



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY  
YUNIBESITHI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA  
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT  
POTCHEFSTROOM CAMPUS

**SOCIAL NETWORKS AND FLUIDITY OF FARM WORKER  
HOUSEHOLDS IN THE CONTEXT OF NUTRITION SECURITY-**

**A CASE STUDY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN FARM IN THE NORTH  
WEST PROVINCE**

**By**

**S.T. MATENGE**

**Mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of  
requirements for the degree Magister in Consumer Sciences  
at the North-West University.**

**Supervisor: Dr S. Lemke**

**2007**

**Potchefstroom Campus**

## DEDICATION

**I dedicate this research to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. T.J. Matenge and also to my children, Tapiwa, Tawanda, and Panashe. You gave me strength, support, love and encouragement to complete my studies. You have always been my motivation and inspiration. You have always encouraged me to try my best and work towards achieving my goals. I owe everything to you. I love you all.**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I have gained much knowledge and insight during my two years at North West University, Potchefstroom Campus. I could not have reached my goals without the assistance and support of several individuals.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Stefanie Lemke. She is an amazing mentor that has always pushed me to new levels of learning. She has always encouraged me to pursue my goals. The time that you spent guiding me and the constant support provided are appreciated. Thanks for the hard work you have done as my supervisor. It was truly such a pleasure working with such an energetic and creative person.

Thanks to my research team, the FANS GROUP, for their input into this research, especially Nicole Heumann, Anna Tallant, Steffi Boehringer, Eva Rothe and Tine Bathel.

Dr. Annamarie Kruger and Dr. Fanie Jansen Van Rensburg I appreciate your care and support. Also thank you to the secretaries, Sanet, Elize and Carolien and also Martha for their help in the Nutrition Department.

Thank you to Dr. Daleen Van der Merwe, Dr. Elizabeth Kempen and Dr. Marietjie Venter for their knowledge and skills. It was a great pleasure working with you. Also thanks for being wonderful in the classroom. Louise Wyma and Bukisile Makhaya it was wonderful working with you during my days at Consumer Sciences Department

Dr. Wilhelm van Deventer, you were an amazing mentor. I appreciate your knowledge, wisdom, insight, guidance and quality control. I am forever grateful for the fatherly role you played in enabling me to remain motivated and to persevere.

I would like to offer my sincere thanks to my brothers, Kagiso, Ndiko, Ndiko Mahube, my sisters Neo, Tebogo, Tumie, and Larona who were always supportive and encouraging throughout my studies. When I was down you lifted me up again, when I despaired, you gave me hope, when I cried, you comforted me and always told me to be strong.

A special word of thanks to Grace Mongwa. I greatly appreciate all your support and I will always cherish our friendship. I owe you a million.

To all the great friends that I have made here in Potchefstroom, thank you for your support and love, especially to Mr. Molefhi, Mr. Makwe, Olivia Muza, and Nnana to whom I am grateful for always being there for me through the good times and the bad. Words could not describe how much I appreciate your love and support.

Sophie Sithole, thank you for giving me insight into the research process. I cherish the moments we shared together especially in Germany, where we kept each other going under difficult circumstances. I love you.

Anna Neff, thank you so much for your help with the data coding, entry and making calculations with SPSS. I miss those days sitting in the office going outrageous over SPSS. It's been a true pleasure working with such a wonderful lady like you. I miss you girl.

Last, but certainly not least; I would like to thank all the people who participated in the research interviews. Without your contribution and willingness to co-operate in the research process, this would not have been possible.

Funding by the German Research Foundation, the Africa Unit for Transdisciplinary Health Research, Faculty of Health, North West University and the Belgian NGO Nutrition Third World are greatly acknowledged.

## **SUMMARY**

Previous research has shown that nutrition insecurity is a problem that farm workers face in the North West Province. This situation is aggravated by their working, health and living conditions, which are poor and below the recommended standards of living. Like other groups, farm workers are affected by HIV/AIDS in a profound way. Furthermore, it was revealed that farm workers have extended households, with other members of the family living elsewhere. In this regard, farm workers are involved in intricate webs of social relationships with their extended households and other people around them.

This study was part of a larger research project on linkages between nutrition security, HIV/AIDS and livelihoods. The aim was to explore social networks and fluid households that persist among farm workers in the context of nutrition security. In addition, perceptions with regards to HIV/AIDS were explored as the disease has a negative impact on nutrition security. Following the qualitative research paradigm, structured interviews, one focus group interview, non-participant and participant observations were used. Also a literature review was conducted to build on the existing knowledge. In addition, household food inventories were carried out. The research population consisted of sixteen farm worker households of a commercial farm in the North West Province who participated in a previous study and twelve extended households of farm workers in neighbouring towns.

Comparing the structure and composition of farm workers' households in the previous and the current study, findings revealed that changes are related to labour migration, death, loss of job on the farm, other family members joining, placing children with relatives or more children appearing. As a result, fluid residential arrangements were formed. Farm workers have strong support networks with close and extended kin both on the farm and outside the farm. These social support networks serve as a fundamental coping mechanism to mitigate food shortages. Farm households with higher incomes, more support and resource flows and diversified sources of income were found to be more nutrition secure. Dependency on governmental social grants by both farm workers and their extended households was also found. Awareness of HIV/AIDS transmission was reflected in farm workers' knowledge of the disease, however, denialism accentuated the problem of HIV/AIDS. Improving farm workers living and working conditions and increasing their knowledge about HIV/AIDS could improve nutrition security and reduce the impact of HIV/AIDS.

## OPSOMMING

Vorige navorsing het aangetoon dat voedingsekuriteit 'n probleem is waarmee plaaswerkers in die Noordwes Provinsie te doen kry. Hierdie situasie word deur hulle werks-, gesondheids- en lewenskondisies vererger. Net soos ander groepe word plaaswerkers ernstig geaffekteer deur HIV/VIGS. Verder is daar ook aangedui dat plaaswerkers uitgebreide huishoudings het met gesinslede wat op ander plekke woon. In hierdie opsig is plaaswerkers deur hulle uitgebreide huishoudings en ander persone rondom hulle, betrokke in ingewikkelde netwerke van sosiale verhoudings.

Hierdie studie was deel van 'n groter navorsingsprojek oor verwantskappe tussen voedingsekuriteit, HIV/VIGS en lewensonderhoud. Die doel was om die sosiale netwerke en die uitgebreide huishoudings wat onder plaaswerkers bestaan in die konteks van voedingsekuriteit te verken. Daarbenewens is persepsies in verband met HIV/VIGS verken, omdat die siekte 'n enorme impak op voedingsekuriteit het. Die kwalitatiewe navorsingsparadigma wat gebruik is, het gestruktureerde onderhoude, een fokusgroep-onderhoud, nie-deelnemer en deelnemer observasies behels. 'n Literatuurstudie is ook uitgevoer om voort te bou op bestaande kennis. Verder is huishoudelike voedselinventarisse ook uitgevoer. Die studiepopulasie het uit sestien plaaswerkerhuishoudings van 'n kommersiële plaas in die Noordwes Provinsie wat aan 'n vorige studie deelgeneem het en twaalf uitgebreide plaaswerkerhuishoudings op buurdorpe bestaan.

'n Vergelyking van die struktuur en samestelling van plaaswerkerhuishoudings in die vorige en huidige studie het aan die lig gebring dat veranderinge verband hou met werksmigrasie, dood, verlies aan werk op die plaas, ander familielede wat aansluit, plasing van kinders by familielede of meer kinders wat te voorskyn kom. Gevolglik word beweeglike verblyfsreëlings getref. Plaaswerkers het sterk ondersteuningsnetwerke met naby en uitgebreide familielede op die plaas en van die plaas af. Hierdie sosiale ondersteuningsnetwerke dien as 'n fundamentele hanteringsmeganisme om voedseltekorte te verlig. Plaashuishoudings met 'n hoër inkomste, meer ondersteuning en hulpbronne, asook 'n verskeidenheid bronne van inkomste tot hulle beskikking is aangedui om groter sekuriteit ten opsigte van voeding te ervaar. 'n Afhanklikheid van sosiale toelae van die regering is gevind onder beide plaaswerkers en hulle uitgebreide huishoudings. Die plaaswerkers se kennis van die siekte het 'n bewustheid van die oordrag HIV/VIGS weerspieël, maar die probleem van HIV/VIGS is deur ontkenning beklemtoon. Deur die plaaswerkers

se lewens- en werkomstandighede te verbeter asook hulle kennis van HIV/VIGS, kan voedingsekuriteit verbeter word en die impak van HIV/VIGS verminder word.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
SUMMARY	v
OPSOMMING	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
APPENDIX	xi
ACRONYMS	xii
KEY CONCEPTS	xiii
DEFINITIONS OF TERMS RELATED TO FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY	xiv
CATEGORIES OF NUTRITION SECURITY	xvi
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background and motivation	1
1.2 Aim and objectives	3
1.2.1 Overall objective	3
1.2.2 Specific objectives	4
1.3 Setting of the study within the larger research infrastructure	4
1.4 Research setting and participants	5
1.5 Ethical considerations	5
1.6 Structure of the study	6
1.7 Author's contribution	7
<b>CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>8</b>
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Review of household concept with focus on South Africa	8
2.2.1 Household concept and definition	8
2.2.2 Household structure and fluidity in South Africa	9
2.2.3 The concept and definition of households as used in this research	13
2.3 Social networks and social capital	14
2.3.1 Concept and definition	14
2.3.2 Characteristics of social networks in South Africa	15
2.4 HIV/AIDS: Current state in Southern Africa and relevance for this research	17
2.4.1 HIV/AIDS prevalence in South Africa	18
2.4.2 The impact of HIV/AIDS on households in South Africa	20
2.4.3 Farm workers in South Africa and HIV/AIDS	21
2.5 Conclusion	22
<b>CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>24</b>
3.1 Introduction	24
3.2 Research design	24
3.3 Study location	24
3.4 Study sample	25
3.5 Methods of data collection	25
3.5.1 Pilot study interviews	26
3.5.2 Interviews	26
3.5.3 Focus group interviews	27
3.5.4 Observation	29



3.5.5	Household food inventory	30
3.6	Data analysis	31
3.7	Supervision and peer examination	32
3.8	Research limitation	32
3.9	Trustworthiness	33
3.10	Conclusion	35
<b>CHAPTER 4: RESULTS</b>		<b>36</b>
4.1	Introduction	36
4.2	Changes in household composition and size of residential units on the farm	36
4.3	Kinship relationships	38
4.3.1	Kinship relationships on the farm	39
4.3.2	Kinship relationships outside the farm	40
4.4	Household fluidity and social networks	41
4.4.1	Characteristics of support groups and relations	41
4.4.2	Types of contributions according to relationships, place of living and gender	42
4.4.3	Case study: Stretched households as a site of social support	43
4.5	Socio-economic status	44
4.5.1	Sources of income of farm workers	44
4.5.2	Sources of income of farm workers' extended households	46
4.5.3	Farm worker's savings	47
4.5.4	Farm workers' extended households' savings	48
4.5.5	Household appliances and asset ownership of farm workers' extended households compared to farm worker households	48
4.6	Food and nutrition security of farm workers	49
4.6.1	Farm workers' food situation	50
4.6.2	Farm workers' extended households' food situation	52
4.6.3	Farm workers' household expenditure on food	55
4.6.4	Social support networks and other coping strategies	56
4.6.5	Nutrition security status according to eight households	59
4.7.	Perception of farm workers regarding HIV/AIDS	61
4.7.1	Introduction to focus group	61
4.7.2	Specific themes discussed during focus group discussion	63
4.7.3	Observations made during focus group discussion	69
4.7.4	Compounded analysis of focus group discussion	70
4.8	The reality of work life on the farm as experienced through participant observation	71
4.8.1	Introduction	71
4.8.2	Working conditions	71
4.8.3	Safety at the work place	72
4.8.4	Relationships at work	73
4.8.5	Perceptions of farm workers regarding their work	74
4.8.6	Gender relations	75
4.8.7	Atmosphere at work and general feeling	75
<b>CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSIONS</b>		<b>76</b>
5.1	Introduction	76
5.2	Discussion of results	76

<b>CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	<b>84</b>
6.1 Introduction	84
6.2 Summary	84
6.3 Recommendations	85
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>87</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 1:</b> HIV/AIDS prevalence (UNAIDS, 2006a)	17
<b>Table 2:</b> Estimated HIV/AIDS prevalence in South Africa, by age (Statistics South Africa, 2006)	19
<b>Table 3:</b> Strategies of ensuring trustworthiness in this study of farm workers' nutrition security as illustrated through the four concepts of trustworthiness	34
<b>Table 4:</b> Changes in household categories	38
<b>Table 5:</b> Support groups with whom interviewed households exchange support (multiple response N=62)	42
<b>Table 6:</b> Income sources of farm worker households besides farm wage (N=16)	45
<b>Table 7:</b> Income sources of farm workers' extended households (N=12)	46
<b>Table 8:</b> Household appliances of extended households and farm worker households	49
<b>Table 9:</b> Support given or received according to nutrition security category (N=8)	57
<b>Table 10:</b> Coping strategies used by farm worker households (N=16)	58
<b>Table 11:</b> Summary of indicators for nutrition security (N=8)	60
<b>Table 12:</b> Profile of focus group	61

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1:</b> Kinship networks on the farm	39
<b>Figure 2:</b> Frequency of visits (%) (N=16)	40
<b>Figure 3:</b> Types of savings among farm worker households (N=16)	47
<b>Figure 4:</b> Food mostly available in farm workers' extended households (N=12)	53
<b>Figure 5:</b> Food seldom available in farm workers' extended households (N=12)	54
<b>Figure 6:</b> Monthly food expenditure of farm worker households	55

## LIST OF APPENDICES

<b>APPENDIX A:</b> Phase 1 interview - English and Setswana versions	101
<b>APPENDIX B:</b> Phase 2 interviews - English and Setswana versions	115
<b>APPENDIX C:</b> Introduction to focus group discussion and HIV/AIDS questions	121
<b>APPENDIX D:</b> Observation schedule	124
<b>APPENDIX E:</b> Household Food Inventory	126

## **ACRONYMS**

ACDIS-	African Centre Demographic Information
AIDS -	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
FAO -	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FLAGH -	Farm Labour and General Health Programme
HIV -	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
HSRC-	Human Sciences Research Council
IOM-	International Organisation of Migrants
NACA-	National AIDS Co-ordinating Agency
NFCS -	National Food Consumption Survey
PPA-	Participatory Poverty Assessment
SA DoH -	South African Department of Health
SA DoL-	South African Department of Labour
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
THUSA -	Transition and Health during Urbanization in South Africa
UNAIDS -	The joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

## KEY CONCEPTS

**Household:** All people who share income and other resources, possibly also certain obligations and interests, whether they belong to the same or different residential units. In most cases, members of these households are related along kinships links (Lemke, 2001).

**Fluidity/Stretched households:** Households having more than one homestead (Moser, 1999).

**Extended households:** Its members cannot be co-residents for most of their lives and despite the distances that separate them, they share a common purpose or commitment (Spiegel *et al.*, 1996).

**Extended family:** For the purpose of this research, extended family members included uncles, aunts, cousins, nieces and nephews.

**Core-household:** Interviewed household on the farm.

**Social support networks:** Set of linkages among an identified group of people, which have some explanatory power over the social behaviour of the people involved (Bowling *et al.*, 1991).

**Social capital:** Those features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions (Putman, 1992:167).

**Food security:** "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO, 1996).

**Nutrition security:** Is achieved when secure access to food is combined with a sanitary environment, adequate health services and knowledgeable care to ensure a healthy and active life for all household members (Benson, 2004).

## DEFINITIONS OF TERMS RELATED TO FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY

These definitions of terms were adopted from Food Insecurity Vulnerable Information and Mapping Systems (FIVIMS) established by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO, 2002) and Hunger Task Force (HTF, 2003).

**Nutritional status:** “The physiological condition of an individual that results from the balance between nutrient requirements and intake and the ability of the body to use these nutrients” (FAO, 2002; HTF, 2003).

**Hunger:** “People experience the sensation of hunger when they lack the basic food intake necessary to provide them with the energy and nutrients for fully productive and active lives. Hunger, principally refers to inadequate consumption of the macronutrients, carbohydrates in particular, and is an outcome of food insecurity. All hungry people are food insecure, but not all food insecure people are hungry” (FAO, 2002; HTF, 2003).

**Malnutrition:** “A physical condition or process that results from the interaction of inadequate diet and infection. It is most commonly reflected in poor infant growth, reduced cognitive development, anaemia, and blindness in those suffering severe micronutrient deficiency, and is also reflected in excess morbidity and mortality in adults and children alike” (FAO, 2002; HTF, 2003).

**Under nutrition:** “Malnutrition occurs due to inadequate food consumption or poor absorption or biological use of nutrients consumed, due to illness, disease, or nutrient imbalance. In addition to an absolute deficit in food consumption, under nutrition frequently results from imbalanced diets in which sufficient macronutrients are consumed (carbohydrates, fat and protein), but insufficient vitamins and minerals (in particular the micronutrients iron, iodine, zinc, and vitamin A), resulting in various physiological disorders and increased susceptibility to disease” (FAO, 2002; HTF, 2003).

**Over nutrition:** “Malnutrition due to an excess of certain nutrients, such as saturated fats and added sugars in combination with low levels of physical activity that may result in obesity, heart disease and other circulatory disorders, diabetes, and similar diseases. While individuals suffering from over nutrition are food secure, they do not enjoy nutrition security. Although the majority of malnourished individuals in Africa

are undernourished, problems of over nutrition are also present (FAO, 2002; HTF, 2003).

**Vulnerability:** “The presence of factors that place people at risk of becoming food insecure or malnourished, whether due to loss of access to food, proper nutritional care, or an inability to physiologically utilize available food, because of infection or other disease” (FAO, 2002; HTF, 2003).

**Availability of food:** “Availability of food is achieved when adequate food can be obtained by the public” (Von Braun, 1999:41).

**Access to food:** “Access to food is the ability of households to acquire available food” (Gross *et al.*, 2000:21).

## **CATEGORIES OF NUTRITION SECURITY**

Based on previous research (Lemke, 2001:218), the following categories and characteristics of nutrition security apply to the present study:

### Very nutrition insecure

- Food is not sufficient, regarding quantity and quality.
- Households experience regular food shortages and hunger.
- Only a few basic food items are available and there is no or seldom variety in the diet.
- There are limited unpredictable incomes or small regular incomes or pension.
- High household size, many household members relying on income.
- More than half of total household expenditure is on food.
- There are no savings.
- There are no or very few social networks in place.

### Nutrition insecure

- Basic food supply during the month.
- Regular, foreseeable times of food shortage and possible hunger.
- Limited food diversity.
- High household size.
- Almost half of household expenditure is on food.
- Only few households have small savings.
- Food shortage can partly be overcome with social networks and small credits.

### Relatively nutrition secure

- No/seldom food shortage or experiences of hunger.
- Households can fulfil their basic needs.
- Households have some food diversity.
- Regular and often several incomes.
- Smaller household size.
- Household expenditure on food is lower than 40%.



- Households might have savings.
- Social networks help to overcome shortage or occasional periods of food shortage.

#### Nutrition secure

- Food is always sufficient, regarding quantity and quality.
- There are no worries about food.
- Households have food diversity.
- Food preferences are mostly fulfilled.
- Regular and secure incomes.
- Small household size.
- Household expenditure on food is lower than 30%.
- Households have savings.

---

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

---

#### 1.1 Background and motivation

Nutrition insecurity is a common problem that farm workers face. Despite their importance to the everyday lives of all South Africans in terms of food production, farm workers are usually invisible to those outside the farms where they work and live. Countrywide recent reports, which illustrate the situation of farm workers, give cause for concern about farm workers in general (Crystal, 2004; SA DoL, 2003). Previous research has shown that farm workers in the North West Province are an extremely vulnerable group regarding their poor nutritional, physical and mental health (Vorster *et al.*, 2000:5). This is the consequence of their working, living and health conditions, which are poor and below the recommended standards of living.

A study conducted by Crystal (2004) further shows that farm workers in South Africa face many hardships including physically demanding labour, crowded and unsanitary housing conditions and chronic poverty. These circumstances are aggravated through their prevalence in combination with other factors, such as problems relating to a lack of access to a healthy and good sanitary environment, adequate health facilities and conditions and adequate health services together with a lack of good knowledgeable care to ensure a healthy and active life for all household members (Benson, 2004).

Crystal (2004) reported that high levels of poverty in rural areas often result in people being unable to buy the necessary food to feed their families. In addition, prices of basic goods, especially food, have increased considerably in recent years. Within the common practice of food rations being provided by farm owners, a lump sum was deducted from wages, with farm workers often not knowing the prices of goods. This system is, however, increasingly being abolished. All of these factors contribute to a cycle of poverty and debt leading to food insecurity for children and adults.

Recent studies show that black South African farm workers are the most vulnerable members of the South African work force, earning the lowest wages, with women earning less than men (SA DoL, 2003). In addition, ANON (2006) further reports that when compared with unemployed people surviving on grants or old age pensions of a relative, the average wage of farm workers is substantial, but remains a poor income. In addition, low literacy, poor health, lack of transportation and living in remote locations increase the risk of nutrition insecurity. Despite the apparent lack of money to purchase food, farm workers reported low participation in social services despite eligibility (ANON, 2006).

Labadarios *et al.* (2000) in their study entitled "National Food Consumption Survey" (NFCS) reported that children living on farms are vulnerable and more likely to be stunted and underweight than any other children in South Africa. Nearly one out of three children on commercial farms is stunted, one out of five is underweight and one out of 25 displays the symptoms of wasting. The SAHRC (2003) further states that being among the marginalized persons in the society, farm workers suffer from poverty, homelessness, abuse, neglect, preventable diseases and unequal access to education and other services.

Another study on health status among farm workers in the Western Cape by London *et al.* (1998) concluded that farm workers appear to be a closed community with a high disease burden. Their health also poses serious challenges to the health authorities due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In addition, lack of access to health care due to financial and cultural barriers, coupled with often-scant material and social support resources cast farm workers into a high-risk arena for exposure to the HIV/AIDS virus (IOM, 2004).

Further outlining a looming crisis in the farm communities is a report by ANON (2005), which indicates that about 30% to 45% of agricultural workers in South Africa are HIV-positive, which could have a major effect on the employees themselves, their families, income, nutrition security as well as on farm production. Moreover, statistics show that South Africa has the fifth highest prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the world, with 21.5% of the population estimated to be infected (UNAIDS, 2006a). Given the numbers of people infected and dying, South Africa is regarded as having the most severe HIV epidemic in the world.

In response to ways to deal with restricted nutrition security and poverty, farm workers have pursued a number of coping strategies. According to previous research carried out by Sithole (2006:52), the farm workers made use of social relationships and networks to overcome periods of severe food insecurity. This social support system functions in a reciprocal way, meaning that most households both receive and give assistance. Furthermore, besides existing networks on farms, some farm workers also have relatives on neighbouring farms who, however, do not support each other on a regular basis (Heumann, 2006:66-68). A study to examine the social structure and support networks in Beijing and Hong Kong by Rance *et al.* (2005) revealed that people turn to their co-workers and close kin for support in times of need. In addition, non-kin primary groups such as friends and neighbours tend to play an active role in some specialised support functions (Rance *et al.*, 2005).

Further more, households in South Africa are characterised by enormous social fluidity and high mobility of their members due to factors such as migration and urbanization (Oberai, quoted by Amoateng *et al.*, 2005). Economic and social forces often compel members of families to seek work and other opportunities away from each other (Madhavan & Schatz, 2005). Previous research by Sithole (2006:52) shows that farm workers have links with other households, due to migration to work on the farms. These complex social relationships have to be taken into account when investigating household-related issues. Based on the above discussion, the aim and objectives of this study are presented in the following section.

## **1.2 Aim and objectives**

### **1.2.1 Overall objective**

The main aim of this study was to explore the in-depth issues concerning the internal and social life including social networks and fluid households that persist among farm workers that could lead to nutrition insecurity, or could potentially be utilized to promote nutrition security. In addition, the link between household fluidity and HIV/AIDS was addressed. Perceptions with regard to HIV/AIDS were explored, as the disease has a huge impact on nutrition security.

### **1.2.2 Specific objectives**

The following specific objectives guided this investigation:

- To gain a deeper understanding of the concept of households on farms.
- To specifically investigate the role of extended households and their fluidity in the context of nutrition security.
- To explore the importance of social support networks in the context of nutrition security as it relates to these farm labourers.
- To assess HIV/AIDS awareness of farm workers in the context of nutrition security.

