee, and this might take some time. Mrs Madlala, who has a plot in the garden, said that since this meeting in April nothing in the way of purchasing more equipment has happened. The community garden will be getting assistance from both ZINCOR and the Department of Social Welfare. People still receive the seeds and have tools that they share. Funds will assist in buying the second water tank, pipes and more tools. Since the project is not really making enough for money to be put back to it, it will surely need some funds to keep it going, e.g. buying seeds until they find a bigger market.

The little they currently sell is sold to the Vitanova hospital and to the people in the settlement. The sales are not recorded. Vegetables are sold on an individual basis. Miss Rajuili, who works at the hospital, told me that the hospital tries to purchase vegetables from everyone equally. These (vegetables) are usually sold in small bundles for about R3.00 to R7.00 depending on the type of vegetable. The purchases made by the hospital are usually made once a week on a specific pre-announced day so that everyone who has vegetables ready to be sold can be present.

The fencing of the garden for security reasons was the initiative of the social workers, to prevent theft from the hospital; this fence separates the garden from the hospital. Occasionally, people cut the fence from the garden side to steal from the hospital and from the garden. For example, in 2003 Mrs Madlala had planted lots of pumpkins, and just when they were getting ripe, thieves cut the fence and stole most of them. She showed me a hole where they entered. She has since put some twigs to close the hole in the fence (**See Photograph 5**). The hospital security guards and the hospital manager confirmed that the thieves that come and steal from the hospital enter through the community garden.



Photograph 5

A plastic water tank was also provided on the social workers' initiative. An agreement was reached that the hospital will pump water to the tank on a daily basis. It is a small tank, but is still better than nothing and people hope that another will be bought soon.

Until now, except for Vitanova, other hospitals have not purchased anything from the community garden. According to the gardeners themselves, this could be because of a number of reasons, such as that they (gardeners) are not following the techniques they were taught, or that the quality and the quantity of the vegetables is not yet up to standard, or perhaps that people are expecting too much too soon.

At the beginning of the project the community garden committee invited an agricultural extension officer to come and assist them with training, as they felt that they lacked the necessary agricultural knowledge, such as what sort of fertilizers they should use. Some few members of the community garden felt that they had benefited a lot from his assistance. However, some members dropped out because they could not keep up with the trench technique otherwise known as Food Garden Foundation (FGF) that he had instructed them to use. This technique is best known for its ability to save water. I explain this technique below. The following case is that of Mrs Phulo who dropped out of the community garden.

Mrs Phulo

She joined the gardens in 2001 to get money from selling the vegetables. She also planned to eat some of the vegetables and so that she would not have to go to bed hungry.

According to Mrs Phulo, the extension officer showed videos. Some people were not satisfied, because they say that to watch something on a video is not the same as actually doing it. Most people wished that they could learn by doing and not in a classroom setting.

One of the things they were taught was to dig trenches about three feet deep for each bed. After digging this trench, she then became very ill, and this is the reason why she stopped going to the garden. The people who came after her used those trenches that she had already prepared. Mrs. Phulo suspects that digging the trenches was the cause of her sickness, as she says that her body became very painful.

7.2.1 FGF Technique

The FGF method or technique involves digging a trench, which is then half-filled with organic matter and topped up with the dug-out soil. Seeds or seedlings are planted immediately on top of this heap of compost. In a study conducted by Wilsworth (1980) in Grahamstown, she discusses the FGF technique and mentions that the good thing about this technique is that very little water is needed for watering. An article published by City Farmer (2002 website) explains that by using this technique, the compost keeps moist for a long time and acts as a sponge. However, this system proved not to be favored by many. Her study revealed that, in Grahamstown, people saw the preparation of trenches as a major disadvantage of this technique as it takes too much time.

Another issue that Mrs Phulo raised with regard to people stopping going to the garden is that of distance. The garden is very far from where people stay (about 4 to 5 kilometers).

Mrs. Phulo complains about the long distance that the people have to walk when going to the garden. It looks as though she was not going to continue with gardening even if she had not got sick. She stresses that they used to be burned by the sun going there in the morning and encounter rain and thunderstorms when coming back home in the afternoons. She says that these are the things that one cannot tolerate. When asked if there are any taxis going to the hospital she replied that “taxis do not go there. Even if they were to go there, the people will still need to pay, which is also a problem because people do not have money”.

Mrs Mbodlela joined the garden in the year 2002 and has a different view of the gardening; she seems very optimistic. She realizes that people are dropping out from the community garden, but she sees this as pure laziness on the peoples' part. She wishes that the agricultural extension officer could come back. The only real problem for her so far is that the tank is far from her plot, which means she has to carry water what she perceives to be a long distance (about 100 meters) and this is a problem because she is too old for

carrying buckets of water, because there are no pipes yet. Other interviewees had the same problem and think that water pipes could be the solution.

She (Mrs Mbodlela) has been involved in gardening since a very young age at home (Qwaqwa). Now she goes to work in the garden because she has no food. At home, it was done as a pastime. She thinks that most people do not like to do gardening out of laziness; accordingly it will be difficult to attract them to join the community garden.

Mrs Mbodlela is not certain as to whether they will be able to sell their produce, as they cannot yet meet the quantity demands of the market.

She feels that they have enough tools, although they still share some – but this is not a problem. Should more people suddenly develop an interest in gardening, that would require some members to give away some of their garden space to accommodate the new members. That should not be a problem, as everyone would still get something from the community garden.

Many of the problems will be solved once the water is easily accessible to everyone in the garden. Again, she would be grateful if the agricultural extension officer could come to give some more lessons.

Mr Mlaba

Mr Mlaba is over 65 years old and does not go to the community garden, but has his own garden where he lives in the settlement.

He says he is aware of the community garden next to Vitanova Hospital, but he is too old to walk there daily. Instead he uses his yard to plant vegetables. He has a variety of vegetables such as spinach, beetroot, onion, cabbages and a couple of other things. People frequently come to purchase his vegetables. He says if he could get a bigger plot he could become a very successful farmer. His neighbors confirm that they buy vegetables from him. Unlike those working in the community garden, he does not go

door-to-door selling his vegetables but instead people come to him, as his house is right next to the road. Before there was a water tap next to Mr Mlaba's dwelling, he used to hire someone to go fetch water for him using a wheelbarrow. He can now manage to fetch water for himself.

Selling vegetables is not the only source of income for Mr Mlaba; he also receives an old age pension. He says he hates sitting and do nothing the whole day, so he prefers to work in his garden as a pastime, and getting money out of it "is a bonus".

Like Mrs Phulo above, Mr Mlaba agrees that the community garden is far, but he believes that the young people could walk down there daily if they were not lazy.

Since the number of people working in the garden is shrinking, the remaining gardeners have bigger plots than they had before. Mrs Simamane is an example.

Mrs Simamane

Mrs Simamane who now has more commitments and no longer has adequate time to come and work in the garden has given her four plots to Mrs Gama. Mrs Simamane works as a Social Auxiliary worker and her tasks have increased so she cannot keep up with maintaining her plots.

7.2.2 Problem finding a market

The major problem foreseen by the gardeners is the lack of a market. Currently, they have enough food for their families, but do not make any money out of it. This does not mean that they do not buy any food from the shops. They still buy foods like meat, etc. Again, according to a staff Member of Vitanova, Miss Rajuili, Vitanova buys vegetables from the community garden. I witnessed this occasion once. Gardeners pick the vegetables that they think are ready to be sold, wash them and wait for Miss Rajuili (hospital staff member) who buys for the hospital.

There are criticisms leveled against the gardeners by the non-gardeners in the community. Some people believe that instead of everyone planting the same type of vegetables, they should all plant different types so that they could buy from each other as well. Another criticism has been against the planting of maize in the garden. Maize stalks grow tall and this is where thieves hide. Mrs Gama together with Miss Rajuili showed me a hole, where ‘thieves’ get in when they come to steal in the garden. This was a small hole where the fence had been cut. Mrs Simamane said “these thieves can do anything they want to us”.

Mrs Phulo, a gardener, claimed that in Daggafontein there seems to be a general lack of interest in agriculture. On the contrary, some people argue that they are interested in agriculture, but that going to the garden is not convenient for them. Hence they have small gardens in their yards.

Unstructured interviews were conducted to find out the reasons why people do not take part in the community garden. While some had positive things to say about the community garden, the majority raised the problems and excuses. People gave a number of reasons for not participating, such as having to carry water what they perceive to be a considerable distance (about 100 meters) to their garden plots, the community garden itself being a considerable distance (about 4 to 5 kilometers) away from their houses, people not always feeling well enough to work in the gardens, people not having stayed for very long in Daggafontein.

Some informants mentioned that, even though they dropped out of the community garden, they have small plots in front of their dwellings. They believe that the techniques that were taught by the agricultural extension officer could still be used at home and not only in the community garden. Like Mrs Ncube who said that “... the teaching was fine - I do not have a problem with that. I decided to have my own small garden here at home, it is better than going all the way down there (to the garden)”. A large number of people have gardens in their yards. Poultry are usually the problem in this case because they eat vegetables in these small gardens. People who keep poultry do not keep them in their

yards. The dwellings that are better fenced are the ones that have better gardens. However, these are usually very tiny because there is not enough space. The installation of water taps in passages closer to people's dwellings has made watering of their gardens much easier, but there is no noticeable increase of gardens since the installation of street taps.

Asking questions about why are there still people working in the garden when most people have left, Mrs Hlongwa, who stopped going to the garden because she got sick had this to say:

“They are determined ... they are not discouraged by those pests destroying their crops. You cannot stop going to the garden if you know that you can make a living out of it, they have children to take care of, they really have no any other means, but to sell vegetables. Those who left the garden have got other means of making a living; some have got spaza shops, others are employed somewhere else”

When asked if the people are really making a living by participating in the community garden, Babalwa, who is a young woman employed in town and does not have a garden, said:

“Yes very much so, I have seen their gardens, they are very beautiful, even those who dropped out, now wish to go back, they can go back. We grew up eating vegetables, they are very healthy, so these people can live on vegetables, they, of course, supplement with other foodstuffs. They have winter as well as summer vegetables so they are always busy, they have almost everything; the only thing they buy now is mealie meal, rice, flour, sugar, salt and meat. If they were to be told to stop going to the garden I do not think they would be able to make a living.

There are other poor people who can make a living from agriculture, but they are not interested in gardening, they would rather go and dig for old metals and scraps to sell. They have the mentality that agriculture is an old-fashioned thing and for the much older, ruralised people.”

Most informants see agriculture as a rural undertaking, but also as something that could be practiced in urban and peri-urban areas such as Daggafontein. In general, conditions are not really favorable to agriculture in some urban areas, i.e. the lack of space and water. Others believe that even in rural areas there are factors militating against the practice of agriculture, such as drought, crop diseases and the lack of markets and a demand for the produce (Kane-Berman et al, 2001). This then raises doubts that a living can be made from agriculture without wages and remittances as a supplement (Phororo, 2001). In urban and peri-urban areas there is a market and a demand for agricultural products, but there is neither sufficient nor suitable space for people to practice agriculture.

The availability of the market for agricultural products is seen as a positive aspect of urban agriculture. In the case of Daggafontein, the neighbouring hospitals are the potential market for the products. Another positive side of urban agriculture in Daggafontein is that people do not have to pay a cent, as the Department of Social Welfare, together with ZINCOR, provide seeds, water and tools free of charge. This should be seen as a factor promoting success and a way of making ends meet for many.

The main factor counting against successful urban agriculture in Daggafontein is that of the community garden being far away from people's dwellings. Most people believe that they can make a success of urban gardening only if the community garden is brought closer to the settlement and water as well as proper fencing is provided.

When people come to urban areas they come to look for employment in order to get money and seek better opportunities (Kane-Berman et al, 2001). Practicing agriculture in urban areas appears to be a last resort. The practice of agriculture is largely associated with rural areas and that is why people do not want to be seen to be bringing the rural area into the urban. This came out in the survey as people mentioned the types of jobs they would like to get. Most of those jobs were clearly urban-based jobs and this seems to suggest a shift away from rural-type occupations.

To contrast with the above, below is a case study of a successful urban agriculture in the informal settlement of Orange farm.

Like Daggafontein the people of Orange farm have adopted urban agriculture as one of the ways of making a living (Selina, 2003 website). Orange farm is an informal settlement established in 1997[2]. It is situated in the Southern Gauteng region south of Soweto. It is about 48 kilometers from central Johannesburg. This settlement offers accommodation to about 900,000 people, 35% of which are not employed. Like in Daggafontein, unemployment and low levels of literacy overwhelm this settlement.

Despite the low levels of education, shortages of skills and high unemployment, the people of Orange Farm are resilient enough to cope with their economic situation. This is made possible by the “self-help projects that they embark on” (Ibid.). One such self-help project is Selina’s Farm. This project is called the Sivukile Hiphukile Retsogile Agricultural Project. It is a two-acre market garden. This project employs 22 people, 6 men and 16 women. Selina Mnisi who is one of the founders of the project administers it. The project started in the year 2000. It started with crops like spinach, carrots, tomatoes and beetroot. Due to the lack of enough land and resources, the farm can only manage to supply fresh vegetables to a small section of Orange farm. This undertaking by the people of Orange farm positively contributes to the community by supplying free vegetables to the aged and the sick.

The case above shows that communities in the informal settlements can actually do something for themselves; if projects in these areas are well administered with proper management and bookkeeping. These projects should be run like businesses and employ people from the informal settlement, and then they will succeed. Daggafontein seems to be far away from success in terms of their gardening. Presently, this activity is more of a subsistence agricultural activity and does not generate money to sustain the project.

8. Problems facing small-businesses in Daggafontein

The problem currently facing small-businessmen and businesswomen, especially hawkers, in the settlement of Daggafontein, is that of the lack of a suitable infrastructure. This is the case not only in Daggafontein, but presumably in other informal settlements as well. They do not have proper storage facilities, or formal trading areas and are often exposed to bad weather conditions.

On the whole, Daggafontein shows entrepreneurial potential and compares well with the somewhat unreliable socio-economic safety net of the rural areas.

A number of individuals would like to open their own spaza shops, but need the money to do so. From observation, their potential is affected by their general lack of the basic market research skills required to make a business venture successful. For example, as Bhekinkosi mentioned above, the already existing businesses are not doing well.

A more successful business will be one that will introduce a completely new service or product. Currently, all the businesses I visited are selling similar items. However, it seems that a completely new business idea will require resources that are not yet available in the settlement such as electricity. Therefore, the provision of better services and infrastructure will result in an increase in viable businesses in the settlement.

Having discussed business activities in Daggafontein, I introduce a different case study to show that some of the problems facing small businesses in Daggafontein are also faced by other informal settlements elsewhere. This juxtaposition will show how people in other informal settlements make a living. It will also mention the types of businesses that they operate.

On one hand, informal settlements in peri-urban areas generally have an advantage in the sense that they are closer to a Central Business District (Bank, et al., 1996). This counts in their favour as they have easy and quick access to the city to purchase supplies for

their small business enterprises. On the other hand being closer to the CBD where goods are generally cheaper is detrimental to the small business owners because they are competing with the more established convenient shops and big chain stores. This means that, to attract customers, they will have to lower their prices and unfortunately will end up operating at a great loss. Bearing in mind that transport operating in the settlement is efficient and affordable; almost everyone can get into a taxi and go to town to buy even small items. Therefore, small businesses in the informal settlement are not doing very well and this is despite the fact that stock held by these businesses can be purchased easily and quickly.

There are problems facing small business people in informal settlements. Though problems are not exactly the same everywhere, there are those problems that can be regarded as common problems facing informal settlements everywhere. The case below is that of Duncan Village. The case of Duncan Village in East London (Eastern Cape) merely shows that small businesses in the informal settlements have a potential to succeed. It also shows that problems facing small businesses in the informal settlements are more or less the same. Problems and /or threats facing these businesses are those such as crime, lack of infrastructure and lack of access to insurance (Ibid.). They are often exposed to the threats of fire and theft, which destroy their shops in minutes.

A study conducted by Bank et al. (1996) in Duncan Village revealed that businesses operated in Duncan Village in 1996 could be divided into four main types, ie. retail (spaza shops, shebeens, hawkers, etc.); repair and maintenance (watch, shoe, vehicle, radio/TV repairs etc.); manufacturing (carpenters, metal workers, weavers etc.); personal services (hair saloons, herbalists, crèches etc). The statistics show that of 403 small businesses in Duncan Village 336 (83%) are retail, 37 (9%) are repair and maintenance, 18 (5%) are manufacturing and 12 (3%) offered personal services (Bank et al., 1996).

However, Daggafontein is much smaller and less established than Duncan village. Of the four business types mentioned above in Duncan Village, Daggafontein has only retail and personal services business types available. This is because Daggafontein is somewhat

closer to the town of Springs where all these services are rendered. This is where people go for repair, maintenance and manufacturing services, as most such business types require electricity. The comparison of Daggafontein with Duncan village is not aimed only at comparing these places, but to show the business potential and common problems shared in such settlements.

9. Other means of making a living

9.1 Theft

There are avenues of making a living other than formal and informal employment. These are methods which people use to top up or supplement what they are already making in terms of money. Theft is one such means. A number of times, I came across people who had stolen goods from where they worked. A nearby firm has even installed a lamp post to scare thieves away. The problem of theft was addressed at one public meeting, where a firm representative pleaded with the community to stop stealing from the firm. Some stolen items are sold cheaply in the settlement. Some of these “hot”⁷ goods are dangerous. For example, when I was chatting to Bhekinkosi at his house, his friend came in with stolen acid, which he regarded as highly dangerous if it comes in contact with the skin. This chemical is poured into the pit latrine, so that the latrine does not smell. Bhekinkosi did not purchase it because he had just used it a few weeks previously and his pit latrine was still “okey”.

9.2 Cohabitation

Cohabitation is one of the means of making a living. For example, Fridays are the pay days for many people in the settlement. The girlfriends put their nice outfits on and wait for their boyfriends to come home with the money. Many of them catch a taxi to town to buy some small groceries, while others go to the shebeens in the settlement and stay until

⁷ A stolen item is regarded as “hot” in the settlement. This is in a sense that it can “burn” (put in trouble) a person possessing it if found, especially by the police, as he will possibly be arrested.

night when they will all be drunk, swearing at each other and in most cases fighting. These are the times when most fights happen, and this was confirmed by Phindi, a member of the Community Policing Forum (CPF).

Generally, in these cohabitation relationships, it is the women that depend on their boyfriends. Their boyfriends either work full-time, part-time or have casual employment. It appears that women are not a burden to their boyfriends as there is reciprocity of a number of services between the two. For example, when the men are away at work, women clean the shack, do the washing and cook. The couples live as if they are married; some have children, who live with them. Among the things that the couples exchange are sexual services. Fights often occur when one partner extends these services elsewhere and in some cases men are so jealous that they do not even allow their girlfriends to visit their friends during the day.

9.3 Prostitution

Prostitution in the settlement is not obvious. It is something that people are embarrassed to talk about and therefore keep under wraps. A lot of what could be noticed was mainly based on observation. Prostitution is one among many ways in which women make a living. These are young women, who stay in groups sharing shacks and are not known to be employed anywhere. Some of these girls stop next to the road at certain times in the afternoon and their clients would come to pick them up by car. The clients are White old men. Some of the girls are still shy about being picked up in view of everyone. They then walk in pairs down the road until they are not visible from the settlement. With them too, the clients would come to pick them up as if they were offering them a lift. At first I had not noticed that these women might be involved in prostitution, until this was brought to my attention by an elder who did not like what she sees daily. These young women dress decently and do not attract attention. They also do not target just anyone, but someone who is driving. I have also been hailed a number of times in the afternoons when driving back to where I stayed. It is rather dangerous to stop for someone you do not know when you are alone, so I never stopped.

Again, what was noticeable was the number of girls taking taxis to town in the afternoons. It is said that most of them go to the Springs Hotel. This is a run-down tavern where most prostitutes hang out. Lots of fights over men take place in this tavern and this results in most of these girls having scratches, bruises, and cuts on their faces. Some have even lost their teeth. Joel who used to frequent this tavern said that "... you should go there sometimes and see the place, you cannot even enjoy your beer with those girls harassing you and fighting over you ... the place is wild."

10. Unemployment and Casual Jobs

It was suggested in the previous chapter that there is a high rate of unemployment in Daggafontein. A number of people are casual employees⁸ and their jobs are available once in a while and for a short duration only.

The case of Mzwakhe below will tell some more about casual employment and what it actually involves.

Mzwakhe

This gentleman is 30 years old and is originally from Sterkspruit and stays with his brother in a shack. He came to Daggafontein in the early 1990s. At that time he was staying with his older brother who has since left. Mzwakhe has two shacks. The one that used to belong to his brother is rented out to Nomonde, a lodger. Nomonde pays about R40.00 a month. Mzwakhe and his brother are constantly on the look out for jobs. He told me that on weekdays, he wakes up at about 4 o'clock in the morning and joins the others to look for casual employment in the firms. Apparently, every week some people get casual employment. There are more jobs towards the month end. This is when firms

⁸ "Casual employees are employees who fall neither within the permanent employee category nor within that of temporary employees. Such employees are typically daily or hourly. Employers can dispense with their services at very short notice, usually not exceeding a period of one week. Casual employees are not entitled to benefits such as paid leave and medical aid contributions paid by employers" (Statistics South Africa, 2004: 23).

are under pressure to meet their monthly targets and have large orders, so they need casual labourers who can be dismissed after a day or two.

Casual employment is also available in the formal housing projects near the settlement; these include working in the garden and cleaning the yard, again these take a day or two. He said he is not choosy as to what job he takes. He takes any kind of job that is available. However, he hates waiting outside the gates of the firm the whole day, and that is why he wakes up early in the morning. According to him you either get a job when the morning shift starts or you do not, so “there is no point of sticking around until 2 in the afternoon, you also get hungry”.

The payments are usually not high, for example he sometimes gets R150 or R70.00 a day or even less, depending on where he gets a piece job and depending on what type of a job it is and how long it lasted. It also depends on the employer.”

Some people are choosy about terms of and the type of jobs they take (when the job is available). This is also the case with some people in Daggafontein. I spoke to Mr Thoyiso, who is not employed; he is currently looking for a job. I was puzzled because the digging of trenches for a water pipe was a project providing employment in the settlement and it was still under way, with jobs were still available. I asked him about this. In his response, Mr Thoyiso made it clear that he was not interested in getting himself involved in such a difficult job as digging. He said that he was looking for better jobs that were also better paid. This is the same with Jomo, who is also not employed; he says that he has a certificate in business management and does not like to dig trenches. He also mentioned that if he got involved in the digging process, he would not be able to look for another job, as he would be stuck there the whole day digging. Clearly, these two men do not like the nature of the currently available job. This shows that some unemployed individuals in Daggafontein are choosy. These two gentlemen can afford to be choosy because, if they are lucky they get casual employment.

Being unemployed is argued by Møller (1992:57) to be a cause of the “loss of confidence” and self-esteem for those who are unemployed. There are so many negative stereotypes associated with the unemployed, because they are labeled as criminals, lazy and loiterers, and this seriously affects their confidence and also puts pressure on them to go to look for jobs every day, before they are blamed for any criminal activity taking place in the settlement. Those are some of the perceptions that people have about unemployed people. Thoyiso who is unemployed puts it like this “... you have to be seen that you are actually looking for a job, rather than to sit at home the whole day”

The unemployed are not a homogenous group, but can actually be put into different categories. The first category is that of those who are retrenched. Second, are those who are dismissed for misconduct or for good reasons. Thirdly, are those who have resigned from work; this could be because they did not get along with their bosses or colleagues at work. It could also be because they did not like the conditions of employment or the payment was not satisfactory and so they decided to resign. Fourthly, there are the school leavers, who have never been employed and have started looking for employment. The following case study is that of Thoyiso, who decided he wanted to quit his job.

