



WAGENINGEN UNIVERSITY
WAGENINGEN UR

**An Analysis of South African Land Reform Projects:
A Case of Gallawater A. Farm**

MSC Thesis: RDS 80430



Moseki M.S

Supervised by: Dr.Hebinck P

Rural Development Sociology

August 2008

TABLE OF CONTENT

<i>Abstract</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Geographical location of the study area</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Acronyms and abbreviations</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of tables</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>List of figures</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Executive Summary</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>xiii</i>
CHAPTER 1: POLITICAL SHIFTS IN SOUTH AFRICAN LAND ISSUES	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Setting the scene for research.....	2
• World Bank’s market based land reform Policies.....	2
• Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development.....	3
• Objectives of LRAD Programme.....	3
• Support kin LRAD Projects.....	4
• Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programmes.....	4
• Post Settlement support in the Eastern Cape Province.....	5
• Six peg development model.....	5
• Changing South African Agriculture.....	6
1.3 Achievements of Land Reform Programme in South Africa.....	6
• Conclusion.....	8
CHAPTER 2: FOCUS ON CONCEPTUAL ISSUES	9
2.1 Literature review.....	9
• The Neo-Liberal Perspectives.....	9
• Political Economics perspective of Land Reform.....	11
• Critique.....	13
2.3 Conceptual Framework.....	13
• A social change perspective.....	13
• Social networks analysis.....	14
• Proposed framework for the creation of social networks.....	15
• Operationalization of Land Reform.....	16
2.4 Problem Statement.....	16
2.5 Research questions.....	17
• General research questions.....	17
• Specific research questions.....	17
• Research objectives.....	17
2.6 Methodology.....	17
• Data collection.....	18
• Sampling.....	18



• Case Selection.....	18
CHAPTER 3: LAND REFORM AND GALLAWATER A FARM	19
3.1 Study area.....	19
3.2 History of Gallawater A Farm beneficiaries.....	19
3.3 Current livelihoods and land use.....	21
3.3.1 Sources of livelihoods.....	22
3.4 Farm Infrastructure.....	24
3.4.1 Services.....	25
• Conclusion.....	26
CHAPTER 4: GALLAWATER ACTOR PROJECTS: MULTIPLE REALITIES	27
Case 1: The B Family.....	28
Case 2: Mr. N.J.....	31
Case 3: Ms Q.....	32
Case 4: Ms Mqo.....	33
Case 5: Mr. S.S.....	35
Case 6: Mr Boy.....	36
Case 7: Mr. Neli.....	37
Case 8: Nomsa.....	38
Case9: Mr. Zondi.....	39
Case 10 Mr. Nza.....	40
• Conclusion.....	40
CHAPTER 5: LAND REFORM PROJECTS AS INTERLOCKING SOCIAL SPACES	41
5.1 Analysis.....	41
5.2 Conclusion.....	43
5.3 Recommendations.....	44
• References.....	45



ABSTRACT

Land reform is a complex process which its analysis should go beyond ideological statements and linear judgments. Various stakeholders within land reform programme have voiced out their arguments in an attempt to analyze this complex processes. However, these analysis narrowly focused either on neo-liberal or political economy perspectives, but this thesis aims to go beyond these two perspectives and highlight that proper analysis and judgment of the South African land reform programme also needs to be done based on models of social change as this will provide empirical evidence of everyday realities faced by stakeholders involved in different processes of this programme, especially beneficiaries at project level.

In this study, interactions of different actors in Gallawater A. farm were analyzed using the social network analysis framework. This was done to determine what is happening in land reform projects on a daily basis. The study revealed that land reform projects often results in activities which were never anticipated by the policies, and that within these projects there is more reality taking place than just assumptions and ideologies used by many stakeholders including academics to judge the programme.

This study reveals that through social interactions and self organization processes within land reform projects, beneficiaries identify opportunities to derive livelihoods and end up creating conducive environments for themselves which results in these projects becoming arenas with diverse interlocking projects.

Based on findings of this study it can be concluded that, even in the so called “failed land reform projects” there is a lot happening and for as long as researchers and other stakeholders involved in this process fail to analyze and understand this complex process empirically using correct methodologies, then the realities of everyday life in land reform projects will continuously be ignored.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA

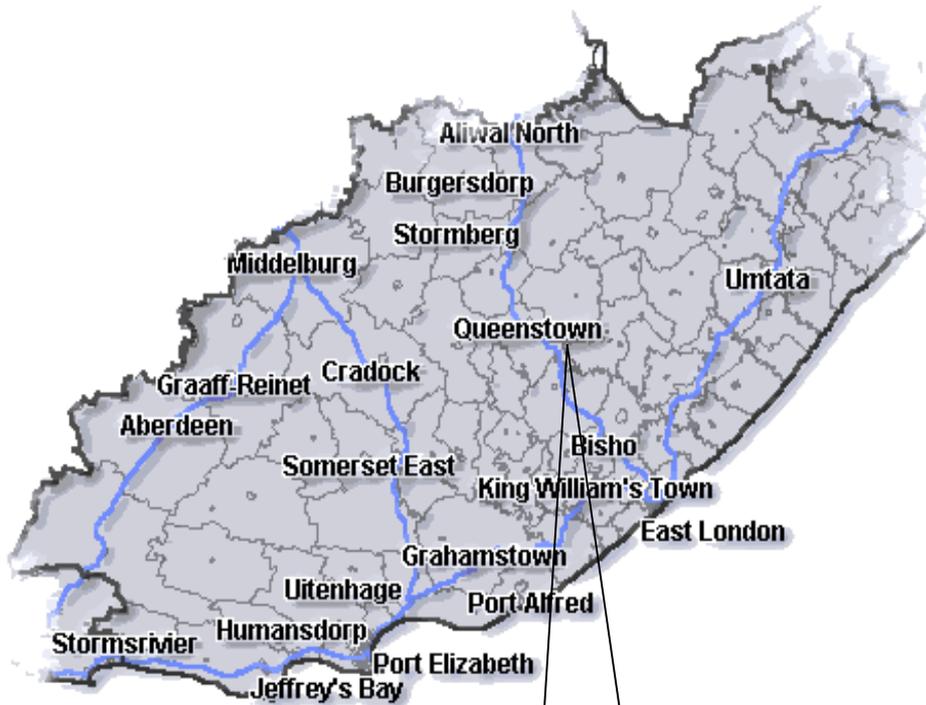


Figure 1: Map of Eastern Cape Province of South Africa; Source: Cyber prop: Eastern Cape

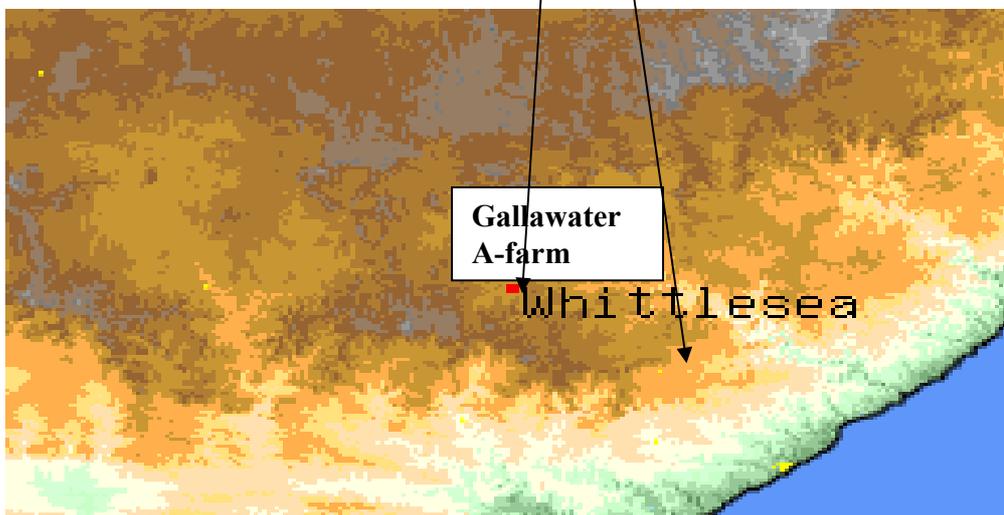


Figure 2: Map of Whittlesea Area where Gallawater A. Farm is situated

Source: Goggle Earth



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the support and supervision of Dr Paul Hebinck this work would have been impossible. My gratitude goes to him and all other staff of Wageningen University who played a major role in assisting by providing training and courses that laid a foundation for making this work possible.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Cape Programme for Rural Innovation (CAPRI) for financially supporting this study. My promise to the organization is that resources placed in this study were well invested. The gained knowledge will not only benefit CAPRI and me as an individual, but this knowledge will be used as a contribution in building a better South Africa.

To my fellow MAKS 21 group, thank you for making studying in Wageningen a memorable life time experience; all the activities, the joy, the knowledge and experiences we shared together will remain a life time memory in me. Special thanks goes to Judit Hümmels and Antony Oduro for always being there to listen and advice on academic and personal level.

To my family and friends in South Africa, I know that being away from home was difficult for all of us, but thanks for remaining positive, hopeful and supportive at all times. Your words of support, encouragement and prayers kept me going; and all these are highly appreciated.

During my field work, several organizations in the Eastern Cape Province played a very important role in selflessly sharing information and allowing me to ask questions which resulted in this work. My special appreciation is extended to individuals who took time to share useful information used in these work. These organizations and individuals are;

Department of Agriculture: Mr. April, Mayekiso and Mr. Nhantsi

Department of Education: Gallawater A. School principal; Ms. Matsheliso Ziyokwana

Department of Social Development: Ms. Mshudulu, and Mfuniselwa

Department of Health: Ms. Filita

Department of Justice: Mr. Moshoana

Department of Water Affairs and Forestry: Mr. Meleni

Chris Hani District Municipality: Ntoboyise Mnyengeza

Traditional Office: Mr. Menembe

Border Rural Committee: Ashley and Gail

Da Gama Cotton: Mr. Ndlovu

It is unfortunate that the same appreciation and commitment demonstrated by the above mentioned organizations cannot be expressed towards the Department of Land Affairs in East London and Queenstown. Lack of cooperation from these offices left me thinking whether Batho Pele principles only apply to certain departments within the government sector.

Despite being disappointed with the Department of Land Affairs, there were more positive experiences during my field work, and on a positive note I owe my greatest appreciation to the Dikana and Nkomana family in Amalinda for making my stay in the Eastern Cape a memorable one.

Thanks to Mr. David Heyns for opening his gates to provide access to the neighbouring Gallawater A. Farm. To Gallawater A. Farm residents and beneficiaries, both living in Zwelendinga and in the farm, I appreciate your willingness and time you dedicated towards sharing your joys, frustrations and life stories with me. Living in your farm was not just exciting but was also an educational experience for me. *Ndiyabulela.*

Finally I thank God for this work and for everyone who in anyway contributed towards this achievement. Without Him, nothing could have been possible.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AgriBEE	Agricultural Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment
AGRISA	Agricultural Trade Association in South Africa
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
BRC	Border Rural Committee
CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
ESKOM	South African Electricity Supply Commission
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non –Governmental Organization
PIG	Provincial Infrastructural Growth
SAPS	South African Police Services
SLAG	Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant
ZRA	Zweledinga Residents Association



LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	social categories at Gallawater A. farm	21
Table 2:	Summary of the case studies	27

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	Map of Eastern Cape Province of South Africa	iv
Figure 2:	Map of Whittlesea Area where Gallawater A. Farm is situated	iv



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This thesis critically reflects on the way in which South African land reform has been designed, analyzed, and interpreted by policy makers, a range of academics and many other stakeholders involved. My analysis shows that land reform is a complex, ambiguous of sometimes conflictual process. The argument that this thesis brings forward is that the academic schools of thought that dominate the land reform debate in South Africa (e.g. neo-liberal and political economy) as well as policy makers respectively analyze and understand land reform in a rather linear way. Both academics and policy makers assume a too easy, linear relationship between objectives, policy instruments and implementation. Achieving the stated objectives is possible when land reform beneficiaries follow expert advice and implement the land reform as is designed. For the neo-liberal strand, it is important that land reform is market led and deviations from that explains the failures of land reform. In contrast political economist point at land reform as being designed for elites and strengthening existing patterns of rural differentiation. Such perspectives, as this thesis will show, fall short in explaining the complex realities of land reform and rather ignore the multiple realities of everyday life of beneficiaries in land reform farms.

