



**LAND REFORM AND LIVELIHOODS IN FRANCES BAARD  
DISTRICT NORTHERN CAPE PROVINCE: Case study  
of Survive and Dikgoho projects**

**MSc Programme: Management of Agro-Ecological Knowledge and Social  
Change (MAKS 21)**

**Specialization: Rural Development Sociology (RDS-80430)**

**MSc Thesis**

**LIMPHO KEKELETSO TAOANA  
(770321-823-050)**

**Wageningen University and Research Centre**

**Supervisor: Dr. Paul Hebinck (Rural Development Sociology)**

**WAGENINGEN, THE NETHERLANDS  
SEPTEMBER 2008**





## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank Almighty God my creator for His mercy and grace throughout this journey. Through Him all things are possible.

Dr Paul Hebinck has provided guidance throughout the thesis process. From the data collection he always say '*Limpho open your eyes, observe, use a big lens to see what is happening in land reform projects*'. Honestly my experience with ethnography was like a jigsaw puzzle. I tried to open my eyes and observe to fill the gaps in the puzzle but somehow I feel that there are some little gaps in the data. I came to Wageningen; The Netherlands with lot of interesting data that couldn't even fit in both my hands and it needed ordering. That was the first challenge of them all and Paul was always there to guide and give constructive suggestions to shape it from the first draft into the polished final draft. Without him this thesis could have hardly accomplished its quality. I would like to express my special gratitude to all land reform beneficiaries in the Frances Baard District in the Northern Cape Province, South Africa for their time and honesty during data collection.

I would like to thank Cape Programme on Rural Innovations (CAPRI) South Africa in collaboration with The Netherlands government for fully financing my studies at the Wageningen University and Research Centre.

I would like to thank my family back home for their love and support. My friends back at home, your calls and e-mail messages made me not to miss home, thank you very much. Last but not least I wish to express my sincere gratitude to all MAKS 21 students and to all my friends from Africa continent, Southern Africa, East Africa and West Africa; life was going to be a hell if it was only for books but our friendship made everything easy. I don't have to mention your names guys, those who were close to me know themselves.

## **ABSTRACT**

The land reform in South African context after democracy in 1994 aimed to redistribute land to the poor landless to address the disparity of land between the white and the black people. This research study adopted the ethnography as the methodological approach to understand the livelihoods and the food security situations of the land reform beneficiaries in the Frances Baard District in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. The findings revealed that land reform beneficiaries got interest and motivation in joining LRAD projects because the project was the only alternative means that will earn them an improved livelihood and food security. Remittances and social grants have been and are still the major sources of income and agriculture is contributing less to the livelihoods and food security of the land reform beneficiaries. There was no cooperation among beneficiaries in both the Survive and the Dikgoho projects because of the conflicts and lack of trust among the beneficiaries. People now have rights and ownership of land and other assets but still not many changes. This is worsened by lack of extension and markets. Land reform is a policy giving people ownership rights and ensuring sustainable land use. From this research study it can be concluded that land reform is in the process of transforming or changing people's livelihoods and the food security patterns.

## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ABET</b>	Adult Based Education Training
<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>APR</b>	Agricultural Potential Report
<b>BoG</b>	Balance of Grants
<b>CASP</b>	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
<b>CPA</b>	Community Property Associations
<b>DALR</b>	Department of Agriculture and Land Reform
<b>DFID</b>	Department for International Development
<b>DLA</b>	Department of Land Affairs
<b>DoA</b>	Department of Agriculture
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agricultural Organization
<b>FBD</b>	Frances Baard District
<b>LRAD</b>	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
<b>MAFISA</b>	Micro-Agricultural Financial Institutes of South Africa
<b>NCP</b>	Northern Cape Province
<b>NCPG</b>	Northern Cape Provincial Government
<b>NGO</b>	Non Governmental Organisation
<b>OECD</b>	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
<b>NWDC</b>	North West Development Cooperation
<b>PLAAS</b>	Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies
<b>PSS</b>	Post Settlement Support
<b>SLAG</b>	Settlement Land Acquisition Grant

<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>iv-vi</b>
<b>THESIS OUTLINE</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1 Conclusion</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Literature Review and Conceptual Framework</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>2. Introduction</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>2.1 Literature review</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1.1 Land reform programme in South Africa	4
2.1.2 Project management and relationship between land reform beneficiaries	7
2.1.3 Livelihoods of the land reform beneficiaries	8
2.1.4 Post Settlement Support (PSS) to land reform beneficiaries	9
2.1.5 Food security and agricultural production	11
<b>2.2 The Conceptual Framework</b>	<b>12</b>
<i>2.2.1 Livelihood</i>	<i>14</i>
<b>2.3 Research problem</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>2.4 Research objective</b>	<b>18</b>
2.4.1 Research questions	18
<i>2.4.1.1 General research question</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>2.4.1.2 Specific research questions</i>	<i>18</i>
<b>2.5 Research design and methods of data collection</b>	<b>19</b>

2.5.1 Study phases	19
2.5.2 Choices of case study projects	19
2.5.3 Methods of data collection	20
2.5.4 Limitations to the study	21

## CHAPTER 3

22

<b>Land Reform in Frances Baard District (FBD) in the Northern Cape Province (NCP)</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>3. Introduction</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>3.1 Overview of the Northern Cape Province</b>	<b>22</b>
<i>3.1.1 Overview of the Frances Baard District (FBD)</i>	23
<b>3.2 Land reform in the Northern Cape Province</b>	<b>23</b>
<i>3.2.1 The history of the Survive project</i>	24
<i>3.2.2 The history of the Dikgoho project</i>	25
<b>3.3 Conclusions</b>	<b>26</b>

## CHAPTER 4

27

<b>Multiple realities in the Survive and the Dikgoho projects</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>4. Introduction</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>4.1 The current status of the Survive project</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>4.2 The current status of the Dikgoho project</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>4.3 Perspectives from the extension officers of the Survive and the Dikgoho projects</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>4.4 Discussions and conclusions</b>	<b>37</b>

## CHAPTER 5

39

<b>Multiple livelihoods at Survive and Dikgoho projects</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>5. Introduction</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>5.1 Nature of the multiple livelihoods and patterns of food security</b>	<b>39</b>

<b>5.2 Conclusions</b>	<b>49</b>
------------------------	-----------

## CHAPTER 6 52

<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>52</b>
--------------------	-----------

<b>6. Introduction</b>	<b>52</b>
------------------------	-----------

<b>6.1 Main findings</b>	<b>52</b>
--------------------------	-----------

<i>6.1.1 Land ownership as a motivation to engage with land reform</i>	<i>52</i>
--	-----------

<i>6.1.2 Trends in livelihood and food security</i>	<i>53</i>
---	-----------

<i>6.1.3 Land reform and multiple livelihoods</i>	<i>53</i>
---	-----------

<i>6.1.4 Social relations</i>	<i>53</i>
-------------------------------	-----------

<i>6.1.5 Institutional support</i>	<i>54</i>
------------------------------------	-----------

## References 55

### LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 1:</b> Survive beneficiaries active and not active in the project	28
--	----

<b>Table 2:</b> Dikgoho beneficiaries active and not active in the project	33
--	----

<b>Table 3:</b> Livelihood activities and Food Security of Survive beneficiaries active and not active	40
--	----

<b>Table 4:</b> Livelihood activities and Food Security of Dikgoho beneficiaries active and not active	46
--	----

### LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1:</b> Map of the Northern Cape Province showing five Districts	22
---	----

## THESIS OUTLINE

This research thesis is divided into six chapters. These are as follows:

**CHAPTER 1** introduces the brief history of land dispossession in South Africa since the transition to democracy in 1994. It also discusses briefly about land reform programme and its three policies.

**CHAPTER 2** reviews the literature on land reform, livelihoods of the land reform beneficiaries, farm management and relationships between them and post settlement support to the land reform beneficiaries. It presents the problem and motivation to conduct the research. It gives an insight on how the research study was conducted. I explained the research and the methods of data collection, the phases of the study and the choice of the case study projects.

**CHAPTER 3** gives an overview of the Northern Cape Province and its District Frances Baard where the two LRAD projects visited are located. It further presents the history of the two LRAD projects visited, Survive and the Dikgoho.

**CHAPTER 4** presents the current situations of both the Survive and the Dikgoho projects. It further discusses the perspectives from the extension officers responsible for both two projects. It presents the research findings from the perspectives and experiences of the land reform beneficiaries.

**CHAPTER 5** presents perspectives and experiences of the land reform beneficiaries from both the Survive and the Dikgoho projects.

**CHAPTER 6** discusses conclusions based on the main findings from of the research study.

# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

The majority of the black South Africans were progressively dispossessed from their land since the Land Act of 1913. This created serious imbalances in terms of land ownership. Eighty seven percent of the land was in the hands of the white minority, while the remainder was for the black majority. Before 1994 elections, the World Bank played a significant role in the development of a land reform program, to implement a 'market assisted' or 'negotiated land reform' using the 'willing buyer willing seller' model (Adams, 2000; Deininger, 1999). The government chose this model, but since its inception, has been hampered by a lack of technical and administrative capacity within the government, the Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) sector, and community land reform groups (Adams, 2000).

After the first democratic elections in 1994, a democratically elected parliament came to power with the African National Congress (ANC) as a majority party. The ANC-led government began to introduce policy measures to redress the situations that have emerged during the colonial and apartheid era. A land reform programme was launched and targeted that 30% (about 25 million hectares) of white-owned agricultural land should be redistributed (Williams, 1996; Lahiff, 2007).

Land reform is portrayed as (part of) a way of contributing to economic development by both giving the rural poor the opportunity to engage in productive land use to improve their livelihoods and by increasing employment opportunities to eradicate poverty (Williams, 1996). The South African land reform programme has three policy components: Restitution, Tenure reform and Redistribution. The main aim of the restitution programme is to pay back all the victims of apartheid oppression who were removed in their ancestral land between 1913 and 1994

without proper compensation given. The second component deals with land tenure reform and aims to provide secured access to land and protect the land rights of owners. The redistribution programme aims to redistribute land to the landless poor, labour tenants, farm workers and emerging, black farmers. Redistribution was designed to be market led following the willing seller-willing buyer principle. The government would provide discretionary grants to enable black people to buy land. Initially redistribution targeted the poor, but over the past years it has shifted to involve the provision of grants to black people who wish to acquire land and who can provide an own contribution. It is argued that because of this, land reform refocused to put more emphasis on establishing a class of black commercial farmers. Land reform was launched not only to redress injustices in land ownership but also to contribute to economic development by both giving the rural poor the opportunity to engage in productive land use to improve their livelihoods and by increasing employment opportunities to eradicate poverty.

Many commentators (Lahiff, 2007; James, 2007; Geingob 2005) however argue that providing land does not actually transform the livelihoods of the landless and labour tenants. The reality is that fourteen years of post apartheid land reform have not brought about the expected and promised transformation of land ownership and access in South Africa. The rate of land reform delivery continues to fall far short of people's expectations and the revised government target of redistributing 30% of agricultural land by 2014. Only about 4.3% of land has till now been transferred from previous white owners to land reform individual beneficiaries and beneficiaries that have formed groups and collectives. Another reality is that South Africa's black population having been denied to manage their own lands for generations have little farming and management skills. The majority of rural black are still eking out a livelihood based on wages and migrant labour whereby the role of agriculture is marginal and limited. The fact that they were restricted access to land made agriculture a minor livelihood activity.

This thesis examines the claim whether, why and how land reform has improved rural peoples livelihoods. The research for this thesis has been implemented in the Northern Cape Province. It explores the conclusion drawn by many (such as Khwene *et al* 2007; Bradstock 2005 a, b, c) that only few of the implemented land reform projects are achieving the expected development benefits. One may question the validity of such statements and query the way data has been collected and the framework of interpretation. This research study adopted the ethnography as the methodological approach to examine livelihoods and food security of the beneficiaries before and after land reform and also whether land reform has provided them with the means to purchase the land and actively engage with land in a productive manner.