### **1.3 Setting of the study within the larger research infrastructure**

This research forms part of the larger research project entitled “Nutrition security, livelihoods and HIV/AIDS of South African farm workers” (Lemke, 2005), integrating the disciplines of Nutrition Science, Consumer Science, Social Anthropology, Social Work, Economics and Nursing Science. The broader research is carried out within the infrastructure of the Farm Labour and General Health Programme (FLAGH), which was established by the Nutrition Research Group. The FLAGH programme is a multidisciplinary research, intervention and development programme aiming at improving nutritional status and quality of life of farm dwellers (Kruger *et al.*, 2006). The German Research Foundation, the Belgian non-governmental organisation Nutrition Third World and the National Research Foundation, South Africa, funded the project. Research is conducted in cooperation with the Centre for International Development and Environmental Research, Justus-Liebig University, Giessen, Germany and the Nutrition Research Group, North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus, South Africa (Leonhaeuser *et al.*, 2006).

The purpose of the broader study is to gain in-depth information and explore underlying causes for nutrition insecurity at the micro-level of black South African farm households and the link of nutrition insecurity to livelihoods and HIV/AIDS, applying a qualitative social sciences research approach. The findings will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of the complex concept of households in South Africa, which is a condition for the better targeting of development programmes, recognizing the interdependence between nutrition insecurity and underlying social factors as far as farm workers are concerned (Lemke, 2005). Two studies preceding this research were carried out by Sithole (2006) and Heumann (2006), providing background information and baseline data for the research presented here. The focus of this particular sub-study was on social networks, extended households and

their fluidity in the context of nutrition security/insecurity, also taking into account the impact of HIV/AIDS on these social structures and relationships.

#### **1.4 Research setting and participants**

The study was conducted in the North West Province, Potchefstroom District in a farm worker community. The project leader previously selected the commercial poultry farm where this research was undertaken in 2004. Informed consent was obtained from the farm owner after discussing the content of the research project. Farm worker households on this farm were visited from April 2005 and, in so doing, relationships of trust were established. This was given appropriate time before the start of the actual fieldwork, as this approach is crucial for the success of the research. Oral consent was obtained from interviewees at each visit.

A previous Master's degree student (Sithole, 2006) carried out research on this farm, which was continued by this research. Sithole (2006) collected baseline assessment data about the community, which included:

- Infrastructure, i.e. water, sanitation, shops, transport, health services.
- Socio-demographic data, i.e. age, education.
- Socio-economic data, i.e. income (formal and informal), assets, social assistance.
- Household structure and composition.
- Nutrition situation and household nutrition security.
- Coping strategies and social networks.

Based on Sithole's (2006) results, this follow up study expanded in depth on the specific issues as outlined in 1.2.2.

#### **1.5 Ethical considerations**

This study was approved by the Ethics Committee of the North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus, No.01 M04.

Before research started at this specific farm, the project leader and the previous Master's degree student approached the owner of the farm to obtain permission to carry out the research. During this meeting, the researchers firstly explained all the

ethical procedures to the farmer to present an understanding and assurance of confidentiality. After approval by the farmer, an appointment was made with the farmer to organise a group of women to be addressed and informed about the intended study. At this gathering, participants were told that interviews would be conducted only after oral consent had been obtained from them. They were also informed that these interviews would be confidential and that their names would be protected. Pseudo names were used in case studies and only the interview numbers were used when analysing data.

Participants were also assured that they would not be held responsible for the outcomes of their contribution. The researchers also emphasized that there were no correct or wrong answers and that participants were to feel free to share whatever information they thought could be helpful to the study. Findings will be reported to the *Nutrition Department at the North-West University, the University of Giessen in Germany and the German Research Foundation*. Furthermore, feedback will be given to the farm owner and farm workers at the end of this project. The previous student had also given intermediate feedback to the farm owner and farm workers after completion of the specific research.

For this specific study, the previous student introduced the researcher to the farm owner and farm workers and since this is a follow up study, the researcher picked up the already established relationships. However, the issues of confidentiality and voluntary participation were again emphasized. Also the researcher ensured that informed consent was obtained throughout the research.

## **1.6 Structure of the study**

This study consists of six chapters, including this introductory chapter which provides the background and motivation, aim and objectives, specific objectives, setting of the study, research setting and participants, ethical approval and the author's contribution. The second chapter provides the literature, which focuses on the concept of households and fluidity and the importance of social networks in South Africa. Chapter Two concludes with the African situation of HIV/AIDS and among the vulnerable groups in South Africa and the general social and economic impact of HIV/AIDS on households in South Africa. Furthermore, all aspects of Chapter Two were integrated ultimately into the focus of the study, namely the concept of

household, household fluidity, social support networks in relation to nutrition security and nutrition insecurity, and HIV/AIDS, respectively.

The methodology used in this study is discussed in Chapter Three. This includes the study design, participant selection, methods of collecting data and data analysis. The results are presented in Chapter Four and discussed with reference to the relevant literature in Chapter Five. In Chapter Six conclusions and recommendations are drawn from the results.

The next chapter will consist of the review of relevant literature and a critical discussion thereof.

### **1.7 Author's contribution**

The researcher completed her Master's degree in Consumer Sciences at the North-West University on this study. The researcher (author) together with a team of experienced researchers planned all the study proceedings and findings reported in this mini-dissertation. The role of researcher was to conduct a literature review and collect, transcribe, interpret and analyze data. The researcher performed this role from March 2006. Dr. S. Lemke, the study leader, performed the supervisory duties. Since this research is a study within a larger project, the study leader formulated and conceptualized the study. She supervised all the conceptualized and formulated ideas, descriptive analysis, interpretation and writing of this mini-dissertation.

I therefore declare that I have written this dissertation independently with the help of my supervisor Dr. S. Lemke.

---

S.T. Matenge (Author)

---

Dr. S. Lemke (Supervisor)



---

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

---

#### 2.1 Introduction

The literature review discusses issues surrounding the definition of the concept of 'households' and then establishes a definition scheme that will represent the specific setting of the farm under review. The literature will also focus on household structure and fluidity; then discusses the causes and consequences of stretched households, and examines the importance of social support networks in South Africa. The literature on the situation of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa and South Africa and on farm workers in general and the general impact of HIV/AIDS on the households will be presented.

#### 2.2 Review of the household concept with focus on South Africa

##### 2.2.1 Household concept and definition

The concept of household has been given various meanings from a range of different perspectives. The changes in concepts with respect to households and high levels of fluidity among black South Africans made it difficult to define a household. The difficulty of defining a household has occupied anthropologists, sociologists, demographers and economists for decades (Hosegood and Timaeus, 2005). According to Hosegood and Timaeus (2005), part of the puzzle arises from the desire of researchers to predefine something that is essentially subjective and involves a person's own sense of with whom they belong. Hosegood and Timaeus (2005) argue that the feeling of belonging often has a basis in family and kinship, but it is not defined exclusively in this way given the other supportive relationships that exist between people, for example care, relationship, conjugal relationships and friends. According to Becker and Rosenzweig (quoted by Lemke, 2005:847:850) models of the household are still largely seen from the economic perspective, with household decision-making resting on the concept of a 'unified household preference function'. In a similar way Mazonde and Shah (quoted by Lemke, 2005:847-850) argue that in the economic analysis of food security, the assumption still persists that households consist of members with a single economic aim, complementary objectives and are tied to the same social networks within a shared social environment.

Furthermore, most demographic and health surveys such as the ACDIS (2000) have continued to use a co-resident definition of the household contrary to sociologists and anthropologists working in Southern Africa. Findings of previous research done in Lesotho and Botswana, based on self reported household composition, found that migrants who were not co-residents with the majority of other members are important members of the household (Murray, 1981; Spiegel, 1986; Townsend, 1997). Hosegood and Timaeus (quoted by Van der Waal, 1996:32-33) argue that the above definition of co-residency did not account for three important features of households in the Hlabisa study, which suggested that first, non-residents be considered members of the rural households, second, individuals may belong to more than one household and third, some individuals living with households that they belong to fully and equally, do not function as separate household either.

### **2.2.2. Household structure and fluidity in South Africa**

In South Africa, as is the case in other developing countries, political, social, economic and other changes have led to huge migration (Moser, 1999). In addition colonization, urbanization, globalization (Moser, 1999) and escalating HIV/AIDS (Madhavan & Schatz, 2005) have caused people to move away from their families and compelled members of families to seek work and other opportunities away from each other. As noted by Hanks (1993:180), these social changes have led to increases in non-traditional family forms such as single parenthood, reconstituted or blended families, gay and lesbian marriages, childless marriages and non-family living.

According to Oberai (quoted by Amoateng *et al.*, 2005), the South African rapid and rural urban migration have been associated with changes in family composition. In addition, Pasha and Lodhi (1994:950) identify other effects such as sexual partnership, patterns of households' dissolution and formation of female-headed households, especially among low-income groups. According to Moser (1999), the structure and composition of poor South African households has fundamentally changed due to and as a response to the specific political and socio-economic environment. The migrant labour system and influx control measures had the most dramatic impact on family life, separating workers, mainly men from their families for long periods, leading to double-rootedness (Moser & Holland, 1997:27). Participatory Poverty Assessment (quoted by Moser, 1999) defines "double-rootedness" as

households having more than one homestead and migrants having more than one household.

Kruger (1998) emphasises that the system of migrant labour, which has been one of the drivers of urbanization, is to be held responsible for fragmenting the extended family system, especially amongst Africans, delaying and even forestalling formal marriage. The system separated husbands from wives and families and undermined the very foundation on which the family was grounded. Often mothers, the sick and the aged remained in rural areas to continue with family life. This permanently changed the division of labour in black families. Wives and children had to take over tasks typically performed by fathers, while the father's absolute authority over his family was greatly diminished by his absence (Maforah, 1987:260). With little land to work on, most families found it almost impossible to survive without the breadwinner. Poverty was amongst the most devastating effects of the migrant labour system on the family, making it difficult for African families to survive. Malnutrition and all the other indicators of poverty became common features of families, especially those in the rural areas (Wilson & Ramphele, 1989:90-92).

On the contrary, Moser (1999) argues that different case studies from different parts of South Africa confirmed that besides men being absent from rural domestic units, women and even children were periodically away. These fluctuating, open-ended, social networks were and still are a widespread response to a narrow, vulnerable economic base (Spiegel *et al.*, 1996:10-20). In fact, Smith (2001:54) points out that the values drawn from their culture are employed by Africans as "survival strategies to ensure that the oscillating nature of the migrant labour system does not completely uproot them from their traditional family life".

According to Gelderblom and Kok (1994:65), the large numbers of impoverished rural people were completely dependent on remittances from migrant workers, a dependency that may function to strengthen family ties. In addition, Van der Waal (1996:30) noted that these remittances from migrant men came at a very high social cost of strain on family relationships. According to Van der Waal (1996:33), "men's severe neglect of their family-support commitments particularly eroded inter-personal relationships, especially when men established new marital relationship or liaisons at their workplaces". Often this led to domestic rapture and residential instability.

Besides influx control measures as part of the migrant labour system, a series of other labour-oriented laws such as pass laws, the Tax System, the Native Service Contract, the Masters as well as the Servant Act, were introduced deliberately to prevent Africans from benefits of certain labour awards (Rogerson, 1989:203). Rogerson (1989:204) noted that "These laws undermined the bargaining power of the Africans exposing them to exploitation by a certain type of employer and excluding them from enjoying benefits contained in the Industrial Conciliation Act". This also grossly impoverished Africans and forced them to live below the breadline.

The clearance of so-called black spots, the programme of homelands consolidation, the abolition of labour tenancies, urban township relocation, the operation of 'Influx Control' and associated legislation as indicated by Moser (1999), induced a scale of suffering, trauma and alienation, disrupted communities and families and broken lives. These effects will be felt for generations. Another aspect of apartheid that fragmented the so-called 'traditional' household as stipulated by Moser (1999), Rogerson (1989:2002) and the Surplus Peoples Project (1983) was the "Separate Development" Spatial Policies that forcibly disposed households of their land and cattle and relocated them into Bantustan Homelands or Black homelands. Nash (quoted by Moser, 1999) described the situation as "arbitrarily uprooting helpless people and dumping them".

Moser (1999) describes other factors that compounded the disruption of families and the maintenance of the migrant labour system which included among other things high or endemic unemployment, poverty and increasing societal violence. According to Moser (1999), societal violence between young and old men and women was fuelled by trauma of the forced relocation. In addition, Young and Ansell (2003:470) revealed that caring for sick relatives, the death of one or both parents, which also may be exacerbated by AIDS, had led to migration and disruption of families in South Africa. This finding is in line with research on household change done by Madhavan and Schatz (2005), who found that the escalating HIV/AIDS rate and several significant socio-cultural phenomena mentioned in the previous sections were responsible for the change in household composition and structure.

In a study of three hostels in Cape Town, undertaken by Ramphela (1993:20-49), the so-called bed-holds, which officially allowed only men to live there, caused considerable fluidity. Ramphela (1993:20-49) noted that most women moved repeatedly and regularly between town and country and were torn between looking

after the rural home, bringing up children and fulfilling wider family responsibilities on the other hand, while maintaining a relationship with husbands or partners who worked in town. According to Moser (1999), the costs of keeping families together were high, with the stability of double-rooted relationships depending on the security of the male's employment, his remittance behaviour and levels of trust and communication. Although migration has led to the fragmentation of African families, on the other hand, migration of household members is often employed as a coping strategy for the survival of the family and is also a response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Southern Africa (Young & Ansell, 2003:474). According to Young and Ansell (2003:465), children's movements play an integral role in household survival as they engage in unaccompanied employment-related migration.

It is evident that South Africa's socio-political history has severely and irreparably damaged and destroyed the nuclear and extended family systems amongst Africans and changed the concept of households, families and parent-child relationships (Moser, 1999). As a result, fluid residential arrangements continue to be experienced by many poor Africans (Moser, 1999). However, despite the socio-economic and political difficulties impacting on African family life, Amoateng *et al.* (2005) reveal that the maintenance of traditional family values and traditions has enabled many people to cope with the stress of oppression and separation. Also Viljoen (1994:545) concludes that "many African families appear to experience their family lives as healthy and happy, despite the socio-economic difficulty and the political turmoil experienced in the past".

As mentioned previously, the process of migration, colonization, urbanization, colonialism and the political system of apartheid have influenced patterns of family formation and family life, generating considerable change in family composition and structure. To a larger extent, the aforementioned changes are even more pronounced in the average South African family. According to Popenoe (1993:544), families are no longer only nuclear (mother, father and children), but are comprised of varieties such as female-headed single-parent, male-headed single-parent, female-headed extended families, reconstituted or blended families, gay and lesbian marriages, childless marriages and non-family living.

Non-family households are formed as people adopt living arrangements and strategies to support emerging lifestyles, as an adaptation to increased socio-economic stresses (Viljoen, 1994:120). Furthermore, Preston-Whyte (quoted by

Viljoen, 1994:128) states that marriage cannot be viewed as a minimum requirement for the establishment of a family, as many men and women opt for non-marriage while still forming households which have many of the traditionally accepted characteristics of a family.

South Africa is characterized by two family systems, namely nuclear and extended family systems. According to Amoateng *et al.* (2005), the nuclear family system is clearly identified with the white population, while the extended family system is identified with the African population. The Asians and the coloured population exhibit a mixture of the two family patterns. Furthermore, Adam (quoted by Lee *et al.*, 2005:269) points out that extended families of Asians exhibit the characteristics of joint families associated with Asian cultures while Coloureds and Africans have maintained an extended family form, both as a function of cultural preference, housing shortages and as a hedge against poverty (Amoateng, 2004). In support of the above findings De Visser and Le Roux (1996:100) determined that most of the participants in their study were part of extended families. It is evident that South Africa is a family-oriented society. Despite the disruptive consequences of the migrant labour system and devastating effects of death due to HIV/AIDS, most people still find a family living arrangement usually with close family members (Amoateng *et al.*, 2005).

Regarding the farm under review, previous research done by Sithole (2006:33) identified several household structures, namely (1) couple both working on farm, (2) only men working on farm, (3) couple, one or both receiving pension, (4) man, working on farm with family at a distance, (5) women, working on farm with family living on farm and at a distance and finally, (6) woman, working on farm with family living at a distance. These categories were defined according to the definition of a household as provided by Lemke (2001:109). Therefore, the households of farm workers can be described as stretched households. In stretched households, the members may not live and eat together everyday but there is a commitment to contribute to that household on a regular basis, which is the case with the farm workers under review.

### **2.2.3 The concept and definition of households as used in this research**

Given the above complexities and the fact that farm worker's households, can often not be defined as co-residential, it is, therefore, necessary to define the term

household with regard to the specific setting of the farm under review as in-depth research on farms is lacking. The concept of household used in this study will be used in a similar way as used by Lemke (2001:109), which was built around economic concerns, food security and also the social networks used for economic survival and increased food security.

Lemke (2001:109) defines a household as “all people who share income and other resources, possibly also certain obligations and interests, whether they belong to the same or different residential units. In most cases members of these households are related along kinship links”. This definition was inspired by Spiegel *et al.* (1996:11-13) who introduced the concept of “stretched households” and Murray (1981:200) who defined a household as a group within which income expenditures flows are concentrated even if the members of that group are residents in widely dispersed parts of the sub-continent. According to Murray (1981:200-201), despite the distances that separate them, they share a common purpose or commitment to a continuing responsibility to contribute towards the household maintenance. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the researcher will adopt Murray’s (1981) and Spiegel *et al.*’s. (1996) definition of household, as it is a prime feature of the South African social context. This study will further extend the definition of household to other resources and obligations apart from income as suggested by Lemke (2001:109).

## **2.3 Social networks and social capital**

Moser (1999) noted that the cost of stretched households resulted in people developing strategies to cope with the separate households. According to Moser (1999), with high dependency ratios and low per capita incomes, poor households provided a safety net and offered refuge to the most vulnerable members, particularly when fathers are unknown. Therefore, it is important to analyze the characteristics of the coping mechanism that households use to mitigate economic hardships. The subsection that follows will view the concept and definition of social networks or social capital as coping mechanisms in depth.

### **2.3.1 Concept and definition of social networks**

Bowling *et al.* (1991:550) define social support networks as a set of linkages among an identified group of people, which have some explanatory power over the social behaviour of the people involved. People’s social networks comprise of immediate

and extended families as well as friends in the community and the work place. This shows that everybody is part of the social link. According to Amoateng (2004:56), 'the networks are sometimes called social capital or sets of intangible resources in families and communities that help people to cope with stress, develop their potential, take advantage of opportunities and express aspirations beyond the immediate context'. The World Bank (quoted by Gertler *et al.*, 2006:455) defines social capital as "norms and networks that enable collective action". In general, social support is believed to enhance an individual's subjective wellbeing, buffer the negative effects of stress, facilitate family positive coping and strengthens family functioning (Mcloyd, 1990:320).

Social capital theory suggests that contained in the web of human relationships is a potential to generate material resources as well as opportunities for personal development (Putman, 1993:167). In this way all those who enjoy membership of a social network have increased possibilities for building better lives. Putman (2000:160-170) asserts that social capital encourages collaboration and cooperation between members of groups for their mutual benefit. Consequently life in communities with a rich supply of social capital is easier than in a community with low social capital.

Social capital theory has been applied to various areas of human sciences. Yabiku *et al.* (1999:1497) linked social support to better performance and lower drop-out levels, emotional health, self-esteem of children and advancement within the workplace and within a wider community. Palloni *et al.* (2001:1267) linked social capital and international migration patterns, showing how the decision to move from one country to another is closely linked to the network of relationships that a person maintains. Finally Grootaerts (1999) links social capital with sustainable development such as fulfilment of human needs.

### **2.3.2 Characteristics of social networks in South Africa**

Social support is made up of numerous elements. Turner and Turner (1999) identified three major dimensions of social support, namely quantity of support available, the network structure and functional aspects, who provides it, what type of support it is and its perceived value. According to Turner and Turner (1999), the functional dimension of social support includes the source of support as kin or non-kin, informal or formal resources, the type of support sought and provided such as



instrumental, informational or emotional and how positive the support receiver perceives the support to be.

In the study of the Human Science Research Council's annual evaluation of public opinion, Higson-Smith (2002) found that South Africa people's social networks comprise members of their immediate and extended families as well as friends in the community and in the work place. Furthermore, findings show that people living in metropolitan areas have the most contact with their families mainly through living together, but the least conduct with friends. People living in rural communities often do not see their family members for long periods and tend to have contact mostly with close family and other people in the same community. Amoateng (2004:56) assert that 'whilst this makes for strong and supportive bonds, it provides few conducts to job and other opportunities'.

Higson-Smith (2002) further reveals that black South Africans have the strongest social networks of all people in the country. The data suggest that in many ways black people have stronger social networks compared to coloured and Asian people. In addition it is found that women in general have fewer friends, both within and outside of the community, than men do. Moreover, women are reported as having fewer friends at their place of work than men. According to Amoateng *et al.* (2005), an important part of women's social networks are other women who face many of the same challenges in life and who themselves have limited social capital. Thus, like rural people, women tend not to have access to networks that could assist them. Old people were found to have fewer social contacts and more limited social networks than young people (Amoateng *et al.*, 2005). This is due to the fact that as people age, they tend to have less contact with siblings, parents and children.

The Participatory Poverty Assessment (quoted by Moser, 1999) identified a number of different reciprocal kin and social networks across communities in South Africa. These include borrowing money, sharing accommodation particularly in urban areas, minding children and offering advice and moral support. Other common social networks as stipulated by Moser (1999) include those relating to monetary savings such as stokfels, mehodisano and burial societies which are all structured around the mutual benefit of members, and characterized by circulation of a sum of money.

As indicated in Chapter One, farm workers under review have reciprocal kin. A study by Sithole (2006:67) shows that farm workers are involved in intricate webs of social

relationships, which include borrowing money, food items, minding children and offering advice and moral support to achieve nutrition security. It was also found that families outside the farm support the farm households with food items, money and care of their children.

#### 2.4 HIV/AIDS: Current state in Southern Africa and relevance to this research

While HIV/AIDS has already been mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, the following section will deal with it in more indepth, with special emphasis on the relationship between households, family structures, social support and HIV/AIDS.

Although there is a large extent of statistical fluidity concerning HIV/AIDS, it can be stated with absolute certainty that Southern Africa is the epicentre of the global HIV/AIDS pandemic, with more than 30 million people living with HIV/AIDS. Whereas Sub-Saharan Africa represents only 10% of the global population, it is estimated that this region accounts for 28.5 (70%) of the 42 million people worldwide living with HIV/AIDS, of whom 5 million acquired HIV in 2002 alone (UNAIDS, 2006a). The UNAIDS global report further reveals that there are no clear signs of declining of HIV prevalence.

**Table 1: HIV/AIDS prevalence (UNAIDS, 2006a)**

Country	People living with HIV	Adult (15-49) rate %	Women	Children	AIDS deaths	Orphans due to AIDS
Botswana	270,000	24.1	140,000	14,000	18,000	120,000
Lesotho	270,000	23.2	150,000	18,000	23,000	97,000
Malawi	940,000	14.1	500,000	91,000	78,000	550,000
South Africa	5,500,000	18.8	3100,000	240,000	320,000	1,200,000
Swaziland	220,000	33.4	120,000	15,000	16,000	63,000
Zambia	1,100,000	17.0	570,000	130,000	98,000	710,000
Zimbabwe	1,700,000	20.1	890,000	160,000	180,000	1,100,000

In Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe one in three adults aged between 15-49 is currently living with HIV/AIDS. Moreover, by 2010, AIDS is projected to leave 20 million African children under 15 years of age without one or both parents. The NACA

(2002) report stressed that over the next decade, without expanded prevention, effective treatment and care efforts, people living with the virus will join the ranks of more than 20 million people who have died of AIDS since the first recorded case. The high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa poses major challenges for both the governments and civil society, who are doing their utmost to curb the spread of the disease and help those who are affected.

#### **2.4.1 HIV/AIDS prevalence in South Africa**

Statistical fluidity concerning HIV/AIDS also applies to South Africa. Like many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa has been disproportionately affected by the AIDS epidemic. South Africa has the fifth highest prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the world, with 21.5% of the population estimated to be infected (UNAIDS, 2006b). A global report by UNAIDS estimated that the number of AIDS related deaths in South Africa in 2003 ranged anywhere between 270 000 and 520 000. Given the number of people infected and dying, South Africa is regarded as having the most severe HIV epidemic in the world.

Based on its extensive antenatal clinic surveillance system, as well as national surveys with HIV testing and mortality data from its civil registration system, AIDS in South Africa is said to show no evidence of a decline. According to UNAIDS (2006b) estimates, by the end of 2005 there were five and half million people living with HIV in South Africa, and almost one thousand AIDS deaths are occurring everyday. The current estimates for HIV prevalence among South Africans by age are shown in Table 2.