Academics like James (2007); Long (2001, 2004) and Koponen (2004) underline the need for methodological innovations such as more close and frequent encounters with land reform beneficiaries to be able to fully understand and grasp the dynamics of land reform adequately. Thus in contrast to the neo-liberal and political economy analysis of land reform, the approach followed in this thesis focused on how beneficiaries construct and maintain (sometimes) new social relationships to meet their basic needs (e.g. shelter, services) while at the same time engaging in multiple livelihoods strategies to meet their basic needs. This study was conducted following an ethnographic approach. During this study situational analysis, participatory observations, formal and informal interviews were used to gather information.

A social network analysis was used to analyze the social interactions and relationships between various actors, and how these different actors engage and interlock while providing support and shelter to others once the new land owners have been settled in their newly acquired farms. In that sense, this thesis documents the day-to-day experiences of land reform projects. This also explains the delineation to the research to

documenting experiences on land reform farms per se. This study highlight however, that it would be wrong to focus solely or too much on land reform farms. Ignoring relationships with the wider environment would imply for instance that one misses out on the key role of state pensions and remittances as well as that seeking employment outside agriculture is crucial for the livelihoods of land reform beneficiaries. Similar to what Walker (2005) argues, this thesis clearly shows that not all rural dwellers seek to construct their livelihood as farmers. At the same time, a focus on what is happening on the farm was instrumental in exploring the emergence of new social relations between land and non-land-owners, between beneficiaries and non beneficiaries, between those beneficiaries that stay on the farm and those that decided not to live and work on the farm. The notion 'interlocking actor project' developed by Long (2001) appeared to be useful to qualify the nature of such social relationships.

This study was conducted in Gallawater A. farm in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. This farm is situated 31 kilometres North of Queenstown and 15 kilometres south of a small town, Whittlesea. Measuring at 900 hectares, Gallawater A. farm is one of the first land reform projects within the Province.

Gallawater A. Farm was previously owned by one white farmer who negotiated with the government to purchase his farm for 102 households after they invaded it in 1995. As part of the State's land reform process, the farm has since been classified under the redistribution programme which forms one of the three pillars of land reform policies.

From these 102 households which contributed financially in purchasing the farm, only 26 has since moved into the farm to reside and engage in agricultural activities, 4 are living in Zweledinga and farming in Gallawater, 6 moved to Gallawater but later returned back to Zweledinga, 64 never moved to Gallawater and there is a uncounted number of people moving into the farm to get free land and settle while in return providing cheap labour to some of the beneficiaries in the farm and help in raising the number of people residing on the farm which provides advantage to the area, in terms of service delivery and sustaining the school farm.

The different cases presented in this thesis were selected based on the different categories of beneficiaries that are present in Gallawater A. farm. Each of the ten presented cases tell a unique story of how actors in Gallawater A. engage with each other in the daily activities taking place on and off the farm. The cases reflect how the

different social actors make a living, and shape to a certain extent each others lives while exploring new avenues for making a living. Together the cases show Gallawater farm as a new social space; a social space which may best be characterized as created by the interlocking of various actor projects. Gallawater A. is social space where land reform beneficiaries, government officials, neighbouring farmers, people from the neighbouring areas and informal settlers engage each other, share sometimes collective values and ideas; sometimes work together in the various activities they do.

This study concludes that land reform creates opportunities (or room for maneuver) for the beneficiaries as well as non-beneficiaries. For some the projects mean social security and some opportunities to make a living; for others, notably the sheep farmers, Gallawater A. represents cheap labour that is aid in kind. Again for others, Gallawater A means ways to access services such as school, clinic, water and electricity. In short: land reform creates space for multiple realities to emerge.

If one would generalize from this case study, it would be proper to argue for a much more flexible policy design and implementation process rather than being rigid in achieving goals and setting out instruments to achieve these. Therefore a greater flexibility to cater for the diverse (and sometime contradictory) needs of the different categories of beneficiaries is required.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis deals with an analysis of a land reform project – Gallawater A. in the Eastern Cape. The design of the thesis is as follows. In the Chapter One I explain the political background of land reform. One can and should not ignore the past of countries like South Africa that has suffered years of colonialism and perhaps even worse, apartheid.

Chapter 2 aims to formulate what is referred to as a conceptual framework. How to study land reform is an essential issue to address before one can formulate research questions and methodologies for data collection and analysis. A review of the literature has identified that there are two schools of thought that dominate the debate on land reform, both conceptually as well as practically. Neo-liberal analyses and political-economy fall short in understanding the day to day realities of land reform. I therefore embarked on a social science perspective that builds on actor oriented analyses and insights gained in this way by identifying key-concepts as network, interlocking actor projects. The main research question, after some time, was formulated as follows: What makes South African land reform projects interlocking social spaces? Methodologically the focus was above all qualitative and 10 in-depth case studies of farm dwellers.

Chapter 3 provides a brief overview of the study area by summarizing the history of the area, the farm and the current owners as well as how this farm was acquired. The last section of the chapter will present everyday life experiences at the farm as observed during this field work.

Chapter 4 analyses Gallawater A. as a social spaces where different actors and actor projects are interlocking. Land reform beneficiaries and informal settlers engage each other, share sometimes collective values and ideas; sometimes they work together in various activities they do. They also interact with government department's officials as well as communities from the neighboring locations.

Chapter 5 finally provides a conclusion of the research and attempts to formulate recommendations.

CHAPTER 1: Political shifts in South African land issues

1.1 Introduction

The perspective of this study is that land reform is a complex process that can only be properly understood by focusing and investigating empirical reality. Judgments on what is happening within the land reform programme, I believe, should refrain from grand and ideological statements. Analyses of this programme should go beyond broad and sweeping policy statements, and the voices of those social actors that are directly and indirectly involved, for example land reform beneficiaries, front line extension workers, consultants, commercial farmers also deserved to be heard. Reflecting upon the history and focusing on the current political, economic as well as social conditions of those affected by these processes may present a clearer picture of the dynamics of the land reform process.

In order to tackle the topic of this thesis properly, I have decided to start by sketching the political background of land reform in South Africa. Historically, land laws formally passed from 1913 onwards prevented Africans from owning land. These laws allowed for forced removals of black people from their ancestral land. Immediately after introduction of these laws Africans have been complaining and protesting against these injustices. The protest against the land laws and other grievances led in 1912 to formation of the South African Native National Congress, currently African National Congress (Meli, 1998). At a later stage protests against labour control laws and racial segregation culminated in political unrest and armed struggle and ultimately the downfall of the apartheid regime in 1990. Sol Plaatjie who was the first secretary of the ANC, gives an in-depth account of the struggle before and just after the land act was approved as an act of parliament (Plaatjie, 1916)

Part of the ANC election campaign in the 1990's was the promises to reconstruct and develop South Africa based on undoing the injustices of the past, democratic principles and equality. A central component of post-Apartheid policies was the land reform programme which hinges on redistributing land, restoring rights to land to those that have been forcefully removed and land tenure reform (DLA, 1997; Lahiff, 2007; Hall & Lahiff, 2004).

Walker (2002, 2005) points out that policies that were formulated in 1994 attempted to combine a strong commitment to the goals of social justice including gender equity, redress and poverty alleviation with acceptance of the protection of the property rights and the principles of a market-led programme of land redistribution that had been mandated by the compromise of the constitutional negotiations; however, changes in the government leadership effectuated after the 1999 elections affected the land reform process drastically. These changes at government and policy level brought about a new phase in land reform in which the redistribution of land has been linked strongly to the policies within the national department of agriculture to enhance agricultural productivity and promote a black commercial farming class. The newly appointed minister of agriculture and land affairs initiated a major policy review and set the ambitious new targets for the restitution and redistribution of land. New policies advocated for new, more 'economic' and less rights-driven approach to land reform (James, 2007:39).

One major change in the land redistribution programme was when the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) policy was introduced. LRAD was intended to address a perceived gap in the previous Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) programme which provided relatively small grants to low-income households but did not cater for the needs of 'emerging' farmers. Now the 'commercial' logic of LRAD is currently applied to all land reform applicants, regardless of their resources, abilities or stated objectives (Lahiff, 2007; 2001).

1.2 Setting the scene for research

Despite the criticisms and concerns expressed by academic reports, civic and Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's), which will be clarified in the following chapter, World Bank's neo- liberal policies have been fully adopted and (attempted to be) implemented by the South African Government.

World Bank's Market Based Land Reform Policies

"Market-assisted", "market based, negotiated land reform" or "market-orientated land reform" is part of the World Bank's structural adjustment programme, imposing the supreme role of market and between buyers and sellers. In this situation the state role is limited to mediation and subsidization, relying on international financial institutions (Del Rosario-Melonzo, 2005).

Due to the nature of these market based land reform policies, financing land purchases and investments is done through grants, loans or mixed grant-loan. Under these circumstances beneficiaries are required to make some financial contributions in order to ensure a good practice. Generally the three elements which define these policies are outlined by the World Bank Group (2004) as follows;

- Communities willing to become new land beneficiaries must demonstrate that a minimum supply of land is on the local market
- Beneficiaries are selected through a transparent process
- Beneficiaries help to finance the project, and
- The program must document local land ownership patterns, land prices and farming models.

While the South African land reform programme has three components, namely; restitution, redistribution and security of land tenure, this thesis will mainly focus on the redistribution part of the programme.

Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD)

From the three pillars of land reform, acquiring land for agricultural and residential purposes is catered for under redistribution process, hence Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) policy. According to Chimhowu (2006) in rural areas where majority of people are poor and making a living mostly if not entirely off the land, land redistribution is seen as a powerful tool in the fight against poverty, but this conclusion in my own view and analysis sets an example of some preconceived ideas which many land reform stakeholders have about the programme. These preconceived ideas basically represent a linear way wherein analysis of South African land reform programme is based; such analysis avoids looking at a broader picture of what is happening in land reform farms.

Objectives of LRAD programme

Some of the stated objectives of the LRAD include amongst others;

- Helping previously disadvantaged people in rural areas to improve their living standard by enabling them to run their own large or small farms effectively;
- Broadening the opportunities available to young people who live in rural areas,

- To stimulate agricultural production to benefit the entire country.

Within this programme people already living on agricultural land in communal areas and are in need of a grant only to develop the land are given a chance to apply for an LRAD grant. Small farmers mostly apply in groups for grants for the purpose of buying agricultural land (South African Government information, 2005).

Support in LRAD projects

Government through its land and agrarian policies made a clear commitment that once beneficiaries have been settled; more support will be directed towards them. According to LRAD (2001) more rapid reform will create an increased demand for advisory services on the part of the beneficiaries. The department of agriculture should redirect its budget and redeploy staff to create special programmes to assist land reform beneficiaries, both during the process of preparing proposals and after purchase.

The white paper on Agriculture (1995) ascertains that agricultural support programmes will be designed in such a way that they improve the quality of life, skills and productivity of farmers and farm workers. And that the support services and training will be made available towards the land reform beneficiaries as soon as they acquire land through the programme.

Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP)

As part of government's sustainable rural development and initiative to support the land reform beneficiaries as well as other producers who have acquired land through the private means but are engaged in agricultural activities, the department of agriculture introduced the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme with the main intention of;

- Increasing creation of wealth in agriculture and rural areas, sustainable employment, incomes and foreign exchange earnings
- Reducing poverty and inequalities in land and enterprise ownership
- Improving farming efficiency, national and household food security, investor confidence leading to increased domestic and foreign investment
- Creating stable and safe rural communities by reducing crime and violence, and
- Instilling pride and dignity in agriculture as an occupation (CASP, 2003-2005).



Post Settlement Support in the Eastern Cape Province

In the Eastern Cape, all aspects of land reform (with possible exception of the labour tenants programme) have a direct potential to millions of people. However like anywhere else in the country, land reform in this province faces many challenges such as limited budgets, lack of policy directions in the key areas, cumbersome internal procedures, inadequate cooperation between and within different spheres of government, and the constraints imposed by the national land reform policy itself (Lahiff ,2002:12).