## **1.1 Conclusion**

This introductory chapter gave brief history of land dispossession in South Africa since the transition to democracy in 1994. It also described briefly background of the land reform programme and its three policies. The challenge the South African land reform is facing is whether it will achieve 30% target of distributing land to the poor and to ensure that the design and implementation of land reform met their intended objectives.

This thesis is limited to an analysis of the land redistribution component of the land reform programme. The next chapter therefore investigates land reform in more detail. I will elaborate some of the key concepts that were used to frame the main questions as well as to order, present and interpret the data that was collected during a period of four to five months.

# CHAPTER 2

## Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

### 2. Introduction

The previous chapter presented briefly the history of the land reform programme in South Africa with its three policies but focusing on the redistribution policy. This chapter is divided into five main headings. The first heading is generally the review of literature and much emphasis is on land reform programme in South Africa with the focus on neo-liberal approach. The second section discusses the concepts I have used to frame the research. The third, fourth and fifth headings presented the research problem, research objective and research design and methods of data collection respectively.

#### 2.1 Literature review

##### 2.1.1 Land reform programme in South Africa

A government initiative following the 1994 elections in South Africa instituted the land reform programme with three policies (Jacobs, 2004), land restitution, land redistribution and land tenure. This research gave focus only on the land redistribution policy as it aims to give land for agricultural purposes to improve the livelihoods of the poor landless. Land reform is according to Binswanger and Elgin (1992) as quoted by Mamphodo (2006), *'a policy and understanding to increase access to land by giving poor people ownership rights and ensuring sustainable land use'*.

Since the inception of land reform from 1994 to 1999, land reform policy had shifted focus. From 1994 to 1999 the land reform was under Derek Hanekom (Minister of land affairs) and he directed land redistribution policy to address the

human rights, gender equity and the rural poverty, *'although remaining within a market-based 'willing-buyer/willing seller' structure'* (Jacobs, 2004). The land redistribution policy was piloted within the Provinces of the country whereby households with a joint monthly income of less than R1500.00 were provided a once-off Settlement Land Acquisition Grants (SLAG) of R16 000 so as to purchase and develop agricultural land. One of its main shortcomings was that, government expected the majority of beneficiaries of the SLAG would be the rural poor particularly women (Bradstock, 2005b). The expectation was not met and SLAG only benefited the people with financial and other resources. Since the mid-1999, when a new Minister Thoko Didiza took over there has been a policy re-think on redistribution (Parker, 2004). The land redistribution policy adopted a neo-liberal approach by prioritising the needs of emerging commercial farmers and the market assisted land reform model (Williams, 1996; 2000) and the hope was to speed up the pace of 30% target (Parker, 2004).

In 2001 The SLAG programme was then replaced by the land redistribution sub-programme called Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development programme-LRAD (Bradstock, 2005a). Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development was intended to address a perceived gap in the previous SLAG programme, which provided relatively small grants to low income households but did not meet the needs of emerging farmers (Lahiff 2001; Lahiff and Cousins 2005). As stipulated in the *White Paper* on South African land Policy, the redistribution policy was aimed to provide the access to land to landless poor, labour tenants, farm workers, and emerging farmers for residential and productive uses to improve their livelihoods and quality of life (DLA, 1997). In order for the interested individual to acquire land he or she is supposed to register with the DLA to get access to farms (Bradstock, 2005b). Therefore the government give the grant for purchasing the required agricultural land (DLA, 1997).

The beneficiaries access grants under LRAD on a sliding scale, depending on the amount of their own contribution in kind, labour or cash. Those who make a

contribution of R 5000.00 receive the minimum grant of R 20000.00. Because of lack of money and high costs of land, many individuals (not households as in SLAG) form a group and pool their grants to buy formerly white-owned farms for agricultural purposes. In 1996, the government passed the Communal Property Associations (CPA) Act, No. 28 that provides a means through which groups of people can own land collectively (Bradstock, 2005b). Grants can be pooled as legal entities either in a Trust or a CPA on behalf of the named members (beneficiaries). Once the CPA has been formed and the group, in conjunction with the DLA, has identified a farm on the open market, the DLA negotiates the sale price with the land owner, and the group then elects an executive committee and sub-committee with responsibility for managing the land. *'These land-owning institutions have been widely criticised as dysfunctional and many in practice dead'* (Jacobs *et al.* 2003). Parker (2004) argued that these farming ventures results in numerous conflicts which *'serve as seeds for failure in these projects'*. Another drawback is that beneficiaries who subdivide properties after acquisition are not eligible for assistance. This constraint on the possibility to subdivide has contributed to the underperformance of land reform initiatives as it imposes inappropriate farm sizes in addition to forcing people to work in groups even against their wish (van den Brink *et al.* 2006). *Another problem is that assistance is not provided to beneficiaries wishing to subdivide properties after acquisition* (van den Brink *et al.* 2006). Tomkova (2004) argued that besides being many in one project the Black South Africans lack necessary farming skills and knowledge to run the commercial farms. According to Bradstock (2005b) the government is giving small size of the grants to beneficiaries of the land reform programme and people wishing to acquire land have to recruit additional members in order to raise sufficient money to purchase farms. However the additional members have different objectives from those of the founding members as the former view the *grant as an investment that would yield benefits in the form of enhanced on-farm employment opportunities or in the form of monetary gains from the distribution of the farm's profit*. Furthermore, this group of people lack technical skills required in *managing large, sophisticated farms*

*subsequently resulting in a failure to realise benefits, a situation which has resulted in the additional members being de-motivated and thus withdrawing from the process.*

### 2.1.2 Project management and relationship between land reform beneficiaries

According to Bradstock (2005b) the land reform programme fails to address the issue on how the farm will be managed when the group takes ownership of its land. *'There is a notion that once the land has been transferred, the group will be able to continue the operations of the previous owner'*. This idea was found to be incorrect because it raises the question of how these groups of poor people with little technical agricultural know-how can just step in the shoes of the commercial farmers with farming experience. Another issue that lacked attention prior to transfer of the land is the mechanism by which the costs and benefits are to be allotted among the members and importantly how to maintain the farm's assets in the long run. However Bradstock (2005b) found that *these groups start from a significant disadvantage and conflict is likely to arise owing to the unstructured and inequitable allocation and utilisation of resources* *'Each land reform group is legally obliged to transparently elect an executive committee to run their affairs.*

Some of the administrative tasks of the executive committee include are to prepare annual financial records, holding regular meetings to discuss the matters of the group, drawing up agendas and keeping minutes of all meetings. The above tasks are found demanding, and often complicated by the executive committee and illiterate people cannot be expected to undertake them (Bradstock, 2003). Even where a member is literate because of previous discriminatory legislation in the labour market, it is unlikely that he or she will have any practical experience of these types of administrative tasks. In situations like this, the executive committee start to make decisions that contradict with the project constitution and may compromise the future of the project. Group members frequently express their feelings of irritation at the failure of their

executive committee to manage their affairs transparently and effectively. And due to the fact that they were not involved during drafting of their business plan it is however challenging for them to do in accordance with the business plan (Bradstock, 2003).

### 2.1.3 Livelihoods of the land reform beneficiaries

The impact of land reform on the livelihoods of the beneficiaries is challenging as there is a lack of clear information on post settlement support studies in South Africa (PLAAS, 2006). The review of literature points out that several studies were done quantitatively on the impact of land reform on livelihoods but with a poor baseline data on the socio-economic status of the beneficiaries entering the land reform programme. So far many commentators are criticising land reform as a '*failure*' and the success in land reform is usually measured by the number of projects and hectares distributed or transferred. The success is not measured on how land reform has improved or generated the better livelihoods of the rural poor people or not (PLAAS, 2006).

The research study undertaken by Bradstock (2003) in the Northern Cape Province on livelihoods revealed that majority of the people derives their income from two sources: government transfers, for example, pensions, disability grants and child support grants, and seasonal, casual and other salaried work. He further indicated that few people engage in agricultural activities and their produce is only for consumption, and many engaging in these activities are old and unwell. Bradstock (2005b) argued that, this is due to fact that Blacks were denied access to land and household's home plot was the only land that the majority could access. Also due to their small size they are best suited to subsistence and not commercial farming methods and technologies. The purchase of the high commercialised farms that are based far from the beneficiary's communities is the challenge as they find that it is difficult to just integrate the farm into their existing livelihood portfolios. In some instances

where large groups have been created in order to raise more capital, the number of households that can entirely derive their livelihoods from the land has been hampered by the low productivity of most of the farms that are being transferred in the province (Bradstock, 2005b). It was found out that land reform projects, particularly redistribution and restitution projects are not provided with post settlement support from the government and other non-governmental organisations (Lahiff, 2001; Hall 2004).

#### 2.1.4 Post Settlement Support (PSS) to land reform beneficiaries

Post settlement support (PSS) is any support given to beneficiaries after getting land. Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP), Micro-Agricultural Financial Institutes of South Africa (MAFISA) and extension support service are part of the package, it can be advices, financial support etc. Post Settlement Support can be from national, provincial, local governments, and NGO's. The South Africa land reform is viewed as weak because it fails to offer support services to newly resettled beneficiaries of land reform (Lahiff, 2000; Hall, 2004a; Wegerif, 2004). The studies done recently revealed that among the host of factors affecting the beneficiaries are lack of access to credit facilities, training, extension, transport, ploughing implements, inputs, as well as veterinary services (Lahiff, 2000; Hall, 2004a; Wegerif, 2004; Bradstock 2005c). The Provincial departments of Agriculture and some other NGO's are responsible to supply services but only few projects are reached (Lahiff, 2000; Hall, 2004a; Farmer's weekly, 18 November 2005).

Jacobs (2004) argue that, the lack of PSS is caused by the poor communication between Department of Land Affairs-DLA (responsible for land transfer) and provincial Departments of Agriculture-DoA (responsible for state services to beneficiaries) in the initial stage of distributing land (Jacobs, 2003; Hall, *et al.*, 2004). In 2004, the Minister of Land Affairs then introduced CASP, with a total of R750 million allocated for five years as a way of supporting the land reform

beneficiaries. In a study of nine LRAD projects in the Eastern Cape province Hall, (2004a) found not one had obtained any support from the private sector, and most had not had any contact with either the DLA or DoA since obtaining their land.

In November 2005 the Minister for Agriculture and Land Affairs told parliament that a total of 70% of land reform projects in Limpopo Province were dysfunctional, because projects are poorly designed, negative dynamics within groups, and lack of PSS (Farmer's weekly, 18 November 2005). It was also found in a survey of reform projects in the Western Cape that they were often unsuccessful because the skills of the beneficiaries had not been upgraded. For Jacobs (2003), the general failure of PSS or post-transfer support stems from a failure to conceptualise land reform beyond the land transfer stage, and poor communication between the national DLA and the nine Provincial Departments of Agriculture. There is no comprehensive policy on support for agricultural development after land transfer and the agencies entrusted with this function have made little progress in this regard (Jacobs, 2003). As South Africa is now nearing end of second decade of democracy and freedom it is however the right time to investigate whether the government has made any significant gains in its goal of improving the lives of its poorest citizens. So far the target of 30% of lands to be redistributed by 2014 is not yet achieved and in practice the delivery has been extremely slow and about 4.3% has been in the hands of the Blacks (Northern Cape Agri 2007). Ankomah (2001) argued that land reform in Latin America and Africa has a negative impact on poverty and food security. This is happening because land redistribution policy only focus on the number of hectare or projects delivered, but not to give post settlement support to the land reform beneficiaries.

The Northern Cape Province Department of Agriculture is only employing 32 extension officers. Majority of them have been trained to support white commercial farmers who have farming knowledge and skills to run a commercial

enterprise. These challenges the extension officers required to deliver a high quality service to over 100 land reform projects because they often lack both the technical and the social skills to support emerging black farmers (Bradstock, 2003).

