

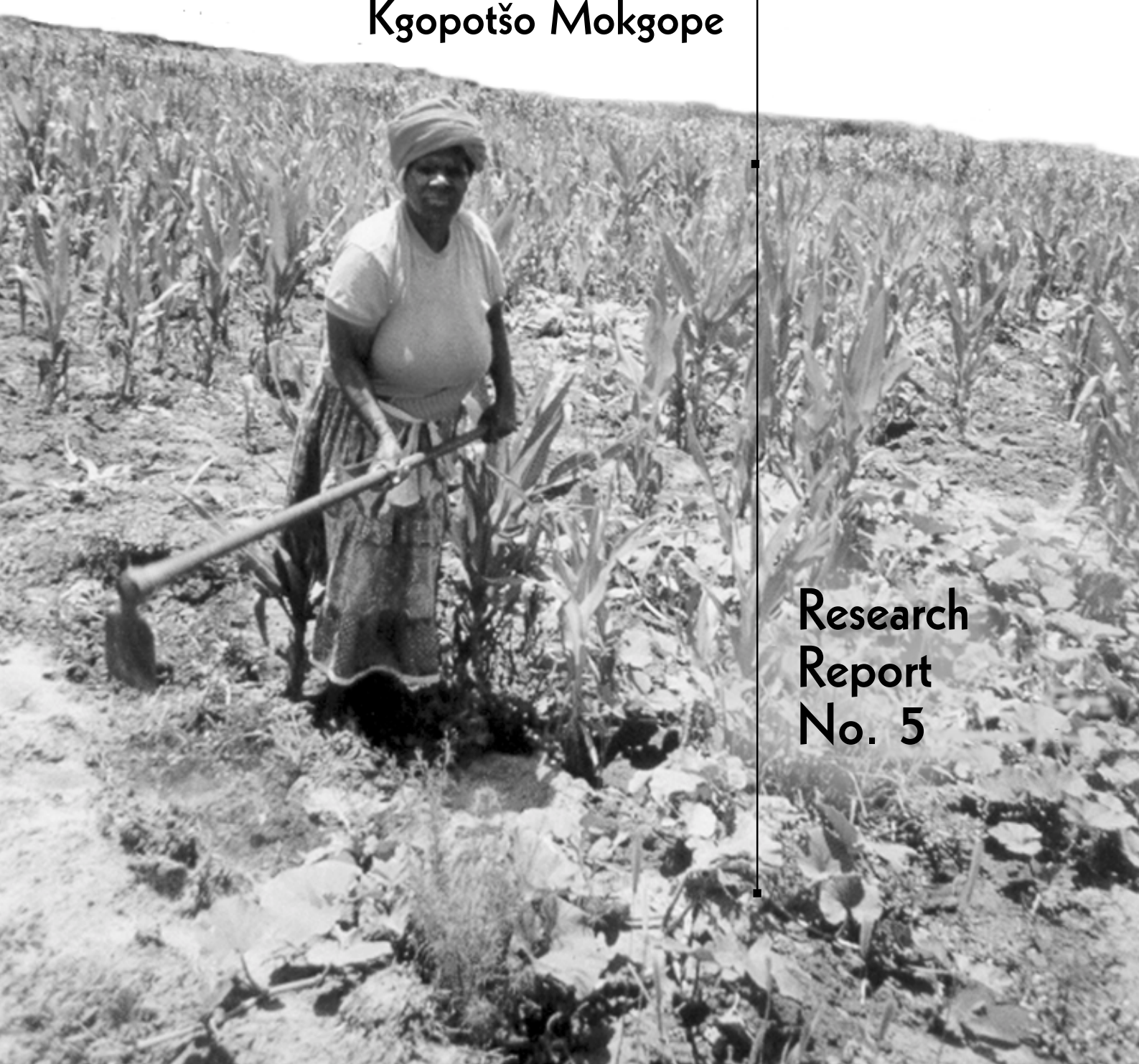
Land reform, sustainable rural livelihoods and gender relations

A case study of Gallawater A farm

Volume one
Kgopotšo Mokgope



SCHOOL of L
GOVERNMENT
UNIVERSITY OF THE THE WESTERN CAPE



Research
Report
No. 5

**Land reform, sustainable
rural livelihoods and
gender relations:
A case study of
Gallawater A farm**

Kgopotšo Mokgope



Land reform, sustainable rural livelihoods and gender relations: A case study of Gallwater A farm

By Kgopotšo Mokgope

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Kgopotšo Mokgope

October 2000



Chapter One:

Introduction: Context and rationale

The research project aimed to investigate the impact of land reform processes on sustainable rural livelihoods and on gender relations in South Africa by examining a case study in the Eastern Cape province.

Specific focus of the research study

In order to achieve the objective, the study set out to investigate a number of interlinked issues:

1. The importance of land-based natural resources to rural livelihoods, taking into account the availability of such resources, changing trends in the availability of such resources, and the factors that influence these changes, past and present.
2. Non-land-based resources such as economic, human, social and political capital, taking into account the importance of these resources in rural livelihoods and the interrelationships between these and land-based natural resources.
3. Activities and resources associated with particular livelihood strategies.
4. Differential access for women and men to all kinds of livelihood resources.
5. Institutional frameworks that determine access to and control over livelihood resources at household, community and state levels, including:
 - the effect of such frameworks on decisions on livelihood strategies
 - changes within these frameworks
 - the gendered structure of institutional frameworks and gender relations within these.

The sustainable rural livelihoods framework of analysis has been used in this study.

The sustainable rural livelihoods framework

Livelihoods

Livelihoods can be defined as the means through which people obtain a secure living which meets their needs for food, shelter, health, belonging and wellbeing (PLAAS 1995:3). A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for people to obtain a secure living which can meet their needs for food, shelter, health, belonging and wellbeing (Scoones 1998:5).

Livelihood resources

People combine the resources that they have access to and control over to create livelihoods. Four different types of livelihood resources ('capital') can be identified:

- natural capital – natural resource stocks and environmental services from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived
- economic or financial capital – cash, credit/debt, savings and other economic assets, including basic infrastructure and production equipment and technologies
- human capital – skills, knowledge, ability to labour, good health and physical capability
- social capital – networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations and associations.

Access to resources and control over them is different for each individual and this has



different implications (positive or negative) on the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods (Scoones 1998:8).

Livelihood strategies

Livelihood strategies are determined by the availability of resources, in terms of access to and control over these resources, and as determined by institutional frameworks (Scoones 1998:7). With regard to rural livelihoods three main ideal livelihood strategies are available:

- agricultural intensification or extensification (gaining more livelihood from agriculture)
- livelihood diversification (engaging in a range of off-farm activities)
- migrancy (moving elsewhere, temporarily, to make a living).

However, in most real situations, people engage in a combination of livelihood strategies. Within these strategies, people engage in various livelihood activities. For example, agriculture, small and micro enterprise, wage labour, claiming against the state (social pensions and disability grants), claiming against the household and community members (remittances, work parties, outright charity), unpaid domestic labour, illegitimate activities and non-monetised activities such as barter and exchange (Carter & May 1997:7–9).

Rural livelihood strategies are often heavily reliant on the natural resource base (Scoones 1998:11). The nature and character of livelihood strategies can be expected to differ along natural resource endowment gradients – some areas are more richly endowed with natural resources than others. Within an area, different types of resources may exist side by side and these may have negative or positive implications on the kinds of livelihood strategies which people choose.

‘Livelihood strategies can be described at an individual, household and village level, as well as at a regional or national level’ (Scoones 1998:9). The livelihood strategies chosen by individuals may have an impact on other members of a household, the household as a unit, or on the community, right up to national level. Livelihood strategies chosen at household,

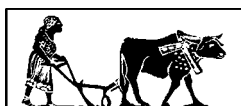
community and national levels may also have a positive or negative impact on individuals.

Different livelihood strategies are taken over different time scales, seasons and years, and even within domestic cycles depending on changes in dependency ratios, health conditions and other factors. This also occurs over longer periods such as several generations where more substantial shifts in combinations may occur, or where local and external conditions change. Socioeconomic differences which include asset ownership, income levels, gender, age, religious affiliation, caste, social and political status exist within any site and these also have a major impact on the composition of livelihood portfolios (Scoones 1998:10–11).

Institutional frameworks

The term ‘institutional frameworks’ refers to social structures and processes through which sustainable livelihoods are achieved. Institutions here can be broadly defined as ‘regularised practices (or patterns of behaviour) structured by rules and norms of society which have persistent and widespread use’ (Giddens, cited in Scoones 1998:12). Institutions may be formal or informal, often fluid and ambiguous, and usually subject to multiple interpretations by different actors. Power relations are embedded within institutional forms. Institutions are also dynamic, continually being shaped and reshaped over time; they are thus part of a process of social negotiation. Institutions (the rules of the game) can be distinguished from organisations (the players), the interplay of both being important in the framework (North, cited in Scoones 1998:12).

There is a need to explore institutions that shape access to resources, as this helps in identifying and understanding the restrictions/barriers and opportunities to sustainable livelihoods and understanding the social processes underlying livelihood sustainability (Scoones 1998:12). This study therefore investigates institutional frameworks that determine access to all the different types of resources necessary for rural livelihood strategies.



Sustainability

A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base. Sustainability will depend largely on the access to these resources, which are combined in the pursuit of different livelihood strategies (Scoones 1998:5). Livelihood resources, livelihood strategies and institutional frameworks which regulate access to and control over livelihood resources, are all important in the sustainability of livelihoods:

those who are unable to cope...or adapt...are inevitably vulnerable and unlikely to achieve sustainable livelihoods. Assessing resilience and the ability to positively adapt or successfully cope requires an analysis of a range of factors, including an evaluation of historical experiences of responses to various shocks and stresses (Payne & Lipton, cited in Scoones 1998:6).

In most cases known to the author, households do not have defined and fixed strategies; these can change daily because the context changes constantly. For example, new policies may be introduced, more labour or skills may become available, or a formerly unemployed household member may become employed.

In terms of the natural resources on which most rural livelihoods rely, sustainability refers to the ability of a system to maintain productivity when subjected to disturbing forces. This implies ensuring that stocks of natural resources are not depleted to a level which results in an effectively permanent decline in the rate at which the natural resource base yields useful products or services for livelihoods (Scoones 1998:6).

Sustainability should be approached in terms of four key dimensions – economic, institutional, social and environmental. All are important and a balance must be found among them. The dynamic nature of livelihood strategies, often due to changes in people's situations, should also be taken account of.

Sustainability of rural livelihoods depends on a combination of three factors: the availability of livelihood resources, the viability of livelihood strategies chosen, and the institutional arrangements which regulate and shape access to and control over livelihood resources. Livelihood resources must be available and continue to be available. To be able to withstand or cope with disasters, livelihood strategies must be appropriate for local circumstances. But the availability of resources is governed by institutions which regulate and determine people's access to and control over these resources.

In order to understand why certain livelihood strategies are viable, it is important to look at the factors that determine the sustainability of rural livelihoods.

These factors include:

- the availability of different types of resources
- the depletion and accumulation of different capital assets, who causes depletion and who benefits from the accumulation
- access to the resources
- new resources being created through environmental, economic and social changes (Scoones 1998:8).



Use of the livelihoods approach

The sustainable livelihoods approach has been used primarily in the context of poverty alleviation projects to identify and investigate the various causes and manifestations of poverty, and the relationship between different aspects of poverty. It has been used in various studies performed by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the British government's Department for International Development (DFID), and various South African organisations and researchers.

DFID's sustainable livelihoods framework on poverty elimination is a holistic approach that tries to capture and provide a means of understanding the vital causes and dimensions of poverty without collapsing the focus onto just a few factors (for example, economic issues or food security). It also tries to clarify the relation-

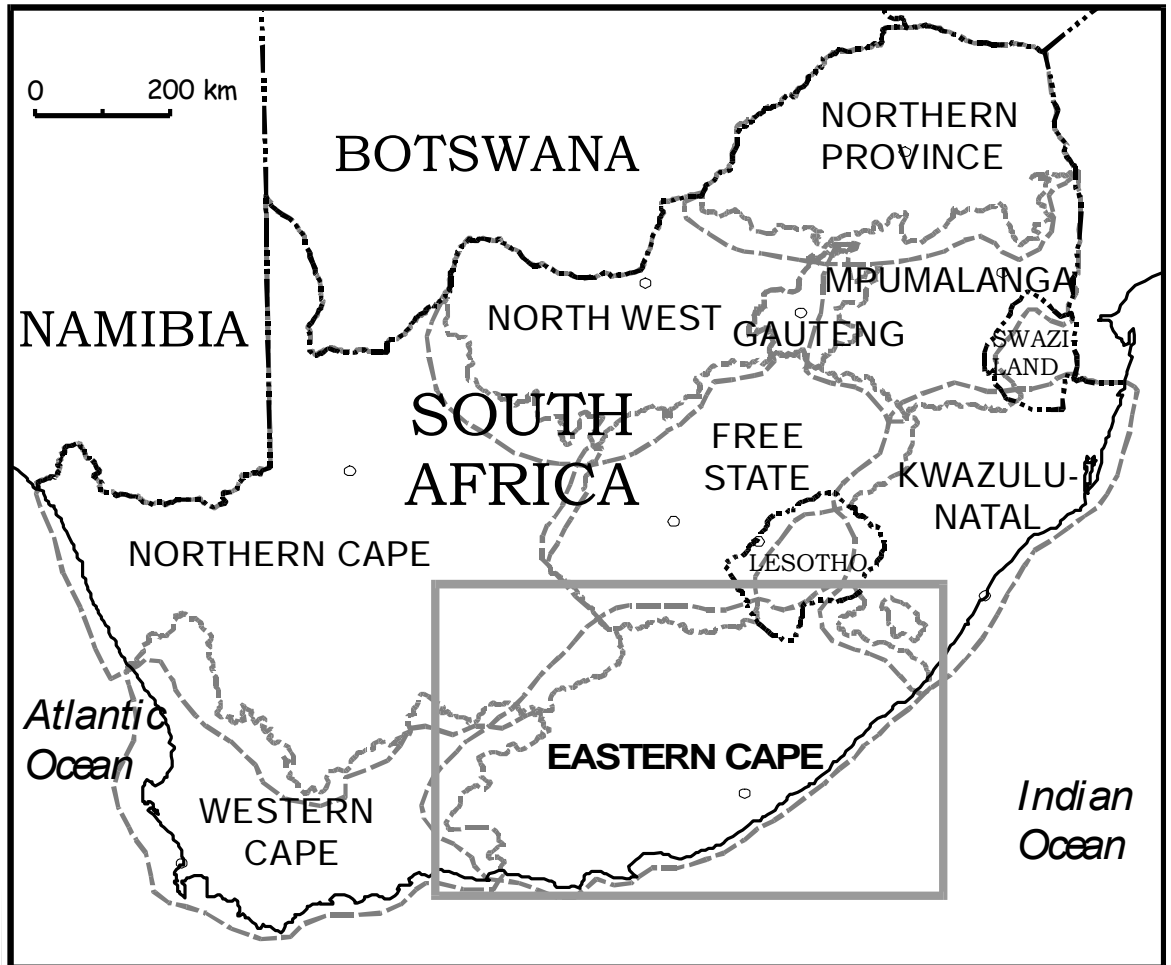


Figure 1: Eastern Cape location map

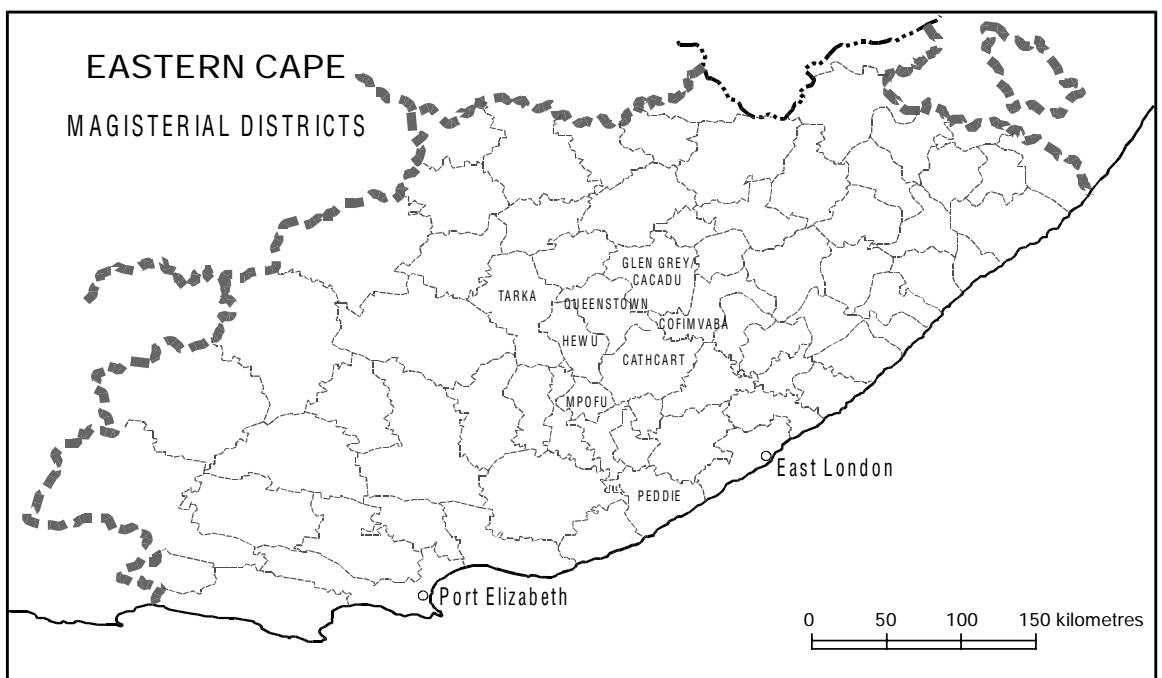


Figure 2: Magisterial districts of the Eastern Cape mentioned in this report

ship between the different aspects (causes and manifestations) of poverty.

DFID's sustainable livelihoods framework entails analysis of:

- the context in which people live, including the effects upon them of external trends (economic, technological, population growth and others), shocks (whether natural or human-made) and seasonality
- people's access to different types of assets and their ability to put these to productive use
- the institutions, policies and organisations which shape their livelihoods
- the different strategies that people adopt in pursuit of their goals (DFID 2000).

The sustainable rural livelihoods approach is holistic. It recognises that livelihoods involve various factors, including the context in which people live, their access to livelihood resources, their ability to use these resources, the processes which shape and determine people's access to resources, and their ability to use resources to make a living. Looking at institutional processes helps to identify restrictions and opportunities for sustainable livelihoods. The approach also looks at the sustainability of livelihoods in terms of how the particular chosen way of making a living can cope with hardships or adapt to new situations or contexts.

This study is based on the assumption that the government's land reform policy, as described in the White Paper on South African Land Policy (DLA 1997), aims to achieve sustainable rural livelihoods, including access to land and natural resources, infrastructure, jobs, services and so on. The sustainable livelihoods approach has been used to look into the impact of the policy on livelihoods and gender relations. It has been used to understand what rural livelihoods are, how they are constituted in terms of available resources, and the processes involved in making choices on how to make a living. The study aimed to fully assess rural livelihoods, looking at the context in which people find themselves in terms of the land reform programme, the assets or resources that they have access to, includ-

ing the institutional processes involved, and how they use these resources to make a living. To investigate how improvements in livelihoods can be maintained and sustained, the resilience of the livelihoods was analysed in terms of their ability to cope with hardship, and in terms of enhancing the value of the available assets and resources.

