Through the 'Thick and Thin' of farming on the Wild Coast, South Africa

Journal of Rural Studies

Shackleton, Sheona E.; Hebinck, Paul

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2018.01.012

Journal of Rural Studies 61 (2018) 277–289

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Journal of Rural Studies

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/jrurstud

Through the 'Thick and Thin' of farming on the Wild Coast, South Africa

Sheona E. Shackleton[a,*], Paul Hebinck[b,c]

[a] Department of Environmental Science, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa
[b] Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Development, University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa
[c] Department of Sociology of Development and Change, Wageningen University, Wageningen, The Netherlands

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Agrarian change
De-agrarianisation
South Africa
Farming styles
Eastern Cape
Cultivation

ABSTRACT

This contribution critically engages with the academic debate on de-agrarianisation which has gained common ground in political economy perspectives of agrarian change in South Africa. De-agrarianisation represents long-term processes of occupational adjustment, income-earning reorientation, social identification and the spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from strictly agricultural modes of livelihood. In contrast, we do not treat the decline in agriculture as a necessarily linear structural process and phenomenon. The substantial variation of de-agrarianisation that exists amongst and between regions and homesteads, and in time and space, means that general patterns cannot be easily established. De-agrarianisation may very well be a temporal phenomenon and processes of re-agrarianisation or re-activation of cultivation may be more common than expected in some areas. We draw on original material from a study on the Wild Coast, South Africa to underline that agriculture currently may be in a stage of de-activation in scale, but certainly not in terms of scope, intensity, agrarian identity and contribution to wellbeing. We encountered two distinct styles of farming, reflecting, in turn, a certain order of the agrarian landscape of the Wild Coast: one which builds on notions like 'keen farming' which is very much supported by lifestyle ideas that "farming is our life" and "we like farming" and a second one that suggests it "saves money to continue farming". These styles are not static, but adjust with time and are often inter-related with and shaped by particular historical circumstances. These styles, we argue, reflect and safeguard continuities of farming in places like the study area for current and future generations. The continuity of farming is specifically maintained through family farming by drawing on family labour, including the youth, combined with low degrees of commoditisation and a fair degree of investment in equipment and time.

1. Introduction

This paper explores the continuities of crop farming in Mbhashe Local Municipality on the Wild Coast, which forms part of the southern portion of the coastal belt of the former Transkei homeland of the Eastern Cape, South Africa (Fig. 1). Set against the background of the de-agrarianisation debate (see 'Introduction' to this special issue) and observations of a general decline in field cropping in this region (e.g. Andrew and Fox, 2004; Hebinck and Monde, 2007; Hebinck and van Averbeke, 2013; Shackleton et al., 2013; Shackleton and Luckert, 2015; de la Hey and Beinart, 2016; Masterson, 2016; Connor and Mtwana, 2017), we noted, however, that certain lands or fields, distant from so called 'gardens',[1] continue to be ploughed and planted, albeit by a minority of homesteads. While the general decline in field cultivation has been fairly well covered in the literature, few publications examine the motivations and activities of those who continue to crop fields. We therefore (re)traced after a period of two years, between 2011 and 2013, homesteads that continue to crop fields, following up on a study by Shackleton et al. (2013), which purposely sought out farmers who are still cultivating fields. Our objective was to analyse the farming styles and strategies of families that cultivate fields, so as to better understand why and how they continue to do so. Apart from mainly continuous farming of these lands, it is noteworthy that some farmers had disengaged from cropping over the period considered, while we also found newly cultivated fields opened up since 2011. Furthermore, a concurrent survey of home garden cultivators showed that cultivation of gardens continues as an important form of production in the study area, and in some cases may replace field farming (Connor and Mtwana, 2017; Fay, 2013; Hebinck and Monde, 2007). There is, thus, variation over time amongst farming families and their use of fields. We find this

* Corresponding author. African Climate and Development Initiative, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
E-mail addresses: sheona.shackleton@uct.ac.za (S.E. Shackleton), Paul.Hebinck@wur.nl (P. Hebinck).

[1] Culturally, socially and historically it is important to make a distinction between fields ('*intsimi*') and gardens ('*igadi*' and '*isitiya*') on the Wild Coast. The difference between them is not size *per se*. Fields, in contrast to gardens, are often distant from the homestead, and mostly in valley bottoms. Gardens are seen as part of the homestead and are fenced along with the house, and have become the main food producing sites for many families, saving money that otherwise would be spent on purchasing food (Fay, 2013; Connor and Mtwana, 2017).

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2018.01.012
Received 25 July 2017; Received in revised form 22 January 2018; Accepted 28 January 2018
Available online 07 February 2018
0743-0167/

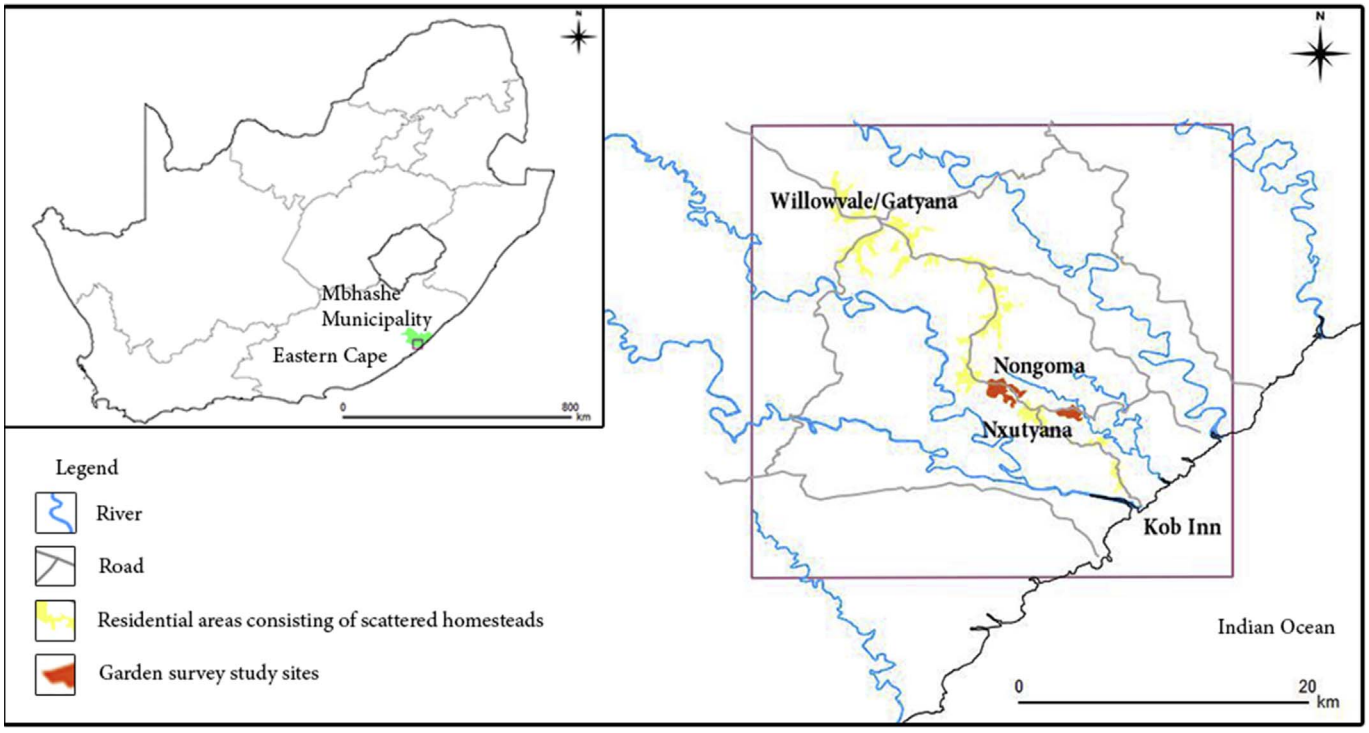

Fig. 1. Area between Willowvale/Gatyana and the coast covered for the field farmer survey (yellow) and sample villages for the garden survey (orange). (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the Web version of this article.)

variation theoretically and empirically significant; it is, however, not well covered by either the notion of de-agrarianisation or the debate around it.

Instead, the de-agrarianisation literature tends to treat the process of field abandonment as a permanent shift away from the use of land and labour for agricultural purposes. Moreover, the commentary for South Africa often depicts rural livelihoods as being dependent on and revolving around social grants, pensions, remittances and outside forms of income (see Rogan, 2017). The occupational shifts away from agriculture have, thus, often been misunderstood as the completion of a process of proletarianisation, which has accelerated out migration to the city, leaving villages de-agrarianised. That an agrarian or rural lifestyle continues to exist, albeit in different forms and shapes, tends to be overlooked. Thus, the persistence of an agrarian identity and how this translates into the kinds of land use and farming one encounters in villages in the former Ciskei and Transkei regions of the Eastern Cape today, are rarely given focussed attention. This analysis of styles of farming aims to overcome such short comings, and contribute to reframing what we mean by both farming and arable decline.

In our observation, field abandonment, or what we term de-activation (van der Ploeg, 2008: 7) of field agriculture, due to numerous constraints and challenges described later (also see Andrew and Fox, 2004; de Klerk, 2007; and de la Hey and Beinart, 2016), does not exclude cultivation of home gardens and, moreover, that, after some years, rural dwellers may attempt to re-activate and rejuvenate cropping in distant fields, with or without the support of development agencies (see Van den Berg et al. in this issue). De-activation/re-activation, we believe, is a more nuanced way to frame the cropping activities we observed on the southern Wild Coast, as it adds a dynamic dimension to the practices this paper describes. We argue that the notions of under-cultivation, under-utilisation and abandonment can be problematic. This is not only because they underplay the possibility of re-activation, but they ignore that fields are also used for multiple other purposes (e.g. collecting herbs, medicinal plants, grazing) and are seen by residents as potentially productive components of the landscape (Masterson, 2016).

Cultivation has been shown to be important in the livelihoods and well-being of rural Eastern Cape residents in a recent study by Rogan (2017). Using the Statistics South Africa 2008/9 Living Conditions Survey and its annual General Household Surveys, he has shown that, in the absence of wage income, hunger levels are lower amongst farming households. He argues that the income poverty literature has underestimated the role of family cropping in promoting well-being and that this activity needs to be taken seriously by policy makers for its contribution to supporting food security amongst poor rural households. Such findings legitimise our focus on the continuity of agriculture amidst a de-agrarianised landscape, and our wish to understand why and how people farm. Interesting policy considerations can be drawn from such analysis.