Thoyiso

He was working for Clover SA in Brakpan. According to him, he was working too hard for long hours. He was working as a cleaner and was also doing other small tasks such as being a messenger. However, he believes that the pay did not tally with the work he was doing, so he got fed up and resigned. His salary was not sufficient for him to send any money home. It was only enough for him to eat and travel to work. He thought that if he resigned he would be able to get a better paid job elsewhere. He is now a bit sorry for his impulsive behaviour as he now thinks he should have stayed a bit longer. What makes him sad is that after he left, working conditions improved and the salaries were also increased. Right now he is still searching for a job.

Being picky can be associated with being educated, and this makes people a little proud of themselves. Educated people (those with high school education in this case) tend to set

themselves goals that are sometimes unrealistic to achieve. Those who can afford to be choosy in the midst of a scarcity of jobs must really have set higher expectations for themselves when coming to the urban area. Also it could be because they have a stronger social and economic safety net both in the urban area and back in the rural areas. It can be associated with the availability of other alternatives for financial resources i.e. from family or partner. This relieves some of the pressure and desperation for them. For example, I have observed in the settlement that young women do not seem to be as keen on looking for a job as young men do. It is the young men that go out daily to look for casual employment, waiting outside the gates of the big firms and along the sides of the roads and at the intersections. They spend almost three quarters of the day and then come back to the shacks. Thoyiso said that "... this is how men survive, they are not always lucky, but almost every week a piece job becomes available."

However, with young women, it is a different case. They too want jobs, but they are picky and are very particular about the kinds of jobs they will take, if offered one. Phindi and Mrs Hlongwa (older women) confirmed that young women are choosy. They said that on a number of occasions domestic work become available in Daggafontein formal settlement and young women were not interested in such jobs. Nombi, a young woman is now working in a nightclub in town and she said "... there is no way I could work in a kitchen, that job is for older women. In the kitchens you work so hard and you do not get a satisfying pay."

Young women in the settlement prefer to work in town, where there are too many people. A number of them are working in restaurants, nightclubs and in car washes.

11. Social Safety Net

The quantitative research conducted in Daggafontein tried to establish whether there are family members of the 60 respondents who stay elsewhere in the rural home areas who run businesses. Ascertaining this could help in a number of ways. Firstly, it could suggest that the people in Daggafontein have a safety net and/or a social security at home, which

could assist them if things do not work out well in the settlement. It would also mean that they have people who could support them while in Daggafontein if they do not find employment. It would also suggest that should there be proper infrastructure and business opportunities opening up in Daggafontein, those that are at home in the rural areas would possibly come to utilize such opportunities as any entrepreneur would do. Again, it suggests a wide pool of talent that can be attracted to the settlement should there be an opportunity. In some areas rural communities are capable of supporting their urban-based kin. The support that one is referring to here is not only social, but also economical.

The above is contrary to the popular view that the urban-based family members are the ones who support their kin in rural areas through remittances. To a certain extent, rural areas provide support to the people in urban areas. For example, Hartmann-Mahmud, when exploring the rural-urban dynamics in Niger in West Africa, discovered that the civil servants based in urban areas in Niamey supplemented their salaries with agricultural produce such as potatoes, tomatoes, sorghum and even firewood from the villages to sell, eat and to use in the urban area. This is despite the belief by urban-based people that rural life is associated with poverty, hard work and is hard life (2004).

One-third (20) of the respondents have someone who has resources in the rural areas, and the resources are as follows.

- i) 50% (10) have land, livestock and a house
- ii) 25% (5) have a house only
- iii) 10% (2) have livestock only
- iv) 5% (1) have land only
- v) 5% (1) have land and livestock
- vi) 5% (1) have land and a house

Besides the above resources, just over half (32) of the respondents have a member of their family in rural areas who runs a small business. This suggests business exposure on the part of the urban kin. Though the money made by rural businesses is meager, they

certainly can make trade-offs if their urban kin need some financial support. However, this cannot be generalized to say that all rural businesses can support urban-based kin because it is not true. From this, a point can be made that relationships with the rural kin are sustained to ensure some form of safety net when and if some options fail in the urban area. These relationships are activated through rituals and they serve as life insurance.

Several of these businesses are not single-trade undertakings. Of those that were identifiable:

Eleven of these small businesses are spaza shops, which sell general groceries. Most of them make a profit and use the money to buy stock and food for their families. Their main problems are not having enough capital, theft and customer debts.

Seven of the businesses are phone shops with tuck-shops, which sell general goods on a very small scale. Their problems are mainly theft and customer debts. Most of the money they earn is put back into the business by buying new stock. Whilst it is true that these businesses do not make a lot of profit, the little they make is enough to keep them going. Also life in rural areas is not as expensive as it is in urban areas, the people in rural areas make use of a whole lot of other means of survival such as agriculture, government grants etc.

Four are transport services, which operate taxis. Due to the fact that there are numerous taxi-operators, most of them face the problem of stiff competition. Thus they do not make much, if any, profit. They also face high vehicle maintenance costs because of careless drivers and terrible roads.

Three are tailors who make and sell clothing. They mainly face the problem of customers not paying their debts, and they thus have insufficient money to buy more materials.

Three grow and sell vegetables. Because of the high demand, they are always sure to sell their produce, but at times their profits are low due to the fact that livestock have

destroyed some of their crops. Their produce and the money made from it is used towards supporting the family at home.

Conclusion

In looking at the various ways of making a living, this chapter has discussed employment and self-employment. Under self-employment I have discussed a number of activities some of which are illegal which people use in order to make a living. Also discussed is urban agriculture, which some people, especially those with no alternative sources of income, resort to.

In as far as making a living is concerned, issues of employment, unemployment as well as self-employment become central to this issue. It was of relevance that this chapter begins by discussing the definitions of the terms of employment and unemployment. From this discussion, one can conclude that the formal definitions are rather too broad and are hardly understood at grass root levels. For example, far too many people will regard themselves as employed when in fact they are under-employed, or unemployed when according to the formal definition they are employed.

This chapter has discussed types of work available to the community of Daggafontein and has also pointed out that although there is work available in Daggafontein, people unrealistically prefer occupations that are not available in the settlement. These are not realistic because they require higher education and more money, which they lack.

In response to the lack of job opportunities, the people of the settlement have resorted to small business ventures or survivalist enterprises. These enterprises are not formal or legal entities, as they are not registered and do not pay tax. Though some are quite sustainable, others are not doing well and this includes the community garden, one of whose objectives was to generate income for the community. Some of the problems associated with the failure of some business ventures, including the community garden, are the lack of basic business skills.

Besides employment and self-employment sources of income, some community members in the settlement live by casual employment, which becomes available once in a while. This normally lasts for a couple of hours or a day. To supplement meager incomes from intermittent jobs, a minority of people sell stolen items, most of which are stolen from the firms or other places of work.

This chapter has argued that a large number of people in the settlement have a rural safety net. In other words, the rural-based kin have resources and properties which could be used to take care of their urban-based kin if need be. Kin networks do not only exist in rural areas, but extend to the urban areas as well, offering both social and economic support. The following chapter will explore social networks and patterns of association as they exist in Daggafontein.

CHAPTER 5

PATTERNS OF ASSOCIATION

The community of Daggafonten is not a homogenous whole, but is made up of complex networks of formal and informal groups, forming a society. Usually where there are people, there are also social networks and support systems. In fact, “society is not some big mysterious thing, it consists of individuals in interaction” (Whitten and Wolfe, 1974; Whitten et al. 1976:140). This chapter will consider the interactions and patterns of association in Daggafonten; the main focus will be on homeboy groups and church groups, with some emphasis on sports groups and political groups existing in Daggafonten. These patterns of association form relationships that create crosscutting ties within the settlement. For this reason, we find some overlapping social cycles of individuals within a community. The chapter will commence with a general discussion of networks and the different kinds of social and emotional support in a community offered by social networks.

The unit of analysis in anthropological research is usually the social relationships between individuals and these are very abstract social phenomena. To study these phenomena, the concept of social networks has become relevant and vital.

In order to study ties that cut across the boundaries of groups and social categories anthropologists have developed the concept of networks. Some have used the network concept to study and describe fishing village groups organized across the lines of both kinship and social class (Gottlieb, 1981). Some have also used the concept of social network in studying the migrants from the rural to the urban areas in the third world countries (Mayer, 1971; Mayer, 1963).

Networks theory, as argued by Lechte (2003), is meant to follow the variety of contacts a person or a group might have in any given society. In anthropology, this term has been “used to conceptualise the connections and interconnections between individuals moving within and among different socio-cultural milieux” (Rapport and Overing, 2000: 290). A

summarizing definition of the concept of networks is that given by Whitten and Wolfe, which defines it as “a relevant series of linkages existing between individuals that may form a basis for the mobilization of people for specific purposes under specific conditions (in Ibid: 291). Social networks can also be seen as scattered points connected by lines; points in this instance represent persons and the lines represent relations between persons (Boissevain, 1974).

A study by Mayer in East London is also exemplary of how social networks work in the urban setting. This study shows the importance of ties among migrant workers, who were also *abakhaya* in an urban area. While the migrants maintained their rural ties they formed new ties in urban areas, hence the formation of the concept of homeboy groups or *abakhaya*. In this way, individual friendships were formed. These ties or networks are supportive and are a response and a buffer against constraints and/or problems that people often encounter in the urban areas.

To describe the density of networks, Boissevain points out the importance of the degree to which an individual is in touch with the people in his network. This connectedness can be put into different zones. For example, there is a personal zone of the ego, which includes the wife, children and parents; and then there is an intimate zone A. In this zone there are close friends who actively relate to ego. Then there is intimate zone B, in this zone there are friends and relatives, but their relationship with ego is rather passive, although of emotional importance to ego. In the effective zone, persons are important to ego “in a pragmatic sense for economic purposes and the logistics of daily life.” Finally, there is the nominal zone in which there are people the ego knows but who mean very little to him (Boissevain, 1974: 47).

Furthermore, dense or close-knit social networks are usually found in economically undifferentiated communities. In these communities, there is a lot of interaction and interdependency. These communities are highly sociable even towards people not known to them (strangers). This is asserted by Boissevain to be because they fear that the stranger might be a friend of a friend or someone they know.

In contrast to the above, differentiated communities seem to have less interaction and interdependency and therefore have low density relationships. In Boissevain and Mitchell (1973), Cubitt argued that according to a study conducted in urban Britain, network density was generally low. However, even in urban areas, there are high-density networks such as kinship, neighbourhoods and in voluntary associations.

There are factors that affect the structure of social networks, such as education. Highly educated individuals tend to have large networks. However, the density of those networks is very low. This is caused by the fact that these individuals are somewhat more mobile than their less educated counterparts and this does not allow them time to service the new relationships they form each time they move. According to Boissevain and Mitchell, these are usually among middle-class or individuals. In contrast, the lower class or working class groups are less mobile and again, have smaller networks that are high in density.

There are other factors that influence the structure of an individual's social networks. For example, geographical location; people with stable geographical location tend to have more interaction with persons in their networks. These networks are usually not big, but are dense or close-knit. In such social networks there is pressure on members to help one another. People who do not have a stable geographical location have a large network of people with whom they interact; such networks are low in density or loose-knit (Milardo, 1988; Boissevain and Mitchell, 1973).

Relations in social networks very often overlap each other. For example, a person can have a network made up of a large number of people from the different social fields in which he plays a role. This means one can interact with similar people in different capacities (Boissevain, 1974).

To exemplify the discussion on social ties and/or networks, the *abakhaya* groups in East London will be discussed and after which social networks in Daggafontein will be

considered. The following discussions will show how important social networks can be in an undifferentiated community.

1. Homeboy groups - *Abakhaya*

The following example is a relevant one in the sense that it will show how networks are formed and how relationships are serviced and maintained. It shows the usefulness of networks in the urban area for the person who is away from home.

Abakhaya groups are groups of people from same home areas. In most cases these people are seeking employment or are working in the urban areas. It is noteworthy that within these groups there are divisions and hierarchies. These divisions are according to age, period spent in town etc.

When in town, i.e. East London, the rural people would “constitute a moral community there” (Mayer, 1971:99). This community would almost be the extension of the rural home community. This homeboy group network would provide moral support for each other. They would punish their own members if necessary. In doing this, they would be acting as guardians of morality in town. Homeboy groups are not only those from the same rural location, but would include those from the nearby rural locations, so that when they meet in town, they behave as if they were all from the same rural location.

In town, the rural homeboy groups had the problem of a shortage of accommodation. This resulted in them sharing rooms. The primary tenant would have his own sub-tenants, and they would all share the facilities available. The roommates also shared the rent, but this was not strictly adhered to if the newcomers had no money.

Young men enjoy staying with other young men; however, as a young man grows older and reaches the stage of a mature man, he might prefer to have more privacy. In that case he would move out to rent his own room where he would pay more and maybe share with a woman.

A young man who had just arrived in town has to find someone to take care of him, because he has no job and no money to rent a room or to buy food. This on its own puts him in a compromised position, as he would have to be dependant upon his host. This creates some form of hierarchy. This is why the newly arrived rural young man prefers to stay with their age-mates from the same location. With age-mates, they would feel comfortable, as there is equality among them. Although the newcomer would be taken care of, he had to “acknowledge his dependent status and his juniority in the circle” (Ibid, 102). The heavy and the least-liked chores were assigned to him. Such chores were: fetching water, cleaning and cooking food for the rest of the roommates. The newcomer is also expected to bring an arrival gift, which is usually brandy for the senior roommates, on his arrival.

To further highlight the hierarchy that exists in the accommodation where the homeboy groups stay, Mayer (Ibid) points out that the room-tenant was subordinate to the landlord who was the owner of the house. However, he would try to assert his limited authority over the sub-tenants with whom he shared the room. He would sleep on the bed while others slept on the floor. He would take the first pick of food and he would not do as many room chores as the sub-tenants.

Homeboy groups within an age-set would form drinking groups. People forming these drinking groups would usually be those living closer to each other, in terms of accommodation. The pleasures attributed to the drinking group were the drink itself and nostalgia. Men would gather in a shebeen or in one of their rooms for a drink. It was usually the traditionally brewed beer. They would gather each time they were free, but usually after work and during weekends. In these groups, they would talk about home; ways of saving money, livestock and general home affairs. These groups allowed men to bond as rural people and to be able to defend each other in any fights in town. They also helped to make sure that links with home were maintained and that men did not avoid responsibilities they faced at their homesteads.

The above case of rural men of the former Ciskei and Transkei in East London has in some ways introduced and exemplified the concept of homeboy groups. It has also illustrated the hierarchies within the homeboy groups. It has looked at the voluntary groups formed by the *abakhaya*. The homeboy groups play a crucial role in urban areas as they maintain and ensure moral standards and the well-being of each member. In looking at this case study, one has not discussed the Red and the School 'politics'. The Reds were the uneducated conservative and the School people were those who had been to school and were more urban-oriented than their rural counterparts. Having looked at the case of the rural men in East London, let us now consider the homeboy groups in Daggafontein.

It has been suggested in the previous chapters that people come to Daggafontein mostly from the rural areas, to seek employment. Like the rural former Ciskei and Transkei men in East London, people do not just come to Daggafontein without any connections. They have to have someone who will take care of them while they are still looking for employment. They also need someone to offer them shelter while they are still negotiating a place to erect a shack with the street committee members. That 'someone' is usually a relative, friend or a homeboy who is not necessarily a friend or a relative.

It is noteworthy that a few people do not have connections when they come to Daggafontein, but they form relationships once they arrive. This has been made possible by the fact that there are some shacks where people stay as lodgers. In that case they don't need to be friends, a homeboy, or relative of anyone because they pay at the month end. However, it is extremely hard for a complete stranger to secure a shack to rent unless referred by someone known to the landlord.

This section will focus on the homeboy groups, and will also offer a discussion on the people's perceptions of homeboy groups. Some of those perceptions are negative, while others are positive. Let me also point out that, in the case of Daggafontein, people are not only homeboys because they come from the same rural location, but also because they

come from the same province and share the same language. For example, people from KwaZulu-Natal, are all homeboys when they meet in Daggafontein. Therefore, the concept of homeboys is segmentary in this sense. Homeboy groups are usually made up of about 25 to 30 individuals. In this discussion, I also examine what people think happens to those who do not acknowledge their homeboys.

For those who do not have any contacts in Daggafontein, it may be hard to find a place to stay. Complete strangers often do not know which shacks are available to be rented out. People who get accommodation in these shacks are often referred by friends or family members. Mirriam has a spare shack attached to her main shack. This spare shack used to accommodate her grand daughters who were attending school at Springs. They have now gone back to Durban to their mother and the shack is rented to Nomzamo. Nomzamo is a friend of Mirriam. Before moving to Mirriams', she was sharing a shack with her boy friend's sister, was not paying rent and was not comfortable she told Mirriam that she needed a place to stay where she would not need to share. Mirriam offered her a shack. She pays R40.00 a month. The shack is furnished with a double bed and a dressing table. Nomzamo came with her own linen, paraffin stove, and pots. In this instance, the vacant shack was not advertised, but a friend knew that it was available and approached the owner. This would not be easy for a complete stranger. Mrs Hlongwa also has a vacant shack, which she told me she would like to rent out, but only to someone whom she already knows. She told me that she once rented it out to some girl who had a violent boyfriend. The boyfriend would fight with this girl almost every night. That is why she would like to rent it out to someone whom she knows will not give her problems.

Mrs Cresentia Busakwe struggled to get a place to stay when she first came to Daggafontein. She is originally from Qumbu in the former Transkei. She came to Johannesburg with her husband, who was a preacher. First they stayed in Randburg, where she found a job as a domestic worker. After 6 years, they moved to Selcourt in Springs where they stayed for another six years, until she separated with her husband. After leaving him, she came to Daggafontein. She found a job as a cleaner in the formal settlement of Daggafontein. However, she did not have accommodation and she did not

know anyone in the informal settlement. No one offered her accommodation. She did not have enough money to ask for permission to erect her own shack or the material to do so, and no one to build it for her. For about a year, she slept in a pipe or sometimes went to the taverns in town where she would stay overnight. She gradually made friends with a few people in the informal settlement, and also found out that there were other people from the Transkei there. Those were the people who helped her with both the material and to erect her shack.

The above case shows that gaining entry into the informal settlement of Daggafontein may not be simple and easy. Though there is no formal bureaucracy involved in obtaining a stand on which to erect a shack, a number of factors determine whether or not a person can erect the shack. For example, the street committee would be reluctant to give a stand to a complete stranger. It is much easier if some members of the community have a track record of that particular individual or if that individual is referred to the street committee by someone known to the Committee. It is thus better for a newcomer to have a good record and be on good terms with the community.

Below are the case studies further explaining the importance of *abakhaya* and kin as social networks in the urban area.

Dumisani

Dumisani lives with his sister and his brother-in-law, his sister's husband. He came to stay in Daggafontein two years ago in 2002. He is now working at Brakpan, and during his days off and over weekends he comes to Daggafontein. When interviewed on the issue of homeboy groups he had this to say:

“When people first come to stay in town, sometimes they are treated badly, but as time goes on they are accepted in the community. It also depends on who did you come to stay with when you first came (host). If your host is known to be a good person in the community then you will be easily accepted. Again, talking to people helps a lot, be open, tell people who you are and where you come from, in that way you will make friends.”

“When making friends you don’t look at their ages and things like those, but at how they think, you can have friends of your same age, but only to find out that they land you in trouble by the things they encourage you to do”

“It is important to have *abakhaya* surrounding you where you stay, this is important in times of difficulty and sickness. Imagine no one knows you and you die, you will end up being buried by the municipality, whereas if you have *abakhaya* they will find ways of taking you back home.”

People stress the importance of *abakhaya* for many different reasons, but the reason that emerged most often was that *abakhaya* will help you in difficult times, for instance if you are sick, do not have a job or do not have a place to stay. Some even mention that they involve their homeboys if they have a dispute with someone in Daggafontein.

To determine if sampled Daggafontein residents maintain strong ties with their home groups, a question asked was: when you make important decisions here in Daggafontein, do you involve people from your home area? In answering this question, the overwhelming majority (52/60) of those asked said yes, they involve people from their home areas.

While the majority generally appreciates the homeboy groups, some have feelings of ambivalence towards homeboy groups. For example, the case of Sandile shows ambivalence in this regard. Sandile is from Upington and has been in Daggafontein since 1996. His closest friends are from Sterkspruit and his host is from Qwaqwa. Sandile is not related to any persons close to him in the settlement. He has got homeboys in the settlement, but does not hang out with them. His response to the issue of the importance of homeboy groups tells why he is not closer to the people from his home area.

Sandile

“*Abakhaya* are important because they understand you and your problems. Again, *umkhaya* (singular form of *abakhaya*) sends messages home and from home to you in town. However, since *umkhaya* knows you well he can be dangerous in a sense that he might be jealous and start behaving funnily when you succeed and subsequently become an enemy”

Sandile above raises some ambiguity as far as the importance of *abakhaya* is concerned. This shows a love-hate relationship between some *abakhaya*. This could also mean that some people, depending on their age, marital status and property ownership in the rural areas, would want to be completely independent of anything to do with their home areas when they are in town. For example, if a man maintains a close relationship with homeboy groups, they will keep an eye on him thus limiting his freedom to do as he wishes in the urban area. In the case of Sandile, he is still a single young man with no property at home. Since he came to Gauteng in the late 1990s, he has never visited home; this clearly influences his ambiguous response about *abakhaya*. Nevertheless, *abakhaya* represent unity amidst urban individualism.

From the observations and the informal chats I had with Sandile and his friend Sibonelo, it came out that these two are very close friends. Sibonelo is from Sterkspruit. He stays with his older brother. Sibonelo came to stay in Daggafontein in January 2003 after completing his Grade 12. These two visit each other almost daily; some times they even sleep over at each other's place. Sibonelo highlighted that if either of them has a problem, they help each other. For example, if Sandile does not have money for paraffin he (Sibonelo) gives it to him if he has it. This shows that, in the case of Daggafontein, people do not have to be homeboys in the sense that they come from the same home location, in order for them to assist each other or to be friends with each other.

There are many individual networks existing in Daggafontein. For example, still referring to Sandile and Sibonelo: Sandile has other friends besides Sibonelo. Sibonelo also has other friends, who are not necessarily close to Sandile. One has noticed that the pattern

of association is determined also by the similar circumstances, especially among the youth. This may also be affected by the fact that the majority of people involve home groups when making big decisions.

The following case is that of Jomo who shares the same opinion as Sandile.

Jomo

“When you leave home you are told that you will meet your brothers where you are going, so I think even if there was no one to stay with I would still settle here, depending on the relationship I had with the people of this place (Daggafontein). It happens that you meet your homeboys in a new area and they turn out to be problematic and make your life miserable. So, in some cases you live better with strangers who do not know much about you.”

[Question] How do you make friends in a new area?

[Jomo] “...When you are new in an area you have to be humble, but at the same time you have to take some time to get to know the people around. For easy acceptance, the behaviour of a new person is very important. The behaviour of your host also influences and determines the way people accept you”.