Realizing that a lot of work within the provincial agricultural sector is still to be done, the provincial agriculture minister held meetings (Imbizos) with farmers around the province intending to identify farmer's immediate needs and strategizing on how to address them. This led to the introduction of the six peg development model which is basically drafted around the CASP policy but makes provision for additional and immediate support services based on farmers needs.

Six peg development model

In his 2006/2007 policy and budget speech, the MEC for Agriculture in the province, Mr.Gugile Nkwinti announced the provincial strategy focusing on taking action against hunger, poverty and environmental degradation within the province by introducing the formulated six peg development model. This model aims at quick realization of the results and it is crafted out of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)'s comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme. The six peg model is composed of the following priorities;

- Fencing of arable and grazing lands,
- Construction of stock water dams and boreholes,
- Development and repair of dipping tanks,
- Accessing tractors and implements,
- Rehabilitation of old and development of new irrigation schemes, and
- A tailor made human resource development within land reform projects, communal farming areas and commonages.

In 2007/2008 financial year, a CASP and Provincial Infrastructure Growth (PIG) budgets were used to support the agricultural infrastructural development which

is considered the major driver of this six peg policy (Policy speech 2006/2007; 2007/2008).

Besides some of the challenges associated with this model, including the department technical staff complaining about being excluded during the design of the programme, and the budget constraints, the six peg model seems much more like a betterment programme which was implemented by the former South African apartheid government which left many black Africans displaced and overcrowded in homelands (see De Wet, 1989)

Changing South African Agriculture

The South African land reform programme needs to take into consideration the changing reality of the agricultural sector. There is a need within the country's stakeholders to look at the reality of the current land reform programme and not just plan, blame and criticize the process while ignoring these realities. "We need to recognize that South Africa is not the agrarian country that it was 90 years ago when the native land act was passed. The answer to the land question must today be sought also in jobs, education, urban housing and a dramatic escalation in the provision of public health services to combat the scourge of AIDS. Land reform by itself cannot guarantee incomes, livelihoods or social equality (or, for that matter, rural stability) therefore land reform is not an end in itself but a possible means to several ends" (Walker, 2005)

1.3 Achievements of land reform programme in South Africa

Since its inception fourteen years ago, South African land reform programme achievements have been measured by different stakeholders using different elements. Conflicts, failures, created inequalities and lack of impact on beneficiaries are points commonly expressed in research reports, scientific articles and media reports as basis for these judgments.

Wegerif (2004:43) conclude that LRAD has not brought any changes in the existing farming operations as it has failed to create new jobs, no smaller-scale or more efficient farming units, and it has also failed to meet any of its objectives or market based model characteristics.

Assessing achievements of land reform with specific reference to the Eastern Cape Province, Lahiff (2003:51) concluded that the institutional framework for land reform has not been particularly favorable to promote sustainable livelihoods. "Even though the

process were underway seeking to address livelihoods, alleviation of poverty and development of rural areas, the South African land reform programmes has struggled to achieve these in practice due to the reasons that the different pillars of the programme have been developed and implemented largely in isolation from each other, and have been poorly integrated into broader process of rural development. This lack of integration can be related to lack of a comprehensive rural development strategy either at the provincial or national level. Complex governmental structures present a major challenge to land reform policy in terms of policy design; inter institutional co-operation and accountability”.

On a positive note, Deininger and May (2000) concluded that despite failing to meet the set target of transferring 30% of the agricultural land to the previously disadvantaged by 2014, South African land reform programme had thus far managed to target the poor and has led to economically successful projects, while Walker (2005) point out that by 1999 while poor people were targeted, very little land had been redistributed and where land had been transferred, evidence of economic development was minimal and that “today the achievements of the land reform programme are modest in relation to both people’s expectations and stated goals. Implementation has proved far more complex and resource demanding than anticipated.”

The government’s intention of transferring 30% of high productive land by 2014 is characterized by questions and pressures from other stakeholders. The study conducted by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE), 2008) reveals that only around 4, 7 percent of the commercial agricultural land has been transferred through the entire government land reform programme so far. Based on the CDE (2005) report, one major challenge which contributes to the slow pace of the process according to the chief land claim commissioner is posed by the different perceptions from stakeholders in the programme, for an example commercial farmers thinking that the government is trying to destroy farming, while the landless people movements believe that government is protecting these commercial farmers and paying them lot of money while majority of people remain poor and landless.

There are obviously tensions and disagreements between various stakeholders within the land reform programme, however the CDE reports indicate that with these challenges, several achievements have also been reached and this included cooperation between government and private sector with specific reference to Agribusiness through

AgriBEE (which aims at empowering black people through agriculture) and provision of technical support to the new farmers.

Attempting to fast track land reform programme, in March 2008 the South African parliament approved the expropriation bill which according to Gabara and Appel (2008) is an amendment of the expropriation Act of 1975 executed by the apartheid government which left Blacks, Coloureds and Indians landless. The expropriation ACT of 1975 only focused on the market value as the only determinant for the negotiation before expropriation could be executed, but with the newly introduced bill, current use of property is considered while the bill is also being adjusted to align with the democratic government constitution.

Conclusion

South African land politics has proved to be far more complex and complicated than land cases in many parts of the world. Different aspects have been used by different actors to present their arguments and judgments about what is happening with the South African land reform programme and its impact on the intended beneficiaries. However based on these statements; it becomes clear that correct judgments and analysis of land reform in South Africa is still needed. This thesis aims to go beyond the existing ideologies and convey a message that certain elements are being under-estimated through the current analysis of the programme and that correct judgments on the achievements of the South African land reform programme can only be justified when conclusions about what is happening within the programme is based on the existing reality and empirical evidence.

CHAPTER 2: Focus on conceptual issues

Experiences from all over the world show that land reform is a complex and difficult process. It is multi-faceted and it involves many social actors. This chapter identifies the predominant perspectives that a range of academics and other observers have engaged with in order to understand land reform in South Africa. These are the views according to a neo-liberal development paradigm and the radical perspective of political economy. Such overview will necessarily be short and focused on both concepts and epistemology. This review identifies in this way the key concepts and their operationalisation, and this will position this research vis-à-vis the predominant analytical schemes for the study of land reform in South Africa. The last sections of the chapter elaborate clearly the research questions that this study has sought to address. Furthermore, the research strategy will be explained.

2.1 Literature Review

This section of the report presents various perspectives by which land reform has been looked at by a range of academics and other observers.

The Neo-Liberal perspectives

Neo- liberals perceive land reform to be a process of modernity, economic stability and in their views this process should be developmental as well as politically successful. They claim that land reform should produce outcomes which will make its beneficiaries economically better off by providing jobs, housing and engaging in organized agriculture through cooperatives and Agribusiness (CDE, 2008; 2005).

According to Borras (2005) and Thwala (2003) neo liberal perspectives are based on the fact that land reform should ensure that agricultural sector is maintained, and production in affected countries is improved. The basis for these arguments are based on the fact that markets and modernized commercial agricultural production will promote self sustainability in food production, provide security of tenure to producers and also ensure investors' confidence in these particular countries (Beinstein ,2002).

In support of the World Bank's market based policies, different authors outline the advantages of this neo-liberal model and how it can be carried out in order to ensure desired outcomes for successful and sustainable land reform programme.

Deininger (1999:666) write that successful land reform can only be ensured when markets for land sales and rental are done in a transparent way and negotiated. In his view the core element of market assisted land reform is to create economically viable and productive projects at a socially-justifiable cost rather than to transfer assets.

Comparing the impact of land reform in different countries such as South Africa Zimbabwe, Korea, Taiwan, and Brazil, Deininger *et al.* (2000) concluded that in ensuring that land reform is well designed, equity and productivity have to be considered. These goals can be achieved by recognizing the importance of assets ownership for subsequent development and viable growth. In South Africa Deininger and May (2000) suggested that there is a need to develop a less subsidy and diverse land reform to restructure the agricultural sector.

Addressing the political policies, Binswanger (1996) summarizes the advantages of a market based land reform process with the following statements;

- Market prices can be influenced by policies which eliminates the privileges of the large scale sector.
- The annual budget process for funding the grants will rely on a broader and more focused coalition of supporters, and
- The more poorly organized coalition of beneficiaries may be able to win approval at the legislative stage.

Despite the stated perspectives of the neo-liberals, it still remains unclear on how land reform can achieve its objectives by addressing this complex processes without compromising the needs of other stakeholders who are supposed to be beneficiaries within the process, these stakeholders are women, youth and the rural poor.

The following section will present perspectives of the political economists, who are pointing out their concerns and the disadvantages of these market based land reform policies.

Political Economist's perspectives on land reform programme

Political economy analysis is mainly concerned with the interaction of political and economic processes in a society (Collingson, 2003). Generally the concern is about how policy addresses the basic human rights issues such as poverty eradication, gender equality and sustainable livelihoods without compromising needs of the poor and marginalised groups. Political economists criticize World Bank's neo-liberal policies on land reform indicating that "these policies are ignoring the empirical political reality" (Borras, 2005).

Similar to the neo-liberals, various views and perspectives have been expressed through research reports, individuals and organizations examining land reform. In their endeavors to do so, political economist elaborate the social dynamics and processes triggered off by land reform. Thackwray (2007) for instance points out several aspects within the South African land reform programme referring to it as a "pet project" of the World Bank as follows;

- The programme is too slow and South Africa has been unable to meet its own targets.
- It is ethically and ideologically wrong to expect victims of apartheid to contribute financially to buying back land stolen from them ("not punishing white farmers for stealing land.")
- The market basis of the programme means that it will not assist the poorest members of the society.
- It is based on the global capitalist ideology of individual property rights, which its very nature discriminate against the poor, marginal groups, and women.

Thackwray argues that World Bank has its own agenda to wipe out the peasants farmers by only promoting the large agri-business while imposing similar policies in different countries, ignoring the fact that these countries have different histories, cultures and land use patterns.

Analysing agricultural development since the inception of land reform programme in South Africa, Greenberg (2003) concluded that the nature of the existing land reform policy is not different from the policies of the apartheid government due to the fact that commercial agricultural sector through AgriSA still plays a major role in policy

development, which means that land transfer and support to black farmers is occurring under the influence of white commercial farmers, and land reform through its neo liberal policies is doing injustice to the rural poor because it only promotes commercial production. Greenberg argues that the existing South African land reform programme is been captured in the interests of the elites.

In support of Greenberg's argument, Jacobs *et.al* (2003:27) state that access to inputs, restructuring of produce markets, transport and ploughing services, provision of credits, support of farmer organizations and cooperatives are some of the interventions that will assist in ensuring that land reform addresses the needs of the poor through sustainable agricultural production. However this recommendation clearly indicates that there is somehow a common analysis amongst some political economists which similarly to neo-liberals in their views perceive commercial agricultural production as the major solution towards sustainable land reform.

Bobo & Marsh (2000:41) points out that if land reform is not properly planned and implemented which is a major concern raised by political economists, this programme can condemn beneficiaries to situation where they have lower living standards and livelihoods opportunities than they had as migrant labourers. This argument does not take into consideration the own meaning and interpretation of the programme by beneficiaries at the project level, these beneficiaries are able to create own meaning and redesign the land reform programme to meet their own local needs.

Expressing their concerns about land redistribution's lack of 'pro poor focus, Jacobs's *et.al* (2003:27) recommended that agricultural support is the main necessary element of land reform projects which will ensure sustainable livelihoods towards beneficiaries, but even though agricultural production might seem to be the most appropriate solution in addressing rural poverty, in reality there are more available options identified by the rural poor to sustain their livelihoods. This will be clarified in the following chapters.

Generally the major concerns raised against the existing market based land reform policies have been around the inequalities created by these policies. Kariuki & Van der Walt (2000) concluded that LRAD policies are reinforcing and reshaping rural gender and are creating class based rural inequalities. Political economists are strongly critical on how the neo-liberal policies are creating and benefiting the elites, while the rural poor and marginalized groups such as women who instead of being the main targets are

being disadvantaged (Davis et al, 2004; Greenberg, 2003; Rossett, 2001; Wegerif, 2004:43; Adams, 1995; Hall, 2007).

According to Rossett (2001) women are still marginalized by not been given chance to be title holders of land. To guard against these inequalities, according to Hall(1998:1460)it is necessary to build systematic checks into policy to mitigate against the tendency for the powerful to use their power to resist and subvert a policy which aims to bring about a changed distribution of power and wealth in society.