Farms considered as research sites for the project

A number of areas in the Eastern Cape were considered as possible sites for the research project: Gwatyu farms, Guba farms, Hertzog, Gwabeni, Lushington, Zweledinga, Thornhill, Zulukama and Gallawater A farm.

In the selection of a research site, the following issues were considered:

- the history, particularly land dispossessions and land struggles
- the current situation in terms of the livelihood strategies pursued by people, particularly their use of land and what their needs are.

The process of selecting the research site primarily entailed consultation and review of written documents, as well as interviewing researchers who have worked in these areas. This was augmented with visits to the identified areas, where interviews with a limited number of local informants were conducted.

Gwatyu farms

The Gwatyu farms are about 40 000ha in extent and are situated just off the Queenstown/Cofimvaba main road in the Cofimvaba district of the former Transkei homeland. These farms were given to Transkei as part of its 'independence' package in the late 1970s and early 1980s. There were originally 58 farms, which were subdivided on being handed over to Transkei. Two large farms were transferred to Kaizer Matanzima (chief minister of Transkei at the time) and his brother. The rest remained in state hands and were subsequently leased out to individuals in units of varying sizes. The majority of the lessees are chiefs, politicians and supporters of Matanzima, and almost all are men.



Some workers employed by the white farmers who previously owned the land continued living on the farms when ownership was transferred. When the farms were leased out, some of these farm dwellers were expelled by the lessees. Relationships between those farm dwellers who remain on the land and the lessees vary. Where relations are good, the farm dwellers look after the livestock of the lessee for payment, some keep livestock of their own on the farms, and some do both. Where relations are bad, ex-farm workers are often not paid for looking after the livestock of the lessees. Most ex-farm workers fear that the lessees will evict them.

At the time of the visit, the Heath Special Investigation Unit¹ was investigating the tenure status of the farms, particularly the leases of the farms, as some of the lease agreements have not been properly registered and administered. In other cases, lease payments have not been made. There are also cases of sub-letting, something not allowed under the lease agreements. Once the Heath Unit has determined the status and the future of the farms, it is likely that the farms will be sold to small-scale farmers or redistributed to groups of poor people. Most of the farmers on the farms are willing and ready to buy the farms they are currently leasing, subleasing or occupying. It seems most are not willing to develop the farms because they are not sure the land will be offered for sale to them.

The present condition of the farms varies from good to being totally vandalised. Those farms that are occupied have not been vandalised. Some of the farms are irrigated, particularly those that are situated next to a river. Some farms can pump water from the river into their dams.

Most farmers use family labour for farming activities. Absent lessees often get assistance from the farm dwellers. Whenever there is need for more labour, farmers hire labour which is paid for by supplying labourers with food and beer or farm produce. Farm produce is often the payment for harvesting such produce.

Problems on the farms include theft, with goats being most vulnerable. People

from neighbouring villages often cut fences which they then use for fencing their own homesteads.

Services such as water supply and electricity are not available and residents rely on the local river for water and firewood for fuel.

Guba farms

Like Gwatyu farms, Guba farms in the Glen Grey/Cacadu district were formerly largely white-owned and were bought for incorporation into the Transkei. These farms are smaller than those in Gwatyu and, like the farms in Gwatyu, most have been leased to black farmers. The majority of the lessees are important politicians, chiefs or supporters of the former Matanzima government. The majority of lessees do not live on the farms. Ex-farm workers who remained on the land when the land was incorporated into Transkei continue to live on most of the farms.

Because a series of forced removals from Guba farms took place, land claims have been lodged by various groups. People were removed from Guba farms to Guba Hoek (also in the Glen Grey/Cacadu district) when the government rewarded white soldiers who fought in World War II by giving them these farms. A claim has been lodged by these ex-tenants under the leadership of Chief Mhlontlo. Later there were other removals to Jangwe when the farms were handed over for incorporation into the Transkei. A land claim has also been lodged in respect of this forced removal. Farm workers who were expelled from farms by lessees during the Transkei period also had to move.

The main land-use activity on most of the farms is livestock keeping, particularly by the lessees, both resident and absent. There is limited crop farming. As is the case on the Gwatyu farms, relations between lessees and farm dwellers vary from farm to farm. In some cases, farm dwellers look after the livestock of absent lessees in return for living on the farm, keeping their own livestock and using arable fields. On other farms where absent lessees cultivate arable fields, farm dwellers provide their labour. On some farms where there are resident lessees, farmers mostly rely on



their own family labour, but hire labour at times, making payments in kind.

Some households and individuals engage in low-scale manual coal mining on the mountains surrounding the farms. A local informant said the mining had been taking place for a long time, even before coal mining companies moved there in the 1980s. The coal is used locally as fuel for cooking and heating purposes. Some of these 'miners' often sell the coal locally, in neighbouring villages, and even as far afield as Port Elizabeth. The mining is very dangerous and a number of people have died as a result. Women and members of female-headed households in particular are involved in this mining as they often are unable to move to other places to look for jobs, or are otherwise unemployable.

Hertzog

Hertzog is situated in the Mpofu district of the former Ciskei homeland. In the late 1970s, privately-owned farms were expropriated by the Ciskei and this led to the departure of white farmers, while black and coloured farm workers and their families remained on the land. The community that remained thus possessed farming skills and assets that included abandoned agricultural infrastructure. In 1984, the Mpofu district was transferred to the Ciskeian state. In August 1994, after negotiations with the state, the Hertzog Agricultural Co-operative (HACOP) was established and the community granted temporary access to the land. Ownership remained vested in the state.

The expropriation of land in the late 1970s also affected land owned by coloured farmers. These farmers remained on the land after the expropriation and currently there is tension between these farmers and the members of HACOP, because part of the co-operative lies on the land that was expropriated from these farmers.

The majority of the HACOP farmers are women. Many of these women are said to be among the most successful farmers. One informant said that women farmers often encountered problems in crop farming when, for example, trying to use heavy insecticide-spraying equipment. This problem is overcome through getting

assistance from fellow farmers, mostly men.

At the time of the visit, cabbage was planted on most of the plots, and beetroot on others. An informant said that cabbage was a usual part of main meals in the local households, so a relatively guaranteed local market existed. Another advantage is that it is a crop that can be planted at any time of the year. However, he argued that it was a very difficult crop to farm, as it needed much care and attention in the form of fertilisers and insecticides, which must be administered in a careful, precise and thorough way. Fertilisers and pesticides are expensive and the crop requires regular weeding. Most of the farmers rely on family labour except for heavier workloads. HACOP farmers occasionally hire local labour. These are informal arrangements and payments are often in kind rather than in cash.

There are no market stalls, or a common market place for HACOP farmers' produce. Farmers whose plots are not strategically placed therefore often have difficulties selling their produce. The co-operative does not have its own truck to transport its produce to outside areas – outside buyers come to the co-operative and provide their own transport. In principle, farmers take turns in selling to bulk buyers to give each other a chance. In practice, customers choose from whom to buy, especially when the quality of the produce varies.

Gwabeni

Gwabeni is situated in the Peddie district, off the Grahamstown-Fort Beaufort road, in Committee's Drift. It is a well-established settlement, with no history of major removals. In fact, the community has effectively opposed betterment planning schemes² which would have meant reorganisation of the settlement patterns, removals and relocations.

At the time of the visit, only one arable field was under cultivation, the others having been left fallow for some time. The main reason for this is the lack of water, as the farmers rely on rainfall. Those who are engaged in crop farming (mainly maize, beans and, at times, peas), sell their produce within the village.



There seems to be a significant number of livestock in the village and these are individually owned. The main problem to livestock-keeping is theft, which is said to be rife.

Agriculture therefore does not make a major contribution to livelihoods in the village. The majority of the people in the settlement are said to rely heavily on remittances from migrant workers for survival.

There is no headman in the village. The chief who has jurisdiction over Gwabeni lives elsewhere. At the moment a local branch of the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco) performs governing functions.

The settlement does not have electricity. Reasons given for this is that the settlement is scattered and supplying electricity will therefore be expensive. There is also no piped water supply and the residents have to rely on rainfall water. Most households have rainwater storage tanks for drinking and household uses.

Lushington

Lushington is near the town of Seymour in the Mpofu district and it is a large settlement consisting of three sub-settlements. The area was used by white commercial farmers who kept livestock. These farms had irrigated arable fields where lucerne was the main crop, used as fodder for cattle. These farmers left the area in the late 1970s and early 1980s when Ciskei was established. These arable fields remain today, although the irrigation infrastructure was taken away by the white farmers when they moved. The fields have been subdivided and reallocated to the residents. Most of the residents of Lushington used to be farm workers on the commercial farms that used to be located here.

There are far more male-headed households which have been allocated arable fields (and also own livestock) than female-headed households. However, the number is more or less proportionate to the female-headed:male-headed household ratio in the settlement.

Apart from 1998 when a drought was widely predicted, almost all of the fields

are regularly cultivated. Farming on these fields takes place on an individual basis and, even though the fields are situated near the river, there is no mechanism for drawing the water from the river for irrigation. The plots are rather large for hand irrigation. Crop farming and livestock farming is for subsistence purposes only – none of the produce is sold.

Livestock-keeping is also done on an individual basis, but a serious problem to the sustainability of this activity is theft, which is said to be widespread and affects sheep. Although this is an ongoing problem in the area, there had been a lull in stock theft at the time of the visit.

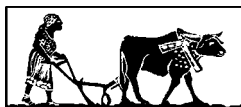
There is very limited infrastructure in this settlement. There is no electricity and there is no adequate water supply. The residents rely on the river nearby for water.

Thornhill

Thornhill is located 30km from Queenstown, off the Queenstown-Tarkastad road in the Hewu district. Thornhill began as a transit camp for people who moved from Herschel to escape incorporation into the Transkei in 1975. The settlement has expanded and now consists of three sub-villages – the original settlement, Thornhill, and two new sub-settlements, Zola and Phakamisa.

The Thornhill community was engaged in land struggles. Some groups from Thornhill, such as Group 4, invaded state-owned land. Thornhill also had representation at the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA)³ hearings in 1993. The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) has since awarded three farms totalling 2 900ha to the Thornhill community – Hopefield, Arends Krantz and Tiger Klip (all in the Queenstown district).

There used to be an irrigation scheme at the site which, according to local people, successfully provided vegetables and job opportunities for the locals. This scheme did vegetable gardening and kept livestock such as sheep and goats, which were sold to the local community at times. However, there are concerns that the former Ciskei government-supported irrigation schemes were not as self-sustaining as they ap-



peared, but were in fact heavily subsidised by the state. The local community wishes to revive the scheme because of the value they perceive it to have had.

There are small gardening groups, most of which have gardens along the banks of the nearby Bo-Swart Kei River. Some of these groups comprise only women, or only men, others are mixed.

At Thornhill there are women's groups, such as the African National Congress Women's League, and self-help and income-generation groups which are exclusive to women. Within the local governing structures there are some women members and these structures include the Thornhill Reconstruction and Development Committee and Thornhill Water Project Steering Committee.

Electricity is supplied by Eskom and arrangements were being made by Rural Support Services, an NGO in East London, to supply water to the site.

Zulukama

Zulukama is a large settlement, with 24 sub-settlements/locations on about 45 000ha in the Hewu district. The settlement is also well established and stable in the sense that there have never been any major removals or movements by the community from one area to another.

In 1993, ACLA awarded the whole of the area known as RA60⁴ in the Queenstown district, which was a subject of dispute between various communities such as Thornhill, Zweledinga and Zulukama, to the Zulukama Tribal Authority. However, the ruling was never implemented and in 1994, the DLA agreed to recognise the four main settlements on RA60, namely Tambo Village, Brakkloof, McBride and Merino Walk.

Like Zweledinga, Thornhill, Guba and Gwatyu, Zulukama was part of the Queenstown Land Reform Pilot Project from which the DLA later withdrew. According to one of the programme officers, this was done mainly because the level of participation and enthusiasm from the community members for the project was very low and because adequate devel-

opment initiatives were already directed towards the area.

Zweledinga

Zweledinga is located near Whittlesea in the Queenstown district. The settlement began as a transit camp for people who moved from Glen Grey, avoiding incorporation into Transkei in 1975/76. Since then, Zweledinga politics, like those of Thornhill, have centred around demanding full compensation for the land and services they left behind in Glen Grey (Beinart & Kingwill 1995).

The settlement has expanded and now consists of six villages. In the early 1990s, realising that nothing was being done by the government to fulfil its promises, Zweledinga people embarked on land struggles which included presentations to ACLA in 1993 and eventually invasions and occupations of land believed to be state land in 1993/94. The land that was invaded included land on lease to farmers (mostly white commercial farmers), and vacant state land. Among the invaded farms was Gallawater A, a privately-owned farm which the owner then offered to sell to the group. The Legal Resources Centre in Grahamstown provided the group with legal assistance in purchasing the farm in 1995.

There is an irrigation scheme in the settlement, which used to be subsidised by the Ciskei government. The activities at the scheme involve crop farming and livestock farming. Farm produce is sold within the settlement and outside the settlement at times. Most of the labour for the scheme is seasonal and is drawn from the settlement itself. At the moment the scheme is still functioning, unlike the one in Thornhill.

Gallawater A farm

Gallawater A farm is situated in Whittlesea in the Queenstown district of the Eastern Cape. The farm was purchased by a group of 102 beneficiary families with the assistance of the state. The ownership of the farm is held by the Gallawater Trust through a board of trustees.

Of the 102 beneficiaries, 22 have settled on the farm. There was a need for



the immediate occupation of the farm to prevent the farm being vandalised. Those who are not yet settled on the farm include seven members of the nine-member trust committee.

The fact that the farm has been purchased creates or implies a sense of security of land tenure. However, 15 per cent of the purchase price is a loan payable in six-monthly instalments over five years. According to one informant, most members of the group have difficulty with the repayments as they are pensioners. As long as the loan is outstanding, there is a threat that the land could be repossessed.

Farming activities on the farm are rather limited, something which can be attributed to the loan repayment obligation. One informant said the financial resources that could be used to invest in farming are being used to repay the loan.

Farming equipment and infrastructure on the farm is not in a good condition. The equipment includes a water pump, which broke down after the beneficiaries took occupation of the farm. According to one informant, because the pump was only suitable for light use, it was not adequate for the needs of the group. This means there is no water supply on the farm and residents rely on the Klipplaat River. However, the NGO Rural Support Services is said to have made a commitment to providing water to Gallawater A. Irrigation furrows need to be fixed. The cost of repairing the equipment and infrastructure is likely to be a stumbling block to cultivating the arable lands. This means there might not be such 'significant' farming as was initially envisaged.

Keeping livestock is the most prominent type of farming at the moment and this takes place on an individual basis. Livestock include cattle, goats and sheep. According to one informant, the farm is more suitable for goats than for cattle or sheep as it is very mountainous. The livestock is often sold locally and further afield, particularly in Queenstown, and wool from the sheep is sold in Queenstown. Some households keep chickens and these are sold within the farm and to nearby villages in the Hewu district.



Themes emerging from the sites considered

Location

Some of the sites considered were part of the former Ciskei, others part of the former Transkei. The only exception is Gallawater A, which was never part of a homeland. The current occupants of Gallawater A fell under the jurisdiction of Ciskei when they lived in Zweledinga.

History of the people

The history of most of the communities in the areas under consideration is characterised by movement. Some people were moved, 'voluntarily' or by force, to other places. Some were moved more than once. In areas such as Zweledinga and Thornhill, members of removed communities later bought land with state assistance after struggling for compensation for their land. Some communities resisted being moved. Areas to which people were moved a long time ago or where people were never moved (such as Zulukama and Gwabeni) are more established and stable than the others.

Livelihood activities – farming and gender relations

Livelihood activities are mainly based on subsistence farming, with the exception of Hertzog, where the HACOP farmers engage in some small-scale farming. Zweledinga is also slightly different given that, unlike in Thornhill, there is still a functioning irrigation scheme. In both Hertzog and Thornhill, there are exclusively female or exclusively male farming groups and/or activities, particularly in crop farming. There are cases of sales of crop farming produce, even though this is on a small scale, and the common crops are maize and beans, with the exception of Hertzog, where cabbage, beetroot, carrots and potatoes are farmed.

Labour relations

Issues around labour relations are more pronounced on the former commercial farms that have been leased to individuals – Gwatyu and Guba farms. The issue is compounded by the presence of ex-farm workers who continued to live on the farm

after the farms were put on lease. The issue of labour relations is closely connected to that of tenure security. It appears that, due to threats and fears of eviction (real or unfounded), relations between lessees and occupiers of the farms often seem to be modelled on the farm worker-farm owner relationship. Most farms rely on family labour most of the time, especially where there is a limited need for labour. Where labour is hired, payment is more often made in kind than in cash.

Group/community dynamics

With the exception of Gwatyu and Guba farms, which have been leased to individuals, all the other farms are either owned or occupied collectively by a group of people, or used by a group of people who have formed an association or organisation such as HACOP. These provide an opportunity to look at group dynamics, in terms of group and individual rights to the land. Where land is owned by the group, there are tenure issues that could be explored.

History of the land

A majority of the areas are former white commercial farms (Guba, Gwatyu, Hertzog, Lushington and Gallawater A), which, with the exception of Gallawater A, have been expropriated or bought by the state to consolidate the land of the two former 'independent' homelands of Transkei and Ciskei. In two of these areas, there are cases of ex-farm workers living on the farm while the farms are on lease to other people. This raises questions of tenure rights and the likelihood of disputes. One farm has land claims lodged on it by former farm workers, while on another farm a land claim has been lodged by victims of forced removal.

Some of these farms are still in use and in good order while others have been vandalised. The majority of the areas have support services such as electricity, water, roads and transport facilities and clinics. These services are obviously essential for creating an enabling environment for people to make a living.

Of the nine areas under consideration, six (including Gallawater A) are beneficiaries of land reform projects. Five of these

were part of the Eastern Cape Land Reform Pilot Project – Guba farms, Gwatyu farms, Thornhill, Zweledinga and Zulukama.

Why Gallawater A farm was chosen

Gallawater A is a unique case for a number of reasons:

- the beneficiaries are former residents of Zweledinga, with its history of land dispossession, removals and land struggles
- Zweledinga was one of the areas that was part of the Eastern Cape Land Reform Pilot Project
- the project has been under way for a significant period of time, coming into being before the election of the first democratic government in 1994 and the establishment of the DLA
- it was one of the earliest land reform cases and is also one of the earliest cases of a community granted land under the Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Act, Act 126 of 1993.

This provides a case study of one of the most established land reform projects, although this is not to say it is one of the most successful.

The fact that a group of people bought the farm also presented an opportunity of looking at the dynamics of group ownership. The fact that the group had to make a cash deposit and is responsible for loan repayments suggests that there is a lot at stake for the group and they would therefore have a high level of commitment to the success of the venture.

Methodology

Various methods and tools were used to investigate the impact of land reform processes on gender relations and rural livelihoods within the sustainable rural livelihoods approach. Because of its holistic perspective, a variety of tools and methods are required to operationalise sustainable livelihoods approaches.

The initial stage of the research consisted of a literature review, which was aimed at looking at issues, concepts and



debates around the research topic (these are discussed in Chapter 2). The literature reviewed included international and South African literature, as well as local Eastern Cape documents and newspaper articles. This was done to understand the issues in a broader and more detailed way. The research study was based mainly on fieldwork to produce empirical data.