#### 2.1.5 Food security and agricultural production

According to Adams (2000), the South African government faces great difficulties in delivering an effective support package for land reform beneficiaries. Further, University of Pretoria analyses of progress on farms transferred to black farmers had found, among other things, that on 44% of the farms production had decreased drastically, on 24% there was no production at all since transfer to the new owners, and 42% of these farms had produced a small surplus. The new owners of the farms indicated that low production could be the inability to effectively manage the farms. They also indicated that low production was caused by lack of contracts to supply products, a lack of farming experience, the absence of mentorship and business plans, multiple managers, a lack of cooperation with established farmers and agricultural organisations, lack of capital and machinery and the conflict between new owners. Inexperienced participants are not enjoying comprehensive support from the state, or via mentorship from existing farmers. One of the problems of land reform is that beneficiaries are not given access to considerable credit, especially in the initial stages of projects (Louw, News24.com 2007). Ankomah (2001) stated that South Africa is able to produce enough food, but this does not guarantee the food security of land reform beneficiaries at household level. There cannot be own production and household food security if households do not have access to land. If the land size is big with few numbers of beneficiaries, there will be higher farm income per household and this lowers the vulnerability to food insecurity. Only 4% households reported agriculture as their primary source of income. StatsSA (2002) found out that 57% of all households have main income from wages/salaries, 14% from social grants, and 10% from remittances.

## 2.2 The Conceptual Framework

The previous section has made clear that land reform is best to be conceptualised as a state planned intervention, a state led project to transform land ownership and modernise agrarian relations. For this to happen, the state has after 1994 reorganised its apparatuses to make sure that the targeted outcomes are achieved. State policies are re-aligned to assist in the redistribution of land, it has made financial resources available for those that qualify for land reform grants, hires experts (consultants) to assist new farmers to use the land properly and produce for the market. Contrary to many other studies, I did not simply follow this state administered project by looking at whether the states objectives have been reached and whether the instruments of the state to make this happen are well designed and are put timely in place. Many studies have done that and these were shortly reviewed in the first section of this chapter. I approached the land reform process in a different way and tried to situate the dynamics and opportunities that land reform presents and wants to create in the context of everyday life of people. Studies in this tradition have shown that people, or rather in my case land reform beneficiaries, have redesigned elements of state policies to fit in with their own lives (Van Leynseele and Hebinck, 2008). These studies argue that there is no or hardly any linear relationship between objectives and outcomes planned. Land reform, as this study will show, becomes part of people's everyday lives and often provides, as we will see not in all cases, opportunities for some to rearrange their livelihoods and to improve their status. Others will redesign the project's opportunities to fit their political and economic interests (Van Leynseele and Hebinck 2008). Land reform will trigger off many different outcomes, some are planned others are unforeseen (James 2007). The key perspective this thesis takes is that land reform develops or has attributed its various meanings in the context of everyday life. Not land reform *per se* as point of departure but everyday life and examine how land reform lands in everyday life. This requires an ethnographic study.

With everyday life as a starting point, it becomes essential to identify some analytical tools to organise the social realities that are encountered in the two projects I selected. One entry point is examining the social actors that are targeted by planners and politicians and that are in one or the other way directly involved as beneficiaries. The projects I studied and some other studies, however, are characterised by beneficiaries that are still active in the day to day operations and activities on the farm; there are also a range of social actors that have disengaged with the projects for one or the other reason. Land reform in a way has created different categories of social actors. The reality of the South African context is that there are three categories: **Land reform beneficiaries who are still active** in the projects; **Land reform beneficiaries who are no longer active** in the projects; and **Consultants, extension officers and previous owners** are another category of social actors that somehow play a role in the land reform projects. Individuals in each of these categories are engaged in making a living, that is constructing a livelihood and organise their everyday life in particular ways. One of the key areas of investigation is whether land reform has reconstituted or transformed people's everyday life. Has land reform changed people's lives one-dimensionally and linearly or has land reform become part of people's everyday life.

One other analytical tool entry point is thus everyday life and how people organise their livelihoods. This necessitates an elaboration of how to study livelihoods and a decision where to focus on. The literature review legitimises my choice to focus on the livelihood studies of the social actors involved in land reform; extend and way by which they achieve food security and the way beneficiaries and other social actors work together. The land reform policies also identify roles for previous owners and extension officers (transferring knowledge). These are two important foci of my study because food security enhancement and poverty alleviation is part and parcel of the political objectives of the land reform programme.

### 2.2.1 Livelihood

According to Kaag *et al* (2004) livelihood studies focus on strategies and ways of how people make a living in adverse situations. Kaag *et al* (2004) argued that the concept of livelihood is not new as it was used from the 1940's by Evans-Pritchard to 1975 by Freeman when addressing issues of poverty and development. A livelihood is a means of earning a living (Ellis, 2000:10). The livelihood concept or approach is an analytical tool in understanding the generation of livelihoods by social actors (Arce and Hebinck, 2002). Chambers and Conway (1992) defined the concept of livelihood as follows: *'Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shock and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base'*. According to Hebinck (2007) the notion *'livelihood'* has proven to be a useful concept since it helps to draw a picture of the many ways in which people construct a living. Since the concept has been applied often in rural areas, livelihood analysis inherently includes farming yet it is important to realise that this is not the only means by which rural communities thrive. Hebinck (2007) stated that to make a living, *'people use a variety of resources, such as social networks, labour, land, capital, knowledge, employment, technology and markets to produce food'* and marketable commodities to raise their incomes. People of different cultures or even social structures can be together when constructing a livelihood, and they can form a group as social actors in the usage of land produce and also understanding the world around them (Hebinck, 2007). Arce and Hebinck (2002) mentioned that they have used the concept of livelihood while were writing about strategies and patterns of development. But nowadays they believed that the livelihood concept or approach has gained popularity in development studies and they felt that it is high time they critique it. They critiqued the concept with emphasis on DFID's sustainable livelihoods approach

which considers five assets or capitals that people may have, namely: natural, human, physical, financial and social capital (Scoones 1998).

The concept '*social capital*' in this research study was used to study the social relations among the three categories of social actors mentioned. According to Portes (1998), the concept of social capital came when sociologists and political scientists were describing the availability of resources to individuals through their membership in community networks. The concept is defined by some researchers as '*networks, norms, and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives*' (Putnam, 1995). Ellis (2000) defines social capital as formal and informal social resources or relationships of people such as family networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust and to wider institutions of society. Scoones (1998) stated that people draw on these social resources when pursuing different livelihood strategies.

The notion of '*capital*' is criticised as it was realised that people have a false perception that the more the capitals the better, which may not be the case as it concern the quality of the relationships. Hebinck (2007) argues that the notion '*capital*' is much more an economic metaphor which does not do justice to the nature of social relationships, which are not entirely oriented towards material gain. He further argued that the '*capital*' '*rule out resources being drawn from outside commodity circuits (e.g. networks based on kinship or neighbourhood) and thereby ignores the importance of non-commoditised resources*'. For the purpose of this research, I define '*livelihood*' concept as *a way of making a living*. A way of making a living includes both agricultural and non-agricultural activities. In order to make a living, one needs to have entitlements.

One aspect of livelihood is food security among the beneficiaries of land reform. According to the Food and Agricultural Organisation-FAO (1990), being '*food secured means that every individual has to meet the satisfactory quantity of daily*

*nutrient requirements of high quality so as to maintain a healthy active life*'. At household level food security refers to the ability of households to meet target levels of dietary needs for their members from their own production or through purchases (FAO, 1990; Tola, 1988; Swallow and Boris, 1988). For the purpose of this study I define '*food security*' as *availability of food*. Availability of food in this context means food purchased from the income generated from agricultural and non-agricultural activities. For the sake of clarity, this research was not interested into the details of specific food people eat and how many meals taken per day.

Sen (1981) has operationalized food security in terms of entitlements to food. The entitlements approach was first developed by Sen in 1981, critiquing earlier perspectives which stressed shortages in food availability as causes of food insecurity. Sen's approach is to focus on individuals and collectives (groups, family, and households) how they access food. Sen understands this 'entitlements' and identified four types of entitlement relationships or sources of entitlement:

1. *Production-based entitlements*—This entitlement looks at the production (crops and livestock). What land reform beneficiaries are producing; is it sufficient enough to sell to earn an income. This entitlement states that if agricultural outputs are low the land reform beneficiaries are not food secured.
2. *Trade-based entitlements*—This entitlement entail that land reform beneficiaries are entitled to what they can obtain by selling or bartering their physical assets (livestock and cash crops). The physical assets can be sold or bartered if they are in good quality (e.g. lucerne sold for good price or exchanged for tractor). This entitlement looks at whether the market is available to sell and at good price. What you have, you trade for what you need. This is called ownership through commodity exchange.

3. *Labour-based entitlements*—This entitlement looks at the land reform beneficiaries engaged in multiple sources of livelihoods (wage labour, professions, self-employment, etc.) with the purpose of earning an income therefore purchasing of food.
4. *Transfer-based entitlements*—This entitlement gives the people the right to own what is given. Meaning that an individual is entitled to own what is given through legal transfer either in a formal way (social grants) or informal way (from friends and relatives such as remittances).

I used the entitlement approach to food security as a tool to analyse the trends in food to see whether land reform has an impact on the food security of the land reform beneficiaries before and after land reform.

### **2.3 Research problem**

Land reform is a multi-faceted programme which differs from what neo-liberals and political economists think. Therefore land reform is by these two schools of thought a linear development. Rather this research studied land reform as a complex and uncertain policy because of emergent of multiple realities. I agree that land reform is a multi-faceted programme constructed by many social actors, among them are land reform beneficiaries, former owners of projects, extensionists etc.

In the Frances Baard District (FBD) in the Northern Cape Province (NCP), it was found out that majority of the land reform projects in the area are characterised by poor agricultural production, poor infrastructure, lack of or worn-out farming implements and machinery and too many land reform beneficiaries per project (Khwene, *et al* 2004). The validity of the statement above queries the way data has been collected and the framework of interpretation. Since there is no ethnographic study done previously on land reform projects, we have a very

wrong or mislead impressions about it; hence the ideology should be addressed methodologically. I have therefore employed ethnography as a methodology to study and understand land reform projects in a very distinct or unique way by looking at the history and the current status of the project as an aggregation of individual stories of social actors involved and strategies that interlock (collaborate) collectively to manage the project, thus on multiple realities.

## **2.4 Research objective**

To determine the impact of land reform by investigating its effect on the livelihoods and food security of land reform beneficiaries in Frances Baard District.

### 2.4.1 Research questions

#### *2.4.1.1 General research question*

- Has land reform transformed the livelihoods and food security situation of the land reform beneficiaries in Frances Baard District in Northern Cape Province? And if so, who?

#### *2.4.1.2 Specific research questions*

- Why people are joining the LRAD projects?
- How is the relationship between the beneficiaries?
- Why did some beneficiaries stay in the project and some left the project?
- How is the provision of support services to the land reform beneficiaries?
- What are the beneficiaries' livelihoods and food security before and after entering land reform programme?
- How is the agricultural production in the redistributed land as compared to when it was white owned?

## **2.5 Research design and methods of data collection**

### **2.5.1 Study phases**

Research was undertaken over a period of five months (August to December 2007). It is crucial to highlight that my fieldwork was combined with the internship. So for the fieldwork, I divided five months into two phases. The first phase was from August to September and during this time I visited eight LRAD projects in the FBD to collect data on history and the current situations of the projects, extension support and training given to them, the challenges faced by the projects and also to give some recommendations. The second phase which took place from October to December was doing ethnographic observations and case studies (in-depth interviews) with the land reform beneficiaries. It is crucial to highlight that during those five months, besides visitation to LRAD projects I was attending meetings, workshops and also engaged in reviewing the government documents. I was doing interviews with the Provincial government employees from the Departments of Agriculture and Land Reform, Land Affairs and Labour. The research phases were not as distinct as I have explained them. I was in the office some times and had to go back to the field to fill the information gaps emerged, especially for observations and the case studies.