Critique

Although ideologically neo-liberals and political economists differ on perceptions of how South African land reform should be implemented and how the programme can successfully achieve its goals, both perspectives tend to address this programme linearly, with neo-liberals focusing mainly on commercial agricultural production, markets as the main determinant of the programme success and the process of development and modernization. Whereas political economists also perceive the programme as a process of transforming the agricultural sector by shifting the political inequalities through equal distribution of resources, addressing gender issues as well as rural agricultural production. Both perspectives limit their views by assessing the programme through modernization of agricultural sector, and these perspectives equally avoid the empirical reality by not focusing on what is actually taking place within the programme especially the social interactions at the projects level.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

A social change perspective

In order to analyze, intervene and understand the processes of development properly, Long (2004) and Koponen (2004) argue that there is a great need for methodological developmentalism within the processes of development. These authors argue that researchers need to engage in perspectives which will generate research knowledge that will correctly influence development policy and practice. This argument indicates that the most relevant way of engaging in development interventions is by focusing on actor-orientated approaches as this approach presents reality of how human agencies deals with everyday realities on the ground.

South African land reform programme needs to be analyzed and understood as a complex rather than just a simple single story that “it is a failure”. Presented perspectives

of neo-liberals and political economists are somehow ignoring the reality and complexity of the programme, especially reality on the ground. Directly and/or indirectly land reform projects brings together different actors (e.g. land reform beneficiaries, extension workers and many other stakeholders) in a context that is new for them. It is through these social interactions that Long (2001,2004) concludes that different meanings and interpretations of activities and situations are associated with events which give rise to social actors creating a room for manoeuvre and ultimately creating interlocking projects within their locations.

According to James (2007:255) to analyze and assess the impact of land reform programme within its complex nature, a different approach which does not only consider economic and political views might be useful. James suggests that “it is important to recognize that policy initiatives and planned social change are often productive of new social, cultural and political identities rather than simply acting upon pre-existing ones”.

To ensure a clear understanding of this complex process, it is equally important to address land reform none linearly, but by judging its outcomes based on models of social change. Long (2004), Koponen (2004) and James (2007) presented their arguments that there is a need to develop a form of analysis that centres on understanding actors’ everyday life struggles, the semi-autonomous fields of action in which they operate, and the creativities they display in resolving the problems they face. Based on their recommendations, I followed this actor-oriented approach attempting to analyze land reform projects using models of social change, and in so doing I have chosen to use the following concepts to guide this analysis.

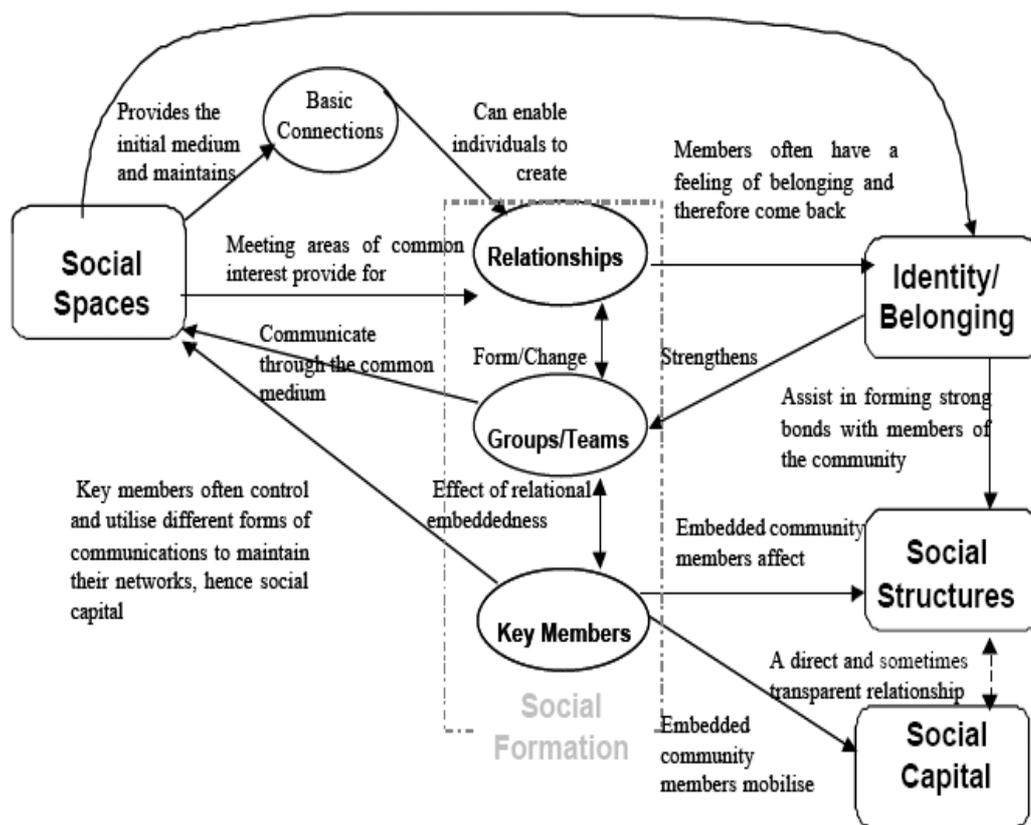
Social Networks Analysis

Social networks analysis gives important information on the position of various social actors within the social structure. Social structure means the patterns of social relationships linking social actors. These actors can be of many kinds including people, companies, and families, while social relationships includes amongst others cooperation, competition, admiration, disdain, and talking face to face. Social network analysis therefore gives the overall structure of the whole network and the limited network surrounding each individual actor (Erickson, 2001).

Individual actors within the network are identified as nodes while ties are the relationships between these various actors. Analysing networks can reveal implicit roles that certain nodes play within a network (Wade, 2005; Straton and Gerritsen, 2005).

As observed by Long (2001) it is important to realize that social interactions between various actors within the network may result in sets of interests and complex practices which ultimately will result into interlocking projects. Within these interlocking projects various relationships, interactions of situations as well as engaging each other in various activities individuals, informal groups, organizations, and macro actors will give rise to the newly created social spaces which Vivian & Sudweeks (2003) describes as new areas where individuals meet and create contacts and also as environments where people meet, communicate with others and assimilate. These social spaces provide the initial medium to form and maintain basic connections, which in turn enable individuals to create relationships.

Proposed framework for the creation and maintenance of social networks (Vivian & Sudweeks, 2003)



The above proposed framework of how social networks are created and maintained clearly gives an insight of how Gallawater A. farm actors are connected, interacts and influence each other on a daily basis in an attempt to make a living; where finally this farm becomes a newly constructed interlocking social space. This will be clarified in chapters; three, four and five.

Operationalization of land reform

Since land reform projects are newly created social spaces with interlocking nature and where various actors including government officials, beneficiaries, neighbouring farmers and non government organizations engage each other in various activities with the intention of achieving various goals, in trying to understand the complexities of land reform projects it is equally important to analyze how social relationships between these actors are constructed and also how these relationships contributes towards meeting the needs of different actors within the network.

Identifying Gallawater beneficiaries with the purpose of understanding how they engage each other in an attempt to meet their various needs will present a clearer picture of the multiple realities taking place in land reform farms. Beneficiaries engage in different smaller projects within their farms. These projects are interlocking in nature, and it should therefore be noted that through social interactions of these actors and by engaging in various interlocking projects, new meaning and identity created around land reform projects; hence judgments of what is really happening within these farms and in the programme needs to be done empirically, instead of being based on policy statements and ideologies.

2.4 Problem Statement

Land reform is multi-dimensional and contrary to what neo-liberals and political economists do, this process needs to be addressed broadly and non-linearly. Once beneficiaries have been settled on their newly acquired land, they often ignore the approved business plans or often find it too difficult to implement because of lack of experience. Many of them explore alternative ways or open up new avenues for improving their lives, or combine it with what they have been doing before their claim on land became a reality. Thus land reform creates a room for many and it does not only create different classes of beneficiaries as other observer's claim.

What this thesis aims to convey is that there is a lot happening in land reform projects, a lot more than is often assumed. Based on these varying activities, it is necessary to consider land reform projects as newly created social spaces with interlocking nature, where various actors come together with the main intentions of identifying available resources and opportunities to meet their basic needs and sustain their livelihoods. This thesis documents the reality of everyday life at land reform farms and paints a vivid picture based on interviews and observations.

2.5 Research Questions

General research question

What makes South African land reform projects interlocking social spaces?

Specific Research Questions

Who are the different actors in Gallawater A. farm?

What is the history of Gallawater A. farm beneficiaries?

What post settlement support services are given at Gallawater A. farm?

How is Gallawater A. farm managed?

What livelihoods source does Gallawater A. farm provides for land reform beneficiaries and what activities are currently taking place in Gallawater A. farm?

What is the nature of social relationships in Gallawater A. farm?

What opportunities are created by these social relationships in Gallawater A. farm?

Research Objective

This study investigated how South African land reform projects become social spaces where different actors engage each other with the main intention of meeting their various needs. This was done by identifying the social actors and analyzing their social relationships with the intention of understanding the complexities of land reform projects empirically.

2.6 METHODOLOGY

Data collection

This study was conducted following an ethnographic approach where a period of ten weeks was spent with people of Gallawater as part of data collection. Long (2004)

expresses the importance of ethnographic approach by pointing out that through this approach, the researcher is able to examine the social interface useful in exploring relations of social interests, cultural interpretation, knowledge and power and how they are mediated and transformed at critical points of confrontation. During this interaction with the Gallawater A farm community; situational analysis, participatory observations, formal and informal interviews were used to gather information.

For all the compiled cases of beneficiaries (those living in and outside the farm), and the institutions interacting with Gallawater farm community, formal interviews were used. However, other information was gathered through informal interviews and participatory observations.

Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to identify key informants for this study. This was done after observations and informal interviews were conducted with some of the individuals, especially those living on the farm.

Institutions wherein formal interviews were conducted were also identified during fieldwork. These are mostly government departments as they are responsible for provision of various services within the area.

Snowball sampling was used in this study because some of the Gallawater beneficiaries were not living on the farm; therefore, formal interviews with those respondents not living in Gallawater were conducted after being referred by those living on the farm.

Case Selection

The ten cases presented in this thesis were selected based on different categories of beneficiaries in Gallawater A farm as indicated in table 1. Although some of these cases are presented under the same category, each case presents a unique story of how actors in Gallawater A. engages each other in the daily activities taking place on and off the farm. The cases are a true reflection of how different social actors make a living, and influence each other through interactions they engage in while exploring new avenues which makes Gallawater farm a new social space it is today. Through these cases, the interlocking nature of projects within Gallawater A farm is clarified.

Chapter 3: Land reform and Gallawater A farm

This chapter aims to give a brief overview of the study area by summarizing the history of the area, history of its current owners as well as how this farm was acquired. The last section of the chapter will present everyday life experiences at the farm as observed during this field work.

3.1 Study area

Measuring at 900 hectares and situated in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, Gallawater A farm is one of the initial land reform projects within the Province. This farm is located within the Chris Hani district municipality; under Lukhanji local municipality. Gallawater A. farm is situated thirty one kilometres north of Queenstown and fifteen kilometres south of a small town, Whittlesea. Although Gallawater A farm is classified as an LRAD project (CASP business plan, 2006) it was never clarified when this farm was purchased whether it was acquired mainly for residential, agricultural or both purposes.

The Previous owner of Gallawater A. farm Mr. King used to rent an additional 1000ha from Gallawater B.farm in order to farm commercially (Vetter & Goqwana, 2000:32). According to the Gallawater residents, Mr. King's farming business included cattle, wool and crop production. There are currently two fields lying fallow in Gallawater A. farm. These fields have only been cultivated once since the new owners bought the farm, but high electricity and water bills which resulted from the production of that season are the main problems stated for these fields to be lying fallow presently. In 2005 the BK family (Chapter 4) used one and half hactres from one of the fields for potato production under dry land and since the outputs were satisfactory, they intended to produce potatoes again immediately after the rainy season.