Participatory observation together with unstructured and semi-structured interviews were used in the initial stages of fieldwork. This aided in familiarising the researcher with the area. It also permitted the community to get to know the researcher and, in so doing, to establish a relationship of trust. This was necessary, given the wide-ranging nature of the research and the fact that the study explored issues that are often considered personal and private. Exact methods varied according to the different stages of the research work. These methods were also used in collecting sensitive information, such as personal details that included income and age. The use of these methods continued throughout the fieldwork period.

Participatory rural appraisal methods (including social and resource maps, transect walks and wealth ranking) were also used during the initial stages of fieldwork to get a general overview of local demographics, issues and activities. With this information it was then possible to identify specific issues of focus.

From the information gathered through initial fieldwork, and once a working relationship with the community had been established, key informants were identified and detailed interviews were conducted with them. Interviews were also conducted with non-community members. These included interviews with individuals from neighbouring villages, government officials, non-government organisations (NGOs), and researchers who have worked with the community before, or who have worked in the Eastern Cape, or who have worked with related issues. The information gathered in these instances provided a different perspective of the issues at hand, and also complemented the information

obtained through interaction with the community.

Two studies were commissioned to get expert technical views of the sustainability of grazing and cropping management and land-use practices on Gallawater A. These specifically focused on environmental sustainability, land-use practices, the suitability of the land for such practices, and the implications of such practices for the sustainability of the environment and of livelihoods derived from these ventures. The studies were intended to complement the social aspects of the main research study and to provide information on technical aspects of rural livelihoods. This was necessary given that the research study aimed at understanding sustainable rural livelihoods in a holistic way.⁵

Detailed household studies were also conducted towards the end of fieldwork to get further details on livelihood activities, focusing mainly on the individuals within the households. A questionnaire-based survey was administered in the last stages of fieldwork to complement and verify data collected. It was considered necessary to conduct the household survey towards the end of fieldwork, given that sufficient trust between the researcher and the community members would only have been established by then.

Structure of the report

The first chapter of this report outlines the rationale for the research on gender relations, sustainable rural livelihoods and land reform. It also provides background on the analytical framework utilised in the study, and the research sites which were considered.

Chapter 2 is a literature review which focuses on issues around gender relations, sustainable rural livelihoods and land reform processes. Particular concepts around these issues are clarified and the debates and issues raised in other literature are highlighted.

Chapter 3 reviews the land reform processes in South Africa and specifically in the Eastern Cape in terms of the sustainable rural livelihoods framework outlined in Chapter 1. It also includes a review of



literature on the land reform process in South Africa.

Chapter 4 deals with the history and origins of the Gallawater A farm beneficiaries and the processes that led to their purchase of the farm. The chapter discusses the origins of Zweledinga where all the beneficiaries come from, their land claim, how Gallawater A was bought with state assistance and settled, and the structure and functioning of the Gallawater Trust which owns and manages the property on behalf of the beneficiaries.

Chapter 5 looks at the livelihood resources on Gallawater A and the other farms to which the beneficiaries have links. It examines the institutional frameworks which shape and determine access and control to these resources and therefore the ability of men and women to use these resources for their livelihoods. The chapter then looks into the differing interests of the beneficiaries before moving on to describe the actual livelihoods of beneficiaries and how sustainable they are.

Chapter 6 examines future prospects for Gallawater A farm.

The final chapter summarises the issues that emerge in the study and provides recommendations on the way forward.

Notes

- 1 A statutory body led by Judge Willem Heath to investigate and prosecute corruption in the public sector.
- 2 'Betterment' was a government-imposed response to the degradation of land in the homelands where the African majority was crowded into only 13 percent of South Africa's land. Betterment areas were introduced to control and maximise land use and productivity by designating land for use as arable, residential and grazing, limiting the number of livestock which could be kept there and limiting to the amount of land which could be ploughed. Cattle culling was also practised under betterment (Yawitch, 1981:11-12).
- 3 A commission established in 1991 to advise the National Party government

of the time on matters affecting state land.

- 4 Under the Development Trust and Land Act, Act 18 of 1936 certain areas of South Africa were allocated for Africans in addition to land which had been identified under the Black Land Act, Act 27 of 1913. These additional areas are known as 'released areas' (RAs). RA60 comprises a number of adjoining farms.
- 5 The full reports are attached as appendices.



Chapter Two:

Key issues and concepts

A number of concepts need to be considered and clarified to locate the empirical study in the broader context of national and international literature.

Gender and gender relations

Gender is a socially-constructed and defined differentiation between certain people, as opposed to sex, which is biologically defined. The word 'gender' can cause some confusion because it is used to describe a number of different social aspects including: identity; an issue or problem; an imposed category of classification (male/female); a relationship; the cause of a problem; the description of 'men' and 'women'; or the description of a relationship across a divide of women to men where, in many areas, women's lives are worse (M Friedman, personal communication, 2000). In this report, 'gender' and 'gender relations' are used mainly to describe men and women and their relations to each other and to resources. In the context of representation and participation, 'gender' is used in the sense of an identity.

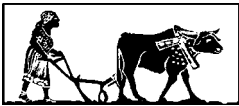
The definition of gender relations in this research project is complex. It involves the tasks, roles, perceptions and attitudes that exist between men and women, the interrelationship between these, how they help shape access to and control over resources and livelihood strategies, and the importance of these within institutional frameworks that regulate access to and control over resources. Gender relations are often socially negotiated and thus involve power relations, something which is necessary in bargaining for the various resources necessary for livelihoods. These relations are mediated through institutions at various levels of the society. 'Gender relations'

refers to much more than relations between men and women, but fundamentally also to processes that determine and influence relations between men and women, between women and other women, and between men and other men.

'Gender' and 'women'

Because most early literature on gender studies tended to focus on women's needs, issues and interests, the concept of 'gender' is often equated with the concept of 'women'. Thus gender studies were often understood to mean women's studies. The tendency to equate 'women' with 'gender' has often led to the isolation of women's issues from all other social issues and ultimately to the total neglect of issues that affect women. Because looking at gender relations often reveals that women are more discriminated against and disadvantaged than men, the common response is to 'upgrade' the status of women to be equal to that of men, thus continuing to concentrate on men. In this way women are isolated from the mainstream which, of course, happens to be male-dominated. The South African land reform policy (DLA 1997) aims to achieve gender equity by targeting women, but this contributes to their isolation.

This issue is a serious concern when it occurs at the level of government policy-making. For example, on attaining independence in 1980, the newly-elected government of Zimbabwe established the Ministry of Community Development and



Women's Affairs. Although the objective of this was to address women's issues, it actually led to the isolation and ultimate neglect of women's issues. As a result, the ministry became irrelevant and was incorporated into the Prime Minister's office (Sylvester, cited in Jacobs 1998:276).

It needs to be stressed that women are not a homogenous group (Rossouw 1994:1; Jacobs 1998:277) – there are many differences between them such as those of class, race, caste and religion. This does not imply that there are no issues that are common to women as a social category. Women themselves have different backgrounds and they live in varying circumstances and thus have different experiences and respond to issues differently. There are factors besides gender that categorise women, such as location (rural or poor), wealth, age, class, religion, social and political status. However, even within the smaller categories there are differences. For example, even within the household, the female members do not have similar experiences and do not respond in the same way to the same experiences (Agarwal 1994:52).

Gender is one of the key dimensions of social relations as these relate to livelihood strategies, as this affects access to, control over, and use of resources, output and income, as well as institutional frameworks, where power relations are a crucial component (Crehan 1992:91). As Scoones (1998) puts it, different people have different access to different livelihood resources and their responsibilities, activities and daily life experiences differ based on their gender.

'Household' and household headship

It is necessary to explore this concept since the White Paper on South African Land Policy uses the household as a unit of focus in its programmes.

The literature points to the fact that there are different ways in which a household can be constituted. A unit can be referred to as a household based on residence, on consumption, on labour or on a

combination of some or all of these criteria. However, these criteria are not often as clear cut and exclusive as they seem. A household can be both a residence and consumption unit. The household as a unit can also have different functions, which in turn affects the structure of the household. The labour unit or the production unit may not be the same as the consumption unit, and the production unit is not necessarily the labour unit. Labour used for production can be from the same consumption or production unit which benefits, or it can be drawn from a group, depending on the size of the production unit. Some members of the same production unit can make a cash contribution instead of providing labour, they are thus of the same production unit but not of the same labour unit (Crehan 1992).

Looking at the concept of the household with the assumption that it is coherent, uniform and its members have similar interests and goals gives the impression that there is an equal sharing of resources, food and incomes – something which is often not the case (Crehan 1992:103). The main concern here is that it should be acknowledged that the household as a unit is not homogenous, unitary and neatly bound (Peters 1986:137). There are different variations of the household in terms of form and composition. It cannot be assumed that the composition and form remain static – these can change constantly (Sunde & Hamman 1996; Crehan 1992:87). As a unit, the household consists of individuals, who together constitute the unit, but are still individuals with their own different, sometimes competing, individual interests, goals and needs (Schrijvers 1990:32).

Decisions supposedly taken by a household might in fact reflect those of particular individual members of that household. Households are composed of men and women with potentially different needs and interests. There are differential relations of power between men and women, and the results of the interaction between them can be positive or negative. One prominent view suggests that the power one member can assert within the house-



hold depends on the resources that he or she commands, controls or has access to (Agarwal 1994). This view holds that, in terms of decisions concerning production issues, those with more control over the resources will have more power.

More recent literature complexifies the debate about simplistic notions of household headship. Francis (1997) differentiates between female-dominant, male-dominant, equal, female-headed and male-headed households. Equal households have an equal number of adult males and females. Where there are two adults of the same sex and their number exceeds that of the other sex, the household is dominated by that sex, female or male. The head of the household is a single person.

The concept of male- or female-dominant households is flawed because the focus falls entirely on adult members. Another flaw is the assumption that being the head of the household automatically means being a decision-maker and that the adults dominant in a particular household share in decision-making. For example, according to Francis (1997:5), 'when female-dominant households are constructed, the females that form this core combine their material and non-material resources and share the decision-making rather than one woman that possesses all decision-making power'.

The household should not be seen as an individually independent entity, but as being 'encompassed within larger units, which both sustain them and restrict their freedom of action' (Behnke & Kerven, quoted in Peters 1986:143). Therefore decisions taken within a household can be reflective of trends and patterns in the larger household networks or influenced by events happening at a more macro scale.

However, as Peters (1986:143) puts it, the aim is not to abandon the concept of household as a unit, or to dismiss the existence of the household. The purpose is to highlight some common assumptions and possible problems in looking at the household as a unit, and to refrain from making generalisations about the household.

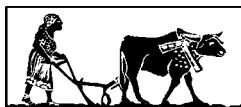
'Community'

There is an apparent assumption in the South African land policy that communities and groups are a homogenous entity. That is, communities are seen as being composed of members who have shared interests and goals. This implies that community members can therefore work together harmoniously towards common goals. This is expressly stated in the White Paper on South African Land Policy, in which it is argued that 'in many cases, communities are expected to pool their resources to negotiate, buy and jointly hold land under a formal title deed' (DLA 1997:38).

Contrary to the policy assumption, communities have different interests. There are major interests that are common to and shared by the members of the community as a whole, there are interests that may be shared by groups within the community, and there are many individual interests in the group. This is also the case among the beneficiaries of Gallawater A farm. The term 'beneficiary' in the context of Gallawater A is problematic in itself, as explained in Chapter 4. The land reform policy also refers to communities or groups which the DLA aims to target in land reform programmes. It is therefore also important to explore the concept of 'community'.

Like the household, communities are not as uniform, coherent and homogenous as they are often portrayed to be. Kepe (1998:3) gives a basic definition of a community as 'a shared locale, common ties and social interaction' and he also points out that there are often overlaps and that some communities do not conform to this definition. 'Communities are often marked by class and (even more deeply), gender inequities' (Jacobs 1998:282). Like the household, the community is composed of individuals and of different groups.

At the community level, with regard to decision-making, one has to look at the existing decision-making structures and procedures. One therefore has to look at the different organisations and interest



groups within the community and the power relations among these.

Another important issue in terms of decision-making is participation of the members. Therefore one has to look at the participants and the level of participation in decision-making structures. It is important to look first at general participation levels before looking at the participation of specific participants.

Various issues have been raised concerning the participation of women in community decision-making forums and structures (Jacobs 1998; Du Toit 1996). For example, attending a community meeting does not necessarily mean actively participating in it in support of their own interests. This becomes an issue when the mere presence of women is taken to mean that they are part of the decisions taken at such meetings. Attendance could mean women are representing their husbands, or they could be attending merely to listen. Even when they do participate in the discussions, they could merely be passing on their husbands' views or the views of other males they represent. If they do participate, what they say could be what is expected of them rather than challenging any of the views presented, or saying something out of line (Jacobs 1998:282).

Women might be ignored or silenced if they say something to challenge what has been said at a meeting. Furthermore, Du Toit (1996) argues that, in most cases, in addition to being silenced or intimidated by men, the structure and procedure of meetings (in terms of organisational culture) discriminates against women. He also points to the fact that at times there are fellow women who play a role in silencing and discouraging women from asserting their views or participating in community decision-making forums. Concern has been raised about the fact that even if women actively and effectively participate in debates and make challenges in community structures, this does not necessarily mean that gender issues are addressed or that women's interests are met. The issues for discussion may be determined by others, and gender issues might not be a

part of the agenda. This leads back to Du Toit's (1996) argument that the structures and the system is already entrenched and women participate in terms of rules which were set in processes that did not include them.

Tenure security, gender and rights to land

The main issue in land tenure security is the right to land, which can be acquired through ownership, lease, tenancy, or any other kind of land-holding (tenure). However, legal rights do not necessarily guarantee access because these rights might not be recognised socially or culturally (Agarwal 1994:19). Exploring types of tenure is necessary in order to understand different systems of access to land and, in particular, how tenure systems shape and determine people's access to land and, ultimately, their use of the land.

It has been shown that people are more likely to use land intensively and positively if their rights to the land are secure. A lack of secure tenure rights could mean that this land could be taken away at any time, especially when better opportunities for deriving income or other benefits from the land arise (Ngqaleni & Makhura 1996:338). Therefore security of land tenure is fundamental to the sustainability of rural livelihoods.

Concerns around access to land include a number of issues around the meaning of rights. There are different types of rights in accessing land – ownership rights and user rights. These rights may be legally recognised, they may be socially recognised, or both. The argument internationally is that, in most societies, women's rights are often not protected legally or socially within the community. This is crucial, given that communities and households help to enforce national legislation. This issue is particularly important in cases where legislation on access to land is imposed on long-established social practices and contradicts some of those social practices.

The international literature points to the fact that there is a difference between access and control. When looking at how access to a resource is related to the actual



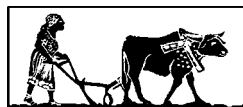
use of that resource, it is necessary to consider whether the access rights also include control over the resource in question. Issues of access and control apply to both ownership and user rights.

The international literature on gender says where women have ownership rights over land this does not necessarily mean free and unlimited access to that land. There have been cases where legal owners might not have access to their own land. Even if they have access, they might not have control over such aspects as to how the land is used, managed and who else has access to the land (Agarwal 1994:19). Rights to land can be protected and enforced through legislation and can also be protected through social practices.

Land allocation is one of the main functions of headmen, or of tribal authorities, in rural areas. There has also been ample South African literature available on the land allocation practices of traditional leaders, especially headmen (Mbatha 1997; Walker 1994; Thorp 1997). Most of the literature criticises these land allocation practices for being discriminatory. Land is not allocated to women unless they are widows and, in most cases, unless they have dependants. In some cases, the allocation is in effect made out to the eldest male child, even though he might be a minor.

However, there are other reports of cases where land has been allocated to women in their own right, by the same authorities (Mbatha 1997). Thorp (1997:37) argues that there are cases where no land has been allocated to women or men who were not married and did not have dependants. In other words, discrimination was not against all women, but against single or unmarried women.

Legal rights are a necessary foundation for the protection of land rights, but they are not enough in themselves. For legal rights to be effective, people must claim them. A clear attempt must be made to disseminate information and make people aware of their land rights so that they are able to claim these rights (Thorp 1997:35).



Inheritance and other resource disposal systems

What often threatens land availability and access and control to production units is the disposal of available land by means of selling it, passing it on through inheritance, leasing it out, or bequeathing it.

In South Africa, women living in areas governed by customary law are often excluded or discriminated against in inheritance (Cross & Friedman 1997:25). According to traditional practice or custom (Walker 1994:66), it is often the eldest male offspring who inherits the family property. In my experience of my own community and other surrounding communities, the youngest son inherits everything that the family owns and possesses on the death of his parents. He is also responsible for taking care of the parents. The exclusion of women from this system is often justified by women having to marry out of the group, going to live where their husbands live, and therefore being unable to take care of the family property at such a distance. However, even women who do not marry and leave, or who express the desire not to leave, do not inherit. Moreover, the brothers can inherit and leave the homestead, leaving their sisters at home with nothing.

Given that in most cases it is men who are property owners, the position of their partners in terms of inheriting the property after the man's death, or even getting a share on divorce, is important. The marriage arrangement is also important – women often lose out on what they worked for together with their husbands on divorce if the marriage is not legally recognised (Brain 1976:278; Schrijvers 1990:43). Even where there is a legally recognised marriage, custom often dictates that on a husband's death his son will inherit rather than his wife. A woman's claim must be socially recognised for her to benefit.

Labour

Labour is an important, complex and dynamic aspect of sustainable rural livelihoods. There is often no clear distinction

between productive and reproductive labour and this is more evident when looking at women's work. For example, processing of food could be both productive and reproductive labour. There are also tasks that are not directly related to production, but are crucial to production, in the sense that they indirectly contribute towards ensuring better conditions for the labour unit and also the production unit. These include tasks such as fetching water and wood collection, which are time-consuming and tiresome (Kompe et al 1994:12).

It is necessary to consider who has access to and control over whose labour, and what circumstances determine or shape this. In the literature, concerns are expressed about how women do not usually have access to labour to perform their tasks. In some cases they may not even have access to and control over their *own* labour.

The allocation of labour is also crucial. It is necessary to note the factors that lead to various allocations of labour for different purposes, namely, for production or reproduction or domestic purposes. It is necessary to note how labour is prioritised, who decides on priorities, and the factors that allow this to happen (Crehan 1992). It also matters whether labour is free or whether it must be hired. There are determining factors such as networks, cash, goods, and the ability to reciprocate (Whitehead & Bloom 1992:50), which give those who have access to the resources necessary for payment better access to more labour. Men and women have access to different networks (Francis 1997:8).

Mini (1994:274) argues that the availability of agricultural labour in the household is affected by the household size and the migrant labour system. This is a crucial aspect given that rural agriculture is labour-intensive, so people tend to have many children to address the labour needs of the household. However, he notes that because large households in rural areas often have smaller children, they may not be able to meet their labour needs anyway.

Social networks

Apart from formalised tenure regimes, there are informal ways of gaining access to land and other resources which are socially recognised, but are often legally unrecognised. Social networks, particularly kinship networks, provide one way of gaining access to land and these network links may include kinship, affinity, co-residence, friendship and patron-client relations (Peters 1986:138). However, rights to access land gained in this way are weaker in the sense that they cannot be legally protected. Social protection of these rights varies and is not particularly strong, given that the rights can be revoked by the 'owner'. Furthermore, in my experience, these rights are highly dependent on favourable social relationships being maintained between the parties.