Given that we found that the continuity of arable farming is unfolding in heterogeneous ways, we applied the notion of styles to characterise these differences. The value of describing styles of farming is that each style tells a story about how the actors involved discursively explain their way of farming and their envisioning of the future. These styles, however, do not exist and emerge in a political and historical vacuum. Styles, as we will show in this article, build on past strategies and relations; they also do not simply co-exist in parallel, but may overlap with one another. We identified two main styles: '*keen farming*' which is very much supported by lifestyle ideas that *"farming is our life"* and *"we like farming*", and a second one that suggests it *"saves money to continue farming*". These styles are neither static nor homogenous.

In the next sections, we start by elaborating on the theory behind 'styles of farming' as an approach to ordering the agrarian landscape. This is followed by a description of the methods used for both the field cultivation and home garden surveys, in which we mention how the research forms part of four years of interdisciplinary work in the study area. An overview of the study area is then provided. The two sections after that contextualise the study within the historical and contemporary agrarian context of the Wild Coast, drawing on the work of numerous authors and the findings from our two surveys. We discuss both field and garden cultivation and the commonalities and linkages between them. Following this, we distil out and characterise the

farming styles we identified from our in-depth interviews and garden survey, and provide vignettes and quotations that support the different styles proposed. In the conclusion, we come back to the arguments this paper develops regarding farming trends in the study area and the Wild Coast and what this means for the de-agrarianisation debate.

2. Conceptual framing

A 'styles of farming' perspective emerged in the rural sociology research tradition in Europe between the early 1960s and mid-1990s to counter the idea, and policies derived from this, that (agricultural) development unfolds in linear ways. The latter, known as modernisation theory, suggests that agricultural development should proceed along a linear transition from 'traditional' to 'modern' and from 'simple' to 'complex'; that is, from subsistence to a system based fully on exchange, scale-enlargement and specialisation in order to increase productivity. Data collected in various empirical contexts, be it Europe, the USA or Africa, continuously point out the fallacy and inaccuracy of such ideas and interpretations. In contrast to this assumed homogeneity and linearity, agricultural development has been shown to proceed in many different directions. Moreover, the modernisation development trajectory is critiqued for restructuring agriculture in ways that forced many farmers out and left remaining farms vulnerable to squeezes on prices and market fluctuations (Bjørkhaug and Knickel, 2017; Marsden, 2003, 2013; van der Ploeg, 2006). Modernisation is thus heavily contested and resisted, but it also gave way to various forms of reworking (Arce and Long, 2000; Escobar, 2011). The richly chequered mosaic of contrasting development and farming pathways observed in many contexts can best be understood by engaging with concepts such as farming styles and cultural repertoires of farming, alongside an understanding of agency as it operates at the level of family, homestead and community (van der Ploeg, 2012, 2013, 2017).

A 'styles of farming' prism on agrarian change and development expresses and builds upon the empirical reality that farming does not only produce specific products, but also specific styles (or cultures) of farming. A style relates to the ways in which farmers organise and develop their farming practices and related enterprises, such that their activities create a unique landscape and enhance the livelihoods of those involved in farming. Attributing agency to farmers and members of the farm family is central to understanding and identifying styles of farming (Long, 2001; van der Ploeg, 1994, 2012, 2017). There is recognition of an element of choice in how farming proceeds. However, farmers' agency is not unlimited and we encounter situations where agency is constrained or structured by relations of power, as well as by markets and technologies. In the context of South Africa, it is of paramount importance to position such agency within the institutionalisation of the labour migration system and the formation of the apartheid planned 'homelands'. We will argue later that the social and spatial relations these entailed restricted options for farming, but, at the same time, created opportunities for labour migrants to invest in farming, both in the past as well as in the present. Farmers, like any other social actor, thus deploy their agency strategically; this manifests in the continuity of the connection between places as well as in the enrolment of different actors in their farming operations (Long and van der Ploeg, 1994). Farmers may decide to link their farm and operations to commodity markets and be dependent on external resources, thereby adopting the normative frameworks of new technological designs. In contrast, others may decide to farm relatively autonomously and target self-provisioning for their families, neighbours and next of kin as a major motivation.

Styles are expressions of a specific cultural repertoire vis-a-vis farming and natural resource management more broadly (van der Ploeg, 2012). A style consists of experiences, knowledge, insights, prospects and interpretations of the future. Styles are also integrated sets of practices and artefacts (e.g. crop varieties, instruments, cattle breeds; a specific ordering of the interrelations with markets, technology and institutions; and responses to policies). Rather than being a strictly individual matter, a style may also apply to a group. In this sense, as Arce and Hebinck (2002: 7) argue, "a focus on organisational practices might take the livelihood framework beyond the unit of analysis of individual strategies". The use of the notion of culture by no means is meant to imply some generalised concept of *Xhosa* culture and identity, but rather it pertains to the culture of farming and the way in which farmers talk about why and how they farm, and the object of farming (e.g. *Xhosa* seed, African cattle). There is, of course, some resemblance with *Xhosa* culture and identity. For example, *Xhosa* maize seed implies maize seed that has been in the family for some time and which has been reproduced through selection and planting.

At the same time, styles are also outcomes of negotiations between and amongst the actors involved (i.e. men, women, children in their roles as farmers and labourers) regarding how to farm, where to farm, what to farm, what proportion to sell to which markets, what share to reinvest in the next production cycle, what seed to plant and how much to keep for the next planting season, who ploughs and how deep, and whether and how much external (e.g. wages) and family capital is (re) integrated into the production cycle, amongst others.

Applying a 'styles of farming' research lens can help to understand why, in rather similar 'external' circumstances (e.g. prices of commodities and access to major production factors like capital, labour and land), farmers make different choices with regard to multiple decisions such as which resources to purchase or to reproduce during and in the production process, and how much produce to sell or use to feed the family or their livestock. However, we should not ignore that there are elements of social differentiation at play in explaining options and strategies. Access to land, financial capital, knowledge, and labour are not equally distributed and we need to also take these factors into account.

3. Data collection

The methodological underpinning of farming styles lies in documenting the narratives of the actors involved, and letting them explain in their own terms 'why they farm the way they do'. For field farmers, we re-traced a subsample of homesteads found during a previous quantitative study (n = 31) on field abandonment and cropping undertaken in the same study area in 2011 (see Shackleton et al., 2013). As field farmers are in the minority and widely dispersed, the original study used snowball or referral sampling to trace these farmers with the assistance of the local chief's daughter, who was acquainted with several of the initial families visited. The area covered is indicated in Fig. 1, and lies between the coast and the small town of Willowvale (also known as Gatyana) (an approximately 30 km stretch). We were assisted by the same field assistant to revisit homesteads as well as one other. Given that not all families were still cultivating and others were unavailable for interview, as well as the addition of two families that had recently opened up fields, we were able to conduct 19 in-depth interviews within the time constraints of the study. For three, it only became evident half way through the interview that the families had not planted in 2013; this left 16 who had cultivated in the year of the study. Primary cultivators included both men (7) and women (9). Most of the families remembered the previous researcher and were happy to discuss any changes in their farming activities as well as provide the in-depth information we were looking for.

The sample we ended up with may be viewed as small, but the study was not set up to generalise *per se*. The use of our case material is to show that, despite the general trend of field and arable abandonment, processes are at play that imply a trajectory of continued farming. In our interviews, we specifically focussed on how farming families structure their farming activities, the choices they make with regard to organising their key resources (e.g. labour, capital, manure, seeds, and outlets), where their fields are located and their sizes, and how their rights to land were secured. Interviews took the form of conversations,

usually with multiple members of the family, although the primary cultivator was present in all of them. Each interview lasted between about one and half to three hours as we also spent time viewing gardens, fields, other associated farming projects (e.g. chicken rearing) as well as equipment owned by the farmers. Interviews were translated on site by two *isiXhosa*-speaking assistants. Both researchers took detailed notes which we later compared. Recordings were also made and translated and summarised for further analysis. We used thematic analysis to explore particular themes related to the interview topics mentioned above, and to generate some quantitative data and illustrative quotes.

In addition to this qualitative survey with field farmers, we also undertook a quantitative survey of garden cultivators in two randomly selected 'villages' namely Nongoma (121 homesteads with a density of 36 households per km^2) and Nxutyana (33 households with a density of 37 homesteads per km^2) in the same study area, i.e. between the coast and Willowvale (Figs. 1 and 2). We used the data on garden cultivation to explore how this fitted with the different farming styles that emerged from the in-depth interviews. This type of cultivation is much more common in the area. A total of 90 homesteads (58% of the population) were visited. Both open- and closed-ended questions were asked at each homestead with the help of a *isiXhosa*-speaking translator. Respondents included both men and women. The survey questions dealt specifically with home garden cultivation and included questions on engagement in gardening, the reasons for gardening, garden inputs, methods of ploughing, seasonal determinants, changes/trends in gardening, challenges involved, estimations of yield and use of produce, and sale of crops. All gardens were also physically observed using a 'garden attributes survey', with the aim of gaining further insight into the proportion of different crops planted and the overall size and diversity of home gardens.

The data and stories obtained from the surveys were then used to: 1) describe contemporary arable farming in the study area, unpacking aspects of both field and garden cultivation; and 2) identify the main farming styles engaged in by farmers. We characterised these styles based on farmers' and their families' narratives and support them with vignettes that typify the style.

4. Study area context

Willowvale/Gatyana lies in the southern portion of what is commonly known as the Wild Coast (32.26° S; 28.50° E); i.e. the coastal region of the former homeland of Transkei (Fig. 1). Administratively it falls within the Mbhashe Local Municipality; an area of 3169.45 km^2 (http://www.mbhashemun.gov.za/web/). The municipality has an estimated population of 277 250 people (equating to some 80 people per km^2), most of whom are *amaXhosa*. This population has a high proportion of children and youth, with about 52% being between ages 0–19. Only about 8% falls into the pension group (age 65+), whilst 40% is of economically active age (age 20–64) (Mbhashe Local Municipality, 2016). These demographics result in a dependency ratio of 70. Population growth based on the most recent statistics is 1.3%.

The unemployment rate is estimated at 42%, with youth unemployment at 51%, (http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993&id=mbhashe-municipality), while some 61% of households are estimated to live below the poverty line (Mbhashe Local Municipality, 2016). The small town of Willowvale (Gatyana) is the main site for purchasing of groceries and farming inputs as well as for selling produce.