The choice of case study projects and methods of data collection are described in the following sections.

### **2.5.2 Choice of case study projects**

The Survive and the Dikgoho projects were selected not only to represent the LRAD projects in the FBD but to understand the real situations on the LRAD projects and its beneficiaries. The Survive and the Dikgoho projects were purposively selected because they differ in number of ways. In Survive the beneficiaries just started in the year 2006 with farming, don't have background in

farming and never worked in the farm before. For the Dikgoho, the beneficiaries started with farming on their own in 2002, they are the former employees of the previous owner and they are somehow familiar with poultry farming because they have been there for quite some time. According to Kumar (2005) the purposive sampling is useful when searching for the information on which little is known about it. Therefore there is lack or clear information in the literature about what is actually happening in the LRAD projects. The findings will help to argue if whether land reform brought changes in the livelihoods of the people. Detailed description of the case study projects are in Chapter four and five.

### 2.5.3 Methods of data collection

According to Punch (2005), there are two types of research methods, quantitative that is in the form of numbers; and qualitative that is not in the form of numbers. I used the qualitative research method because my intention was to understand situations from the person being interviewed. I used an ethnography strategy to collect data to get an in depth perspective of how and why land reform changed or not changed the livelihoods and food security situation of the land reform beneficiaries in FBD in NCP. The study used two methods of data collection, primary and secondary data collection. For primary data collection I used the interviews and observations. I used the semi-structured interviews to land reform beneficiaries, government employees and previous owners of the projects to get the opportunity to add the follow-up questions whenever there was a necessity. I constructed a list of guiding questions to avoid bias because the questions asked at the beginning may be different from that asked in the end '*as the researcher gains experience while conducting the interviews*' (Punch 2005). I spent most of the time in the projects with the land reform beneficiaries to observe their daily activities. I used the direct and non-participant observations to assess the physical condition of field crops and the interactions between the land reform beneficiaries. During the observations, field notes were recorded down on the notebook. For the secondary data collection I reviewed the government

documents (such as minutes of the previous meetings, annual reports, strategic plans, business plans and Northern Cape Agri, 2007). This entailed me to get an insight on the progress made regarding LRAD projects over the past years and also the way forward as majority of them in the NCP are failing and are not sustainable.

I employed the case study method so that I understand the livelihoods and food security of the land reform beneficiaries before and after becoming owners of the LRAD projects. Looking at livelihoods and food security before and after land reform made me to see whether land reform brought any significant improvements in their livelihoods and food security. In order to understand them I asked the 'how', 'what' and the 'why' questions.

#### 2.5.4 Limitations to the study

I did not have access to government reports especially from the DLA. I assumed that data will be easily accessible but that was a big challenge because the NCP does not have a tertiary institution and even a decent library.

# CHAPTER 3

## Land Reform in Frances Baard District (FBD) in the Northern Cape Province (NCP)

### 3. Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main headings. The first heading presents the Province of the Northern Cape and its Districts. The second heading is the land reform in the Northern Cape Province (NCP). I also presented the history of the two case studies, Survive and the Dikgoho projects in Frances Baard District (FBD) in the NCP. The Survive project is found in the local Municipality Phokwane while the Dikgoho project is found in the local Municipality Magareng.

### 3.1 Overview of the Northern Cape Province

In terms of surface area the Northern Cape is South Africa's largest province with the smallest population (approximately 840,000 people). About 80% of the NCP is classified as farmland. The Province is semi-arid (Bradstock, 2005b) and the crop production is under irrigation. The average annual rainfall is 450-500mm (Low and Rebelo, 1998) and land is suitable for extensive farming (livestock). Eleven percent is used for nature conservation and 1.3% is arable land. Farmers are able to gain access to irrigation water, and

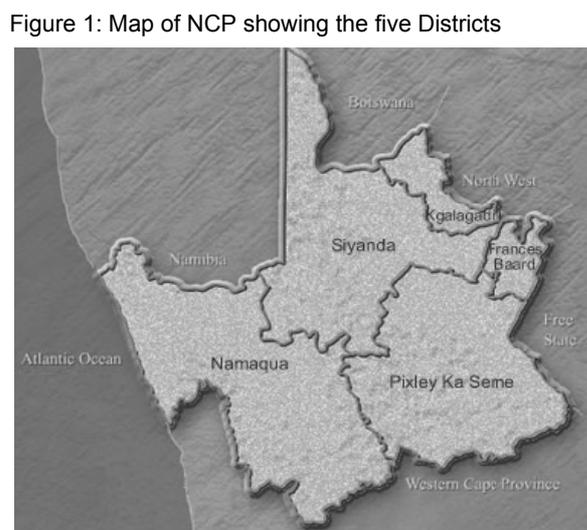


Figure 1: Map of NCP showing the five Districts  
Source: DEAT, South Africa 2004

it is possible to grow a wide range of crops, for example, wheat, maize, peanuts, cotton, grapes, potatoes, barley and a variety of different fruits and vegetables.

The NCP is divided into five District municipalities namely (Figure 1): Namakwa District Municipality, Pixley ka Seme District Municipality, Siyanda District Municipality, Frances Baard District Municipality and Kgalagadi District Municipality.

### *3.1.1 Overview of the Frances Baard District (FBD)*

Frances Baard is one of the five districts of NCP of South Africa. The FBD Municipality is comprised of four local municipalities namely: Sol Plaatje, Dikgatlong, Magareng and Phokwane. The majority of its 324 814 people speak Afrikaans. Two of the largest rivers, the Orange and the Vaal, flow through the District (StatsSA, 2002). About 42.2% of the population over 20 years old had no schooling or only primary education, 18.4% obtained grade 12 while 7% received higher education. The majority of the population (65.1%) falls within the economically active age group (15-65 years). Of the 211 594 persons, 34.3% are not economically active. A total of 72 648 persons are employed, 78.6% in the formal sector, 10.5% in farming and 9.7% in the informal sector. The Vaalharts Irrigation Scheme (VIS) is found in FBD and is one of the largest irrigation schemes in South Africa. It was established after the Second World War for the white commercial farmers. The land within VIS has secure water supply year round and the ability to irrigate arable land. Most of the LRAD projects in VIS are for food security.

## **3.2 Land reform in the Northern Cape Province**

Since 1994 to date, the NCP compared to other provinces has distributed more than 700 000 hectares of agricultural land. This showed that the Province is aiming to reach the target of 30% of white commercial agricultural land by 2014. It aims to identify and acquire land for redistribution and to support beneficiaries to enable them to become independent commercial farmers (NCPG, 2007). Twenty nine projects have been transferred comprising of all land reform

products. A total of 78 500 ha was redistributed to 505 beneficiaries. The Department of Agriculture and Land Reform identified programmes and projects and has also established agricultural hubs and corridors to construct resources for agricultural development in the Province. In cooperation with farmers and stakeholders the projects will further look at alternative crops of high value to increase profitability in the VIS, empower black farmers and contribute to sustainable jobs in the area.

Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) attempts to make huge difference in emerging farmers and access to means of production. Since its inception in 2004, CASP benefited 2897 emerging farmers and 814 jobs were created from R29, 4 million. In 2006 R28, 555 million was spent on 17 projects, benefiting 755 emerging farmers and creating 272 jobs. R6, 808 million went to Pixley Ka Seme district. Frances Baard received R7, 750 million for irrigation infrastructure and farming implements for land reform projects in Vaalharts. R400, 000 was spent in Kgalagadi and for Siyanda, R4; 965 million was spent on irrigation infrastructure on land reform projects. R6, 447 million was spent in Namaqua, mainly for livestock farming infrastructure. It is also crucial to point out that the NCP is providing training programmes with the aim to improve the extension officer's knowledge and skills capacity.

### *3.2.1 The history of the Survive project*

Mr. JV owned the Survive project before from 1981 till 2004. The project was by that time valued at R 190 000.00. JV was planting lucerne, cotton, maize and wheat. His production was always the first grade. The production of cotton and wheat were 3.8tons/ha and 6.2tons/ha respectively. The production of maize and lucerne were 8 tons/ha and 3 tons/ha respectively. In 1996 the portion of the soil in one of the fields was destroyed by too much rain and then caused drainage. I interviewed him to find out the reasons why he sold the farm. He responded by saying *'I sold the farm because I was having financial problems.* This was an

interesting point and made to wonder whether a commercial farmer who owns the land for many years and who always produce the first grade products can end up having money problems. I figured it out because according to the agricultural potential report (APR), dated 15 June 2005 there were samples of soils taken as there was a problem of drainage caused by the too much alkaline in the soil. It might be the production was negatively affected by the problem of drainage and money generated was not satisfactorily. The other possible reason why he sold the farm was, currently the ANC-led government is practicing the willing buyer willing seller policy. But with the changing of centres of power with the ANC Mr. JV was afraid of the Zimbabwean scenario whereby land was just grabbed without compensation. I would like to point out that if a commercial farmer with a lot of years of hands-on experience in commercial farming can go bankrupt, 'how the time frame given to beneficiaries can be better?' JV told me that *'the new owners don't plough in the proper way. If the field is not levelled, there will be no good production, as the water will be concentrated in one area. There are many bosses and they can't manage properly. I once advised them about planting but Mr. Shield (chairperson) doesn't listen as he thinks he knows much. I sometimes offer to help them but they decline my offer and they told me that they want to farm their way and they also know everything about farming'*.

### 3.2.2 The history of the Dikgoho project

Dikgoho is a poultry project situated 4Km away from Warrenton in Magareng Municipality. Mr. F (a Portuguese farmer from Mozambique) owned the farm before. He started with the farm from 1984 to 2002. The farm used nine chicken houses and each accommodated 10 000. The production was marketed locally to spaza shops and local retailers. By then he was employing 200 people and in the year 2000 all the employees were retrenched. I interviewed Mr. F to get information about the project. He was not cooperative at all. I was not surprised as Ms. CN (DLA) told me that he is a difficult person to approach and to talk to. I wanted to interview him face to face but he preferred to be interviewed

telephonically. He said to me *'Lady I don't understand what you want from me. I am no longer the owner of that project.* I then asked him why he sold the project and in what conditions he left the chicken houses and then he answered, *'I left the chicken houses in good conditions. The new owners did not take care of the chicken houses. I told them that the chicken houses need to be maintained every month and they failed to do that'*. He did not answer the question of why the project was sold and then he hanged up, that was the information I got from him.

### **3.3 Conclusions**

Analyzing and unpacking the policies that are given priority such as land reform and CASP and governments reports such as strategic plan 2005-2010, annual reports and minutes of the meetings it became clear that NCP is following the neo-liberal perspective. The government's annual reports showed that how many projects have been delivered and supported but practically this has never materialized because majority of the land reform beneficiaries interviewed are still not satisfied with the support service from the government. The CASP implementation as part of the PSS is creating tension between land reform beneficiaries because there is no consistency in the distribution of resources such as farming implements. For example, beneficiaries mentioned that: *'We received the land before the other project and now the government assist them before us and it is almost two years waiting for the tractor'* etc. Therefore CASP in the NCP is making an annual budget for one specific implement and caters for all the projects needing the specific implement. From the history of the Survive and the Dikgoho projects, the former owners have farming knowledge and experience. Their production was always high and first grade. The fact that they have farming implements facilitates their production. The way they have designed the farm is the best, and they have very specific ideas that the problem is with the beneficiaries and their lack of farming knowledge and experience.