The kinds of relationships and network links that exist among households fundamentally impact upon their livelihoods. The household cannot exist in isolation, and it constantly interacts with other households. Individual households do not have full control over their access to livelihood resources, because they acquire access only by being part of larger, supra-household networks. Whether the interaction is positive or negative, it will affect the functioning of the individual household as a production unit.

Interactions between households may be mutual or not – households may rely on others for help, or they may give and receive assistance. Younger households are often more dependent on others.

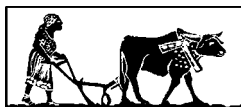
Labour networks

Apart from gaining access to land, social networks, particularly inter-household networks, can also be used for providing labour. The most common labour networking activity is work parties, whereby households can gain access to the labour of others, either through paying them in cash or in kind, or by a reciprocal arrangement to provide labour to others (Crehan 1992:99). Work parties may include individuals who are not necessarily members of the 'networking' households. Peters (1986:146) points out the importance of



female labour in work parties, especially in crop production, where 'virtually all the labour involved in such exchanges – except for bush clearing – is female'. Thus female labour contributes a lot to the formulation and maintenance of links with other households. However, the interdependence of male and female labour is as critically important as the interdependence of labour between households (Peters 1986:145).

However, the use of work parties and/or other kinds of organised labour networks is dying out or becoming diminished. Mini (1994:277) argues that this is due to the commercialisation of labour – more people are only prepared to offer their services to their neighbours for payment. However, most rural people are too poor to pay for labour. From research experiences on Gallawater A farm, it appears that even though the scale of work parties has been reduced, labour assistance still takes place between households or other production units locally. These occur primarily among relatives, neighbours and friends.



Provision of support services

The sustainability of rural livelihoods also depends on the provision of public or private sector services aimed at enabling people to productively use the available resources. Services targeted at land-based resources include agricultural extension services, mostly provided by government departments.

The way in which service providers perceive their prospective 'clients' is important. Women are often not seen as farmers, but as farmers' wives or as part of family labour. They are therefore not seen as targets of agricultural extension services, but rather the targets of such services as home economics extension (Whitehead & Bloom 1992:45; Mini 1994:280; Deshingkar 1995:7). The overwhelming majority of agricultural extension staff are male (Whitehead & Bloom 1992:45). This can have a negative impact in terms of the relations between the providers and the recipients. In reality, many women are farmers, especially because so many men are migrant labourers away from home and

they must provide food for their families.

Deshingkar (1995:7) further notes that agricultural extension services manifest a 'general ignorance, misunderstanding, and under-valuation about the role of women in agriculture and their special needs. Services focus on male activities and are offered by men to men, and it is assumed that the message will be transmitted to women by the men of the households'.

Cash and credit facilities/institutions

In order to be able to productively use the available resources for a sustainable livelihood, there is a need for economic resources such as cash and credit. This mostly applies to the use of land-based natural resources.

Access to, and control over, credit is crucial in the pursuit of the various livelihood strategies, particularly in sustaining livelihoods. It is therefore important to understand credit institutions in terms of their policies, practices and implementation. These include formal institutions such as commercial banks and informal institutions such as saving schemes.

Commercialisation or commoditisation of subsistence production has been at the centre of debate. Ngqaleni and Makhura (1996:354) argue that it is not easy for households to sustain production with credit if there is no option of marketing the produce, as this will stop them from being able to repay the loans. The main support for this argument is that agricultural products do not account for or satisfy all livelihood needs and there is constantly a need for cash to meet other survival needs (Whitehead & Bloom 1992:51). It is therefore necessary to open up the market to subsistence farmers and to make these facilities accessible to women, since women are currently excluded.

There are suggestions that with commoditisation and the cash prospects of this, in most cases the best land goes for cash cropping. Labour is affected in the sense that more labour is utilised on cash crops. However, this is often at the expense of subsistence crops or fields (Schrijvers 1990:35). There is often 'com-

petition over which crops should be allocated the scarce resources of land, labour, fertilisers and other inputs', and this is where the problem emanates from (Whitehead & Bloom 1992:51). In the case of Zambia, cited in Schrijvers (1990:35), the problem that emerged was that, with accessible markets, subsistence farmers sold even their subsistence supplies. Initially, it is the surplus that is sold, but with increased survival needs, even what is meant for subsistence is sold off at the expense of the consumption unit. This does not mean that the easy access to markets is the problem, but that there are many survival needs, more than agriculture alone can handle.

In addition to the fact that credit institutions primarily exclude women, women often do not benefit from credit services because they are reluctant to do so. Reasons for this are primarily financial, in that they fear that they might not be able to make the repayments (Mini 1994:277). However, this is not to overlook the fact that credit institutions are unwilling to give credit to women, on the grounds that they do not have property which can be used as collateral, and are therefore high-risk clients.

Implications of migration as a livelihood strategy

One of the most evident impacts of migration as a livelihood strategy is on the labour and investment aspects of agricultural intensification or extensification. Migration for wage labour purposes is the most common reason for moving from one's original home. Migrant wage labour is widespread, especially in the rural areas, because there are so few employment opportunities there.

Peters (1986:140–41) shows that migration has both positive and negative effects on labour. Migrant wage labour can help in sustaining rural livelihoods in the sense of providing cash and goods (remittances) which might be invested in other rural livelihood strategies. Cash derived from migrant earnings might be used to hire labour to replace labour lost through migration.

However, migration means the removal of labour, an important aspect of securing rural livelihoods. The value of the labour of the household as a production unit may be more important than the cash earned and, in most cases, labour is not easy to replace. This is particularly the case where wages are very low and job opportunities are few. Furthermore, in many cases, migrants are less keen on ploughing back their earnings into agriculture in the rural areas than in using them to settle in the urban areas. This is reflected by the 'prevalence of unemployment and chronic poverty' (Ngqaleni & Makhura 1996:335).

The basic point is that after the migration, there is a need to readjust and/or rearrange the remaining labour of the production unit and this means that the unit has to adjust its labour to prevent collapse. Peters (1986:150) also points out a further interesting and important factor, that 'the ability of men to take up the option of wage labour often depends on the availability of female labour to maintain other household production activities'. With labour migration, particularly in the Southern African region which mostly involves men, the contribution of male labour diminished and women's role in agriculture increased (Ngqaleni & Makhura 1996:335, Whitehead & Bloom 1992:50; Crehan 1992:107).

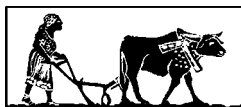
Between these two views, it is also important to consider who (within the household or the production unit) controls or decides on how the remittances (cash and/or goods) are disposed of. In other words, are they used to reinvest in the production system or used for other household needs, or are they used for other personal/individual needs? It has been noted that men and women behave differently in this regard. Men are more likely to 'use a substantial amount of the household's income on "luxuries", such as cigarettes and alcohol', (Francis 1997:7) and on pleasure and entertainment, while 'a higher correlation between women's improved economic status and family nutrition has been observed' (Ngqaleni & Makhura 1996:338).



One has to note here that, according to recent literature and statistics, migration no longer primarily involves men. Migration is no longer limited to wage labour. There are other reasons for mobility and these may include education, marriage and business, and thus also involve various age groups (Peters 1986:140). It is no longer just men's work, or middle-aged, able-bodied men's work that is affected by migration – women's work and that of young girls and boys are affected too.

Management of livelihood systems

The sustainability of livelihood systems also depends on the management of these systems, particularly livelihood resources, and of the processes that affect access to and control over these resources. Management is a crucial factor, given that, even if the production system is a success, without good management to maintain it, it is very likely to collapse. Management involves a lot of factors such as skills and assistance from experts, and support from the relevant support service providers. Factors such as education and literacy, preoccupation with other tasks, and time constraints impact on the ability to access these services and to manage them well (Ngqaleni & Makhura 1996:338; Whitehead & Bloom 1992:47).



Chapter Three:

Land reform, gender relations and rural livelihoods in South Africa

The history of land in South Africa

Past land policies in South Africa were characterised by racial discrimination, in particular apartheid, which advocated separate development of the different 'races' of the country. The entire country was divided into zones in which people of different 'races'¹ were assigned mutually exclusive and sometimes quite different rights to land (Budlender & Latsky 1991:113). These policies were carried out through racially discriminatory legislation such as the 1913 and the 1936 Land Acts². These Acts together allocated only 13 per cent of the surface area of South Africa³ to the majority African population⁴, resulting in massive overcrowding. This land was later divided into ten 'homelands'⁵, one for each 'tribe' recognised by the government. This meant that within the 13 per cent of reserve land, Africans were further restricted to areas that had been set aside for their specific ethnic language group. The overcrowding of the land inevitably led to degradation due to overutilisation.

Other racially discriminatory legislation that was neither specific to land nor passed by the departments responsible for land affairs impacted on the allocation and use of land. For example, the Group Areas Act reserved specific areas for specific races, and the Influx Control Act controlled the entry of Africans into 'white' urban areas.

Implementation of apartheid laws resulted in mass removals of Africans, through the use of force or aggressive

persuasion, to the areas 'designated' for them. In effect, African people were allowed to have land rights only in rural areas, which were characterised by overcrowding, overlapping land rights, and a shortage of land. The rural areas were not developed, suffering a lack of significant levels of services, infrastructure and job opportunities. Instead, rural areas were used as labour pools from which to draw workers for the mines and the industries in the urban areas.

Land reform in South Africa

Moves to redress past injustices by reforming the racially discriminatory land policies of the past commenced in the early 1990s, in tandem with the former government's broad programme of political reform. The need for reform was based on the acknowledgement that the racist policies of the past had resulted in poverty and suffering among the majority of the people of South Africa.

Land reform is aimed at poverty alleviation, through the improvement of rural livelihoods and targeting the poor. The programme envisages giving poor people access to land as a basic human need and also that, in rural areas in particular, land constitutes an important part of rural livelihoods (ANC 1994; DLA 1997).

In addition to recognising that in the past access to land was unbalanced because the rural poor and particularly Africans were prohibited from owning land, the land reform programme also recognises the fact that women have also been discriminated against in terms of



having access to land. This is mainly the case in the communal areas where land was not allocated to women for residential, agricultural or grazing purposes.

In addition to giving the rural poor access to land, the land reform programme also recognises that there is a need to target women specifically. However, this has been criticised for various reasons (see Chapter 2).

From the empirical data gathered on Gallowater A farm, specifically targeting women would have helped them, given that women are financially weaker and constitute the majority of the poor. However, the very same reasons would surely inhibit their ability to use the land they have access to for productive purposes. Therefore, targeting women should be complemented with access to services, including credit and other financial services, and skills and knowledge training.

Land reform as described in the White Paper (DLA 1997) comprises three programmes: redistribution, restitution and tenure reform. These programmes are the instruments for giving poor people access to land, an essential factor in enabling them to improve their livelihoods.

The Constitution says the state is obliged 'to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis'⁶; that a person or community whose tenure is insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled to legally secure tenure or comparable redress⁷; and that a person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled to restitution of that property or comparable redress⁸.

The land policy is also in line with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the ANC policy platform on which it was elected to government in 1994. The RDP specified that the government must ensure security of tenure for all South Africans; it must remove all forms of discrimination in women's access to land and specifically target women; it must redistribute government land; it must provide rural infrastructure and support services to ensure that people can use land

as productively as possible; and it must provide restitution for people dispossessed of land by discriminatory legislation since 1913 (ANC 1994:20–22).

Redistribution

The land redistribution programme aims to provide land for residential and production purposes to the disadvantaged and the poor. This land could be state-owned, or could be land bought for a particular community or group with a state subsidy. The redistribution programme was one of the first programmes of the land reform initiatives to be put in place.

The Land Reform Pilot Project was established in all nine provinces between 1994 and 1996. It was intended to enable the DLA to test the programme and deal with any problems which might arise. However, it has been argued that the piloting of the redistribution programme delayed the DLA, and that it was a waste of time (Palmer 2000:283). This is very important, given that the issue of the slow pace of land reform is currently in the spotlight in South Africa as well as in neighbouring Zimbabwe. The culmination of the pilot process and other land reform processes was the White Paper on South African Land Policy which was released in 1997.

The Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Act, Act 126 of 1993⁹, was passed so that the government could assist groups and communities to buy land on the willing buyer-willing seller principle entrenched in the Constitution. Known as Act 126, this law is in keeping with the government's commitment in the 1991 White Paper on Land Reform to go beyond the mere repeal of apartheid laws by promoting the accessibility of land to all members of the population (Steyn 1994:455). In terms of the Act, the state can assist in the purchase of land by providing a subsidy amounting to 80 per cent of the purchase price of the land. The remaining 20 per cent comprises a 15 per cent loan provided by the state to the purchasers, and 5 per cent in the form of a deposit paid by those buying the land. A 1998 amendment to the Act established a Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG)



of a maximum of R16 000 per household, roughly defined as one or two adults, married or single with dependants.

Act 126 of 1993 deals with redistribution of land, but its limitations include a lack of commitment from the state, and limited funds for land redistribution (a factor which was rectified with the SLAG). Another limitation was that it was one of the Acts which were passed in haste, given the political pressures for social reform, and therefore could not be properly debated (Steyn 1994:453).

Restitution

This programme aims at 'returning' land to people who were dispossessed through racially discriminatory land policies of previous governments. However, it is acknowledged that it may be impossible to return some of this land.

The main legislation in this regard is the Restitution of Land Rights Act, Act 22 of 1994, which was one of the earliest pieces of legislation to practically redress the injustices of apartheid. The Act is aimed at benefiting people, communities and families who lost land rights as a result of racially discriminatory laws and practices since 19 June 1913, as well as their descendants. The legislation establishes the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights to verify claims and the Land Claims Court to adjudicate them. Settlements may take the form of restoration of land, provision of alternative land, payment of compensation, a combination of these forms of restitution, or priority access to government housing and land development programmes (DLA 2000).

The programme has been criticised for being slow in processing land claims. By 29 June 2000, 6 520 claims had been settled of the 67 531 which had been lodged by the submission deadline of 31 December 1998 (DLA 2000). This criticism has been acknowledged by the DLA itself, through the Minister of Land Affairs, and measures have been taken to remedy the situation. The problem is said to have been due to the highly legalistic nature of dealing with each land claim. The pace of this programme is causing tension, with

some claimants threatening land invasions and other non-procedural means unless the pace of restitution is speeded up.

Tenure reform

The land tenure programme aims at providing security of tenure for all South Africans and 'to accommodate diverse forms of land tenure' (DLA 1997:9). It is the most complex programme of the three because it has to deal with complex and overlapping rights of use, access and ownership. The severe overcrowding which occurred under apartheid in the homelands and other areas reserved for Africans created competition for the limited resources available. Many people live on land owned by others – the largest and most vulnerable group being farm workers. There are also people who have invaded land belonging to others or to the state. In some cases people who were forcibly removed were accommodated by others for reasons of sympathy, but the later arrivals have been there so long that their rights and those of the original occupiers now overlap.

There has been various pieces of legislation aimed at protecting people's land rights. The Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act, Act 112 of 1991, upgraded quitrent¹⁰ rights to ownership rights. The Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act 31, Act of 1996 (IPILRA) was an interim measure aimed at protecting the 'informal' rights of people who had lived for five years on land which they did not own. IPILRA's effect was extended to 1999. The Extension of Security of Tenure Act, Act 62 of 1997 (ESTA) aims to protect the rights of people living on other people's land in rural and peri-urban areas. It mainly applies to privately-owned land, and to commercial farms in particular. Even though these Acts are aimed at protecting farm dwellers from being evicted, evictions continue. It has been argued that, in some cases, ESTA triggered mass evictions rather than preventing them, as farm owners wanted to avoid having to comply with the Act.

Even though it is noted in the White Paper on South African Land Policy (DLA



1997) that land allocation practices, particularly in rural areas, greatly discriminate against women, there are no laws or even attempts to address the issue; the issue has merely been acknowledged. This is in contrast with other issues such as dealing with the plight of farm workers which have been identified and where clear attempts have been made to resolve the problems.

Legal entities

Land policy in South Africa encourages the holding and ownership of land by communities. Legal entities need to be established wherever a group of people or community wishes to purchase, hold and manage land (LEAP 1999:19). Types of legal entity available for this purpose include close corporations, trusts, and communal property associations (CPAs) established under the Communal Property Associations Act, Act 28 of 1996. A close corporation is best suited for people who want to manage their land as a business for profit. In a trust, land is managed by a small group of people who have the power to make decisions, whereas in a CPA all the members of the community can manage the land together (DLA 1999:2). The fundamental difference between a trust and a CPA is who has management and decision-making power – in a trust, this is vested in a small group on behalf of all the members; in a CPA, in principle, all members have an equal say in the management of the land.

The legal structures are expected to protect the rights of all members of the group, in particular their right to use the land and other properties owned by the group. For this purpose, there is a need for a legally enforceable constitution, drawn up by the members of the group, who will all be expected to respect the rules and regulations it contains (DLA 1999).

The most commonly used kinds of legal entities in land reform projects in South Africa are CPAs and trusts. The main problem with trusts in the context of communally-owned land is that trustees are very powerful, potentially excluding non-trustee members of the beneficiary group from making important decisions. Most trusts established for communal land-

holding and management were established before 1994. Since then there is a tendency, encouraged by the DLA, to move towards using CPAs which, in principle, include all the members of the group in the management of the land and any other property owned by the group.

In a trust, it is crucial to have different interest groups of the beneficiary group represented on the trust committee. Because all members of a CPA manage the property together, it is desirable that marginalised groups are equally represented both in the wider beneficiary group and in the committees responsible for the management of the common property (LEAP 1999:13).

A workshop on the analysis of legal entities used in land reform projects was held by the Legal Entity Assessment Project (LEAP) in July 1999. Participants found that in most cases the legal entity document did not accommodate the needs of people, their existing rules, practices and institutions. However, because the prerequisite for transfer of land to take place to a community is the formation of a legal entity, people sign founding documents even if they do not agree with what it says. Once the land has been transferred, members of the community are likely to revert to the practices which were in place before, even if these go against the DLA's policies and the Constitution (LEAP 1999:9).

The legal entity which holds the land is required to do many things, including impacting on societal values, carrying out development and building capacity. There is a need to monitor the process of implementation, to identify problems, to identify mechanisms and processes for dealing with problems, to guide practice, and to ensure that government commitments (in terms of land policy and the Constitution) are given effect.

Customary and social practices prevalent in rural areas work against the ability of women to participate in decision-making within projects. Govender-Van Wyk (1999) notes that even though CPAs are obliged to have at least 50 per cent



representation of women, something which must be included in the group's constitution, there is still minimal participation by women. If women are given positions within the governing committee, they are frequently given less powerful positions such as secretarial or administrative positions. However, there are some examples of women who have held powerful positions such as those of chairperson or treasurer (Govender-Van Wyk 1999:67).

A positive aspect about the establishment of legal entities such as trusts and CPAs, facilitated by the DLA, is that this 'allows poor people to get access to assistance, in a system that is set up to support private ownership' (LEAP 1999:16).

Despite the ideal, in reality, as shown by the example of Gallawater A farm, there is a tendency for ordinary people to be effectively excluded. This is exacerbated because the legal entity in this case is a trust, but the position in many CPAs is no better. On Gallawater A, most of the ordinary beneficiaries interviewed had very little knowledge about the trust and its functions, and about legal entities in general.