3.2 History of Gallawater A Farm beneficiaries

Even though today the beneficiaries can be classified into different social categories as indicated in table 1, most Gallawater A farm beneficiaries have a similar historical background in terms of previous locations. They belong to a group of people who left Glen Grey in 1975 which at that time was the part of the South African government. When this area was designated to be incorporated into the former Transkei homeland under King Mathanzima's government they feared to be oppressed and become even



poorer than they were already. The group successfully negotiated to be relocated to a village called Zweledinga (which means Promised Land in Xhosa) which is close to Queenstown. This relocation came with the promise that they would be given own land at a later stage. This promise was never fulfilled, however in 1981 Zweledinga village was incorporated into the new homeland; Ciskei under the leadership of Lennox Sebe.

This group known as Zweledinga Residents Association (ZRA) has always resisted the leadership of the Ciskei government. They decided to put pressure on the government to give them their 'promised land'. They felt that Zweledinga was overcrowded and the promise to be given their own land was never fulfilled; hence their initiative to invade white farms.

In 1993 the ZRA invaded Mr. David Kings' farm (Gallawater A farm). Mr. King decided to negotiate with the government to buy his land for this group. This process can be viewed by some of the land reform stakeholders as a golden opportunity which presented itself to Mr. King because based on the previous use of Gallawater A. farm which clearly indicates that the farm was not commercially viable as outlined by Vetter and Goqwana (2000), the interpretation of the whole scenario could be that Mr. King saw the opportunity and was happy to get rid of this farm. Throughout the process of acquiring Gallawater farm, a local NGO Border Rural Committee (BRC) assisted the applicants, who are now the beneficiaries (Wells, 1995). This assistance included amongst other things administration and legal advices.

Selling at two hundred and eighty five thousand rands, government subsidized the purchase of the farm by eighty percent, and beneficiaries had to pay five percent deposit before officially moving into the farm whilst the remaining fifteen percent was to be repaid as a loan over the period of five years. Classified under redistribution process, Gallawater A farm was transferred in 1995.

As indicated in the previous section of this thesis, even at the time of the study by Vetter and Goqwana (2000) which was shortly after the farm was purchased, it was not completely clear whether the resources of Gallawater A farm were going to be used for farming and related opportunities or simply expanding residential areas with some use of the surrounding communal rangelands. One of the problems was that few people had the means or motivation to invest their money and/ or labour in farming. The economic returns from farming activities were considered very low and people still depended on

incomes earned elsewhere for their livelihoods. Despite the fact that all beneficiaries contributed equal amounts in purchasing the farm; ownership of livestock in Gallawater is rather skewed. Nearly half of the total livestock belongs to one individual (pg: 3). Vetter & Goqwana indicated that some of the Gallawater beneficiaries complained about the farm management committee not providing access to information on income and expenditure, that it was not clear as to how the farmers money was spent, and that this might have been influenced by the fact that many of the new farm owners were not literate. “There was a general atmosphere for lack of trust, and poor communication between stakeholders including government officials, and land users themselves.”

3.3 Current Livelihoods and land use

This section will provide a detailed account of the current activities on and around the farm. Out of the 102 households/families that together purchased the Gallawater farm, only 26 decided to move to the farm while the rest remained in Zweledinga and the neighbouring villages. For the purpose of this study, Gallawater beneficiaries can be classified into five categories.

Table 1: Social categories at Gallawater A. farm

Categories	Total number of households
Officially registered beneficiaries currently living on the farm	26
Beneficiaries living in Zweledinga but using Gallawater as their farming area	4
Beneficiaries who moved to Gallawater but later returned back to Zweledinga	6
Those who never moved to Gallawater	64
People moving into the farm to get free land to settle and in return, some provides cheap labour for some of the beneficiaries in the farm.	Unknown

3.3.1 Sources of livelihoods

Table 1 summarizes and quantifies the categories of people who are somehow linked to Gallawater A. farm. These different groups engage in different activities with the aim of deriving their livelihoods and in so doing they construct certain social relations. This section clarifies the multiple sources of livelihoods these beneficiaries are engaged in.

Currently the main farming activity within the Gallawater A farm is livestock production; with almost every household (roughly about 90 percent) owning some cattle, goats, chickens and/or sheep. Despite the availability of two big fields which are lying fallow and occasionally used by one of the families in the farm, no major crop production is taking place in this farm. Only after encouraging the residents to start their own community vegetable garden like in one of the neighboring village (Langdraai), a visit by group of women to the agricultural office in Whittlesea was planned, this was to go and ask for assistance from the agricultural extension officer to assist with seeds and implements.

Producing wool is the core agricultural activity on the farm. Even though it is seasonal, this wool is exported through an agent in Port Elizabeth to Australia, Japan and New Zealand. Only four of the Gallawater A. farmers are actively engaged in wool production, they are members of the district wool producers association. The labour they require for wool production, for herding the sheep, sheering, sorting and bailing wool is drawn from the families that live on the farm. In most cases labour is paid in kind, we will return to this aspect of Gallawater later on in this thesis.

According to the agricultural extension officer, the wool growers in Gallawater A farm showed little interest in accepting support services he was supposed and willing to render to them. Due to the influence of other farmers within the district which are mainly from the neighbouring villages that; upon one condition of accepting Gallawater A. farmers in to the association was to cooperate with the extension officer; Gallawater A. farmers were left with no choice but to accept the services of the agricultural extension officer so that they become part of the district wool growers association.

Besides the four wool farmers in Gallawater A. farm, most families keep livestock which they often slaughter for home consumption and derive income from it by selling at auctions and to communities from the neighbouring areas. Some of these beneficiaries rely also on government social grants since most of them are old age pensioners, while

some receive child support grants because they are taking care of their grand children whose parents have left for employment opportunities in cities and other provinces.

There are beneficiaries as indicated in Table1 who are living in Zweledinga but using Gallawater as their farming area. This category (4 people) indicated that they just needed to expand their agricultural activities by having additional land where some of their livestock will be kept and managed. Farming is not their only source of livelihood, one of them has just retired as a school principal the previous year, and one is still a teacher, while two are pensioners. Gallawater according to these beneficiaries is a farming area not residential as others think.

The group which moved to Gallawater but later returned to Zweledinga indicated that farming in Zweledinga is better since, dipping tanks and basic services such as water and electricity are available in Zweledinga but not in Gallawater which when comparing it to Zweledinga, they think it is better to farm in Zweledinga. However these beneficiaries made it clear that they might return to Gallawater in the near future or even their children might decide later to move to the farm, either as farmers or residents.

A large group of people never moved to the farm, some of them are employed in the neighbouring towns and are no longer interested in the affairs of Gallawater.

Within this category it was not easy to trace most beneficiaries as some of them have left Zweledinga area to go and find employment in the cities and other provinces. One of the beneficiaries who is in Zweledinga and still having some connection with Gallawater A farm is Nomsa, a 53 year old primary school teacher in Tambo village (Case in chapter 4).

Not all present day Gallawater A. farm residents are on the original list of one hundred and two beneficiary names. Unlike the constitution and business plan, this is one of the few documents having information about this farm and still easily accessible. In addition to the twenty six households from the initial one hundred and two which moved into the farm, there are also non-registered families (informal settlers) that have moved into this farm. Most of them had close ties with the initial/'legal' beneficiaries. Some are relatives of the 'legal' beneficiaries while others have special social ties with beneficiaries e.g. share historical backgrounds. These informal settlers presented as the last category in Table 1 is a group of people who move to Gallawater to get free land to settle. According to the initial and registered farm owners in Gallawater, the new comers in the area are

most welcomed since they contribute to the area growth and its sustainability while on the other hand these new people moving into the farm finds a new settlement for themselves, have free access to land for grazing their livestock's and some even provide cheap labour for farm owners.

3.4 Farm Infrastructure

During this study period observations made were not different from observations done by Vetter & Goqwana (2000) as they discovered that there were 12 grazing camps in Gallawater A. farm but rotational grazing was not a practice in this farm (pg: 29) . From the 12 grazing camps only one has a dam where livestock can access water for drinking; this is the main reason given by farmers for not practicing rotational grazing as one of the natural resource management practices. Animals are left to graze in any camp and the gates are left open to allow free movement to the water point. Generally camps are not in good conditions as lot of fences has been stolen and signs of erosion, wood harvesting and overgrazing are visible everywhere in the farm. According to Vetter & Goqwana, (2000:15) Gallawater A farm vegetation was not in good conditions when the farm was transferred, "The lower lying areas were dominated by short grasses and had poor grass cover which would have been exacerbated but probably not caused by the new owners".

The nearby Klipplaat River serves as a water source for both residents and livestock; however this river poses a great danger to lives of both human beings and their animals. Several animals have been carried away by water from the overflowing river. The bridge serving as the main entrance to this farm was destroyed by this same river three times in separate occasions. In 2004 the bridge was rebuilt after 5 months of being destroyed, and in 2005 it was rebuilt after 2 months, but in 2006 it took the whole year to reconstruct this bridge again.

"Life in Gallawater changed completely as a result of lack of access to the farm." Most residents expressed their frustration and blamed the department of water affairs and forestry (DWAF) officials for not issuing warnings as to when the water will be opened from the Waterdown dam passing through Gallawater to the Queenstown area. These claims were denied by the DWAF official who stated that he always sends out warnings to the Gallawater residents through the South African Police Services (SAPS) in Whittlesea.

3.4.1 Services

Different houses built in the farm present different living standards and initial intentions of beneficiaries. Some of the houses are built in a modern way; they are big, painted and attractive to look at, while other's looks like temporary settlements. The modern build houses belong to those beneficiaries who indicated that Gallawater A. farm is their residential and agricultural area, some of these examples are Mr.NJ, B family house and Ms. Q's house (see chapter 4).The small houses are mostly built with mud and few of these small mud houses were not occupied during the time of this study. One of these small houses is said to belong to Mr.Neli(Chapter 4) who indicated that the house was build as a temporary accommodation that he could stay in while taking care of his animals in the farm, but since he returned back to Zweledinga, the house is just an existing structure which is not used.

There is only one house with electricity in the area; it belongs to the B family, it is a big and nicely furnished house, other residents depend on natural resources for fuel wood. Basic services such as mobile clinic, a primary school and the pay points for government social grants were initially available to the residents of Gallawater A. farm. Of these services the school is the only one that currently is operational in the area. For this community to access most services they have to travel large distances and cross the river that sometimes is not passable. Teachers and learners have to go through the same experience each day. Due to lower number of enrolments in the school, the Department of Education threatened to close this school. Therefore Gallawater A. residents decided to invite anyone with children who is interested in staying in the farm so that the school can be sustained.

The Department of Agriculture through the agricultural extension officer is in regular contact with the beneficiaries living in the farm, but since the bridge serving as an entrance to the farm is being destroyed this contact is mostly through a telephone or visit to the agricultural office in Whittlesea by beneficiaries. Several provincial as well as local government departments have responsibilities to execute services in Gallawater but as residents of Gallawater stated "Government is just good in promising services, but nothing is happening".

According to the Gallawater A. residents, only if more people can move into the farm, then services such as free housing, electricity installation and many more services will

easily be available in Gallwater A. This was confirmed by the local councillor indicating that for Eskom to install electricity in Gallwater there should at least be more than 50 houses in the area, and the official from the Department of Health who also indicated that for government to establish a clinic in any area, there should be at least a population of 10000 people in that particular area.

Conclusion

Gallwater A farm presents a new social space wherein various actors are engaging each other with different intentions and ways of making a living. In summary, activities in which actors engage each other in Gallwater A. farm can be noted from the following situations; when the farm was invaded, the previous owner identified an opportunity to get rid of his farm in a beneficial way; wool produced in Gallwater A. and sold for export markets is produced by four farmers, processed by residents in the farm and marketed through an agent stationed in Port Elizabeth. District wool producers influencing the working relations between Gallwater A. wool producers and the extension officer, communication taking place between residents and the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry through the South African Police Services and establishment of different categories of beneficiaries through different interests and activities.

Various relationships have been pointed out from the daily activities taking place in Gallwater A. farm. From these relationships as noted by Erickson (2001) and Long (2001) there are cooperation's, competition, the processes of self organizing taking place which basically means that various actors with different interests, activities and resources are coming together and establishing certain ties which are influencing activities taking place in this new environments. It is therefore critically important to note that where there are social interactions, there will always be different voices and different actors presenting diverse forms of agency in inducing and contesting constraints as Villarreal quoted by Long (2001) states.