It emerges from the interviews that the status of your host is very crucial in determining whether your stay in a new place will be comfortable or uncomfortable. At the same time, it is stressed that the behavior of a newcomer is very important in determining his and his hosts' stay in the settlement. The newcomer has to display respect to the old residents and be humble. In that way, a newcomer will be accepted much more readily. This is almost the same as the inferior position of a newcomer in East London mentioned earlier, where the newcomer had to acknowledge his dependent and junior status in the circle of age-mates.

The following case study shows how newcomers can jeopardize the relationship of their host with the community. People in the settlement confronted the host for bringing mischievous friends to stay with him in the settlement.

Jomo had a specific experience of problematic homeboys. He took over the shacks that belonged to his sister. He was using one shack and had a spare one. His homeboys who had gone to the same school with him came to Daggafontein looking for jobs. The fact that he had a place to stay made it easy for them to come and stay with him. They did not have to pay rent, but had to provide their own furniture, as the shack was empty. Some of them got permanent employment and some still live on casual employment. These four friends of his are of the same age as him (late 20's). On weekends, they would go to the shebeen to drink. It happened that in one weekend, they got very drunk and became aggressive. They started beating people passing on the street at night. This attracted the attention of the residents to him (Jomo) as their host. Luckily, no one was arrested. They still stay with him, but are now less mischievous than before. They put some money together to buy food. They share most things with Jomo.

As said before, this case illustrates how the newcomers can sour the relationships between their host and his neighbours in the settlement.

Another case study is that of Mr Zapo, the local businessman talked about in the previous chapter. He believes that homeboys are likely to become your worst enemies because of "jealousy when you become successful". His personal experience is that when he came to stay in Daggafontein, he came with his age-mates from Sekhukhune. They were all from the same village. When he arrived in Daggafontein, he worked hard so that he was able to buy a car out of his spaza shop money. He thinks that his success put his homeboys under tremendous pressure, as they would be asked when they visit home; what they do with their money. Parents back home started quoting Zapo to them as the good example. Their parents thought that these boys were drinking their money while Zapo was saving his. This was not the case; as far as Zapo was concerned, the guys did not earn as much money as he made from his spaza. This was how the hatred started. Zapo's homeboys

stopped talking to him. “*Abakhaya* became the worst enemies....” This enmity grew in to such an extent that the homeboys organized a hit man to shoot him at the spaza shop. For some strange reason the hit man just could not shoot him instead he dropped the gun and ran away. It became known that it was the homeboy group that had organized a hit man to shoot Zapo. This can also be said to be some sort of witchcraft on the part of the jealous homeboys as they wished that bad things would happen to him.

The second incident was when his spaza shop was broken in to and almost everything was stolen. He later traced some of his belongings to the shack of one of the homeboys. Apparently, this was intended by *abakhaya* to discourage him from running a spaza shop. For the above reasons, Zapo not only distrusts his homeboys, but he does not want anything to do with a person from his home area. He said he would rather be a friend to strangers. This perhaps explains why it is often the strangers that succeed in business in a community. These people have to be self-dependent and maybe the reason for leaving their home areas in the first place was to escape being pulled down.

Belonging to a home group does not serve to exclude those who are not the members of that group. I managed to pick up this trend in Daggafontein. People would just help each other no matter what. The following case study is that of Mrs Mbodlela and Mr Zobuzwe, who has a shack in her back yard. The case confirms what Mr Zapo said above, that one can be very close to strangers. Apparently, Zobuzwe came in Daggafontein in the late 1990s. He came to ask if he could erect his shack in the back yard of Mrs Mbodlela. She allowed him to do so. He lives on casual jobs and sometimes he does not have food, paraffin or candles. Mrs Mbodlela says she told him to always come and get whatever he needs. She basically treats him like her own child. Zobuzwe in return cleans the yard for her, but of his own free will and is not compelled to. It happened coincidentally that Zobuzwe, who is in his mid 20s, came into the room while I was visiting Mrs Mbodlela; he had come for his lunch that Mrs Mbodlela had already prepared. Zobuzwe is also reciprocating by his presence as he offers security to the Mbodlela household. Zobuzwe however, has other networks. I have met him with his friend Bhekinkosi. They are almost like brothers, as they spend most of their time driving together in town and in

Daggafontein. Zobuzwe is also a friend to Jomo and he is also a friend to Patros, Sibonelo's brother. This shows that besides the network of homeboys, there are also personal networks based on friendship. Friendship is based on similarities such as being unemployed, or being of the same age group.

Those who do not acknowledge their homeboys are seen by most as having a tendency to abandon their homes. Most of them have not visited home in a very long time. They do not maintain contact with their families and do not want *abakhaya* groups to send information about them home. People have different reasons why they no longer go home. Sukude, an elderly man with whom I had a chat, told me that it is most likely that those who do not associate themselves with *abakhaya*, are involved in some shady businesses about which they do not want their families to find out. Sukude further mentioned that if such people die, their families back home would not know and the municipality would have to bury them.

2. Drinking groups

2.1 Youths

The youth do not hang out with the elders; and those who form youth drinking groups are people who are roughly the same age. They are not necessarily from the same home areas. I have observed a group made up of largely Xhosa-speaking youths, but within the group there are youths who were born in Gauteng and have moved around different townships. Members of these groups generally share similar habits such as smoking, drinking and gambling. When they are together they would play cards, board games and snooker or pool in the shops and shebeens that have these facilities. However, sometimes they would talk about their experiences when they were at school. They would also talk about soccer. One of the favorite topics they usually talk about is that of girls. They would talk about AIDS and some of their friends who have died of it. There is no order in which these topics are discussed, but they just crop up and one story would lead to the next and subsequently to the next topic. What was also noticeable with this group was

that they were not mixed in terms of gender. I can only speculate that girls feel threatened by these youths' behavior. I have witnessed instances where these male youths harass female youths who are passing by, either by looking at them in a way that makes them feel uncomfortable or even making some snide remarks.

During the period I spent in the settlement, I also noticed that among the youths drinking was something done together as a group openly during the day, but spending time with girlfriends was something very private and that happened in the evenings. (This is not to say that youths do not drink in the evenings.) This is done to "avoid being seen with different girls" - during the day - one guy told me. This gives one a sense that some youths have multiple relationships. In fact some girls have multiple relationships as well. I have heard gossip about girls who sneak out and go to their "other boyfriends" while the ones with whom they are co-habiting are working the night shift. On one evening when I went to see a friend in the settlement, a young man was beating his girlfriend and when I enquired about this from the onlookers, they told me that the girl was cheating on him.

2.2 Older men

I have observed a large group of men forming a drinking group. They all meet daily at Mr Makhanya's shebeen. Makhanya is an old man who has retired from working on the mines. His two sons have their own shacks in Daggafontein and work on the mines. He stays with his wife and his young grand-daughter. Mr Makhanya said in our talk that he needs money and cannot rely on his sons. In fact, he stated that his sons sometimes remember him when they are in trouble. This means that they usually do not give him money, but ask him for money if they need it. He is therefore selling traditionally brewed beer, which his wife brews. Apparently, the beer is affordable, judging from the large crowd of people who spend the day at his house. The characteristic of this drinking group at Makhanya's is that they are all Xhosa-speaking men. Some are employed, while others are not. They are all married or live with partners. They address Makhanya as father (*tata*), except for those who are roughly the same age as him who call him, by his second name. The things they talk about, at least when I visited, included the youth not taking

care of their elderly parents. This was a very hot topic on that day. I also got advice from Makhanya on taking good care of the parents. I can only assume that most of the time they talk about matters that concern their own homesteads. They also talked about their family responsibilities and about issues affecting them in the Daggafontein settlement. One gentleman, who is a member of this drinking group, came to report an incident when I was visiting a street committee member Mr Shoba. He told Mr Shoba, who is not part of a drinking group, that he was going to talk about the incident that he had come to report to other men at Makhanya's.

As a researcher, one can not completely rule out the possibility of a change of subject by the people after one has left a gathering. However, one is certain that my presence in the settlement is discussed by the groups there. During the first year of fieldwork, in 2003, my assistant picked up rumors among some of the women who thought that I was working for the government and had come to look for those who fraudulently receive disability grants when they are no longer ill. This talk was circulating among the women. Also, a man in his early 40s approached me and said he had heard that I was from the Department of Housing and was registering people for formal housing. He asked that I register him as well. Among the youths, my presence raised hopes that somehow I might be able to find them jobs as they had such trust in me. Some female youths had on a number of occasions, visited my assistant to find out more about my personal life and others asked if I had a girlfriend or not. The above examples give one an idea that surely there were various other topics that people talked about when I was not around that I eventually found about.

A distinction between a drinking group for the youth and that for the mature men is in what they drink. The youth do not drink traditionally brewed beer or any other traditional concoctions that are often sold in the shebeens. Youths drink 'Western' beer i.e. Castle, Black Label, Hansa etc. Older men focus more on traditional beer. This trend suggests that the youths have more money than their mature counterparts, as the beers favored by the youth are more expensive than the traditional beer. One can only speculate that the youths do not have as many responsibilities as the mature men have. It is suggested by

Mayer (1971) that the youths need money for their personal concerns, whereas mature men need money to support their homesteads. Therefore based on this statement by Mayer one can assume that youths spend their money on what ever they like.

People do not overemphasize homesickness when they talk about their homes. Such talks seem to be less important and can be picked up only from the drinking groups, where most people are from the same province. The reason could be as mentioned earlier, that people come from many different parts of the country. It is unlike the predominantly Xhosa population in East London, where people would identify only with their rural-mates. However, to a certain extent, drinking groups, overlap with homeboy groups especially among the mature men.

3. Religious groups

Religion provides communality among members of the society, especially those who subscribe to it. In almost any community, there are religious groups existing and Daggafontein is no exception. These groups form networks through which interaction takes place. This section on religious groups will provide a discussion of the patterns of interactions that take place through religious voluntary association in the settlement.

In a study conducted in informal settlements in the Hottentots Holland Basin in Western Cape (Waterkloof, Sun City, Die Bos, Ambulance Park, Blikkiesdorp and Casablanca), people were asked what they needed the most in their community. High on the list was the need for places of worship or churches. This need came second - after clinics - on the list of all the needs when ranked according to popularity (Emmett, 1992).

The above example of informal settlements in the Western Cape suggests the high relevance of religion in the informal settlements. Informal settlements are generally places where most people struggle to make ends meet. There is high unemployment, poverty, substance abuse, teenage pregnancy and violence against women and children; those are clearly not favorable and desirable social conditions. Religion is therefore a

social need in those suffering and struggling communities. It is a mechanism to make sense of the situation, (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995) argued. One can also argue that religion, as a social institution, is a platform on which high-density networks are formed.

I will now consider the religious groups existing in the Daggafontein settlement.

In Daggafontein there are a number of church denominations. There are Methodist Church; the Nazareth Baptist Church (Shembe); the Zion Christian Church, the Church of Leganyane; and the Apostolic Faith Mission church.

3.1 Methodist Church

The most prominent among all these is the Methodist Church. This church is a branch of the main church in KwaThema. What makes it popular is that the *Mvangeli* or the Evangelist resides in the settlement. Whenever the members need advice or help the *Mvangeli* is always available for them. The evangelist gets a stipend from the Bishop. However, this stipend of +- R700.00 is not enough for the needs of his family. Therefore it is the duty of the congregation to make sure that his basic needs are fulfilled, especially that of food. For some months, the congregation has been buying groceries for him every month. When I spoke to his wife, she told me that she and her husband have asked the congregation to stop buying groceries for them as she has got a job and will be able to support the family.

The church has popularized itself through the bible studies it offers to the community and the prayer groups it has established in the settlement. The church is involved in social welfare projects such as the donation of second-hand clothing to the needy. It is also involved in the cleaning of the settlement through the collection of tins and cardboard. These are sold to a recycling firm. The money from the sale of tins and cardboard is put into the church bank account.

The Methodist Church building in the settlement is an old building, but usable. Every Sunday people gather for a church service from 11h00 until 13h00. On Tuesdays the evangelist conducts bible classes in the settlement. People meet in the house of one of the church members, for bible study. These classes are open to all those who are willing to attend, both members and non-members of the church. On Thursday mornings the *Mvangeli* visits people in their homes, especially the elderly and the sick, as well as those who do not go to any church. In the afternoon of the same day, the women of the church meet in the church for their prayer session.

The main Methodist Church in KwaThema also donates second-hand clothes and sends them to the Daggafontein branch. It is then the duty of women in the church to give these clothes to those who are extremely poor. Usually, it is children's clothes. In some cases clothes get distributed among church members. In some instances, an announcement is made to the whole community to come on a certain Sunday so that they can receive these clothes for their children. These clothes are not paid for; but are for free. The church has not yet worked out a consistent way of distributing these clothes.

There are more women than men members in this church. Mostly, they are mature married women. Even though there are some young unmarried women who go to church they are not regular in attendance. A church choir was formed and led by the *Mvangeli's* wife. This was aimed at attracting young people to come to church. This supports the claim that youths both male and female take little or no interest in church and only attend when they are about to get married and until they are a married couple. Youths do not seem to have reasons to go to church. Mongezi Shabangu, a young man of 26, told me he does not have a problem with religion as such, but going to church is not easy. Others find church "boring and suitable for old people". Mr "Splash" who is in his early thirties mentioned that the money required from church members, such as the tithe¹ and money for the ticket, is the problem and said he can not go to church because he is not working and has no money. He said he would go to church when he has a job and money. I therefore argue that people who can afford to get married are people who have money

¹ This is paid as a tax to support the church.

and if Splash's argument is anything to go by, he is probably right that money hinders people from going to church. Mrs Ndlovu, a church song leader in the Methodist Church, also confirms this; she says "this (money) is also one of the factors that chase people away from the church. The church is becoming a place of those who can afford to pay." Besides younger children, the majority of people in church are the elderly who are married and respectable. These people either get a pension or they have some other source of income in order to be able to contribute to the church.

There was an incident that shocked many people in the settlement regarding church payments. Like a number of other people, Mrs Busakwe had pulled out of the church because she was in arrears and could not afford to settle her church debts. The evangelist paid her together with many others a visit to find out what exactly is the problem and to remind them that they still owe the congregation. On this day, Mr Qhina, the evangelist, had an argument with Mrs Busakwe, which led him to curse her. He told her that if her shack should burn down, she must not come to him asking for prayers or any assistance. After Qhina had left, Mrs Busakwe told her neighbour about the curse. This was in the morning, and in the afternoon the shack went up in flames. Mr Qhina and his wife had to come and apologise for what he had said that morning and brought clothing and furniture, as well as food to the Busakwe's. Since this incident, people are no longer obliged to pay if they cannot afford to do so. This has increased the number of people attending the church. The high attendance could be a result of fear of the curse or because they are happy that they are no longer forced to pay. Mrs Qhina, the evangelist's wife, admitted in a chat we had that sometimes the church is harsh to people and that some church members really cannot afford to pay their dues. She, however, stressed that there has to be some money coming in order for the church to survive, hence they have started recycling tins and cardboard.

The number of children who attend church exceeds the number of adults. These youngsters, some only toddlers, come with their parents in large numbers. There is a Sunday School meant for the children at 10h30, thirty minutes before the service starts. However, the Sunday school teacher does not attend church regularly. When she is

present, she teaches them stories from the Bible and lets them sing. Some of these children are too young to grasp what is being said and even to concentrate; they are restless and are constantly having to be kept quiet.

There are only six male members, excluding the male children, in this congregation. Of these, three are married men, including the Evangelist, and the other three are unmarried youths. What distinguishes these youths is that they do not hang out with the youths who drink and smoke. Also, they have stable jobs and they can afford to pay for the church tickets.

The Methodist Church here is almost like a family; they address each other as mothers, brothers and sisters. After the church service, men usually have a meeting where they share their problems and offer solutions and advice where they can. In most cases, they pray for their problems. There is a steward, also known as *gosa*, in the male group. *Gosa* is an Nguni name for a group leader. He keeps all the documents and notebooks. He also takes money and signs the church tickets. These tickets are compulsory for every adult church member. Members are supposed to pay R25.00 a month. Some decide to divide this into four weeks and pay R6.25 a week. This money is not included in the Sunday collection. There is nothing really special about the *gosa*, except that he fulfills all the requirements such as regular attendance and paying all the money needed. It is also important that he can read and write and also be able to do simple calculations. From time to time he is asked to pray for and bless the Sunday collections.

The women, they meet after the service. Since the number of women is large, they are divided into groups. Each group has a leader, a female *gosa*, who is usually an elder. They also do the same things that the men do. The chairperson of all the female groups is the evangelist's wife. Likewise the chairperson of the male group is the evangelist himself. The chairpersons see that everything is running smoothly, and if there is a major problem the relevant *gosa* is approached by the evangelist or *vice versa*.

When a visitor comes to church, he or she gets introduced and his or her name registered as a visiting member in a book and this is called *ukuzigcinisa*.

The service is conducted in Xhosa, Sotho and English, which makes it take longer. The Evangelist preaches in Xhosa mixed with English and the interpreter interprets in Sotho. This is for the benefit of the Sotho and Afrikaans-speaking members of the church. Perhaps with the growth of membership, services will take place at different times, i.e. very early in the morning and in the afternoon.

Church is where female home groups meet. Almost half of the women that go to the Methodist Church know each other from back home in the rural Eastern Cape. Others are from other provinces such as the Northern Cape, Free State and KwaZulu-Natal². As mentioned before, they stay with their husbands, who are working at the nearby firms. This suggests why women are always available for church activities such as prayer meetings and bible study classes. They are not working and have ample time at home to allow them to partake in these activities. Again, maybe women do not have any other mechanism to cope with the daily problems they encounter in the informal settlement hence they go to church. This may likely be the case considering the fact that the men have their own drinking groups where they discuss problems and issues facing them in the community Mona (2004). The following case is that of Mrs Tholiso, who had a group visiting her because she was sick.

Mrs Tholiso has just lost her baby, the baby was sickly from birth and eventually passed away. On my visit, she had just returned from the Eastern Cape, where she had been for the funeral of her baby. The neighbors, friends and people (women only) from the same home area as her, Mqanduli in the Eastern Cape, heard that she was back from home and came to her shack bringing a prayer. She lives with her husband who works in one of the firms in the area. After the baby had died, Mrs Tholiso went home for the funeral and stayed for some months. When I saw her, it was the day after she had arrived; she had lost a lot of weight and people say that she is also sick. The group of women visiting her

² This is addressed later in this chapter.

were singing church songs. One of her neighbours whom I spoke to, was not part of the prayer group; she said that she knew that Mrs Tholiso was back from home and was sick, but was not told anything about the prayer otherwise she too could have attended.

Later on the same day, I saw Mrs Tholiso talking in the passage next to her friend's shack with a group of about six other women, who I suspect were the ones singing in her shack earlier. In the late afternoon, I saw Mrs Tholiso walking down the street with a different group of women. Judging from the way they were talking, it seems as if she was catching up and being updated on what had been happening in the settlement in her absence. Again, she might be updating her friends on what had been happening at Mqanduli, at home in the Eastern Cape.

Other churches do not have their places of worship in Daggafontein except for the Apostolic Faith Mission, which has a tent in the settlement where it worships. The ZCC group goes to KwaThema for a church service; they have a huge place that accommodates all ZCC members from the whole of KwaThema, including Daggafontein and Payneville. The members of the Shembe church either go to KwaThema for a prayer or to the temple for a church service in Johannesburg at Doornfontein in Joubert Park. This is where all Shembe people in the whole of Gauteng go. The Church's name for the Temple is *Sandanezwe* meaning "we spread across the country". One member of this church, Nhlanhla, stressed that everyone who can afford to has to go to the temple. However, those who cannot afford to, go to KwaThema where it is more of a prayer session than a church service.

3.2 Apostolic Faith Mission

As stated above, the Apostolic Faith Mission has a marquee tent in Daggafontein. Inside the tent are heavy wooden benches filling almost the whole place. At the front there are tables joined together to make an altar. This tent is also used for public gatherings and meetings, and one would assume that this is how the church contributes to the community of Daggafontein. This tent sometimes gets blown away by strong winds. When the tent is

not fixed, the members of the church also go to KwaThema where the main church is. There are less than twenty regular people, but usually there are many people who attend as visitors. It is easy for people to just pop in as the tent is situated right in the middle of the settlement. This church also helps people in the community in a number of ways. Stories have been told about water (*isiwasho*) that people take from the church. For example, Mrs Ncube told me that she had been sick with pains in her body. She actually suspected that it was witchcraft and went to the church to tell the minister. The following day, Monday, the Minister came to her house to bring a prayer and *isiwasho*. After using the *isiwasho* the pain got better and it eventually disappeared. She now believes in the power of *isiwasho* from this church (Apostolic Faith Mission). In brief, this church heals its members in the community when they are sick and have family problems. There is also another one in Springs, but it is perceived by many people in the settlement as being “too white”.

3.3 Zion Christian Church

When I attended a ZCC church service with Daggafontein people, there were over 800 people present. Their (ZCC) services start in the afternoon at 14h00 and last until 17h00. People were wearing different coloured uniforms. Some were wearing dark green suits with yellow stripes on the sides and similar dresses for women. Others wore yellow outfits, while others, especially the men, were wearing khaki shirts and trousers and khaki shoes.

Their church is fenced with concrete and has a very huge parking area in which the cars are looked after by some church members, young men in uniform. The languages predominantly spoken are SePedi and SeSotho. Before the service, large groups are formed; some groups are made up of men only, others women only and others are mixed with both men and women, as well as children. In these groups, people sing and form a big circle in which they take turns to dance and chant. The men wearing Khaki uniforms form their own group where they sing and dance the *mkhukhu* or *igusha* dance. The group of such dancers is called *Umkhukhu*.

At 14h00 o'clock, people go inside the building for a service. The church is built from corrugated iron both the roof as well as the sides. Inside, there are wooden benches and thick dust, which clearly shows that sometimes people dance inside. There are no windows, but the three entrances are left open for ventilation. There are about eight fluorescent lights hanging on the rafters for more light. An amplifier and three hi-fi speakers are used so that the priest and the interpreter can be heard by all, both inside and outside.

Women sit on the left hand side and the men sit on the right hand side of the church. There is no mixing of genders, in other words husbands and wives, boys and girls sit on separate sides once they enter the church. In the middle is a passage leading up to the pulpit. The pulpit is on a high platform so that those sitting at the front, i.e. the priests, are seen by everyone inside.

Once everyone is inside, announcements are made followed by the reading of the Bible and preaching. This was done by four priests and then the final speaker (priest) wrapped up the service. In between each reading of the scripture there are songs, which the women lead. The services are multilingual as there is an interpreter who interprets in Zulu when the priest speaks in Pedi and Sotho. When the priest speaks in Zulu or Xhosa the interpreter uses either Sotho or Pedi to interpret. The four priests each use different languages from the ones listed above.

From the beginning of the service right up to the end there are prophets who are moving up and down the passage and in and out of the bench rows getting possessed, sneezing, yawning and clapping hands. These prophets, both men and women, young and old, move up and down picking out people for whom they have a prophesy. This is somewhat uncomfortable for a new-comer and it is also disturbing when one is attentively listening to what the priest has to say. Even the priests seated in the pulpit area get called by these prophets. When calling a person, the prophet stands in front of the person, claps a couple of times and points at him with both hands put together indicating that he or she must

follow and the person pointed has to follow behind. The prophet leads the way to the back of the church where there is a shelter. There is not much privacy during the divining session, which takes less than five minutes. The two then come back inside. When they get inside, the prophet goes straight to the next person. This happens until 17h00.