Background to the Eastern Cape

The Eastern Cape province is comprised of two former 'independent' homelands – Ciskei and Transkei – and a portion of the former Cape Province of the Republic of South Africa.

Livelihood activities in the former Ciskei and Transkei portions of the Eastern Cape show a heavy reliance on government social grants and remittances from migrant workers. Agriculture does not feature very significantly, due to factors such as population density and thus shortage of arable land, drought and low rainfall, and high input costs in relation to low incomes.

However, livestock-keeping features strongly and it has been argued that this contributes more to livelihoods in the area than is generally acknowledged and documented. There is also small-scale subsistence agriculture, which is said to

have declined over the decades and is now making a relatively small overall contribution. An exception to this is the large agricultural estates and irrigation schemes run by parastatal organisations which, some argue, were not as successful as has been claimed as they are heavily state-subsidised.

The former Cape Province portion of the Eastern Cape mostly comprises commercial farms with the main activities being livestock production, followed by horticulture (citrus and pineapples). The commercial farming sector in the province contributes the largest proportion of gross value of agricultural production and possesses the majority of farming assets. The Eastern Cape produces only 7 per cent of the gross agricultural income of South Africa, but, measured by income, is the biggest producer of wool, mohair, goats and chicory, and is a significant producer of barley, citrus and deciduous fruit, flowers and bulbs, dairy products, tea, mutton, and ostrich products (M Montoedi, personal communication, 2000)¹¹.

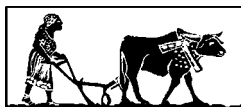
The most recent population census, conducted in 1996, shows that more than half of South Africa's population lives in urban areas – 53.7 per cent, but the proportion of urban to rural inhabitants varies dramatically across provinces. Four provinces are predominantly urban – Gauteng (97 per cent), the Western Cape (88.9 per cent), the Northern Cape (70.1 per cent) and the Free State (68.6 per cent). The other five are predominantly rural – the Northern Province (89 per cent), the North West (65.1 per cent), the Eastern Cape (63.4 per cent), Mpumalanga (60.9 per cent) and KwaZulu-Natal (56.9 per cent) (SSA 2000:9).

The 1996 census also shows that, generally speaking, the more rural provinces like the Eastern Cape are also the poorest. The Eastern Cape has the highest unemployment rate – 48.5 per cent, followed by the other rural provinces – the Northern Province (46.0 per cent), KwaZulu-Natal (39.1 per cent), the North West (37.9 per cent) and Mpumalanga (32.9 per cent). The lowest rates of unemployment are found in the most urban



provinces – the Western Cape (17.9 per cent), Gauteng (28.2 per cent), the Northern Cape (28.5 per cent), and the Free State (30 per cent) (SSA 2000:41). Where there are fewer urban centres, there is less economic activity, fewer employment opportunities, and less opportunity for self-employment.

This impression is confirmed by the Human Development Index (HDI), a measure of the quality of life of people which is based on the ability of people 'to live a long and healthy life, to communicate, to participate in the community, and to have sufficient means to be able to afford a decent living' (CSS 1995:i). The most recent statistics (1991) indicate that the HDI of women is only 80 per cent that of men, the HDI of non-urban areas is only 58 per cent that of urban areas, and that the Eastern Cape's HDI is only 75 per cent of the national HDI (CSS 1995:v). The Northern Province has the lowest HDI (0.470), followed by the Eastern Cape (0.507). Both are significantly below the national HDI of 0.677. By contrast, the wealthiest provinces have HDIs which are significantly above the national figure – the Western Cape (0.826), followed by Gauteng (0.818) (CSS 1995).



The Eastern Cape is unique in terms of the nature of its varied history of land dispossessions and land struggles that occurred over a long period and which at times incorporated a significant degree of violence. This history ranges from struggles with the early European settlers, to the consolidation of Transkei and Ciskei and betterment planning schemes. Most of these struggles resulted in removals of people (Platzky & Walker 1985).

The Eastern Cape Land Reform Pilot district comprised six magisterial districts – Tarka, Queenstown, Cathcart, Glen Grey/Cacadu, Cofimvaba (formerly in the Transkei) and Hewu (formerly in the Ciskei). This area is around the Border corridor, where white-owned farms were surrounded by African-occupied areas characterised by large populations in dense, impoverished settlements in the Transkei and Ciskei (Beinart & Kingwill 1995).

Tenure regimes in the Eastern Cape

As is the case in the rest of South Africa, tenure types in the Eastern Cape were divided along racial lines in the sense that there was a particular system of tenure for Africans and another for whites. The system for whites was mainly freehold, while for Africans it was mainly communal (Small & Mhaga 1996:56).

The main types of African land tenure common in the Eastern Cape are communal tenure, quitrent, permission to occupy (PTO) and freehold, which is less common in the former Ciskei rural areas. In communal tenure, the land is owned by the group, and households, with the head representing the needs and interests of the household and its members, have access and rights to the land through membership of the group (Small & Mhaga 1996:56). Quitrent and PTO were established as forms of tenure on rural land designated for Africans. Both of these give the holder a permanent right of occupation, subject to certain conditions, and rights to the use of the commonage (Budlender & Latsky 1991:122).

Quitrent

Quitrent was applied to surveyed rural land designated for Africans and is common in the Eastern Cape. Quitrent titles could be granted to arable, residential, farming and trading lots for an annual rent, and were registered with the authorities. The holder was given the right to possess the land in perpetuity, but could not alienate the land (Budlender & Latsky 1991:123). The land could not be subdivided, and sales, transfers or leasing to another person was subject to permission from the authorities. Quitrent discriminates against women in the sense that women were not allowed to inherit the land (Small & Mhaga 1996:56; De Wet & Van Averbeke 1995:188). Widows keep usufruct of their husband's land until they die or marry (Cross 1991:81). The holder of the land cannot bequeath title in a will, and succession takes place to a male heir (Budlender & Latsky 1991:123).

PTOs

PTOs are very similar to quitrent, except that this form of tenure was applied to unsurveyed rural land designated for Africans (Budlender & Latsky 1991:122). The holder of a PTO certificate is guaranteed permanent occupation of the land, although the government, the nominal owner of the land, could decide that the land should be used for another purpose, and the holder forcibly removed (Ntsebeza 1999:4).

Freehold

The freehold system, which gave full ownership rights subject to statutory restrictions, dominated in the former Cape Province portion of the Eastern Cape, which was primarily comprised of white-owned commercial farms (De Wet & Van Averbeke 1995:185).

There are cases of communities in the Eastern Cape who bought land before the introduction of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and held it under the freehold tenure system. However, this was different to the freehold system in the former Cape Province portion of the Eastern Cape, or for white people, as there were conditions attached. These included the fact that the owner could not sell or lease land without ministerial permission, but could alienate the land through inheritance with no conditions. Land could also be forfeited for allowing other people besides immediate family and descendants to live on it. Therefore even under freehold, tenure rights were not secure or protected, particularly from state intervention (Small & Mhaga 1996:56; De Wet & Van Averbeke 1995:190).

Tenure regimes discriminated against women, particularly in the former Ciskei rural areas, whether through legislation or through land allocation and land-use practices within the community and within households. Even in freehold tenure systems, it is very unlikely that women would participate, given that they often constitute the majority of the poor and therefore cannot afford to buy land. Women are excluded from decision-making structures within the community,

and they therefore often do not have access to information or groups buying or accessing land.

Rural livelihoods

Land constitutes an integral part of rural livelihoods, as it presents opportunities for rural people to derive multiple livelihoods. However, apartheid policies, which resulted in overcrowding and landlessness, led to an inability to derive adequate livelihoods from the land. The underdevelopment of rural areas in terms of provision of services and infrastructure meant fewer livelihood and employment opportunities. As a result, the majority of people in rural areas rely heavily on remittances from migrant labourers and pensions.

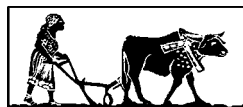
Gender relations

The effects of the past racial land laws and policies were gendered¹², particularly among the majority of the population living in the rural areas (Deshingkar 1995:6). Under communal tenure, individuals, usually male heads of households, were given usufructory rights¹³ to specific plots of land, and these rights were only inheritable by men. Therefore black women were doubly discriminated against, on the grounds of race and on the grounds of gender (Deshingkar 1995:5).

Within the rural areas, where land is held under communal tenure, usually under the jurisdiction of a tribal authority headed by a chief, the allocation of land is characterised by discrimination against women. This occurs in spite of the fact that women constitute the majority of the rural population. The discrimination is facilitated by discriminatory customary and social practices. Land is allocated to men, who are assumed to be heads of their households. Women heads of households are not allocated land. Inheritance practices deny women (as daughters and widows) the right to inherit land. The literature points out that, in most cases, women in rural areas do not have access to land in their own right, except through (living) male partners or relatives (Cross & Friedman 1997; Thorp 1997; Small 1997).



The migrant labour system, combined with anti-urbanisation apartheid laws, had tremendous effects on women, as they could not live with their husbands, and therefore had to endure life in the overcrowded homelands. Men were targeted for the provision of labour in the mines and the industrial sector. As a result of the migrant labour system, coupled with the Influx Control Act and the pass laws, which permitted only those who were employed in the towns to live there temporarily¹⁴, women effectively became permanent residents of the rural areas. Women still had to provide for their families, with greater difficulty because remittances from husbands could not be relied upon as, according to Deshingkar (1995:4), men often established other households in the towns and therefore did not send money home. In the case of Gallawater A farm, where children have been left with their grandparents, remittances from their parents are not reliable either. These migrant workers often face difficulties such as not having permanent or stable jobs, or being retrenched. Some of them are unemployed for long periods, but continue to live in the urban areas hoping for other employment opportunities to become available.



The consequences of the gendered discriminatory practices of access to land are manifested through the gendered nature of rural poverty. Women are poorer than men, whether they are individuals within households or the heads of households.

National statistics (SSA 2000:7–9) show that, according to the most recent population census held in 1996, females constitute the majority of the population in South Africa, in eight of the nine provinces. It was estimated in 1999 that 51.6 per cent of the population is female and that 52.5 per cent of the rural population is female. The poorest provinces in South Africa, which also happen to be those with the largest rural population, have the largest number of females relative to males. In the Northern Province, which has the largest rural population and is the poorest province, 54.2 per cent of the population is female. In the Eastern Cape, which is the second

poorest province and has the second largest rural population, females comprise 53.8 per cent of the population. KwaZulu-Natal, the most populous province, has over 4.4 million females – 53 per cent of its population. Gauteng is the only province where females are a minority – 48.9 per cent of the population. It is also the wealthiest and most urbanised province with 97 per cent of its population living in urban areas.

The poverty rate in South Africa is 49.9 per cent, 70.9 per cent of which is in the non-urban areas, and 28.5 per cent in the urban areas (May 2000:22).

Land reform and gender equity

Access to legal rights is not enough to change the status quo. How the situation is seen and how policies and frameworks are designed and implemented could be biased. Community practices and the way in which conflicting interests are dealt with on the ground are critical success factors. It requires political will to ensure that the government's stated commitment to gender equity is put into practice in its land reform programme.

Cross (1999:13) questions the striving for women's autonomy in the context of the government's commitment to gender equity. In her view this is problematic given the economic decline in rural areas as men lose their jobs in urban areas. Women are in a weaker position because they lack the economic support they had from their husbands. Even though the responsibility for providing for their families falls on women, the restrictions on them in terms of access to land and other resources means they have too few resources to do so. Although women are recognised as farmers, their hold on land is not strong in the sense that their 'right to make agreements for access to land, to transfer or dispose of it and to use land for entrepreneurial purposes is marginal' (Cross 1999:13). Cross says giving women individual and autonomous rights to land is not a guarantee that these may not be taken away later or misappropriated by the powerful within society (1999:17). She says that experiences in Africa show that

having these rights is often more expensive than it is profitable for women.

Deshingkar (1995:5) argues that giving women access to land cannot ensure that they are able to utilise it productively and earn a living from it because they may not have the necessary inputs, labour or knowledge and skills. Simply reforming the law will not in itself ensure that the situation of women is improved.

Hargreaves (1999:42) concurs with Agarwal (1994) who argues, based on the Asian experience, that giving women individual private rights *will* ensure them access to production resources. Hargreaves says that if the South African 'government effectively aims to eradicate poverty, then independent land access and control for rural women is an appropriate strategy'.

A criticism of the land reform programme has been that, in allocating land and subsidies, it targets the household unit as a beneficiary. The debate about what actually constitutes a household is discussed in Chapter 2. It has been argued that in defining the household as having at least an adult with dependant(s), land reform programmes exclude other forms of households such as single women and widows who do not have dependants. By looking at the household as a unit, the assumption is that the household is a homogenous entity whose members have similar needs and interests. The critics argue that, in concentrating on the household as a unit, land reform defeats its own principle of gender equity by ignoring the needs of women *within* households, the same women who are the specific targets of land reform. Hall (1998:458) criticises this approach by saying 'households are not unproblematic categories, and are not spheres of resource pooling and joint control'. She further highlights the fact that, within the households, even if women get access to land in their own right, these rights may be lost through inheritance practices, which are often biased against women. Therefore Hall calls for a look at inheritance practices and how they are likely to affect the very gains that policy would have had through effectively giving women access to land and other resources.

It has been argued that because participation in decision-making structures at community level is not equal between men and women, not all the interests of members of the community are represented. This can be linked to criticisms that have been levelled against CPAs – structures which are promoted by the DLA as democratic legal structures suitable for holding land on behalf of communities. The main argument here is that even if these structures are formulated democratically, and even where these structures have constitutions that recognise the rights of all members and subscribe to gender equity (as they are obliged to do), these principles are not always put into practice. Some literature argues that if women are elected to these structures, they are often elected to positions that do not command power within the structures.

Hargreaves (1999:44) argues that throughout the land and rural development sector, there is a tendency to only focus on the previously disadvantaged as a racial category, not realising that this group is both gendered and classed. She argues that the same happens to categories such as the rural poor, which are also often seen as ungendered. The problem with this is that real differences in needs and interests are not adequately responded to, and this could in turn perpetuate or even exacerbate existing inequalities between men and women, and between classes of people. Thus it has been noted that, in targeting women among the rural poor, the implication is that women are a classless category of people who have homogenous needs, interests, backgrounds and circumstances.

Hall (1998:454) argues that targeting women as a group/category is more likely to fail because there are contradictions and incompatibilities within the objectives of land reform, particularly within the redistribution programme. This is related to the fact that it is envisaged that the redistribution projects will give priority to the marginalised and to women in need, and to projects which can be implemented quickly and effectively. This is more likely to fail because in most cases the



marginalised and women are often the least organised and least informed groups, although effectiveness implies organised and well-prepared groups of claimants.

Another incompatibility in terms of policy objectives is that between the commitment to gender equality and the accommodation of 'tradition'. Traditional practices discriminate against women, particularly in the allocation of land and other resources, and also in decision-making powers and structures within the community and the household (Walker 1994:347).

Hall (1998) also argues that the principle of market-based land reform is incompatible with the objective of gender equity, given that the 'markets are not friendly to disadvantage'. There is therefore a need to specifically assist the disadvantaged.

However, Govender-Van Wyk (1999:66) blames the likely failure to address gender equity in land reform on the lack of commitment on the part of the DLA. She notes that even though there is a Gender Sub-Directorate within the national office of the Policy Branch of the DLA, gender-sensitive policies are not enforced.



Conclusion

The reform processes of the early 1990s which saw the passing of legislation such as IPILRA and Act 126 by the apartheid-era government were a response to political pressures, not the result of a recognition of the need for reform. However, this provided a start to proper reform based on the need to redress the injustices of the past. The process of reform has been one of trial and error, with critiques such as those on gender issues shaping and influencing it. There are continuous developments within the reform process itself, such as the recent move towards the promotion of emerging black commercial farmers and food safety nets for the poor, which are subjects of ongoing debate.

Notes

- 1 All South Africans were classified white, African, coloured or Indian. This race classification determined their access to

many things, including jobs, education, housing, welfare, places of residence, places of work and health care. Africans were further divided into nine 'tribes' – ethnic groups defined by language.

- 2 The Black Land Act, Act 27 of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act, Act 18 of 1936.
- 3 Although it has been argued that the effective amount of land allocated to Africans was in fact less than 13 percent.
- 4 Comprising 76,7 percent of the population according to the most recent census (1996).
- 5 Also known as bantustans. The 'independent' homelands were Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda and the 'self-governing territories' were KwaZulu, KwaNdebele, Kangwane, Lebowa, QwaQwa and Gazankulu.
- 6 Section 25(5).
- 7 Section 25(6).
- 8 Section 25(7).
- 9 In 1998 the name of Act 126 was changed to the Provision of Land and Assistance Act.
- 10 Quitrent is a form of conditional tenure which gives permanent possession of a piece of land to a registered owner in return for the yearly payment of a nominal rent. This is common in rural parts of the former Ciskei and Transkei (Cross, 1991:81).
- 11 Fax dated 18 August 2000 from Mpho Motoedi, Directorate Statistical Information, National Department of Agriculture.
- 12 In that they affected men and women differently.
- 13 Usufruct is the right to use and derive profit from another person's property, without diminishing or injuring the property.
- 14 They could only be in the urban areas for as long as they were employed, even if they were actually born in the urban areas or effectively lived there.

Chapter Four:

The history and context of Gallawater A farm

The people who bought Gallawater A farm all came from broader Zweledinga in the nearby Hewu district.

The origin of Zweledinga

In 1971, a referendum was held among the people of Glen Grey (Cacadu) district to ask whether they wanted the area to be incorporated into Transkei or remain part of Ciskei. An overwhelming majority rejected the proposed incorporation. Despite this, Ciskei handed over the area to Transkei on 1 December 1975 in exchange for land between East London and Queenstown. People who did not want to be part of Transkei when it became 'independent' in 1976¹ were promised equivalent land in the area which had been handed over in the exchange. The government assisted them to move to a farm called Zweledinga which was originally intended to be a transit camp (SAIRR 1977:245–247).

Zweledinga was never planned as a settlement site with demarcated residential sites, arable fields and grazing lands as would have been in line with the betterment planning system that was common at the time². As the population grew, land was allocated to people who needed it and Zweledinga expanded. Today there are six villages in broader Zweledinga, namely Zweledinga (the original settlement), Mbekweni, Yonda, Oxtan, Sibonelo and Diphala. At the beginning land was only allocated to people moved from Glen Grey. Later, outsiders were also accommodated in the area.

Political struggles in broader Zweledinga

The internal political struggles that occurred stemmed from the imposition by Lennox Sebe³ of Mr Hebe in 1981 as chief of broader Zweledinga. As chief, Hebe, together with his tribal authority, was responsible for allocation to residents of land for residential sites and arable fields. Local informants argue that Hebe used his power to allocate land as a weapon against his political enemies who were opposed to his installation as chief. The tribal authority was also in charge of the Oxtan Manor irrigation scheme⁴ situated close to the Mbekweni village. This entailed the general management of the scheme, which included administration and management of the profits gained from sales of livestock and vegetables.

The Zweledinga Residents' Association (ZRA) was formed in 1990. Most of the members, in particular the leadership, were opposed to Hebe and were not satisfied with the tribal authority's management of the irrigation scheme. They argued that only the tribal authority, its members and its supporters benefited, contradicting the aims of the irrigation scheme, which was formed to benefit the community as a whole.