A baseline household survey (n = 170) in the study area (which formed part of a larger four year project) found that homesteads consist of between 2 and 10 people that depend in one way or another on the incomes generated by members, with more than half of households (59%) being female-headed (see Shackleton and Luckert, 2015; Stadler, 2012). The former study showed that livelihoods typically combine subsistence activities such as livestock rearing, small-scale cultivation and gardening, and the collection of natural resources (together contributing some 22% of the average livelihood portfolio) with cash income sources. Cash sources include social grants (60% of portfolio), wages from casual and formal employment (generally in the public service), and income from various forms of informal or self-employment (e.g. sales of locally gathered resources, 'spaza' shops, and small businesses such as car repairs, phone charging, hairdressing) (14% of portfolio) and, lastly, remittances from migrants (4% of portfolio). State grants are the most widespread and important source of cash income, forming, on average, more than half of the income portfolio of most

Fig. 2. Google earth image of one of the garden survey sample villages to illustrate settlement pattern.

families (Shackleton and Luckert, 2015). This contrasts with the past, when migrant remittances played this role. The latter have dwindled with the decline in employment opportunities in the mining sector and in industries in local towns (de Wet, 2011; Hebinck and van Averbeke, 2013; Bank and Minkley, 2005). Despite the relatively low cash and in-kind economic contribution of farming activities to the livelihood portfolio, Stats SA data for Mbhashe Local Municipality indicates that some 60.5% (61 647) of households are involved in some form of agriculture (http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993&id=mbhashe-municipality).

Homesteads in the study area are scattered within patchy settlement areas or villages within the landscape (Fig. 2). Each have large plots of land (half a hectare or more) for cultivation, usually one at the homestead (known locally as a 'garden') as well as more distant arable fields. Field cultivation has declined over time as discussed below. Land is state owned, while the authority to allocate this land lies with the chiefs and headmen. Once a family has been allocated land for settlement or farming, it is *de facto* theirs and is retained by them whether used or not (pers. comm., headman Ntshudu, October 2013; Kepe, 2012). However, we found that the 'selling' of land occasionally occurs, and may be 'bought' in exchange for a cow or a small sum of money. As long as the chief or headman is aware of this exchange, it is sanctioned by the tribal authority (pers comm., headman Ntshudu, October 2013). Overall, though, there is often confusion as to who has the final say in land allocation and development and security of tenure is not guaranteed (Mbhashe Local Municipality, 2012).

The study area lags behind many parts of the country in terms of infrastructure such as tarred roads, and has marginal local markets and poor transport systems (Shackleton and Luckert, 2015). Most of the study area was electrified in 2015. Piped water, accessed via communal taps, is available in some areas, and many homesteads have rain water tanks. Statistics for the Municipality show that only 21% of families have access to piped water from water schemes (18%) and boreholes (3%), resulting in a backlog of 47 882 (79%) households. The main water sources for these households are rivers or streams (51%), followed by rainwater (16%). There are no sanitation services in the area, and instead people use pit latrines or have no toilets (Mbhashe Local Municipality, 2012).

Biophysically, the land is favourable for farming. The landscape is comprised of Bhisho Thornveld, Eastern Valley Bushveld, Transkei Coastal Belt and fragments of Scarp Forest and Southern Mistbelt Forest vegetation types, which occupy a landscape of undulating hills, deeply incised valleys and small coastal plains (Mucina et al., 2007). The geology and soils are composed of mudstone with subordinate sandstone of the Adelaide Subgroup, with Glenrosa and Mispah soil forms dominating the Transkei Coastal Belt. Mean annual precipitation is between 900 and 1000 mm and can fall in both summer and winter, but typically is dominated by summer rainfall. Temperatures vary from lows of around 3 °C in winter to average highs of 25 °C in summer. Compared to the inland areas of the former Transkei, soil erosion and gullies are not a widespread problem on the Wild Coast and in the study area: "the biodiversity of Mbhashe shows that most of the natural and near-natural landscapes are located along the coast and adjacent interior. The more degraded areas are found in the north-western portion of Mbhashe" (Mbhashe Local Municipality, 2016).

5. History of arable farming on the Wild Coast and in the Willowvale/Gatyana area

The intensity and success of agriculture in the Wild Coast region has ebbed and flowed significantly over the past two centuries, although the last 70 years (since the 1940s), as argued by several authors, have witnessed a progressive decline in the scale of agricultural production and a move to new modes of arable farming focussed on the homestead (Andrew, 1992; McAllister, 2001; Fay, 2009; Connor and Mtwana, 2017). Some commentators argue that these changes manifested most clearly after the late 1980s; a period characterised by retrenchment from the mines and closure of industries in regional centres, both of which limited migrant opportunities and thus income for investment into agriculture (de Klerk, 2007; Bank and Minkley, 2005; Masterson, 2016). The processes of livelihood and agrarian change, and the characteristics of the present day landscape in the study area, have, thus, been shaped by a complex of interacting factors across different temporal and spatial scales. These include past colonial and apartheid settlement and agricultural policies, changing migration patterns and influxes of people, changing values especially amongst the youth, climate variability and change, and other practical local issues such as loss of herding labour, crop raiding by bush pigs and monkeys, and a decline in cattle numbers due to episodic disease outbreaks (Andrew and Fox, 2004; de Klerk, 2007; Hebinck and van Averbeke, 2007; Hebinck and Monde, 2007; Fay, 2013; Shackleton et al., 2013; Shackleton and Luckert, 2015; de la Hey and Beinart, 2016). Andrew (1992) provides a comprehensive account of the trends in agriculture in Willowvale/Gayana from pre-colonial times until 1990, key aspects of which we highlight below.

Historiographies of the Eastern Cape, that focus on the former homelands of Transkei and Ciskei (Beinart, 1982; Lewis, 1984; Bundy, 1988; McAllister, 2001; Hebinck and van Averbeke, 2007), highlight how the processes of colonisation and, later, strict government control through the enforcement of betterment or villagisation, and then apartheid, had large impacts on the way that rural dwellers made a living. The colonial period from the 1890s through to the 1960s marked a time of expansion in smallholder production and migrancy. Before the 1930s, farming generally constituted the main source of living and income for people on the Wild Coast, and was a time when farmers from the area often competed successfully in local markets (Andrew, 1992). Bundy (1988) situates such independent black farm production in South Africa to the period from about 1860 to 1900, before labour migration became prominent. Historians like Giliomee and Mbenga (2007: 177) refer to this period as 'The Peasant Moment', while Lewis (1984) and Andrew (1992) provide evidence that this also occurred in the Eastern Cape.

From the end of the nineteenth century, the mineral boom in the Witwatersrand, and the migrant labour and remittances that stemmed from it, helped many homesteads in the area to invest in agriculture and consequently further boosted farming (Beinart, 1982; Hebinck and Smith, 2007; de la Hey and Beinart, 2016). Specifically, due to the presence of missionaries in the Willowvale area from the late 1800s, education was comparatively good, and, as a result, local inhabitants were favoured by recruiters up country and received higher wages than others (McAllister, 2001; de Klerk, 2007). At the turn of the century, however, numerous Acts and restrictions were put in place by the white government that served to halt the progress of independent black producers (Beinart and Bundy, 1987; Bundy, 1988; Hebinck and van Averbeke, 2007; Kepe and Tessaro, 2014). After the 1930s, black farmers were unable or did not find it worthwhile to produce surplus crops because of the laws that had been placed on them, squeezing them out of available markets (Andrew, 1992; Fay, 2009; Connor and Mtwana, 2017). Similar to what Hebinck and van Averbeke (2007) document for the Ciskei, with the deepening of apartheid white traders who traded grains for consumer items left the Transkei from the early 1960s onwards (de Klerk, 2007; Andrew, 1992). With trading posts being deserted access to tractors, maize storage facilities and agricultural credit became problematic. At the same time, this period marked the beginning of an influx of people into the Transkei and Ciskei region as black people were expelled from declared 'white-only' parts of the country to designated rural 'homeland' or 'Bantustan' areas (Bundy, 1988; Andrew, 1992; Switzer, 1993; Fay, 2003; Hebinck and van Averbeke, 2007). This increased resource utilisation and competition for land reducing the capacity of natural resources to buffer the effects of adverse conditions. As a result, the vulnerability of farmers to droughts and other disasters increased, forcing them into debt, and

limiting their ability to cope and continue their rural existence (Andrew, 1992).

Over the next period up until about the 1980s, farming persisted on the Wild Coast, mainly to supplement incomes derived from remittances. It thus continued to be an important source of livelihood and food security for black rural families. Many people in the rural communal areas of the country identified themselves as farmers, undertaking both arable and livestock farming. Income earned from migrant jobs continued to be invested in these activities, through the purchase of cattle and equipment (McAllister, 2001). Women played an important role in keeping the farm going while their husbands were on the mines, and children participated in assisting their mothers and in herding cattle (Hebinck and van Averbeke, 2007). However, the situation was not static and one important policy driver of change during this period was the national 'betterment' policy. Betterment and rehabilitation were government policies that were implemented under the Land Act of 1936 and promoted by the Tomlinson Commission of the mid-1950s (Tomlinson Commission, 1955). They were widely, but not uniformly, implemented throughout the country. Betterment forced the relocation of previously sparsely situated homesteads closer together in a government attempt to better control the use of resources (McAllister, 1988; de Wet, 1989; Shackleton et al., 2013). On the southern Wild Coast, there was less physical reorganisation of the landscape through betterment than elsewhere in the Eastern Cape. This was largely due to poor implementation and enforcement, but also because of the tenacity of local people and the return of some families to their former homestead sites (Andrew, 1992; Fay, 2003). Andrew (1992) suggests only about half of the Willowvale/Gatyana area underwent resettlement. Nevertheless, because of the hilly terrain most homesteads tend to be located on the hill tops away from the traditional sites of field cultivation on the valley slopes and bottoms. This distance has become increasingly problematic as described later.