As in the Methodist Church, people are reminded before the end of the service that they need to pay for their church tickets. They are told that if they do not pay, they are not going to get all the “benefits” as one priest puts it, i.e. their children will not qualify for the bursary offered by the church for students to further their education in tertiary institutions.

People claim that miracles happen in the ZCC, for instance people getting jobs, and women conceiving. It is the prophets that perform miracles. It is crucial to point out that of those prophets who call people outside on Sundays, very few have permanent powers to prophesy or divine. A large number of the “Sunday prophets” lose their powers promptly at 17h00, after the church service has ended. When I enquired about this, one church member told me that “they are just “minor prophets” who are “... controlled by the satellite from Moriah and at five they are all switched off... if you were to ask them to divine for you after five they cannot, it is a miracle” There are also those prophets who always have powers to divine, I call these “major prophets”. I was later taken to one of these major prophets to participate in a divining and healing session. Major Prophets are permitted by the church to consult at any time that suits them, but are not allowed to charge their patients money. They may only ask their patients to buy small grocery items such as cocoa, coffee, milk, vanilla custard, eggs and Vicks Vapour Rub (**See photograph 6**).



Photograph 6

Apparently, all patients, no matter what illness they have, are asked to buy these groceries. These items are bought to the prophet, he then mixes them together to make a concoction called *Indayelo*. When healing, the prophet prays for water in a container, he then pours a bit of coffee into the water. He sprinkles the patient with this water and also sprinkles it all over the room. The patient is then ordered to eat and finish the *Indayelo*. This (*Indayelo*) is a sweet, thick, dark brown mixture. Some of the coffee and the Vicks are burnt and the patient is supposed to inhale the fumes, while the prophet is praying. When the coffee has stopped burning, the prophet also stops praying. After this process, the patient will have a runny stomach from the *Indayelo* which has a laxative effect. The prophet claims that the *Indayelo* cleans the insides and leaves the patient clean. The healing is said to take place after this process, i.e. those who cannot conceive start conceiving etc. *Indayelo* is claimed to heal every sickness. The patient does not take anything home, as everything is finished (eaten and burnt) at the prophet's house.

During the church service, one priest warned women to “stop making *Indayelo*” themselves for their sick children as this has to be done only by the major prophets. A lot of what goes into making the *Indayelo* is prayer in order for it to have a healing effect on a patient.

I also witnessed an event where someone was being prayed for so that he might get a job. This was done in the evening and in a dark place. The job-seeker had to buy a Coke (1.25

litre) and bring it and three loose cents to the prophet. The prophet prays for the drink and the job-seeker has to drink at least a quarter of it and the rest is then poured behind him in the form of a straight line. The job-seeker has to jump this line backwards and then again forward. This is repeated twice and he has to throw the three cents away using his right hand, after which he is not allowed to turn or to look back. They then leave together and go back to the house. After a few days usually, the person is said to get the job. The person I observed got his job in a few days after this; he is now working as a truck driver. Whether this was luck or coincidence, I would not know. However, he got the job after being prayed for.

These miracles are said to be attracting a lot of people to the church. Those who have been helped bring their friends along. This is one of the reasons why there are always new people attending church services.

The ZCC is popular among the non-Nguni groups, especially the Pedi in Daggafontein. Mr Zapo, mentioned previously is a member of the ZCC. He believes that the church has helped and protected him on a number of occasions. For example when the hit man was organized to kill him was unable to point the gun at him, he realized that there must be some greater or divine power involved. The hit man dropped the gun and ran away, and he (Zapo) came out to pick it up and put it in a safe place. The hit man came back later to apologise and confessed who had sent him. Zapo then asked why he could not shoot as he had been ordered to do. The hit man pointed to the framed photograph of Barnabas Leganyane hanging on the wall and said that after his eyes met those of Leganyane in the photograph, his arms became heavy and he could not lift the gun up; he then dropped the gun and ran away. According to Mr Zapo, this incident is similar to others he has heard of from his fellow-church members elsewhere.

The other incident is that of Mrs Jane Moropo, who I heard had been very sick, so I decided to visit her. People suspect that she is diabetic. Her husband told people when he was drunk that she (his wife) actually took alcohol, which she is not supposed to take since she is diabetic and that is why she collapsed and got sick. Some years ago, she was

diagnosed as diabetic in a hospital, but now she does not want to believe that it is diabetes that she is suffering from. Apparently, she fell in her yard and went blind, after which she could not do anything by herself and was taken to the hospital. I visited her a week after she was discharged from the hospital. She could see and recognize me, but her eyes were slightly squint. The first thing she told me was “ they were trying to kill me, but they could not”. I then asked who, and she told me that a few days before she had been visited by a ZCC group of diviners. They sang and prayed for her, but most of all they told her that one of her neighbours (whom she could not name) had put a bad *muthi* to kill her in her yard and that was why she had fallen. To remove this *muthi*, they told her, she would have to make time and come to the house of one of them so that they could arrange for the removal of the *muthi* from her yard. In the meantime they gave her *isiwasho* to sprinkle around the house in the evening.

3.4 Nazareth Baptist Church

There are very few members of the Nazareth Baptist Church, Isaiah Shembe’s church in Daggafontein, according to Nhlanhla, a church member. There are about six people, excluding the children. Because they are so few, they decided to join with another small group at KwaThema. They meet in the house of one of the elderly members who can no longer go the temple in Johannesburg. They meet on Sundays and say prayers and sing a few songs. Most people who attend are women and children. I was taken to the temple in Johannesburg to get a glimpse of what it is like to be Shembe, as they call themselves. Their Sabbath is on Saturday so they go to church on this day.

Joubert Park is a public park and is used by the Shembe Church on Saturdays and when they observe some of their meeting days, like the 14th and the 23rd of the month. On the 14th, the women and girls gather together and have a monthly meeting. Men and boys gather together on the 23rd to pray and discuss things that concern them. Usually, Shembe temples are in the mountains, but since they could not find a suitable mountain in Johannesburg, they decided to meet at Joubert Park. This park is easily accessible and is near the train station and a taxi rank. To demarcate the temple so that passers by do not

disturb them, a rope is used. This is tied to the poles and trees marking a huge circle which can accommodate over 700 people, leaving entrances as gates where ushers stand to welcome people (see **photograph 7**).



Photograph 7

The dress code is traditional and a white gown is worn on top. Everyone has to take off their shoes before going inside because “the temple is a holy place just like in the case of Moses in the Bible” as one of the ushers told me. Men also wear skin crowns on their heads (**See Photograph 8**). For women, the dress code is also traditional, but they all have to cover their heads with white dooks. Visitors are lent these dooks on entry. They also have to take off their shoes before they enter the temple. Girls have to almost completely cover their faces with white cloth. They too have to wear a white dress on top of whatever they might be wearing underneath. One of the toughest things for women is that once they enter the temple they have to kneel down and crawl all the way to where they will be sitting. Everyone brings a grass mat (*ucansi*) to sit on. These mats are joined together to form long rows. As in the ZCC women sit on the left hand side and the men sit on the opposite side.



Photograph 8

Before the service, which is at 9:00 am, the priest listens to people's confessions (*inhlambuluko*); those confessing have to bring water in a small container such as a cup. After confessing the person takes a sip of water. The priest then takes the cup and pours the remaining water on the hands of the person confessing so that he or she may wash the hands.

On entry, some of the ushers shout praises and poems for Shembe and the women ululate. The service starts with the announcements. Unlike in the ZCC, there is only one priest who reads the Bible, preaches and leads the prayers and songs. Speakers and amplifiers are used so that the priest can be heard by everyone.

The morning service starts at 9h00 and lasts until 11h00. The afternoon service starts at 13h30 and ends at 16h00. The afternoon session takes a bit longer because traditional dances are performed also as part of the service. Apart from this, there is no difference in

the way in which the two services are conducted. On this day, the morning session was in Zulu and the afternoon session was conducted by a visiting Xhosa preacher from Rustenburg. I had a chat with this preacher after the service and he said that he was originally from the Eastern Cape.

After the service, people are given a chance to bring their collection money and those who are in arrears are reminded to come and pay; this is also the time when offerings are made, i.e. the Sunday collection. There is also an opportunity for the sick to be prayed for. Those who need water (*ichibi*) are given water in containers of various sizes. Soap and Vaseline are also sold after the service. The Vaseline is claimed to be very powerful in healing any kind of sickness. It is to be rubbed where there is pain, and it is also to be eaten. The soap is also said to have the healing effects on those who are sick. People are asked to refrain from using other medicines as they are not supposed to mix the church and the non-church medicines.

Miracles are also claimed in this church. For example on this day a young women in her thirties was called to come to the front. This woman claimed that she had been dead and that she woke up in a mortuary whilst her family was preparing for her funeral. She said that it was as if she was dreaming and in her dream, Shembe told her that she must go back to life and so she woke up. She had been dead for a couple of days. In her, dream Shembe told her how she had died. Apparently, she had eaten a poisoned food. Before, she “died,” she was not a Shembe member, but, after she woke up, she asked to be given *ichibi*, holy water from the Shembe church. Since then she believes in Shembe. Apparently, this whole drama had happened a month before, and so she decided to come to the fore and testify to the masses in the temple whilst it was still new.

To some people, what this woman had said could be interpreted as a near death experience, but to her it is some unforgettable experience where Shembe gave her life back by raising her from death. She now believes that even today Shembe still performs miracles as he did in the past.

Another miracle is that of Mr Mthathi from Daggafontein. In his prayers he asked Shembe to give him a car. Mthathi told me that he was challenging and testing to see if a miracle could happen to him. By then he was working as a casual employee in one of the truck firms. After three months, a certain guy who was desperate for money sold him his Citi Golf for R3000.00. (See **photograph 9**) He then realized that Shembe had answered his prayer as there was no way he could get a car so cheaply; he still uses the car and he is now a permanent employee.



Photograph 9

The discussion of church groups above has pointed out that the church is a social institution where some people find solace. It is where those who have no relatives find fathers, brothers and sisters, and where people's problems are solved. Religion is a mechanism to deal with or to cope with frustrating situations that face various communities. The function of religion is to assist people make sense of the exasperating events they are experiencing.

I found that the different church groups are made up of a majority of people from the same home area or province, who speak the same language. For example the Methodist

church in Daggafontein is made up of a majority of Xhosa speakers from the Eastern Cape. The Shembe Church is predominantly Zulu; the priests even address the congregation as the children of Senzangakhona. Senzangakhona was the father of the Zulu King Shaka. The ZCC is largely Sotho and Pedi. Although there are other language groups in these churches, they are not the majorities. Based on this information, one can claim that people go to a church where they can easily identify themselves with the group and feel comfortable. Ethnicity is expressed in the Shembe Church where only the Zulu language is used and, as said before, people are addressed as the children of Senzangakhona.

Finally, I assert that these different church groups are almost like homes to various people. They also provide interesting close-knit social networks. Having participated in these church groups, I learnt that, without them, many more people would be criminals and others begging on the streets. Though there are daily ups and downs as in any family, these churches protect their people. The churches are responsible of looking after their people spiritually and physically and that is what they are doing.

4. Sports and cultural groups

As the case of Holland Basin Informal Settlements in the Western Cape mentioned before shows, the need for sporting activities such as playgrounds and other relevant facilities scored very low in the ratings when compared with other social needs such as clinics, churches etc. This study is to be read with caution as it gives the impression that there is a lack of interest in sport in the informal settlements. The Holland Basin study is based on statistical evidence and from this it is not clear who answered the questionnaire, i.e. were they young people or older people who have less interest in sports. Surely, to a parent, clinics and churches are of more importance than sporting activities. However, to a younger person, sporting activities would be most likely to come first. Whilst it might be true in the case of Holland Basin that sports score very low, this is not necessarily the case in other informal settlements like Daggafontein.

Generally sport is a good way to keep youths off the streets; this is what people usually say in Daggafontein. Sport does not seem to be popular among the older generation in Daggafontein. Mr Mabalane, who serves as a member of the Ward Committee in this ward Ward 55, is responsible for the sport and cultural sector. He told me that he has got so many sporting activities and sports groups most of which are organized. On the cultural side, the most popular group of all is called *Imfene*. This group is made up of both men and women most of whom are from the Eastern Cape. This is a large group with a band playing instruments. *Imfene* is actually the name of one of the traditional dances for which they are known and they also call themselves *imfene*. According to Mr Mabalane and Mr Mbethe, who are on the ward committee and are fans of this group, the group has recorded and released an album, which is said to be available in stores. This album was released last year in 2003. The group could not be reached as they spend most of their time away from Daggafontein. The members work in different places around the Springs area. They get invited to cultural functions in Springs and they also enter competitions in Johannesburg.

There is also a group of primary school children who play sketches. Mr Mabalane said that this group is under the supervision of an older person. The group is currently in need of sponsors for costumes. They perform sketches on issues affecting the community and the society at large, such as HIV/AIDS and also domestic violence. Mr Mabalane was told about this group this year (2004). Mr Mbethe believes this group still has to raise funds in order for it to go and perform outside Springs. For now, they perform at school and on some special occasions in the community.

There is also a group called Mangogroove in the informal settlement of Daggafontein. This group is made up of youths from high school and others who have completed high school. Mangogroove is also very popular in the settlement. This specializes in dance and does not do much singing. These too get invited to perform in town when there are public municipality functions. They also take part in concerts to raise funds.

Coming to sporting activities, Mr Mabalane said that there were six soccer teams in the whole of Ward 55, two of which are in Daggafontein informal settlement. He mentioned that he has been paying more attention to the Daggafontein teams as they are not as advantaged as the other teams in the ward. The other teams are in the formal residential areas and have proper sporting facilities, i.e. proper playgrounds maintained by the municipalities. In Daggafontein informal settlement, there are two playgrounds. These cater for the two teams which practice in the late afternoon (after five when they come from work). There is also a soccer pitch at Zincor and people from the informal settlement are allowed to use it for their soccer matches. The teams play against each other and also against other teams from the surrounding townships and in these games they play for money. The team that I managed to watch training had a proper soccer kit; most of the players are working and can afford to buy some of what they need like soccer boots, etc. for practice. Each team also has its own jersey or full kit for formal matches against outside clubs.

Mr Mabalane is responsible for coordinating all the sport and culture-related activities in Ward 55. Every month, the ward committee holds a meeting at which Mr Mabalane and other members representing other sectors report on what is happening in each sector.

One would assume that the youth sector works closely with the sport and cultural sector as it is the young people who participate in these activities. The late Ms Thabisile Molefi was responsible for the youth sector and she passed away after a long-term illness late last year (2003). A new representative for the youth sector has still not been found.

There are also unorganized cultural and sporting groups. Mr Mbethe and Mr Lukhele told me that they are part of the same drinking group. In this group, they like to do traditional dance. Mr Mbethe claimed that they are very good. However, he mentioned that they only do the dance when they have had enough to drink. They told me that they only drink the traditional beer, which reminds them of home in KwaZulu-Natal. Hence their traditional dance is *indlamu*, which is a Zulu traditional dance done mostly by men.

There is a group of teenage boys who have put stones on an open piece ground next to the settlement. After school these youngsters go to play with their plastic soccer ball in this ground. The ground is not a proper soccer field in terms of the markings and the measurements, but it is a convenient ground for them to play on. This is not a serious sporting activity, but rather something that children love to do as a pastime. There is no organization in so far as the administration of a team is concerned. These boys do not go out to compete outside Daggafontein. They also do not have sponsors or funds for proper soccer kit and a proper soccer ball. Even when they play, they do not really follow strict soccer rules.

People from the settlement are permitted to use the sports facilities at Zincor, the firm nearby. Zincor has a tennis court, as well as a soccer pitch. Initially these were meant for the employees only, but since employees stay in the settlement and have their children there, the children are allowed to come and play.

Some older people in Daggafontein do not know about the sport and culture sector existing in their ward. In fact, some do not even know who the representative is. These are the people who show very little interest in sporting activities and would probably put sport at the bottom of the needs list in the settlement.

The cultural and dance groups and soccer teams seem to be providing some sort of pattern of association. As a group, the members have some solidarity and common understanding of things. Though Daggafontein is not a well-established settlement, it does have formal sporting groups and/or activities.

5. Political groups

Political groups provide avenues for social networks to develop and are made up of wide networks. For example, people affiliated to the same political party are not necessarily located in one geographical area. Members of one political group can be found all over the country and in different social classes. As pointed out earlier, wide networks such as

those provided by political groups are very low in density. What brings political group members together are similar political interests and ideologies.

However, in a small area like Daggafontein informal settlement, one cannot say that networks among people are not dense because of the frequent interaction people have. For example, people do not only interact as members of the same party, but also as neighbors, homeboy groups and colleagues etc. This shows the overlapping nature of social networks. Politics provides one of the many forms of interaction taking place in the settlement. In this regard I claim that politics provide some sort of cohesion between members of the same political party. Also, political parties, as in the case of Daggafontein, as described below, are responsible for social differences and separations.

In Daggafontein, there are three main political parties and they are the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). What I noticed when talking to people about political parties was that, very few admitted that they belong to a certain political party. Some would rather say “I am neutral” or would say “I like both ANC and DA”. However, people could quite easily refer to someone in the settlement who belongs to a certain political party. I also noticed that people who do not like the DA would talk about the Apartheid and stress the hardships that Black people endured. By this, people are showing that they somehow do not like this “White political party”. Those who showed comradeship with DA would stress that even though the government of the ANC took over, people are still suffering, and would give examples of joblessness, crime etc. Some people would not indicate clearly whether they were ANC, DA or IFP members.

5.1 Inkatha Freedom Party

The IFP is said to be less dominant. People say the IFP used to be dominant, but that was a long time ago. People who are known to be IFP members in the settlement are the elderly and are originally from KwaZulu-Natal. These people are dominant in the community not because they are IFP members, but because of their influence as elders in

the community and as people who have been in the settlement for a long time. There does not seem to be any organization of this party (IFP) as such. For example, the party does not hold any meetings. Earlier this year (2004), other political parties were campaigning for the national elections, but there were no signs of the existence of the IFP in the settlement. For example, there were no rallies held by the IFP and there were also no posters displayed in the settlement. Some people say that in the surrounding townships this party has some organization, but not in Daggafontein.

5.2 African National Congress

The African National Congress appears to be active in the settlement. This was also noticed prior to the national elections held earlier this year (2004). In its campaigns for the elections, the ANC had many posters all over the settlement. The party also distributed t-shirts and people wearing these t-shirts were seen walking around the settlements. There were also rallies held and at some of these rallies there were people from the KwaThema township party branch. During these campaigns, I spoke to the branch secretary of the party and she told me that they Daggafontein Branch had attended a big rally in Soweto. This to me showed some organisation of their political party as compared to the IFP as described above. Followers of the ANC are generally young, somewhat better educated and the majority are without jobs or live off casual jobs. Followers of this party come not only from one province, but from almost all the provinces.

5.3 Democratic Alliance

The Democratic Alliance is the second biggest political party in the settlement in terms of followers. However, people belonging to this party tend to hide the fact that they are its members. They are labeled as sell-outs by some people in the settlement. During the national election campaigns, there was no sign of the DA. DA posters could only be seen in the white neighborhood of Daggafontein formal settlement. There were no posters posted around the informal settlement, however, just before the elections, the party

organized a community meeting. Everyone went to this meeting not knowing that the meeting had been called by the DA, only to find out that it was a DA political meeting. Speeches were presented by party representatives from the formal neighborhoods of Daggafontein. In the speeches, promises were made that the DA would make sure that employment opportunities would be created especially for the people of the settlement. People were also promised that they would be sent to be trained for basic skills such as sewing, plumbing, carpentry etc.

Some people once they noticed that it was the DA that had called the meeting, left and went back to their shacks. These are said to be either ANC members, or born again Christians who do not associate themselves with party politics.

On this occasion, the DA had brought food parcels, which were to be distributed to people after the speeches have been made. These parcels were small packets of samp, mieliemeal and beans. There were also t-shirts and caps handed out. People were ordered to form a line in order to for them to receive the parcels as well as the t-shirts and the caps. However, there was a stampede and only a few managed to get these. People were pushing each other to get to the front. There were two police officers present, but they could not control the crowds and the truck that carried these things had to leave still full of the parcels.

Since after the elections, there have been a number of meetings called by both the DA and the ANC separately. These meetings have raised concerns as well some confusion for people of the settlement. Apparently each party, excluding the IFP, is claiming ownership of the projects that are currently underway. First, it was the street lamp post that is next to one of the firms. This lamp post raised a lot of debate as the ANC members claimed that it was the initiative of the ANC that the light has been installed. Some ANC officers from KwaThema township were raising hopes amongst people that more lamp posts would soon be installed in the whole of the settlement. It later came out that the firms had asked the Ekurhuleni Municipality to put up this light. In some firms, the owners pointed out

that they were tired of people breaking in and stealing and so they organized for a lamp post to be put up to scare thieves away.

Second was the water taps, which were also installed just before the national elections. This was a municipal project, which provided employment to people of the settlement. After these taps were installed, the DA called a meeting of community members. In this meeting people were told that the taps were the initiative of DA and a lot more projects were to follow. Some ANC members who attended the meeting left saying that the water taps were actually their initiative and that they were the ones who had put pressure on the municipality.

Thirdly, is the project currently underway called *Hlabahlaba* this is a cleaning project. The project employs 33 people from the settlement. These people pick up all the garbage lying around in the settlement and put it in the rubbish containers provided by Zincor (**See Photograph 10**). They do not go to the formal housing area as the municipal workers service it. The project employees work a two-month period and new people are then employed. This is done so that in the end, everyone will have had a chance to work and earn some money. They get about R300.00 a fortnight.



Photograph 10

On one day a fracas ensued in the settlement between some ANC and DA members. This scuffle was caused by the fact that the project employers were employing ANC members only and leaving out DA and IFP members. Those who were neutral were asked to bring R20.00 with them so that they could get an ANC membership card and then secure a job. In the first two months, 30 employees were from section C, 2 from section B and 1 from section A. These are all said to be ANC members. The fight occurred in the second round of the project. The DA members did not want to be discriminated against. A settlement had to be reached that 18 people would be taken from members of the ANC and 15 from the members of the DA. Ms Jabulile Zulu and Mr Mlungisi Motha who were at the forefront of the DA were mobbed by their DA members for not being good party representatives in the employment process. One of the Community Policing Forum (CPF) members, Phindi, said they as the CPF had to intervene in the fights that were taking place. The ANC claims that *Hlabahlaba* is their project. According to the Councillor Fourie, she is not aware that this project is already taking place. She knew that was in the pipeline but she does not understand where the money is coming from because she has to sign for certain things first. Those working for this project say that the project leaders are known ANC members from KwaThema and the project is funded by this party.

The IFP members are not beneficiaries of this project at present. Perhaps if they were organized they would also be able to fight for themselves so that their members would be employed.

Mrs Shezi told me that:

“... the people of Daggafontein are tired of what the political parties are doing each time the municipality calls a community meeting to brief us about the projects in the pipeline. The next weekend, one political party, either the DA or the ANC, calls another meeting claiming that they are the ones pressurizing the municipality and that they should get credit for that. I am also tired of these parties playing a mouse and a cat.”

Mrs Shezi also said that sometimes a community meeting would be called and the next thing people would be singing either DA or ANC slogans and songs ridiculing each other. This leads to some man-handling and people leaving the meetings early and such meetings turn out to be party meetings.