Deshingkar (1995:14) argues that within the residents' associations in the Ciskei in particular, women were well-



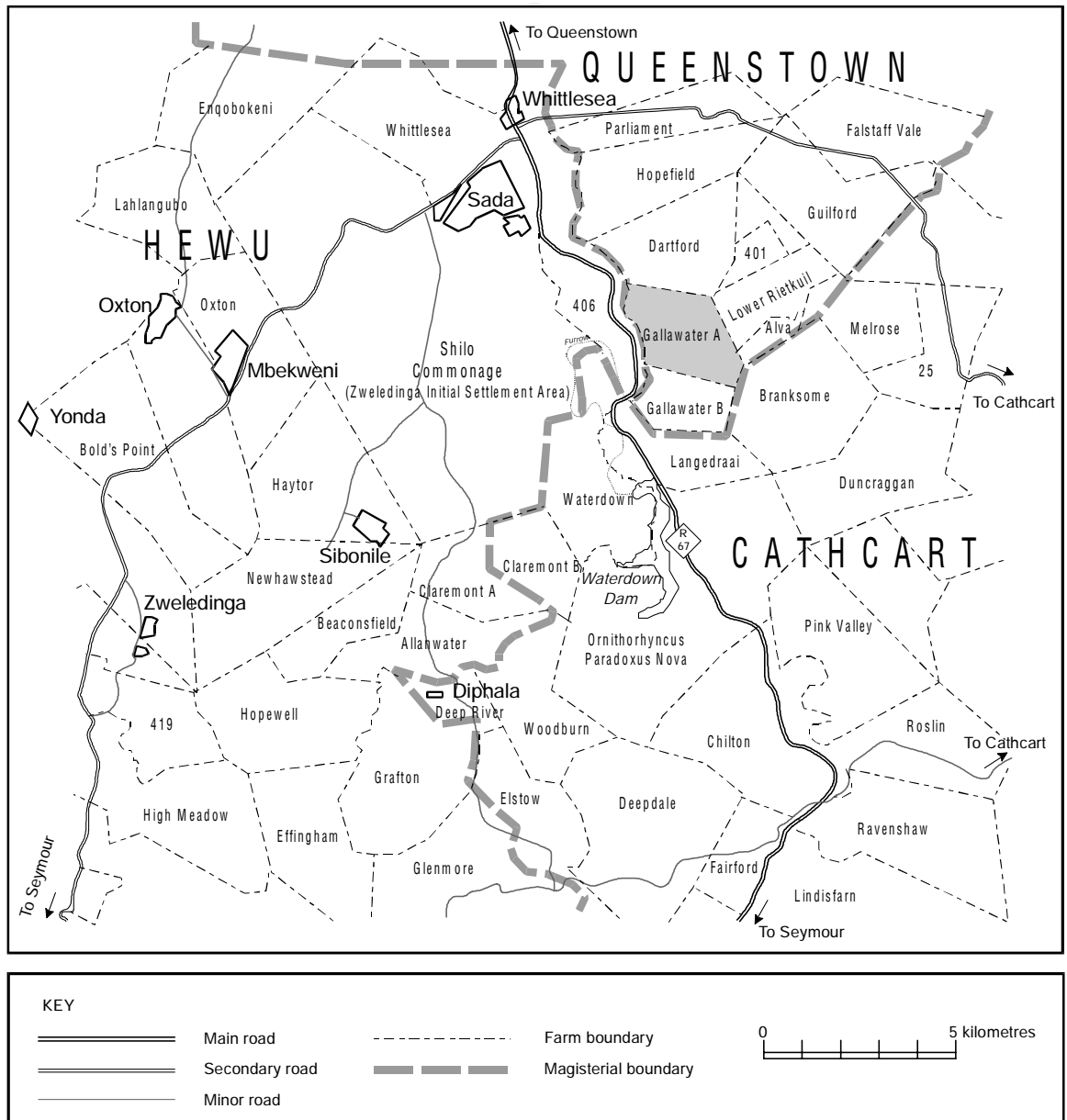


Figure 3: Farms and settlements surrounding Gallawater A

represented because there was less discrimination against them than was the case under tribal authorities. In the case of ZRA, women participated in such activities as the invasion of farms and other aspects of land struggles, but participated less in the decision-making structures of the association. Even though in principle the ZRA encouraged women's participation, women did not participate in its decision-making.

The ZRA mobilised the majority of the residents of Zweledinga, gaining overwhelming support, and in this way took over the general management and govern-

ance responsibilities for the irrigation scheme, including managing its finances. The ZRA also allocated land, especially for residential sites. However, the ZRA primarily engaged itself in trying to get more land from the state, especially for the original group which had moved to Zweledinga in 1976.

Land use in broader Zweledinga

Residential land

Not all residents have been allocated sites. Among those who do have residential

sites, there are different sizes of sites, depending upon the rights to land that they had previously in Glen Grey.

Grazing land

Generally there are good grazing camps in greater Zweledinga, given that the camps are fenced off and are large enough to accommodate local livestock. However, stock theft is a serious problem. Most of the resident beneficiaries of Gallawater A farm argue that the level of theft hugely contributed to their individual decisions to purchase the farm. They felt that their livestock would be safer on Gallawater A and thus be able to multiply. Livestock theft in Zweledinga is so severe that cases where a whole herd of sheep or goats has been stolen are not uncommon. The thefts occur in the grazing fields, at times during the day when there are no herders to attend to the livestock, and also at night when stock had gone astray and were therefore not *kraaled* for the night.

Arable land

Most of the six villages of greater Zweledinga have irrigated fields, which are allocated to households. Access to and conditions of arable fields vary. Mbekweni has some of the best arable land. Almost all the resident households in Mbekweni are allocated arable fields. Most of these fields have irrigation systems. The use of the arable fields in Mbekweni by beneficiaries of Gallawater A is dependent on the availability of labour within the beneficiary household. Those households that do not have labour are no longer using their arable fields in Mbekweni. There is no relationship between those who continue to use their fields in Mbekweni and the wealth rankings of Gallawater A households. This could be due to the fact that wealth is primarily defined as having access to cash income. Among farming products, livestock is more important in the local definition of wealth than crop farming products. Therefore, even though resident beneficiaries of Gallawater A farm who originate from Mbekweni constitute the majority of the highest wealth ranks, there is no relationship between rank of wealth and the continued use of arable

fields. People from Mbekweni constitute the majority of the resident beneficiaries of Gallawater A (10 out of a total of 23).

Provision of services

Zweledinga has a relative degree of stability in the sense that it is an established settlement. There is provision of services such as piped water, electricity and telephones. There are schools, clinics and roads. The majority of residents, particularly those who had residential sites, fully developed their sites and heavily invested in them.

These conditions, together with access to land, played an important role in the purchase of Gallawater A and the ultimate use of the land on that farm.

Land claim, then land invasion

A group of people who had been moved from Glen Grey to Zweledinga, represented by the Zweledinga Residents' Association, started looking for a farm on which they could settle in compensation for the land they were promised but never received. The ZRA, assisted by the Border Rural Committee (BRC) and the Grahamstown Legal Resources Centre (LRC), identified several farms located in the area which the government promised them as compensation for the land they left behind in Glen Grey. The area identified was comprised mainly of state-owned farms, as well as some privately-owned farms. Some of the state-owned farms were occupied, and some vacant. Most of the occupied farms were being leased by white commercial farmers. The BRC and LRC assisted in ascertaining the ownership of these farms.

The group presented its case to the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation in 1993 with the assistance of the BRC and LRC. It soon became clear that the ACLA would not award the group the land it had claimed. Having explored legal means, in 1993/94 the group decided to highlight its demand and the seriousness of the situation by invading land in the area that had been identified earlier, irrespective of whether or not the farms were occupied.

The ZRA organised trucks and vans to



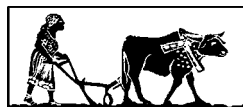
transport the men, women and children, their furniture and building materials to land where they settled without permission and started building shelters. Men were more active than women in terms of decision-making and directing the invasions. This could be attributed to the fact that within the ZRA men constituted the majority of its leadership and its organisers.

The purchase of Gallawater A

The original farm Gallawater (farm 409 in the Queenstown district) was first registered in 1859. It was subsequently subdivided into three parts – Portion 1, Portion 2, and the remainder of the original farm. The farm now known as Gallawater A comprises Portion 1 and the remainder of the original farm, while Gallawater B is Portion 2.

Gallawater A was one of the farms that were invaded by the Zweledinga group. On arrival, the group discovered that Gallawater A was privately owned by Andrew King, while Gallawater B was a state-owned farm on lease to him. King requested that the group settle on Gallawater B and offered his own farm for sale to the group.

Negotiations around the sale of the 904,9ha farm Gallawater A began between King on the one hand and the ZRA, representing the group, assisted by the BRC and LRC. The farm was offered to the group for R750 000. In 1994 the group asked the government for assistance. The Department of Regional and Land Affairs (the predecessor of the DLA) agreed to provide financial assistance and facilitation in terms of the Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Act, Act 126 of 1993. The state paid 80 per cent of the purchase price and the group is responsible for the remaining 20 per cent, 5 per cent of which was paid immediately as a deposit, and 15 per cent which is a loan payable in six-monthly instalments over five years. The purchase was completed in 1995 and, according to local informants, the Gallawater A beneficiaries who are resident on the farm began settling there in January 1996.



The ZRA wanted to settle many people on Gallawater A, possibly 150 families. However, because the government was involved in the purchase, the Department of Agriculture conducted an assessment of the farm. According to the assessment, only 102 families could be accommodated on the farm. However, the BRC (1996) argued that the number was too high, given the limited arable fields and livestock carrying capacity of the farm. Another assessment report estimated the livestock carrying capacity of the farm at 100 cattle, 200 goats and 800 sheep (Antrobus & Antrobus 1991). If 102 beneficiary families lived on the farm, the average number of livestock for each beneficiary would be less than one head of cattle, less than two goats and about eight sheep, unless the intention was to own livestock as a group on a commercial basis. Of course not all the beneficiaries would be interested in livestock farming. However, even if only half the beneficiaries were interested in livestock farming, the number of livestock each beneficiary would be able to keep would still be too small.

Evaluating carrying capacity and taking it into account in the running of the farm was one of the conditions attached to the subsidy provided by the state in terms of Act 126 (Winkler 1994:447). However, the problem here is that, as Winkler further points out, 'the definition of carrying capacity is based on a particular model of a high input, highly mechanised farming system, built up with massive government subsidies' and that the carrying capacity might not apply in cases of different farming systems (1994:448). This view is also expressed by Vetter and Goqwana (1999) in their study of rangeland management on Gallawater A farm. This is discussed in Chapter 5.

Financial arrangements

The required deposit of 5 per cent of the purchase price of the farm was divided equally among the 102 beneficiaries (R375 each)⁵. According to an agreement signed between the DLA and the Gallawater Trust on 27 June 1995, 15 per cent of the purchase price (R112 500) is a loan repayable

over five years at a fixed annual interest rate of 15.25 per cent. The agreement may be extended by one year and instalments must be paid every six months. Loan repayments were also equally divided among the members (R2 000 each, payable in ten instalments – R200 per beneficiary every six months for five years).

Members of the Gallawater A beneficiary group said they intended to obtain the money for the farm loan repayments through collectively using the farm for production. They planned to engage in cash crop farming, using the irrigated fields for this purpose. Most of the beneficiaries are pensioners whose sole source of income is a state pension grant of only R540 a month from which they have to meet the needs of their families. (See Chapter 5 for information on the livelihoods of the residents.) This meagre pension frequently did not last for the whole month, so beneficiaries were relying completely on generating income from productive use of the farm to repay the loan. If things did not go according to plan, they might not be able to make the repayments, risking losing the land. Alternatively, they would have to sacrifice being able to meet the basic needs of their dependants by using their pension money for loan repayments.

The underlying assumption made by both the state and the beneficiaries was that the money for repayments would come from productive use of the farm. Neither party considered what would be necessary to make the land productive, other than willingness and commitment to do so. These factors include the availability and provision of skilled and unskilled labour and knowledge, infrastructure and equipment, cash, and management. In the case of Gallawater A farm and its beneficiaries, these were lacking. This issue is discussed further in Chapter 6.

The establishment of the Gallawater Trust

As has been explained in Chapter 3, a legal entity must be established to hold land on behalf of a group of people. Gallawater Trust was one of the earliest legal entities to be formed for groups of

people or communities to hold land bought with the assistance of the state under its redistribution programme in terms of Act 126 of 1993. Its establishment provided some lessons for later critique of legal entities, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The Deed of Trust was entered into on 9 September 1994 between the Zweledinga Residents' Association and the nine initial trustees who represent the beneficiaries. The Trust was registered on 14 October 1994 by the Master of the Supreme Court in Grahamstown, under the Letter of Authority No. TM 6347, and it took transfer of the property on 10 November 1995, with the transfer being registered at the Deeds Office in Cape Town. Celebrations marking the purchase of the farm, to which even Derek Hanekom, Minister of Land Affairs at the time, was invited, were held on 7 December 1995.

Specific functions of the Gallawater Trust include having to 'manage and administer the property and its natural resources and allocate rights and duties in respect thereof to the beneficiaries' (Deed of Trust clause 4.1) and to:

undertake such developmental, social and other initiatives and projects, including the subdivision and/or allocation of land for agricultural, residential and other purposes, and the construction and provision of buildings, amenities, works and facilities as may be appropriate to facilitate the welfare of the beneficiaries and their families (Deed of Trust clause 4.3).

To do this the trustees have power and authority to do various things (Deed of Trust section 5), including:

- administering the Trust Fund
- making investment and administrative decisions
- entering into agreements to buy equipment and other assets and taking ownership, possession and control of these assets
- making lease, occupation and use arrangements with regard to Trust assets
- procuring the installation of services
- acquiring additional land and buildings
- establishing suitable educational, social, religious and other communal facilities in conjunction with the appropriate local authority



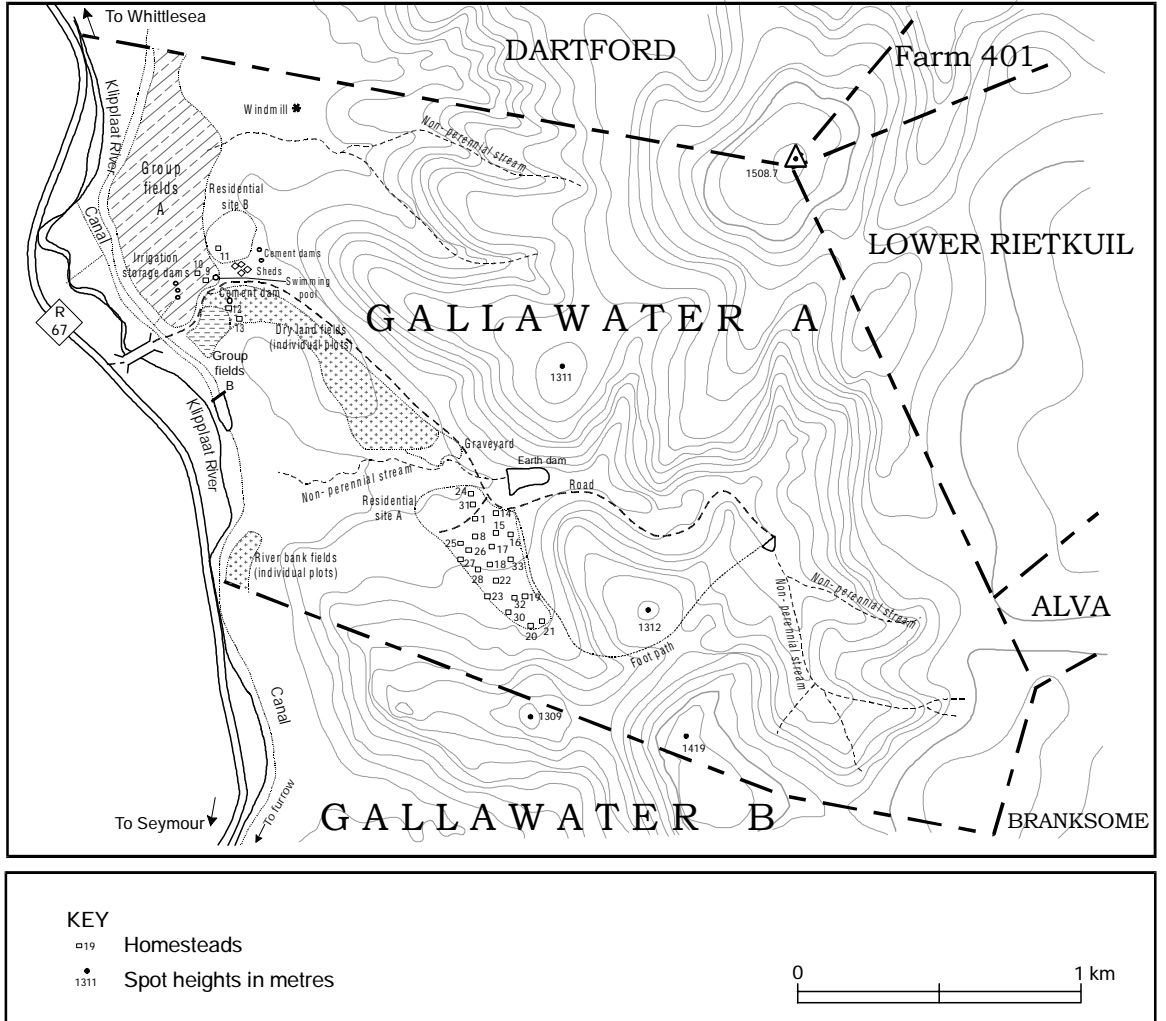
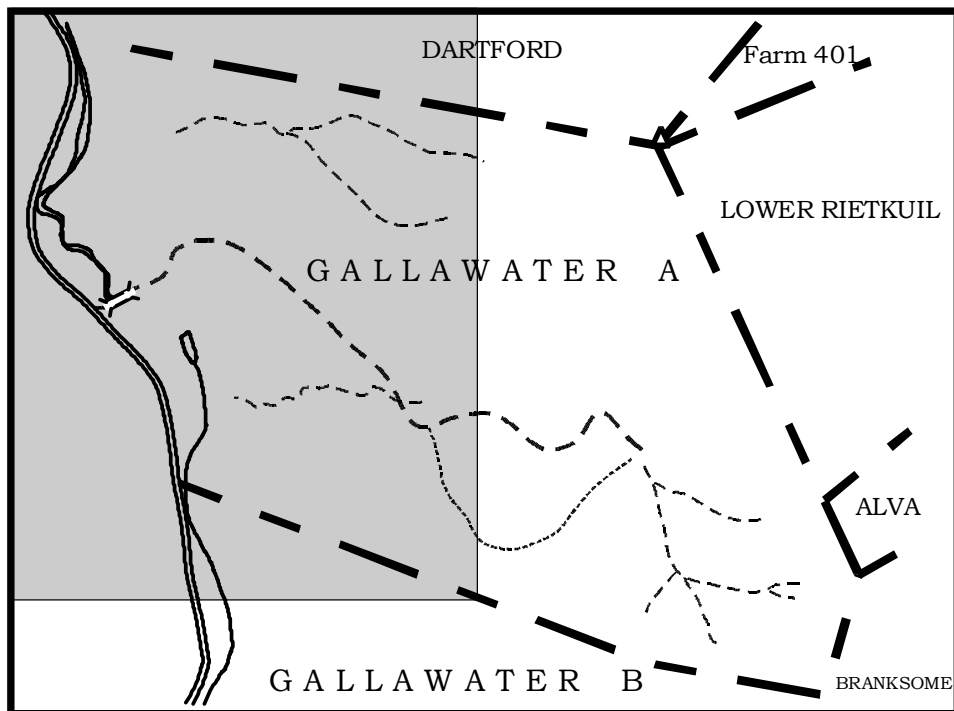