**Table 2: Estimated HIV/AIDS prevalence in South Africa, by age (Statistics South Africa, 2006)**

Age/years	Male prevalence %	Female prevalence %
2-4	4.9	5.3
5-9	4.2	4.8
10-14	1.6	1.8
15-19	3.2	9.4
20-24	6.0	23.9
25-29	12.1	33.3
30-34	23.3	26.0
35-39	23.3	19.3
40-44	17.5	12.4
45-49	10.3	8.7
50-54	14.2	7.5
55-59	6.4	3.0
60+	4.0	3.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>8.2</b>	<b>13.3</b>

Farm workers are vulnerable to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. A report by ANON (2005) indicates that about 30% to 45% of agricultural workers in South Africa are HIV positive. The above-mentioned statistics are mere indications of the magnitude of the problem of HIV and AIDS in South Africa and Southern Africa. There is no single explanation as to why the epidemic is so rampant. A combination of factors which are interacting seems to be responsible, namely poverty and social instability, high levels of sexually transmitted infections, low status of women, sexual violence, high mobility particularly migrant labour and also lack of leadership (HIV Foundation South Africa, 2005). Moreover, many people around the world argue that the response to HIV/AIDS in South Africa has been hampered by 'AIDS denialism' which is a minority scientific movement that refutes the orthodox idea that HIV causes AIDS (Marjolein, 2000).

According to Marjolein (2000), President Mbeki has consistently refused to acknowledge that HIV is the cause of AIDS. Mbeki argues that HIV is just one factor among many that might contribute to deaths resulting from immunodeficiency such as poverty and poor nutrition. While President Mbeki would be correct to say that factors like poverty and poor nutrition worsen the conditions of people living with HIV and, therefore, speed up the onset of AIDS, resulting in more deaths amongst the poor and malnourished sectors of society, the fact is that there is a direct link between HIV and AIDS (Marjolein, 2000) Furthermore, the Health Minister Manto Tshabalala–Msimang has repeatedly stressed the importance of a good diet in halting the progression of AIDS, urging people to eat considerable amounts of

beetroot and garlic to fight off the illness. Recently the South African Deputy President Jacob Zuma stated his belief that HIV was not easily transmitted from women to men, and that this would minimize his chances of contracting HIV (Green & Gordin, 2006). The above messages added to the climate of misinformation that surrounds the problem of AIDS in South Africa. Limited resources, wasted government spending on, for instance, the infamous arms deal and the lack of voluntary involvement from so many who discuss and research HIV/AIDS further contribute towards the difficulties of addressing the complexities of this issue.

#### **2.4.2 The impact of HIV/AIDS on households in South Africa**

HIV/AIDS is a disease that affects families in a profound and tragic way. When a family member, particularly a parent, becomes sick, weakened or dies, everyone in the family suffers. The impact on families has been devastating. In many parts of the world it is not divorce that creates single parents and step-parents, but parental death and orphanhood due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The epidemic's impact is particularly hard on women and family wives, mothers, daughters and grandmothers, as the burden of care usually falls on them (Booyesen *et al.*, 2002). Girl child drop out of school to care for sick parents or younger siblings. Older women often take on the burden of caring for ailing adult children and later, when they die, adopt the parental role for the orphaned children (Booyesen *et al.*, 2002).

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is placing a significant burden on families. Illness involves significant costs for families, often the loss of income, interruption or termination of subsistence activities, as well as costs for treatment and transport. Steinberg *et al.* (2002) state that loss of income and additional care-related expenses reduced the ability of caregivers to work and mounting medical fees push affected households deeper into poverty. In addition, a study by Bollinger and Stover (1999) shows that when death results, a permanent loss of income during the funeral and mourning period is often experienced. The ANON (2003) reports that some families in South Africa spend three times their total monthly household income on a funeral. A considerable amount of time, often days and a large amount of money is spent on the arrangements, prayer meetings and burial to ensure a good and successful funeral. In many cases, the presence of AIDS means that households will dissolve (Amoateng, 2004:32-38). UNAIDS (2006a) reports that the poorest sectors of society are most vulnerable to the epidemic and for whom consequences are more severe, as parents die and children are sent to relatives for care and upbringing.

In South Africa, it is estimated that on average every income earner is likely to acquire one additional dependent over the next ten years due to the AIDS epidemic. A dramatic increase in destitute households – those with no income earners – is also expected (UNAIDS, 2006a). A study by Booyesen *et al.* (2002) shows that affected households were more dependent on non-employment sources of income such as government social grants than non-affected households. In addition Booyesen *et al.* (2002) point out that affected households allocated more of their resources to food, health care and rent, and less to education, clothing, personal items and durables. In the long run this may contribute to malnutrition among the household's members.

A study by Hosegood and Mcgrath (2004) suggested that households where an adult had died from AIDS were four times more likely to dissolve than those where deaths had occurred. In addition, before this dissolution takes place, AIDS strips families of their assets and income earners, further impoverishing the poor. Moreover, HIV/AIDS creates child-headed households. The main event that leads to the establishment of a child-headed household is the death of both parents (Hosegood & Mcgrath, 2004). In this case children are expected to assume adult roles. According to Booyesen *et al.* (2002), child-headed households face a wide range of issues relating to survival needs and poverty. This means that they need to work hard to care for each other and to earn a living and in the long run they may miss out on education and health care. Furthermore, communities have to care for the sick people, orphans and other vulnerable children. This means that traditional community safety nets and social support systems become strained.

The AIDS epidemic also adds to food insecurity, as agricultural work is neglected or abandoned due to household's illness (FAO, 2004). According to Beresford (2001:1-2), food security is jeopardized as labour, time and money are diverted to deal with the illness. Additionally, a loss of agricultural labour is likely to cause farmers to switch to less-labour intensive crops. Thus AIDS could affect the production of cash crops as well as food crops.

#### **2.4.3 Farm workers in South Africa and HIV/AIDS**

In South Africa farm workers are identified as a highly vulnerable group as far as HIV/AIDS is concerned (NCFWH, 2006). The NCFWH (2006) reports that lack of access to health care due to financial, geographical and cultural barriers with often-scant material and social support resources casts farm workers into a high-risk arena

for exposure to the HIV/AIDS virus. Furthermore, a study conducted by IOM (2004) found that their living and working conditions, the migrant life style, geographic isolation, lack of health education and their attitude towards the use of condoms place them at a high risk.

Another study conducted by Barnabus *et al.* (2004) on farm dwellers further reveals that there is a lack of governmental and non-governmental HIV and AIDS initiatives targeting farm workers and that access to mobile clinics and Primary Health Clinics was low due to limited time and money. Moreover, the IOM (2004) study found that most farms do not have an HIV/AIDS workplace policy, and there is also no information on HIV/AIDS displayed. Importantly, the study found that messages and opportunities for appropriate learning, education and media for engaging farm workers in consciousness-raising processes in relation to HIV/AIDS is sadly lacking. Regarding farm workers knowledge about HIV/AIDS, the study done by IOM (2004) also showed that there is a low level of accurate knowledge about HIV/AIDS. Although farm workers displayed accurate knowledge concerning AIDS transmission, misconceptions were common. It was further revealed that women have less knowledge than men about the means of transmission. For instance, they are often confused or ill-informed about the means of transmission of the disease, and often display attitudes towards HIV/AIDS which make them more vulnerable (IOM, 2004).

## **2.5 Conclusion**

The chapter began with an examination of issues surrounding the definition of a household as a concept, current household structures in South Africa and further adoption of a definition scheme suitable for the farm workers households under review. This chapter further described factors that led to social fluidity and high mobility of South Africans. Attention was paid to the political and socio-economic history of South Africa and to the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, which have both led to frequent separation of household members. The literature also shows that households affected by HIV/AIDS bear a substantial burden of illness and death, and that this is associated with severe pain. It was also found that farm workers are prone to HIV/AIDS infection due to a number of factors such as lack of access to health care, lack of education and general poor living and working conditions. The chapter further examined the role of social support networks in mitigating food shortages. The literature revealed that vulnerable groups such as farm workers use personal networks to mitigate rising economic stress and nutrition insecurity.

The following chapter will give a description of all aspects of the methodology applied in this study.



---

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

---

#### 3.1 Introduction

This study followed a phenomenological social qualitative research approach that attempted to comprehend people's perceptions, perspectives and understanding of a particular situation (Leedy, 2001:149). Similarly Creswell (1998:12) describes a phenomenological study as a study that describes the meaning that experience of a phenomenon, topic or concept has for various individuals.

This chapter describes the research paradigm applied and the methods used to gather and analyse data for this research. It is also elaborated on why these methods were chosen for this specific research. The following sections are included: an overview of the research design, sample description and sample selection process, procedures for collecting data, data analysis procedures, supervision and peer examination, limitations of the study and trustworthiness.

#### 3.2 Research design

A variety of qualitative methods were employed to explore farm workers' social networks and their extended households in the context of nutrition security. These include structured interviews with farm workers and their extended families, non-participant observation through the use of an observation schedule and field notes, participant observation and focus groups discussions.

#### 3.3 Study location

The study was conducted on a commercial farm in the North West Province, South Africa. The farm is a family company, specializing in chicken layers, which is situated about 20 kilometres to the east of Potchefstroom. The company started in 1973 with 5 000 hens. At the moment, it has 120 000 hens for the production of eggs which are sold. Besides this main farming activity, the farm also have sheep (200), cattle (50) and goats (30-40) which are also sold. Some land is rented out to another farmer

who grows maize. The entire farm is 440 ha in size and employs forty-six men and forty-two women on a fulltime basis.

### **3.4 Study sample**

Since this was a follow up study, the target populations for this study were male and female farm workers who participated in a previous study conducted by Sithole (2006). In addition to the above participants, farm workers' extended families were also included in the study.

A total number of sixteen households were visited instead of the twenty households which were interviewed by Sithole (2006). The remaining four households could not be included further in this study due to members either being sick or unwilling to participate due to reasons not known to the researcher or having left the farm and working elsewhere. Also, 12 extended households of farm workers who participated were interviewed bringing the total study sample to 28. Initially, the aim was to visit all extended households of participants on the farm. However, some extended households lived far away and also not all of them were visited regularly by their relatives from the farm. The researcher managed to visit twelve extended households, which is sufficient for the concepts investigated here and provided a good reflection of the linkages between farm workers households and their distant relatives.

Interviews, therefore, consisted of two sections: interview phase 1 (Appendix A) which was carried out with farm workers on the farm and interview phase 2 (Appendix B) which was carried out with extended households of these farm workers in settings outside of the farm.

Furthermore, one focus group discussion was conducted with ten farm workers who were purposely selected amongst the previously interviewed farm workers because they possessed wisdom and insight that enabled the collection of valuable information which benefited the study, as will be described in detail in 3.5.3.

### **3.5 Methods of data collection**

The validity of techniques and reliability of methods were important to secure the gathering of valid and reliable data. Bostwick and Kyte (1981:104-105) describe validity as doing what it is intended to do and measuring what is supposed to be

measured. To ensure both validity and reliability, a variety of data collection methods were employed such as face-to-face interviews, focus group interview, observation and participant observation. According to Denzin (1989:236), triangulation or the use of multiple methods, is a plan of action that will raise sociologists and other social science researchers above the personal biases that stem from single methodologies. Denzin (1989:236-237) further states that by combining methods and investigators in the same study, observers can partially overcome the deficiencies that flow on investigator or method. In addition, Strydom & Delpont (2004:341) states "by measuring something in more than one way, the researcher is likely to see all aspects of it".

### **3.5.1 Pilot study interviews**

The pilot study interview for this research was carried out between mid April and mid May 2006. The pilot test was carried out before the commencement of the study to (a) identify potential problems that might arise in the questioning, (b) familiarize the researcher with the methodology and (c) obtain an overview of the actual practical situation where the prospective investigation will be executed (Strydom & Delpont (2004:180).

The pilot study was conducted with five extended families of farm workers in Ikageng Township, Potchefstroom, Sebokeng Township, Vereeniging and in Khuma, Stilfontein. The instrument to be tested consisted of eight open-ended and closed questions. Ethical procedures were explained to the participants. They were also informed these interviews would be confidential and that their names would be protected. Gaining participants' trust is essential in order for them to feel comfortable discussing personal issues; therefore, verbal consent was obtained from each interviewee prior to the beginning of the interview. The purpose of the interview and visit was explained in detail. A research assistant using an observation schedule recorded observations concerning the type and the conditions of the house outside and inside and the atmosphere during the interview. Interviews were conducted in Setswana. Data from the pilot study were also included in the main study.

### **3.5.2 Interviews**

The interviews were developed from the research objectives of this study with the purpose of generating relevant ideas and information. Structured face-to-face interviews with open-ended questions were conducted with farm dwellers and their

extended households to grasp and unravel the participants' responses and perceptions of phenomena (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1997).

Farm workers' households on the farm were visited from the beginning of April 2006 and before conducting interviews, relationships of trust were established. Interviews were then conducted between the months of May and September, 2006.

The interviews were divided into two phases. Phase one interview consisted of repeated socio-demographic indicators, for example household composition of farm workers' and extended linkages to their households. The interviews were partly based on previous studies done by Sithole (2006) and Heumann (2006). Phase two interviews were done with the extended households. Interview questions were partly derived from phase one interviews and extended and adapted. The interviews were first formulated in English and then translated into Setswana by the researcher. In the initial design of the questionnaire, which was used in the previous studies, an accredited translator of the African Language Department did the translation.

The interviews were done in the houses of farm workers. This provided a chance to observe the respondents in their natural setting and to gain an in-depth understanding by being intimately involved with the participants. During each visit, the researcher made a brief introduction about herself and the purpose of the study. Oral consent to carry out the interviews was obtained from participants during each visit. Also permission to voice-record the interviews was obtained and participants were assured of confidentiality in this regard.

Probing questions were used to obtain answers in more depth without biasing later answers (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:210). The information was captured by both written field notes and by tape recordings to ensure accurate recollection of data.

### **3.5.3 Focus group interviews**

The use of focus group methodology is a valuable way to collect qualitative data (Knodel, 1993:20). According to Krueger and Casey (2000:9-11), focus group interviews bring individuals together to discuss a topic of common interest to uncover people's perceptions, feelings and opinions. For the purpose of this study, one focus group interview was conducted to explore a range of ideas or feelings that people have about HIV/AIDS and also to try and understand the difference in perspectives between farm workers. The researcher used the questions adopted from an

HIV/AIDS perception study (SONOP HIV/AIDS Project, 2003) in the North West Province, South Africa. The questions (Appendix C) were first translated into Setswana and then reformulated in a conversational form to stimulate the discussion. The researcher together with two research assistants had a practical preparation, discussing the basics of the focus group prior to the beginning of the study to (a) familiarize the data collection personnel with the methodology, (b) practise taking field notes and practise operating equipment, and (c) revise and modify focus group questions appropriately (Krueger & King, 1998:120-124).

The focus group session for this research was held on 9 August 2006 on the farm. Initially eight people including five women and three men were recruited to participate in the focus group session. Krueger and Casey (2000:12-13) state that the group must be small enough for everyone to have an opportunity to share insights and yet large enough to provide diversity of perceptions. According to Krueger and Casey (2000:11), 'when the group exceeds a dozen participants, there is a tendency for the group to fragment'. Permission to conduct the focus group on the farm was granted by the farm owner. Also a letter of invitation to farm workers to attend the discussion was sent to them through the farm owner.

On the day of the discussion, the researcher had to re-start the recruitment process because the participants who were invited did not turn up for the meeting, claiming that the farmer had not informed them. Because of the above situation and a notion of hostility from the side of the farm workers, it was then decided to conduct one focus group instead of three, which were initially planned by the researcher. However, the above problems did not have an effect on data collection. During the recruitment process the researcher used her own judgment about which respondents to choose and only those who met the purpose of the study were selected.

The two assistant moderators were also present in the discussion and were responsible for making observations, operating the tape recorder, taking notes and handling the logistics. As participants arrived at the focus group sessions, they were welcomed and refreshments were provided to help establish rapport and develop a comfortable, relaxed environment, which is essential for focus group success (Krueger, 1994:27). The research team also engaged in informal conversations with the participants to create a warm and friendly environment and to put participants at ease as suggested by Strydom & Delpont (2004:210).

The focus group session was conducted based on the procedures suggested by Krueger and King (1998:26-40). The researcher moderated the session, led the discussion and kept the conversation going by asking open-ended questions, probing whenever necessary. The use of the local language, Setswana, by the moderator maximized the group's cohesiveness and openness maintaining cultural homogeneity and language use.

Participants were introduced to the moderator and assistant moderators. The discussion began with an introduction (Appendix C), followed by the overview of the topic and the opening question. According to Krueger and King (1998:30), the introduction sets the tone of the group and provides the operating guidelines for discussion. Ground rules as indicated by Krueger and King (1998:35) were also presented regarding confidentiality, respect for the views of the others and the importance of honesty and so forth to the participants before the questions were asked. Also verbal consent to voice record the session was obtained. The moderator followed the focus group interview guide (Appendix C).

Halfway through the discussion, a short meeting was held between the moderator and assistant moderators to discuss whether the discussion should go on and exhaust the questions as it was planned initially to divide the questions into sessions. Given the situation that the participants were never informed about the discussions and that they were unlikely to be released from work early to participate in subsequent sessions, the research team decided to continue with the discussion.

#### **3.5.4 Observation**

The researcher used participant observation and non-participant observation in this study. Babbie and Mouton (2001:293) describe non-participant observation as a method where the researcher remains an outside observer, while in participant observation, the researcher is simultaneously a member of a group she or he is studying. By means of observation, the researcher observes both human activities and the physical settings in which such activities take place (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:270-273). Furthermore, Lofland and Lofland (1995:290) note that observations provide direct information about behaviour of individuals and groups and permit the evaluator to enter into and understand a situation or context.

The researcher and research assistants did non-participant observation on the farm at each visit and during interviews. Specific observations during the interviews were recorded using an observation schedule (Appendix D). Observations made included the following: (a) the type of house in which the family lives, number of rooms, commodities of the household, (b) setting/conditions outside the house and inside the house, and finally (c) the atmosphere during the interview. Impressions of farm visits were furthermore recorded in a field book. These impressions included for example the atmosphere, specific events or situations occurring during visits and anything else worth recording.

Participant observation took place on the selected farm for this study from 15 to 19 May 2006. The farm owner was consulted and permission to enter the field was gained a week before the actual observation. The researcher and the research assistant undoubtedly took part in the observation and were actively involved in the daily situation of the research participants as suggested by Sheppard (1995:270) and Muller (1995:65). Strydom & Delport (2004:254) adds that involvement in the process enhances acceptance by participants. The main aims of the observation were to (a) gain and build relationship and trust with the farm workers, (b) observe the working lives and behaviour of farm workers, (c) observe interactions between the farm workers, and (d) to gain some idea of how they view their work.

The daily work included the packing of eggs into egg trays, breaking, whisking and packaging cracked eggs, grading and checking of cracks in eggs and packaging. A day-to-day report on the real observations done was maintained in the form of field notes. Field notes were based on chronological descriptions of what happened at the setting and among the participants. Data collected included observation of working conditions, safety in the work place, relationship between the black employees and the white and black supervisors and gender relations amongst the farm workers.

### **3.5.5 Household food inventory**

Labadarious *et al.* (2000) define the household food inventory as a list of all food items and drinks kept in the house at the time of the interview and does not include live animals, crops still growing in the garden or food that was being or had been cooked. The household food inventory was done to provide information on the amount of food actually found in the household, which was used as an indicator of the level of food security in the household.

Household inventory data (Appendix E) was collected at the time of the interview with the extended households. The researcher recorded all foods that were for household use. Also an additional record on food items which were usually or only sometimes available was done. The intention of doing this inventory was to compare the food intake of extended households with that of farm workers as previously recorded by Sithole (2006:23) and to compare the outcome of the two inventories. Some respondents did not allow the researcher to observe the food in the kitchen, but rather stated what was available because, according to the researcher's interpretation, it was too embarrassing for them.

### **3.6 Data analysis**

The following steps adopted from Creswell (1998:153-157) describe the process of data analysis:

***Preparation of the data:*** The interviews and focus group discussions were voice-recorded and complete written transcripts were made from the voice recordings. The written transcripts were then carefully translated from Setswana into English.

***Reading through data:*** The researcher read through all the data collected from interviews, observations and field notes to gain a general sense of the data. During the process the researcher performed the minor editing necessary to make field notes retrievable and clean. Also data from the focus group was reviewed to determine trends and identify major themes or patterns emerging from the focus group discussion. Predominant themes and sub-themes were noted and outlined.

***Coding and data entry:*** Answers to the open-ended questions were coded and grouped into different categories. Codes and data were then entered into SPSS 14 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) in order to make an interpretation and reveal meaning of the data. SPSS was used for qualitative data analysis and the researcher did the conceptual and thematic analysis of the interviews, focus group and observation where applicable, using manual methods, for example colour coding, cutting, pasting and integration of results.

***Data presentation:*** The researcher presents the results emerging from the data in Chapter 4. Where suitable, direct quotations from the tape recordings are given.



### **3.7 Supervision and peer examination**

According to Zikmund (1997:107), supervision refers to guiding the efforts of students. The project leader supervised the student throughout the study to make sure that research procedures were properly followed. In addition, continuous and frequent meetings with research peers at several workshops and also with the larger research team represented a forum to discuss various issues in the study. These meetings also gave the researcher an opportunity to share and reflect on fieldwork experience. According to Shenton (2004: 67), "the meetings provide a sounding board for the investigator to test his or her developing ideas and interpretation and probing from others helped the researcher to recognise his or her own biases and preferences".

### **3.8 Research limitation**

Several limitations were evident during the study such as time constraints, the difficulty in recruiting participants for the focus group discussion, unwillingness of some participant's to participate in the study, refusal of some participants to be voice recorded and participants not keeping to appointments. Since most of the interviews were done during winter, it was difficult to do more than one interview in a day because it became dark early. Also most of the time farm workers knocked off late from work, tired, cold and always in a hurry to do some errands at home. Some participants' tendency to make appointments with the researcher and not adhering to them was a stumbling block. This resulted in a waste of resources.

The researcher could not visit all extended households of participants on the farm as intended because some of them lived far away. In addition, since the researcher was highly dependent on the cooperation of the farm workers to take her to their extended households, it was difficult to visit all of them due to the time limit for the completion of the study. Some participants of the previous study done by Sithole (2006:2) were unwilling to participate in this study due to reasons not known to the researcher. However, the study was accepted well by those respondents who agreed to participate. Recruiting participants on the day of the focus group discussion was a problem. Since the farm workers had not been informed by the farm owner, as described earlier, they first had to be convinced to participate, which took about forty minutes. Shyness was a problem with some members of the group, but most individuals contributed to the discussion.

Some participants did not agree to be voice-recorded during the interviews. As a result, no direct quotes were obtained in these interviews. Also during the focus group discussion some participants spoke simultaneously making voices difficult to understand on the voice recorder. Some people talked with a soft voice and their comments were not completely picked up by the tape recorder. This, therefore, had an impact on data collection and analysis.

### **3.9 Trustworthiness**

Guba and Lincoln (1985:48) define trustworthiness as the neutrality of research findings or decisions. Guba and Lincoln (1985:48-60) proposed that qualitative researchers in pursuit of a trustworthy study should consider the following four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. For the purpose of this study, and to ensure trustworthiness, the researcher adapted Guba and Lincoln's (1985) criteria. Table 3 shows the application of the criteria to this study to ensure trustworthiness.

**Table 3: Strategies of ensuring trustworthiness in this study of farm workers' nutrition security as illustrated through the four concepts of trustworthiness**

<b>Strategy</b>	<b>Criteria</b>	<b>Application</b>
Credibility	Field experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farm worker households were visited from the beginning of April 2006, and before conducting interviews, relationships of trust were established. Interviews were conducted between the months of May and September. Oral consent was obtained from the interviewees at each visit.</li> <li>• Phase 1 interviews were partly based on previous studies done by Sithole (2006) and Heumann (2006).</li> <li>• Follow-up visits and also informal visits allowed the researcher to spend enough time with research participants to have an insight in their real life situations.</li> </ul>
	Reflexibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• During the interviews, both the researcher and research assistant took accurate field notes of what transpired. Furthermore, participant and non-participant observation were employed. An observation schedule was used to capture all relevant aspects of social processes. All interviews including the focus group were tape-recorded, and the data obtained from taking notes were compared with the transcribed data.</li> </ul>
	Triangulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Various data collection methods were employed such as interviews, focus group interviews and observation.</li> <li>• Data were collected word for word (verbatim) through interviews and also field notes.</li> <li>• Data management was carried out parallel to fieldwork.</li> <li>• After fieldwork, a report was given to the supervisor. In addition, on a weekly basis, the whole research team met and discussed the concepts and themes of the interviews for that particular week.</li> <li>• Through these weekly supervisions with experienced peer researchers, the fieldwork experience was continuously reflected on.</li> </ul>
	Interview technique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The researcher received training in interviewing skills of social qualitative research methodology.</li> <li>• The project leader supervised the student during initial interviews</li> <li>• The researcher together with the two research assistants had a practical preparation discussing the basics of the focus group prior to the beginning of the study.</li> </ul>
Transferability	Selection of sample	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The researcher used the same participants who were purposively selected in a previous study conducted by Sithole (2006). In addition to the above participants, farm workers' extended families were also included in the study.</li> </ul>
	In-depth description	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In-depth description of methodology and results, which are accompanied by verbatim quotations.</li> </ul>
Dependability	Dense description	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full description of methodological steps.</li> </ul>
	Dependability audit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analyses of the data collected were done with the supervisor and also with other research team members.</li> </ul>
	Triangulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Evaluation of data: first and second phase interviews, focus group interview and observations. Data collected from the different methods were coded separately.</li> <li>• Developing concepts and themes, which were checked and discussed with peer researchers.</li> <li>• Coding and entering of themes into SPSS.</li> <li>• Analysis of results from all the methods.</li> </ul>
	Peer examination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continuous and frequent meetings with research peers at several workshops and also with the larger research team.</li> </ul>
	Independent concepts and theme formulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The researcher formulated own themes and reached consensus with other researchers through discussion.</li> </ul>
Conformability	Conformability audit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Filing of all records and transcripts.</li> </ul>
	Reflexibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Field notes stemming from observations and informal interactions were used for data analysis.</li> </ul>

### **3.10 Conclusion**

This chapter is a methodology chapter whereby the reader is being introduced to the various data collection instruments. The design and sample size for this study is adequate in reflecting the issues investigated at the specific farm, with some of the findings possibly being transferable to similar settings in South Africa. The validity and reliability of methods were ensured.