6. Conclusion

In different societies there are a number of different social networks and support systems existing. These are formed by groups and by individuals through formal and informal interactions. This chapter has looked at some of the groups existing in Daggafontein by means of which people interact and through which networks are developed and maintained. Discussed here have been the homeboy groups, drinking groups, religious groups and political groups. In discussing these groups, one has adopted the broad literature on networks and studies conducted elsewhere. These have been adopted as tools for analyzing patterns of association in Daggafontein. This chapter concludes that the community of Daggafontein informal settlement is made up of networks, some of which are close-knit and some loose-knit. I also conclude that these patterns of association form relationships that create crosscutting ties within the settlement. For this reason, there are overlapping social circles amongst individuals within the settlement.

CHAPTER 6

MOVEMENT BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

Though villages and cities are separate places in terms of their geographical locations, they form a single social universe. As argued by Anderson (2001), the rural and the urban areas are connected by the social relations existing between them. This chapter discusses and explores the movement between urban and rural areas. In this case those areas will be Daggafontein and the rural homes of the Daggafontein settlement residents. Discussed in this chapter are the four main categories of interaction in which relations between the rural and the urban areas can be divided: These are: (i) the movement of people, (ii) the movement of goods, (iii) the movement of money and (iv) social transactions. The discussion on social transactions will include discussions on child rearing, education of children, dispute resolution and traditional ceremonies. It is noteworthy that the interaction between these two areas is a two-way flow. After a general theoretical discussion on labour migration, and the circumstances under which people migrate to urban areas, this chapter will scrutinize the existing nexus between the urban and the rural areas and demonstrate a strong rural identification by the migrant workers with rural homes.

1. Labour migration

Though labour migration can be best explained by referring to individual motivations, such an attempt would be incomplete, as it would ignore the broader structural reasons behind migration. Underlying labour migration are always economic as well as political reasons and factors. This discussion will consider both individual and structural reasons for migration.

Migration may also be seen by some as an opportunity to better their lives elsewhere, it sometimes depends on each individual. Restrictions imposed on people by the Apartheid government limited their choices. For example, due to communal land tenure, people could not sell their land at home, and, at the same time, the influx control played a large

role in limiting people's freedom to settle in urban areas. This situation formed by the White administration produced an unfavourable situation that caused Black men to leave the reserves to work for wages in the urban areas, and come back to the rural areas periodically since they could not settle in town (Ching and Creed, 1997).

Reserves were overcrowded, there was drought¹ and men had to go and seek employment so that they could meet the demands of the life they were faced with. There was limited access to land for agriculture and income generation outside the reserves was also very limited. An increase in contact with the Western culture created a need for people to purchase Western goods and send their children to school; they also had to pay government taxes in cash e.g. Hut Tax. It was not only the government that created this situation, but to a certain extent the missionaries in some areas such as Natal. In these, areas people were required to pay rents on the land bought by the churches (Elphick and Davenport, 1997). These new needs demanded a more efficient way of generating income, as they could not be met only by subsistence farming. Livestock diseases such as the Rinderpest also played a pressurizing role, as people could no longer rely on their livestock for ploughing. Men did not completely stop practicing agriculture, but their wives had to take over and continue with agriculture while their husbands are away. Even though women had taken over agriculture, they still needed money from their husbands (migrant workers) to hire oxen or tractors from farmers. They also needed money to buy seeds etc. Since the children, who used to look after livestock were now away at school during the day, there was an increasing need to fence the fields so that livestock would not to roam. A respondent in Daggafontein confirmed some of this:

Nokuthula

Why do people still need money even though they had property at home?

“People can't really support themselves with livestock and fields ..., they also need money on top of the property they have. For example, you need to have money if you have livestock because it needs medication every now and then.

¹ Population growth and increasing demands for income were more important realities than drought, which can be regarded rather as a perception.

Even the fields need money because you need seeds and to apply manure and compost. You still need to hire a tractor to plough the fields”

According to some models of migration, it would be shortsighted to assert that migration is a forced process and disregard the migrant’s individual choices (Ravenstein, 1885; Lee, 1966; Harris and Torado, 1970; Skeldon, 1997). These assume that “migrants act individually according to a rationality of economic self interest” (De Haan; 1999, 10). They see migration as providing an alternative to village life for people. One cannot dispute that migrating to urban areas could mean different things to different individuals. For instance, to young men, migration is a means of associating with their peers; to some people it may be a temporary escape from family pressures, as Francis (2002) argues. The meaning of migration varies according to age and gender. However, there are circumstances behind this process such as the limitation of choices and opportunities, which eventually determine where one goes.

Peil and Sada (1984) argue that there are two models that can be adopted in studying migration. Those models are the individualist model and the structuralist model.

1.1 Individualist model

This model is the result of people comparing the merits of staying in their present location against the merits of moving to an alternative location. This model clearly explains who migrates and who remains and argues that the reasons are personal. It suggests that a crisis is not necessary in influencing the decision to migrate. More emphasis, according to this model, is placed on the attractions of the alternative place.

1.2 Structuralist model

The structuralist model explains migration as a result of or a response to economic, social or political circumstances. Most of these circumstances emanate from the introduction of capitalism and the rapid population increase brought about, for example, by immunization and famine relief. These circumstances saw the replacement of agrarian economies by commercial economies and this created conditions that people could not control and/or resist. The model basically argues that people are controlled by the structure and do not really have a choice in their actions.

In this and other chapters, I adopt both models of analysis (Individualist and Structuralist Model). Having adopted these two models, I find the issue of pull and push factors fascinating. This is because, although labour migrants were responding to the circumstances they were facing, they still had to compare merits and the demerits of staying in the rural areas against the merits and demerits of migrating to urban areas, or any other areas for that matter, or whether to migrate at all, and, if so, where to go. In brief, even though the structure places limits on choice, the individual can still maneuver within the structure and make decisions.

In his earlier work, Merton argued that when a person cannot conform to the present situation and cannot achieve the goals of society by the available means, there are other options that the individual can consider. He calls these “individual adaptation” i.e: innovation of new means to achieve the goals (innovation) or revising the goals to suit the current circumstances (ritualism); then he mentions that if the above options fail, people may reject the goals as well as the means (retreatism). The extreme adaptation is rebellion, which requires a sharp modification of social structure and assumes different goals and standards. He attributes these to broader economic activities (Merton, 1967: 140). This then shows that even within an imposed structure, people still have a number of options open to them.

The colonial government system institutionalized the migrant labour system, not only in South Africa, but also throughout countries in southern Africa. This system separated the rural homes and the urban places of work. The system aimed to keep migrant workers as far away from the urban areas as possible, allowing only those who had permission to work to stay in the urban areas.

Among the questions raised by the flow of migrants to the urban areas is that of whether or not the migrants maintain ties with their rural homes. In addressing this question, the chapter will argue that strong ties are maintained between the rural and the urban areas. The rural homes remain places of security for the migrant workers.

With the removal of the influx control legislation in the 80s, the numbers of people coming to the urban areas increased significantly. The major reception areas for these people in the urban areas have been the informal settlements in the peri-urban areas (Kane-Berman, 2001; De Wet and Fox, 2001). These areas are favored by some people because they are closer to the places of employment and people can afford to live there as they do not have to pay for water etc.

The nature of urban migration has become more flexible and free² since the removal of influx control. The change in the flexibility of urban migration has made the rural-urban nexus more interesting to examine. For example, people are free to stay in the urban areas permanently, but people still keep going back to their rural homes. This could be because of the land tenure system as mentioned previously. This system gives people user rights of the land, but not rights of ownership. Therefore, they cannot sell this land and liquidate their assets. If the migrant chooses to permanently relocate to the urban areas, he loses not only what he may be producing from the land, but he also loses the whole social security system, which it would have provided in his old age when he is retired; this could be the reason why men keep going back and maintain ties with the rural areas. To visit the rural home can be seen as maintaining if not strengthening the ties with the

² By this I mean that moving to urban areas is no longer controlled by stringent conditions, which in most cases did not allow for the free flow of people to and from urban areas which we witness today.

rural kin. Also, by visiting the rural home the migrants and/or the urbanites ensure that the guardians of the land, the Traditional Leader, do not give the land to somebody else who needs it (Kishido, 2004; Wilson, 1972). This discussion will continue in the following section.

There are a number of factors seen as influencing the rural-visiting patterns of the oscillating migrants. For example, the distance between where one works and one's home largely determines how often one visits home. Also, the ability to afford transport when visiting home. Some migrants spend longer periods in urban areas while saving money to pay for the trip home and to have some money to buy their families goods when they get home. Above all, visiting home for an oscillating migrant depends on the extent to which he wants to be closer to his family (Wilson, 1972).

There is a need to distinguish between rural-urban migration and urban-rural migration. The former refers to people moving from the rural areas to urban areas, whereas the latter refers to people moving from urban areas back to rural areas. Discussions in this chapter will not only focus on one side of the flow, but will put more weight on urban-rural migration, because the empirical research has been conducted only on the urban side of the rural-urban continuum.

2. Urban-rural links

Since I argue in this chapter that links are maintained by the migrant workers with their rural homes³, it will be pertinent to look at why those links are still maintained, as is asked by Anderson (2001). In addressing this question, it is important to note that the migrant workers' rural homes serve as their safety net for when things go wrong in the urban areas. Rural homes provide social security to the urbanites (Geschiere and Gugler,

³ Not everyone in the settlement is originally from the rural areas. Some people are from the townships in the East Rand such as KwaThema, Tsakane, Thembisa and Duduza; some are from the townships outside of Gauteng, such as Mbabane in Swaziland, Ntuzuma in KwaZulu-Natal and Indwe in the Eastern Cape. What is key here is where the people retain rights to residence outside of the informal settlement.

1998). Links should not be seen only in economic terms, but also in socio-cultural terms, as the chapter will argue.

Anderson states that women and children are usually left behind in the rural homes (2001). This can be argued to have been done to ensure that chiefs do not give to other people the land that belongs to those men. It can be seen as a strategic arrangement by men to leave their wives to act as guardians of the land so that they (men) always have access to it when they return. This point answers the question posed by Gugler & Flaglan (1978) as to whether or not men leave their wives and children at home simply because they can not afford to keep them in town. Mr Khonile Gqudu in Daggafontein claimed that his wife from the former Transkei, can only come to visit him for less than a week because “she has to look after the children, house, livestock and fields ... of course the in-laws and the children assist her in those tasks. If she needs money, she calls me and I immediately deposit the money for her ... I also go home every three months ...” “... Before I had a wife, my things (property) were not well looked after, so I was under pressure to get a wife, someone who would stay at home”

There are other questions that could be asked regarding leaving women at home. It can be said that men believe that rural areas are better places to bring up children and that is why they leave the women to look after the children there. The other question is that of whether or not men leave their wives in rural areas because they (men) have activities in town, which are rather kept secret from their wives, i.e. having concubines. Some women proved the latter to be the case, for example Mrs Dlibi said that “... we [wives] make sure that we all [wife and husband] go home when they (men) get leave at work. When the wives are left at home, it is much easier for men to just forget that they have wives in rural areas and end up getting other women here in town” Mr Nyambose who is married and has a wife at home also confirmed this. He said “... it is usual that men ... have other romantic relationships in town ... they just cohabit”

When asked why links are still maintained between the urban and the rural areas, Cecelia, one of the respondents, actually pointed to a connection between the people in urban

areas and their rural home, looking at what actually attaches people to a physical space they identify as home. She suggested a possible interdependency between the rural and the urban areas.

Cecelia

Rural-Urban connection and interdependency:

“We have to be flexible and be able to move freely between both these areas (rural and urban).”

Life in rural areas is tough, people have got big fields, which they do not use, not because they are lazy, but because of drought⁴. That is why they depend on urban remittances to supplement the low yields and pensions. [Apparently, the respondent claims that drought has gotten worse, which means that, before there were remittances and pensions people could rely on cultivation].

As much as it is hard to live permanently in rural areas, it is also hard to live permanently in the urban areas. Rural areas are where our homes are; our umbilical cords are back home, so there is a strong connection between the people in urban areas and the rural areas. We are only here to look for money; we are working for our homes in the rural areas. People in both rural and urban areas depend on each other, therefore it is hard to separate these two places”.

It is important to note that in some cases women follow their husbands, leaving the children with grandparents at home. It was argued by one of the respondents that wives come to town to ensure that men do not abandon their rural homes. The following extract is again from Mrs Dlibi from the Eastern Cape. She had this to say about this issue:

⁴ It can be said that in the early 20th century when the population density was much lower and land was not specifically owned by either communal or individual tenure, then people could cultivate in low lying areas and depend much more on cattle and hunting for subsistence.

The demands on income such as education, material goods, transport etc. are much greater than can be supplied by subsistence agriculture.

Mrs Dlibi

Wives enforce the urban-rural link:

“The reason you see us (women) staying with our husbands here in Daggafontein is because we want to constantly remind them about home and things that need to be sorted out at home. We make sure that they go home when they get their leave at work

When the wives are left at home it is much easier for men to just forget that they have wives back home and end up getting other women here in the urban area. Men have to work for their rural homes because they won't work forever, the time will come when they will have to retire and go back home. That is why they have to make sure that they make their rural homes a better place whilst they are still working.”

How are the links maintained?

The following discussion will show how exactly the links are maintained between the rural and urban areas. This will be looked at in terms of the following four categories and sub-categories

- People
- Goods
- Money/remittances
- Social transactions
 - Education
 - Dispute resolution
 - Traditional ceremonies

2.1 People visiting

Visits are mainly during the holidays e.g. at Easter and at the end of the year (Christmas holidays). However, some people (such as those who have homes in the neighbouring townships) go home as frequently as every weekend. There are those also who visit home only once a year when they get leave from work.

There are other factors also determining the frequency of visits to rural homes; those who are not employed do not frequently visit home, whereas those who are employed go home each time they get a chance, depending on the distance to their home. The following quote is from Mrs Damini, who has observed the visiting patterns of Daggafontein people.

Mrs Damini

“...Most of those who visit home every month-end have money to do so and those who are unemployed do not have money to go home every month-end. Therefore, visiting patterns are not the same between the employed and the unemployed. Again, the amount of time they spend home, these two people is not the same, the employed individual does not spend a lot of time at home because he has to come back to work, unlike the unemployed counterpart who can spend as much time as he wants to at home”

Logically one would be reluctant to go home without money, especially if looking for money was the reason why one left home in the first place.

Another rural-visiting pattern is that of those who have property⁵ and those who do not have property at home in the rural areas. A question asked of informants was: What is the rural visiting pattern between those who have property and those who do not have property at the rural home?

⁵ In this case to have property was understood as to own things like livestock, house and/ or to hold the rights to use the land.

Mrs Khabazela

Property ownership and home visiting pattern:

“The way those two people (the ones who have property and the ones with no property at home) visit home in rural areas is not the same. For example, my brother-in-law, he does not have any property at home he also does not have a wife. This discourages him from going home, Another example is that of my husband, before we got married he rarely visited his rural home as he does now. The reason is that he had no property such as livestock and no one to look after him when at home.”

Another question asked was: how long do people spend time when they are visiting rural homes? Responses to this question were generally the same, all pointing to the factor of whether or not the person visiting home was employed. Being employed in the urban area, means that a particular person stays at home for as long as the days of leave allow. Those who are not currently employed in the urban areas, when they visit home, can stay for as long as they like, because there is nothing they are hurrying back to in urban areas.

2.1.1 Sickesses and rural visiting patterns

On the contrary, the unemployed individuals stated that when they visit home they do not stay for long because they do not want to miss job opportunities that may become available while they are at home. Others pointed out that they do not stay long in the rural home because they do not get along with their families. Some mentioned that when they are at home they become very ill and this has led to them not spending a lot of time in the rural areas. Mzwakhe said he falls ill when he is at home and he attributes this to the physically demanding rural tasks, such as chopping wood in the forest and on some occasions, digging graves for those who pass away. Those activities are not done in urban areas. Other people have a perception that they are being bewitched in the rural areas. This was believed to be true by Bhekinkosi whose sister had been very sick until a diviner told her that she was being bewitched by a certain relative in the rural area. These

are some of the reasons and excuses people use for not going back home. Further, Mr Musa Jozi and Mr Sukude also believe in witchcraft, they told me that there is something called *ukupheshethwa*, literally meaning 'to be blown away'. In this case it means that the enemies using a certain bad *muthi* called *dukanezwe* use it to 'blow' someone away from his or her home. The name of this *muthi* means to get lost. Apparently, this *muthi* is very powerful so that people literally leave their homes and get lost; some end up in places like Daggafontein. Mr Sukude stressed that such people, the victims, would not know that they are being 'blown away' and in most cases would deny it. The only way they would find out is if they were to visit a diviner, who would then tell them that they are being 'blown away'. In Zulu, the term referring to people who get lost in town is *imibhunguka*.

However, despite the fact that there are those who no longer visit home, the majority of people still visit home every now and then, when they get a chance.

Some individuals have been in Daggafontein for a very long time, but still continue to make visits to rural homes⁶. All residents in this settlement have a home elsewhere, either rural or urban.

Mrs Hlongwa

She still visits her rural home, but she thinks that Daggafontein is her new home now.

Mrs Hlongwa is 45 years old and has stayed in Daggafontein for about fifteen years now. Mrs Hlongwa stays with her husband and two granddaughters, who go to school at Nuffield and at Springs, both on the East Rand, as well as four other household members, in Daggafontein. The members of her KwaZulu-Natal home are in Durban and she visits them three times a year. They all visit her once a year. She does not have any resources back home. Her granddaughters go home three times a year during the school vacations. They are still too young to go home on their own, so she usually accompanies them.

People from the rural areas also make visits to Daggafontein. These are usually children who during their school vacation make their way up to Daggafontein to visit their fathers

⁶ A discussion on the perceptions of home will be considered in the next chapter (chapter 7).

and mothers. Some of the visitors from the rural areas are pregnant wives. These come to Daggafontein to be near to their husbands, and to get a chance to rest after having their babies. While in Daggafontein they are freed from walking long distances to fetch water, wood, weeding etc. Daggafontein is preferred for being near to transport and health facilities. These are the outcomes of decisions these women make about how to optimize their well-being. Some women visit their husbands in Daggafontein with other hidden agendas such as to check up on their men, incase they are cheating as said before.

Whatever the case may be, the fact remains that the arrows of urban-rural interaction point in both directions as far as visiting patterns are concerned.

2.1.2 Flow of ideas

It is argued by Francis (2002), that ideas can also serve as a link between urban and rural areas. This could mean that there is some influence on the rural people by those who work in the urban areas and vice versa. For example, over the years there has been an increase in ‘urban type housing in rural areas’. Those are the houses built by the urbanites for a comfortable stay when they finally retire. In some rural areas, there is a fair amount of development and infrastructure, i.e. roads, electricity, telephone lines and a piped water system. Generally, this kind of infrastructure has been mainly provided in the urban areas. I therefore argue that there is a certain amount of influence on rural development by the oscillating migrants.

Again, the flow of ideas is not one way, but two-way, for example, it is now not a surprise to find people practicing agriculture⁷ in the urban areas. Agriculture has always been perceived as a rural practice. However, the idea has now been adopted in the urban areas as well. There seems to be an exchange of ideas in this regard. These are just a few examples to show the exchange of ideas between the rural and the urban areas. However, in rural areas people generally have large fields as opposed to small urban gardens. Because of difficulties in maintaining such large fields, people have resorted to smaller

⁷ Agriculture has been discussed in chapter 4, see ‘Urban Agriculture’.

gardens where they plant vegetables. Though people have large fields in rural areas, there are those who prefer to use only a portion of their field to make a small garden.

Ideas do not flow between these two areas on their own, but there are agencies responsible for this exchange of ideas. These could be mass media such as radio, television, and newspapers. I therefore argue that one of the ways in which ideas are spread is through the media. In Daggafontein, almost everyone that I visited had a radio and this seems to be the main medium to which most people have access. Some have battery-powered televisions, and they switch these on in the evenings when it's time for the news, local drama series and soccer matches over weekends. Only selected programme are viewed in order for the battery to last a bit longer. In the settlement, I observed that it is mainly the youth who buy newspapers. This is mainly because they also use newspapers to look for job openings in town and around Springs. Also, the important thing they buy the newspaper for is to read the sports news, especially the soccer news, to find out about their favorite teams.

It can also be argued that people themselves are responsible for carrying information and ideas to and from the rural areas.

2.2 Goods

Often goods are sent to rural homes by the urbanites and these vary from small groceries to furniture. By sending goods home, urbanites are investing in their rural homes for when they finally retire or lose their jobs. For example, some people will be taking things like barbed wire from the urban area, to fence their houses in the countryside. Others take medicine for their livestock or clothes for their children and empty containers for fetching water. Goods, (especially large goods) taken to the countryside show a sense of investment in the rural home.

The unemployed in Daggafontein are the ones who are mostly asked to take goods to the rural homes by either parents or siblings with whom they stay. For example, Sibonelo

from Sterkspruit came to look for a job in early January 2003. By November, he had not been lucky enough to secure any employment, apart from casual jobs. He stays with his brother who works at a firm nearby. His brother sends him home whenever there is something to be taken home since he (Sibonelo) is not working. Usually, he takes money and some foodstuffs with him when going back home.

Goods are taken in the trains and long distance buses that travel back to the rural areas. People do not usually take taxis, as they cannot take as much luggage as they would like to and taxis are expensive. Trains are quite flexible in this regard and they are also cheap. However, some people hire private vehicles to take them home. This is usually those with furniture and/or livestock, such as goats, to take home.

People who send goods home are usually those who have property at home such as fields, a house or livestock. These are usually the employed and are older, compared to those that do not send goods home.

The younger migrants tend to send money home instead of goods, which they deposit in bank accounts. Those younger migrants that I spoke to mentioned being uncomfortable carrying big bags on a train as this often attracts thieves. Those who use trains are aware of the hassles on the trains, but they do not mind since the train is “cheaper and safer than taxis,” as Mrs Hlongwa put it. With goods it seems that they are one way. In other words there are no goods that are sent to Daggafontein from rural areas. When people come back from home, they only carry their clothing bags. Mrs Simamane joked about this. Apparently, her two children, a boy and a girl between the ages of 8 and 10, who go to school at Springs were visiting the rural home in the former Transkei. She then prepared two chickens for them to take with, one for them to eat on the journey home and one as a gift to the grandparents at home. When the children returned they did not bring anything from home. Lunch boxes were prepared for them to eat on the bus. They were also given money to buy fruits and sweets when the bus stopped. However, when the children arrived in Daggafontein they only had R6.00 left from the money they were given by the grandparents.

When asked what sorts of goods they take home, almost everyone said they take food and money. Foodstuffs that are referred to are small groceries.

2.3 Movement of money/remittances

Economic links that can be traced between rural and urban areas can help in addressing the question of why connections are still maintained. Economic development is leading to a blurring of the rural-urban gap. For example, in terms of infrastructural development, some rural areas are gradually being developed. This development cannot be attributed only to migrant workers, but also to larger government development plans.

During the Apartheid era, development was provided mainly in urban areas (De Haan, 1999). This urban bias was what led to the increase in rural-urban migration. Even then freedom of choice and movement was seriously inhibited as only certain people qualified to be urban residents. It appears now that the gap between the urban and the rural areas is gradually closing. Many rural-urban studies have mentioned that migration, the splitting of households between urban and rural places, movement of goods, income and social transactions indicate that indeed the gap is being reduced (Hartmann-Mahmud, 2004).

To attract people back to their rural areas, the Apartheid government supported the development of rural townships and intermediate towns. This was to balance its investments between the urban and rural areas (Ibid., 2004). The incentives were to generate employment in the homelands and hence discourage migration to the urban areas to seek work. After 1994, these incentives ended and rural townships suffered economic collapse.