Figure 4: Gallawater A farm



Enlargement area

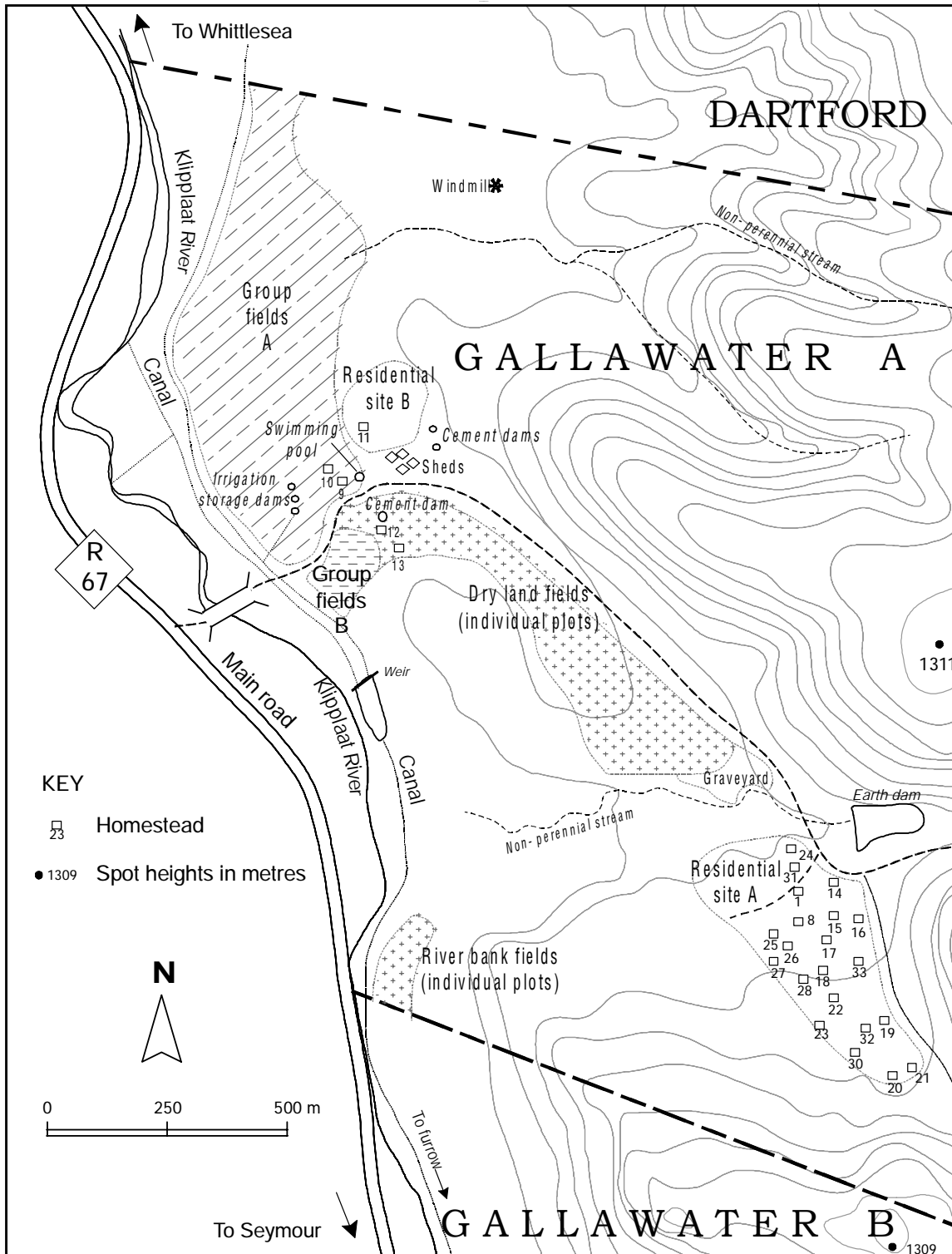


Figure 5: Gallawater A farm (detail)

- establishing other legal entities to undertake any task, project or function in the interests of beneficiaries.
- The head of each of the 102 households is a beneficiary under the Trust. There are problems with the use of the terms 'household' and 'beneficiary', as explained below, but the term 'beneficiary' in this

report refers to the person whose name is listed in the list of beneficiaries of Gallawater A farm in legal documents.

Selection of beneficiaries

The first 102 Zweledinga residents to pay the R375 deposit automatically became the beneficiaries of Gallawater A. No other

criteria were used. This excluded all of those who did not have the money at hand, and those who refused to pay the deposit on the grounds that the state owed them land and they should therefore not have to pay for the farm.

Those who joined the beneficiary group by paying the deposit comprised Zweledinga residents who invaded the farm, as well as others who did not. Among those who invaded the farm and in particular those who were already settled on Gallawater B, there were some who did not pay the deposit. Most of these people settled permanently on Gallawater B, some settled on Langedraai (the farm to the south of Gallawater B), and some left to go to other places. Some of the original Gallawater A beneficiaries left for other places after 'selling' their benefits to someone else because they could not cope with the loan repayments or other financial commitments related to the farm. The majority of those who left Gallawater B went to better-established and serviced areas.



The method of selection of beneficiaries is likely to have affected women more negatively than men in two ways. Firstly, women are poorer than men, especially single women and women heads of households, and are therefore less likely to have been able to afford the deposit. Women constitute the majority of the poor and the majority of the rural population (see Chapter 3). Among the resident beneficiaries of Gallawater A farm, female-headed households constitute the majority of the poorest households (see the section on wealth ranking in this chapter). Secondly, women, particularly married women, have less power over decision-making and expressing their needs than men do, so a decision about whether or not to become a member of such a group is likely to have been made by husbands or other men.

Rights and powers of beneficiaries and their dependants

The fact that beneficiaries are equated with heads of households is an issue which has proved problematic on Gallawater A.

Firstly, the head of the household can mean the primary or the sole decision-maker within the household. Secondly, it can also mean the primary or sole income earner, who may or may not be the primary decision-maker. Thirdly, looking at the list of beneficiaries, there are some individuals who are listed as beneficiaries but who are not the primary decision-makers, nor do they earn income, nor are they responsible for finance in the household. They are listed as beneficiaries simply because they happened to be the person who paid the money and were active in the processes of the purchase.

Within a household, the members may regard a person other than the listed one as the beneficiary. There are also instances where both the head of the household and his/her spouse are recognised as beneficiaries by all the other members of the household. In spite of this, all the people living with a person *registered* as the beneficiary are implicitly that person's dependants. Legally speaking, beneficiaries have rights to the land while dependants have weaker rights – their rights are dependent on those of the primary beneficiaries. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, the use of terms like 'household' does not take into account the different individuals and their interests within the household, or the differential power relations between those individuals.

The Deed of Trust concentrates only on the beneficiary and thus gives him or her all the legal power without a duty to take the views of other members of the family into consideration. For example, 'any member of a beneficiary's family who is dependent upon him or her may reside with such beneficiary' (clause 8.2), and 'a beneficiary has a right to bequeath his or her rights as a beneficiary' (clause 8.6). The Deed of Trust makes no provision for equal partners with equal rights and benefits to the land and its resources; it provides only for a head of household to have primary rights as the beneficiary, with the rights of dependants dependent on those of this person.

In cases where the beneficiary is the male head of the household, it is possible

that, in line with social custom, sons of the household could be preferred over daughters as heirs, or that daughters would not be able to inherit at all. On Gallawater A, the situation is not as rigid as this. Among those interviewed, any of their children who is interested can inherit. Given that, in most cases, daughters are married and live elsewhere with their in-laws or with their families, and sons tend to live closer to their parents, or have intentions of returning to live closer to their parents, sons tend to be in line to inherit the parents' share on the farm. In most of the cases, none of the children have expressed an interest in the farm, so parents are waiting to see who will ultimately take over the farm. For beneficiaries who have one child, it is often assumed and expected that the child would inherit their share of the farm.

The beneficiary has all the decision-making powers. Legally, registered beneficiaries are not obliged to consult the members of their families, nor do these dependants have a legal say, even though the decisions of registered beneficiaries affect the entire household. Right from the beginning, any person eligible for membership could decide whether or not to become a registered beneficiary, provided he or she was one of the first 102 who could afford to do so. Whoever had the money within a qualifying household effectively had, in theory, the sole decision-making right on whether or not to become a beneficiary of the Trust.

Beneficiaries who wish to leave Gallawater A permanently may sell their exclusive rights of participation, use and occupation of the farm, and recommend that proposed buyers replace them as long as the trustees approve (clauses 7.2.4, 8.1 and 8.11). If the trustees refuse to accept the proposed new beneficiary, the Trust must compensate the leaving beneficiary for his or her rights and for improvements left on the property (clause 8.11).

A beneficiary's membership may be terminated by the Trust for repeatedly not paying levies imposed by the trustees or not making payments to meet the financial obligations of the Trust (clauses 7.2.3 and 7.4). The ability of a household to con-

tinue to live on Gallawater A is therefore in the hands of cash income earners and all dependants without cash income are at a disadvantage. This provision could mean that deserted dependants or divorced wives or husbands who are financially dependent on their spouses are at risk of losing their places on the farm. In cases where the registered beneficiary is not the income earner in a household, even though the beneficiary has legal decision-making power, the income earners have more real power.

Most of the beneficiaries of Gallawater A farm, particularly those resident on the farm, are also the income earners of the household. However, there are cases where the person who made (or heavily influenced) the decision to buy into the farm is not the income earner. In these cases, the beneficiaries are most often pensioners living with their adult sons and daughters. There are also cases where the decision to buy into Gallawater A was taken by a group of households with kinship ties. As has been pointed out in Chapter 2, households do not exist and act in isolation but are part of larger networks.



Settlement on the farm

Residential areas

Gallawater A has been demarcated into residential, arable and grazing land. There are two areas that have been demarcated for residential sites. Residential site A is larger and more developed in terms of house structures and fencing of sites by the owners. Residential site B is closer to the farmhouse (homestead 9), and the soil is rockier. Most of the resident beneficiaries, being livestock owners, prefer site A because it is closer to the grazing lands (the mountainsides), and because it is easier to construct houses where there are fewer rocks. Informants from site B liked being closer to transport available on the Whittlesea-Seymour road. One farm resident said it was in the interests of all beneficiaries that more families should settle on site B – being close to the main farm entrance, those people would help to monitor movements onto Gallawater A.

Although there are 102 beneficiaries, 108 residential sites were demarcated on account to give households a greater choice of site since the area is very rocky. Some beneficiaries occupy more than one demarcated site because the original site they tried to build on was too rocky. All beneficiaries have been allocated sites and have taken ownership of them, suggesting that all intend at some stage to develop the land. However, houses have only been built on 23 of the sites, and a house is under construction on another. Two of the existing houses are not occupied.

Three households live on sites which are not their own. One of these households, male-headed, lives in the house of another non-resident beneficiary. The other two (one male-headed and one female-headed) live in some of the buildings which were on the farm when the Gallawater Trust took ownership of the property.

Of the 23 beneficiary households living on the farm, nine are female-headed and 14 male-headed. One of the houses is not occupied by a registered beneficiary, but by a dependant of a beneficiary.

Composition of households

Some households consist of beneficiaries with some or all of their dependants; some

of beneficiaries whose dependants remained in greater Zweledinga; and one of dependants only, with the beneficiary remaining in greater Zweledinga. Most dependants who remain in Zweledinga do so because they attend school there as there is no high school on Gallawater A or within walking distance of the farm. Most households which comprise only dependants own livestock and the dependants are adults who look after the animals. These dependants are *de facto* heads of households, acting in consultation with the registered beneficiary and head of household.

If a household is defined as being a unit of residence, consumption and production (see Chapter 2), some beneficiary households can be said to contain more than one household. There are cases where a beneficiary's household does not reside on Gallawater A, but the beneficiary's son or daughter and family live on the farm. In such cases, there may be loose ties with the 'parent' household.

Settlement patterns

At the moment the beneficiaries who have already settled on the farm are closely related to each other. This is also the case among the 102 beneficiaries in general. For example, looking at the list of 102

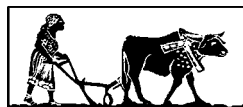


Table 1: Residence status of beneficiaries

Residents	23
Non-residents	79
Total	102

Table 2: Size of beneficiary households by sex of household head

Number of members	Female-headed	Male-headed	Total
1-3	4	5	9
4-6	3	7	10
8-9	1	2	3
12	1	0	1
Total	9	14	23

beneficiaries, there are about five who are brothers and sisters, and other beneficiaries are related in other ways. There is a tendency for those who are related to live closer to each other. Most of the female residents say living close to relatives increases the chance of harmonious relationships, and reduces the chance of fights and misunderstandings.

Settlement patterns are also influenced by acquaintance/friendship. These include people who come from the same village in broader Zweledinga, and people who have known each other for a long time. These people feel they are able to live harmoniously as neighbours. The kinship and acquaintance/friendship relations bonds which affect settlement patterns tend to be strongest between women (for example, sisters who live near to each other) but can also be seen between men and women (for example, a sister and a brother living near each other). This is especially the case between female-headed households where women made the settlement decision, but can also be seen in male-headed households where a woman was able to persuade her husband to settle near family or friends.

The settlement patterns reflect the social networks between residents of Gallawater A and facilitate the social exchanges that take place between them⁶. In practice, neighbours rely on each other for assistance for various purposes at various times, not only for the labour purposes mentioned in Chapter 2. The needs range from labour (which can be seasonal, casual, formal, skilled, unskilled, paid or unpaid, for household chores, tending fields and herding), to food, cash and other survival necessities. Also, all members of the households who are members of a particu-

lar social network can draw on these relations, irrespective of age and sex.

At the time of the research, there were more children (residents under the age of 18) on Gallawater A than adults. According to the 1996 national population census, there were 209 people living on the farm (Vetter & Goqwana 1999:12), compared to 115 today. The decrease in overall numbers, and the fact that children predominate, can be attributed to various factors, including migrant labour and the lack of employment and other livelihood opportunities on the farm common in rural areas. However, the decrease is too severe to be attributed to migrant labour; in fact, more beneficiaries have moved onto the farm and none are reported to have left the farm. The research survey questionnaire which yielded the total of 115 residents excluded absent migrant labourers, while the 1996 population counted permanent residents as well as people on the farm at the time but who cannot not be considered household members because they live elsewhere, for example, adult children of Gallawater A beneficiaries.

The majority of the children residing on the farm are grandchildren of the resident adults within the households and one or both of their parents are in the urban areas either as migrant workers or looking for jobs and better opportunities. This is consistent with national figures – for example, in October 1995, 12 per cent of children under seven years of age were not living with either of their parents (Central Statistics 1998:9).

Most members of the adult population of Gallawater A receive old age pensions. In many rural communities, most men work away from home as migrant labour-

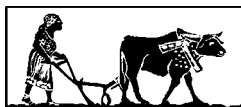


Table 3: Resident population

Residents	Females	Males	Total
Adults	27	22	49
Children	31	35	66
Total	58	57	115

ers so there are far more women. On Gallawater A, the difference in numbers between men and women is slight – 27 women and 22 men, because most of the men who were migrant labourers are now retired. There seem to be more old and sickly men (ex-railway and mine workers, some of them receiving disability grants) than women. The women here are between middle age and old age, but there are few middle-aged men. This could be due to the fact that national statistics show that women marry at a younger age than men and that they often marry men who are older than themselves (Central Statistics 1998:6).

As shown in Table 4, male-headed households are wealthier than female-headed households. Similarly, national statistics show that female-headed households in rural areas tend to be poorer than male-headed households. In rural areas, 37 per cent of female-headed households were among the poorest fifth of households compared to 23 per cent of male-headed households. In urban areas, 15 per cent of female-headed households were among the poorest fifth of the population compared to 5 per cent of male-headed households. (Central Statistics 1998:5).



Management of the farm by the trustees

The initial trustees of the Gallawater Trust comprised eight men and one woman and subsequent boards of trustees must continue to have nine members. According to the Deed of Trust:

The appointment of the initial trustees shall terminate at the first annual general meeting of beneficiaries which takes place after registration of the Trust with the Master of the Supreme Court... At the first annual general meeting, elections shall take place for a new board of trustees. At each succeeding annual general meeting, three of the trustees shall retire, being eligible for re-election, and elections shall take place for three new trustees (clause 9.5).

Although the Trust was established in 1995, elections have never been held. In other words, the initial trustees remain in office. Subsequent meetings have been infrequent and there have not been enough beneficiaries present to constitute a quorum. Some members of the Trust committee have resigned and their places taken by others through co-option by other committee members. Although co-option onto the board is allowed, the Deed of Trust clearly

Table 4: Wealth ranking by sex of household head⁷

Wealth rank	Female	Male	Total
A (poorest)	2	0	2
B	4	0	4
C	1	3	4
D	1	3	4
E	1	2	3
F	0	2	2
G (wealthiest)	0	4	4
Total	9	14	23

specifies that annual elections must be held for three positions (clause 9.5), and that only two co-options may be made before a special general meeting must be convened (clause 9.9).

There is a problem with the current trustees being responsible for the management of the farm, since only two of their number are residents – the vice-chairperson of the Trust (a man), and the only woman trustee. The chairperson attends meetings, but is not active in the daily management of the farm or in dealing with daily problems and issues which arise. At the time of the research study, the chairperson was in the process of moving to Gallawater A. The remaining six trustees are apparently in no hurry to move from greater Zweledinga where they are said to have better houses and better facilities (for example, running water and electricity).

Specialised sub-committees assist the Trust committee to manage the farm. They do most of the work in their specific area of focus, liaising with various stakeholders, before referring final decisions to the trustees. The lack of regular meetings, as well as the fact that only two trustees are resident, hampers decision-making on the farm.

Agriculture sub-committee

The agriculture sub-committee is responsible for the maintenance of agricultural resources on the farm. This includes making sure grazing camps are well maintained and that rules governing grazing practices such as rotational grazing are adhered to. The demarcation of arable fields is also the responsibility of this committee.

Water sub-committee

The water sub-committee is responsible for water supply and for collecting payments for water. The chairperson and the secretary are women, and the treasurer is also a woman. The committee is one of the most active subcommittees of the Gallawater Trust, something which can be attributed to the fact that water is one of the most heavily used resources on the farm. Domestic water supply is a subject of strong debate because people have to pay for it

and because the supply is erratic. When irrigation on the arable group fields begins, the sub-committee will be responsible for regulating this water and ensuring it is paid for.

Each household is required to pay a monthly contribution towards the salary of the pump operator as well as R20 per month to cover the electricity costs of pumping water from the Klipplaat River. Disruptions in supply are sometimes caused by technical problems such as the failure of the electrical pump, sometimes because of disputes over payment, and once because the electricity supply to the farm was shut off because the account had not been paid. At times the water sub-committee has deliberately cut off the supply to force residents to make their payments. When water is cut off, it affects everybody on the farm, defaulters and non-defaulters alike.