The following chapter gives rise to the results and the presentation of data emanating from this research.

---

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

---

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of this study. The focus of the study was on social support networks and household fluidity of farm workers in the context of nutrition security. Presentation of results will concentrate on household composition and structure, stretched households and social support networks. Furthermore, a case study will be used to exemplify the concept of household and fluidity. The chapter will further explore the socio-economic status of farm workers and their extended households. The nutrition security situation of farm workers and their stretched households will also be reviewed. Coping strategies developed by farm workers in order to mitigate nutrition insecurity will be explored. Finally life at work and HIV/AIDS awareness of farm workers under review will be presented.

#### 4.2 Changes in household composition and size of residential units on the farm

The main purpose of investigating household composition was to compare the results of the previous study done by Sithole (2006:31) with the results of this study to see whether there are any changes in composition. In the present study sixteen households were interviewed.

An average of three people live together in one house (n=16). Four households had children living with them. Twelve (75%) of the interviewees share a house meaning that they all had a housemate, and 17% of them were single women. Having a housemate is a common feature on this farm. From direct observation, the standard of housing was generally low. In addition to poor housing and sanitation, the fact that houses are shared with housemates makes living conditions not ideal. Also a small household size gave an indication that farm workers have their own homes in the township where some of their family members reside. Surprisingly, one household has six members, which is quite unusual in a farm set up like this one. All the 6 members were men who share one big room, which was initially used for recreational purposes.

Since this was a follow up study, the researcher found it appropriate to compare the above figures with what was found previously in the study done by Sithole (2006). It is apparent that changes in the number of households and also changes in household composition have occurred between the period of Sithole's (2006) study and the present study. As mentioned earlier, the current study had 16 households while the previous study had 20 households. Among possible explanations were factors such as freedom of movement and seeking employment elsewhere, loss of job on the farm, death, other family members joining the household on the farm, depositing children with relatives or more children appearing and other causes.

One further point of note is that there were few children living on the farm. Reasons given by those farm workers not living with their children were that they required the best for their children and, therefore, consider life on the farm not conducive to the development of their children. Their main concern was better education for their children. They felt that schools on farms are not so "good" in terms of the resources. In addition parents feel that the government is not doing enough to help improve schools on farms. Lack of resources such as books, classrooms, transportation and teachers were among major concerns. Children have to walk long distances because of a lack of transportation to and from the school. Other reasons given for children not staying on the farm were:

*"We share houses and therefore there isn't enough space for the children". (46.2%)*

*"There is no one to look after them when I am at work". (15.3%)*

*"My children do not like staying on the farm" (15.3%)*

Farm workers who live with their children on the farm shared a different point of view. They believe that their children are still too young to live elsewhere. Emphasis was placed on the importance of child care. Children living on the farm that the researcher had an opportunity to talk to are happy on the farm because they have never missed a meal, unlike in the township. Therefore, they see life on farms appealing. These children were also content about their school on the farm besides the distance. On the other hand, some children saw no future for themselves on the farm and had little hope of alternatives as the highest level of education at farm schools is grade seven. Therefore, there is no option to proceed beyond grade seven as there are no secondary schools in the vicinity of this farm.

Comparisons were made with the household categories as established by Sithole (2006) as illustrated in Table 4. Almost 40% of households were couples who both work on the farm, while couples who lived on the farm with only the husband working constituted 7%. Twenty percent of households consisted of women working on the farm, with their families living elsewhere and men working on the farm with their families living elsewhere constitute 7%. The last category consisted of single women working on the farm with family living elsewhere (27%).

In this study there was a slight change in the number of household categories. Instead of six categories which were initially established in the previous study, there were now five due to the fact that there are no pensioners in this sample.

**Table 4: Changes in household categories**

<b>Household Categories</b>	<b>Sithole's (2006) study N=20</b>	<b>Present study N=16</b>
H1 conjugal hh, both partners working on the farm	20%	39%
H2 conjugal hh, only man working on the farm	5%	7%
H3 men working on farm, partner and family living at a distance	20%	7%
H4 women working on farm, partner and family at a distance	25%	20%
H5 single women working on farm with family at a distance	25%	27%
H6 couple, one / both receiving pension	5%	-

### 4.3 Kinship relationships

To assess the relationship between farm workers under review and their related kin outside the farm, the researcher followed up on Sithole's (2006) households to demonstrate the existence of these links, which added in-depth information and further helped with the interpretation of the findings of the study.

### 4.3.1 Kinship relationships on the farm

Kinship relationships on the farm were investigated. When interviewees were asked about family members living on the farm, most interviewees (70%) indicated that they had relatives who live on the farm but do not live together (Figure 1).

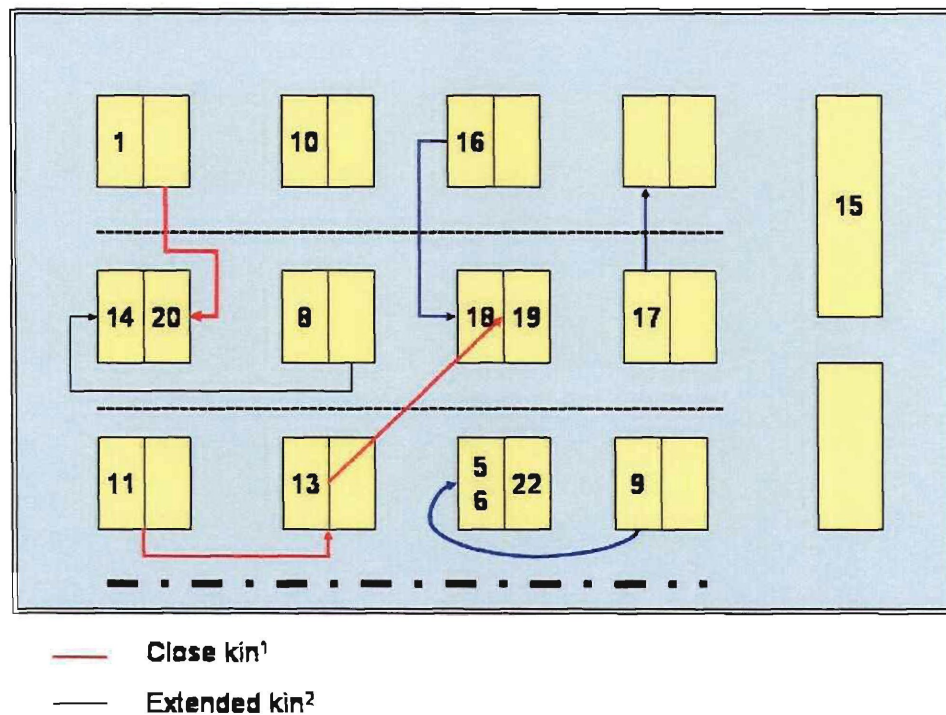


Figure 1: Kinship networks on the farm

The above figure which illustrated residential units at this farm consisting of three rooms, gives an indication that kinship (close kin<sup>1</sup> and extended kin<sup>2</sup>) networks were strongly evident among households residing on the farm. The crucial role that these networks played in providing social support, which involves the provision of wide-ranging instrumental support such as money, child care and other in kind assistance, are outlined in 4.4 The numbers in the figure represent interviewee numbers.

### 4.3.2 Kinship relationships outside the farm

<sup>1</sup> Close kin: partner/spouse, father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, in-laws and others (Wellman and Wortley, 1990)

<sup>2</sup> Extended kin: includes blood and in-laws (Wellman and Wortley, 1990)



Besides having family members on the farm, all 16 interviewees had family members or relatives living outside the farm in nearby towns or townships. In this study the interviewed farm workers' extended families live at a distance between 20km and 100km. The average size of residential units on the farm and outside the farm which, according to the definition applied here form one household, is seven people, with a minimum of four and a maximum of 12 households members (n=12). If one further takes into account other kin with whom reciprocal relationships exist, the average size of these larger extended households (core-households on the farm, extended household and other kinship networks) is 10, with a minimum of seven and a maximum of 13 members.

Despite high transport costs, frequent visits took place. Farm workers, therefore, had close contact with their families outside of the farm and have strong family ties as shown by the number of visits to these households (Figure 2). Findings further showed that families create and sustain networks of information and access through which family members gain opportunities. This reduces the costs of information search about opportunities elsewhere. People kept in contact through visits, phone calls and letters. When farm workers were asked what made them decide to work on the farm, a response such as *"my brother/cousin found me a job here..."* is an indication that the family provides support such as accessing information about and opportunities for work.

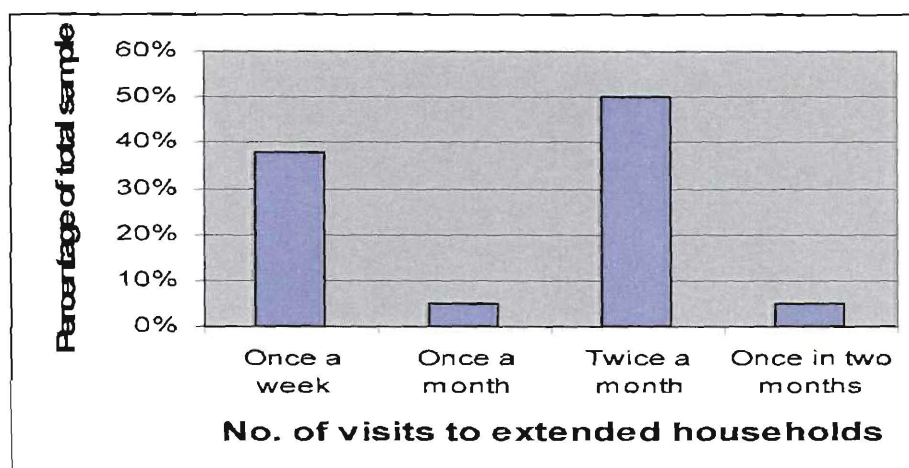


Figure 2: Frequency of visits (%) (N=16)

#### **4.4 Household fluidity and social networks**

As mentioned in Chapter Two (2.3), the South African history of repression, relocation and dispossession fundamentally changed the concept of households making it difficult to define a household. Indeed complicated and varied household structures have been formed by people as a social response. For the purpose of this study, the definition by Lemke (2001:109) is appropriate because it is built around economic concerns, food security and also the social networks being used for economic survival and increased food security.

The existence of personal support networks between farm workers and co-workers, friends and their extended households (close kin and extended kin) were examined. In the interviews, farm workers were asked for example: (1) have you ever helped each other? (2) Do you visit / eat with each other (close relatives and other people on the farm)? (3) What other things do you do together? (4) If you have any problems, would you share them with any of these persons? (5) Is there anybody else you will go to when you need something? Furthermore relationships of these people were investigated.

##### **4.4.1 Characteristics of support groups and relations**

All 16 interviewed farm workers mentioned a total of 123 people to whom they gave and from whom they received support. Of this total, 42% were men and 58% were women. Seventy four percent of the people mentioned by the interviewed households were their close families living outside the farm. All interviewed households mentioned an average of two persons to whom they gave support. On the other hand, interviewed households on the farm received support from 32 persons who also live on the farm and from another 30 persons living outside the farm.

A further breakdown of data revealed that neighbours, friends, close kin and co-workers played a significant role in providing instrumental, emotional, companionship and informational support. Categorising these groups of people (Table 5), one can, therefore, depict that the above analysis is an indication that close kin such as partner/spouse and other close relatives are prominent in personal exchange networks.

**Table 5: Support groups with whom interviewed households exchange support (multiple response, N= 62)**

<b>Relationship to the interviewees</b>	<b>% of support</b>
Extended family outside the farm	48
Close family on the farm	24
Friends	13
Neighbours	8
Co-workers	7
Total	100

In 4.6.4 the importance of these social support networks in the context of nutrition security will be highlighted. Also, the important role the farm owner played in this regard will be elaborated.

#### **4.4.2 Types of contributions according to relationships, place of living and gender**

Contributions varied according to place of residence and relations. Interviewed households contributed money, paid rent and provided food items to their families outside the farm, whilst neighbours, co-workers and friends on the farm mainly exchanged small food items such as maize meal, salt and also small amounts of money. Family members / relatives on the farm exchange food items, clothing, caring for the sick, baby minding, and assisting at funerals/weddings, confiding in one another and money. Finally, family members outside the farm provided emotional support, taking care of children, food, money, companionship and advice on important matters. It is evident that extended family members in town contributed more in terms of food, clothing, money and others and that friends and neighbours are often turned to for emotional support, social companionship and looking after children. Further analysis revealed gender differences with regard to the type of support. Men mostly contributed items such as money and food while women provided further support such as child minding / taking care of children, assisting at funerals/weddings, caring for the sick and confiding in each other. Most contribution and support came from close kin and extended kin.

The following case study was selected to exemplify the concept of household and fluidity as apparent in the context researched. The names have been changed to protect the workers' identity.

#### **4.4.3 Case Study: Stretched households as a site of social support**

*Mary and her boyfriend Martin work on the farm and share a house (interview number 5 and 6, Figure 1). Each of them pays a rent of R 170 per month. The distance between their place of work and their other place of residence in the city has undoubtedly prevented them securing more adequate accommodation. Mary and Martin depend on just two small incomes – Mary earning R420 and Martin earning R426 per month. Mary and Martin also pursue other income-generating activities on the farm such as selling of beer, sweets, snacks and fruit, as they are free of childcare responsibilities.*

*Mary has two households to take care of. She has three children with the youngest being from her relationship with Martin. She placed the children at her sister's home in Ikageng to whom she regularly remits money for the children's upkeep. Mary's sister Annie also lives with her own three children and her boyfriend in a single old shack. Annie's boyfriend makes a living out of doing piece jobs and contributes towards the running of the household. He makes decisions regarding the large purchases and family future plans and Annie makes decisions regarding the childrens' education and food purchases.*

*Mary shares half of her monthly income with this extended household. She sends money once a month and also food support in the form of chickens and eggs every two to three weeks. Mary's children visit her on the farm almost every weekend and help with household chores. On the other hand, Mary rarely visits her extended household in Ikageng because of inadequate space in the shack. Also, Mary finds it difficult to reunite more frequently with her parents in Vryburg because transport is costly. She spends most of her weekends working. Mary doesn't provide any form of support to her parent's household in Vryburg except for calling them once a month.*

*Martin has three households to take care of. The first household is on the farm where he and Mary live. They share income and other obligations. His mother and father and his daughter from a previous relationship, aged nine years, live in a brick house in the township where he was raised. Neither of his parents receives pension, but*

*rely on piece work and depend mostly on Martin for support. Martin sends a third of his income to his family every month and also chickens and eggs twice a month. Martin also supports his common child with Mary and occasionally visits the child in the township. Martin's parents visit their grandson more often and normally carry food with them to give to the child. Because of a tight schedule at work Martin finds it hard to visit his family more often. His parents do sometimes visit him at the farm.*

The case study presents fluid residential units that exist among farm workers. Indeed, farm workers households are dispersed across space due to socio-economic forces. Therefore, the maintenance of these stretched households cannot be ignored as children in most cases are left behind with their grandparents or other relatives who assume parenting responsibilities for these children.

The movement of people between different residential units such as Mary's children visiting the household on the farm also signifies domestic fluidity. Furthermore, the existence of social networks is demonstrated by the flow of resources and these usually flow to those who have particular needs as illustrated in the case study. Thus, transfers such as money and food serve the function of ensuring the maintenance of at least a subsistence level by all members of the households. The above case study demonstrates the importance of social networks, which link members of the family who live in different parts of the country. At the same time this example highlights the resourcefulness and determination that people develop to survive and sometimes to prosper. According to the definition of a household by Lemke (2001:109), all the households mentioned in the case study form a household.

#### **4.5 Socio-economic status**

Investigating the socio-economic status of farm workers and their extended households, several dimensions of sources of income of the household were examined, including farm wages, savings, other informal incomes, occupational status of extended household members and their average monthly per capita income.

##### **4.5.1 Sources of income of farm workers**

When farm workers were asked about the level of income of their farm wage, all respondents expressed unhappiness with their average net income of R562.47 per

month with a minimum of R400 and a maximum of R1200. They felt that it was too little for the smooth running of their households. Farm wages vary due to different job descriptions and duration of service on the farm. For instance, more skilled workers earn the highest income, a plumber earns more than a driver and a farm worker who served more years than others also earns more. Moreover, it was observed that men earn more than women. "Paid differences between workers should be better explained", said one of the farm workers.

Data were collected on how households sustained their livelihood. Table 6 lists the various sources of additional income. Besides income from farm labour, five farm workers were engaged in other income generating activities: four of them were selling snacks, alcohol, sweets and fruit such as oranges and one farm worker brewed a traditional home beer. This type of income is irregular and inconsistent. One household reported making a profit of R250 per month. The researcher further observed that women are the initiators of these income generating activities.

Farm workers' households are partly dependent on social grants. Five households reported obtaining a child grant of R170 in addition to their income. One household had access to child maintenance of R500 per month. Two households reported that they were in the process of applying for a child grant and another household had its application rejected because adequate documents such as birth certificates were missing. Four other households did not receive any child grants despite eligibility. Therefore, one can assume that farm workers make an average of R1004 per month from their income and other sources.

**Table 6: Income sources of farm worker households besides farm wage (N=16)**

<b>Income sources</b>	<b>No of responses</b>
<b>1. Informal trade</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2. Child grant</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>3. Child maintenance</b>	<b>1</b>

It is apparent that most households have diverse sources of income, namely social grants and income from both informal and formal employment. Additional income sources are, therefore, critical to their survival.

#### 4.5.2 Sources of income of farm worker's extended households

Of the twelve extended households interviewed, only two had formal jobs and received a monthly salary. Six households are engaged in informal trade, typically the buying and selling of small foodstuffs such as fruit and vegetable and also health products. Five households were engaged in piece jobs such as domestic work and gardening. About half of these households were dependent on social grants from the government. In particular, one household had access to a child grant, three households had access to disability grants and three households had access to a pension grant. Of the interviewed households, all received remittances from the core households on the farm. Table 7 below illustrates the different types of income (money flows into households).

**Table 7: Income sources of farm workers' extended households (N=12)**

<b>Sources of income</b>	<b>Number of responses</b>
<b>1. Social Grants: child grant</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Disability grant</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Pension</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>2. Remittances</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>3. Wages / Salary</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>4. Informal trade</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>5. Piece jobs</b>	<b>5</b>

The above results are a mere indication that there is a high dependence on social assistance in the form of grants to older persons, children and disabled people. These benefit the family through the distribution of resources within the family and the alleviation of cost of caring for dependents with special needs. As was found through the use of follow up questions, self-employment played a major role providing households with the ability to lift them out of extreme poverty. Considering the fact that most household members are unemployed, when asked about considering working on the farm, most of them shared the same sentiments that farm labour is too harsh and yet lowly paid. Claims of farmer's brutality and racial discrimination towards workers were also made by interviewees. According to their

testimonies, assaults such as beatings of farm workers seem to be a common practice and many assaults went unreported as farm workers did not have much faith in the police.

#### 4.5.3 Farm workers' savings

All farm workers had savings with the farmer. The farmer deducted an amount ranging between R7 and R10 from their monthly wages. Eight households reported having savings at the bank, three reported having savings "hidden in the house or property" and the remaining five households have no access to a bank account or possess any financial assets except the small amount of money the farmer kept for them. These households reported that the money they had was not enough to save because they had other obligations such as buying food and remitting money to extended households. This partly explains why these households have no extra money to save at the bank.

Furthermore, households who had savings in the house reported that they did not want to have savings at the bank with the notion that the "banks eat their money". The most common item respondents were saving for was food. Saving for possible emergencies was also a common response. All farm workers were part of the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF<sup>3</sup>) with 2% of their monthly wage being deducted by the farmer. Figure 3 illustrates the types of savings farm workers have.

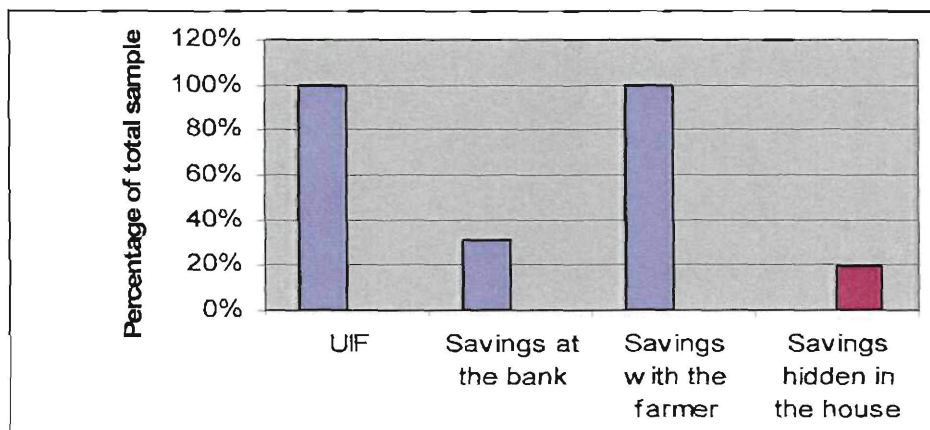


Figure 3: Type of savings among farm worker households (N=16)

<sup>3</sup> UIF: Unemployment Insurance Fund. It provides funds to workers who may become unemployed.



In particular, no savings group such as a stockvel or burial society were reported among farm workers on this farm. They had, however, savings with the farmer. Some farm workers made claims that they never received the savings that were automatically deducted from their pay cheques.

#### **4.5.4 Farm workers extended households' savings**

Of the twelve extended households interviewed, only two households had pension savings and both households are also members of a burial society. Two other households had a life insurance and savings account at a bank, respectively. Surprisingly, one household with a total income of R3000 per month did not have any savings. The remaining households without savings reported that they could not afford to save because money obtained from informal jobs is just enough to buy food.

#### **4.5.5 Household appliances and asset ownership of farm workers' extended households compared to farm worker households**

Observations were made regarding the type of house in which farm workers' extended households live, the number of rooms the household occupied and appliances the households possessed (Table 8). All these variables reflected the standard of living of the participating households, which is used as an indirect measure of the socio-economic status of households. This measurement was also done among farm workers households in the previous study (Sithole, 2006:50) and was, therefore, not repeated here. Most houses (63.6%) were permanent buildings made of bricks, whilst 36.3% were shacks. The number of rooms occupied by the households ranged between three and six rooms. This includes shacks, which were partitioned. All houses and shacks were self-owned. A garden surrounding the house or shack was very common. Planting of trees, flowers and fruit trees were also common occurrences. Two households owned chickens and one household owned a vegetable garden, which are mainly for own consumption purposes.

In terms of access to services, water obtained from a public tap was common to all households living in shacks, while permanent houses were supplied with a tap inside the yard. All households use pit latrines. Of the sample of twelve households, only nine were connected to electricity, although power lines are present in the area. Wood was the most common source of energy used for cooking by these households, even though electricity was available.

**Table 8: Household appliances of extended households and farm worker households**

<b>Household appliances</b>	<b>% of extended households (N=12)</b>	<b>% of farm worker households (N=16)</b>
Coal stove	100	100
Radio	82	63
TV set	73	63
Electric iron	73	31
Cell phone	55	81
Electric kettle	46	31
Hi-Fi	46	75
Electric two plate stove	36	100
Refrigerator	36	19
Bicycle	9	-
Car	9	-

Looking at assets and appliances owned by farm workers' extended households, it appears that the greatest value of assets are held in the form of furniture (not listed in Table 8), appliances and electronic devices such as television, radio, Hi-Fi, refrigerators, kitchen units, beds, tables and chairs, lounge set, coal stoves, electric kettles and irons etc. Only one household owned a car (Table 8). When comparing household appliances in the farm workers' households and their extended households, it becomes obvious that more appliances are located in extended household units.