The literature based on the figures published in the 2001/02 South Africa Survey shows that there has been an increase in the number of informal settlements in urban areas. For instance, there has been an increase of 653 000 people in informal settlements from 1995 to 1999. This means that the population migrating from rural areas to urban areas is very

high. At the same time, the number in formal housing in rural areas has increased by at least 24%. This then suggests that rural areas are not completely ignored in favour of urban areas (Kane-Berman, 2001: Website). Whilst this is the case, it is also true that rural communities are generally not able to pay for the services provided for them, and this results in the failure of development projects aimed at boosting them (Kane-Berman et al, 2001).

Dewar (1994) argues that the rural community largely depends on the cash economy. The cash economy in rural areas is derived mainly from pensions and from remittances. This cash economic dependency is caused among other things by a decline in the practice of subsistence agriculture in the rural areas due to, among other things, the unavailability of a healthy labour force. Another factor leading to cash economy dependency in as far as agriculture is concerned, could be the increase in the use of hired tractors. One can also assert that there seems to be an increase in the use of inorganic farming, and this requires people to buy specific manure, genetically modified seeds, pest control and weed control chemicals. Traditional farming can no longer produce an income sufficient to meet modern demands. People in rural areas not only need food, they also need to pay for the education of their children, clothing, transport, medicine etc. They need cash more than ever before and agriculture cannot do much to assist them in this regard (See the case of Nokuthula in Section 2 of this chapter).

Some respondents perceive low rainfall to be the cause of this decline. The reality is that the cost of agricultural inputs has increased because of a move to purchased grain and other agricultural products. Also the healthy labour force has moved to the cities in search of better employment opportunities. Lastly, there is a lack of land suitable for agriculture and this is due to the increase in population density. These factors discussed above lead to dependency on a cash economy.

Though it is true that people in rural areas largely depend on remittances, it is also true that such remittances are not quite adequate to meet all the needs of the rural families.

Resulting from this is an on-going migration of people from rural areas to look for jobs in urban areas (De Haan, 1999).

2.4 Social transactions

2.4.1 Education

Many parents have decided to send their children to schools in town. Apparently, there is a belief that education in those schools is better. This may or may not be the case, but such a belief is caused by the fact that schools in urban areas are better off in terms of facilities and the infrastructure available to them than rural schools. These schools are also multi-lingual; children get exposed to many languages, which they would otherwise not learn. These and other reasons have led some rural parents to send their children to urban schools if possible.

By contrast, some urban parents have opted to send their children back to the rural areas, for reasons other than financial reasons; the problem the parents often find in urban schools is the general lack of discipline. They argue that children become cheeky and lose respect for the elders. This is certainly not a cut and dried issue and there are a lot of mixed feelings in this regard. The parents in Daggafontein also have feelings of ambiguity as to where to send their children for education. Nevertheless, education, as seen in this chapter, remains a link between the rural and the urban areas.

Between rural and urban families, there is also an exchange of child rearing activities or other favors (De Haan, 1999). For example, rural children can be taken by those residing in urban areas for a “better⁸” education in urban areas as said before. In some instances, rural kin offer to raise children in rural areas, meaning that children may be taken from the urban areas to stay in the rural areas. Reasons for this exchange often differ according to the different circumstances of each family. For example, if the family in the urban area can no longer afford to send their children to an urban school, or for any other reason,

⁸ This is a subjective issue and largely depends on personal experience. It should therefore not be taken as a fact. I choose not to enter into this debate

they send the children back to the rural home. In some instances, grandparents are too old and need someone to send around and to do small household chores. This saves the money to hire someone to perform those activities.

In some instances young unmarried women in urban areas cannot afford to keep their young children in urban rented accommodation, as it may be too small and they may not have a child minder to look after the child while they are at work. In such cases, the child gets sent home to the grandparents. It will then be the mother's responsibility to send money, food or both home to the grandparents, who are looking after the children. This forces the unmarried mothers to visit every now and then, not only to visit their children, but their parents as well.

The Daggafontein Survey revealed that most of the children reside in the rural areas in the care of their grandparents and the extended family members. This could be interpreted to mean that there is a high level of commitment to the rural homes by migrants or to rural values in socialization.

Thoyiso had this to say on this issue.

Thoyiso

(He is in his mid thirties, unmarried. He is currently looking for a job. He sometimes gets piece jobs once or twice a month. Thoyiso completed his matric in a rural area in Limpopo.)

Parental Ambiguity

“I would like my children to grow up in a rural area where there is discipline Grandparents are very strict. We people in urban areas trust our parents back in rural areas to bring up and look after our children. The reason is that our parents taught us respect and we therefore trust that they will also teach our children

discipline and respect. That is the reason why we send our children back home to the rural areas

Children are usually sent back home when they start to misbehave here. This is to protect the children from potential urban dangers. In urban areas, once you become *stout* (naughty), people will shoot you, whereas in rural areas, parents or grandparents usually solve problems of misbehavior and children are beaten

There is ambiguity in so far as raising a child is concerned. On one hand one would like his children to be exposed to 'better things' in urban areas, such as better education and a better environment, where there is a better infrastructure. However, on the other hand, children in urban areas get all sorts of bad influence from bad friends that they meet

It is important though that one's children get exposure to both areas, urban and rural, to learn different ways of life. On the basis of what the child has been exposed to, the child will be able to make a choice as to where he or she wants to stay. Like myself, I know now that I want to stay in the rural areas, the reason I am saying this is because I have been exposed to both these places and their ways of life and I prefer the rural one The problem in rural areas is that there is no money and that is why we are all here in Gauteng, we are looking for money"

2.4.2 Dispute resolution

Wherever there are people, disputes are likely to occur. Some disputes are more serious than others, therefore, depending on their nature, some disputes are resolved much more quickly and easily than others. When people are involved in a dispute, they may either resolve it without involving anyone, or they may need to involve others. Some disputes that occur in the rural areas have to wait for the migrant to return to the rural areas before they are discussed and resolved. Dispute resolution is something that certainly links the urban area and the countryside. It opens up the lines of communication and the sharing of

ideas, and it promotes the movement of people between the two areas. The next quote is from Jili, who also confirms that, depending on the nature of the dispute, some problems are better solved at home, but others do not need to go home.

Jili

“... There are common problems that need to be solved wherever I am. For example, if I steal from the tuck shop, that issue will not go home. However, if I impregnate a girl here, that will have to go home and it has nothing to do with the street committee here”

The majority of people in answering the question of where the disputes are best resolved, pointed out that every solution to any problem has to start in a family, urban or rural, and then, depending on how serious the dispute is, it can go outside of the family e.g. to the church, street committee or even to the police.

Respondents were asked whether they involved people from their home areas in making important decisions in Daggafontein. In answering this question, most respondents said that they did involve people from their home areas when making important decisions in Daggafontein. This suggests strong home identification in Daggafontein. When people have problems and serious decisions to make, they involve their families as well as people from their rural home. Mr Jozi Mkhandi is among the majority that said that they involve people from their rural homes when making important decisions. He said people from his home area “... are important because they know me better, and will be in a good position to criticize me when I make a wrong decision....”

2.4.3 Traditional ceremonies

Depending on their scale, some traditional ceremonies are conducted in urban areas, while others are conducted back in the rural areas. A small-scale traditional ceremony would involve the slaughtering of a chicken, as opposed to a large-scale ceremony, which involves the slaughtering of a goat, or beast. For the small-scale ceremonies, people

invited are often fewer than for a large-scale ceremony, where a large number of people, including close and distant relatives, as well as friends, are invited. For small-scale ceremonies only family members are informed and it is not necessary that they all show up, depending on how far away they are at that time. For both large and small-scale ceremonies, traditional beer is brewed, and its quantity varies according to the scale of the ceremony. For reasons to be mentioned later, some people do not hold any traditional ceremonies at all. Therefore this chapter should not be taken to imply that every migrant worker holds traditional ceremonies.

Smaller-scale ceremonies (those that involve a slaughtering of a chicken) are convenient to conduct in urban areas; this is because in urban areas, there is usually not enough space for lots of people who may be attending the ceremony. Large-scale ceremonies are better conducted in rural areas, where there is enough space and are not convenient to conduct in urban areas. Besides the issue of space, larger ceremonies are more significant and therefore have to be performed where as many kin as possible will be able to attend. Therefore, more kin are likely to be present in rural areas than if the ceremony is held in an urban area. These ceremonies are not just links, but also channels along which many transactions take place. A ritual where a widow is cleansed (*ukukhumula inzilo*) - when mourning clothes are burnt - is a private and a small ritual ceremony. In this ceremony, non-relatives are not invited, but only older neighbours. Mrs Khaba had this ceremony performed for her in Daggafontein. Her brothers and sisters-in-law came from KwaZulu-Natal to conduct this ceremony. For this ceremony, it was only family members and a few old neighbours. Only chickens were slaughtered.

The example of a large-scale traditional ceremony would be that of a girl's coming of age (*umemulo*), and this is usually done in the rural areas where all the kin, relatives both close and distant are present. However, the concept of traditional ceremonies applies only to those who adhere to the traditional belief system.

Conducting a small ceremony, including the slaughtering of a chicken does not necessarily require a man; it is something women can do easily together with their

children. Mrs Lucy Maduna, a widow who stays with her daughter and granddaughter, told me that earlier in 2003, she had had a small ceremony in Daggafontein where she had slaughtered three chickens. She was instructed to do this by a diviner. Apparently, she consulted a diviner because she believed that she was gradually losing her sight. The diviner told her that she needed to perform a ceremony. For this, she invited neighbours, older men and women, to eat and to drink and informed the rural family at Mqanduli in the former Transkei. They could not come because the ceremony was small. For this ceremony, she had bought samp, brandy, chickens and had brewed traditional beer.

As said before, some people in the settlement do not hold traditional ceremonies. Reasons for them not holding any traditional ceremonies are: i) some are ‘Coloured’⁹ and do not practice any traditional ceremonies, this could be because of lack of interest. ii) they are a young couple, who have just started their own home, and no longer partake in traditional ceremonies or lack interest in traditional ceremonies. iii) they have left their families and have nothing to do with traditional ceremonies. These are people with some degree of independence, some of them running spaza shops who are financially independent. From observations, it appears that education does not seem to play an urbanising role, as those who hold ceremonies at home are as educated as those who hold no ceremonies at all.

A respondent was asked to comment on those who perform their traditional ceremonies in Daggafontein, and where he would prefer to do a traditional ceremony.

Bhungu

Traditional ceremonies held in Daggafontein

Bhungu is originally from the Eastern Cape and has lived in Daggafontein for about fifteen years. When asked what his take on people who practice any traditional ceremonies in the urban area (Daggafontein) is, Bhungu had this to say:

⁹ While this is true for the respondents in Daggafontein survey, it should not be interpreted to mean that Coloured people in general do not hold traditional ceremonies.

“ I do not have anything against those people who conduct ceremonies here. They are still connected to their rural homes and still remember who they are and their backgrounds. Some of them make an effort to get their relatives from rural areas to come all the way here. However, if I were to conduct a traditional ceremony, I would not do it here in Daggafontein. I think it would be proper to do it back home where I was born, in the rural areas; that is where everything pertaining to traditional ceremonies has to be conducted and not here.”

Conclusion

Though there are economic activities going on in rural areas, rural people are still dependent on the labour migrants through remittances. While it is good that migrants support their rural homes, as they could not survive on their own, this also creates a culture of dependency on the migrant workers.

There is a constant movement of goods, money, people and other services between Daggafontein and the rural homes. The majority of people take money and food home to the rural areas. Their visits are mainly during the holidays at the end of the year. Some visit rural homes once a year when they get leave from work. However, those who are from the neighbouring townships such as KwaThema, Tsakane, Thembisa and Duduza, go home every month.

In their actual behaviour patterns, most people in Daggafontein demonstrate strong links to, and identification with, their rural areas and families of origin. Some have been in the settlement long enough for them to see Daggafontein as their home, but they still visit their rural areas of origin. These people can be called the oscillating migrants as they belong to both rural and urban worlds.

This chapter has assessed the movement between the urban and rural areas. In so doing it has discussed four categories of rural urban interaction where communication between these two areas takes place. Those four main categories discussed were, a) People b)

Goods c) Money and d) Social connections, which involve education, dispute resolution and traditional ceremonies. Utilising the findings from a study conducted in Daggafontein, the chapter has argued that the movements and the social transactions taking place between urban and rural areas mark the interdependency of these two areas.

To fully address the question of why the links between urban and rural areas are maintained, one will have to ask a question concerning which place people regard as their home, and seek to get their perceptions of the urban/rural nexus. The following chapter, will address these issues.

CHAPTER 7

PERCEPTIONS OF THE URBAN/RURAL INTERFACE

Social and economic relations straddle the urban and rural areas, as migrant workers spread their risks and responsibilities between these two areas. Within this urban-rural interface, certain factors lead people to commit resources, relationships, and time to the rural areas, and to see part of their identity in more rural terms; other factors lead them to see their identity in more urban terms. Attachment to either rural or urban area varies from time to time and according to different contexts. For example, during long holidays people who work in urban areas identify with and have nostalgic feelings for their rural homes. Those who have established themselves in urban areas and have cut ties with rural homes, clearly express their urban identity and have no feelings of nostalgia towards rural areas. However, circumstances may force these individuals to remember the rural home from which they have distanced themselves. This points to the multiple components of the livelihoods of migrant workers, and highlights the rural-urban interface as a single social field (Slater, 2001). This chapter will generally argue that the rural home is permanent, it is the place of the ancestors to whom when things go wrong in the urban area, people are likely to return. While it can be permanent, the urban home is usually temporary and depends on one's ability to sustain it. This is a challenge to urban dwellers because surviving in the urban area is not necessarily easy. The urban social security net is unreliable and this thesis generally argues that insurance can be achieved through keeping ties with the rural home.

In this chapter, one will attempt to trace people's commitment and identity to both their urban and rural areas. In doing that, one will explore changes that have taken place over the past two decades in the country. These changes will be looked at in socio-political and economical terms. This will give an indication of how people feel about the changes that have taken place since then and how they see themselves in relation to these changes. Again, this is aimed at finding out how people see the changes affecting the rural-urban interface. The chapter will also look at the divisions and continuities between urban and

rural areas. This seeks to discover commonalities as well as differences between urban and rural areas.

It will be interesting to look at what people perceive as urban and as rural. This will give an indication of what aspects they see as distinguishing either rural or urban areas. Related to this will be the question of: where is home? This will give an idea of what people actually think about the concept of home; do they see home as an actual physical place, or do they see it as an imagined entity? This will suggest where the weight of their identity lies. Also, questions of property ownership and commitment will be addressed. In this regard, the chapter will reveal that there is an association between property ownership and commitment to rural homes, and this is particularly the case among the elderly.

Questions of what occupations people prefer and where, will be discussed and the discussion will suggest that many people are willing to take jobs back in rural areas; however, the ambiguity is with the type of occupations they would prefer. These are largely urban types of occupations, which also require a level of education that the respondents clearly do not possess. This section will confirm the flexibility of identities in terms of the urban-rural dichotomy.

Finally, the chapter will discuss the significance of burial at home in the rural areas. Geschiere and Gugler (1998) see the issue of being buried at home in the rural area as the critical point of urban-rural connection. In this discussion, one will examine those who want to be buried at home in the rural areas, and the reasons why they want this.

In brief, this chapter will explore the perceptions people have of the urban-rural nexus with the aim of finding out where their home is in terms of both where they spend most of their time and where they perceive to be home.

1. Changes in the country

People notice that a lot of change has taken place, both positive and negative, in the country over the last 20 years. It also emerges that they do not see this change as homogenous; the change is seen as affecting different people in different ways and is not the same way for everyone. The majority of people were affected by the Apartheid legislation, such as the creation of homelands and the lack of democracy. Rosabeth who stays with her mother in the settlement pointed out that if it were not for the Apartheid government, "... my parents would have been rich and able to send me to a good school ... my parents were forced to drop out of school and work on a farm. If they had completed their studies, they would not have worked on the farm, but somewhere better"

The positive change that people spoke of was the fact that they are no longer oppressed and are free to go wherever they want to go and build houses where they were previously not allowed to do so. This has enabled people to see the continuities and the connectedness between the urban and the rural areas. Therefore, the supposed barrier between these two areas is now seen by some as insignificant, or even as non-existent.

The negative change mentioned entails the poor who are becoming poorer. In rural areas there are inferior services and the infrastructure is generally still very bad. This is one of the push factors leading people to come to urban areas. It also emerges that rural societies largely depend on remittances. This has become a huge problem as the migrant labor force has faced increasing retrenchment in urban areas. The formal South African survey conducted by South African Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR) between 1995 and 2000 stated that indeed there is an increase in job losses; and this has happened in all sectors: Mining, Construction, Transport, Utilities, Agriculture and Manufacturing. From all these sectors the average job loss is estimated at about 36.0% (Kane-Berman et al, 2001). The change in terms of job losses has been noticed by some in the settlement. For example, Jozi Mkhandi, a resident, mentioned that "... in the past there were lots of jobs, but human rights were violated". This has resulted in the escalation of crime in urban

areas and of poverty in rural areas. People believe that the government has to open up big businesses in rural areas to attract people back into these areas. Such businesses will also help improve infrastructure.

Mr Thoyiso, who is surviving by irregular piece jobs, is from a rural area in Limpopo and stays with his cousin, who has a full-time job in Brakpan, outside Springs town. On the issue of lack of employment he said “In rural areas there are no firms where people could work” He also mentioned that “even though firms are not the only source of employment they provide lots of jobs especially to unskilled or semi-skilled individuals.”

Again, Mr Ndlela, who has a full time job in Brakpan, believes that there has been an increase in the job losses due to privatisation. “In the eighties there were jobs ..., but now most companies are privately owned, which leads to retrenchments.” He thinks that job opportunities are better in the urban areas compared to the rural areas. “... There is no way you can go stay at home leaving job opportunities in Gauteng”.

Rosabeth also confirms the fact that despite a positive political change there are certain socio-economic aspects that are worse than before:

“change does not happen the same way for everyone both in rural and in urban areas. In rural areas people suffer because they largely depend on remittances from the urban-based migrant workers. If migrant workers lose jobs, their families suffer in rural areas. The problem in urban areas is that even though people are allowed to erect their informal settlements, services are still not provided”

2. Perceived divisions and continuities between urban and rural areas

My respondents noted that while there are similarities between rural and urban areas, there are also differences between these two areas, for example, in relation to the question of respect. It is said that in rural areas there is still a lot of respect and good manners between the young and the old. For example, people always greet each other in the villages, whereas, in urban areas, people hardly know who their neighbours are because

they do not talk, let alone greet each other. When asked what the root of this difference is, respondents tend to think that people in urban areas do not care. When people come to urban areas they move away from their village lifestyle. All (men, women, young and old) those that I spoke to about this issue, in the settlement agreed that people do change when they come to the urban areas.

People see the lack of infrastructure in rural areas as another contrast between these two areas. Rural areas are still lagging behind when it comes to the provision of infrastructure and services. The rural areas are seen as set apart from the urban areas by the traditional leadership structures in place there.

In terms of infrastructure in schools, Mr Jozi Mkhanda believes:

“there is still a big gap or difference between rural schools and schools in the urban areas. I personally would not like to send my children to a rural school because the level of education in rural areas is not up to scratch. Rural schools do not have proper facilities such as science laboratories”.

Anyway, even if the facilities were to be provided in rural schools, they also need electricity to function, which many rural schools still do not have.

2.1 Perceived similarities

Having mentioned the above few differences between rural and urban areas, there are perceived similarities as well. For instance, many informants see the abuse of alcohol by the youth as common to both these areas. The issue of male dominance seems to bother many women around Daggafontein and they think that this is similar to the situation in the rural areas. Mrs Nkosi, for instance, would like to join other women in the community garden, but her husband does not allow her to do so. He does not allow her to even have a backyard garden, as he says this will bring her friends into the house, which he does not like. Some people also mention that diseases, especially HIV and AIDS, are common in both urban and in rural areas, making these two places similar in this respect.

2.2 Perceived negative aspects of rural life

Looking at the negative aspects of rural life, it transpired that the level of education is seen as low; this is due to the lack of proper facilities and infrastructure in government schools in rural areas. Consequently, these schools fail to attract good teachers. The low levels of education are a result of poor infrastructure, which must be improved in the schools and for the community at large. There is also a perceived lack of services in rural areas, i.e. health, transport etc.

2.3 Perceived positive aspects of rural life

Some people feel that one of the positive aspects of rural life is that there is plenty of accessible land to cultivate, compared to the landlessness of urban areas. Generally, there is a belief that there is not enough land in the rural areas. This may be true, in some rural areas, when compared to the urban areas, where there is enough space only to build a house and nothing else. In rural areas there seem to be vast amounts of open land, but the only problem with such land in rural areas is that people cannot exactly do whatever they want to do with it, because it is communally owned. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, land needs fit labourers and necessary agricultural inputs in order for it to produce value – at least agriculturally. Also, as far as agriculture is concerned, people do not consider that most of the available land in the countryside is not suitable for agriculture.

Generally, people feel that another positive aspect of rural life is that they do not necessarily have to purchase everything as people in urban areas do. In rural areas, there is less crime and again, there is more respect and discipline. Traditional leaders are still said to impose fines on people who get out of hand and this is seen in a positive light.

In contrast to rural life, urban life is generally seen as expensive, as people pay for almost everything every day. It is also overcrowded, which increases the chances of health

hazards and crime. However, the positive aspects of urban life include that the services are nearer to the people, for instance there are clinics, stores, schools, taxis etc. The infrastructure is also reasonable, for example there are roads, water and electricity in some areas. People in urban areas also stand a better chance of getting good jobs than their rural counterparts. Very briefly, this is how people in the settlement see the negative and the positive aspects of rural areas.

It is noticeable that even though people in Daggafontein are gradually becoming urbanized, they still have a predominantly rural ideology, for example the elderly who are very strict on their children. Often they still expect their children or grand children to behave as though they were in rural areas. For example, the lack of domestic chores in urban areas is one of the factors that cause children to roam around the settlement, but the elderly still expect their grandchildren to be at home most of the time. There is not much that children can do, in comparison with fetching of wood and looking after the livestock in rural areas. Another example of a rural focus is that of those people who actively engage in farming activities¹ or who practice traditional ancestral activities² in Daggafontein, although these practices are not followed in the same way in which they would be conducted back in the rural areas. The above seem to suggest that people in this area are caught between the rural and the urban area scenario. For instance, while they are fond of the rural way of life, they also have to adopt and keep up with the urban lifestyle. As much as they would like to maintain their rural lifestyle, the urban constraints do not allow for this to happen, putting them in a highly ambiguous situation. However, it should not be considered that they need to make a choice of one place over another. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

¹ There are those who have livestock such as cattle, sheep, goats and chickens. Their livestock is usually in very small numbers.

² A few still slaughter chickens and brew beer for the ancestors.

3. Things perceived as urban and as rural

3.1 Agricultural activities

Agricultural activities such as having livestock and cultivation are perceived by some people in the settlement as things that can be practiced in both the urban as well as in the rural areas. However, there are problems with conducting such activities, as perceived by people in the urban areas. In other words these can be conducted, but they are not convenient. First, gardening is perceived as requiring a large open space and in Daggafontein, people clearly do not have such a space. Secondly, in a place like Daggafontein, they cannot keep their livestock because of the busy roads and railway lines nearby. Also, there is no place to graze their livestock. For these reasons, agriculture is seen as more suitable and convenient in rural areas.