More recent work, that includes assessment of changes in land-use from time-series, aerial photographs, has shown that the abandonment of fields has accelerated in recent years (de Klerk, 2007; Hebinck and Monde, 2007; Lent and Mupakati, 2007; Fay, 2009; Shackleton et al., 2013). Shackleton et al. (2013) found that most of the past farmers interviewed in the study site had stopped farming on distant fields, on average, about 18.5 years ago. This is confirmed by our recent data. There are many factors influencing this that build on the past drivers mentioned earlier. Some studies suggest that the democratic transition and expansion of the state's social welfare grant system (Dubbeld, 2013; Kepe and Tessaro, 2014), as well as retrenchments of migrant workers were important processes at play, next to the fact that the 'modern', urban economy is not able to absorb rural labour. Moreover, the expansion and deepening of monthly state transfers (e.g. pensions, child and disability grants) has resulted in most people purchasing their food in towns, where supermarkets chains supply basic foodstuffs (such as maize meal) at prices below what these foods may cost to produce. This acts as a disincentive for cultivation (Shackleton et al., 2013; Kepe and Tessaro, 2014; Trefry et al., 2014). There are numerous other factors that further militate against arable farming, especially at a scale beyond the home garden. The absence of markets for produce and lack of credit to invest in equipment and labour as well as soil quality decline and unpredictable weather are commonly mentioned as additional explanatory factors. Moreover, labour, which is mostly drawn from the family, is often scarce. Children have taken up schooling; retrenched migrant workers, some of whom worked most of their adult life in town, are often not eager to start farming at a scale larger than the home garden; labour has been lost due to ill health and HIV/AIDS; and much of the labour that is resident in villages is aging. Deteriorating infrastructure and lack of fencing results in the damage of crops by cattle, while wild animals (notably bush pigs and monkeys) are said to be particularly destructive. The increase in the latter is partly attributed to the bush encroachment and forest expansion that follows field abandonment (Shackleton et al., 2013). Knowledge on field cropping is said to be gradually declining amongst the youth, while institutional factors prevent the emergence of a land rental market for those who are keen farmers and would like acquire (more) land (Kepe and Tessaro, 2014; Hebinck and Monde, 2007). Livestock, especially cattle, production has simultaneously declined, although to a lesser extent than arable cropping, and has become more uneven across homesteads (Andrew and Fox, 2004; Ainslie, 2005; de Klerk, 2007; Masterson, 2016). This is attributed locally to disease, especially a Redwater epidemic in the 1970s and several earlier epidemics (see Andrew, 1992), as well as other factors such as theft and labour scarcity. The lack of cattle for draught is thus another commonly mentioned reason for the observed decline in cropping (Andrew and Fox, 2004; Hebinck and Monde, 2007; Aliber and Hart, 2009; Shackleton et al., 2013; de la Hey and Beinart, 2016; this work). Various authors point out that the overall decrease in farming has led to the reduction of community ethics and identity related to farming (e.g. Andrew and Fox, 2004), while other studies challenge this and argue that such cultural aspects have taken a different form through, for example, participation in groups such as those started by the government Siyazondla Homestead Food Production Programme (Trefry et al., 2014; de Klerk, 2013; Fay, 2013, 2015).

Despite the downward trend in field cultivation evidenced in the studies cited above, some homesteads continue to farm their fields in the 'traditional way' and a majority of others are planting 'home gardens'. In the next sections, we unpack this continued farming from the perspective of both field and garden cultivation, and the approaches or styles used by families.

6. Contemporary arable farming in the area

The predominant form of contemporary cropping on the Wild Coast, and the Willowvale/Gatyana area specifically, is the home garden. Eighty seven percent of homesteads from the garden survey were involved in planting gardens, and of these, most (91%) indicated that they had cultivated these every year over the past five years (from 2009 to 2013). Amongst the field farmers we found (16 who cultivated in 2013) all also cultivated home gardens. Below we describe garden and field cultivation separately drawing on findings from our research and the recent literature.

6.1. Garden cultivation

The characteristics of garden cultivation apply to all gardens, regardless of whether owners also cultivated fields or not. Women are mainly responsible for managing home gardens (63% of those cultivating gardens) especially the intensively cultivated vegetable patches ('*isitiya*'). One woman from the in-depth interviews mentioned how the small vegetable garden is wholly her responsibility, while their field is her husband's, and the bigger garden area ('*igadhi*') is both their jobs. By contrast, Connor and Mtwana (2017) in a recent survey found all gardens in their villages were cultivated by women, including a village in the Mbashe Local Municipality close to Willowvale/Gatyana. The total home garden area can be large, up to 1 ha or more in size. These areas are almost always fenced to keep livestock out. The whole garden may not be cultivated every year, while some homesteads only cultivate the small vegetable garden. Fruit trees (mainly guava, orange and banana) may also be grown in these spaces, as well as tobacco and occasionally illegal substances such as cannabis (Table 1).

Like fields, crops grown in the larger home garden include maize and sometimes pumpkins and beans. Crops grown in the intensive vegetable garden close to the house are diverse and include a wide range of vegetables and fruit trees, with some gardeners being more experimental than others in the range of crops they try out (Table 1). One of the trends observed in other Wild Coast sites is the intensification of vegetable cultivation and the introduction of a wider range of crops, other than the commonly cultivated maize, pumpkins and beans, into these small garden spaces (Fay, 2013, 2015, Table 1). These crops,

Table 1
Crops grown, seed reuse and vegetables and other crops bought and sold by garden cultivators in Willowvale/Gatyana.

% of all gardeners involved in activity and range of crops grown	% of gardeners cultivating different crops (n = 79)	% of gardeners reusing own seed (n = 53)	% of gardeners introducing new crops in last 2–5 years (n = 43)	% of gardeners purchasing vegetables to supplement their own produce (n = 64)	% of gardeners selling crops from their garden (n = 28)
% of all gardeners	84.4*	67.0	54.4	81.1	35.4
Maize	82.4	5.7	2.3	–	25.0
Pumpkin	55.9	41.5	9.3	–	
Cabbage	50.0	11.3	14.0	75.0	60.7
Spinach	41.2	13.2	4.7	29.7	32.1
Peach	38.2	1.9	7.0	–	–
Tomato	35.3	–	–	17.2	3.6
Bean	32.4	54.7	4.7	1.6	14.3
Banana	26.5	1.9	16.3	–	–
Potato	26.5	17.0	7.0	78.1	17.9
Chilli	17.6	1.9	–	–	3.6
Onion	17.6	0.0	7.0	21.9	7.1
Orange	14.7	1.9	20.9		
Sweet potato	11.8	–	7.0	–	3.6
Butternut	8.8	3.8	2.3	3.1	–
Carrot	8.8	5.7	2.3	15.6	3.6
Cannabis	8.8	–	–	–	–
Apple	2.9	–	4.7	–	–

Source: Unpublished survey data. * Not all gardens were being cultivated at the time of the visit.

while consumed at home are also often exchanged or sold in the neighbourhood, sold to schools for their feeding programmes, or taken to informal markets in Willowvale town. Roughly one third of our sample was involved in such exchanges. Amongst the field farmers interviewed all but two sell vegetables from their home gardens even if they do not sell maize from their fields. These small vegetable gardens often have additional internal protective fencing and hedges to act as windbreaks. They are also watered, using captured rainwater in drums and 'Jojo' tanks (plastic rainwater tanks), or with buckets of water obtained from nearby sources such as streams and dams. Besides beans and pumpkins, seeds and/or seedlings for vegetable cultivation are purchased in Willowvale town or received from extension officers as part of the Siyazondla Homestead Food Production Programme (27% of our garden survey sample participated in a garden club mainly Siyazondla), although this type of support to project members was said to be erratic and declining (also see de Klerk, 2013; Trefry et al., 2014). Like field farmers most gardeners use manure to improve soil fertility (70%), although 40% mentioned that they sometimes they buy fertiliser as well, while70% mentioned using pesticides in their gardens. This is indicative of the overall pattern of intensification of home gardening mentioned by Fay (2013).

6.2. Field cultivation

Field cultivation is dynamic and produces a varying landscape across time and space. While in our study we found five farmers who had ceased cultivating their fields in the two years prior to our visit, we also found three that had taken up field cultivation over the same period. One of the informants from a younger household had 'bought' a field from neighbours in exchange for a cow, while another had paid R100 to the headman and yet another had re-cleared an old field in 2007 to begin cultivating. At that point her husband was still alive, but now she farms this field with her sister. Another family also restarted an old field in 2001, which they were still cultivating. One informant, who had stopped farming her field, indicated that she was busy fencing it so she can restart. Several informants also mentioned how they do not always cultivate their fields or the whole field area every year, and that this is dependent on the weather and availability of cash, which can be influenced by other cash requirements such as for weddings or funerals.

All homesteads plant maize in their fields, and all are using their own traditional *Xhosa* seed although some mentioned that they also sometimes purchase 'traditional' seed from the Willowvale informal market or 'improved' seed from agricultural retailers. One elderly informant mentioned how the seed he used has "*been in the family since he was born*" and that he had never thought to use any other seed as this seed germinates and grows well. Pumpkins and beans are often intercropped with maize in the fields, and again farmers frequently use their own seed for this.

Most of the field farmers (11) we interviewed cultivated at least one field and one garden, with several having ceased cultivating one or more additional fields over the years. However, there are some exceptions. One large family led by Siphiwo, who is also a traditional healer, cultivate three fields and two gardens. Four other homesteads have more than one garden. All fields are fenced with the exception of three, two of which the owners had ceased cultivating between the visit in 2011 and our visit in 2013. Farmers with fencing believe that the returns from cropping make it worthwhile to invest in this infrastructure, and therefore they maintain their fencing. Two of the interviewees who had ceased cultivating mentioned this was because their fields were not fenced.

Table 2 reflects a key element of the history and current dynamics of field cultivation on the Wild Coast. There is a considerable degree of investment which, in turn, varies widely across homesteads. Field farmers have a diversity of livestock with some of the herd sizes varying from less than 10 to more than 200 for particular types of livestock (Table 2). These livestock form an integral part of the field farming system. Oxen traction is the dominant form of ploughing, although two farmers made use of their own tractors. A further two mentioned using

Table 2
Farming assets across field farmers (n = 18).

Assets	No of homesteads (%)	Quantities/range of asset
Field	16	0–3
Garden	19	1
Tractor	2	1–2
Oxen plough	14	1
Oxen planter	3	1
Cattle	18	2–79
Sheep	10	4–200
Goats	13	6- > 100
Horses	4	1–40
Donkeys	1	2
Pigs	2	10–20
Chickens	8	10–200

Source: Unpublished survey data.

tractors on an occasional basis, depending whether they had the cash to pay for the service or in the situation when male members of the household were not available to assist with oxen draught. Most farmers (18) have their own oxen and ploughs (14), while some borrow planters. Only one hires oxen (they only had cows), one uses donkeys, and another is part of a family ploughing company.