#### **4.6 Food and nutrition security of farm workers**

As mentioned in the previous chapters, this study builds on previous research (Sithole, 2006). In assessing nutritional status of farm workers, the previous study applied the nutrition security indicators to the eight households. In this study eight additional households, which could not be interviewed in depth in the previous study were categorized using the same food security indicators. Different levels of

nutritional status of the eight farm workers' households were assessed using categories of nutrition security that were adopted from Lemke (2001:218). In her research about food and nutrition security of black South African households, Lemke (2001) established four categories of food security namely: (1) very nutrition insecure, (2) nutrition insecure, (3) relatively nutrition secure and (4) nutrition secure (page xiii).

#### **4.6.1 Farm workers' food situation**

Farm workers' food situation was assessed using the Household Food Inventory (Appendix E). It contained a series of questions regarding the food situation such as the kind of food people have in the house, problems of accessing certain types of food and worries about food. The household food inventory was done with all sixteen households but only eight households were categorized here. The researcher complemented the results with previous data by Sithole (2006:45).

When being asked about the food available in the house, three of the households reported having enough of the food they wanted to eat. These households had a variety of foods and a sufficient quantity of food in the house. Four households had maize meal, eggs, tea, chicken, sugar and cooking oil. In addition one household had tomato sauce and also canned foods such as fish and beans. In all households maize meal was the main food available. In most of the households vegetables, fruit and other sources of protein were lacking. This clearly shows that there is lack of food diversity.

Furthermore, three of the households reported not having enough food sometimes. This occurred especially before payment of bonus and salary. It appears that farm workers experience a monthly financial cycle that results in having sufficient food at the beginning of the month, when they receive their monthly wages and experiencing food shortage at the end of the month when all their money has been spent.

When asked about whether they worry that food would run out the next day, three households answered "no". Those interviewees who answered "yes" stated the following:

*"We are worried sometimes because the food that we bought just did not last before we got money to buy more"*

*“Money is not enough to buy more”*

*“We do worry because we only eat porridge everyday”*

*“Some foods are expensive and we cannot afford them”.*

*“Money is not enough to buy food for the whole month”.*

The above responses are an indication that money is a primary obstacle that farm workers face to obtain enough food for their family. Availability of food was another concern reported by farm workers. Lack of transportation to supermarkets and markets was reported to be a major obstacle in obtaining reasonably priced foods. This is illustrated by the following statement:

*“Transport to town is a problem, we do not have means of transportation, and so even though we want to go or have money to go shopping, there is no one who can take us there”.*

Farm workers are obliged to purchase food in small neighborhood shops, which are more expensive than supermarket outlets. In addition to being more expensive, there is limited availability of fresh meat and fresh produce such as vegetables in these smaller shops.

In response to the question whether it happens that they stay without food, all respondents said “no”. This means that somehow these households apply some means of coping with the situation and manage to obtain food as will be elaborated on in more depth in 4.6.3.

When asked whether they feel that there is sometimes not enough food for the children in the house, out of the eight respondents, five said “no” and three said “yes”. Those who said “yes” reported that their children were not eating enough because they just could not afford enough food. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that farm workers’ households with children are more likely to be food insecure than households without children as they are likely to spend more on food. When farm workers were asked what foods or drinks they would prefer to have more often, most preferred the following: beef, vegetables and fruit, soft drinks, fruit juice, rice, milk, cornflakes, oats, fat cakes and polony (processed meat). Respondents stated that they like these foods because:

*“They taste nice”*

*“They are healthy and they give us energy”*

*“They nourish the body”*

*“They protect us from diseases”*

*“They make the body grow”*

The above responses are an indication that farm workers are aware of the nutritional importance of food. They however have lack of knowledge of the nutrition value of food because some of these foods are not healthy. Nevertheless, low income is a major obstacle in obtaining enough, healthy and nutritious foods.

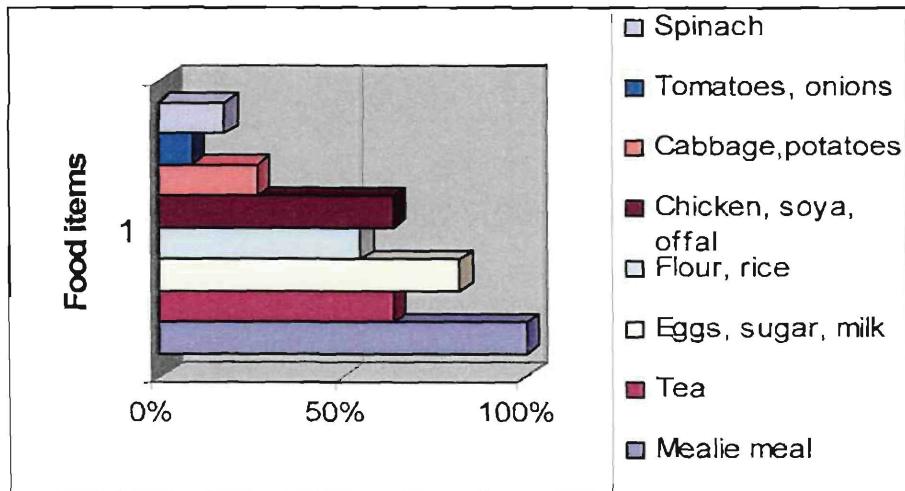
#### **4.6.2 Farm workers extended households' food situation**

Data on household food supplies were collected concurrently with the interviews using a Household Food Inventory. The goal was to assess the food situation of farm workers' extended households.

When asked about the type of food they had in the house at the time of the interview, all of the households (n=12) mentioned maize meal as the main item available. Other food items available were sugar (54.5%), eggs (54.5%), chicken (45.5%), flour (36.4%), potatoes (36.4%), cabbage (54.5%) and milk (45.5%). Some households hardly had food in the house. An average of six items was available at the time of the interview. This gives an indication that these households do not have large food stocks as they are obliged to buy small quantities of food because they do not have the resources or living conditions which permit them to purchase and store large quantities of food at home. It is evident that maize meal forms a major part of meals of these households, as in the case of the households on the farms.

Households were also asked about the kinds of food or drinks they have available in the households most of the time. Figure 4 shows the results gathered from the respondents. It appears that maize meal, tea, eggs, sugar, milk, rice and flour are foods items mostly available in households throughout the month. Furthermore, other food items available were potatoes and vegetables such as, cabbage, tomatoes, onions and spinach. The meat comprises chicken, offal and soy mince. Offal is considered a relatively cheap source of protein compared to other cuts of meat,

which they consider as delicacies. The results further show that chicken and eggs were mostly available due to the fact that the core-household on the farm regularly supplies these foods which importantly compensate the otherwise limited protein intake.



**Figure 4: Food mostly available in farm workers' extended households (N=12)**

When further asked about why these kinds of food are mostly available in the house, responses given were:

*We don't have enough money to buy other*

*They are the basic food we can afford*

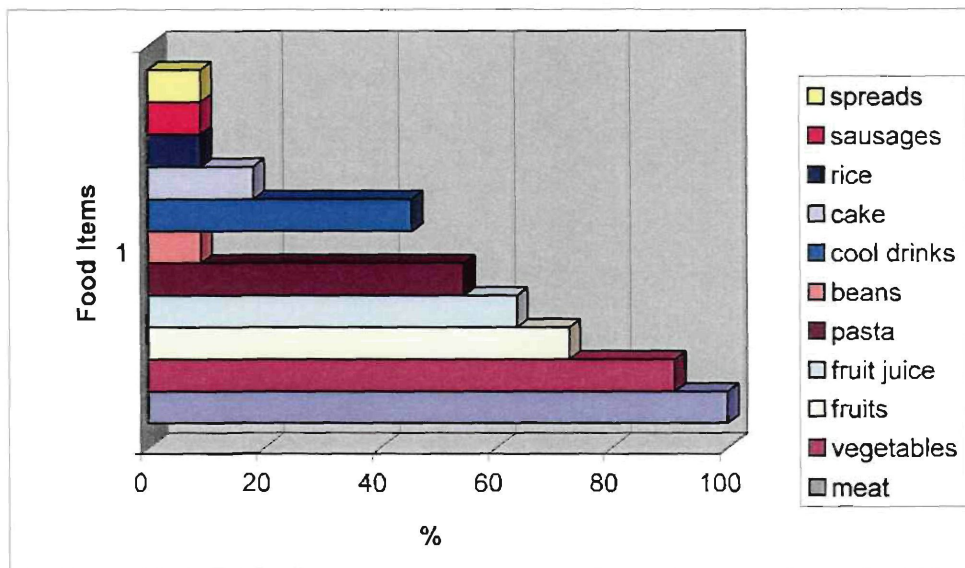
*We get them regularly from our family members on the farm*

*They can last us long (some days to the whole month)*

*We have a small garden where we can grow them*

The above responses are an indication of the food situation of households. Although one household mentioned having a garden, this household has limited food diversity. Mostly energy giving foods such as sugar, cooking oil, maize meal and flour were common. Reliance on purchased food is a leading factor in household food insecurity of these households, who lack a regular income.

When asked about the food available in the house only sometimes or seldom, it was found that beef, vegetables and fruit, soft drinks, fruit juices, pasta, spreads such as peanut butter and margarine, rice, sausages and cakes were food mentioned by the respondents (Figure 5).



**Figure 5: Food seldom available in farm workers' extended households (N=12)**

Responses given as to why these foods or drinks are sometimes or seldom in the house are as follows:

*"We do not have a refrigerator to keep them"*

*"They are expensive"*

*"They do not last for long"*

*"Shortage of money"*

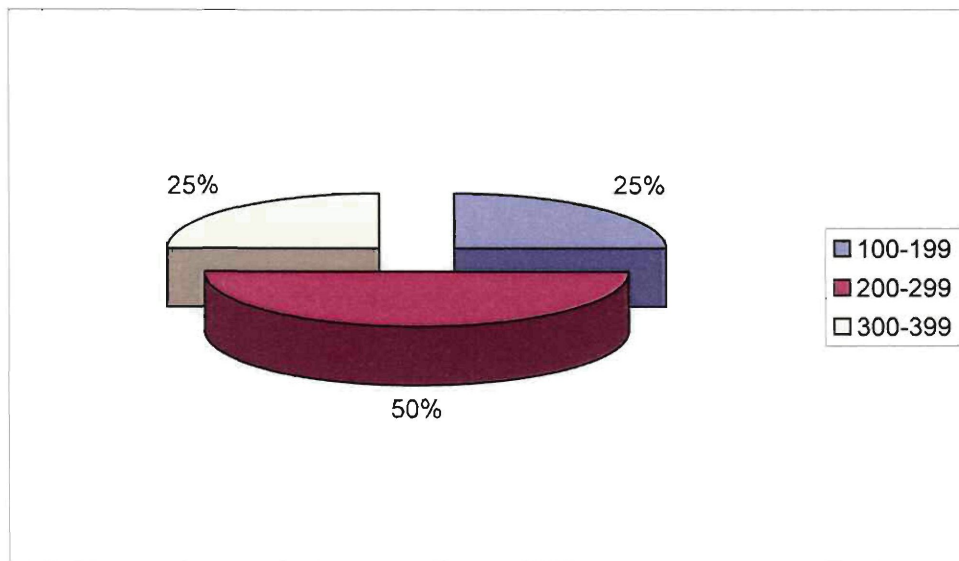
*"We can do without them. They are not so important"*

The availability of food depends on external factors such as food markets, prices and storage facilities (Adams & Vosler, 1995). The above responses are an indication that lack of storage facilities has an adverse effect on food purchases. Because most

of the households do not have refrigerators due to financial burden on “important things” such as food and clothing, it is difficult to buy such kinds of foods as they perish quickly. Furthermore, certain foods are regarded as luxurious and expensive and are therefore not bought often.

#### 4.6.3 Farm workers' household expenditure on food

Given the fact that farm workers typically earn very low wages, it is important to explore how the income is spent. Food is the most important commodity in the household. Results obtained show that respondents spend between R150 and R350 per month on food, constituting the bulk of spending. Almost twelve interviewees buy groceries for their households for less than R250 monthly (see Figure 6). On average farm workers spend R238 of their income on food. Expenditure on food is one indicator to assess nutrition security. Other expenditure is on clothes, rent, health and medication, electricity and water, furniture, education, transport, clothing accounts and for informal trade.



**Figure 6: Monthly food expenditure of farm worker households (N=16)**

Respondents felt that their income was too low to support their family members sufficiently. The amount of average monthly remittance to the extended households outside the farm is R283, which constitutes 30% of the average income. It emerged



that women on farms made decisions regarding the purchasing of food and the kind of food. According to one female interviewee, “men do not know the kinds of food needed in the households, they just provide the money for us to buy”.

As expected, households falling into lower income groups like the ones under review used most, if not all of their money, for bare necessities like food and clothing. Also a larger amount of money seemed to be spent on beer. Beer drinking on the farm under review is a problem that needs to be addressed. According to the farmer, there is despair in the way some farm workers spend their money as they spend it all on alcohol at the end of the month and are unable to work the next day.

#### **4.6.4 Social support networks and other coping strategies**

The following section attempts to assess the effect of social support networks as a coping strategy on the farm to achieve greater nutrition security. Social networks support farm workers in a variety of ways that range from ongoing help with daily living to assistance in emergencies.

The nutrition security categories of the eight households as well as the support and resource flow were used to exemplify the role social support networks play amongst these households in the context of nutrition security. Contributions such as exchange of food items, money, baby minding, clothing, to mention only a few, existed between households. The social links and economic reciprocity between households on farms are strong. People generally knew each other. It is the strength of these social networks that provides the resources required by these households for survival. Assessing the nutrition security of the eight households, one can deduce that the “nutrition insecure” households have fewer support and resource flows than the “relatively secure” households. This is seen in the number of resources flowing into these households (Table 9).

**Table 9: Support given or received according to nutrition security category (N=8)**

<b>Household Category</b>	<b>Number of persons receiving support from interviewed households</b>	<b>Number of persons living on the farm supporting interviewed households</b>	<b>Number of persons living outside the farm who support interviewed households</b>
<b>Relatively nutrition secure (n=3)</b>	25	18	14
<b>Nutrition insecure (n=5)</b>	20	16	9

Although a sample of eight households is too small to be representative, the above results show that "the relatively nutrition secure" households receive all types of contributions to a larger extent and contribute more to families living outside of the farm. This is also in line with Heumann (2006) who found that the relatively nutrition secure households have more support networks than the households which are nutrition insecure. On the other hand "the relatively insecure" households tend to have more assets than their counterparts, have several income flows such as child grants, maintenance, income from sales of goods, receive additional contribution in kind, have fewer household members and there is more food diversity. Therefore, these households can be regarded as successful in terms of the amount of contributions they receive and the assets they own.

With regard to actions taken by household members to supply food to the house in times of food shortages, eight remaining households that were not studied in the previous study by Sithole (2006) were asked questions pertaining to constrained nutrition situations: "how they cope when experiencing hunger". The coping strategies are indicated in Table 10.

**Table 10: Coping strategies used by farm worker households (N=16)**

Type of strategy	% of responses
Ask farmer for credit and food	63
Ask neighbours/friends/relatives	81
Ask family members on farm for food and money	44
Sell eggs/barter for food	32
Use own business money	13
Steal eggs from the farm	6
Piece jobs	6

Food received from relatives/friends/neighbours and asking for credit and food from the farmer were the most utilized strategies. Other strategies were utilized by fewer numbers of households, such as stealing of eggs. Some households bartered for food. The most commonly exchanged item was eggs. This is due to the fact that farm workers are given eggs every week and, therefore, are in abundance. Informal borrowing arrangements were also reported as ways to get money for food. Farm workers reported obtaining small loans from friends, neighbours, or other family members for food and for various reasons. All reported that the loans were repaid when they received their next income. None reported being charged interest.

*"We borrow money from other people and then buy food. When we get our pay, we pay this money back."*

*"When there is no food in the house I ask the farmer for food or money which I repay when I get my pay. I also eat breakfast and lunch at the farmers' house."*

*"My brother helps me when am running short of food or money."*

The importance of help from family members/relatives as a survival mechanism cannot be ignored. Farm workers received support in terms of money and food from relatives/family members. This includes relatives/family members both from the farm and outside the farm such as cousins, uncles, brothers, mother. Other coping strategies that may have been present were gathering or collecting food, selling of assets and having an additional job.

#### **4.6.5 Nutrition security status according to eight households**

Each household was assessed taking into account the categorization of nutrition security described earlier, based on responses to a series of questions about socio-economic status, household food availability and diversity, shortage of food, experience of hunger, existence of social support networks and property ownership., There are three households in the relatively nutrition secure category and five households fall into the nutrition insecure category (Table 11).

Results from the previous study done by Sithole (2006:51) show that out of the eight households investigated earlier, four households were relatively nutrition secure and four households were nutrition insecure. Based on the results of both studies, the conclusion can be drawn that out of a total of sixteen interviewees, nine are nutrition insecure.

#### **4.7 Perceptions of farm workers regarding HIV/AIDS**

##### **4.7.1 Introduction to focus group**

As mentioned in Chapter Three, focus group methodology was employed to collect information within this research paradigm. The researcher adopted Ineke Meulenberg-Buskens' "get-ten-for-the-price-of-one" way, where eight to ten respondents are chosen, set up in a circle and then the researcher would go around in the circle as a way of managing the group, ensuring that everyone speaks and ending up with the individual responses of all members of the group (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:260).

A total number of ten participants, six women and four men, were recruited to participate in the focus group. The purpose of the focus group was to assess farm workers knowledge about HIV/AIDS in order to obtain insight into farm workers' awareness of the disease and draw conclusions on the effect this could have on already destitute and poor general living and health conditions. The focus group questions (Appendix C) were based on objective four of the study (1.2.2). An overview of the purposefully sampled group members is presented in Table 12.



**Table 12: Profile of focus group**

<b>Overview</b>	
Total number of participants	10
Number of female participants	6
Number of male participants	4
Number of participants married	2
Number of participants single	8
Number of focus groups	1

In discussing the results of the focus group interview, it is necessary to conceptualize the term “knowledge”. Babbie and Mouton (2001:4-17) mention the integration of lay, scientific and meta-knowledge. This means that knowledge, also knowledge of HIV-AIDS, cannot be tested in mere factual terms or judged according to value-laden measurements such as “good” or “bad”, “high” or “low”.

Results of any knowledge study concerning HIV-AIDS will thus be relative and should at all times be contextualized. The context of this knowledge assessment is based on the fact that HIV/AIDS affects the households in a negative way as it results in serious health problems as well as food supply burdens and, therefore, rising food insecurity due to the effects of HIV/AIDS.

Within this context it was felt that only basic knowledge should be tested as it exists amongst lay farm employees as outlined in Table 12 above. The results discussed below, therefore, reflect knowledge as it was co-constructed in a focus group interview according to the specific questions posed. Knowledge is, however, also expressed in language. Bateson (1979:11) explains that language is the medium through which understanding is both formed and shifted. One cannot understand or conceptualise anything for which one has no words or language. It is through language that new meanings are generated, which result in different ways of perceiving, acting and understanding. Language is seen as the means whereby we creates meaning out of experiences and makes sense out of life. It is seen not as a representation of the world, but rather as constructing that world (Oosthuizen, 2002:90-92). The implication hereof is that one cannot merely judge the farm workers’ knowledge of HIV-AIDS on the basis of words or phrases which they expressed during the focus group interview. One needs to analyse them in terms of meaning as well.

One's understanding and experiences of oneself, as well as of the world, is furthermore informed by the position one takes in relation to one another (Frankenburg, 1993:140-150). In the context of farm labourers, the meanings attached to HIV-AIDS are co-dependent on the meanings attached to being a farm employee interacting with other colleagues within the setting of a particular focus group, which was conducted by a specific researcher. Thus, the sense of knowledge is formed by comparing how one agrees and differs from others, which in turn informs and is informed by socially constructed meanings and which affects and is affected by one's experiences of oneself and of the world (Frankenburg, 1993:140-145). Bateson (1979:20) discusses how the combination of diverse viewpoints provides depth, relevance and greater understanding - this he calls, 'double description'. The concept of 'context' allows one to achieve a holistic understanding and seems to link with 'meaning'. Without context, words and actions have no meaning at all (Bateson, 1979:24). Relationships are, therefore, reciprocally influenced by the meanings created through language (Anderson, 1997:210).

The knowledge which farm workers express in a focus group is thus words and phrases with multiple meanings which in turn cannot be divorced from the context of the farm as a whole, but also includes the relationships on the farm, such as employer-employee, couples and families. Also the informational context of mobile clinic visits, radio, TV and other sources of information would have contributed towards the knowledge and meanings communicated during the focus group interview. The implication is thus that the knowledge expressed during the research process cannot be judged purely in terms of "correct" or "incorrect" information, but should be understood in terms of "meaning in context". Researchers are thus more concerned with understanding dimensions of meaning than with technical proficiency.

#### **4.7.2 Specific themes discussed during focus group discussion**

The discussion which follows will firstly reflect the differentiated analysis of the respective questions and thereafter the compounded analysis of the focus group discussion as a whole.

##### **What is HIV?**

When participants were asked about what HIV is, the researcher expected the answer to be "a virus which affects one's immune system". Most participants

answered in the affirmative, indicating that HIV is a *“painful virus”*. The fact that they concentrated on the “pain” does not answer the question factually correctly, but it does reflect the emotions brought forth in them when talking about HIV. Furthermore, the transcripts revealed the following responses about HIV:

One respondent referred to HIV as *“a poison that slowly consumes a person from the inside and this leads to slow wasting illness”*. Another response given regarding this was that HIV is *Boswagadi*<sup>4</sup>. The above responses are an indication that farm workers have a low level of accurate knowledge about HIV. The manner in which the participants responded is understandable because farm workers belong to a poor population stratum, are least able to assess information and cannot define discourses that regulate their lives. In addition, low levels of education among farm workers contribute to the above mentioned problems.

### **How is HIV transmitted?**

On the question of how HIV is transmitted, some respondents mostly gave responses the researcher expected. Most respondents were aware of the fact that the disease spreads in a sexual network. The majority of respondents knew that sex without a condom is a means of transmission and most accepted it as a fact.

*“Unprotected sex can lead to contracting the virus. Men force us into unprotected sex and there’s nothing we can do to protect ourselves from HIV”*.

The above response brings in the issue of gender inequality, which is a central feature of a patriarchal society and is characterized by male dominance and oppression over women, whose autonomy and dignity is eroded by this oppression (Barnabus *et al.*, 2005).

*“HIV gets into people through sharing the same toothbrush, touching someone’s sweat and sharing cups and plates with an infected person. People on the farm are fond of drinking beer from the same bottle and it is no good because you never know who of us has the virus.”*

The above response reveals the misconceptions common among farm workers. This takes one back to the issue regarding lack of accessible or suitable information for

---

<sup>4</sup> Boswagadi: A period of state of mourning.



farm workers. According to research done by the IOM (2004), it was found that most farms in South Africa do not have HIV/AIDS information displayed. Importantly, the study also found that messages and opportunities for appropriate learning, education and media for engaging them in consciousness raising processes in relation to HIV/AIDS is sadly lacking.

Besides, differences were evident among female and male workers. A breakdown of responses by sex further indicates that men had less knowledge about the means of transmission.

### **What is the difference between HIV and AIDS?**

It was difficult to find out whether farm workers can differentiate between HIV and AIDS. In this case, the researcher expected the answer to be "HIV is a virus that causes AIDS, and AIDS is a fatal disease marked by severe loss of resistance to infection". Unfortunately, all the responses given do not answer the question correctly. In this case most participants associated AIDS with death and this stemmed from the fact that AIDS does not have a cure and that the respondents may have encountered the disease. Moreover, witchcraft causation emerged as a major factor in explaining the AIDS phenomenon. Their confusion may stem from incomplete knowledge about HIV/AIDS. The following points offer an illustration that participants could not differentiate between HIV and AIDS:

*"AIDS is death caused by HIV and one can contract it through unprotected sex".*

*"HIV is the beginning and AIDS is the end of everything".*

*"AIDS is the disease caused by witchcraft. People bewitch us because of jealousy".*

### **Do you know of a person with HIV/AIDS?**

When asked about whether they knew of a person with HIV/AIDS, the majority of respondents revealed that they knew of a person living with HIV/AIDS, which suggests that they have already encountered the disease. Several respondents were also able to recognize the symptoms of HIV/AIDS. Most women referred to knowing or seeing people with AIDS as an increasingly common event. They spoke of the pain they feel when someone with AIDS dies. This further explains the fact that women in general are care givers. Some of the comments made by participants include:

*"I remember my friend whose health declined drastically and I remember asking her if she was okay. She died within a short time".*

*"I have a sister who is dying of the disease. My mother told me that she was long diagnosed with the deadly virus".*

*"I have seen one here. She was a friend and told me that she was HIV positive and in two weeks she was gone".*

*"We see them on pictures and on television".*

### **How did you obtain the knowledge you have about HIV/AIDS?**

This focus group question was an effort to determine sources of HIV/AIDS information among this population group. The majority of participants reported that they hear and pick up the information through radio, TV, newspapers and at church. A few reported that they got the information from the clinic and most of them were women. This is understandable because pregnant women would be informed at the antenatal classes, and also because the mobile clinic is a "feminized" space that more women attend than men.