Interactions of these various actors in Gallwater A. farm clearly outlines the processes of social embeddedness which Long (2001) defines as a self organizing process, interpersonal networks and informal normative commitments necessary for accessing resources, developing livelihood strategies and managing enterprises or projects. It is through this social embeddedness that at the ultimate end Gallwater A. farm became a newly created social space with interlocking projects.

CHAPTER 4: Gallawater Actor Projects: Multiple Realities

Following the conceptualization of land reform projects as social spaces, Gallawater A. farm represents analytically a space where different actors and actor projects are interlocking. Land reform beneficiaries and informal settlers engage each other, share sometimes collective values and ideas; sometimes they work together in various activities they do. They also interact with government department's officials as well as communities from the neighboring locations as stated in the previous chapter.

The following set of extended case studies presents the social realities of what is happening in Gallawater A. farm. I have decided to present the cases as they are grouped in Table 2. Taken together these cases highlights the need to conceptualize land reform projects as representing multiple realities and diverse sets of interlocking projects.

Table 2: Summary of the case studies

Cases	Descriptions
1 and 2	Elites capture, created opportunities, links between actors and multiple sources of livelihoods
3	Multiple sources of livelihood, pride in land ownership and interaction with other actors (auctions and government)
4	Search for settlement, created opportunities and social capital
5	Created opportunities
6 and 7	Created opportunities, new category of beneficiaries and links between actors
8 9 and 10	Social links, influence on decision making, and created opportunities



Case 1: The B family

This family is actively involved in general operations of the farm. Mrs B. is a 64 years old age pensioner and widow whose husband (Mr.B) passed away the previous year (2006). In all the interviews conducted with beneficiaries (on and off the farm and different institutions) his name was mentioned. Almost everyone gave assurance that if he was still alive things in Gallawater would not be the same. *“He was a man of initiatives; “he would go to any government office and present the needs of the community and things were happening when he took action”* Said the school principal on interview.

The late Mr.B was in the forefront of the farm activities from the period of farm invasions until the time Gallawater A. farm was transferred. He was tasked with the roles of the deputy chairperson but even performed the roles of the chairperson who was never active. However the unfortunate part of this story is that most of the information pertaining to the farm was known by him alone.

Mr. B is late but his status as rural elite within the Gallawater area is still attached to his family. The B's family house is the only one with electricity in the farm. Mrs.B serves as a main link between the outside institutions, especially government departments and the Gallawater community. This is influenced by the fact that availability of electricity in her household makes it easy to have a fully recharged phone at all the times. She receives phone calls and communicate message with the rest of the group in the farm. Unlike other residents in the area, this makes it easy for this family to be in contact with the outside world and to always have the first hand information about everything that is to happen within the farm.

Some of the beneficiaries consider Mrs.B as a leader in the area. During the interviews some of the interviewees would refer me back to her for some answers as her husband had all the information pertaining to the farm before he passed away. This family owns about 200 sheep, and the youngest son in the family (S.B) is in charge of this business. He is assisted by Vusi who is employed by the family to take care of these animals. These sheep are kept mainly for wool production, but sometimes sold to people for slaughtering.

Even though there are only four wool farmers in Gallawater, SB indicated that wool production is a good business. Department of Agriculture is actively involved in this enterprise. Infrastructure from this department is to be established in the farm, this will

include the shearing shed, generator to pump water for livestock drinking, building of dams as well as fencing the camps. He clearly stated that they have been waiting for a very long time for this infrastructure to be implemented, at least more than 12 months. Both Mrs.B. and his son (SB) complained that government is always making promises but implementation is not there.

Though it was clear that some of the promises have been long overdue, there was finally a delegate from the local municipality office to make the arrangements for fixing the destroyed bridge. This was not only the good news to the Gallawater residents; everyone within this community was relieved at last. The impact of the destroyed bridge was felt even by me despite the fact that I only spent ten weeks on the farm. Thanks to the neighbouring white farmer Mr. David who provided access for us (Gallawater community) through his farm until he decided to lock his gates with an attempt to get government's reaction. His trick worked very well, within a week the municipal delegate came to the area and employed the residents of Gallawater A. in assisting the contracted engineer to re-build the bridge. A decision was made by the residents that everyone should get an opportunity to work and earn a little income from the project (at least one member from each household) For the B family this was not the case as Mrs. B was to work throughout the project which was to last for 12 weeks. Her son SB also joined the decided criteria of working two weeks a month like other households members in Gallawater A; For the B family there was double income, with Mrs.B. being permanent throughout the project cycle.

SB is one of the South African unemployed youth, after completing his matric in 1994; he relocated to Cape Town with the main aim of finding a good job. He spent few years there working as a petrol attendant in one of the petrol stations in Khayelitsha Township but as the youngest son in the family he had to return home as his father's health became a family worry. Since his father's death he had to stay closer to home. SB now lives with his mother in Gallawater A. farm since his siblings are living elsewhere with their families; he grabs opportunities as they come. SB operates the generator once a week to pump clean water on the other side of the farm where the water is pumped from the borehole; it is only on this side of the farm where there is access to clean water for human consumption.

The fuel for the generator pumping water in the farm is supplied by the local municipality. For this operation SB is receives a monthly payment of R300.00. He also generate

income by recharging cell phones of other residents without electricity in their houses by charging five rand per recharging session (until the battery is fully recharged), cutting trees (for firewood) and sell to the people from the neighboring townships of Shilo and Sada when they have funerals, weddings and parties. He does this and negotiates the payments on a personal level. After previous year's good rainfalls he decided to plant one and half hactres of potatoes in one of the farm fields under dry land. Without own tractor SB made it clear that it is not easy to engage in crop production as he has to hire a tractor from Zweledinga and this costs him five hundred rand per hectare, but the intention is to wait for the rainfall before planting potatoes again in the current year.

Case: 2 Mr. NJ

His father was one of the initial beneficiaries of Gallawater A farm, when he passed away, 41 years old Mr.NJ moved into the farm from Lady Frere where he had been working as an electrician. He inherited about 100 sheep, bred this sheep and as a result he currently owns about 400, they are all kept in Gallawater. Mr.NJ is a qualified electrician and a taxi owner, he is still doing electrical jobs, transporting people with his two taxis and farming on the other hand. His wife is one of the three teachers on the farm school. People living in Gallawater depend on his taxis for transportation to and from the farm to town. He is also being contracted by the Department of education to transport school children from the farm to the neighboring townships.

As a regular traveler between the surrounding areas, Mr.NJ also serves as a main link between the Gallawater community and those areas. Every morning he leaves with those pupils living in the farm and drop them in Sada, and Shilo (neighboring townships), then on his return to the farm he brings kids from those townships attending school in Gallawater. During the day his taxis are operating between Gallawater, Whittlesea, and Queenstown until in the afternoon where he has to return learners to their respective places. He then returns to operate his transport business between the two towns until in the late afternoon where he comes back to the farm and check if the livestock is in the kraal and if needs arise go to the veld to look for other sheep which usually graze around the mountains. Since he has people working for him in the farm, he just oversees that everything is in order. From his three employees, two are young men who moved to the farm for employment opportunities, and the third employee is an old man who is one of the registered beneficiaries and form part of the twenty six that moved into the farm.

Like other wool producers in Gallawater A. during the peak season in wool production Mr.NJ is assisted by almost all the residents who come together to shear, sort and grade and pack his wool before it is collected for the markets.

He expressed his disappointments towards the government which he says it's not doing anything for them as he explained; he indicated that they don't have water in the farm and that they have been promised fences and dipping tanks, but nothing is coming forth; *"For us to receive government services we have to struggle by going to the offices and it takes very long before anything can be done."*

Case: 3 Ms.Q

During the interview, 91 years old Ms.Q was busy de-boning the meat of a cow slaughtered over the weekend. She claims the cow was slaughtered because it got weak due to drought. She enjoyed telling about her experiences from Glen Grey, which she left in 1975 (Chapter3). Behind her were her 3 teenage grand children who could not go to school because they had flue and all this according to her was because, it's very cold and since the bridge is being destroyed by the river this kids have to cross the river everyday to get to school.

Ms.Q is satisfied with the visit and advices of the agricultural extension officer but she indicated that this is the only active department in Gallawater, and as residents they have many needs such as electricity, the rebuilt bridge and assistance to start cultivating their fields. *“But things will only be better if those people (referring to beneficiaries not living in Gallawater) will come and stay in the farm; we need them to get more services here.”*

Ms.Q owns about 20 cattle and few goats which she sells at the auction when the need arise. Her son manages the livestock. She feels that the amount she receives when selling her livestock at the auctions does not equal the value of what she sells. She feels cheated at auctions. Besides income from selling at auctions she depends on her government old age grant and the assistance from her daughter who is a primary school teacher in Tambo village and only comes home every weekend. Generally Ms. Q is happy to be part of the Gallawater farm as she proudly indicated *“I have a farm which belongs to me, my livestock is safe and increasing in number each year since I came to Gallawater.”* According to Ms.Q. being part of Gallwater also means a lot to her because unlike in other areas where she lived previously, she feel safe living in Gallawater A farm. She indicates that in all farm activities and decisions taken in relations to the farm she gets involved, while knowing every one and sharing resources with every resident in Gallawater makes her feel like she is a member of one big family.



Case: 4.Ms. Mqo

Sitting in front of her two roomed brown mud house which she is sharing with her two teenage daughters, son and four grandchildren, Ms. Mqo who is 55 years old expressed her excitement for being part of Gallawater A farm. She seems to be well informed about the Gallawater affairs despite the fact that she only moved to this farm in 2006. Ms. Mqo was not part of the initial group that contributed in buying the farm, but she indicated that she has always had a very good connection with the people in Gallawater A. as they shared some previous relocation before. *“I only remained in Zweledinga when the ZRA took a decision to invade white farms, my children were in school and I did not want them to loose out by taking them out of school, but later I negotiated my way into Gallawater and the community here was very happy to welcome me, now my children are also helping in the process of sustaining the school.”* She said

Ms.Mqo owns few goats and cattle and takes care of them with the help of his teenage son. *“This livestock becomes very handy since I am unemployed; my three children are going to school in the nearby township of Shilo, atleast their transport to school is taken care of by the government. I take care of the 4 grandchildren, each receiving a social grant of R160.00/month, but I only get the grants for two of them.”* The other two grandchildren are her elder son’s kids, he lives in Cape Town and divorced with his wife whom her whereabouts are not known, *“but wherever she is, she is the one receiving the grants for the other two children.”* Ms.Mqo’s husband is working in Cape Town also and depends on casual jobs there; he only comes home in December.

“Being part of Gallawater farm is a great opportunity for me because my livestock is increasing and I can sell whenever a need arise.” However besides feeling that the government just drops land reform beneficiaries on the farms and leave them there, Ms. Mqo indicated that in her knowledge government have good programmes in place and with time things will be fine. She feels that people who are part of Gallawater but never moved to live in the farm are not interested in the farm development, therefore they can be excluded in the decision making processes. According to Ms.Mqo developments in Gallawater means government bringing farm machinery, clean water, fixing the bridge, electricity and RDP houses like in other villages close by. Her household was also included on the bridge reconstruction project despite the fact that she did not contribute towards buying Gallawater A. farm. The fact that she is now a resident in Gallwater and her children and grandchildren contributes to the area growth by going to the farm

school helps her in getting the same recognition, benefits, support and participation in all farm activities.

Now she and her family are settled in Gallawater, their livestock is also safe and catered for in this area. Her basic connection with “legal farm owners” contributed to her acquiring a free settlement. Relationships here are not determined by who contributed or did not during the purchasing of the farm but the Gallawater beneficiaries are willing to welcome and live in harmony with anyone who will raise their population size, so they can be considered for service delivery and for the sake of area growth.

Case: 5 Mr. SS

Mr. SS is 49 years old. He was born in Glen Grey district, but like many other Gallawater residents he left the area in 1975 when it was incorporated into the former Transkei homeland. Now living in Gallawater A. farm, he is epileptic but his government grant has been stopped. He is not exactly sure why this happened but he is still epileptic and unemployed. His wife is a volunteer at the pre-school in the farm. She cooks for the kids and when the teacher (who is paid by the government) is not around, Ms.SS takes all the responsibilities in the Pre School.