The agrarian historiographies of the Transkei (e.g. Beinart, 1982; Beinart and Bundy, 1987; Heron, 1989; Andrew, 1992; McAllister, 2001, 2005) point out that work and beer parties and ploughing companies were central to the organisation of agricultural production in the past, and revolved around the exchange of cattle, notably oxen, and patrilineal relations of kinship. In contemporary agriculture, however, these work parties are being replaced by hired and family labour where possible. de la Hey and Beinart (2016) argue that further north on the Wild Coast (Mbotyi) the inability of homesteads to mobilise family labour is the critical factor that explains de-activation of field cultivation. Conversely, farmers in our sample all managed to rally labour through family ties and the 'hiring' (in various ways) of assistants. This was particularly the case for those that '*farm keenly*' (see next section). However, had we not focussed purposively in our survey on farmers who are still cropping fields the issue of labour may have emerged more strongly as reported by de la Hey and Beinart (2016). In contrast to earlier descriptions, our work, and that of Trefry et al. (2014), has highlighted how contemporary farming endeavours have become increasingly individualistic and family focussed. The exception is the two tractor owners who mentioned how they often assist other farmers and gardeners with ploughing for a fee or the cost of the diesel fuel, or sometimes as a free service. We will return to this in the next section when we analyse the underlying styles.

All field farmers make use of manure from their livestock in their fields and gardens, and some occasionally apply chemical fertiliser, but this is neither common nor done on an annual basis. The maize cultivated in fields has multiple uses including for human consumption, and for livestock, especially for feeding chickens and goats; '*I farm because I need to eat and feed my livestock*'. Most informants mentioned that they rarely sell their cattle, but more readily sell small livestock, especially goats, to people requiring these animals for rituals. Eight homesteads actively engaged in rearing chickens for sale in local markets. Four grow maize mainly for this purpose, preferring the purchased maize meal for the table. The maize stalks left in the fields after harvesting provide fodder for cattle. A few informants also mentioned that they use their own maize, ground and prepared as porridge, for feeding their dogs.

Regarding maize for human consumption, nine homesteads grow enough maize between their fields and gardens to last the entire year. More often, though, farmers mentioned that their produce lasts from the harvest (March/April/May) until about October. Two homesteads have their own mills or grinders, a few others mentioned only making 'samp' (coarsely ground maize) using traditional pounders, while others take their maize to Willowvale town for milling. Only one informant, a female farmer, used a traditional grinding stone to make meal. Other than making samp and mealie meal, the harvested maize is also sometimes eaten green, or fermented to make alcohol (e.g. beer). One old man mentioned how he shares this beer with his neighbours.

Cultivating fields is mainly a family endeavour, with men, women and children involved, although the degree to which children and young people participate varies. The wealthier homesteads hire help for ploughing and/or hoeing, while those who are elderly or where the husband is not at home may pay for assistance when they can afford it. One woman whose husband is a migrant paid her neighbours to help with hoeing in the form of paraffin. Others exchange some of their harvest, but mostly payment is in cash.

7. Styles of farming

In this section we elaborate how farmers in Gatyana/Willowvale are cultivating. A close look at their farming strategies discloses that not all farmers of fields and gardens are alike. Although they all farm under similar political-economic, historical and ecological conditions, they do not always interpret these conditions in the same way, and – perhaps more importantly for our analysis – they have made different *past* decisions with regard to laying a foundation for their farming operations, and for what McAllister (2001) has called "building a homestead". We argue and show here that in the study area dissimilar conditions for accessing and making use of key farming assets have been created in the past through labour migration which, in turn, creates different options for the future. This manifests, based on our view and understanding of the data, in two distinct styles of farming. They are distinct in that the styles reflect different trajectories for the future. However, they share the perspective that, despite the decline, farming is strongly embedded in everyday life and in people's connections to the landscape and their 'sense of place' as discussed by informants and reflected in other work from the area (e.g. Shackleton et al., 2013; Masterson, 2016).

There are two consistent messages across the narratives of garden and field farmers. The first relates to the benefits accrued from cultivation as a means to save money, and the second is that farming is an integral part of everyday (*Xhosa*) life.

Amongst gardeners the inclination to cultivate is fuelled largely by two interlinked reasons; the need for food (64%) or desire to save money (23%). Both reasons suggest the need to be more self-sustaining and less reliant on purchased food. A third of our respondents (36%) mentioned either having an interest in or enjoying cultivating crops or that it is an element of their culture that they wish to retain. The latter was generally mentioned by elderly women who had been cultivating for some time. Trefry et al. (2014: 6), working in the same area, summarised gardening as being a statement of cultural expression for those who participate in it and a way of connecting with what they feel is an element of identity.

Amongst field farmers the narrative is similar, with all informants mentioning that cultivation saves them money. A woman expressed this as "*I do all this effort in the name of food security – I want to supplement food for my family of 14 people*." Another said "*farming guarantees you food; you cannot experience hunger when farming*". Many of the field farmers, however, are also earning income from their farming activities. This is a difference between the two groups of cultivators, with greater evidence of a more entrepreneurial capacity amongst those planting fields, although gardeners also sell surplus vegetables locally, mainly cabbage and spinach, if they have these. Cultivation thus provides an avenue for livelihood diversification, as well as being an important contributor to local food security (Rogan, 2017). Shackleton et al. (2013) found that in their sample 45% of field farmers were farming only to put food on the table, while 55% were also selling produce, often in small amounts.

The link between agriculture and identity is strong amongst all farmers. People spoke about being "*passionate about farming*" or made comments such as "*farming is my life*"; "*farming is in my blood*"; "*farming is in my genes*"; "*farming has been in my family since my grandfathers*" and "*farming is the Xhosa way of life*". These are broad but compelling expressions of the key role of farming for everyday rural life. It is for this reason that many of our informants were distressed about the decline in cultivation and, as mentioned by some, the apparent lack of interest amongst the youth, although the latter was not mentioned by field farmers whose children tended to be involved in homestead farming activities. Masterson (2016) working in a neighbouring municipality found, in a study focussed on place meaning within the landscape, that *ifusi* (abandoned fields) were viewed with sadness and regret due to the loss of a lifestyle, but also as sites of heritage and hope and where farming could happen again. She also found that a large part of peoples' attachment to *emakhaya* (home) was related to its agricultural character and the perceived independence this offers. Cocks et al. (2017) also remark how their informants saw unploughed and abandoned fields as 'dysfunctional' because they are not used but ought to be.

While the benefits of cultivation are recognised, several common constraints were also mentioned. Amongst home gardeners these

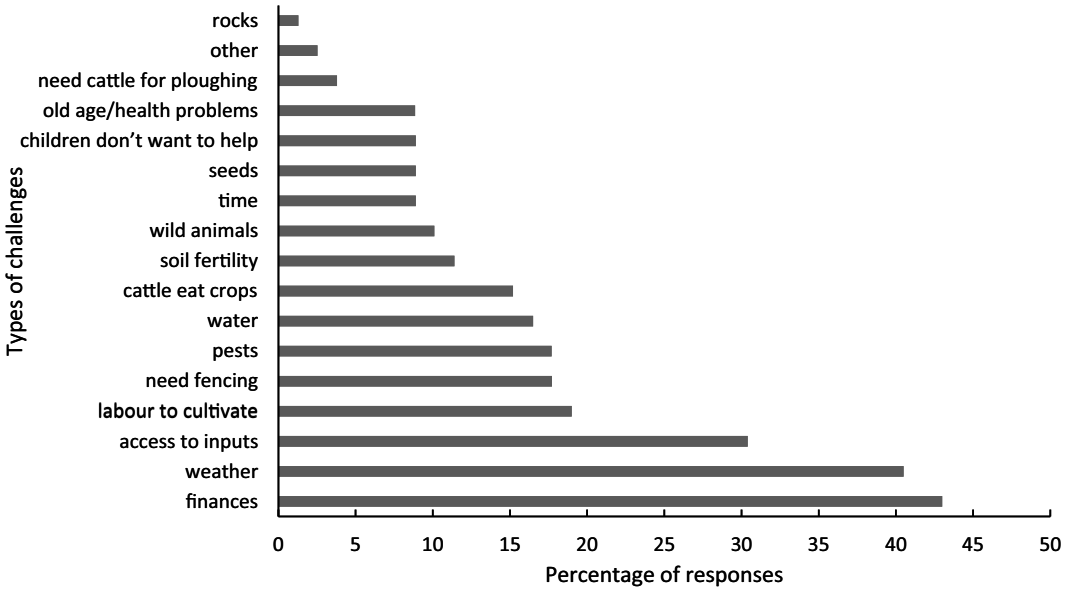

Fig. 3. Challenges mentioned by gardeners.

include: financial constraints (mentioned by about 40% of respondents), biophysical constraints (weather, pests, water, soil fertility, fencing and draught power, with at least one of these being mentioned by most respondents), and the lack of labour and disinterest among the youth (about 30%) (see Fig. 3). Similar constraints were identified by field farmers, although in contrast to gardeners, most have their own oxen and equipment for ploughing and interestingly their children appear to be more involved. The explanation being that these youngsters are continuously exposed to farming and they actively participate in ploughing of fields and planting of crops. Diminished livestock control and wildlife raids were also an important factors driving field abandonment in our study.

In contrast to views about benefits and constraints, there were mixed views across both groups of farmers regarding the future of farming in the area, and the participation of youth in this. Some are optimistic, while others see cultivation as eventually disappearing from the area. Amongst gardeners, 29% believed that planting of gardens will decline and eventually cease, while 15% take the opposite view and say cultivation will increase. Shackleton et al. (2013) reported a slight decline in gardens between 1961 and 2009 as identified in a land-use change analysis study (using aerial photography).

The majority of the field farmers have assistance from family members and many believe that their children, sons in particular, will continue with this larger scale farming into the future. One of our informants, a retired school principal, was however pessimistic. She lamented that:

> *"This generation refuses to learn about farming. They don't want to go to school, don't want to work and when they are hungry they appear and want food".*

Another field farmer mentioned that:

> *"Kids think it is a hobby to have a field - they don't take it seriously and others are just lazy. They forget that the mealie meal they eat comes from the garden".*

On the other hand, others had the following to say:

> *"My children are not around, but when they arrive home they immediately work in the field with us, they are passionate about farming. There is hope of farming in the future here; people talk about wanting to plant their fields again"*

> *"Our livelihood depends on farming, so without farming there is no future and our children know that".*

> *"My children and grandchildren will continue with farming because we raised them well regarding the importance of farming, they were raised to respect farming".*

We also spoke to some of the younger generation at field farmers' homes and all expressed an enthusiasm for farming:

> *"I'm still at secondary school right now, but when I finish I will continue farming. I love farming and intend to clear the old fields and plant them again".*

A commonly heard lament by older farmers, though, is that the youth do not like hard physical work. Trefry et al. (2014: 7) note that the qualifications of laziness or not wanting to work are not echoed by the youth themselves. They simply see a lack of opportunity to thrive as farmers.