The researcher expected the above responses given by the participants due to the fact that farm workers under review have radios, they go to church and use the mobile clinic facility; *"We rely on radio in some cases, but largely rumor and person to person information sharing"*, said one of the participants. Based on the incorrect notion of HIV/AIDS, it must be noted, however, that farm workers may have picked up the information and have no depth of understanding.

### **Do you know of a person who has died of HIV/AIDS?**

Since most the participants had encountered the disease as shown in the previous sections, the researcher expected a "yes" response from most participants if not all. Surprisingly, half of the participants reported knowing of someone who had died of HIV/AIDS, while four reported hearing of the death of a person and finally one participant reported not knowing of someone who died of HIV/AIDS.

### **What kind of illness is HIV/AIDS related to?**

Almost all participants were able to recognize the symptoms of HIV/AIDS infections such as continuous cough, tuberculosis, fever, swelling of the body, loss of body weight, dry skin, sexually transmitted infections and body sores.

### **Can people with HIV/AIDS be treated?**

The researcher expected a “yes” answer from the respondents due to the fact that participants may have heard of the anti-retroviral treatment. Based on the misconceptions among this group about HIV/AIDS, most participants believed that HIV/AIDS could not be treated, while a minority believed it could be treated. Moreover, whenever such misconceptions were voiced, at least one other group member usually contested the assertion and then provided a more accurate explanation. The following illustrates the disagreements:

*“There is no muti<sup>5</sup> to cure HIV/AIDS, people should just accept Jesus. Jesus is the only thing that matters now. We should surrender ourselves unto him”.*

*“No ways! This disease does not have a cure. This person was taken to a traditional healer and he died”.*

Those who believed HIV/AIDS could be treated referred to the powers of prayer and of traditional healers. Specific comments made are as follows:

*“There is Kobus, the priest in Stillfontein, he prayed for her and she is now cured”.*

*“Traditional healers are able to cure HIV/AIDS, let them eat muti and they will be healed”.*

One participant believed that eating half cooked meat and vegetables such as carrots and beetroots could treat HIV/AIDS. The above misconception stems from the fact that the Minister of Health famously urges people to eat beetroot and garlic to fight off the illness. The above message adds to the climate of misinformation that surrounds the problem of AIDS in South Africa.

### **Can people living with HIV/AIDS be fully cured?**

---

<sup>5</sup> Muti: Traditional medicine

The researcher expected a “no” answer because there is no cure for the disease. The majority of participants said HIV/AIDS could be fully cured. It must be noted that this distorted or incorrect notion also stems from the wrong messages given by the leaders of this country that eating garlic and beetroot can cure HIV/AIDS. Comments made by the participants include:

*“People on ARV’s get cured especially when they take treatment as directed”.*

*“One gets fully cured when he is under a good care, like eating healthy food”.*

*“People with HIV/AIDS do not get cured because they do not have a pheko<sup>6</sup>”.*

The above messages show the mixed messages people have about the cure of HIV/AIDS.

### **What happens to people who are living with HIV?**

This focus group question was asked to determine the level of knowledge and beliefs farm workers have about HIV. The researcher expected answers such as “they live a normal life”. Contrary to what the researcher expected, participants mentioned gossip, rejection, isolation, guilt, blame, changing social life and stigmatization if people disclose their HIV status.

### **Do you think that people living and working on the farm know enough about HIV/AIDS?**

The researcher expected the participants to say “no” because some of their comments throughout the discussion indicated misinformation about the disease. Participants assumed that all people living on the farm knew enough about HIV/AIDS. When probed further, a majority of the participants responded by saying: *“They pretend not to know but they are well informed as we are. It’s only that they are ignorant”.* This indicates that farm workers are unaware about their own lack of knowledge regarding HIV/AIDS.

### **Do you think people working and living on the farm are interested to gain more knowledge about HIV/AIDS?**

---

<sup>6</sup> Pheko: A supernatural power

Because HIV/AIDS is a world known disease, the impact of which at personal, household and community level is eminent, the researcher expected a “yes” answer. Most participants mentioned that people living and working on the farm do not have the interest in gaining knowledge about HIV/AIDS. Other responses given were: *“they do not have the interest because when called for meetings such as this one, they refuse to attend. Some of them even hide”, “they want house to house campaign to drum in messages about this fatal disease”*. Participants’ responses demonstrated the importance of disseminating messages about HIV/AIDS on the farm.

### **What can be done to assist them to obtain more knowledge about HIV/AIDS?**

As anticipated by the researcher, participants provided interactive and non-interactive learning methods as suggestions. The interactive method that was mentioned by one participant involved lecturing and discussion:

*“Call meetings at work or in taverns”.*

*“Bring us a priest every Sunday when most of us are not working and preach about the disease”.*

*“An open discussion with lots of activities would help”.*

TV, radios, video cassettes, books, pamphlets were all mentioned as non-interactive ways through which participants would like to receive information.

### **In which ways can people prevent becoming HIV positive?**

Participants were limited about ideas on ways in which people can prevent becoming HIV positive, with the use of condoms being highest. The second area of common ground was abstinence which most believe was impossible. The following quote illustrates the above response: *“it is difficult to avoid sex because we are bored. There are limited or no recreational opportunities on the farm”*. Furthermore, most participants shared the same sentiments about the difficulty in having one partner because of split households: *“We are always on the way searching for jobs and wherever we go, we cultivate new sexual relationships because we live away from our partners/spouses”*.

At the end of the focus group discussion, participants expressed their desire to have more accessible health services, personal counseling and testing and HIV/AIDS education.

#### **4.7.3 Observations made during focus group discussion**

The focus group discussion ran smoothly and the environment was friendly and relaxed. There was no obvious tension during the discussion. Overall, farm workers were actively engaged in the focus group discussion. Differences were noted among genders. Female participants tended to be more open and comfortable during the discussion than male participants. They were not put off by men's presence and were not hesitant sharing concerns and opinions. However, some men and women were reserved and contributed very little to the discussion. One female participant in the group was extremely hesitant to contribute to the discussion.

Above all, participants seemed comfortable discussing issues in front of other members of the group. Although the purpose of the focus group was not education, many participants probably did learn something about the epidemic, but they were learning from each other. Unfortunately, not all the information they received was accurate, but their confusion drives home the point that farm workers urgently need information which helps to differentiate facts from fiction.

#### **4.7.4 Compounded analysis of focus group discussion**

The majority of participants in the focus group were acquainted with HIV/AIDS, some from firsthand experience, others as result of HIV/AIDS education messages presented by the media and by health workers at the clinic. Rumour and person-to-person information sharing are also sources of information on HIV/AIDS. In this study, HIV/AIDS was associated with witchcraft by a minority of the participants. One explanation may be that of the incorrect messages that are spread by the leaders of this country, along with the farm workers low literacy levels as a result of poor access to education.

Most participants were aware of sexual contact as the principle means of transmission. However, some participants were unaware of the prenatal transmission. In addition, some participants said that they believed kissing and sharing utensils was unsafe because of the transfer of the saliva or sores and cuts in the mouth. Touching an infected persons' sweat or blood was also believed to cause

transmission. It must be noted, however, that this inaccurate information about HIV/AIDS transmission occurred less frequently than more accurate statements.

Participants' general awareness of HIV/AIDS transmission, however, was extremely reflected in their knowledge of prevention. The use of condoms, abstinence and the value of monogamous relationships to prevent the spread of infection were revealed by most participants. Condoms, therefore, seemed to be a necessary prescription for HIV/AIDS prevention. Nevertheless, one participant alluded briefly to the scarcity of condoms on the farm. Research done by IOM (2004) also found that most farms do not keep condoms nor have HIV/AIDS workplace policy. Some women commented that "men" forced them into unprotected sex, therefore making them vulnerable to the disease. The women in these situations have no recourse and in fact this is generally accepted as the way things are.

Although distorted and inaccurate information and perceptions about HIV/AIDS arose in the discussion, most of the participants had a reasonably accurate understanding of HIV/AIDS. When asked what can be done to assist them to obtain more knowledge about HIV/AIDS, most of them suggested interactive and non-interactive learning methods. This is an indication that farm workers are longing for reliable and appropriately delivered information and training.

#### **4.8 The reality of work life on the farm as experienced through participant observation**

##### **4.8.1 Introduction**

As described in Strydom & Delport (2004:250), participant observation is a qualitative research procedure that studies the natural and everyday set-up in a particular community situation. In this case the researcher strives at all times towards gaining feelings and impressions and experiencing the circumstances of the real world of participants by living alongside them and by interpreting and sharing their activities.

For the purpose of this study, participant observation took place on the selected farm for this study from 15 to 19 May 2006. The researcher and the research assistant participated covertly in the world of the farm workers. They put themselves in the shoes of the farm workers to experience their situation. They committed their feelings, thoughts, and emotions to the setting. The main aim of the observation was

to gain and build relationships of trust with the farm workers and to obtain a deeper and more experienced insight into activities that the farm workers perform, which had a positive effect on successive fieldwork.

The principle findings of the observation are described in the following section.

#### **4.8.2 Working conditions**

Working conditions on this chicken farm are unhealthy, dangerous, horrendous, absolutely revolting and extreme because the chickens are kept in enclosed areas for their entire lives, crowded together with their own waste, dusts and gases collecting within confinement structure. Such conditions can subject farm workers to illnesses such as acute or chronic bronchitis, asthma, chronic airway obstruction and toxic organic or even sudden death (MacNeil, 2001), not to mention the harmful effects these conditions have on animal health. Moreover, waste drops through slatted floors and is stored in pits below which are cleaned out only twice a year. A study by MacNeil (2001) showed that manure pits can contain a variety of toxic gases, including methane, hydrogen sulphide, carbon dioxide and ammonia.

Working in chicken sheds was one of the most painful experiences as far as work is concerned. It was a "back-breaking" work. One female worker works in the entire chicken shed that contains about ten thousand chickens and each chicken lays about three eggs a day. The worker is expected to collect and sort out all the eggs laid everyday for a period of four weeks. Collection of eggs is done with the help of the conveyer belts and sometimes by hand when the conveyer belts are out of order. Workers are compelled to remain standing in uncomfortable positions throughout the process without taking breaks in between. Prolonged standing and bending, over-exertion and dehydration contribute to an increased pesticide exposure, which can cause a variety of health problems.

In the different sheds, female farm workers' daily tasks comprised collecting, sorting and packaging eggs in crates from the different sheds, removing dead chickens from the shed and weighing of chickens to make sure that chickens of the same weight were in the same shed. Cleaning, grading and packaging of eggs is done in the grading room. According to the workers, the extensive labour on the farm causes them to suffer from headaches, pain in the back and the limbs, breathing problems



and nose sensitivity. Coughing, rubbing of eyes and frequent sneezing were observed amongst the farm workers.

Although farm workers have scheduled tea and lunch breaks, they are often exposed to long working hours without being paid overtime. "We are underpaid and threatened by the farmer. We are not paid for vacation days and compelled to work on our religious holidays and on weekly vacation days without receiving the compensation dictated by law" one of the workers stated.

#### **4.8.3 Safety at the work place**

In addition to poor wages, work accidents, illness and safety at work were all issues affecting the farm workers under review. They lack the most basic elements of health and safety in the work place. Although the farm owner was concerned about the safety of workers, contrary to what the farm owner said, farm workers revealed that in case of a work accident, neither the farm owner nor the supervisor will be willing to assume responsibility. According to workers, the farm owner will neither cover the medical expenses nor pay for illness days. Knowing this from experience, many workers prefer to concentrate their efforts on figuring out how to get through a day of work without getting hurt. The farm owner, failing to provide workers with adequate personal protection equipment such as facemasks, goggles, gloves and step ladders exposed them to harsh and dangerous working conditions.

The farm owner reported that, in the past there has been a serious accident where one of the sheds under construction collapsed on workers. No one was killed, but several workers were seriously injured. In addition, farm workers were often forced to cope without clean toilets, toilet paper, soap and paper towels. Moreover, there are few places to wash hands and there is no disinfectant or soap. This positioned the workers at risk of infections. The workers reported that they are willing to suffer harsh working conditions in order to bring home bread and escape the cycles of poverty and unemployment in South Africa.

#### **4.8.4 Relationships at work**

##### **Farm worker—supervisor relationships**

Issues which emerged under employee-supervisor relationships included withholding of pay benefits, approachability, favoritism, criticism, tone of communication and friendliness. Workers valued supervisors who are approachable and who, by word or action, show that they are no more important than those they supervise. One supervisor earned much respect because he was willing to get his hands dirty and "treat himself as a working person". He was friendly, chatty towards the workers, approachable, understanding, and participated in two-way conversations. He is the one the workers looked up to when they have work related problems.

The opposite was true of supervisors who tried to build distance from the workers by humiliating or devaluing them, or by attempting to appear superior. Farm workers, especially women, were fearful of one of the supervisors and claims of brutality and subjection to racial discrimination were made. One supervisor told us that, "blacks are lazy and if you are not watching them the whole time, they will happily sit in the sun".

One black supervisor claimed he receives little respect from the women. This is quite obvious in the way they continued chatting and resting in his presence. They consider him as "one of their own" and, therefore, do not accept acts of authority from him and as a supervisor, finds it difficult to give orders and discipline "his own people". When they did not do their work as he asked them to do, he gets into trouble from above and is considered as a "failure" by the farm owner.

One of the farm owners, the daughter of the senior farmer, motivated the workers with kind and positive words and since recently also permits music to be played during work. A radio was installed in the grading room at the request of workers. Due to her initiative, she stated that she was pleased production had increased as a result, and "I like hearing them sing".

### **Co-worker relationships**

Employees resented it when co-workers do not seem to put in as much effort as they do. One employee reported that some co-workers were on the job "just for the pay cheque." It is common for individuals to overvalue their own contributions and undervalue those of others, having a perception of "doing more than everyone else". Gossip was common among workers. Stories were heard that one employee reported that co-workers were saying bad things about a supervisor out of envy. Sexual harassment was a common phenomenon. Most female workers reported that

they are subjected to sexual comments from male workers who want to take advantage of them.

#### **4.8.5 Perceptions of farm workers regarding their work**

Traditionally, the general population does not hold agricultural work in high regard. It is viewed as unpleasant and as an undesirable way to earn a living. Many people view farm work as hard, unrewarding work, necessary but unsatisfactory. Farm workers interviewed at this farm, however, do not generally share this negative view of farm work. Most of them are grateful and appreciate their work and respect their employers. Farm workers feel they need to receive higher pay, be paid fully and paid overtime. "Paid differences between workers should be better explained", said one farm worker. A worker wished the farmer could allow them to take off on weekends so that they could spend more time with the family.

#### **4.8.6 Gender relations**

It was observed that men and women are separate as far as the work on the farm is concerned. Observations made include the following:

- Men and women walk to and from work separately and stand separately at roll call,
- They work in different places and do different jobs,
- There is very little interaction in public, even between couples,
- Wages for women in this sector are below those of their male counterparts and are very low.

#### **4.8.7 Atmosphere at work and general feeling**

The work is physically demanding, skilled and the atmosphere is both relaxed and intense. There was little hierarchy visible, but more collective effort to manage the work and productivity. Workers are ready to work at the regular starting times and laughter and playing around were observed. There is a high morale, especially in the grading room. Women were seen running around, joking and laughing. Most often, humor at work is an expression of fondness and subversion. "We are just like a family here."

Farm workers frequently describe their perfect working atmosphere in these terms. Despite the fact that work is physically difficult and involves handling heavy loads, uncomfortable postures and movements, there is a feeling of togetherness, closeness, trust, friendships, support, strong ties and teamwork. The farm workers seemed committed to their work.

In conclusion, workers were friendly towards the researchers, especially towards the end of the week. The workers seemed genuinely pleased to see the researchers, especially the extra pairs of hands. Also the informal chats had with the workers were invaluable to the research. The researchers gained respect from the workers, which made further research easier and enabled more depth.

**5.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the results of the research will be discussed to determine their meaning in the context of the literature review. The discussion will concentrate on household fluidity and social support networks, household composition, kinship relationships on the farm and outside of the farm, socio-economic status of both farm workers and their extended family and assessment of the extent of nutrition security of farm workers. Finally, farm workers knowledge about HIV/AIDS will be discussed.

**5.2 Discussion of results**

Various types of household categories with different characteristics were found on the farm investigated. It was clear that household formation is different than in the past. South African households have changed due to and as a response to the political, socio-economic (Moser, 1999) and health changes (Madhavan & Schatz, 2005). Comparing the results of the previous study done by Sithole (2006), it is apparent that changes have occurred in household composition and structure. Possible explanations for this finding are issues such as permanent movements out of the farm due to loss of jobs or job dissatisfaction, illness among farm workers, partner's separation and formation of new relationships. This is confirmed by the results of Oberai (quoted by Amoateng *et al.*, 2005), who associated factors such as migration, urbanization, unstable family relationships, sexual partnerships and also poverty (Haddad *et al.*, 1997:25) with changes in household composition and structure.

In the previous apartheid era, the system of influx control and "separate development" fundamentally changed the concept of households, families and parent-child relationships (Moser, 1999). On the farm investigated, farm workers experienced fluid households. Consequently, migration to work on the farms led to elastic household boundaries where children often stay with relatives in town due to inadequate accommodation and a lack of resources, higher education and other services on the farm. Many children experience a life of residential instability because

parents are working away from home. Results of this study showed that out of the sixteen interviewees, only four live with their children on the farm. Parents living with their children on the farm believe that their children are still too young to live elsewhere. Contrary to what the parents say, Crystal (2004) reveals that children on farms are more vulnerable than children living in other areas or settings in South Africa in terms of social ills and health risks that place them at great development disadvantage. In this regard, the need for parental care is crucial for proper development of these children.

Farm workers under review are compelled to travel long distances and take care of more than one residential unit and this phenomenon makes it difficult to define a household. Therefore, the definition of Lemke (2001:109) is appropriate in this case because it is built around economic concerns, food security and also the social networks being used for economic survival and increased food security. The finding of this study that the core household, that is, the interviewed households on the farm, is connected to one or more residential units through kinship and social relationships, confirms the literature findings.

Results revealed that all interviewed households on the farm mentioned an average of two persons to whom they give support. Furthermore, farm households received support from persons who also live on the farm and from persons living outside the farm. Neighbours, friends, close kin and co-workers play an important role in support relations. This social support system functions in a mutual way. This study supports the findings by Seiling (2006) and Rance *et al.* (2005:250-270) that the family plays an important role in social support functions and, therefore, enhances financial wellbeing and prevents food insecurity. Non-kin groups such as friends, co-workers and neighbours also played an active role in some specialized support functions such as exchange of food items, money, clothing, caring for the sick, baby minding and confiding in one another.

Results further showed that family members outside of the farm provide emotional support, taking care of children, food, money, companionship and advice on important matters. The specificity of this support also defines their importance in a network structure, as does the type and quality of the relationship, among which kinship and friendship play a central role. Therefore, given the above, the researcher can deduce that social support networks help maintain households and increase financial stability and social relations. In addition, social support helps households to

cope with food shocks. Ongoing support from family and friends, even when it is not used every week or month, enhances financial wellbeing and prevents food insecurity. Moreover, qualitative research has provided some evidence that network support can aid entry into the workforce (Edin & Lein, 1997:257). Edin & Lein (1997:257) position is supported by findings of Parish *et al.* (1991:206) who observed that proximity to other working adults increased the likelihood that a young, single parent will enter the work force. Comparing the level of support between the different sexes, further analyses revealed that women played a critical role in providing various types of support to a greater extent than their male counterparts. Thus, female-headed households are likely to be more nutritionally secure than male headed households.

Assessing the relationship between social support networks and food security, the results of the study showed that social links, food flows and economic reciprocity between households on the farm and outside (extended) are strong. The results further showed that farm workers' households categorized as "relatively nutrition secure" receive all types of contributions to a larger extent and also contribute more to families living outside the farm. These findings are confirmed by Heumann (2006:103-107), who found that "relatively nutrition secure" households have more support networks than those households which are "nutrition insecure". Although there is a difference in the number of contributions and assets ownership by these groups, according to Seiling (2006), networks protect against nutrition insecurity, which is the case with the farm workers under review. Furthermore, the level of nutrition security status depends significantly on the size of the network. The more support and resource flows a household has, the more nutrition secure it becomes (Heumann, 2006:103-107).

It appeared that families with high assets or with more social capital are more successful in ensuring consumption than otherwise similar households with less social capital. The households that know and trust their neighbours may be more likely to borrow food, money or reciprocate with child-care responsibilities. These seemingly trivial favours could conceivably make a difference in terms of access to food especially for the food insecure. The above findings are in line with the findings of Antonucci (quoted in Bauman, 1998), who also discovered that groups with scarce resources are likely to expect less support than groups with greater resources. Bauman (1998) found that those who have more money are more likely to be in a

better position to reciprocate when network assistance is provided and are likely to be in contact with people who have the ability to provide assistance.

Coping strategies for food security as identified in this study were bartering for food (exchanging eggs for other food items), asking relatives, neighbours and friends for food, stealing eggs, asking for credit from the farmer, obtaining loans from friends, relatives and neighbours and using own business money. In the interviews some farm workers responded boldly that they steal eggs from the farm and see nothing wrong with it. As it is, stealing from somebody else is an alternative strategy of managing their lives as a way to cope with hunger or food shortages. There is a belief among some that without stealing or robbing people, there will be nothing to eat at home. It is evident that farm workers are dependant on credit for survival, having to ask for food and borrow money from other people and the farmer.

Assessing the socio-economic status of farm workers, an average net income of R562 per month was reported which is too low to sustain a household. The stipulated minimum wage in South Africa is R1000. Although it is considered a poor income, earning less than the amount stipulated above is an indication of serious poverty (Mohamed, 2005). Furthermore, division of labour by sex on the farm under review appears to play an important role. The sexual division of labour is still hierarchical, with men on top and women at the bottom. In this study, men earn more than women. This can be explained by the fact that men are involved in more advanced tasks like basic maintenance and handling of tractors, farming implements and other equipment, as well as the construction and maintenance of farm buildings and fences.

An interesting point to note is that out of the sixteen interviewees, four were engaged in other income generating activities as a coping mechanism. An average of R250 per month was reported by one household. According to Van Niekerk (2006:30), income generating projects in farm communities are central in targeting rural poverty given the conditions that surround the farm workers, especially women. It was also astonishing to observe that only women own these income generation businesses.

Farm workers, like their extended households, were dependent on social grants. Although the total monthly amounts of these grants are small, they nonetheless provide financial aid to desperately poor families. With regard to savings, all farm workers reported having savings with the farmer. Reports were made that some farm



workers who left the job never received the savings that were automatically deducted from their wages. This was cited as a problem.

Moreover, according to one farm worker, there were no retirement benefits for employees who have spent more than twenty years working on the farm, leaving farm workers with nothing when they retire. In addition to farm workers having savings with the farmer, eight households reported having savings at the bank, three had savings "hidden in the house or property and the remaining five had no access to a bank account or were in no possession of financial assets. Surprisingly, no reports were made about savings groups such as stockvel or burial societies which are common among Africans as they are the building blocks of people driven development processes (Moser, 1999). Findings further showed that some members of farm workers' extended households had savings such as stockvel, pension, burial and bank savings.

A study by Mohamed (2005) disputes the fact that people without regular income or with very low wages often think that they have no need for a bank account. Many of them live from hand to mouth. This is aggravated by the fact that banks in South Africa make it impossible to provide services to poor people (Mohamed, 2005). Therefore, efforts such as the introduction of low cost banking for the poor should be provided. Access to credit for the poor should also be increased significantly. The savings for a poor person may be small. However, these savings add up when the poor make up a large share of the population. Another problem with regard to people working and living on farms is the distance to town and lack of financial services in rural areas. This is an indication that poverty and unemployment are important reasons why many poor South Africans such as the farm workers under review do not have bank accounts. Comparing the above results, there is an indication that some members of farm workers' extended households are more involved in different saving opportunities than farm workers households. Furthermore, by having savings one will build a reserve for the future and eventually may use this reserve to prepare for emergencies for any situation for which one needs extra cash, improve one's financial standing such as paying outstanding bills and improve one's credit rating.

As far as property ownership is concerned, findings from the previous study by Sithole (2006:50-51) concerning property ownership of the farm workers under review shows that few households possess furniture while others hardly have any possessions. From direct observation farm worker's extended households are in

possession of a number of assets and appliances. Furthermore, most farm workers' extended households' assets such as furniture were in good shape, whereas those of farm workers are mostly dilapidated. A possible explanation for this finding is the fact that farm workers under review do not invest in furniture and appliances at the farm, but rather in their "other" houses where they spend their weekends, as houses in the townships belong to them and their families, while the houses on the farm are only temporary and belong to the farm owner.