Some people stress that cultivation activities are feasible in urban areas as long as appropriate provision is made for them. Therefore the majority do not see agriculture as an exclusively rural activity. Manjoro, a resident of the settlement said “I think it is not only a rural thing, it is something that can be practiced even here, but the conditions here are not favorable to agriculture, so it is better to practice it in the rural areas where the fields are huge”. On this issue Mrs Gasa said “... it (agriculture) can be practiced also in urban areas ... but I only practice agriculture in rural areas, not here and the reason ... is because there is no space to cultivate so I can not. If I were to get a bigger space in my yard I would cultivate.” Mrs Thusi also believed that agriculture can be practiced anywhere “agriculture can be practiced in urban areas as well just like it is practiced in the urban farms.”

This explains why, there are people in the settlement who cultivate and keep livestock. Mr Zapo keeps his goats at Zinco where they do not wander around. He complained that

“... a neighbor has stolen some of my chickens in the past. He stole them at night and I found feathers all over the passage the following morning. ... To keep

chickens you have to find a way of keeping them in your premises so that they do not wander around.”

3.2 Consumer goods

Although some people take their consumer goods back to the rural areas some of these items need electricity to operate, therefore some people cannot send them to the rural areas, where there is little chance of electricity in the foreseeable future. The majority of my respondents keep these appliances in the urban area in anticipation of the time when electricity is provided in Daggafontein. For this reason, most consumer goods are seen as urban in character and are kept in urban areas. This is a very interesting division employed by the informal settlement dwellers, who continue to see a divide between the rural and the urban areas in this regard. This was also found to be the case by Spiegel and Yose (2003) among the residents of Marconi Beam in Western Cape. These residents continued to perceive consumer goods and services as distinguishing aspects between rural and urban areas.

3.3 Services and administration

The majority of the respondents say that the terrible thing about the rural areas is the fact that services, administration and shops are appalling, and far away from where the people live. Services, shops, and administration are all seen in a positive light in urban areas. These are some of the main things that attracted people to come to the urban areas in the first place. People are aware that Daggafontein does not possess every characteristic of an urban area, but they see it as far better than most rural areas.

I had discussions about the church as a rural or urban social institution and people preferred rural churches. It turned out that even though there are churches ‘everywhere’ in urban areas, they are seen as more business-oriented. Mrs Ndlovu goes to the Methodist Church in Daggafontein and she pointed out that - and this has been raised by a number of other respondents - increasingly the Church authorities seem more interested

in money than anything else. What people dislike about the Church in urban areas is that they feel that it somewhat rips them off financially. They claim that this is not the case in rural areas.

Turning to weekend entertainment, community members pointed out that rural areas lack entertainment activities. However, some argue that rural areas have their own appropriate forms of entertainment. For example, there are traditional ceremonies every now and then, where young people play stick fighting, sing and dance. These days there are sports, mainly soccer, which are also played in rural areas. In sum, there are entertainment activities in both rural and urban areas, but those activities are not necessarily the same kind of activities in both areas.

3.4 Practice of ancestral ceremonies

Again, people believe that the urban environment does not really allow for the practice of ancestral ceremonies. This is the case specifically in informal settlements because of lack of space in these areas. Even in these informal settlements, one still finds urban versions of traditional ceremonies. Mrs Hlongwa invited me to her “traditional ceremony”. She was doing the ceremony to thank the ancestors for making her recover from the sickness she had been suffering from, a minor stroke. For this ceremony, she had prepared traditional beer, which we all had to sip. She had also cooked chicken curry and rice. Drinks and salads were also served. The evangelist was also invited to give blessings to the ceremony. I noticed during this ceremony that the beer was not served in a calabash as it is done traditionally, but in a five litre plastic bucket. Women were sitting all over the place as opposed to the tradition of men sitting on the mats and on the left side of the entrance (door). Mrs Hlongwa’s shack was cramped and there was no space to move around. She told me that men would have been sitting outside if it was not raining. This seemed to me to be an urban version of the traditional ancestral ceremony. In as far as this issue is concerned, one can say that traditional belief systems and practices still exist in people’s minds, but urban circumstances demand substantial modification to rituals or

ancestral ceremonies. It can thus be said that the incorporation of rural values into informal settlement settings is crucial to people's survival and peace of mind.

Miss Mageba pointed out that it is not appropriate to practice such ceremonies in urban areas unless it is a small ceremony for the family only (such as that involving the slaughter of a chicken). One of the issues that came up repeatedly with regard to traditional ceremonies in urban areas is the issue of space; there is not enough space for privacy and for the slaughtering of a beast. She went on to say that:

“... even if someone does a traditional ceremony here they play a radio. In rural areas you do not play a radio in a traditional ceremony and this is in respect of the ancestors (*ukuhlonipha abaphansi*). The other problem in the urban areas is that when people are being invited to the ceremony, they are not told that it is an ancestral ceremony but are told it is a party. In that case invited people behave like they would behave in any party; they expect loud music and lots of alcoholic beverages. Again, people in traditional ceremonies are not supposed to sit on chairs as they do now. For women, they are supposed to sit on the grass mats (*amacansi*), this is to show respect to the ancestors. Men are supposed to sit on the hides.”

Therefore, it may be deduced that significant and large-scale traditional ceremonies are seen as appropriate to and to take place in the rural areas.

4. Where is 'home'?

The following explanation of where home is, by Mrs Goba covers most of what other respondents said; she says home is “... where I come from, it is where the family is, where people are buried, where I do traditional practices for the ancestors. Home will always be there” This explanation gives a hint as to why people want to retire to and be buried, in rural areas. This will be explored later on in the chapter. In this case, home is in the rural areas, and Daggafontein is therefore seen as a place of work. Others,

however, would like to have both a rural and an urban home. When they retire, their children will continue to stay in Daggafontein.

Very few individuals said their home is exclusively, or primarily in Daggafontein; such individuals have either stayed in Daggafontein for a very long time; or they are not on good terms with their family members at home. Usually these individuals do not practice any ancestral ceremonies.

4.1 Property ownership and commitment to the rural home

Most young unmarried people have left their parents at home; they hardly have any property that belongs to them. Jozi Mkhandi, for example, works in Brakpan and stays in Daggafontein. He takes home money and groceries each time he goes to his home every month end, this is maybe to secure the right to inherit the property at home. His father passed away three years ago and now he is left with his mother and younger siblings, whom he is looking after. His mother is the head of the house and everything belongs to her. Jozi believes that whatever belonged to his father, now belongs to his mother. With the permission of his mother he can have the rights to use his father's property. He therefore thinks that he does not own any of the things that were his father's. This example is contrary to the popular belief by many that those who do not own property at home do not visit frequently. However, Jozi's home visits do not say much about his commitment to the urban area.

For married people, the main reason for going back home is to see if everything is still in order, i.e. livestock, land and houses. They take money and foodstuffs with them when they visit. Some men have their wives with them in Daggafontein, but others have their wives back home. One informant also remarked that women in general do not own any property, but property generally belongs to men. Women look after the property that the men possess in the rural areas as discussed in the previous chapter. The elderly married population, both men and women, hold similar perceptions of where home is.

With the younger and unmarried population, the focus does not seem to be on property ownership position as with Jozi above. Duduzile, who stays with her boyfriend in the settlement has been in the settlement for four years and is dependent on her boyfriend. Though she still visits home once or twice a year, she now sees herself as an urban person. When asked whether she has anything that belongs to her left at home in the rural areas, she said "... no, not really, it is only a few clothes I really do not have property at home". The trend that younger and unmarried people both male and female, do not have property at home was also confirmed by Seipopi in her early thirties from Maseru, who came to stay with her boyfriend; they have been in the settlement for about two years. She said:

"... I visit home about four times a year and the visiting reasons of those who have property at home are not the same as those without property The one who has property goes home to see his property or her husband's property. However, there is no such pressure on the one who is without property at home to go visit home."

I found this to be the same with men who also do not have property at home (rural home). Everyone had a rural home except for those who have township homes in urban areas.

Mr Sukude who runs a spaza shop in the settlement also had something to say about this issue "... the one who has property at home has to go home and check if his property is still fine, whereas the one who has no property has nothing to worry about".

As the above respondents commented, Mrs Dlibi added:

"... visiting patterns are not the same, the one who has things back home has to go home to check his property. For instance, livestock needs to be checked constantly. The one who does not have property only has parents at home that he has to visit. He has to save money in the urban area so that one day he buys his own property or even get married Young people can spend much longer time in urban areas because they do not have property at home".

It appears that the people who are left at home in the rural areas are the elderly and the very young. These are usually the people who cannot get any employment, such as those who are too young to work, at school, or too old to work.

In an attempt to understand something of how people saw the balance of their commitments and identifications between Daggafontein and the rural areas, the 60 respondents were asked about where they saw “home” as being, as well as other related questions. They replied as follows: (see table below)

Table 5: Where is Home?

Rural Home	37	61.6%
Daggafontein	16	26.6%
Daggafontein and rural home	7	11.5%
Total	60	99,7%

The survey showed that people still retain a very strong identification with their predominantly rural areas of origin, with only just over a quarter unambiguously regarding Daggafontein as “home”. Men tended to identify more strongly with their rural areas of origin than women did – presumably because the rural land tenure, religious and status systems are more male oriented. Their land and their ancestors are in the rural areas.

The study also showed that a number of women from the ages of 40 to 49 regard Daggafontein as their home, whereas from the age of 40 upwards, no male sees Daggafontein as his home (this means strong rural identification by older males). This means that from the age of 20 up to 39, some people still largely identify with Daggafontein. Presumably, they are still searching for employment and are still gathering money to get married and do not yet have their own property at the rural home. Mr Sukude who has stayed in the settlement for about six years said :

“... Older men as opposed to the youth that is working in urban areas, are not under pressure For example, older men already have property at home, which serves as a security for when they retire or lose jobs. However, for a young man there is tremendous pressure on him because he is still in the process of gathering property, maybe paying the *lobolo* too. During their youth, men have to spend more time in urban areas with less visits to rural areas, as they do not have security back home.” (Property is seen as security.)

Two processes can be distinguished here:

1. An age cycle: as people get older and think more about retirement, pensions and death, the rural becomes more attractive. This cyclical change implies no long-term change.
2. Linear change: generally more people have few strong ties to their rural homes, and more have no links at all. A new pattern of urban living is developing with shaky links to rural areas and strong links to peer group for social support.

The following case on Jomo also illustrates some of these issues.

Jomo

Jomo is a casual employee at one of the firms in Daggafontein. He has a certificate in Basic Business Appreciation and another certificate in Participative Leadership. Though it is not easy, at present he is desperate and will take any kind of job so as not to go back home. Jomo is in the late twenties. He is married and has two children, whom he visits once a year. He has stayed in Daggafontein for four years. He is using his sister's shack. At home are his wife, his two children and his mother. Two of his other family members (a brother and a sister) are in Durban. He has stayed and worked in Orlando East, Kathlehong and then Daggafontein, where he has been getting piece jobs. He went to Orlando East College in Gauteng. At home, the family depends on his mother's pension. They also have other resources at home such as livestock and fields. According to Jomo all these things cannot help him, as what he needs is a job. That property at home is not his, but his mother's, he believes. He regards the rural home in the Eastern Cape as home;

he is in Gauteng only because he is looking for a job and has somewhat strong links to his peer groups who offer social support. The only place where he worked full-time was in Durban, until he was retrenched. He says he cannot work at home because there are no jobs in the rural areas. Besides, all his connections are in Gauteng .

This case seems to reveal something of an ambiguity in the sense that even though young men are fond of their rural homes, situations force them to be away from home and to seek employment in urban areas. They cannot stand to stay at home and be provided for by parents when they themselves have their own wives and children. These people talk about home positively, but the circumstances do not really allow for their return. Such people are the ones out building the homestead. According to McAllister in the Sixhini study in the rural Eastern Cape, the families in the rural area regard their members in urban areas as “at war” or “at the place of a white man”. The implications of the use of such language is that the workplace is seen as “strange, foreign and dangerous” therefore one only enters such a place to serve the rural home. Migrants are therefore encouraged to conduct certain rituals to avoid any disturbances and focus on the task of building the homestead (*ukwakh’umuzi*) (MacAllister, 2001: 38).

Older people in the settlement seem to be in agreement with younger people spending more time in urban areas as described above. For instance, Mrs Dlibi said that:

“... the one who has property at home is the one likely to spend more time when visiting because he already has got property even if he loses the job he can still make a living out of his property, he has nothing to worry about because he can sell his livestock. A young person is not really supposed to spend much time at home because he still has energy ... is able to work and he must go back to town to work. Those older men that you find in urban areas ... it is because they are still accumulating more property for their homes before they retire”

This tells us something about the importance men and older folk attach to being connected to their ancestral land. On this issue, it can be said that the older people get, the stronger the identification with the rural home becomes. It should be noted that in overall

terms these figures are still a minority. What the people actually say adds more weight to these figures than the numbers.

In order to get an idea of what such identification with “home” meant, respondents were asked where they held ‘traditional’ ceremonies (i.e. ceremonies that involve the slaughtering of an animal for the ancestors): at their rural home, in Daggafontein, or in both places. They replied as follows: men tend to be strongly represented in the group that holds traditional ceremonies back in the rural areas. About 76% of male respondents said they hold their traditional ceremonies back in the rural home. While 51% of females said they also hold their traditional ceremonies back in the rural areas. Busi, who stays with her husband in the settlement, and is employed as a domestic worker in the white neighbourhood stresses the importance of making a traditional ceremony back in the rural home:

“... traditional ceremonies can only be done at home in the rural area. Even those people who are now based in the urban areas still have to go back home. If we have to do a ceremony here it will not be successful, the family is back home. There are so many important things at home such as tombs.”

15% of the respondents hold their traditional ceremonies both at the rural home and in Daggafontein. All of these respondents were women with the exception of one man. These ceremonies involve the slaughtering of a chicken, which even the women can do themselves, without the help of men. An example of this is Babalwa, a young woman in her mid-twenties. She came to stay in the settlement with a relative of hers. She has got a job in a restaurant in town. She visits home about three times a year. She does not have parents, but she stays with her relatives and siblings when she visits home in Durban. On the issue of holding traditional ceremonies she had this to say:

“... I believe that ancestors follow us wherever we go, so an ancestral traditional ceremony can be conducted anywhere convenient” Babalwa is one of the youths who visits the rural home but does not have any strong rural identification. For such people, there is flexibility when it comes to the way in which they see the ancestral ceremonies.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, some people in Daggafontein do not hold traditional ceremonies at all, either at home in the rural areas or in Daggafontein. Reasons for them not holding ceremonies are that some do not have any background in traditional ceremonies, others are young couples that have just started their own home and do not want traditional ceremonies. These have sought their independence and are trying to break away from practicing traditional ceremonies. Some still have their parents back in the rural areas who hold traditional ceremonies and therefore there is no need for them to hold traditional ceremonies³. Some of these people are financially independent from their families and some of them run spaza shops.

As argued before, it is noticeable that among the youth there is less identification with rural home areas than among the older men who have property and homesteads of their own in the countryside. This identification by youths can be said to be cyclical in the sense that when both young boys and girls tend to reject the traditional ways, it is not permanent, but when they become older and lose their parents, they start to take much more family responsibility and start respecting traditional ways, including ancestral traditional ceremonies, which they had not practiced in their youth. Following is a case study of someone who does not practise traditional ceremonies, but is expected by the parents to start practising these ceremonies.

Mrs Shezi

Mrs Shezi whose husband is working in a neighbouring firm said she has a problem with her son who does not want to visit home in KwaMaphumulo in KwaZulu-Natal. Apparently, she called the son to come and look for a job in Johannesburg in 1996. He got a permanent job in one of the firms near the settlement. He then moved out to rent a flat in town because he wanted to be independent and he could afford to have his own flat. In 2003, he bought a house in the township (KwaThema). He is renting out some rooms of this three bedroom house. Whilst Mrs Shezi is happy that her son is succeeding in life, she is also worried that since her son came to Gauteng he has never visited home

³ In some instances, if a person is not married and still has a father, he is not obliged to conduct traditional ceremonies. The son will only be responsible when the father has passed on.

in KwaZulu-Natal. He has also not told the ancestors anything about his new house not even to thank them. Her worries have been made worse by the fact that he is now sick and he does not want to say what it is that he is suffering from. Mrs Shezi thinks that maybe the ancestors are making him sick because he is not usually a sickly person. It is something that has just started. Each time she suggests that he goes home to conduct a traditional ceremony, he just makes lame excuses.

To further trace commitment to either the rural or the urban area, a study conducted in Daggafontein in 2003 tried to find out where people would prefer to work, if employment was to be provided. This question was aimed to further unpack the peoples' perceptions of the urban-rural interface and to find out where their loyalties lie.

Table 6: Would take a Job at Home (i.e. not in Daggafontein)

Females				Males			
Age	Count	Ave age	Ave Educ.	Age	Count	Ave age	Ave Educ.
20-29	13	36	Grade8	20-29	8	31	Grade 8
30-39	5			30-39	1		
40-49	8			40-49	2		
50-59	6			50-59	1		
Total	32/43			Total	12/17		

Seventy-three per cent (44 out of 60) would take a job at home in the rural areas, with females being several years older than men and therefore possibly feeling more marginal to the urban economy, with its bias towards male jobs in the formal sector. The above table tells us that both males and females who are younger and between the ages of 20 and 29 are still vulnerable in the urban area. These youths – with their lack of experience - do not easily secure employment; and also have not stayed long enough in urban areas for them to establish strong contacts and networks to facilitate employment. They say that they would take jobs at home, but that does not necessarily tell us whether they strongly identify with their rural homes or not. The reason why I say this is because, besides what they say, their actions do not show any identification with rural home areas. For example,

they do not frequent the rural homes and also do not send goods, but these things are done by the elderly most of whom are employed. Youths are the ones who stay longer in urban areas and have nothing to send back home. Therefore, I argue that talking about going back home may be wishful thinking on their part and it is because of the unfavourable conditions they currently encounter in town, not because they really identify strongly with their rural areas. It can therefore be said that the youth is more flexible in terms of where they identify.

Table 7: Would Not Take a Job at Home

	Count	Percentage	Ave. Educ	Ave Age
Female	10 /43	23	Grade 8	37 years
Male	5 /17	29		
Total	15/60	25		

The respondents in the above table, 25 per cent of the sample would not take a job at home. One of them is currently unemployed and one is running a spaza shop. These are people who identify with Daggafontein either for positive reasons or because of relationship or other difficulties in going back home to the rural areas.

In order to follow up on the question of where they would like to be employed, respondents were asked what kinds of occupations they preferred. Findings on this question were not a surprise as they confirmed that most people (probably young) would like to spend most of their time working in the urban areas.

4.2 Preferred occupations

Again, when asked what jobs or occupations they would prefer, most men and women chose urban type jobs. This could be because these jobs usually pay more, but possibly also because of the urban lifestyle with which they are associated. Others however, were not sure about the kinds of jobs they would like. This was asked to get another view on

their relative urban or rural identification, in terms of whether some jobs potentially had a more urban set of associations attached to them. Those urban type jobs people preferred are: Traffic Officer, Electrical Engineer, Chemical Engineer, Computer Science, Business Administrator, Teacher and to be in the catering and hospitality industry. This was the case for both males and females.

Noticeably, these aspirations are not always realistic as mentioned earlier. Some of these occupations require a high level of education, which these people clearly do not have. In that case such occupations are just fantasies rather than aspirations.

4.3 The significance of being buried in a rural home.

In general, people would like to be buried in rural areas where their ancestors were also buried. One of the informants, Mrs Sibalukhulu, pointed out that:

“I can not be buried here (Daggafontein), here is not home, we are only here because this is where my husband works. Some people end up being buried in urban areas and it is not by their choice, but they do not have money to be taken home. In some cases they are at loggerheads with their families back home ...”

The Mthembus had the same problem when their son had passed away; both the parents were at home in KwaZulu-Natal. They did not have any money to come and fetch their son's body. Mr Mthembu borrowed money to come to Daggafontein and he insisted that his son should not be buried in Daggafontein. The priest was called to assist and indeed he gave money to Mr Mthembu to take his son back home for a funeral. The above examples show how very important it is for most people in Daggafontein to be buried back home in the rural area.

To shed some light on the issue of being buried in ancestral land, it may be appropriate to discuss burial rituals in Southern Africa in general. This discussion would further cast light on why it is so important for people to be buried at their rural homes. It is noteworthy that according to the findings of the study in Daggafontein, it was the elderly

men who insisted on the importance of being buried at their original homes. Therefore, this discussion will focus more on the men. Munemo (1994 website) offers an account of how the Ndebele and the Shona in Zimbabwe buried their dead; I will adopt his account to substantiate my claims. What this account presents is not different from what is generally practiced in southern Africa and especially among the Nguni of South Africa. Nguni groups believe that there is life after death and that there is a continuation and unity between the living and the dead (Berglund, 1976; Wilsworth, 1980; Munemo, 1994 website; Chiwome in Sono, 1994; Elphick and Davenport, 1997; Etherington in Elphick and Davenport, 1997; Mtuze, 2003). I will also adopt a South African account by Wilsworth (1980) on remembering the ancestors and what death actually involves.

The explanation by Munemo (1994 website) is as follows: **(Note: words in square brackets are mine).**

“...When a male member of the family had died, there would be a gathering of all the other members of the immediate and extended family. The body of the deceased was wrapped in an animal skin and before being placed in the grave, facing south, the eldest son of the deceased threw a spear into the grave. After the burial, the family would return home, where an ox would be killed and the meat eaten with no salt. When all the meat had been eaten, the bones from the beast would be burnt and their ash used to make medicine, which was given to all present. The people would then go to the river and wash themselves after taking the medicine. The following morning the eldest son and the brother of the deceased would go and visit the grave to see if it had been disturbed

Three months after the deceased had been buried, there would be a ceremony at which beer was brewed and with that beer the implements used in the digging of the grave would be washed. The last ceremony of the funeral by the Ndebele was performed a year after the burial; at this ceremony, beer would again be brewed and another ox [killed]; all the restrictions of the family would be lifted, and then on the widow of the deceased ... At this ceremony there would be singing and dancing in the homestead. This was a ceremony of calling back the deceased's

spirit to the homestead, and it was only performed for people who had children by whom they could be remembered ... Dancing ... was also a symbol of being at one with one's living-dead

The spear was a symbol of defence and protection, throwing it into the grave was a way of clearing a way for the dead as they pass into the new life. The killing of the animal was a symbolic way of expressing that the departed had not gone alone and also to ensure that they would have enough to eat in the hereafter. Drinking the medicine was a symbol of the unification of the deceased with the living. When they washed in the river, [it] was the cleansing from the pollution that the African associated with death, and this also applied to the washing of the digging implements. The last ceremony was a symbol of reviving and reuniting the deceased with his homestead as a member of the living-dead. If this ceremony was not performed, as in the case of someone who had died childless, then that person would not become one of the homestead's living-dead and their spirit would be lost. The eldest son was symbolic [of] continued life of the deceased man as he would become head of the home and carry on the name of the family.”

Some accounts may be slightly different, but generally the belief in the continuation of life after death is common among the Nguni; and among some of the non-Nguni groups (Bendann, 1969). The above account shows how the burial ritual is conducted in the ancestral land.