A common feature shared by all farmers is a rather low degree of commoditisation. Labour is predominantly drawn from the family and wage labour is only occasionally hired. Moreover, maize seed – referred to as '*Xhosa* seed' – and manure are predominantly produced and recycled on the farm and hardly bought. Only a few buy fertiliser; most, however, buy their vegetable seedlings in Willowvale town. This particular way of organising the labour process, guarantees continuity. Building a self-controlled resource base creates the socio-cultural and agronomic preconditions for the continuity of farming as one of the foundations of livelihoods in the area.

While the above identifies some of the commonalities amongst farmers, there are also differences that are expressed in the various styles we have identified. Variation exists not only between, but also, to a lesser extent, within, the styles. For example, the sizes of land (i.e. fields and gardens) planted and ploughed may differ, as may the distance to fields and access to labour. Furthermore, there may be differences in how farmers choose to farm. This is where social differentiation and livelihood strategies come in as explanatory processes. We identified two styles that in different ways promise the continuity of farming in the area. The first recognises farmers who are enthusiastic and keen to farm. We refer to this style as '*farming keenly*' and the farmers as '*keen farmers*'. The second style represents a common motivation for Wild Coast farming '*it saves money to continue farming*'. We have termed this style '*farming to save money*' and the farmers '*cash savers*'. The latter style is typical of homesteads whose livelihoods hinge on multiple sources of income (e.g. pensions, remittances) including

agriculture and some selling of produce (see also Fay, 2013, 2015; Hebinck and van Averbeke, 2013; Shackleton and Luckert, 2015; de la Hey and Beinart, 2016). Below we describe these styles in more detail.

7.1. 'Farming keenly'

Based on the data from our sample of 16 homesteads who cultivated fields at the time of our research, seven are categorised as fitting this style. They are the more entrepreneurial farmers among the farming population in the region. They farm with money and for money and have a clear strategy for the future. The foundations of this style are multiple. To highlight their internal differentiation, we identified two strategies that are deployed: one that is characterised by past investment in equipment, and another that is characterised by activities that deepen farming operations by integrating cultivation with other farm activities. These have in common a reliance on family labour, and as well as a willingness to be 'socially responsible' farmers ready to assist others when and where needed.

Three homesteads in our sample have made substantive past investments in cultivation. The male heads of these homesteads all have a labour migration history and worked a considerable part of their life on the mines, for the railways or as a security guard respectively. Part of their wages over the years has been invested in productive assets such as tractors, oxen, ploughs, planters and carts. Their spouses were, in their absence, responsible for farming; with these women seeing farming as their life. The investments made in terms of money, labour, knowledge and experiences were key to the continued cultivation of their fields and gardens. One informant, after he retired, bought a tractor with his pension. He mentioned that he has the skills to service this machine, unlike many others who let their equipment deteriorate. None of these farmers mentioned that they bought their assets from a government credit scheme.

A good example of a family who has clearly invested in farming is Mlungisi and his wife Thobeka who together run a farm that consists of one large field and a garden. The couple do not have children; most of the labour for working the field and garden is theirs. The field is planted with maize. The garden at the back of the house is planted with an astonishing range of vegetables and fruit trees. Mlungisi worked for the railways until 2005. From the pension he received after retirement he bought two tractors. He also owns an oxen drawn planter as well as a maize grinder. He ploughs his field and garden with his tractor; he also rents out the tractor and oxen planter to other farmers. He frequently hires someone to help him with ploughing and planting. In addition to renting out their tractor and planter, the couple make money from selling part of their maize harvest in the local market; the remainder they consume themselves and use to feed to the chickens and pigs they rear for the local market. They do not purchase food except oil, rice, tea and sugar.

Siphiwo is another farmer in this category, but he also has other motivations for his strategic choices. Siphiwo farms, but is also a healer by profession. He owns a tractor that he bought from selling cattle which, in turn, he purchased while working in town. "*In 1975 I had less than 10 cattle*". Now he owns 79 cattle, 200 sheep and 100 goats. He uses his tractor to plough his three fields and two gardens ("*I wish I could use more land but the headman refused my request for more*") but also to plough other peoples' fields for free or the cost of the diesel. His motivation is "*to help those who are poor. I do not expect anything in return*". He says that he farms to feed his family whom he cannot feed with his income from healing. Siphiwo has a big family who all help with planting, weeding and harvesting. His patients stay in his homestead and most help with agricultural activities as well.

The second group of farmers in the '*farming keenly*' style not only organise their production process to produce crops to feed the family and/or sell at the local market, but also to feed chickens and pigs that are raised for the exclusive purpose of selling a large proportion of these. In this way they add value to their maize and small livestock. Transforming maize into feed and fodder. Renders more value than bulk selling of maize against a lower price. Most farmers that farm in this way have substantial numbers of cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, chickens and horses. Four farmers in our sub-sample actively and purposively designed this strategy to broaden their farming activities beyond cropping only, thus adding value to their land and livestock.

A good example of this is Aphiwe. She plants a field and a garden which are ploughed by her two sons with her oxen. She used to have two fields, but one was too far from the homestead so she now leaves this uncultivated. Her husband worked in the Rustenburg mines until 1996 and used part of his wages to buy cattle. Aphiwe is actively engaged in commercially rearing chicken and pigs at home which she feeds with maize and other feed from the field and garden. She also buys special feed for her chickens in Willowvale town. She has 20 pigs and about 200 chickens. She also sells some cabbage and beans from her garden.

Funeka provides another example of a family unit that has broadened and integrated their farming operations. Her husband is absent and works in Cape Town; two of her children stay with him. He will retire soon and when he comes home he will engage in farming. She currently stays with two grandchildren and her son and daughter-in-law. Her son, she thinks, will continue farming. She says that she has never had a job and that farming is her life and work. Funeka and her husband decided to expand their operations to raising chickens and growing potatoes and turned it into a serious business. She plants a field and a garden and grows enough maize to feed the family. What is left is used to feed the chickens. Funeka commented:

> *'I am more passionate about breeding chickens and most of my maize harvested from my field is used to feed my chickens. I learnt this from my parents and they were taught by an agricultural extension officer and I learnt from them while I was still a kid and am still breeding them to this date" (October 2013). I sell chickens, people come and buy from me, and I take potatoes to the market; 10 kg bag sells for R45, last season I sold 15 bags'.*

Within the '*farming keenly*' style, each farmer relates differently to other farmers. For some, ploughing fields and gardens occurs in exchange for money, and commoditising their assets is a key part of their entrepreneurial strategy. There are, however, also farmers that use their assets for the purpose of assisting others. Siphiwo and others that fall within this style reflect the far less evident of *Xhosa* cooperative farming culture which is well described by McAllister (2001, 2005) and Fay (2015).

7.2. 'Farming to save cash'

Characteristic of this style is that farming means food for the family and cash savings, and is well captured in the statement "*it saves money to continue farming*". In some cases cultivation is viewed as a necessity, particularly where the homestead has limited sources of cash income to purchase food. Most home gardeners fit into this style, as do nine of the field farmers. Farming to save money does not mean these farmers are not keen on farming or dislike farming. Most have a history of being involved in field cropping and livestock rearing, but, age, lack of family labour, lack of fencing, or raiding by bush pigs and monkeys has turned field farming into a challenging activity. Comments similar to "*I don't have the energy to go and plant the other two fields, they are too far*" were common. Shifting production closer to home into gardens implies the downscaling of operations to a manageable size. A wide range of crops are grown in home gardens (see Table 1) and vegetables or staple foods are seldom purchased. There is little differentiation amongst these farmers in terms of use of inputs; labour, which is drawn from the family; and planting methods. Except for a few, the majority are elderly people that combine farming with receiving a state pension or remittances from children working elsewhere.

There is a significant differentiation, however, when it comes to the future. The demography of the homestead turns out to be key in this.

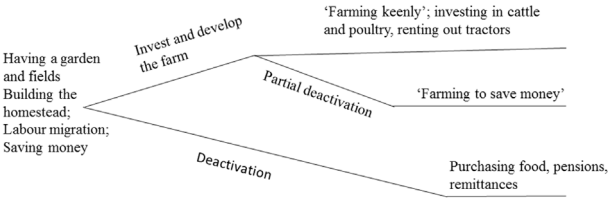

Fig. 4. Farming trajectories through time.

The downscaling strategy depicted above does not account for all who fit this style. Some, notably the younger families, have a clearly laid out strategy to engage with serious farming in the near future. For these homesteads, the male head still works as a labour migrant elsewhere, but saves money to invest in land, cattle and equipment. Some 'bought' land, in exchange for a cow/ox or a small sum of money, and show clear signs that the conditions for expanding their farming operations or "building the homestead" (McAllister, 2001) are being created through a gradual process of accumulation.

This farming style can thus be seen to be composed of two different strategies. The first is farming for food for the table and for livestock. These farmers are not subsistence farmers as there is always some degree of exchange with others, whether neighbours, friends or kin, and most have other forms of household income. They are mostly pensioners using their pension strategically. Some are widows that have joined group based projects to engage in activities that render extra income and social security. The second strategy is one based on food farming first, but with an eye to future expansion.

Mpendulo and his wife are exemplary for their food farming strategy. They were actively farming, but circumstances forced them to reduce the scale of their farming. He mentioned that:

> *"I used to plant more than one field when everybody was planting theirs, when they stopped planting their fields I couldn't continue because that would cause a lot of conflict between myself and neighbours. I was constantly getting into fighting with them because of their livestock in my fields, so I decided to plant one field which is closest to my property."*

He previously worked in Cape Town as a fisherman and later as a security guard at a plantation. He now plants maize and vegetables in his garden. He hardly sells and commented that *"I farm because I need to eat and feed my livestock"*.

Thozama plants a garden. Her husband was a farm and forestry worker. At that time they planted one field. They stopped using that field in 1989 as it was not fenced. They are getting too old now, she said. Besides, bush pigs and monkeys ruined their fields and crops. She now plants a garden with vegetables and some maize. "*Nyangantathu*" she says, when asked how long her harvests last, meaning that the food she grows is sufficient for three months only. They plough their field with oxen from their neighbours in exchange for a small share of the harvest. The cattle that stay in her homestead belong to her brother. She milks them during the summer. Thozama joined a group project that runs a chicken unit. The idea of the project is to share the workload with six other women and, in the end, share the benefits. This provides her with some money to purchase food. This story mirrors the situation for many of the gardening homesteads.