## CHAPTER 4

## **Multiple realities in the Survive and the Dikgoho projects**

### **4. Introduction**

The previous chapter discussed the Northern Cape Province (NCP) and its District Frances Baard, and the history of the Survive and the Dikgoho projects. The first heading of this chapter presents the current status as well as the social relations among the land reform beneficiaries of the Survive and the Dikgoho projects. The second heading presents the perspectives from the extension officers responsible for the projects and how they relate with land reform beneficiaries.

#### **4.1 The current status of the Survive project**

I organised to visit Survive project for my studies. An appointment to interview the Survive project beneficiaries was made via telephone. At first they were reluctant to host me thinking that I am a government employee. I informed them that I was not a government employee but a student pursuing studies overseas. That convinced them and they were more than ready to host me as they are sick and tired with government employees who always fail to fulfil their promises. It was a nice sunny Friday morning on the 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2007 when we visited Survive project. I was accompanied by my thesis supervisor. Survive project is one of the LRAD projects within the Vaalharts Irrigation Scheme (VIS) close to Hartswater town in Phokwane Municipality. In the VIS area there are many black owned and few white owned projects. As we passed through some of the projects, the differences between a white owned and the black owned projects were rather clear. The black owned were neglected with a lot of weeds, as compared to the white owned projects which were well maintained. Even though we struggled to find the project, finally when we did, I noticed that the people were patiently waiting for someone to share their challenges with, and to

exchange best shared practices. We were warmly welcomed. The meeting I attended was quite cheerful and at the same time traditional. The chairperson Mr. Shield was the one talking while others (two men and two women hardly saying much). I had to stimulate them to participate in the discussion. The situation in this project is that four men and two women are doing the household chores that land reform becomes embedded in.

The chairperson Mr. Shield was born in 1949 in Taung Township. He has a senior Diploma (Adult Based Education Training-ABET) education level. He worked as a senior administration officer at the North West Development Cooperation-NWDC and was earning R 4800.00 per month. His duties in the project are to do administration work and he also mentioned that he sometimes irrigate and plant. At the end of the interview Mr. Shield asked PH for some financial support for the project. Since PH is a white person and European, the perception within the beneficiaries is white people especially Europeans have a lot of money.

**Table 1:** Survive beneficiaries active and not active in the project

<b>LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES</b>	
Land reform beneficiaries active	Land reform beneficiaries not active
Lindi, Shield, Freddy, Palesa and Clifford.	Jerry, Patisiwe, Morwa, Matshediso, Modise, Montsheng, Sebini, Josina, Mantenya, Tafita, Joan, Uphill, Mary, Mathabo, Zama, Bohentse, Madipudi and Jakobo.

Source: Personal field data collection in August to December 2007

The information I got from the Department of Agriculture and Land Reform regarding the Survive is the project was handed over to 36 beneficiaries. But when I started with the collection of data, there were only six people active on the project. Each of them has a different background and reasons for joining this

particular land reform project. Only five were interviewed and couldn't get hold of the other. For those not active I interviewed 18 and couldn't get hold of nine. Below I presented different reasons that motivated people to engage in the Survive project.

*My livestock was not giving me enough income that is why I got interested in the project (Lindi). Shield mentioned that he got interested in the project because he wanted to earn an income and not to depend on his wife. Freddy mentioned that his interest in the project is because of the fact that he lost his job and was looking for opportunities. Palesa, Matshediso and Sebini got interested in the project because they had love for agriculture. 'I wanted to do agriculture at tertiary level but because of the financial constraints, my mother could not afford to pay the fees' Palesa said to me. Jerry, Josina, Mary, Zama, Patisiwe, Montsheng got interested in the project because they were unemployed and looking for the job to improve their livelihoods. Joan expressed in this way. I was the housewife until I was informed by one of the beneficiaries that they are looking for the people to join the project in Hartswater. I informed my husband because he was doing the piece jobs and he also got the interest because he had a passion for agriculture because his uncle was a farmer).*

The Survive beneficiaries indicated that they developed an interest in the LRAD projects because they wanted to improve their livelihoods. Before becoming the land reform beneficiary, as some of the women indicated, they were domestic workers, while some were working in tuck shops. Men indicated that they were working in the mines, while some in the factories. Some mentioned that they never had worked before.

In 2005 Tafita heard about the sale of the farm called Plot 2G5 in Hartswater. *'I started to inform other people at the Taung Township and they showed the interest and we formed a group'*. Tafita (34 years old) was retrenched from the mines in 2004 and got a lump sum payment. When he heard about the sale of

the land he was unemployed and looking for a job. He is one of the members who are longer active.

On the very same year the group approached the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) in Kimberley with regard to apply for the land. In 2006 the approval was made as the group met the requirements for LRAD grant as stipulated in the *White Paper* in that they were historically disadvantaged people and also landless. The project was handed over to 36 beneficiaries who are not related of whom 16 are men and 20 are women. The legal entity is a Community Property Association (CPA). The beneficiaries have no knowledge of commercial farming. The project was purchased without farming implements. The beneficiaries contributed in the form of labour. Own contribution of labour by beneficiaries was R 720 000. The land was purchased for the total amount of R 520 000. The balance of grants (BoG) for this project was R 200 000. With the BoG, the following items were bought: weed killer, electricity connection, tractor, tiller, plough and row planter, pesticides, seeds and fertilizers, diesel, wagon, baler and disc. Currently the Survive project is operating with six (two women and four men) beneficiaries, three passed away and 27 are no longer active in the project.

The total extent of the land is 20.95ha of which is currently used for lucerne (5ha) and wheat (10ha) cultivation. The rest (5ha) is not used for any cultivation purposes. The production in the Survive project is most of the times 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> grade. The first harvest of the wheat was 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and the income generated from it was very little. The production of wheat is R 25.00 per bale when 1<sup>st</sup> grade and R 8.00 per bale when 4<sup>th</sup> grade (all per 5 ha of land). The production of lucerne is 24 tons/10 ha.

After the group members have settled in their project, they initiated a plan to make groups of 12 beneficiaries to rotate on a six monthly basis. Then there will be a harvest and the money generated will be shared amongst all the beneficiaries. The first group worked in the project for that period and the first

harvest of lucerne that was third grade did not give the satisfactory amount. The money was used to pay the electricity, hired contractors and the balance left those who worked with R 500.00 each. Those waiting for their turn never received the feedback after the first harvest. Then the second group was supposed to take their turn but things never happen according to the plan that is when the problems started. The problems were lack of trust and conflict. The second group and the third group initiated the meeting and even those that were supposed to be held were never held and this too created the problems. The beneficiaries felt that they don't have the sense of ownership in the project since they think it belongs to the first group. The lack of transparency and communication, mismanagement and the conflicts resulted in 27 beneficiaries leaving the Survive project.

As I have already mentioned that the project is currently functioning with six beneficiaries (four men and two women). Mr. Shield does not have the hands-on in the field and most of the time he patrols and acts as if he is the owner of the project. In Survive project, men are cultivating the land and irrigate, while women cook and clean the house. The tough agricultural activities described above are defined by gender. This means that men are the ones doing the tough jobs while women do easy agricultural activities like weeding. When no work in the land they go to their homes and leave one to guard but only three men, excluding Mr. Shield do that rotating.

#### **4.2 The current status of the Dikgoho project**

When I arrived in Dikgoho, my mind was telling me that I will see the chickens walking and running around the project surroundings. I immediately figured out that the farm is run as a commercial enterprise and one cannot expect to see the free ranging chickens. I walked to the small house and chairperson of the project Ms. Mamabele was standing outside the project office. She was obviously expecting me as I made an appointment well in advance that I am coming on that

day. Mamabele was born in Warrenton in 1964. She worked in the firm before in 1992 and was earning R 360.-600.00 per month. I asked her to walk with me to see the project surroundings. We first walked to the direction of the chicken houses. When we are about to reach the chicken houses I jokingly asked if the chickens are asleep as I know the chickens do make sound. She said to me *'there are no chickens in the chicken houses'*. I wondered and I couldn't imagine the chicken project without the chickens. I became curious to know why and I lost my interest of looking all the surroundings and I asked her we better go to sit down with the entire members to talk and discuss. Before we start with our discussions, we ate the bread and the chicken's offal. Mamabele just told me few minutes ago that Dikgoho project does not have chickens. I immediately rose a question *'Do you have live chickens here or what?'* Mamabele said *'no the Dikgoho project is not having live chickens, but we normally buy from the commercial farmers and sell to local retailers. We purchase 1000 live chickens and slaughter twice per month and sell them at 19.70 per Kg. We slaughter a chicken by charging R 3.00 and we charge a lesser fee of R 2.50 when the offal are removed and left with us.* They gave me their business project plan for references. According to the business plan (2001) the chicken firm was on sale. The 59 of the retrenched employees originating in Warrenton who were unable to find alternative employment got interest in buying of the farm.

In 2001, the previous workers applied for the land and they received it in 2002 as they met the requirements for the LRAD grant. The project with the total extent of 21.4133ha was handed over to 60 beneficiaries of whom 35 are women and 25 are men and they contributed in form of labour. When I was in the field collecting data at the Dikgoho there were only nine beneficiaries active on the project. They have different backgrounds but same reasons and motivations for joining the project. Only eight active was interviewed and only seven out of 27 not active was interviewed. Almost all of them declared that they were unemployed and looking for the job and they also believe that they have experience in the poultry management gained while working for the Mr. F.

**Table 2:** Dikgoho beneficiaries active and not active in the project

<b>LAND REFORM BENEFICIARIES</b>	
Land reform beneficiaries active	Land reform beneficiaries not active
Lorraine, Madikgomo, Malehlakana, Arone, Efa, Jono, Annamaria and Mamabele.	Elisa, Dintle, Emma, Monika, Mafura, Setenane, and Maleshwane.

Source: Personal field data collection in August to December 2007

The project was valued at R 3.5m and the own contribution of labour by the beneficiaries was R 1.2m. The remaining balance of R 2.3m is expected to be paid by the beneficiaries over the period of 20 years. To enable the operations to start and cover the working capital costs in the first year, the Dikgoho project requested a loan amount of R 448 070 from the Land Bank (Dikgoho business plan, 2001). Most of the feedback was from Mamabele and she told me that *‘Gert (white person) worked in the farm before and Mr. F left him with us so that he can manage the project for us. As the new owners we felt that we get rid of him as we wanted to do our way and also to manage it ourselves. We started the project with 68 000 live chickens in 2002 till 2004. Then the project started to experience high mortality rate amongst the chickens because of lack of ventilation in chicken houses, no money to purchase chicken feed, and Land Bank debt. We had a one year contract with the Correctional Services at the fixed price’*. According to the Dikgoho business plan 2001, the project is currently having no cash flow of any significance, and is running up a substantial interest bill in excess of R 15 000.00 per month. They told me that currently the project is functioning with nine beneficiaries, 27 not active, 12 permanently employed, four are sick, four are dead and four never showed in the initial stage of the project. I couldn’t find them to find out the reasons why.

The Dikgoho beneficiaries are all former employees of Mr. F. The women indicated that before joining land reform were domestic workers while men were

working in the mines and factories. They were employed by Mr. F and got retrenched. Then they developed an interest in buying the project with land reform grants. A main reason was that they were unable to find alternative employment and they also mentioned they knew the poultry business skills developed while working for Mr. F.