Research shows that property ownership is an indicator for household nutrition security as it represents the state of wealth. The greater the number and value of assets a household owns, the less vulnerable they are to negative income shocks and the possibility of falling further into poverty. A study shows that home ownership improves mental and physical health lowers economic strain and decreases marital violence (Adams-Page & Vosler, 1995).

An analysis of farm worker's household expenditure patterns showed that besides rent, farm workers spent their income on food, health and medication, furniture, fees for school and kindergarten, transport, electricity and water, buying of stock, alcohol and clothing. The farmer expressed concern on the mismanagement of funds by farm workers. According to the farmer, there is a concern about the way some farm workers spent their money; they spent it all on alcohol at the end of the month and are unable to work the next day. Beer drinking on the farm was a problem that needs to be addressed. A larger expenditure on alcohol especially by lower income groups like the farm workers under review is a sign of mismanagement of funds.

The finding in this study that households spent a high percentage of their income on food is supported by McDowell *et al.* (1997:1446) who found that low-income households spend 49% of their income on food. In this study, on average, farm workers spend almost half of their income on food, which again cannot sustain them for a month. The current crisis in South Africa of rising food prices is devastating for working people. Maize meal, which is primarily used by poor households as their main food source, has become disproportionately more expensive than other basic products (Bonti-Ankomah, 2001). The impact of such price increases is always most severe for those people who are food insecure like those under review.

Farm workers faced difficult choices between food and other household expenditures. In addition, results showed that there is lack of food diversity among farm workers. An inadequate diet means that farm workers are more susceptible to infectious diseases. Low levels of food intake and low dietary diversity lead to malnutrition where one is prone to disease. From these findings, it is evident that there is nutrition insecurity on this farm. This study confirms the findings of Vorster *et al.* (2000:4), who found that food diversity is lacking amongst this group of people. Putting enough food on the table is the biggest struggle for these people.

According to Sithole (2006:49), education about the proper care of nutritional needs of children and other household members and food balancing and preparation is lacking. Her findings are in line with Steyn and Labadarios (2003), who confirmed that the preparation of special foods, especially for children, requires the necessary knowledge, skills and time. Moreover, Vorster *et al.* (2000:2-9), Phometsi (2004:70) and Labadarios (2000) confirmed the findings of food insecurity of this study that children on farms are more likely to be stunted in growth due to inadequacy of micronutrients, especially vitamin A and iron.

Assessing the food situation of farm workers' extended households, it appears that they also lack food diversity. It was observed that maize meal formed a major part of meals. There was also a high dependency on purchased foods. While one would expect households to have their own produce from a vegetable garden, the results of the study revealed that only one household mentioned having a vegetable garden, despite the fact that there is availability of space and water. Access to basic services such as infrastructure is of concern. Farm workers expressed the desire to have more accessible health services. For example, most participants mentioned that services were only available to them once in three months. Individuals indicated that it would be beneficial if services were offered at least once a week. Lack of services play a major role in the nutritional status of household members, hence immediate attention is essential as far as their health is concerned.

While awareness about HIV/AIDS and basic prevention knowledge is quite widespread, findings of this study confirmed that farm workers under review lack access to information and misconceptions about HIV/AIDS are still very alive. However, it is clear from the findings that knowledge about HIV/AIDS does not necessarily translate into safe sexual practices. The findings of this study confirm

research done by IOM (2004) that to bring about behavioural change is without doubt one of the biggest challenges in the fight against HIV/AIDS on the continent. Furthermore, poor living conditions including poor sanitation, overcrowded accommodation and often exploitative working conditions were observed as contributing factors to high risk behaviour among farm workers. Therefore, education and improvement of living conditions are crucial.

---

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

---

#### 6.1 Introduction

This research paper used the qualitative research paradigm to explore farm workers social networks and their fluid households in the context of nutrition security. HIV/AIDS was further integrated into the study as it can affect both social networks and nutrition security.

#### 6.2 Summary

The results of this study showed that socio-economic status and welfare, which is unsatisfactory affect farm workers' health, nutrition and food security. Low incomes, poor working and living conditions and inadequate health services significantly impact on the health and nutrition status of this population group. When factors like gender are taken into consideration, results showed that female farm workers are in a less privileged position than their male counterparts. Female farm workers earned lower wages and face harsher treatment and conditions than their male counterparts.

The phenomenon of domestic fluidity that is common among black South African families (Lemke, 2001) was examined among farm workers' households. Findings showed that the core household, that is the interviewed households on the farm, has links to different residential units and is connected through kinship and social relationships as illustrated in the case study (4.3.1). This has been described as the phenomenon of stretched households. Due to this fluidity, resource flows between these households cannot be ignored as the members share a common purpose or commitment despite the distance that separate them. Therefore, all the households mentioned in the case study form a household. The results further revealed insights into social support networks of farm workers' households. It was found that the role of kin is rather diffuse in supportive relations; non-kin groups such as friends and neighbours played an active role in some specialized support function. For instance, friends and neighbours specialized in the provision of small food items and were often turned to for emotional help or companionship. Close kin appeared more

important in providing all kinds of support. Notwithstanding the shifting meaning and function between friends, neighbours and kinship, it seems that the basic differences remain. One further point of note arising from the results is that farm workers used social support networks as coping strategies to mitigate food insecurity. The results further revealed that households that are nutrition secure have more personal support networks.

Concluding findings on HIV/AIDS shows that farm workers are aware of the disease and know that it is sexually transmitted. Participants demonstrated that the lack of information and motivation fuels the HIV/AIDS epidemic and, therefore, there is an urgent need for HIV/AIDS education on the farm.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

Several factors should be considered for improving future research efforts conducted with this population group.

- It is important for researchers to choose methodologies that are sensitive to the population. The use of triangulation techniques with farm workers is an effective way to conduct research because it allows opportunity for all participants to voice their concerns.
- Findings in this study highlighted the importance of building rapport, probing, using open-ended questions and letting respondents tell about their experiences in their own language. Sometimes respondents revealed answers only at the end when rapport had been built and when they felt more confident.
- In South Africa, farm worker households have been identified as vulnerable as far as food and nutrition security is concerned. Therefore, policies should be formulated in such a way that they cater for all vulnerable groups. For example, agriculture will have to respond to changing patterns of demand for food and prevent food insecurity and poverty amongst these marginalized communities (Sithole, 2006:62).
- Farmers should promote the value of home grown gardens to lower household consumption costs and to increase food diversity.
- Initiate development programmes on farms and policies should be implemented to protect farm workers' rights.

- In order to help improve the nutrition, health and food security of this population group, there is a need for nutrition education interventions. The municipal or the governing bodies need to examine the social demographic and lifestyle characteristics of this group in order to develop programs and interventions that are culturally sensitive and useful.
- Farm workers are thirsty for reliable and appropriately delivered information and training on HIV/AIDS. Therefore, the government should create media and materials in vernacular languages, which can be understood by a wide range of participants.
- Gender inequality, gender-based violence and alcohol abuse are endemic to the farm environment. Therefore, there is a need to network with gender organisations and alcohol abuse organisations to address gender inequality, especially around the ethic of care.
- Farm workers are trapped in poverty, from which it is difficult to escape. Displaying resilience and initiative, they have developed survival strategies to cope with poverty. There is still an urgent need for government intervention and concern at both the national and local level. Furthermore, farmers should promote nutritional security to promote farm productivity.

## Bibliography

ACDIS (African Centre Demographic Information System). 2000. Field-work manual. Mtubatuba. <http://www.pop.upenn.edu/africahh/africahh%5B1%5D.pdf> Date of access: 10 Jun. 2006.

ADAMS-PAGE, D. & VOSLER, N.R. 1995. Effects of homeownership on well-being among blue-collar workers. (Paper read at the Seventh International Conference of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics held in Washington, D.C. on 7-9 April 1995. Washington D.C.)

AMOATENG, A.Y., RICHTER, L.M., MAKIWANE, M. & RAMA, S. 2005. Describing the structure and needs of the families in South Africa: towards the development of a national policy framework for families. A report commissioned by the Department of Social Development. Pretoria: Child Youth and Family Development. [http://www.hrsc.ac.za/research/outputdocuments/2883\\_amoateng-describingthestructure.pdf](http://www.hrsc.ac.za/research/outputdocuments/2883_amoateng-describingthestructure.pdf) Date of access: 15 May 2006.

AMOATENG, A.Y. 2004. The South African family: continuity or change. Human Sciences Research Council. 88 p. [http://www.hrsc.ac.za/research/outputdocuments/2883\\_amoateng-describingthestructure.pdf](http://www.hrsc.ac.za/research/outputdocuments/2883_amoateng-describingthestructure.pdf) Date of access: 16 Aug. 2006.

ANDERSON, H. 1997. Conversation, language and possibilities: A post-modern approach to therapy. New York: Basic Books. 308 p.

ANON. 2006. Farm wages. <http://www.businessday.co.za/articles/weekinreview.aspx?id=bd4a162731> Date of access: 30 Sept. 2006.

ANON. 2005. Up to 45% of farm workers in South Africa HIV-positive: Agricultural production threatened. <http://www.medicalnewstoday.com/medicnews.php?newsid=21427.html> Date of access: 17 May 2006.



- ANON. 2003. Funeral spell financial suicide. *Sunday Times*: 14, 31 Aug.
- BABBIE, E. & MOUTON J. 2001. *The practice of social research*. 9<sup>th</sup> ed. Belmont: Wadsworth. 674 p.
- BAUMAN, K.J. 1998. Direct measures of poverty as indicators of economic need: evidence from the survey income and program participation. (Working paper series no. 30). Population division. Census bureau. Washington D.C. Nov. 1998.
- BARNABUS, L., BIYELA, N. CARANAGH, D., HORNBY, D., KUNENE, A. MCANYANA, N., MDLALOSE, G. MPUNGOSE, B., NDLELA, B., NENE, A. NTOMBELA, C. SOKHELA, C. TALLIS, V., THABETE, T., XABA, Z. & ZIQUBU, N. 2004. *Forgotten people: realities and rights of farm dwellers in the context of HIV/AIDS. A study with and of farm dwellers in the Kwazulu Natal Midlands*. Association for rural advancement. Kwazulu Natal. <http://www.afra.co.za> Date of access: 10 Oct. 2006.
- BATESON, G. 1979. *Mind and nature: A necessary unity*. London: Fontana. 225 p.
- BENSON, T. 2004. *Where are we and how did we get there? Africa's food and nutrition situation*. 2020 discussion paper no 37 August 2004. Washington, USA. <http://www.ifpri.org/2020/dp/dp37.html> Date of access: 4 Jul. 2006.
- BERESFORD, B. 2001. AIDS takes an economic and social toll: impact on the household and economic growth most severe in Southern Africa. *African recovery*, 15(1):1-2. <http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/vol15no1aidsg.htm> Date of access: 06 Oct. 2006.
- BLESS, C. & HIGSON-SMITH, C. 1997. *Social research methods*. Cape Town: Juta. 450 p.
- BOLLINGER, L. & STOVER, J. 1999. *The economic impact of AIDS in South Africa. The policy project*. The futures group international in collaboration with: Research

Triangle Institute (RTI). <http://www.uneca.org/adf2000/costs9.htm> Date of access: 16 Sep. 2006.

BONTI-ANKOMAH, S. 2001. Addressing food security in Africa. The national institute of economic policy. (Paper read at SARPN conference on land reform and poverty alleviation in Southern Africa in Pretoria on the 4 and 5 June 2001. Pretoria. p. 1-18.)

BOOYSEN, F.E.L., BANHMANN, M., VAN RENSBURG, H.C.J., ENGELBRECHT, M., STEYN, F. & MEYER, K. 2002. The socio-economic impact of HIV/AIDS on households in South Africa: pilot study in Qwaqwa and Welkom, Free State Province. <http://www.mrc.ac.za/aids/march2002/economic.htm> Date of access: 03 Oct. 2006.

BOSTWICK, G.J. & KYTE, N.S. 1981. Social work research and evaluation. Itasca, IL: Peacock. 556 p.

BOWLING, A. FARQUHAR, M. & BROWNE, P. 1991. Life satisfaction and associations with social networks and support variable in three samples of elderly people. *International journal of geriatric psychiatry*, 6:549-566.

CRESWELL, J.W. 1998. Research design: qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thousand Oaks: Sage. 268 p.

CRYSTAL, P. 2004. Conditions on farms. A draft paper - desktop study. Unit for Social Research. Cape Town: Directorate research and population development.

DENZIN, N.K. & LINCOLN, Y.S. 2000. Handbook of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks: Sage. 473 p.

DENZIN, N.K. 1989. Interpretive Interactionism. Thousand Oaks: Sage. 512 p.

DE VISSER & LE ROUX, T. 1996. The experience of teenage pregnancy in Knoppies-laagte. *South African journal of sociology*, 27(3):98-106. Available: Ebscohost Date of access: 23 May 2007.

EDIN, K. & LEIN, L. 1997. Work, welfare, and single mothers' economic survival strategies. *American sociological review*, 62(2):253-266. Available: JSTOR Date of access: 14 Aug. 2006.

FAO (Food and agricultural organization). 2004. HIV/AIDS and the food crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa. 23rd session. Johannesburg, South Africa. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/meeting/oo7j1418e.html> Date of access: 14 September 2006.

FAO (Food and agricultural organization). 2002. The undernourished in the developing world: comparison with world food summit Rome. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/006/y4525e/y4525e04.html> Date of access: 14 September 2006.

FAO (Food and agricultural organization). 1996. Rome declaration on world food security and world food security plan of action. Rome. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/006/y4525e/y4525e04.html> Date of access: 14 September 2006.

FRANKENBURG, R. 1993. White woman, race matters: the social construction of whiteness. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. 340 p.

GELDERBLOM, D. & KOK, P. 1994. Urbanization: South Africa's challenge. *Social dynamics*, 2:62-84. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council. <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1813-6982.1995.tb00230.x> Date of access: 16 May 2006.

GERTLER, P., LEVINE, D.I. & MORETTI, E. 2006. Is social capital the capital for the poor? The role of the family and community in helping secure living standards

against health shocks. *Economic studies*, 52(3):455-499. [www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2257.2005.00267](http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2257.2005.00267) Date of access: 14 Dec. 2006.

GREEN, J. & GORDIN, J. 2006. "Zuma showered to reduce HIV/AIDS". IOL:1, 5 Apr. 2006. <http://www.iol.co.za> Date of access: 03 Oct 2006.

GROOTAERTS, C. 1999. Social capital, household welfare and poverty in Indonesia. World Bank working paper 2148. <http://www.worldbank.org/htmldec/publications/workingpapers/wps2000series/wps2148/pdf> Date of access: 15 Oct. 2006.

GROSS, R.H., SCHOENEBERGER, H., PFEIFER, H., & PREUSS, HJ. 2000. Four dimensions of food and nutrition security: definitions and concepts. SCN NEWS/United Nations, Administrative Committee on Coordination, Sub-Committee on Nutrition, No 20: 20-25.

GUBA, E.G., LINCOLN, Y.S. 1985. *Effective evaluation: Improving the usefulness of evaluation results through responses and naturalistic approaches*. Pub Jossey Bass. 424 p.

HADDAD, L. J., HODDINOTT, J. & ALDERMAN H. 1997. *Intra household resource allocation in developing countries - Models, methods, and policy*. IFPRI, London: 692 p.

HANKS, D. 1993. South African migration and the effects on the family. *Marriage and family review*, 19:175-192. <http://www.haworthpress.com> Date of access: 24 May 2006.

HEUMANN, N. 2006. *Nutrition security of black South African farm worker households – A qualitative empirical study from a micro social perspective*. Jena: Friedrich – Schiller – Universitet Jena. (Dissertation - M.Sc.) 140 p.

HIGSON-SMITH, C. 2002. Families and social networks. Pretoria. Human Sciences Research Council. <http://www.hrscpress.ac.za> Date of access: 24 Jul. 2006.

HOSEGOOD, V., & TIMAEUS, I.M. 2005. Household composition and dynamics in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa: mirroring social reality in longitudinal data collection. (In Van der Walle, E., ed. African Households, Census data, p 58-77. New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc.)

HOSEGOOD, V. & MCGRATH, N. 2004. The impact of adult mortality on household dissolution and migration in rural South Africa. *AIDS*, 18(11).

HTF (Hunger Task Force). 2003. Halving hunger by 2015: A framework for action. Interim report of the millennium project. New York. United Nations Development programme (UNDP). [http://www.ifpri.org/2020/dp/dp37/dp37\\_refpdf](http://www.ifpri.org/2020/dp/dp37/dp37_refpdf). Date of access: 30 Nov. 2006.

IOM (International Organisation for Migration). 2004. HIV/AIDS vulnerability among farm workers. Pretoria. <http://www.iom.org.za>. Date of access: 4 Apr. 2006.

KNODEL, J. 1993. The design and analysis of focus group studies: a practical approach (In Morgan, D., ed. Successful focus groups: advancing the state of the art. Newbury Park, California: Sage. p. 250.)

KRUEGER, R.A. & CASEY, M.A. 2000. A practical guide for applied research. Thousand Oaks: Sage. 139 p.

KRUEGER, R.A. & KING, J.A. 1998. Involving community members in focus group. Thousand Oaks: Sage. 140 p.

KRUEGER, R.A. 1994. Focus groups: practical guide to applied research. Thousand Oaks: Sage. 93 p.

KRUGER, A., LEMKE, S., PHOMETSI, M., VAN'T RIET, H., PIENAAR, A.E., & KOTZÉ, G. 2006. Poverty and household food security of black South African farm dwellers: The Legacy of Social Inequalities. *Public health nutrition*, 9(7):830-836.

KRUGER, J. 1998. From single parents to poor children: refocusing South Africa's transfers to poor households with children. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch. <http://www.issa.int/pdf/jeru98/theme1/1-1d.pdf> Date of access: 18 Sept. 2006.

LABADARIOS, D., STEYN, N.P., MAUNDER, E., MACINTYRE, U. E., SWART, R., GERICKE, G., HUSKINSSON, J., DANNHAUSER, A., VORSTER, H.H., & NESAMVUNI, A.E. 2000. The national food consumption survey (NFCS) Department of Health 1999. 21(1): Nutrition. Pretoria, S.A, January 3-4. <http://www.sahealthinfo.org/nutrition.module/nfc/chapetr2methology> Date of access: 21 Jun. 2006.

LEE, R. P., DANCHING, R. & LAI, G. 2005. Social structure and social support networks in Beijing and Hong Kong. *Social networks* (27):249-274. <http://www.elsevier.com> Date of access: 12 May 2006.

LEEDY, P. D. 2001. Practical research: planning and design. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New Jersey: Merrill Prentice Hall. 269 p.

LEMKE, S. 2005. Nutrition Security, Livelihoods and HIV/AIDS: Implications for Research among Farm Worker Households in South Africa. *Public health nutrition*, 8(7):844-852.

LEMKE, S. 2001. Food and nutrition security in black South African households: creative ways of coping and survival. Munich: Centre of Life Sciences, Technical University Munich-Weihenstephan (Germany). (Thesis - PhD) 310 p.

LEONHAUSER, I – U., LEMKE, S., HEUMANN, N., MATENGE, S.T., VORSTER, H.H., & KRUGER, A. 2006. Nutrition security, livelihoods and HIV/AIDS of black South African farm workers – qualitative social research from the household and gender perspective. <http://www.uni-giessen.de/zeu/English/section2.html> Date of access: 10 Jun. 2006.

LOFLAND, J. & LOFLAND, L.H. 1995. *Analysing social settings: a guide to qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. 430 p.

LONDON, L., NELL, V., THOMPSON, M.L., & MYERS, J.F. 1998. Health status among farm workers in the Western Cape: collateral evidence from a study of occupational hazards. Available: Pub Med Date of access: 24 May 2006.

MACNEIL, K. 2001. Risk assessment: use of flammable, explosive and toxic gases. <http://www.chm.bris.ac.uk/safety/exgas.htm> Date of access: 26 May 2006.

MADHAVAN, S. & SHATZ, E. 2005. Household structural and compositional change in Agricutort Sub-District: the role of HIV/AIDS. 1992-2003. POP2005-09, PAC 2005-07. CU Institute of Behavioral Science Population Program & Population Aging Center Working Paper. <Http://www.agingaidsnet.psc.isr.umich.edu/pubs/> - 22k. Date of access: 26 June 2006.

MAFORAH, N.F. 1987. The changing role of the black family and its adaptation to present needs. *Social work*, 23:262-268. Available: Blackwell-Synergy Date of access: 25 Aug. 2006.

MARJOLEIN, H. 2000. "How can a virus cause syndrome? Ask Mbeki". *Iclinic*: Sept 2000. <http://www.aegis.com/news/woza/2000/ic000906.html> Date of access: 03 Oct. 2006.

MCDOWELL, D.R., ALLEN-SMITH, J.E. & MCLEAN-MEYINSSE, P.E. 1997. Food expenditures and socioeconomic characteristics: focus on income class. *American journal of agricultural economics*, 79(5):1444-1451.

MCLYOD, V. 1990. The impact of economic hardships on black families and children: physiological distress, parenting and socio-emotional development. *Children development*, 61:311-346.

MOHAMED, S. 2005. The poor need banks for saving and credit. *Engineering news*: 11 Nov.

MOSER, C. 1999. Violence and poverty in South Africa: the impact on households relations and social capital. Washington D.C: World Bank. [http://www.wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/1B/2000/11/17/000094946\\_911240531003](http://www.wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/1B/2000/11/17/000094946_911240531003) Date of access: 18 May 2006.

MOSER, C. & HOLLAND, J. 1997. Urban poverty and violence in Jamaica. Washington D.C: World Bank. 56 p.

MULLER, J.H. 1995 Care of the dying by physicians in training: an example of Participant Observation Research. *Research on aging*, 17(1):65-68.p. Available: Sage pub Date of access: 18 May 2006.

MURRAY, C. 1981. Families divided: the impact of migrant labour in Lesotho. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 219 p.

NACA (National AIDS Coordinating Agency). 2002. Botswana 2002 second generation: a technical report. 50 p. Gaborone: Ministry of State President. UNAIDS, ACHAP, BOTUSA, AIDS/STD unit. Bohapa.

NCFWH (National Centre for Farm Worker Health). 2006. HIV/AIDS and the migrant farm worker. <http://www.ncfh.org> Date of access: 4 Apr. 2006.

OOSTHUIZEN, P. 2002. The ideological purposiveness of the social construction of black and white in the New South Africa: An evolving therapist's exploration. Johannesburg: RAU. (Dissertation - M.Sc.) 150 p.

PALLONI, A., MASSEY, D.S., CEBALLOS, M., ESPINOSA, K. & SPITTEL, M. 2001. Social capital and international migration. *The American journal of sociology*, 106:1262-1276.



PARISH, W.L., HAO, L. & HOGAN, D.P. 1991. Family support networks, welfare, and work among young Mothers. *Journal of marriage and the family*, 53:203-215. <http://www.jstor.org/view/00222445/ap020111/02a00160/0> Date of access: 24 Feb. 2007.

PASHA, H.A. & LODHI, A. 1994. Determinants of household formation in third world setting. *Urban studies*, 31:947-957.

PHOMETSI, M. 2004. The development of nutrition knowledge and good dietary practices among farm workers. Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO (Dissertation - M.Sc.) 120 p.

POPENOE, D. 1993. American family decline: a review and appraisal. *Journal of marriage and family*, 55: 542-555. Available: [jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org) Date of access: 10 July 2006.

PUTMAN, R.D. 2000. *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 540 p.

PUTMAN, R.D. 1993. *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princetown: Princetown University Press. 258 p.

PUTMAN, R.D. 1992. The prosperous community. *The American prospect*, 13:135-142.

RAMPHELE, M. 1993. *A bed called home: life in the migrant labour hostels of Cape Town*. Cape Town: David Phillip. 152 p.

RANCE, P.L., LEE, L., DANHING, R. & GINA, L. 2005. Social support networks in Beijing and Hong Kong. *Social networks*, 27:249-274. <http://www.elsevier.com/locate/socnet> Date of access: 15 May 2006.

ROGERSON, C.M. 1989. Managing the decolonizing city in Southern African. *South African geographical journal*, 71:201-208.

SA DOL (South African Department of Labour). 2003. Determination of employment conditions in South African agriculture. Pretoria. <http://www.labour.gov.za> Date of access: 15 May 2006.

SAHRC (South African Human Rights Commission). 2003. Final report on the inquiry into human rights violations in farming communities. Johannesburg. 288 p. [www.sahrc.org.za/sahrc\\_cms/downloads/Reports%20by%20the%20SAHRC.pdf](http://www.sahrc.org.za/sahrc_cms/downloads/Reports%20by%20the%20SAHRC.pdf) Date of access: 15 May 2006.