Zuziwe, on the other hand, sees cultivation as way of gradually building up the homestead. Zuziwe's husband is a migrant labourer working in the mines near Rustenburg. Zuziwe plants one field and a garden. The field she says was bought in 2001 "*in exchange for a cow*". When they came to their current location in 1991, they had no field and only a small garden. Over the years they accumulated livestock from the wages her husband earns on the mines. Now they have 16 cattle, 21 goats, five sheep, three horses and 17 chickens. Her two teenage sons help her with oxen ploughing. She borrows a planter from someone nearby. Zuziwe plants maize and pumpkins which she does not sell but uses for her family. She likes farming she says. Her husband is planning to retire soon and will settle in the homestead. The couple will continue to farm. It is expected and hoped that the eldest son will take over the farming operations in the future. This homestead has been created over time and shows the potential to move into the '*faming keenly*' style.

7.3. Farming as flows through time: the future trajectories for farming in the Wild Coast region

Three trajectories for farming on the Wild Coast are proposed (Fig. 4). These are well recognisable in the broader landscape, which is partly a reflection of the demographic changes and the stages rural families are in (Chayanov, 1966; van der Ploeg, 2013).

The '*farming keenly*' and '*saving money*' styles represent two trajectories of continuity in agriculture through time. Gardens, fields, bigger cattle herds, demographic changes (family size, gender composition) interrelate with the process of "building a homestead" (McAllister, 2001), in turn, shaping the way farming is practiced. The labour and production process is (re)structured differently on the basis of the social relations that apply within the homestead, but also influenced by external conditions such as opportunities to migrate and invest in agriculture (e.g. machinery, cattle). The first trajectory represents a continuation of active field based farming (represented by the '*farming keenly*' style – a minority) and the second a partial de-activation (represented by the '*saving money*' style – more common). The difference is that the latter is a manifestation of the shift from field to garden production. At the same time, being or becoming a pensioner, allows for a process of partial de-activation implying a reduction in size and intensity of garden production. A third trajectory, which is discussed above, and seen in the contemporary literature, is the complete de-activation of agriculture, where rural families are transformed over time into 'purchasers of food', and into a livelihood style based on pensions and remittances (also common) (Hajdu, 2005, 2006; Bank and Minkley, 2005; de la Hey and Beinart, 2016). This de-activation can be a response to shocks like drought and death in the family, as well as trends such as less work in the mines and reduced remittances, and multiple other factors as described above which compel some families to rearrange their livelihoods, reduce their farming and develop multi-locational activities.

Thus, in contrast to most studies that tend to view former 'homeland agriculture' as homogenous, this article proposes a more differentiated perspective through applying a 'styles of farming' prism. The three 'trajectories through time' (Fig. 4) represent the three contemporary trajectories of agrarian change. Common to the first two is that family farming is the predominant mode of organising the agricultural labour process. Family farming worldwide is a function of the size of the farm family (Darnhofer et al., 2016; Graeub et al., 2016). The continuity of farming is thus largely, but not exclusively, guaranteed by the household, its composition, age structure and gender relations, and the willingness of members of the family to provide their labour. Chayanov's (1996) focus on understanding contemporary family farming is relevant for areas like the Wild Coast. Chayanov focussed on the dynamics entailed in farming, in which the consumer-producer balance is the most important one (see also van der Ploeg, 2017). The theoretical (and practical) significance of family farmers maintaining such balance is that farming cannot be understood as a simple derivative of external relations and conditions. Common to the longer term agrarian trajectories of change is also the shared desire to build a home, or a home to which one can return. Spiegel (1982), McAllister (2001) and Masterson (2016) draw similar conclusions. Farming, albeit in different ways helps to build and maintain such a home.

These three agrarian trajectories 'demand' as it were different policy responses. In part they do exist. The Siyazondla Homestead Food Production Programme, for instance, set out to strengthen home gardening, but failed to endure partly because of the bureaucratic model of implementation (see de Klerk, 2013; Fay, 2013). The Massive Food Production Programme (Siyakhula) which focussed on field cultivation,

failed completely for more or less similar reasons and it became prone to elite capture. Bringing farmers together to collectively arrange farming at the scale of at least 50 ha did resonate with local needs and farming cultures hinged on family based farming and multiple crops (Madyibi, 2013; Jacobson, 2013). It is important to point out that most agrarian policies (both past and present) in South Africa have centred on strengthening external contexts for farming, notably by providing new technologies such as seeds and implements and, above all, vertical integration into commodity markets. Vertically integrating family farming into value chains coordinated by supermarkets do not have a good record, both in South Africa (Louw et al., 2007, 2008; van der Heijden and Vink, 2013) and globally (Weatherspoon and Reardon, 2003; Reardon et al., 2007). Moreover, service delivery in terms of providing extension services to communal area farmers is evaluated as ineffective and only a few farmers benefit (Aliber and Hall, 2012). More creative, place based initiatives are required that connect family farms to engagement in multiple livelihood strategies (Shackleton and Luckert, 2015; Masterson, 2016; Bank and Hart, 2017).

8. Conclusions

This paper draws attention to the observation that, despite a wide and generalised decline in field cultivation, there is continuity of agricultural production in Gatyana/Willowvale, both in the cultivation of gardens, but also of distant fields by a smaller number of families. Arguing for de-agrarianisation as a linear process ignores contemporary rural realities and obscures a fresh and innovative look at the dynamics of current agriculture and counter arguments such as re-agrarianisation or re-activation. Instead, by not treating de-agrarianisation as a linear outcome of past processes and events, we were able to explore the various ways in which social actors in the study area on the Wild Coast, both as individuals and with others, attempt to find ways to continue to farm. We provide evidence of continuous farming which simultaneously reframes de-agrarianisation as de-activation.

De-activation of agriculture does not exclude the idea that after some years rural dwellers may attempt to re-intensify and rejuvenate or re-activate agriculture. Empty fields and gardens – taken as the manifestation of de-agrarianisation – do not mean that agriculture is not seen as a livelihood strategy anymore. Fields and gardens that are not ploughed and planted reflect a specific stage of transition as well as the volatile conditions under which rural livelihoods must be reproduced. Our data, as well as findings from elsewhere, show that there are not only continuities in farming, but new fields are also being ploughed. There is evidence of people 'buying' land and equipment to lay the foundation for farming. This signals a process of re-activation, which although not common, cannot be left unnoticed in the consideration of future rural development and food security in the Eastern Cape.

We also showed that the continuities of farming emerge in different ways and that farming is well embedded in, and associated with, a *Xhosa* lifestyle. We ordered, understood and framed current farming as two different farming styles. The '*farming keenly*' and '*farming to save cash*' styles represent the contrasting rhythms of agricultural change in contemporary rural Eastern Cape. Together these styles characterise more dynamic ways of farming than the generalised notions of 'homeland' or 'small-scale' or 'subsistence' farming. These styles, we argue, reflect and safeguard continuities of farming through investment of money combined with low degrees of commoditisation and family farming drawing on family labour. The continuities at the same time are culturally held together by prolonging the *Xhosa* way of farming and creating conditions for farming for future generations. However, future dynamics of farming continues to depend on whether the national economy can provide economic opportunities and wage income for younger farmers to accumulate funds for investment in farming and on the kinds of choices people make. For many, farming may remain a supplementary and livelihood diversification activity, with its contribution primarily being to increase food security (Rogan, 2017). The same goes for the social grant and pension schemes and the willingness of the state to continue such state transfers. A last cliff hanger pertains to the role of the youth and their preparedness to farm, although our work and that of others suggests that this is not an impossibility. Some youth are interested in farming and sometimes feel that they have misrepresented.

Acknowledgements

We thank William Beinart, Jan Douwe van der Ploeg and Peter Gerritsen and two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments on earlier drafts. Dylan Weyer assisted with the collection and analysis of the quantitative survey data on home gardens. Siphokazi Tantsi, Nontlantla Busakwe and Monde Ntshudu assisted with translation and transcription of the in-depth interviews with field farmers. Fieldwork was funded through S. Shackleton's South African National Research Foundation (NRF) Incentive Grant. We also benefitted from comments at the seminar: "Rethinking agriculture: current realities and dynamics of change" organised by the SARChi Chair in Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies and the Centre for Excellence on Food Security, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, 11–13 October, 2016.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data related to this article can be found at http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2018.01.012.

References

Ainslie, A., 2005. Farming cattle, cultivating relationships: cattle ownership and cultural politics in Peddie District, Eastern Cape. Soc. Dynam.: J. Afr. Stud. 31, 129–156.
Aliber, M., Hart, T., 2009. Should subsistence agriculture be supported as a strategy to address rural food insecurity? Agrekon 48, 434–458.
Aliber, M., Hall, R., 2012. Support for smallholder farmers in South Africa: challenges of scale and strategy. Dev. South Afr. 29, 548–562.
Andrew, M., 1992. A Geographical Study of Agricultural Change since the 1930s in Shixini Location, Gatyana District, Transkei. Unpublished MA thesis. Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
Andrew, M., Fox, R., 2004. Undercultivation and intensification in the Transkei: a case study of historical changes in the use of arable land in Nompa, Shixini. Dev. South Afr. 21, 687–706.
Arce, A., Hebinck, P., 2002. Life Styles and the Livelihood Framework: Problems and Possibilities for Development Studies. Paper Presented at the CERES Summerschool July 2002., CERES Summerschool Livelihood Session. University of Utrecht, Utrecht.
Arce, A., Long, N., 2000. Anthropology, Development and Modernities: exploring Discourses, Counter-tendencies and Violence. Routledge, London.
Bank, L., Minkley, G., 2005. Going nowhere slowly? Land, livelihoods and rural development in the Eastern Cape. Soc. Dynam.: J. Afr. Stud. 31, 1–38.
Bank, L.J., Hart, T., 2017. How land reform and rural development can help reduce poverty in South Africa. Conservation 28 September, 2017. https://theconversation.com/how-land-reform-and-rural-development-can-help-reduce-poverty-in-south-africa-84146.
Beinart, W., 1982. The Political Economy of Pondoland, 1860–1930. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Beinart, W., Bundy, C., 1987. Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape, 1890–1930. James Currey, London.
Bjørkhaug, H., Knickel, K., 2017. Rethinking the links between farm modernisation, rural development and resilience. J. Rural Stud. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.09.018.
Bundy, C., 1988. In: Currey, James (Ed.), The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry, second ed. (first ed. 1977). (London).
Chayanov, A.V., 1966. The Theory of Peasant Economy. American Economic Association, Homewood.
Cocks, M., Njwambe, A., Vetter, S., 2017. Misread Landscape: the Contribution of Rural Landscapes to People's Sense of Identity and Belonging, Landownership, Governance and Sustainability Colloqium, Hunterstoun Centre, Hogsback. University of Fort Hare 25-27 October, 2017.
Connor, T., Mtwana, N., 2017. Vestige garden production and deagrarianisation in three villages in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. South African Geographic Journal. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03736245.2017.1301268.
Darnhofer, I., Lamine, C., Strauss, A., Navarrete, M., 2016. The resilience of family farms: towards a relational approach. J. Rural Stud. 44, 111–122.
Dubbeld, B., 2013. How social security becomes social insecurity: unsettled households, crisis talk and the value of grants in a KwaZulu-Natal village. Acta Juridica: Marriage Land Custom 197–217.