According to the analysis by Wilsworth and others (1980; Van Gennep, 1960; Golding, 1980), death involves three stages. These three stages mark a new relationship between the living and the deceased. All these stages are marked by ceremonies. The first stage is that of separation from the living, the second being the marginal phase and the third stage being the remembrance or the return. The initial separation is marked by a ceremony where the deceased is sent away to the grave to rest there and this is called “*ukukhapha*” (*Ibid.*, 290). Later, in the second stage, the deceased is brought back home by the ritual of “*ukubuyisa*” (*Ibid.*). Finally, the deceased is kept at home through the ritual performance

of “*ukukhumbula*” (remembering the deceased family member). The ritual of *ukukhumbula* can be conducted as many times as the family can afford it just to make sure that the deceased is remembered and kept at home and each time the family moves into a new home they have to tell this person that they are moving and subsequently introduce him to a new place.

When these ceremonies - especially the final ceremony - are being performed, traditional beer (*umqombothi*) is brewed and people are called to drink and eat the meat of the slaughtered animal, usually a goat. In these ceremonies, not only are the family members and relatives important, but also the neighbours and family friends. Such ceremonies are not only important as communicative ceremonies with the ancestors, they also serve to maintain good relations between the families as well as the community of friends and neighbours. Such ceremonies serve as an “investment in social relationships and an insurance against future personal mishaps through the establishment of social credit and status” (Wilsworth, 1980: 417).

Clearly, these ceremonies would not be convenient to conduct in the urban area or anywhere else outside the homestead. However, the case study by Munemo makes the exception for those who die childless, for whom it is not necessary to conduct the ritual. This explains why it is the elderly men in Daggafontein or in urban areas in general that insist on being buried in their homesteads. There are other people who also do not qualify to be buried within the vicinity of the homestead; such as a soldier who was killed in a battle, and those who are struck by lightning (Berglund, 1976). Such people are seen among the Nguni groups, especially the Zulu, to be most unfortunate. It is feared that if they are brought home they will bring frequent incidents of death and bad luck to the family.

Again, if for some reason a family has to relocate to another place, the deceased man or his shade would be symbolically taken - using the branch of *Mlahlankosi* - to the new area. It is believed that the shade of the deceased will hang on to the branch until it reaches the “new home”. This is called *ukuvula umuzi* or to open the new homestead,

thus introducing the ancestors to it. This is also done in the ritual of *ukubuyisa*⁴ where the branch of *Mlahlankosi* is used (Ngubane, 1977).

When people go to stay in Daggafontein, they do not take their ancestors with them to introduce them to Daggafontein. Daggafontein is not a home, but a place of work; it is not a place of permanence, especially to those who still have homes and families back in the rural areas. This ceremony of introducing ancestors into a new place celebrates the development of a new home. For those in Daggafontein who conduct traditional ceremonies, such ceremonies are not necessarily significant ceremonies. In other words they are not significant to the extent that they cannot be performed in the urban area.

When Mrs Bhungane who had a shack in the settlement died, her family from Zululand came to fetch the body as well as the shade using the branch of a tree mentioned above. This is just one example to show that people are not left in the urban area when they can be taken to their ancestral land to be buried there.

There seems to be a thoroughly entrenched connection between the ancestral land and the people, men especially, whether they are in the countryside or in the urban areas and the link is when they die. When a man passes away he has to be buried at his homestead so that he will look after the homestead and also, so that if the family has problems they can go and “talk to him” in the grave.

Geschiere and Gugler (1998) see being buried at the rural home as the ultimate point of the urban-rural connection. In other words being buried at home is seen as one of the most important things that have to happen once one is dead. Being buried away from ones homeland is shameful. Again, only those who die by being struck by lightning or soldiers who died in a war do not qualify to be buried at their homes (Berglund, 1976). Generally in Africa, urbanites want to be buried in their ancestral land as a moral necessity. One can say that it is a symbolic reunion between the ancestors and the

⁴ This is to call back the shade of the deceased to the homestead. Munemo (1994) did not describe this ritual in detail, I am also not intending to dwell on it. I am merely trying to highlight why is it of great importance that men are buried at their ancestral land.

recently deceased. Therefore, since being buried at home is such a necessity, urbanites would do anything in their power to always have access to their ancestral land in which they wish to be buried. Such connections to a rural home or ancestral land mainly involve a wider network of extended family and other relatives other than the nuclear family, which are often in urban areas. Geschiere and Gugler (Ibid) further argue that the main reasons why connections with the rural home remain intact are that there is an extended family as well as the burial sites where the parents are laid to rest, and one has to continue to visit these. In other words, death does not weaken ties with the homeland, but confirms them forever. The ceremonies mentioned above have to be conducted at the homestead every now and then. This shows the significance of the homeland. It also establishes a claim by the living to the land of their buried ancestor.

One of the informants, Cecelia further stressed the importance of the ancestral land as home. She also highlighted the point that the ancestors are at a particular place which is home, and this place has to be visited. According to Cecelia, this implies that the ancestors are not just anywhere, but at one specific, physical location.

4.4 Ancestral land as home

Cecelia

“To a person home is his/her background, because he/she was born there and everything (rituals) is done at home. It is therefore very important for one to go and visit home; even if one does not have parents at home anymore, one still has to go and visit the tombs of one’s ancestors and parents. Home is everything one needs as it gives life. In most cases, people say that they are bewitched when in fact they are not. All that these people need to do is to go home and to be seen by their ancestors. It is true that some people have family problems, such as that they do not get along, but still it is very important for one to just go home for the sake of one’s health. By going home you are not going to those you have a problem with, but you are visiting your ancestors, asking for good health”

Some people in Daggafontein have opted to join burial societies, so that they get financial help in taking themselves and their loved ones to be decently buried back home in the rural areas.

What is the importance of societies such as burial societies?

Miss Mageba

“... Burial societies are very important. I have seen this myself when my mother passed away. She was staying with us here and she became sick. Fortunately, she had joined a burial society back home. Before she passed away, she placed all her documents where I could see them. In January 2004, she passed away, I then contacted her burial society, which paid for transport to the mortuary and bought the coffin. The society actually paid for everything. This coming month-end (March 31 2004), I am going back home to conduct a ritual of *ukuxokozela*⁵, using the money from the same society which was left”

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at peoples’ perceptions of the urban-rural interface. In so doing, the chapter has traced the changes that have taken place over the last twenty years. In discussing these, people pointed out political changes, highlighting the positive as well as the negative changes that have affected them.

People noted that between urban and rural areas there are divisions as well as continuities that can be traced. Discipline, respect and the lack of infrastructure have been highlighted as some of the things setting apart the rural from the urban areas. Similarities between rural and urban, among many, were diseases such as HIV and AIDS, which are common in both areas. People also mentioned the positive as well the negative aspects of urban and rural areas. Among the negative aspects of rural areas have been the low levels of

⁵ *Ukuxokozela* is a ritual when restrictions are being lifted from the family members, it is accompanied by singing, dancing and beer drinking. It marks the end of the period of mourning.

education and poor infrastructure. Positive aspects were things like the availability of land, low levels of crime and not having to purchase everything as in urban areas.

People see negative aspects of urban areas as being the cost of living and crime. On the contrary the positive aspects of urban life discussed with the informants are better services and better infrastructure as a whole.

Besides the positive and the negative aspects of urban and rural areas, there are things perceived as urban and as rural by the informal settlement dwellers. People tend to mention agricultural activities as more appropriate in rural areas.

Furthermore, this chapter has considered people's perceptions of where their home is. Home has been seen largely as a rural home, and as a physical location where people wish to retire, where traditional ceremonies should be conducted; and Daggafontein as being the place of work. Others adopt two homes, one being in the rural areas and one being in Daggafontein, where their children will continue to stay even after the parents have retired.

In terms of a number of criteria, such as where they regard as 'home', where they hold traditional ceremonies, where they would take a job if offered one, many people in Daggafontein identify strongly and seemingly in a primary sense, with their rural home areas. Daggafontein is seen in the first instance as a place where people come to work. In fact conceiving the Black South African as being rural or urban is to fail to notice the influence of crosscutting ties that link the rural and urban. If job opportunities were to become available and services in Daggafontein were to be significantly improved, people's perceptions of 'home' might well become more flexible, as the ambiguity of the preferred occupations indicates.

It has been a noticeable pattern that property ownership and commitment have an influence on each other. In other words, those who have property at home tend to be more committed to their rural homes than those who do not own property at home. Again,

property owners tend to be older and married males as opposed to the younger, unmarried youths, who do not seem to be committed to their rural areas. Among the group of non-property owners have been women who generally do not own property at home in the rural areas.

Discussed also in this chapter has been the significance of being buried in a rural home or ancestral land. From this discussion it can be concluded that it is among older married men with children that there is significance in being buried at home in a rural area. The literature on this issue also confirms this (Geschiere and Gugler, 1998).

In the light of people's perceptions of the urban-rural interface, consumer goods and services as well as better infrastructure are things seen as distinguishing between rural and urban areas. It is also noticeable for some that identities are gradually becoming more flexible; people no longer want to be seen either as rural or urban.

I conclude that, with the provision of better infrastructure in the rural areas, people in urban areas will further develop more flexible identities and not identify themselves solely as either rural or urban. This chapter has generally argued against the literature that sees a widening gap between the rural and the urban. Discussed in this chapter is the significance of rural burial I argued that rural burials will continue to be significant. It is also necessary to note that not all urban dwellers have a rural connection. In some well-established and old settlements, people have been living there for many generations and may not have a rural home. Therefore, if this research was conducted in one of the well established townships, the emphasis on the value of the rural home would have been different.

It should also be noted that the discussions on rural and urban areas presented in this chapter should not give the impression that people choose or should choose one area over another. Whether or not one place is better than the other is not significant in the discussion. These should rather be seen as cyclical processes, like socio-economical,

seasonal and life cycles. For instance, younger people go to work in urban areas, coming home to visit during holidays; in old age they return to retire in the rural areas.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The thesis is based mainly on the anthropological study conducted in Daggafontein informal settlement near Springs in Gauteng. This has addressed the nature of the informal settlement. As a zone of transition, an informal settlement has adopted elements of both the rural as well as the urban. In this thesis, I argued that informal settlements in the urban periphery are home to people from the townships and city center, but mainly from the rural areas. The particular informal settlement studied has elements of both the rural and urban, making it rather ambiguous and interesting to study. However, people continue to see traditional elements such as the practice of traditional ceremonies as more appropriate to the countryside of the rural-urban continuum. The incorporation of rural values in transitional zones can be explained to be crucial for survival and peace of mind for those who adopt these.

This research has identified the ways in which people in the informal settlement seek to express the rural and the urban components of their identity. This has been done through the length of stay in the settlement and through the patterns of movement between urban and rural areas; this also shows the density of their networks and whom they tend to associate themselves with when in the settlement. The movement of goods and money between the urban and the rural areas is also found to be one way to test where the loyalty of these people lies. Family organization has also been seen as one of the factors revealing the rural and urban components of people's identity. In this respect, the education of children raised a lot of ambiguity, as some children are sent back to study in the rural areas, whereas some are brought to stay and study in the urban areas. Families who send their children home seem to show some degree of loyalty to their rural home. Again another aspect of family organization is the practice of traditional ceremonies. In this instance, traditional ceremonies are largely seen as connecting the people in urban areas with their rural homes as these are not convenient to practice in the informal settlement.

This thesis has looked at and demystified the nature of the interdependence of rural and urban areas. It has identified how people see themselves in relation to the urban-rural transitional zone. It now concludes that both these areas should not be regarded in terms of which one is dependant on the other; rather they should be seen as dependant on each other. Also, rural-urban interaction involves a cyclical process driven by socio-economic, political and natural changes. Therefore, the issue is not whether the countryside is better than the urban area or vice versa.

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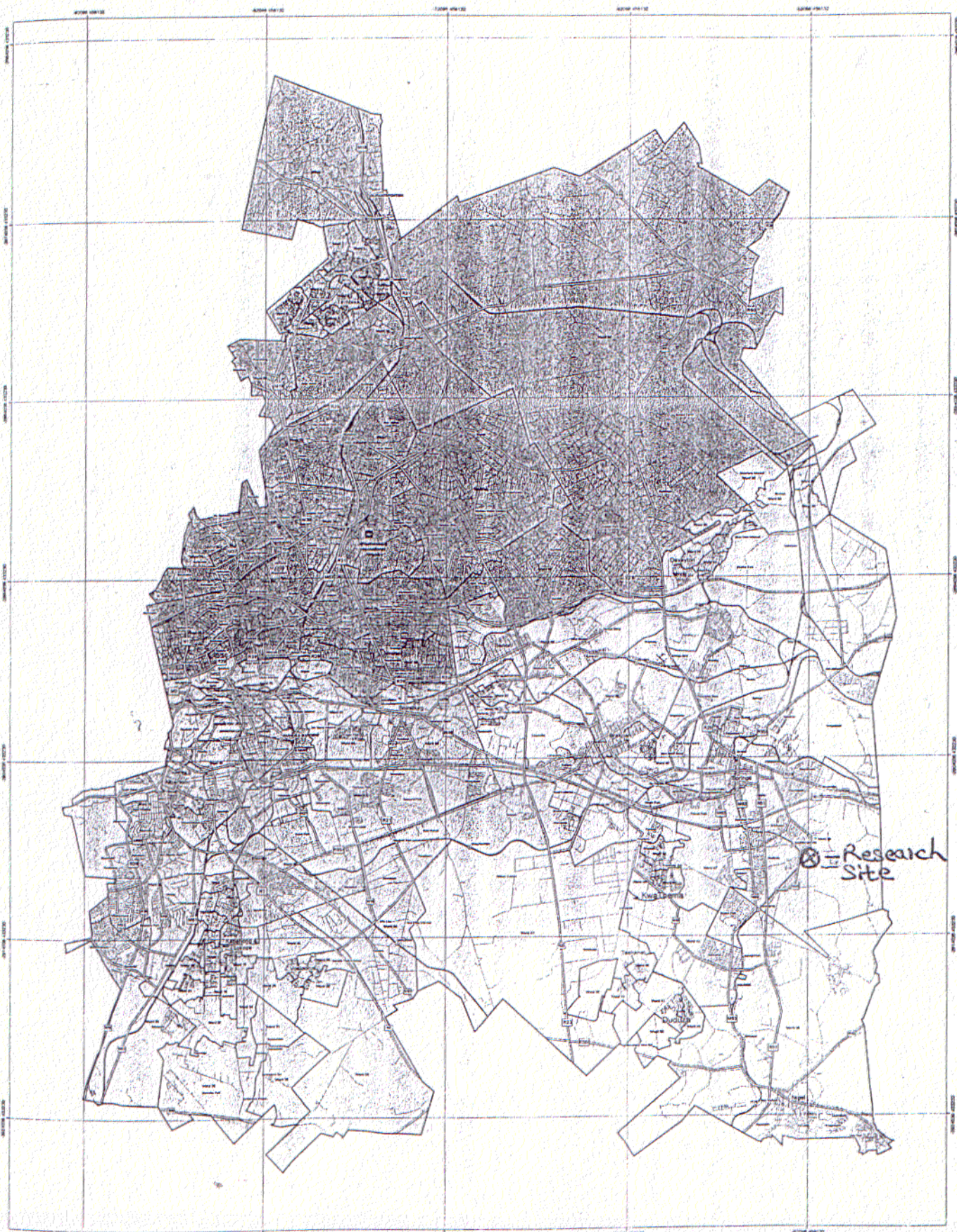
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APPENDIX SECTION

MAP 1:



EKURHULENI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY



Map produced by the Development Planning Department
Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality
December 2001



Major Roads	Ekurhuleni Boundary
Street Network	Eastern SDR
Railway Network	Northern SDR
Railway Stations	Southern SDR
	Ward Boundaries

211



RHODES UNIVERSITY
Grahamstown • 6140 • South Africa

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Tel: (046) 603 8230/1/2/8776 • Fax: (046) 622 5570/622 3948 • e-mail: D.Bekker@ru.ac.za

A fax to: Sibongiseni Kumalo 011-3623 434

9 June 2003
The Acting Manager
Springs Service Delivery Centre
Johannesburg
Fax 011-3625 773

Dear Sir/Madam,

This letter serves to introduce Mr Sibongiseni Kumalo, who is a Masters student in Anthropology at Rhodes University, in Grahamstown. He is conducting research in Daggafontein informal settlement, near the NCOR sewerage works. This research is to feed into a feasibility study for the use of purified mine water for the cultivation of crops by local communities such as the Daggafontein settlement, for local empowerment and development.

I would be grateful if you could afford him any necessary assistance in this regard. Please do not hesitate to contact me should you require any further information on this project.

I would be grateful if you could fax your letter of approval to Mr Kumalo at fax number 011-3623 434, as soon as possible, so that he can start with his research as a matter of urgency

Thank you very much,
Yours Sincerely

Prof Chris de Wet (Head of Department of Anthropology, Rhodes University)

**CORPORATE SERVICES
ADMINISTRATION**



Ekurhuleni
METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

Eastern Service Delivery Region
SPRINGS SERVICE DELIVERY CENTRE

Cnr South Main Reef and
Plantation Roads
Springs

PO Box 45
Springs 1550
South Africa

Tel: (011) 360-2000
Fax: (011) 812-1427
www.ekurhuleni.com

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Enquiries: R SNYMAN (380-2488)

Fax: (011) 362-5773

Prof Chris de Wet
Rhodes University
Department of Anthropology

**FACSIMILE : 362-3434
ATTENTION : MR S KUMALO**

Sir

RESEARCH - PURIFIED MINE WATER FOR THE CULTIVATION OF CROPS

Your undated letter in the above regard, refers.

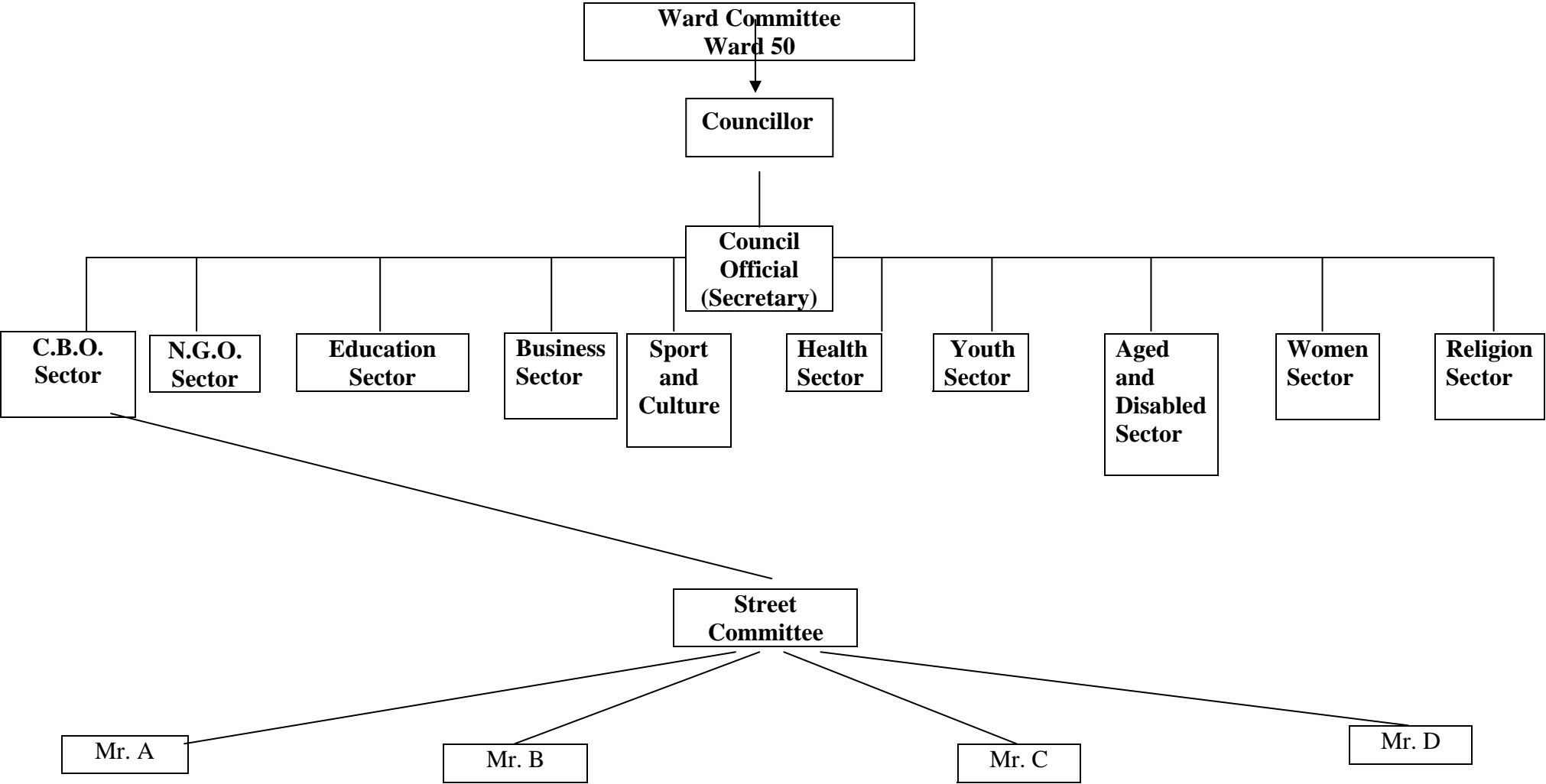
I hereby wish to inform you that there is no objection against the proposed research as set out in your letter, subject thereto that a copy of the study be made available to the Department of Health and Social Development of the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, as part of their Poverty Alleviation Programme.

Yours faithfully

**P.S.T. RABORIFE
ACTING HEAD : SPRINGS SERVICE DELIVERY CENTRE**

Jrs

Organogram 1



meeting chaired by Mrs Morhan

A meeting was held with the Ekurhuleni Mining Task Team that is chaired by the Ekurhuleni Local Economic Development department. The aim of this meeting was to establish what planning and social development initiatives are currently in place (including existing garden projects) in the study area located between Nigel and the Ancor sewage works outside Springs and to see how the current Biosure research project could complement and contribute to these initiatives.

The authorities that attend this meeting include representatives from the Gauteng Department of Minerals and Energy (DME), and the Gauteng Department of Agriculture, Conservation, Environment and Land Affairs (DACEL). The local mining houses also attend this monthly meeting. Several issues were raised in response to the presentation and the chairperson requested that these issues be addressed at the next meeting in mid-November 2003. The issues that were raised include the following:

- Expectations have been raised in the Daggafontein ^{informal} squatter community and members of this community have visited the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (EMM) to find out when these projects would start. The Local Economic Development department would like to know who from EMM gave the Rhodes University student permission to go into the community and conduct the social questionnaire research.
- Who has access to the Water Research Commission (WRC) project report and the information contained in such reports ?
- What involvement is required from Local Government ?
- How does this project form part of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) ?
- Who will carry the cost of implementing the project on both a small and on a large scale ?
- Does this WRC project compete with suppliers such as Rand Water ?
- How will the water purification influence the current water tariffs ?
- What are the time frames for this WRC project ?
- How many megalitres of water are required on a daily basis ?
- Who owns the technology ?

- What are the various development phases of this project and where is the project currently?
- What specific inputs are required from Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality?

The history of the garden, possibly in the study area located between "Hags and the other" village, which includes the garden, can be seen from the current "Hags" village project. The garden was not available to the public.

The authors also stated that the project is not a "community" but a "community" (Department of Agriculture and Forestry (DAF) and the National Department of Agriculture (NDA) - Department and Local Affairs (DAFNA). The local village, however, they stated that the "community" is not a "community" but a "community" in the project area and the "community" is not a "community" but a "community" in the project area. The project area was not a "community" but a "community" in the project area.

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