In Dikgoho project, the chairperson is in most of the time in the office and she told me that her duties were basically administrative, while other beneficiaries are in the slaughter house. It is also crucial to point out that according to the information I got from the members no longer active, some mentioned that they were requested to leave or stop working for the project until the time when the project is making money, and then they can be invited back to the project, because it was failing to break-even. But I got conflicting answers from both the beneficiaries that are active and non-active. The chairperson of the project told me that those members left the challenges facing the project. The chairperson said she will not invite them back to the project since they ran away from the problems. The cause of these problems is lack of mutual communication. The beneficiaries still active in the project are keeping themselves busy by cleaning the abattoir and slaughtering, they work (weeding) on their vegetable garden of spinach, carrots, onion and cabbage. Besides these they sit in the project doing nothing and wait for the sun to set so that they go to their respective homes. And also they go to the project so that they get free access of cooking vegetables and offal of the slaughtered chickens. They mentioned that they are still active in the project because it is difficult to find the job. *'I had the interest in the project because I was not working and a person of my age is not easy to be employed'*. They mentioned that though the project is not generating any income it is better to go to the project unlike sitting at home doing nothing. *'We slaughter for the public and then earn R 30.00 on that day'*. Though they are still active they mentioned that *'it was better before because the problems were not directed to us and we also don't have the market'*. Also it was better before because they were getting a monthly salary as compared to now *'We were earning around R*

360.-500.00 per month'. Malehlakana admitted that they made a mistake by taking a decision that they don't want the mentor. *'If we can have mentor in the project and good management we can do better'* but they cannot turn back the clock.

### **4.3 Perspectives from the extension officers of the Survive and the Dikgoho projects**

The extension officer of the Survive project is a very matured and has been in the government for more than two decades. He has experience and also the way he answers questions it is quite clear that he is a strategist. He told me that his job description is to provide the beneficiaries with the following: the technical support, for example on how to plant, crop rotation, infrastructure (dam) and how to use the farming implements. I asked him if he has done that to the projects and he never answered me straight on: *'the Survive project has the problem of drainage in the certain parts and the DLA gave the land without the farming implements. The beneficiaries don't follow the necessary requirements and it affects their production, so what can I do'*. I realised that whenever I asked him questions during the interviews he puts blame on beneficiaries. Again the previous owner of the project said he normally sees extension officer in the town not in the projects. Every time I tried to interview him alone but he preferred to be interviewed while the student he supervises is around. I was not getting clear answers from him and I then decided to ask the intern what they are doing in most of the time with his supervisor (extension officer) as she was always complaining about him. *'Every time we use the government vehicle he is making business to earn money. For example he gives goes to the taxi rank to look for Zimbabweans who are also trying to making a living by selling goods ask them their destinations and discusses/negotiates the charging amount with them. He does this several times in a day as they are many in the country trying to make a living. Sometimes he does this so as to buy the food for lunch but I also benefit because he buys for me as well. He mark the trip authority as if he is going to*

*visits the projects for monitoring, but he does his business and later in the afternoon he will visits the projects and he will find no one and in his reports he records that the beneficiaries never showed up in their project’.*

I was travelling with him one of the days, we went to the taxi rank and I thought he was looking for someone. He then swore and I thought he is angry at the person he is looking for because he/she was not showing up or delaying him. The other time we were on the way to Kimberly and he also gave lifts to people and when we arrived he bought both of us food. The extension officer responsible for the Survive project doesn’t have close contact with the beneficiaries. During the course of this research the project members complained to the relevant authorities (DLA) that the extension officer was not performing his duties and responsibilities. *‘We called an extension officer to give advices but he never came and we reported the matter to the DLA and he got angry saying that we want him to lose his job’.* It is rather a sad development that the extension services are not giving most of the project maximum needed support. The extension officer hardly visits the project, despite the fact that he is supposed to do so. It is beyond the scope of this research to know about the outcome of complain.

I interviewed extension officer (Mr. Peace) responsible for the Dikgoho project. He was eight months employed by the Department of Agriculture and Land Reform (DALR). I asked him the kind of extension support he provides to the Dikgoho project. *‘I started to work for the DALR and since my arrival I never gave any support or any kind of training to the project. This is because there is a shortage of extension officers and also the shortage of vehicles to reach the projects in the Province and each extension officer is responsible for about 15/18 projects in the area’.* He mentioned that there is no ventilation in the chicken houses, so bacteria builds-up and it leads to high mortality rate. The project needs the financial management training. *‘The problem in the project is that, there is no income generated and 60 beneficiaries depend on the income*

*generated. One other problem is that their market which is Correctional Services negotiated a fixed price, so this leads to lack of income for the project. The storage room is not up to the standard'.*

#### **4.4 Discussions and conclusions**

As I have mentioned in chapter two of this research study, land reform is conceptualised by some as a process that provide access to land and other resources to improve their livelihoods and food security. The policies are designed linearly by neo-liberals and political economists and they believe they should be that way. For the reason that I used ethnography I was not restricted to understand, explore unexpected or strange things (multiple realities) happening in the land reform projects as part of everyday life.

The chairpersons of the Survive and the Dikgoho have occupied a different position of owning a project and decisions are also taken by them without others consent. They are not engaged in project activities like irrigating, weeding and ploughing in case of the Survive project and in Dikgoho project the chairperson sits in the office the whole day while others slaughter, clean the abattoir and weed their vegetable garden. The constitution of the CPA is just a document ignored or not understood by the beneficiaries as Bradstock (2003) stated.

The land reform has created the traditional set of social relations and a social space for everyday life. In the case of the Survive project, the traditional set of social relations is four men and two women engaged in household chores. The existing land reform policy advocate for gender equity but the reality in the Survive project indicates how the gender relations are interpreted. Women within the project engage in domestic activities (cleaning the project house while men work the field). The Dikgoho project has become a social space for everyday life. If not weeding vegetable garden nothing is done because slaughtering is only

done twice in the month and besides these they come everyday to socialise and eat from their garden and chickens offal.

The conflicts, mistrust and lack of transparency are the things that were expected in situations whereby people are working together in the projects. The CPA is about cooperation but opposite happened in both land reform projects and this affect the everyday life of the projects. As I have already stated in the chapter two of this research study, land reform has created three categories of social actors namely: land reform beneficiaries active, land reform beneficiaries not active and extensions, consultants and former owners. Although the members not active have left the project physically but officially they are still land reform beneficiaries. They are not in the day to day activities in the project but, they still have an influence on the progress of those who are still active. This is so because since they are still registered as members, those who are still active are not able to access loans from the bank without the signatures of those who are not physically active. For instance, in case the project needs the financial assistance from the Land Bank, it will require the signatures of all members.

With respect to the relationship with extension agents, although land reform beneficiaries active interact with the extension officers to get advice, this is however considered insufficient. The extension officer of the Survive project on the other hand continues making business by using the government vehicle. In the Survive project, with respect to the interaction between land reform beneficiaries active and the former owner, the latter offered to assist the former but this was declined.

Everyday life at the land reform project as portrayed by the multiple realities is a much more complex and ambiguous reality of land reform than policies had intended. This implies theoretically as well as practically that land reform should not be viewed as a linearly progressing process.

## CHAPTER 5

## Multiple livelihoods at Survive and Dikgoho projects

### 5. Introduction

This chapter presents a number of cases studies that illustrate individuals depending on a range of livelihood activities (agricultural and non agricultural) and food security situations in both the Survive and the Dikgoho beneficiaries active and not active.

#### 5.1 Nature of the multiple livelihoods and patterns of food security

The table below summarises the cases that illustrate some of the livelihood activities and food security patterns of the five beneficiaries that are still active and not active (18); that is at the moment of the research. The cases are categorised into eight types of individuals namely: individuals depending on remittances (3); individuals depending on remittances and social grants (2); individual depending on formal employment (3); individuals depending on wage labour and social grants (4); individuals depending on social grants (2); individual depending on self-employment (3); individual depending on wage labour (2) and individuals depending on livestock rearing, remittances and social grants (4).

Land reform beneficiaries active and not active depend on different types of sources to make a living. Looking at the beneficiaries still active, apart from being active in the project their livelihoods are supported by means of remittances, social grants and self employment. The beneficiaries not active are deriving their livelihoods through remittances, social grants, formal employment, wage labour, self employment and rearing of livestock.

**Table 3:** Livelihood activities and food security of Survive beneficiaries active and not active

CATEGORIES →		
LIVELIHOOD AND FOOD SECURITY ↓	Land reform beneficiaries active	Land reform beneficiaries not active
Dependency on remittances	Lindi, Shield	Mary
Dependency on remittances and social grants	Freddy, Palesa	
Dependency on formal employment	Clifford	Montsheng, Sebini
Dependency on wage labour and social grants		Jerry, Patisiwe, Matshediso, Modise
Dependency on social grants		Josina, Mantenya
Dependency on self-employment		Tafita, Joan, Uphill
Dependency on wage labour		Mathabo, Morwa,
Dependency on rearing of livestock, remittances and social grants		Zama, Bohentse, Madipudi, Jakobo

Source: Personal field data collection in August to December 2007

Dependency on remittances (Lindi, Shield and Mary)

### Lindi

Lindi was born in 1950 in Taung Township where she attended school up to grade 11. In 1976 she married Johnny and they have two children (sons). Johnny is employed at the Municipality, he records water and electricity meter and he is earning R 3000.00 per month. When she heard about the project she was not working and was looking after her livestock (sheep and cattle). She explained her situation like these: *'I was raising livestock with the purpose of selling to generate an income. My livestock was not giving enough income that is why I got interested in the project. Most of my livestock was stolen and now left with sheep (10), cattle (3) and some poultry (chickens and geese'*. She is selling them and also for consumption. She had the vegetable garden (beetroot, cabbage, carrots, onion and tomato) before becoming the beneficiary and was for consumption.

She is a treasurer in the project and her duties at the project includes irrigating, cleaning the house, cooking, cutting of lucerne with sickle. She explained that she is still active in the project because it is difficult to find a job especially a person of her age. Her husband is working and also Bonolo is a waiter at Taung Trust and he sends her R 200.00 every month to purchase the food.

Dependency on remittances and social grants (Freddy and Palesa)

### **Palesa**

Palesa (secretary) was born in 1973 in Taung Township, where she attended school up to grade 12. She was a domestic worker before becoming the beneficiary of the project. She has two children and the second born is receiving the child grants of R 200.00 per month. She doesn't have a vegetable garden at home and also don't own livestock. She got interested in the project because she had love for agriculture and she was doing it at school. Some of her duties include irrigating, planting and bailing lucerne with the tractor. Her mother gives her money sometimes to purchase food.

Dependency on formal employment (Clifford, Montsheng and Sebini)

### **Sebini**

Sebini was amongst the group canvassing. She was born in 1974. She got interested in owning the land as she had love for agriculture from the young age. She is a teacher by profession and currently employed at secondary school and she is earning R 5000.00 per month. Her husband is working in the mine. She is no longer active in the project because of conflicts and misunderstandings. Before becoming the beneficiary, she was contractually employed at ABET and she was earning R 2000.00 per month. She has a vegetable garden and grows spinach for consumption and for selling to neighbours. She has 17 chickens for consumption and for selling at R 30.00 each. Her duties in the project were to remove the weeds and to cultivate the garden.

Dependency on wage labour and social grants (Jerry, Patisiwe, Matshediso, and Modise)

### **Jerry**

Jerry was born 46 years ago in Taung Township. His education level is grade 6. He got interest in the project because he was not working and to be out of poverty. In 1986 he temporarily migrated to the Rustenburg and got employed as a mine labourer. In 1995 he was retrenched from the mine. He is staying with Lerato (wife) and their three daughters. He is now doing piece jobs and he receives R 150.00 to R 1200.00 per month depending on the type of job. While at the project there was no income generated and he was spending a lot of money on transport and buying food. He doesn't have a vegetable garden because of lack of water, though he wishes to have one. He has 18 chickens for consumption.

Other beneficiary depending on wage labour and social grants mentioned that:

### **Matshediso**

*I am now working in the spaza shop to make a living for myself. I have been paid well and satisfied as I am able to buy food. I am earning R 700.00 per month. I am a single mother of three sons and all of them are receiving the child's grant of R 200.00 per month. I don't have the vegetable garden as the soil is rocky. I have goats for household consumption. Before becoming beneficiary, I was working as the domestic worker.*

Dependency on social grants (Josina and Mantenya)

### **Mantenya**

Mantenya was born in 1950 in Taung Township. Conflicts in the project made her to lose interest. Her job in the project was weeding. She is receiving the pension (R 870.00) because of her disability. She is a pensioner and she doesn't want to return to the project. She has pigs for consumption. She doesn't have the vegetable garden.