SEILING, S.B. 2006. Social support among rural low income mothers: evidence from the rural families speak project. Ohio State University. [http://fsos.chehd.umn.edu/img/assets/1650/April\\_socialsupport\\_researchbrief.pdf](http://fsos.chehd.umn.edu/img/assets/1650/April_socialsupport_researchbrief.pdf) Date of access: 26 May 2006.

SHENTON, K. A. 2004. Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for information*, 22:63-75. [http://www.angelfire.com/theforce/shu\\_cohort\\_viii/images/trustworthypaper.pdf](http://www.angelfire.com/theforce/shu_cohort_viii/images/trustworthypaper.pdf) Date of access: 16 Aug. 2006.

SHEPPARD, M. 1995. Social work, social sciences and practice. *British journal of social science*: 265-275.

SITHOLE, T.S. 2006. Nutrition security of farm workers in the North West Province, South Africa. Potchefstroom: North West University. (Dissertation - M.Sc.) 76 p.

SONOP HIV/AIDS Project. 2003. Madibeng Centre for Research in Collaboration with Department of Family Medicine (Division of Rural Health of University of Witwatersrand), Johannesburg.

SMITH, R. 2001. The impact of labour migration on African families in South Africa. Yesterday and today. *Journal of cooperative family studies*, 32:44-58.

SPIEGEL, A.D, WATSON. V., & WILKINSON, P. 1996. Domestic fluidity among some African households in greater Cape Town. *Social dynamics*, 22(1):7-30

SPIEGEL, A.D. 1986. The fluidity of households composition in Matatiele, Transkei: a methodology problem. *African studies*, 45:17-35.

STATS SA (Statistics South Africa). 2006. HIV/AIDS. <http://www.avert.org/safricastats.htm> Date of access: 31 Aug. 2006.

STEINBERG, M., JOHNSON, S., SCHIERHOUT, G. & NDEGWA, D. 2002. Hitting home: how households cope with the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Washington DC: Henry J. Kaizer family foundation. [http://www.unaids.org/bangkok2004/GAR2004\\_hm/GAR2004\\_33-en.htm](http://www.unaids.org/bangkok2004/GAR2004_hm/GAR2004_33-en.htm) Date of access: 14 Sep. 2006.

STEYN, N.P. & LABADARIOS, D. 2003. Nutrition Policy Implementation, Chronic Diseases of life style unit, .Medical Research Council. Department of Human Nutrition. University of Stellenbosch. Cape Town. <http://www.hst.org.za/uploads/files/chapter17.pdf> Date of access: 26 Nov. 2006.

STRYDOM, H. & DELPORT, C.L.M. 2004. Research at grass roots – for social sciences and human service professions. (In DE VOS A.S. ed. Research at grass roots for the social sciences and human service professions. 2<sup>nd</sup> eds. Pretoria: Van Schaik. 493 p. )

SURPLUS PEOPLE'S PROJECT. 1983. Forced removal in South Africa: the Western Cape, Northern Cape and Orange Free State: Cape Town: Surplus People's Project.

TOWNSEND, N.W. 1997. Men and migration and households in Botswana: an exploration of connection over time and space. *Journal of Southern African studies*, 23(3):405-420.

TURNER, R.J. & TURNER, J.B. 1999. Social intergration and support. Handbook of the sociology of mental health. p 301-319. <http://www.russellsage.org/publications/workingpapers/the%20contribution/%20social> Date of access: 18 May 2006.

UNAIDS (United Nations AIDS). 2006a. Report on the global AIDS epidemic. Annex 2: HIV/AIDS estimates and data. 2005. [http://www.unaids.org/pub/GlobalReport/2006\\_GR\\_CH04\\_en.pdf](http://www.unaids.org/pub/GlobalReport/2006_GR_CH04_en.pdf) Date of access: 05. Sep. 2006.

UNAIDS (United Nations AIDS). 2006b. Report on the global AIDS epidemic. Chapter 4: the impact of AIDS on people and societies. [http://www.dataunaid.org/en/HIV\\_data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp](http://www.dataunaid.org/en/HIV_data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp) Date of access: 5 Sept. 2006.

VAN DER WAAL, C.S. 1996. Rural children and residential instability in the Northern Province of South Africa. *Social dynamics*, 22(1): 31-34.

VAN NIEKERK, L. 2006. Women' income-generating activities in a disadvantaged farm community: towards sustainability. North West University: Potchefstroom Campus. (Dissertation – M.Sc.) 144 p.

VILJOEN, S. 1994. Strengths and weakness in the family life of black South African's. Pretoria: HSRC. 640 p. <http://www.hrsc.ac.za> Date of access: 24 Jul. 2006.

VON BRAUN, J. 1999. Food Security – A Conceptual Basis. (*In* Kracht, U. & Schulz, M., eds. Food security and nutrition. The Global Challenge. New York: St. Martin's. p. 41-53. )

VORSTER, H.H., WISSING, M., VENTER, C.S., KRUGER, A., MALAN, J.H., DE RIDDER, J.H., VELDMAN, F.J., STEYN, B.M., MARGETTS, B. M. & MACINTYRE, U.E. 2000. The impact of urbanization on physical, physiological and mental health

of Africans in the North West province of South Africa: The THUSA study. *South African journal of science*, 96:1-10.

WELLMAN, B. & WORTLEY, S. 1990. Different strokes from different folks. *The American journal of sociology*. 558-588.  
<http://www.jstor.org/view/00029602/dm992718/99p0157r/0> Date of access: 07 May 2007.

WILSON, F. & RAMPHELE, M. 1989. Uprooting poverty: the South African challenge: Cape Town: David Phillips. 400 p.

YABIKU, S., MASSEY, D.S., CEBALLOS, M., ESPINOSA, K. & SPITTEL, M. 1999. Family integration and children's self esteem. *American journal of sociology*, 104: 1494-1524.

YOUNG, L. & ANSELL, N., 2003. Fluid households, complex families: the impact of children's migration as a response to HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa. *The professional geographer*, 55(4): 464-476.  
[http://www.vulnerabilitynet.org/OPMS/view.php?site=seiproject&bn=seiproject\\_hotel&key=1140130312-7k](http://www.vulnerabilitynet.org/OPMS/view.php?site=seiproject&bn=seiproject_hotel&key=1140130312-7k) Date of access: 4 May 2006.

ZIKMUND, W. 1997. Business research methods. Belmont, C.A.: Wadsworth. 350 p.

# **APPENDIX A**

## **PHASE 1 INTERVIEW ENGLISH AND SETSWANA VERSIONS**

Interview number:	
Name:	
Place:	
Address:	
Date:	

**Section 1 (core household, H1)**

**1. Who is living together with you in this house? Is the situation still the same as when Sophie was here? Any changes?**

(a) member	(b) relationship	(c) age

**Other comments:**

--

**2. May I ask how much money you get per month?**

--

**3. Do you have any other source of income? (e.g. formal work, grants, piece jobs, selling and trading or any other informal business)**

--

**4. What do you spend the money on? (e.g. toiletry, rent, food, remittances)**

--

**5. Does any other household member earn / get money? (Follow-up: Anyone else?)**

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes':

**5. (a) May I ask how much this person gets?**

--

**5. (b) May I ask how the other person spends the money?**

--

6. May I ask, do you have any savings?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes'

6. (a) Where do you have your savings? (bank, house, savings group etc.)

--

7. Is there anybody else having savings?

--

Section 2: Other relatives living on the farm (extended *household*, H2)

8. Are other members of your family living on this farm? Is the situation still the same as when Sophie was here? Any changes?

(a) member	(b) relationship

9. Does it happen that you visit each other?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes'

9. (a) How often do you visit each other? (*daily, once a week, twice a month, etc.*)

--

10. Are other persons visiting you or are you visiting someone else?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes'

10. (a) How often do you visit each other? (*daily, once a week, twice a month, etc.*)

--

11. Does it happen that you eat together?

Yes	1	
No	2	



If 'yes'

11. (a) How often do you eat together? (*daily, once a week, twice a month, etc.*)

--

12. Are there other things you do together? (*going to church, going home*)

--

13. Have you ever helped each other? (*e.g. with food, money, care of children or sick persons, funerals, wedding etc.*)

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes':

13. (a) How often does it usually happen?

--

14. If you have any problem, would you share it with any of these persons?

--

15. Is there anybody else you will go to when you need something?

--

**Section 3: relatives living outside the farm (*extended household, H3*)**  
(*refer to Sophie's table*)

Note: If the partner lives in town repeat question 5.

16. How often do you visit them?

--

17. Is there anybody else you visit? (*apart from the one's above*)

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes'

17.(b). How often do you visit them? (*daily, once a week, twice a month, etc.*)

--

18. Do you normally take something with you when you visit them?  
(*e.g. money, food, other*).

--

19. When you visit them, do you do shopping together?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes'

19. (a) Do you share these groceries?

--

20. Does it happen that your family members visit you?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes'

20. (a) How often do they visit you? (*daily, once a week, twice a month, etc.*)

--

20. (b) Do they normally bring something with them?

--

If 'yes'

20.(c) How often does this happen? (*daily, once a week, twice a month, etc.*)

--

21. Is there anyone else outside of the farm that you could go to if you need anything or have problems?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes'

21. (a) What is your relationship with that person?

--

#### Section 4 – why people stay on the farm

Am interested in knowing why you stay / work on the farm?

22. What made you decide to work here?

--

23. Have other family members / friends worked here before?

--

24. Would you prefer to live somewhere else? (*town, village, etc*)

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes':

24. (a) Where?

--

24. (b) Why?

24. (c) What makes you think like that?

25. Do you have any future plans? (e.g. with life, your work, etc)

26. What do you wish for your children?

27. How do you see your life in the future? (better / worse / same)

**Section 5 – nutrition security**

28. What kind of food do you have in your house at this moment?

29. Are you worried that there will be no food for the next day?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes':

29. (a) What makes you worry?

30. Are there sometimes problems to get food or certain kinds of food?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes'

30. (a) What are the problems?

31. Do you feel that there is sometimes not enough food for your children / the children in this household?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes':

31. (a) Can you say how often or usually when this happens?

32. Does it sometimes happen that you go without food? (e.g. go hungry to bed)

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes':

32 (a). Can you say how often or usually when this happens?

33. Do you think your children in this household should get certain kinds of food or something to drink more often?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If yes:

33. (a) Can you say what kinds of food or something to drink? (*follow up: why?*)

34. Are these foods or something to drink that you would prefer to eat more often?

Yes	1	x
No	2	

If 'yes':

35. (a) What kinds of food? (*follow up: why?*)

36. If you have problems getting food, what will you do first of all to solve this problem?

37. Who are the people you can go to if you are hungry and if you don't have food?

<b>Interview number:</b>	
<b>Name:</b>	
<b>Place:</b>	
<b>Address:</b>	
<b>Date:</b>	

**Section 1 (core household, H1)**

**1. Ke mang yo o dulang le wena mo ntlong? A botshelo jwa mo ntlong bo ntse bo tswana fa e sale Sophie a le mo? A go nale di diphetogo?**

<b>(a) leloko</b>	<b>(b) kgolagano</b>	<b>(c) dingwaga</b>

**dikakgelo:**

--

**2 A nka botsa ore o amogela tshelete e e kanakang ka kgwedi?**

--

**3 A onale dingwe dilo tse o di dirang gape go bona chelete? ( jaaka mosebetsi o o siameng, digranta, ditiro tsa nakwana, go rekisa kgotsa sengwe le sengwe sa kgwebo)**

--

**4. O dirisa tshelete mo go eng? ( jaaka dilo tsa go tlhapa, rent, dijo kgotsa go tlhokomela go sele)**

--

**5. A go nale mongwe mo lwapeng yo o kereyang tshelete? ( mongwe gape?)**

<b>eya</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>Nyaya</b>	<b>2</b>	

Fa a le teng,

5. (a) A nka botsa gore o kereya bo kae?

--

5. (b) A nka botsa gore mongwe o o dirisa tshelete mo kae?

--

6. A nka botsa gore a o ipeela chelete?

eya	1	
nyaya	2	

Fa gontse jalo

6. (a) Ke kae ko o ipeelang tshelete (a ke ko bankeng, mo ntlong, motshelong, jalo jalo)

--

7. A gonale mongwe gape yoo ipeelang tshelete?

--

**Section 2: Masika a nnang mo polasing (extended household, H2)**

8. A gonale bangwe ba masika baba dulang mo polasing e? A botshelo bo ntse bo tshwana jaaka fa Sophie a ne a le fa? A go nale di diphetogo?

(a) leloko	(b) kgolagano

9. Ago a kgonagala go re le etelane? Fa gontse jalo

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa go le yalo

9. (a) Lo etelana ga kae? ( ga ngwe ka beke, ka letsatsi, ga bedi ka beke, ga ngwefela ka jara)

10 A gonale bangwe ba ba go etelang kgotsa ba o ba etelang?

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa go ntse jalo

10. (a) Lo etelana ga kae? ( nako tlhe, gangwe kgotsa ga bedi ka beke, gangwe ka kgwedi)

11 A go a diragala go re le je mmogo?

Eya	1	
nnyaa	2	

Fa gontse jalo,

11. (a) Lo ja mmogo ga kae? ( nako tsotlhe, gangwe kgotsa ga bedi ka beke)

12. A go nale dilo / dingwe tse lo di dirang mmogo? ( jaaka go yak o kerekeng, gae, jalo jalo)

13. A lo e tle le thusane? ( jaaka ka dijo, tshelete, go tlhokomelana bana, balwetse, dintsho, manyalo, jalo jalo)

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa go le yalo

13. (a) Go dirafala ga kae?

14. Fa o nale mathata, a o ka bolelela mongwe wa batho ba?

15. A go nale mongwe yo o ka yang go ene fa o tlhoka sengwe?

**Section 3: Masika a nnang kwa ntle ga polase (extended household, H3)  
(refer to Sophie's table)**

**!Note: fa rre a dula kwa toropong boelela potso 5.**

16. Lo etelana ga kae?

17. a go nale mongwe ga pe yo o moetelang? ( eseng ba o ba buileng fa go dimo)

Eya	1	
Nnya	2	

Fa go le yalo,

17.(b). lo etelana ga kae? (ga ngwe kgotsa ga bedi ka beke, gangwe ka kgwedi.)

18. A o tsamaya o tshotse kotsa o tsere sengwe fa o ba etela? ( madi, dijo, lets dingwe)

19. Fa o ba etela, a lo ya go reka lotlhe?

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa gontse yalo,

19. (a) a lo kgaogana dilwana tse lo di rekileng?

20. a go a dirafala gore ba gaeno ba go etele?

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa go le jalo

20. (a) Ba go etela ga kafe? ( gangwe ka bedi, gangwe kgotsa ga bedi mo kgweding, gangwe ka ngwaga)



20. (b) A ba tla ba tshotse sengwe fa ba tla? Fa go ntse jalo

Fa gontse jalo

20.(c) Go dirafala ga kae? ( gangwe ka beke, gangwe kgotsa ga bedi ka kgwedi, nako tsotlhe)

21. A o nale mongwe mo fameng yo o ka yang go ena fa o nale mathata kgotsa o tlhoka thuso? Fa go ntse jalo

Yes	1	
No	2	

Fa go le jalo'

21. (a) o tsalana jang le motho yona?

Section 4 – keng batho banna mo polaseng (why people stay on the farm)

*Ke batla go itse, go reng o dula kgotsa o bereka mo polasing e?*

22. Ke ng se se dirileng go re o bereke fa?

23. A go nale ba masika kgotsa di tsala tse di kileng tsa bereka fa?

24. A o ka batla go dula go sele e seng fa? ( toropo, legae, jalo jalo)

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa gontse jalo,

24. (a) Kae?

24. (b) Kagoreng?

24. (c) Ke ng se se dirang gore o akanye jalo?

25. A go nale dilo tseo batlang go di dira ngwana tse di tlang? ( jaaka ka tiro ya gago, botshelo , jalo jalo)

26. O ratela bana bag ago eng?

27. O bona botshelo jwa gago bo ntse jang ngwaga tse di tlang? ( bo siame, kgotsa bo le botoka kgotsa bo farafaretswe ke mathata)

### Section 5 – nutrition security

28. Ke mofuta o fe wa dijo yo o nang le one mo ntlong ya gago mo nakong e?

29. A o etle o tshwenyega gore dijo di tla bo di seo tsatsi le le latelang?

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa go le yalo'

29. (a) Keng se se dirang gore o tshwenyega?

30. A go nale mathata a dirang gore o seka wa amogela kgotsa wa nna le dijo kgotsa di jo tsa mofuta o mongwe?

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa go le yalo'

30. (a) Bolela gore matshwenyego ke eng

31. A go etle go dirafale gore bana ba sebone dijo tse di lekaneng?

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa go le yalo,

31. (a) Go dirafala leng le leng?

--

32. A go etle go dirafale gore o lale ka tlala?

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa go le yalo,

32 (a). Bolela gore go dirafala leng le leng

--

33. A o nagana gore bana ba gago kgotsa ba mo lwapeng ba tshwanetse go ja dijo kgotsa go nwa dino tsa mefuta e mengwe gantsi, go feta tse dingwe?

Eya	1	
Nnyaa	2	

Fa go le yalo,

33. (a) Ke dino kgotsa dijo dif e? (*follow up: why?*)

--

34. Ke dife dijo kgotsa dino tse o ka di itlhophelang go dija go feta tse dingwe? (*follow up: why?*)

--

36. Fa o nale mathat a go bona dijo, o ka dira eng pele gore o bone dijo? (*follow up: is there anywhere else you could go?*)

--

37. Fe bafe batho ba o kayang go bone fa o tshwere ke tlala?

--

## **APPENDIX B**

### **PHASE 2 INTERVIEW ENGLISH AND SETSWANA VERSIONS**

**PHASE 2 INTERVIEWS: Extended Households (English)**

<b>Interview number:</b>	
<b>Name:</b>	
<b>Place:</b>	
<b>Address:</b>	
<b>Date:</b>	

**1. Who's living together with you in this house?**

<b>(a) member</b>	<b>(b) relationship (to core household)</b>	<b>(c) age</b>

(If not related by kinship :)

**2. How long have you known each other?( interviewee and members of the core household)**

--

**3. May I ask, which type of job are you doing?**

--

**4. May I ask how much money do you get per month?**

--

**5. Do you have any other source of income? (e.g. informal work, piece jobs, grants, selling and trading or any other informal business)**

--

**6. Does any other household member earn or get money? ( anyone else)**

--

**6. (a) May I ask how much this person gets?**

--

**7. May I ask, do you have any savings?**

<b>yes</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>No</b>	<b>2</b>	

If 'yes,

7. (a) Where do you keep your savings? ( Bank, house, savings group etc.)

--

7. (b) Is there anybody else having savings?

--

8. Does it happen that you visit the household on the farm?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes,

8. (a) How often do you visit? ( Once a week/once a month, twice a month, etc.)

--

9. Do you call each other?

Yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes,

9. (a) how often does this happen? ( daily, once a month, twice a month etc.)

--

10. do you support each other?

yes	1	
No	2	

If 'yes,

9. (a) in which ways do you support each other? ( taking care of the kids, money, food, other)

--

10. (b) How often does this happen? ( once / twice a week, once a month etc.)

--

11. Have you ever considered working on the farm?

yes	1	
No	2	

**PHASE 2 INTERVIEW - Extended Households (Setswana)**

<b>Interview number:</b>	
<b>Name:</b>	
<b>Place:</b>	
<b>Address:</b>	
<b>Date:</b>	

**1. Ke mang yo o dulang le wena mo ntlong?**

<b>(a) leloko</b>	<b>(b) kgolagano</b>	<b>(c) dingwaga</b>

**( if not related by kinship:)**

**2. A nka botsa gore o sale o itsane leng le -----? ( go tswa bonnyenyang, dikgwedi / kgwedi tse di fitileng)**

--

**3. A nka botsa gore o dira moshomo o fe?**

--

**4. A nka botsa gore o kereya tshelete e e kanakang ka kgwedi?**

--

**5. A onale dingwe dilo tseo o di dirang gape go bona chelete? ( jaaka ditiro tsa nakwana, go rekisa )**

--

**6. A go nale mongwe mo lwapeng yo o kereyang tshelete? ( a go nale mongwe gape)**

--

**6. (a) A nka botsa gore o kereya bokae?**

--

**7. A nka botsa gore a o ipeela chelete?**

<b>eya</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>Nyaya</b>	<b>2</b>	

**fa go ntse jalo,**

7. (a) Ke kae ko o ipeelang chelete ( a ke ko bankeng, mo ntlong, motshelong, jalo jalo)

--

7. (b) A gonale mongwe gape yo o ipeelang chelete?

--

8. A go etle go dirafale gore o etele losika/masika a gago kwa polaseng?

eya	1	
Nyaya	2	

Fa go ntse jalo,

8. (a) Go dirafala ga kae? (gangwe/gabedi ka beke, kgotsa ka kgwedi.)

--

9. A lo etle lo tswarane ka mogala?

eya	1	
Nyaya	2	

Fa go ntse jalo,

9. (a) Go dirafala ga kae? ( gangwe/gabedi ka beke kgotsa kgwed)

--

10. A lo etle le thusane?

eya	1	
Nyaya	2	

Fa go ntse jalo,

10. (a) Ke mokgwa ofe o le thusanang ka one? (jaaka go tlhokomelana bana, madi, dijo, jalo jalo)

--

10. (b) Go dirafala ga kae? ( a gangwe/ gabedi ka beke/ ka kgwedi)

--

11. A ga go ise go go dirafalele go re o batle go berekela mo polasing?



eya	1	
Nyaya	2	

**11 (a) Keng se se dirang gore o akanye jalo?**

## **APPENDIX C**

### **INTRODUCTION TO FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION AND HIV/AIDS QUESTIONS**

## **Introduction to focus group discussion**

Good afternoon everyone. Welcome to the session and thank you very much for taking time to participate in our discussion. The topic will be HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS is a problem that affects us all and the purpose of the study is to obtain awareness that is, how you feel and think about HIV/AIDS. As you already know my name is Sarah and I will serve as a moderator for this session. This is Dikeledi and Desiree and they are going to assist me to run this session.

We believe that every one of us has opinions and beliefs that are important for us as educators to understand. Therefore, we encourage each one of you to feel free to express yourselves. There are no right or wrong answers to any question we will be talking about. Please feel free to share your points of view; even it differs from what others have said.

Before we begin, let me remind you of our procedures. Please speak up. We are tape recording the sessions because we do not want to miss any comments. You are assured of complete confidentiality. Keep in mind that we are just as interested in negative comments as we are in hearing positive ones.

We will be on the first name basis. In any of our later written reports, you can be assured that your name will not be attached to your comments. My role is to ask you questions and listen. I would not be participating in the discussion, but I want you to feel free to talk with one another.

## **HIV/AIDS questions**

1. What is HIV
2. How is HIV transmitted?
3. What is the difference between HIV and AIDS
4. Do you know of a person with HIV/AIDS?
5. How did you obtain the knowledge you have about HIV/AIDS?
6. Do you know of a person who has died of HIV/AIDS?
7. What kind of illness is HIV/AIDS related?
8. Can people with HIV/AIDS be treated?
9. Can people living with HIV/AIDS be fully cured?
10. What happens to people who are living with HIV?
11. Do you think that people living and working on the farm know enough about HIV/AIDS?
12. Do you think people working and living on the farm are interested to gain more knowledge about HIV/AIDS?
13. What can be done to assist them and obtain more knowledge about HIV/AIDS?
14. In which ways can people prevent becoming HIV positive?

# **APPENDIX D**

## **OBSERVATION SCHEDULE**

**OBSERVATION SCHEDULE**

Type of house: -----

No. of rooms: -----

Commodities of household:

other:

Appliances	Yes	No
radio		
Hi-Fi		
TV		
Iron		
Kettle		
Stove		
Refrigerator		
freezer		
Cell phone		
Motor cycle		
car		
bicycle		

Settings/conditions outside the house: -----

-----  
-----  
-----

Settings/conditions inside the house: -----

-----  
-----  
-----

Atmosphere during the interview: -----

-----  
-----  
-----

# APPENDIX E

## HOUSEHOLD FOOD INVENTORY

Interview number: \_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

### **HOUSEHOLD FOOD INVENTORY**

1. **Where do you store your food?** (*say that you are interested to see where they store their food, may refer to something you see in the house, e.g. tin box, buckets*)

Food stored openly	
Food stored in bin/bucket/tin box	
Food stored in cupboard	
Food stored in refrigerator	
Food stored in freezer	
No food is stored	
Don't know	

2. **What kind of food do you have in your house at this moment?** (*if they show you ask if you can write down food items, if they don't show just write down and ask follow up questions 'anything else'*) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. **What kind of food and something to drink do you always or most of the time have in your house?** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

4. **Can you say why you have these kinds of food most of the time in the house?** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

5. **What kind of food and something to drink do you have only sometimes or seldom in the house?** (*refers to different types of food on weekend, special occasions etc.*) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6. **Can you say why you have these kinds of food only sometimes or seldom?** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_