Escobar, A., 2011. Encountering Development: the Making and Unmaking of the Third World. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
Fay, D., 2003. The Trust Is over! We Want to Plough! Land, Livelihoods and Reverse Settlement in South Africa's Transkei. PhD thesis. Boston University, Boston.
Fay, D., 2009. Land tenure, land use and land reform at Dwesa-Cwebe, South Africa: local transformations and the limits of the state. World Dev. 37, 1422–1433.
Fay, D., 2013. Cultivators in action, Siyazondla inaction? Trends and potentials in homestead cultivation. In: Hebinck, P., Cousins, B. (Eds.), In the Shadow of Policy: Everyday Practices in Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa. Wits University Press, Johannesburg, pp. 247–263.
Fay, D., 2015. 'Keeping land for their children': generation, migration and land in South Africa's Transkei. J. South Afr. Stud. 1–15.
Giliomee, H., Mbenga, B., 2007. New History of South Africa. Tafelberg Publishers, Cape Town.
Graeub, B.E., Chappell, M.J., Wittman, H., Ledermann, S., Kerr, R.B., Gemmill-Herren, B., 2016. The state of family farms in the world. World Dev. 87, 1–15.
Hajdu, F., 2005. Xhosa co-operative agricultural work groups: economic hindrance or development opportunity? Soc. Dynam.: J. Afr. Stud. 31, 208–234.
Hajdu, F., 2006. Local Worlds, Rural Livelihood Strategies in Eastern Cape, South Africa. Linköping University, Linköping.
Hebinck, P., Monde, N., 2007. Production of crops in arable fields and home gardens. In: Hebinck, P., Lent, P.C. (Eds.), Livelihoods and Landscape: the People of Guquka and Koloni and Their Resources. Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston, pp. 181–221.
Hebinck, P., Smith, L., 2007. History of settlement: processes and patterns. In: Hebinck, P., Lent, P.C. (Eds.), Livelihoods and Landscape: the People of Guquka and Koloni and Their Resources. Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston, pp. 91–121.
Hebinck, P., van Averbeke, W., 2007. Rural transformation in the Eastern Cape. In: Hebinck, P., Lent, P.C. (Eds.), Livelihoods and Landscape: the People of Guquka and Koloni and Their Resources. Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston, pp. 33–67.
Hebinck, P., van Averbeke, W., 2013. What constitutes the agrarian in contemporary rural African settlements of the central Eastern Cape. In: Hebinck, P., Cousins, B. (Eds.), In the Shadow of Policy: Everyday Practices in South Africa Land and Agrarian Reform. Wits University Press, Johannesburg, pp. 189–205.
Heron, G., 1989. Household Production and the Organisation of Cooperative Labour in Shixini, Transkei. Unpublished Master Thesis. Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
de la Hey, M., Beinart, W., 2016. Why have South African smallholders largely abandoned arable production in fields? A case study. J. South Afr. Stud. 1–18.
Jacobson, K., 2013. The Massive Food Production programme: a case study of agricultural policy continuities and change. In: Hebinck, P., Cousin, B. (Eds.), In the Shadow of Policy: Everyday Practices in South Africa. Wits University Press, Johannesburg, pp. 205–2017.
Kepe, T., 2012. Land and justice in South Africa: exploring the ambiguous role of the state in the land claims process. Afr. Asian Stud. 11, 391–409.
Kepe, T., Tessaro, D., 2014. Trading-off: rural food security and land rights in South Africa. Land Use Pol. 36, 267–274.
de Klerk, H., 2007. The Embodiment of Landscape and Livelihoods: an Environmental History of Nqabara. Rhodes University, Grahamstown Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis.
de Klerk, H., 2013. 'Still feeding ourselves': everyday practices of the Siyazondla homestead food production programme. In: Hebinck, P., Cousins, B. (Eds.), In the Shadow of Policy: Everyday Practices in Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa. Wits University Press, Johannesburg, pp. 231–247.
Lent, P.C., Mupakati, G., 2007. The view from above: a history of land use in Guquka and Koloni, 1938-1996. In: Hebinck, P., Lent, P.C. (Eds.), Livelihoods and Landscape: the People of Guquka and Koloni and Their Resources. Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston, pp. 165–180.
Lewis, J., 1984. The rise and fall of the South African peasantry: a critique and reassessment. J. South Afr. Stud. 11, 1–24.
Long, N., 2001. Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives. Routledge, London.
Long, N., van der Ploeg, J.D., 1994. Heterogeneity, actor and structure: towards a reconstitution of the concept structure. In: Booth, D. (Ed.), Rethinking Social Development. Theory, Research & Practice. Longmann, Burnthill, pp. 62–89.
Louw, A., Jordaan, D., Ndanga, L., Kirsten, J., 2008. Alternative marketing options for small-scale farmers in the wake of changing agri-food supply chains in South Africa. Agrekon 47, 287–308.
Louw, A., Vermeulen, H., Kirsten, J., Madevu, H., 2007. Securing small farmer participation in supermarket supply chains in South Africa. Dev. South Afr. 24, 539–551.
Madyibi, Z., 2013. The Massive Food Production programme: does it work? In: Hebinck, P., Cousin, B. (Eds.), In the Shadow of Policy: Everyday Practices in South Africa. Wits University Press, Johannesburg, pp. 217–231.
Marsden, T., 2003. The Condition of Rural Sustainability. Royal Van Gorcum, Assen.
Marsden, T., 2013. From post-productionism to reflexive governance: contested transitions in securing more sustainable food futures. J. Rural Stud. 29, 123–134.
Masterson, V., 2016. Sense of Place and Culture in the Landscape of Home: Understanding Social-ecological Dynamics on the Wild Coast, South Africa. Doctoral Thesis in Sustainability Science. Stockholm University, Stockholm.
Mbhashe Local Municipality, 2012. Integrated Development Plan, 2012-2017. Dutywa, Eastern Cape, South Africa. http://www.mbhashemun.gov.za/web/download/documents/idp/Mbhashe-Final-IDP-2012-2017.docx.
Mbhashe Local Municipality, 2016. Reviewed Integrated Development Plan, 2016-2017. Dutywa, Eastern Cape, South Africa).
McAllister, P., 1988. The impact of relocation in a Transkei betterment area. In: Cross, C., Haines, R. (Eds.), Towards Freehold? Options for Land and Development in South Africa's Black Rural Areas. Juta & Co., Kenwyn, pp. 112–121.
McAllister, P., 2001. Building the Homestead: Agriculture, Labour and Beer in South Africa's Transkei. Ashgate, London.
McAllister, P., 2005. Xhosa Beer Drinking Rituals. Power, Practice and Performance in the South African Rural Periphery. Carolina Academic Press, Durham NC.
Mucina, L., Rutherford, M.C., Powrie, L.W., 2007. Vegetation Map of South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland, second ed. South African National Biodiversity Institute, Pretoria.
Reardon, T., Henson, S., Bèrdegue, J., 2007. "Proactive fast-tracking" diffusion of supermarkets in developing countries: implications for market institutions and trade. J. Econ. Geogr. 7, 399–431.
Rogan, M., 2017. Food poverty, hunger and household production in rural Eastern Cape households. Dev. South Afr. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2017.1358602.
Shackleton, R., Shackleton, C., Shackleton, S., Gambiza, J., 2013. Deagrarianisation and forest revegetation in a biodiversity hotspot on the Wild coast, South Africa. PLoS One 8, 1–13.
Shackleton, S., Luckert, M., 2015. Changing livelihoods and landscapes in the rural Eastern Cape, South Africa: past influences and future trajectories. Land 1060–1089.
Spiegel, A., 1982. Spinning off the developmental cycle: comments on the utility of a concept in the light of data from Matatiele, Transkei. Soc. Dynam. 8, 30–45.
Stadler, L.T., 2012. Assessing Household Assets to Understand Vulnerability to HIV/Aids and Climate Change in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. MSc Thesis. Rhodes University, Grahamstown. http://vital.seals.ac.za:8080/vital/access/manager/Repository/vital:4726?query=Stadler&root=vital%3A285.
Switzer, L., 1993. Power and Resistance in an African Society. The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa. University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.
Tomlinson Commission, 1955. Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa. The Government Printer, Pretoria.
Trefry, A., Parkins, J., Cundill, G., 2014. Culture and food security: a case study of homestead food production in South Africa. Food Sci. (N. Y.) 6, 555–565.
van der Heijden, T., Vink, N., 2013. Good for whom? Supermarkets and small farmers in South Africa - a critical review of current approaches to increasing access to modern markets. Agrekon 52, 68–86.
van der Ploeg, J., 1994. Styles of Farming: an introductory note on concepts and methodology. In: van der Ploeg, J.D., Long, A. (Eds.), Born from within: Practice and Perspectives of Endogenous Development. Royal van Gorcum, Assen, pp. 7–31.
van der Ploeg, J.D., 2006. Agricultural production in crisis. In: Cloke, P., Marsden, T., Mooney, P. (Eds.), Handbook of Rural Studies. Sage, London, pp. 258–277.
van der Ploeg, J.D., 2008. The New Peasantries. Struggles for Autonomy and Sustainability in an Era of Empire and Globalization. Earthscan, London.
van der Ploeg, J.D., 2012. The genesis and further unfolding of farming styles research. Hist. Anthropol. 20, 417–440.
van der Ploeg, J.D., 2013. Peasants and the Art of Farming. A Chayanovian Manifesto. Fernwood Publishers, Nova Scotia.
van der Ploeg, J.D., 2017. Differentiation: old controversies, new insights. J. Peasant Stud. 1–36.
Weatherspoon, D., Reardon, T., 2003. The rise of supermarkets in Africa: implications for agrifood systems and the rural poor. Dev. Pol. Rev. 21, 333–355.
de Wet, C., 1989. Betterment planning in a rural village in Keiskammmahoek district, Ciskei. J. South Afr. Stud. 15, 326–345.
de Wet, C., 2011. Where are they now? Welfare, development and marginalization in a former Bantustan settlement in the Eastern Cape, post 1994. In: Hebinck, P., Shackleton, C. (Eds.), Reforming Land and Resource Use in South Africa: Impact on Livelihoods. Routledge, London, pp. 294–315.