Dependency on self employment (Tafita, Joan and Uphill)

### **Tafita**

Tafita was retrenched from the mines in 2004 and paid in a lump sum. He was earning R 1900.00 per month. *I used the money to purchase a bakkie. At present I am rendering a transport service delivering goods at the cost of R 100.00 per load to my community. If they need to be taken far I charge them R 160.00 depending on travelled kilometres. I don't have vegetable garden because of lack of water and I don't have livestock.* He has two children receiving the child's grant of R 200.00 per month.

Other beneficiaries depending on self employment mentioned that:

### **Joan**

*I am now self employed and opened a tuck shop. I am making a profit of about R 1200.00 per month. In addition to this my husband brings extra income because he is also self-employed as a welder. We had vegetable garden before joining the project for consumption and if more production we sell to the neighbours. We have 70 chickens for consumption and also for selling at R 35.00 per chicken. We also have goats for consumption, cattle for ceremonial purposes and donkeys with the purpose of fetching water for R 10.00 per drum and also for transporting people at R 50.00.*

### **Uphill**

*I am now self-employed as a carpenter and make more than R6000.00 per month. In 1994, I visited my uncle in Free State who was a carpenter. Uncle taught me carpentry and I loved it. After leaving Survive project, it was difficult for me to find a job and I then used the skill obtained through informal learning from uncle. I am very happy and I don't want to return to the project. I have a small vegetable garden and plant beans and tomato for consumption.*

Dependency on wage labour (Mathabo and Morwa)

### **Mathabo**

Mathabo (44 years old) was unemployed before becoming the beneficiary and looking for the job as the income that was earned by her husband (retrenched in the mines 2004) was not enough to support the entire family. She was removing the weeds while in the project. Mathabo left her small town in 2007 to look for a job. During the time of data collection she was three months employed as the domestic worker in Johannesburg and earning R 900.00 per month. They have six children and the fifth and the last born are receiving child grant of R 200.00 per month. She has a vegetable garden for consumption. Her husband after being retrenched bought three sheep and a cow to raise them so as to generate income to buy food.

Other beneficiary depending on wage labour mentioned that:

### **Morwa**

*I was not working by the time people were canvassing. After leaving the project I was frustrated and I went to Rustenburg to visit my aunt. Fortunately it was the right time as the mine was recruiting people. I am now employed part time in the mines and earning R 1000.00 per month. I had a vegetable garden but ended it because of lack of water. It was for consumption and also selling to the neighbours.*

Dependency on rearing livestock, remittances and social grants (Zama, Bohentse, Madipudi and Jakobo)

### **Madipudi**

Land reform has been a critical event for Madipudi (born in 1967). She was a domestic worker who never thought that a day will come for her to have an interest in raising livestock. She has poultry (chickens and geese) for consumption. She is not only depending on social grants; now she owns three sheep and intention is to extend so as to sell to generate income. She also have vegetable garden and if more production she sells to the neighbours.

The table below summarises the cases that illustrate some of the livelihood activities and food security of the eight beneficiaries still active and seven beneficiaries no longer active. The cases are categorised into five types of Individuals namely: individuals depending on remittances and social grants (10); individual depending on social grants and vegetable production (1), individuals depending on wage labour (2); individual depending on formal employment (1) and individual depending on selling of vegetables (1).

The Dikgoho beneficiaries active in the project are earning their livelihood and food security predominantly from non agricultural activities such as remittances and social grants (Lorraine, Madikgomo, Malehlakana, Arone, Efa, Jono and Annamaria) and growing of vegetables for selling in the case of Mamabele. Those not active are earning their livelihood and food security through remittances and social grants by majority, followed by wage labour and formal employment and selling vegetables.

**Table 4:** Livelihood activities and food security of Dikgoho beneficiaries active and not active

CATEGORIES →		
LIVELIHOOD/FOOD SECURITY ↓	Land reform beneficiaries active	Land reform beneficiaries not active
Dependency on remittances and social grants	Lorraine, Madikgomo, Malehlakana, Arone, Efa, Jono, Annamaria	Emma, Monika, Mafura
Dependency on social grants and growing vegetables	Mamabele	
Dependency on wage labour		Elisa, Dintle
Dependency on formal-employment		Setenane
Dependency on selling vegetables		Maleshwane

Source: Personal field data collection in August to December 2007

Dependency on remittances and social grants (Lorraine, Madikgomo, Malehlakana, Arone, Efa, Jono, Annamaria, Emma, Monika and Mafura)

### **Madikgomo**

Madikgomo (marketing director) was born in Warrenton in 1948. In 1970 she got married to Ranku and he was working in the mines. Ranku worked for the mines up to 1980 and he was retrenched and after that he left her with three sons. At times her sons give her money and also contribute by paying school fees for the last born. She worked in the firm before in 1989 and was earning R 275.-600.00 per month. Her duties were stock checking, and taking of orders. Now her duties are slaughtering, stock checking and to take out the orders and management. She likes it now because she is her own boss. She said this in her opinion “*but it was better before because I was getting paid monthly income as compared to now. The problem is because we don’t have the access to formal financial institutions*”. She has siblings and they sometimes help with paying her accounts

and also to purchase food. She had the interest in the project because she was not working and a person of her age is not easy to be employed. She had the vegetable garden before but the quality of the produce was not satisfactory as the soil is sandy. She is now raising eight chickens for consumption. She is not leaving the project because she found coming to the project better than sitting at home and doing nothing.

### **Malehlakana**

Malehlakana (marketing director) was born in 1959 in Warrenton. In 1979 she married Molamu and they had a son. Molamu worked in Rustenburg mine and he got retrenched and after receiving a lump sum of R 25 000.00 left her. By that time she was a domestic worker in Johannesburg and when she came home for holidays she found out that Molamu left already. She divorced him and she moved in to her family house as her siblings are staying in their homes. She found herself a partner and he moved to her family house and they are staying with their children. Her partner is a part-time bricklayer in the locations and the income he earns cannot afford their needs. She has a son (grade 3) with the partner and he is receiving child grant of R 200.00 per month. She worked in the project before in 1991 and her duties were to clean the insides of the chicken, washing them in the abattoir and she also does that now. Her opinion about the project is *'It was better by then because I was getting monthly income. I was earning R 360.-500.00 per month. Our project compared to before owning by us, is that we don't have the market and the problems are directed to us. If we can have mentor in the project and good management we can do better.* In the project they sometimes slaughter for the commercial farmers and earn R 30.00 on that day. She doesn't plant vegetables in her yard because the soil is not suitable (many rocks) and also she doesn't own livestock.

Other beneficiaries depending on remittances and social grants mentioned for instance as Emma did that: *My son who works at the Department of Health is sending me R 300.00 every month to purchase the food.* Mafura narrated that 'I

*am not employed at the moment and I am depending on the maintenance support by my ex-husband for the six children of R 1500.00 per month to pay school fees for children and also to purchase the food'*

Social grants earned by spouse helps in purchasing the food. *My husband, says Annamaria, is sick and he is getting a sick pension of R 870.00 per month.*

Dependency on social grants and growing vegetables (Mamabele)

### **Mamabele**

Mamabele (director) was born in Warrenton in 1964. She has four children and two born are earning a child grant of R200. Before working in the firm she was a dressmaker in Johannesburg. Her duties in the firm were administration work, checking of stock and ordering and even now she is still doing that work. She grows spinach in her small vegetable garden for consumption and if more production, she sells to neighbours for R 5.00 a bunch. She doesn't own livestock. She is not leaving the project because she believes that things will come right. She got interested in the project because she was unemployed looking for the job and also she understand the project because she worked in the project before.

Dependency on wage labour (Elisa and Dintle)

### **Elisa**

Elisa born 1953 was a domestic worker earning R 400.00 per month before joining land reform project. She got interested in the project because she was not working. She is no longer active in the project because the project is not generating an income. She is now employed as a domestic worker and she is earning R 1000.00 so that she can be able to purchase food and pay children's school fees.

Other beneficiary depending on wage labour mentioned that:

**Dintle**

*I have five children. The last two born are earning child's grant of R 200.00 per month. I don't have the vegetable garden because my yard is very small. I don't have livestock.*

Dependency on formal employment (Setenane)

**Setenane**

*I am no longer involved because the chairperson and other committee members are acting as if the project is theirs. They are not tasking other beneficiaries and only they are benefiting from the project. Setenane is now employed at Department of Health and he is earning R 5200.00 per month.*

Dependency on selling vegetables (Maleshwane)

*I am now selling vegetables to the neighbours bought at Jan Kempdorp market.*

**5.2 Conclusions**

The Survive and the Dikgoho projects are at present not economically viable and this is among the reasons why a few beneficiaries are still active while the majority withdrew from the project. The Survive and the Dikgoho projects beneficiaries active and keen to continue with the project as part of their everyday life show that their major source of livelihood is not with the project *per se* but lies elsewhere. They still maintain relations or connections with their families along which flow remittances and social grants to make a living. With regard to the Dikgoho project, the beneficiaries active identified two new opportunities. The first one is plans are on an advanced stage to diversify the project by venturing into a market garden project. They are currently producing for consumption during working hours as well as for individuals and sell surplus.

The second opportunity is that they buy and sell chickens from the commercial farmers. They have strike lucrative (good) deals with the commercial farmers by offering the slaughtering services that earns each member R 30.00 per day and the chicken's offal are consumed in the project.

In the Survive project 27 beneficiaries are no longer active due to several reasons that vary from individual to individual such as lack of incentives, motivation, trust among group members, poor communication, tragedy failure of leadership and pursuing their profession/careers. Twenty seven beneficiaries of the Dikgoho project are no longer active due to several reasons that vary from individual to individual such as nepotism, lack of sense of ownership, leadership problem (leaders treat the project as a private entity), leadership makes a very strong barrier for others to be part and parcel of the project and lack of transparency. The land reform beneficiaries not active in the two projects derive their livelihood and food security predominantly from non-agricultural activities such as wage labour, social grants followed by remittances. This agrees with Bradstock (2003; 2005b) that majority of the people in the NCP are deriving their livelihood from social grants especially pension, disability grants and child support grants) and seasonal, casual and other salaried work.

Growing of vegetables in their small home gardens is one of the multiple livelihoods activity land reform beneficiaries active and not active engage into despite constraints of poor soil conditions and lack of water in the Taung Township and Warrenton area. However the constraints limit the expansion of this activity and negatively affect the production. The production is consumed by majority while few sell to their neighbours. This also has a negative effect in their food security as well as livelihoods. These findings concur with findings by Bradstock 2003 that those engaged in agricultural activities produce only for consumption.

From the findings it can be concluded that land reform beneficiaries active and not active do not only depend on the land as they have multiple sources of livelihoods such as remittances, social grants and wage labour. This shows that land reform is not a solution for improving people's livelihoods and food security. The above discussion reaffirms the argument by Ellis (2000) and Hebinck (2007) that not all rural people in Africa and South Africa in particular derive their food security and livelihood from farming. The cases underline what Bradstock (2005a, b and c) and other commentators have argued that land reform has not broken the pattern that rural people combine agriculture and non agricultural activities as sources for their livelihoods and food security.

The data clearly indicates that agriculture in the form of LRAD projects is not the only activity people engage in. The data also underlines the fact that land reform is also used and perceived as an actor strategy that provides a livelihood source on which one falls back on. It works even two ways: when part of a project has potential access to a means of livelihoods, the labour market or family does not provide opportunities. On the other hand when the projects do not perform as planned or expected, beneficiaries are keen to be able to fall back on the labour market for work so that the family and the state survive. Thus cutting ties with the labour market, the family and the state is not complete. Maintaining relations with land reform projects and other sources of livelihoods, (multiple livelihoods), is a key developmental factor in the NCP (and perhaps elsewhere as well).