On arrival to his place for the interview in a cold Tuesday morning Mr. SS was fixing an empty kraal, he had four cows when he moved to Gallawater; they all died in 2003 due to a red heart disease. He only hopes that one day his kraal will be in a good shape and have some cattle inside, but he is not sure if this will ever happen because according to him *“currently nothing is promising.”*

Except the income Mr. SS derive by assisting in building the houses of people moving into the farm, as well as assisting in shearing the sheep during the wool production peak season, his family survives on R160.00 monthly government child support grant for their nine year old son who is in grade three in the farm school.Mr.SS says life in Gallawater is better compared to other areas he previously lived in since there is no crime and there are many opportunities of making a living in Gallawater. *“For people interested in farming there is a plenty of land to do that, and there can only be developments in Gallawater if government can buy us the farm implements, build RDP houses and provide electricity for us.”*

Except being a proud land owner as he said, he feels that the solution to Gallawater A. farm’s problem is sustainable agriculture which can only be achieved if government can assist by providing equipments for them to start working or even better if someone can rent their farm and employ the residents to work for him/her.

Case: 6 Mr. Boy

Mr. Boy, a 63 years old retired school principal who lives in one of the villages forming part of Zweledinga, (Embekweni); He has a home garden and also keep some of his sheep in this village. The reason why he is keeping some of his livestock and never moved all of them to Gallawater is that *“Gallawater A. farm was intended for agricultural practices but now people are turning it into a residential area”*. According to Mr. Boy when Mr. King (the previous owner) moved out of the farm it was in a perfect state, but later vandalized by its own new owners.

He indicated that people residing in Gallawater are complicating the farm matters because they want the farm to become a village; *“they force issues to have school in the farm.”* Although part of his agricultural practice is currently taking place in Gallawater he has no intention of moving to Gallawater and stay there. He does not think that implementing CASP at Gallawater is the solution to the problems in that farm. *“For as long as the government is making promises it does not implement and people are unemployed, then there is no solution to the problems experienced in that farm and anywhere else”*.

The man hired to mend Mr. Boy's cattle and goats in Gallawater has since moved into the farm as a labourer, but now he has become a resident; he has built his own beautiful two bed roomed house and lives with his wife and their 2 children, one of them attending a farm school.

During the bridge construction project, as agreed by residents in Gallawater A. that there should at least be one worker per household in order to ensure balanced share in benefiting from the project, Mr. Boy's livestock caretaker was also included on the project since he is now considered a resident in Gallawater.

Case: 7 Mr. Neli

Mr.Neli is 65 years old. He is a pensioner now and as we sat in his house in Zweledinga where I interviewed him, he came out quiet strong by saying; *“Failures of Gallawater were obvious from the beginning when the government decided to settle 102 households on a farm previously owned by 1 household. The only reason for so many people to buy the farm together was to raise enough own contribution in order to qualify for this programme. There are no implements on the farm; an agricultural farm is now being turned into a village”*. Mr. Neil a pensioner said at his house in Zweledinga during interview.

He only took some of his livestock to the farm and employed a person to look after these livestock. His employee Melusi is living in one of the small mud houses in the farm.Mr Neli still considers himself part of the farm even if he only goes to Gallawater on few occasions to check the progress of his animals. He hopes that in future one of his children will be interested to go and farm in Gallawater on a full time basis. He indicated that he is in regular contact with people in Gallawater A. farm and appreciates the flow of information between him (as an outside beneficiary; farming in Gallawater but living off the farm) and those in the farm. Although there are complications about whether Gallawater A. is for farming or residential purposes, Mr.Neli is happy to know that he owns a piece of land somewhere and he clearly indicated that whenever he needs fuel wood for his house use in Zweledinga,he goes to Gallawater farm for it.

Case: 8 Nomsa

Nomsa is 53 years old; she grew up in Lady Frere and moved to Zweledinga with her parents as part of the group that resisted being incorporated in the former Transkei homeland. Her interest in farming was influenced by the fact that she grew up in a rural area where every member of the community had some livestock and fields to practice agriculture to a certain extent. Through these agricultural activities wherein her family derived livelihood and income, her parents were able to send her to a teacher's training college.

Nomsa is currently working as a primary school teacher in one of the neighboring villages (Tambo). She stated that when Gallawater A. farm was bought from the previous owner, the farm was in a good state but it was not clarified whether the farm would be for agricultural, residential or both purposes. However she clearly indicated that she has lost interest in the issues concerning Gallawater A. farm. She has verbally made an agreement with somebody whose family is living in the farm to occupy her portion of land.

She was initially interested in farming but got disappointed when the government gave them a farm without implements. *"What will I benefit from leaving a place where I have transport, live comfortably and have all the basic services to go and suffer on that farm? No normal person can do that"*. She said.

But even after stating that she has lost interests in the affairs of Gallawater, Nomsa made it clear that the fact that she contributed in buying the farm entitles her to some rights in the farm, *"if I need firewood I will come and get it from the farm"* She said



Case: 9 Mr. Nza

Mr. Nza was elected the chairperson of Gallawater A. farm since it was transferred but according to Mrs. B and other residents in Gallawater A; Mr. Nza was never actively in charge of his responsibilities. His late deputy (Mr.B in case1) was even taking care of both their duties. According to Mr. Nza, the reason for acquiring Gallawater A. farm was because Zweledinga was overcrowded and as a group that was settled there temporarily they needed their own place for their children and their livestock.

After the farm was transferred he took his livestock and lived in the farm till 2006 when he decided to go back to Zweledinga. Although his small house remains unoccupied in the farm he only intends going back to Gallawater A. farm when its safe for his livestock to do so, as he claims that he lost three cows within a year due to the dangers in the farm including big, loose rocks.

The other reason for moving out of the farm according to Mr.Nza was that *“government only dumped us in Gallawater, there is no farm infrastructure and for me to even dip my animals I had to move to other places, whereas in Zweledinga some of these services, including even electricity are available. Government should have not given us the farm without proper infrastructure and other basic services that are needed in the farm which includes irrigation system and tractors.”*

About managing the farm, he indicated that there is a need for a meeting with all beneficiaries to discuss the issues in the farm and to choose the new committee. He accuses people living in Gallawater of doing as they please, whereas the farm has other owners somewhere else. His intention is also to move to the farm only when there are some developments taking place there. Mr. Nza concluded the interview by indicating that he will check for a possible date of calling a meeting with all available beneficiaries to discuss matters regarding the farm. He clearly spoke against people who did not contribute towards buying the farm moving into the farm and settling there.



Case 10: Mr. Zondi

He indicated that living in Zweledinga is better than being in Gallawater since in Zweledinga there is electricity and dipping tanks. However he believes that if necessary farming infrastructure and services were available in Gallawater, he would settle in the farm for agricultural purposes but not to reside by building a house with the intention of settling permanently. According to Mr. Zondi, until Gallawater is in a state where farming is conducive, he will not move there again but will rather stay and practice his farming in Zweledinga.

Mr. Zondi clearly indicated that as one of the registered owners of Gallawater A farm, he cannot totally rule out the possibilities of moving back to Gallawater A. for farming purposes as he indicated that he can only consider taking his livestock back to the farm once the department of Agriculture has implemented the CASP infrastructure it has long promised. He stated that he is still in regular contact with Gallawater A. farm residents and he is getting informed about all the activities taking place in the farm because some of his relatives and friends are living on the farm.

Conclusion

The presented cases summarize the framework of Vivian and Sudweek (2003) in chapter 2 where within the network beneficiaries are relating to each other because of the basic connections such historical backgrounds they share. Through these relationships beneficiaries are classified into social categories (belonging and identity) and the key members are more influential on decisions and activities taking place within the farm.

These cases also outline how different categories of beneficiaries in and out of Gallawater A. farm engage each other in social relationships which in one way or another contribute towards making Gallawater A. farm as a land reform project a newly created social space with diverse sets of interlocking projects. These interlocking projects happen through various social interactions influenced by different interests, social relations and choices made by different actors, giving a true reflection of multiple realities of land reform in South Africa.

CHAPTER 5: Land reform projects as interlocking Social Spaces

In this last chapter I will give a brief analysis of what the cases discussed in Chapter four present and this analysis will guide the general conclusion of this study.

5.1 Analysis

The manner in which land reform beneficiaries create the whole new meaning of their projects as soon as they are settled clearly indicates that what happens in land reform projects is far beyond what the policy makers and other role players within the design of the programme initially intended. Different expectations, views and interests amongst stakeholders, especially beneficiaries will give rise to new forms of activities which will result into smaller interlocking projects. The specific cases presented in the previous chapter outlined how different projects within Gallawater A. farm were constructed and by which actors. Various interlocking social space where different ideas and livelihoods strategies have been identified by different actors to meet not only their needs but also the needs of others transpired in Gallawater. Generally the presented cases clarify the complex realities of land reform projects.

The first two cases presented in chapter four are typical indication of the created rural elite capture as discussed by Platteau and Gaspret (2003:1690); that “communities within easy reach tend to be privileged while they are not the most needy, but because of their easy accessibility. They are better off since they have good access to markets, education facilities and all sorts of information, and their ability to speak foreign languages will presents them (elites) with opportunities to be recognized or tasked with some responsibilities within their communities”. These cases do not only indicate how these beneficiaries are privileged, like political economists would argue. This analysis reveals that in Gallawater A. farm opportunities emerged through this “rural elites” to benefit other community members.

Despite some members becoming newly created rural elites, the fact that most, if not the whole of Gallawater community benefits from the communication and activities that occur in the farm through these elites cannot be ignored. Transport is available in the farm and also jobs are created through these individuals. They also strengthen the social ties through opportunities they create within the farm, for an example during the peak season where shearing and grading of wool is taking place, voluntarily residents of the

farm are providing cheap labour for the wool growers where they are remunerated in kind and some are even getting employed as casual labourers. During the wool production season, this activity becomes more like a social event where the residents work, talk and eat together. Meals for such activities are provided by a farmer whose wool is being processed. Despite the emphasis by political economists that land reform has created inequalities and new elites, it is critically important to note that from the social interactions taking place in land reform farms as observed in the case of Gallwater A. farm most interactions results in a win-win situation between actors.

The case of Ms.Q resembles the mostly heard stories about multiple sources of livelihoods and being a proud land owner which provides security and identity for her. (see also James, 2007). It is in this manner that Ms.Q underlines the importance of land reform projects as social spaces for settlement and thus service and the level thereof become important. She thus hopes that settlement combines well with land for pasture.

While access to land and secure tenure are some of the land reform objectives aiming at securing tenure to all rural dwellers as stated in the South African land reform policy; Gallwater is occupied by 'other tenants and labourers with no rights'. These individuals are benefiting either as workers, providing cheap labour or/and residents accessing free land for settlement. The cases of Ms.Mqo and Mr. Boy's employee are clear indications of this. This reality exists despite land reform laws and policy statements which describe labour tenants as a specific category of rural dwellers that are particularly vulnerable, with specific land needs.

The land reform labour tenant act (ACT 3 of 1996) was passed by parliament to protect the rights of the labour tenants and to make provision for the acquisition of land acquisition grant for this purpose. "Farm worker" according to this act means a person who is employed on a farm in terms of contract of employment which provides that in return for the labour which he or she provides to the owner or lessee of the farm, he or she shall be paid predominantly in cash or in some other form of remuneration, and not predominantly in the right to occupy and use land; and he or she is obliged to perform his or her services personally (South African White Paper on Land Policy, 1997).

In Gallwater A. farm this indicates that what happens within land reform projects is a reality beyond policy intentions. Newcomers in the area are welcomed and viewed as

major boost to the area as their presence contributes to sustainability of the school; area growth and provision of services.

Even though only few beneficiaries are currently residing in Gallawater A. farm, most of those living outside are still having some special ties to the farm because they are still the owners; they influence decisions taken in the farm (Refer to the case of Mr.Nza) who is an absent chairperson and somehow influencing how the farm is run. Many of these beneficiaries are still dependent on resources in the farm and also contribute towards the movement of people into the farm (cases of Mr. Boy, Mr. Neli and Nomsa).

Gallawater A. farm has been transformed into a new social space presenting multiple realities through diverse sets of interlocking projects. Despite the emphasis by political economists that land reform has created inequalities and new elites, it is critically important to note that from the social interactions taking place in land reform farms as observed in the case of Gallawater A. farm, most interactions results in a win-win situation between actors.

5.2 Conclusion

Land reform cannot be analysed and understood linearly as there are more issues than just policy mandates and assumptions of stakeholders within this process. Once beneficiaries have been settled they identify other avenues which will address their basic needs and expectations. Land reform projects create a room for maneuver for different actors, presenting to them opportunities to establish and explore new forms of relationships which are beneficial for their livelihoods.

Land reform projects are not failing but creating new environments in which new opportunities to the new land owners are presented. These projects are arenas where complex social interactions are taking place and realities of everyday human needs are unfolding. In order to understand and address these realities and complexities properly, academics studying this process should engage social perspectives, proper models and methodologies which will focus on social actors and social processes as factors determining how actors shape and redesign projects to meet their local needs.

5.3 Recommendations

Since beneficiaries have a way of creating and identifying opportunities within the process to make the system fit respective situations for themselves and others, policy makers should also ensure that the existing policies allows flexibility to cater for the needs of these different categories of beneficiaries. One way of ensuring this can be by ensuring that policies are designed to address the needs of the rural poor by adjusting the current land reform policies which are market based to fit the local conditions of every project.

Instead of advocating for commercial agricultural production even where conditions are not conducive, small scale agricultural production can be encouraged through post settlement support programmes; however where agricultural intervention is not a solution, then other avenues that will contribute to the livelihoods of the new land owners and users should be put in place and be fully supported by relevant stakeholders as Walker (2005) recommends that land reform should be seen not as a general solution to problems faced by beneficiaries, but rather as part of the solution.

Land reform projects are newly created social spaces for the previously disadvantaged individuals who for many years longed to own their pieces of lands, regain their pride and dignity, and have a sense of belonging somewhere; therefore, proper interventions such as addressing land reform by understanding the social aspects and dynamics of communities, engaging in models of social change, redesigning the policies and ensuring support programmes which are needs based will address real situations and assist relevant stakeholders to be able to assess and judge the whole land reform process properly.

In summary if one would generalize from this case study, it would be proper to argue for a much more flexible policy design and implementation process rather than being rigid in achieving goals and setting out instruments to achieve these. Greater flexibility to cater for the diverse (and sometime contradictory) needs of the different categories of beneficiaries is required.

References

Adams, M. (1995) Land Reform: New seeds on old ground? Number 6, London: Overseas Development Institute

Bernstein, H. (2002) Land Reform: Taking long (er) view; *Journal of Agrarian Change*; Volume 2.No.4 pp 433-463: Blackwell publishing

Binswanger, H. (1996) the Political Implications of Alternative Models of Land Reform and Compensation. In Van Zyl, J; Kirstein, J.F. & Binswanger, H.P. (1996) *Agricultural Land Reform in South Africa: Policies, Markets & Mechanisms*, Cape Town: Oxford University press

Bobo, J. & Marsh, A. (2000) Land reform, sustainable rural livelihoods and gender relations: A case of Gallwater A farm; *Land use management, sustainability and environmental impact of cropping in a Land Reform Pilot Project: A case study of Gallwater A farm, Eastern Cape*. Cape Town: PLAAS Research Report No.5. Volume 5 pp 41-60

Borras, S.M (2005) The Underlying Assumptions, Theory and Practice of Neo-liberal Land Policies; Land Research Action Network, retrieved May 26, 2008 from <http://www.landaction.org/display.php?article=328>

CASP (2003-2005) Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme; Draft Progress Report 2003-2005: Department of Agriculture; Republic of South Africa Retrieved January 24, 2008; from <http://www.nda.agric.za/docs/CASP/casp.htm>

CASP Business plan (2006) Gallwater; Prepared by Ndlongo, N. Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture: Queenstown

Center for Development and Enterprise (CDE) research No.16 (2008) Getting Back on Track: Informing South African Policy: Johannesburg

Center for Development and Enterprise (CDE) research 14; (2005) Land Reform in South Africa: A 21st Century Perspective Policy in the making: Johannesburg

Chimhowu, A.O. (2006) Tinkering on the Fringes? Redistributive Land Reforms and Chronic Poverty in Southern Africa, CPRC Working Paper 58; Institute for Development Policy and Management (IDPM) School of Environment and Development, United Kingdom: University of Manchester



Collingson, S. (2003) Power, Livelihoods and Conflict; Case Studies in Political Economy Analysis for Humanitarian Action, Humanitarian Policy Group Report 13, London: Overseas Development Institute

Davis, N.C; Horn A.C. & Govender-Van Wyk, S.(2004) "Invisible Women": Making the Case for Supply-led,Class-based,gender targeted land redistribution in South Africa;*GeoJournal* 61:273-279,2004

Deininger, K. (1999) Making Negotiated Land Reform Work: Initial Experience from Colombia, Brazil and South Africa: *World Development* Vol.27, No.4, pp.651-672

Deininger, K., van den Brink, R., Hoogeveen, H. & Moyo, S. (2000) How Land Reform can contribute to Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction: Empirical Evidence from International and Zimbabwean Experience: Washington DC, World Bank Land Policy Network (available at www.worldbank.org).

Deininger, K. & May, J. (2000) "Can there be growth with equity? An initial assessment of land reform in South Africa"; April 2000 World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No.2451

Del Rosario-Malonzo J. (2005) Market Orientated Land Reform and the World Bank; Asia-Pacific Research Network Journals: Volume 13 December 2005, IBON Foundation inc.Retrieved on March 29, 2008 from www.aprnet.org

Department of Agriculture (1995) South African White Paper on Agriculture, 1995, Department of Agriculture, South Africa

De wet, C. (1989) Betterment Planning in Rural Village in Keiskammahoek, Ciskei; *Special Issue on the Politics of Conservation in Southern Africana: Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol.15.No.2pp.326-345

DLA (1997) White Paper on South African Land Policy; Department of Land Affairs: South Africa

Erickson B. (2001) Social Networks; the Blackwell Companion to Sociology: pp; 314-326 Edited by Blau, J.R; USA: Blackwell Publishers

Gabara, N. and Appel, M. (2008); Buaneews; South Africa: New Expropriation Bill to Advance Land Reform; posted 26/03/08, retrieved 14/07/08 from <http://allafrica.com/stories/200803260886.html>

Greenberg, S. (2003) Land Reform and Transition in South Africa: Transformation; Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa-52, 2003, pp 42-67: Michigan State University press

Hall, R. (2007) The Land Question in South Africa: The Challenge of Transformation and Redistribution; *transforming rural South Africa? Taking stock of land reform*: pp 87-106, edited by Lungile Ntsebeza and Ruth Hall; South Africa: HSRC press

Hall, R. and Lahiff, E. (2004) Policy Brief No.13 (August 2004) Debating Land Reform and Rural Development; Budgeting For Land Reform: PLAAS, School of Government, UWC

Hall, R. (1998) 'Design for equity: Linking policy with objectives with objectives in South Africa's land reform', *Review of African Political Economy*, 25:77,451-462

Jacobs, P; Lahiff, E. & Hall, R. (2003) Evaluating land and agrarian reform in South Africa: An occasional paper series; Cape Town: PLAAS, School of government, UWC.

James, D. (2007) Gaining Ground? 'Rights' and 'Poverty' in South African Land Reform, Johannesburg: Wits University Press

Kariuki, S. & Van der Walt, L. (2000) Land Reform In South Africa Still Waiting; Southern Africa Report (SAR)Vol.15. No.3; May 2000.South Africa

Koponen, J. (2004) Development Intervention and Development Studies; in Kontinen (ed), *Development Intervention: Actor and Activity Perspective*, *Journal of South Asian Development* 1(2):273

Lahiff E. (2007) State, Market or The worst of both? Experimenting with Market-based Land Reform in South Africa; Cape Town: PLAAS, School of government, UWC.

Lahiff, E. (2003) Land Reform and Sustainable Livelihoods in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province; Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa: Research Paper 9, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

Lahiff, E. (2002) Land Reform and Sustainable Livelihoods in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province: Research report No.14, Cape Town: PLAAS, School of government, UWC.

Lahiff, E (2001) Debating Land Reform in South Africa: is it meeting the challenge?; Policy Brief No.1. Cape Town: PLAAS, School of government, UWC.

LRAD (2001); Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs, South Africa: retrieved 12 February 2008 from <http://www.nda.agric.za/docs/redistribution.htm>

Land Reform Labour Tenant ACT (1996); Republic of South Africa; retrieved 12 February, 2008 from <http://www.info.gov.za/gazette/acts/1996/a3-96.htm>

Long, N. (2004) Actors, Interfaces and Development Intervention: Meanings, purposes and Powers; in Kontinen, T. (ed): Development Intervention: Actors and Activity Perspectives; University of Helsinki, pp 14-36

Long, N. (2001) Resistance, Agency and Counter-work: A theoretical positioning; In Food Fight edited by Wright,W. and Middendorf,G.Penn.State University Press,2006 forthcoming ;Wageningen University: The Netherlands

Meli, F. (1988) A history of the ANC. South Africa belongs to us, London: James Currey

Plaatje, S. (1916) Native Life in South Africa, London: Ravan press

Platteau, J.P. & Gaspart, F. (2003) the risk of resource misappropriation in community-driven development: World Development Vol.31, No.10, and p.p 1687-1703, Great Britain: Elsevier LTD.

Policy and budget speech (2006/2007); Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture

Policy and budget speech (2007/2008); Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture

Rossett, P. (2001) Resisting "Privatization" of Land Reform by the WorldBank;Food First Economic Justice News, August 2001,Vol.4 No.2 retrieved online March 11,2008;from <http://www.50years.org/cms/ejn/story/122>

South African Government information (2005) retrieved January 24, 2008; from <http://www.info.gov.za/issues/govtprog/agric.htm>

Straton, A. & Gerritsen, R. (2005) Using Network Theory to Analyse Adoptive Resource Governance and Distribution ,retrieved March 11,2008;from [http://www.anzsee.org/anzsee 2005papers/Straton Network theory.pdf](http://www.anzsee.org/anzsee%202005papers/Straton%20Network%20theory.pdf)

Thackwray, D. (2007) "South African Land Reform and the Global Development Industry" *African Studies quarterly* 9, No.4

The World Bank Group (2004) Investments in Land Administration, Policy and Markets: Agriculture Investment Sourcebook: Retrieved May 23, 2008 from http://www-esd.worldbank.org/ais/Module09/pdf/mod_09_00.pdf

Thwala, W. (2003) Backgrounder and Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa; Land Research Action Network News, Analysis and Research on Land Reform and Agrarian Change around the World; Retrieved March 31, 2008 from <http://landaction.org/display.php?article=60>

Vetter, S. & Goqwana, W. (2000) Land reform, sustainable rural livelihoods and gender relations, A case of Gallawater A farm; *Grazing management and sustainability in a Land Reform Pilot Project: A case study of Gallawater A farm, Eastern Cape Province*. Cape Town: PLAAS Research Report No.5.volume 2

Vivian, N. & Sudweeks, F. (2003) Social Networks in Transnational and Virtual Communities; Informing science, Insite: "*Where Parallels intersect*", Australia: Murdoch University

Wade, M. (2005) Theories Used in IS Research: Social Network Theory; Appalachian State University retrieved 07/03/08 from; <http://www.istheory.yorku.ca/socialnetworktheory.htm>

Walker, C. (2002) Agrarian Change, Gender and Land Reform: A South African Case Study; Social policy and development (2000-2005) Paper No.10 (code PP-SPD-10) Geneva

Walker, C. (2005) "The Limits to Land Reform: Rethinking the land question" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31:4, pg 805-824

Wegerif, M. (2004) A Critical Appraisal of South Africa's Market-Based Land Reform Policy: The Case of the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) Programme in Limpopo; Cape Town, PLAAS, School of government, UWC.

Wells, T. (1995): New Internationalist: The people, the ideas, the action in the fight for global justice: Promised Land {Online} February 2008 <http://www.newint.org/issues265/Promised.htm>