# CHAPTER 6

## Conclusions

### 6. Introduction

This is the concluding chapter of this research study. It discusses the general findings from the research study. The data revealed five different kinds of main findings or outcomes that were either expected or not expected (multiple realities). Some of the outcomes were expected like people getting the land and working on it their own way. Others like livelihoods and food security trends were not really changed but it may be argued that realistically this was expected: the majority of the people still deriving their livelihoods and food security through state transfers (social grants), remittances (relatives) and wage labour. Other expected outcomes such as social relations were maintained with land reform and other sources of livelihoods (multiple livelihoods). The data also revealed other outcomes that perhaps were not expected to happen, like conflicts between members farming collectively (land reform beneficiaries) on the projects. Though the CPA is all about social relationships and trust however the opposite has been achieved. And last but not least the inefficient institutional support to land reform beneficiaries happened as stated by many (Bradstock, 2003; Hall, 2004) in chapter 2 of the thesis. The conclusions of this research were made by from the discussions.

### 6.1 Main findings

#### *6.1.1 Land ownership as a motivation to engage with land reform*

People joined the LRAD projects because they were looking for social security. The LRAD projects were the only alternative means that will earn them an improved livelihood and their food security because the income from remittances

and social grants was not enough to sustain them and some were retrenched in their jobs. One of the reasons was they admired to own the land and they thought that farming is easy while in reality is labour intensive.

#### *6.1.2 Trends in livelihood and food security*

The trend in the livelihood and food security situation was looked from the time before and after land reform. The study has revealed that before the land reform, people were engaged in non agricultural activities as a way of making a living. Before the land reform the individuals were depending predominately on social grants, remittances and wage labour. The livelihood and food security trends remained the same after land reform; this is in accordance with a lot of livelihood literature about Southern Africa people continue to make a living through social grants, remittances and wage labour. Therefore land reform is in the process of transforming the livelihoods and food security patterns of the land reform beneficiaries.

#### *6.1.3 Land reform and multiple livelihoods*

Land reform beneficiaries are using any available opportunity in addition to land as sources of livelihoods (multiple livelihoods). Therefore land reform has not changed the pattern that rural people combine agriculture and non agricultural activities as sources for their livelihoods and food security.

#### *6.1.4 Social relations*

Land reform in Francis Baard District created social capital in the form of monetary capital as people pooled their financial resources together. Furthermore it provided land as a resource to the beneficiaries. Cooperation and trust as key dimensions of social capital were, however, seriously lacking between and among the land reform beneficiaries in both the Survive and the

Dikgoho projects. This is mainly due to the fact that the groups were formed by people with diverse backgrounds and hence different aspirations. This brought conflicts of interests resulting in some land reform beneficiaries leaving the project. Social capital also created business opportunities in Dikgoho project since they are now buying chickens from the commercial farmers for slaughtering and selling. However social capital in the form of capacity building, there was lack of extension to the beneficiaries. Social capital also existed in the form of support between former owner of the now Survive project and land reform beneficiaries. The research study concludes that land reform created social capital by allowing people to bring their resources together.

#### *6.1.5 Institutional support*

From the study it emerged that there are weak institutional support to land reform beneficiaries. This included lack of credit facilities, extension services, inputs and produce markets as stated by Bradstock (2005c). Another factor is that projects are conceived without farming implements and some have old farming implements that are not in a good working condition or not working at all. Lack of farming implements is a contributory factor that causes land reform beneficiaries not to use their land productively. Therefore it can be concluded that the transfer of ownership of land without adequate support services does not necessarily improve the livelihood and food security of the intended beneficiaries.

## References

- Adams, M.** (2000). *Breaking Ground: Development Aid for Land Reform*. London.
- Ankomah, S.** (2001). *Addressing food insecurity in South Africa*. Paper presented at the SARPN conference on Land Reform and Poverty Alleviation in Southern Africa, Pretoria. 3-5 June 2001.
- Arce, A. and P. Hebinck** (2002), *Life styles and the livelihood framework: problems and possibilities for development Studies*. (Unpublished paper). Wageningen: Department of Social Sciences, Rural Development Sociology.
- Binswanger, H.P. and Elgin, M.** 1992. What are the prospects for land reform? In Eicher and Staatz (Eds.). *Agricultural development in third world*. (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed), London. pp 342-344.
- Bradstock, A.** (2003). *Key Lessons Learned from Working with Six Land Reform Communities in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa*. London: FARM-Africa.
- Bradstock, A.** (2005a). *Changing Livelihoods and Land Reform: Evidence from the Northern Cape Province of South Africa*. London: FARM-Africa.
- Bradstock, A.** (2005b). *Key Experiences of Land Reform in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa*. London: FARM-Africa.
- Bradstock, A.** (2005c). *Supporting Land Reform in South Africa: Participatory Planning Experience in the Northern Cape Province*. London: FARM-Africa.
- Chambers, R, and Conway, G.R.** (1992). Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century. *Discussion Paper 296*. Brighton: IDS
- Deininger, K.** (1999). Making negotiated land reform work: initial experiences from Colombia, Brazil and South Africa. *World Development*, 27 (4), April 1999. pp 651-672.
- Department of Land Affairs (DLA).** (1997). Land Reform Policy Committee: Procedures for farm worker equity schemes. Department of Land Affairs, Pretoria.

- Ellis, F.** (2000). *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- FAO.** (1990), *Rural Households and Resource Allocation for Development: An Ecosystem Perspective*, FAO, and Rome.
- Farmer's Weekly.** (2005). Didiza offers reasons for Limpopo failures. 18 November 2005.
- Geingob, P.** (2005). Land reform process in Namibia: a study of the impact of land reform on beneficiaries in Otjozondjupa region, Namibia. MSc Thesis, University of the Western Cape South Africa.
- Hall, R.** (2004). Political Economy of Land Reform in South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. NO. 100: 213-227.
- Hall, R.** (2004a). *LRAD Rapid Systematic Assessment Survey: Nine case studies in the Eastern Cape*. Unpublished paper, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.
- Hall, R., Issacs, M. and Saruchera, M.** (2004). *Land and Agrarian Reform in Integrated Development Plans: Case Studies from Selected District and Local Municipalities*, Cape Town: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape 2004.
- Hebinck, P.** 2007. Investigating rural livelihoods and landscapes in Guquka and Koloni: An introduction. In: Hebinck, P. and P.C. Lent (eds.) (2007). *Livelihoods and Landscapes: The people of Guquka and Koloni and their resources*. Leiden/Boston: Brill Academic Publishers. pp 1-32.
- Jacobs, P, Lahiff, E and Hall R.** (2003). **Land Redistribution**. Unpublished research report Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.
- Jacobs, P.** (2003). *Support for agricultural development*. Cape Town: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.
- Jacobs, S.** (2004). Livelihoods, Security and Needs: Gender Relations and Land Reform in South Africa. *Journal of International Women's Studies*. Vol. 6, no 1, November 2004.

**James, D.** (2007). Gaining ground? 'Rights and Property in South African Land Reform'. WITS UNIVERSITY PRESS.

**Kaag, M.** et al. (2004) 'Ways Forward in Livelihood Research', in D. Kalb, W. Pansters and H. Siebers (eds) *Globalization and Development. Themes and Concepts in Current Research*, pp. 49–74. Dordrecht, Boston, MA and London: Kluwer.

**Khwene, M.W., Ogane, D., Mpandeli, S., De Bruin, J., Domola, J. and Mamabolo, J.** (2004). The Development of a Project Framework for Land Reform at the Vaalharts Irrigation Scheme of the Northern Cape Province, South Africa (Agricultural Research Council, Field Study Series number 4, Northern Cape 2004).

**Kumar, R.** (2005). Research methodology: a step by step guide for beginners. (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). Sage Publications, London.

**Lahiff, E and Cousins, B.** (2005). Smallholder Agriculture and Land Reform in South Africa. *IDS Bulletin* 36 (2).

**Lahiff, E.** (2000). The impact of land reform policy in the Northern Province, in *At the crossroads: Land and agrarian reform in South Africa into the 21st century*, edited by Ben Cousins. Cape Town/Johannesburg: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape/National Land Committee.

**Lahiff, E.** (2001). Land Reform in South Africa. Is It Meeting the Challenge? *PLAAS Policy Brief*. NO.1 Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of Western Cape.

**Lahiff, E.** (2007). State, Market or the Worst of Both? Experimenting With Market-based Land Reform in South Africa. Occasional Paper No. 30. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.

**Louw, M.** (2007). "Land reform threatens food security in South Africa". [www.news24.com/News24/South\\_Africa/Politics/0,,2-7-12\\_2118719,00.html](http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/Politics/0,,2-7-12_2118719,00.html) - 24 May 2007.

**Low, A.B. and A.G. Rebelo,** (1998). Vegetation of South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland. Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Pretoria. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

- Mamphodo, A.D.** (2006). *Baseline study of the quality of life of Land Reform beneficiaries in Limpopo Province. A case study of Getrusburg. MIAgrar.* University of Pretoria. Pretoria.
- Northern Cape Agri.** (2007). *UN on land reform.* November 2007, Kimberley.
- Northern Cape Provincial Government (NCPG).** 2007. Budget Vote Speech for 2007/08. Department of Agriculture and Land Reform, Kimberley.
- Parker, G.D.** (2004). *The challenge of sustainable land based local economic development in poor communities of South Africa: The case of Groblershoop, Northern Cape.* Master of Philosophy degree. University of Western Cape.
- PLAAS (Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies).** (2006). The Impact of Land Restitution and Land Reform on livelihoods. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape, and Sustainable Development Consortium. Research Report for the National Land Committee.
- Portes, A.** (1998). Social Capital: Its origin and Application in Modern Sociology. *Annual Reviews of Sociology.* 24:1-24.
- Punch, K.F.** (2005). Introduction to Social Research. Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Putnam, R.** (1995). *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital* Journal of Democracy 6 (1) 65-78.
- Scoones, I.** (1998). Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for analysis. Sussex: Institute of Development Studies (IDS) Working Paper 72.
- Sen, A.** (1981). *Poverty and Famines.* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Statistics South Africa.** (2002). Census of Commercial Agriculture: Financial and Production Statistics. Report No1. Department of Agriculture. South Africa.
- Swallows, B.N. and Boris, B.** (1988). 'Co-operative Agricultural Development and Food Production in Lesotho', in *Food Security Issues in Southern Africa*, Ed KK Prah, ISAS, NUL, Lesotho.
- Tola, A.** (1988). 'Food Security in Lesotho', in *Food Security Issues in Southern Africa*, Ed KK Prah, ISAS, NUL, Lesotho.

**Tomkova, J.** (2004). Post-Settlement Challenges of Land Reform in South Africa. A paper presented at Ten Years of Democracy in Southern Africa Conference, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada: 2-5.

**Van den Brink, R, Thomas, G, Binswanger, H, Bruce, J. and Byamugisha, F.** (2006). Consensus, Confusion, and Controversy. Selected land reforms issues in Sub-Saharan Africa. World Bank Working Paper No. 71. Washington DC: The World Bank.

**Van Leynseele, Y.P., and Hebinck P.** (2008). Looking Through the Prism of Land Restitution, In Fay, D. & D. James (eds.). *The Rights and Wrongs of Land Restitution. 'Restoring What Was Ours'*. London: Routledge-Cavendish. pp 163-184.

**Wegerif, M.** (2004). A critical appraisal of South Africa's market-based land reform policy: The case of the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development programme in Limpopo. Bellville: PLAAS, University of the Western Cape.

**Williams, G.** (1996). "Setting the Agenda: a Critique of the World Bank's Rural Restructuring Programme for South Africa": J. of Southern African Studies: 22, 1

**Williams, G.** (2000). Paper to Workshop on Land Reform in South Africa, LSE, London, June.