The rules and regulations of Gallawater A specify that piped water may not be used for irrigation purposes, particularly the irrigation of small gardens. However, when this has happened, the Trust committee, which has the power to take disciplinary action, has not intervened. Only one member of the Trust committee is active in practice, in terms of enforcing the rules.

Health sub-committee

The health sub-committee is one of the least active committees at the moment. It is tasked with seeing to the health needs of the Gallawater A residents, mainly by liaising with government and other organisations in the health sector. The sub-committee has done nothing to address the complaints of residents about the weekly clinic service on the farm.

On Fridays, a mobile clinic comes to the Gallawater A farmhouse (homestead 9 on the maps in figures 4 and 5). The majority of residents have to walk some distance to get to the clinic because they live at residential site A and no transport to the farmhouse is available. This is a problem, especially for the elderly and the sick. Urgent cases cannot be attended to because the clinic is only available once a week. It is open from 11h00 until the last patient leaves. If there are only two pa-



tients, and it takes ten minutes to attend to them, the clinic is open for only those ten minutes. Most of the time, clinic staff do not have the medication that patients need. When the Klipplaat River is full, the clinic is not held because the vehicle cannot cross the flooded bridge onto Gallawater A. Flooding of the river occurs in the rainy season when the sluices of the Waterdown Dam have to be opened.

Education sub-committee

The education sub-committee is mainly involved in the running of the local primary school. It is supposed to work closely with the governing body of the school. It seems that there is at least one member of the sub-committee who is still closely involved, particularly in the government-initiated and sponsored feeding scheme. Attempts to have a secondary school established on the farm have so far been unsuccessful.

Development sub-committee

The development sub-committee is responsible for development of, for example, infrastructure and other services on the farm. It has to liaise with relevant government departments and service providers. This sub-committee has worked closely with the Department of Public Works on the construction of a road from the Whittlesea-Seymour main road onto the farm and through to residential site A.

Planning sub-committee

The planning sub-committee was active in the early stages when it planned sites for settlement and monitored the entry onto the farm of beneficiaries, their families and their livestock. It worked closely with extension officers from Whittlesea to demarcate residential sites. Once this was done, the committee ceased to exist, and its functions of monitoring the entry of livestock and beneficiaries onto the farm were taken over by the trustees. According to the trustees, the main function of the planning sub-committee was to facilitate entry and settlement on the farm, and this has been done, although some beneficiaries are still moving in or might do so in the near future. These cases will thus be handled by the Trust committee.

In practice most of the sub-committees do not function very well because some of

their members are non-resident beneficiaries, and because they are not proactive. The negative consequences of having only 23 of the 102 beneficiaries resident on the farm (actually 22, since one of the households is occupied by the dependant of a beneficiary) have already been mentioned.

As is the case with the Trust committee, elections for membership of these sub-committees have not been held. The same people who were initially elected are still in office, with co-options for those members who are no longer available or have formally resigned. At times, the sub-committees have made temporary co-options to replace members who are not available for a period of time. Because there are a limited number of committed residents, there is a tendency for individuals to serve on more than one sub-committee.

Relationships with neighbouring farmers

There are differences of opinion about whether the invasion of white-owned commercial farms by Zweledinga residents in 1993/94 left a lasting effect on relationships between the residents of Gallawater A and the neighbouring farms. Some of the informants say that the relations are good because, since the Gallawater A people moved in, stock theft in the area has decreased. Before, thieves used Gallawater A as a way through to other farms; it is now less convenient to do so because the farm is more densely occupied. One informant said the neighbouring farmers even invite Gallawater A's residents to their weddings. Others disagree. One informant, for example, said most of the neighbouring farmers hate them so much after the invasion, they wish the Gallawater A residents would leave. Some informants said the owner of the livestock farm immediately north of Gallawater A regularly impounds livestock which stray onto his farm. To get their livestock back, Gallawater A's people have to pay a fee per stock unit, and are told to herd their livestock properly. Men, as the majority of livestock owners, have the most negative views and experiences of relationships with neighbouring farmers.



Conclusion

The way in which Gallawater A is owned and managed is unique, with positive and negative consequences. The members of the beneficiary group come from six different villages in greater Zweledinga. There were close relations between people from the same village, but many people from different villages had never met before. The common bond between the people in the group was the need for land and the conviction that the state owed them land as compensation for leaving Glen Grey. Living together, owning land together, utilising the land together, and allowing for the livelihood and personal needs and interests of the people to be accommodated, all of this poses a challenge for the individuals as well as the group.

In terms of the management of the farm, the Trust committee has the decision-making powers to do as it sees fit for the development of the farm in the interests of the beneficiaries. This decision-making excludes the rest of the beneficiary group, especially since regular elections for trustees have not been held. Women are largely excluded from decision-making at community level since there is only one woman on the nine-member Trust committee.

Effective representation of women's interests requires the physical representation of women in decision-making bodies, as well as the choice of women who will represent the specific needs and interests of women. Although women do management work through their representation in the sub-committees, they are not effectively represented in decision-making because they are not adequately represented on the Trust committee where all major decisions must be made.

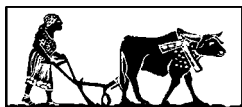
Notes

1 Transkei was the first homeland to become 'independent'. Any African who lived in the Transkei stood to lose his or her South African citizenship when the territory was declared independent.

- 2 See note 2, chapter 1.
- 3 The Chief Minister of Ciskei at the time.
- 4 Irrigation schemes were subsidised by the Ciskei government, and provided employment and agricultural products such as vegetables for local people.
- 5 Five percent of R750 000 is R37 500, but $102 \times R375$ is R38 250. The discrepancy may have to do with the cost of registering the Gallawater Trust.
- 6 There are also social networks among the resident beneficiaries of Gallawater A farm and those of broader Zweledinga, Gallawater B and Langedraai. These are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.
- 7 Three respondents performed the wealth ranking task separately. Respondents were first asked to explain to the researcher how they understood wealth. Based on their own definition or understanding of wealth, respondents were requested to rank all the resident households. The seven categories used here came from the respondents themselves. The first category consisted of households with no cash income, and the seventh category consisted of those with both income and property, in this case large numbers of livestock, and in one case, also businesses. The local understanding of wealth entails the importance of livestock ownership, and thus the more numbers of livestock one has the wealthier one is considered to be. It is argued that livestock is important given that one can easily sell off some of the livestock in times of need; thus livestock ownership is seen as an investment. The middle categories are comprised of those with smaller numbers of livestock and cash income, and also those without livestock and only relying on social pensions, depending on their proximity to the two wealth category extremes. A: mainly those without source of income and without livestock B: pensioners with few livestock (between 2-9 animals) C: pensioners with livestock



numbering between 16 and 29 animals, also one migrant labourer household with seven animals D: pensioners with livestock numbering between 23 and 64 animals, also a household with two adults receiving social pensions E: pensioners (one household with two pensioners) with between 31 and 49 animals F: pensioners (one household with two pensioners) with between 104 and 152 animals G: pensioners and a businessman, with livestock numbers between 105 and 428 animals.



Chapter Five: Livelihoods and livelihood resources on Gallawater A

Introduction

Institutional arrangements regarding access to resources affect livelihoods at the community, household and individual levels of the beneficiary group. The Deed of Trust grants beneficiaries security of tenure on Gallawater A and exclusive rights of participation, use and occupation of the property, and access to land for grazing and cultivation purposes, firewood, thatching grass, water and other assets and resources of the Trust (clauses 8.1 and 8.6). The Trust also has the right to make rules and regulations regarding the use and collection of the resources of the farm and to enforce them. Within the Gallawater A beneficiary 'community', differing interests impact on the livelihoods of the beneficiaries and on gender relations in the group. This chapter examines the resources available to the beneficiaries of the farm and how these are used to derive livelihoods.

The impact of differing interests on livelihoods

As discussed in Chapter 4, the 102 beneficiaries of Gallawater Trust were selected on a 'first come, first served' basis. Despite this relatively random criterion, the group that purchased Gallawater A farm had a number of things in common. They had all moved from Glen Grey to avoid being incorporated into the Transkei on the promise of equivalent land elsewhere, but instead had to settle in Zweekedinga, a so-called transit camp. There, conditions were

overcrowded and resources were diminishing, so they had a common interest in easing this problem. This led them to demand more land and better land-based resources from the state as they believed that the state owed them compensatory land.

Apart from the factors which the group has in common, there are a number of fundamental interests in the group which are not common to the group as a whole, but are held and shared by some members of the group. People have become beneficiaries for different reasons. Some want to use the land for farming, some for settlement, and some for investment. Even within these smaller interest groups, there are sub-groups, for example, within the group interested in farming, some are interested in crop farming, some in livestock farming, some are farming for individual benefit, and some want to farm for the benefit of the group. Some beneficiaries do not intend to settle on the farm but are using the farm for productive purposes. Some of them have been allocated arable fields, while others keep their livestock on the farm, mostly with a friend or relative. According to the rules and regulations of Gallawater A, beneficiaries may use the resources of the farm, whether they are resident or not.

Differing interests impact on livelihoods in as far as interests are in conflict or in competition with each other. For example, livestock may destroy crop gardens. Competing interests create divisions



among beneficiaries, particularly as there are no mechanisms to harmonise the different interests and needs of beneficiaries. Where interests compete, it is likely that the interests and needs of the powerful and more articulate will prevail over those of the marginalised, a category which often includes women.

Beneficiaries with farming interests

The major interest of the group as a whole at the time of purchasing Gallawater A farm was farming. However, people have different ideas about the nature and scale of envisaged farming.

Group crop farming

Initially there were plans by the beneficiary group to engage in crop farming as a group on a small-scale commercial basis. This would entail all beneficiaries using the available irrigated group fields to grow cash crops to generate a profit for the entire group. All beneficiaries would have to be responsible for providing labour and the Gallawater A trust fund would be drawn upon to cover necessary financial expenses. These expenses would include buying seeds, hiring a tractor (or even buying one), and maintaining irrigation infrastructure such as irrigation pipes and sprays. The proceeds of the sales would be deposited back into the trust fund to maintain the farm and, if possible, beneficiaries would share some of the cash income.

However, there are different ideas about how the group fields should work in terms of management and labour. Some people, the majority of whom are women, see cultivating the group fields entirely as a group venture. They believe that in terms of labour, all the beneficiaries should provide the necessary labour themselves, arrange with someone else to work on their behalf, or provide the cash to hire labourers to work in their places. Others, primarily men, who constitute a minority of the population among the residents¹ of Gallawater A farm, prefer two alternative solutions. One is to either lease the fields or engage in sharecropping with commer-

cial farmers. The other is to sub divide the arable fields into smaller plots and allocate these to individuals who will then have to give some of any profit they are able to generate to the trust fund.

The view of the first group is based on what was agreed initially by the beneficiary group. The view of the second is based on practical problems which may arise – it is not feasible for all the beneficiaries to adequately provide labour for a group venture because the majority of them do not reside on the farm.

Individual crop farming

Beneficiaries also have access to arable fields where they can engage in individual subsistence farming for their own benefit. Portions of the individual fields are allocated to individuals who can make all decisions relating to that land and are responsible for all expenses incurred in working the fields.

Livestock farming

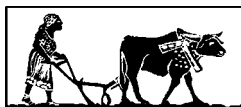
Most of the beneficiaries who have moved to Gallawater A say they decided to move to the farm because of their livestock.

They argue that there is a lot of stock theft in Zweledinga and that the grazing fields are overutilised. The majority of beneficiaries express an interest in using the farm for grazing their own livestock.

Unlike crop farming, there was never a strong intention, commitment or plan to engage in livestock farming as a group. This is in spite of the fact that the farm itself is more suitable for livestock farming and there are limited arable fields. As if to underline that the farm is more suitable for livestock farming, after concluding the purchase deal, the previous owner of the farm donated one of the bulls from his own cattle farming to the new owners.

Gendered aspects of farming activities

To say the majority of beneficiaries are inclined to engage in individual livestock farming or both group and individual crop farming, is to overlook the fact that the beneficiary group is gendered, with gendered interests. Women *beneficiaries* are in the minority, although they make up the majority of *residents*, and they tend to



own few livestock. Their preference for group crop farming is therefore not the majority interest, but is nonetheless no less significant.

Beneficiaries with settlement interests

Although most beneficiaries wanted to become part of Gallawater Trust to do farming, the main land-use interest of some is settlement, with very limited crop farming at subsistence level or less. These are mainly households which had no access to residential sites in the original Zweledinga sub-settlement, and which faced overcrowding and deteriorating conditions of land and other resources. Among those who have settled on Gallawater A, the majority of households who are mainly less engaged in livestock keeping and intensive crop farming, and are thus primarily using the land for residential purposes, are headed by elderly widowed women.

Beneficiaries with investment interests

Some beneficiaries do not intend to settle on the farm or engage in productive use of the land. In this category, there are individuals who paid the deposit more than once, to secure membership of the Gallawater Trust for their children or other relatives. This was made possible by the first come, first served method used for selecting beneficiaries. Some beneficiaries, primarily men, were part of the leadership behind the land struggle. They either became beneficiaries to support the movement of the residents of greater Zweledinga to acquire land or to invest in the farm themselves. Other beneficiaries, mostly men, are in formal employment in urban areas and bought a share in Gallawater A to add to their property and possessions. Another group of beneficiaries bought a share in the farm for their children, hoping that the children would be interested in settling on and using the farm. But most of the children are still employed in urban areas and the prospects of them taking up the farm are not good. Most of

these beneficiaries do not have the intention to settle on the farm or to use the farm productively in any other way, at least not in the short term.

The ties of Gallawater A beneficiaries to Zweledinga

The overall social and political conditions in Zweledinga discussed in Chapter 4 meant different things for different people within the 'community' eligible to buy into Gallawater A, depending on how those conditions affected the individuals' lives or were able to address their interests and needs.

It appears that there was an underlying assumption, held mainly by government officials and policymakers, including NGO officials and researchers, that the purchase of Gallawater A farm would mean that the beneficiaries would somehow relinquish their rights to Zweledinga. One of the arguments put forward in the BRC (1996) for the state to assist eligible beneficiaries to purchase Gallawater A was that it would benefit both *bona fide* eligible beneficiaries as well as other people living in Zweledinga. According to this view, beneficiaries would benefit by receiving access to the land on the farm, and those that remained in Zweledinga would benefit because land would be freed up and there would be less overcrowding. This point was used to argue that residents of villages surrounding Gallawater A, in particular Langedraai, should help in the purchase of Gallawater A.

As has been mentioned in Chapter 4, only 23 of the 102 beneficiaries of Gallawater A have established households on the farm (and one of these houses is occupied, not by a beneficiary, but by the dependant of a beneficiary). The beneficiaries of Gallawater A continue to have rights to resources in greater Zweledinga and most have decided not to move. Among the beneficiary households living on Gallawater A, most still have members of the family/household living in greater Zweledinga. Some resident beneficiaries still have houses in greater Zweledinga and have no intentions of destroying them.



Dividing a family between the two locations, or having the family living in one and maintaining a residential site in the other enables families to have two places to leave to their children, or to have one place available for the parents and another for the children.

In principle, Gallawater A's beneficiaries have access to a wide range of resources. Many have access to resources in greater Zweledinga, and access to social and natural resources on Gallawater B. Among those with access to arable fields in greater Zweledinga, not all continue to cultivate those fields, but they retain their rights to do so. As Zweledinga people, all Gallawater A beneficiaries are beneficiaries of the Oxtan Manor irrigation scheme. Of course, Gallawater A's beneficiaries have access to arable, residential and grazing land on their own farm.

Beneficiaries who have not yet moved to Gallawater A and those who do not intend to move there have dual membership rights – access to the resources of the place they currently live in, as well as access to natural and social resources on Gallawater A. Those who have asked for arable fields on Gallawater A have been allocated such fields. Those who keep their livestock on Gallawater A rely on their social links with residents to look after the animals. Close, long-term relationships exist between resident and non-resident beneficiaries, and many are closely related.

Having access to resources in both places plays an important role in whether beneficiaries decide to settle on Gallawater A or not. Most beneficiaries decided to stay in Zweledinga because they have already heavily invested there in housing, arable fields and other things. For many, moving to Gallawater A means having to start all over again. However, some of the beneficiaries use both locations, satisfying different needs in each one. The most common response of beneficiaries is to continue to reside in Zweledinga and make minimal investment on Gallawater A (that is, less expensive and less elaborate housing), while using the land there for livestock and crop farming. Zweledinga is more attractive than Gallawater A in terms

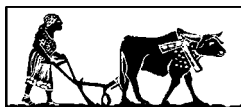
of services such as water, electricity, telephones, transport, extension services, clinics and so on. In practice, actual individual access to resources varies, depending on the capabilities of each individual to access and use these resources. Their capacity in turn depends on the economic and social abilities of individual beneficiaries.

The fact that most beneficiaries do not live on Gallawater A has positive and negative implications. On the negative side, many of these beneficiaries neglect their financial and labour responsibilities to the farm, so residents have to shoulder this burden. Non-residents also tend not to attend management meetings, so decisions are delayed or not taken at all. On the positive side, residents have more land to generate their livelihoods, as Gallawater A is apparently not able to sustain as many as 102 beneficiaries and their families (BRC 1996).

Rights of beneficiaries to Gallawater B, Langedraai and Zweledinga

As Zweledinga people, Gallawater A beneficiaries have access and user rights to Gallawater B, Langedraai and Zweledinga. These rights are invoked by Gallawater A beneficiaries whenever there is a need, although at the moment, because there is a conflict between the leaders of the two groups, they have difficulty in accessing their rights to Langedraai. In spite of this conflict, it is well understood by members of both Gallawater A and Langedraai that, as Zweledinga people, Gallawater A beneficiaries have rights on Langedraai. Residents of Gallawater B and Langedraai understand that they have rights to each other's land, in the sense that they both understand that the two places were allocated to Zweledinga people. However, in practice, these two places are treated as exclusively for the use of their residents.

Gallawater A beneficiaries have stronger rights which are often enforced on Gallawater B because they first settled there during the land invasions. Some of them still have houses on Gallawater B



which they have not demolished and do not intend to demolish in the near future – they therefore maintain their rights to residential sites there.

Gallawater A beneficiaries continue to have rights to grazing land on Gallawater B. These are only used when there are grazing problems on Gallawater A, which very seldom happens. One Gallawater A resident beneficiary moved his goats to Gallawater B because they were straying onto a neighbouring farm, where they were being impounded and he had to pay heavy fines to get them back.

Actual livelihoods: Cash income

Most of the residents on the farm rely heavily on social pensions for an income. Of the 23 resident households, 19 rely on pensions as their main source of cash income. Among the 19 households, 13 have one adult who receives a pension, five have two adults who do, and one

household has three adults who receive pensions. The widespread reliance on pensions on Gallawater A is reflected more broadly in the Eastern Cape where pensions constitute the highest source of income by household (40.3 per cent) compared to an average across six provinces of 31.3 per cent (SSA 1999:20). The government spends most of its welfare budget on old age pensions.

Pension payments can be irregular. One woman, who is the head of her household and living with her granddaughter, had her pension cut off without any notice or reason given. Her daughter, who is a migrant worker, was unable to send money at the time. A possible source of income for the woman was to offer her services as a herbalist, but she could not rely on this as people did not pay her. She had to rely on neighbours and friends for food, and had to borrow money from them. Because it was eight months before she finally received her pension money, most of the money went on repaying loans. The

Table 5: Primary sources of household cash income

	Female-headed	Male-headed	Total	Females	Males	Total
Pensions	8	11	19	15	11	26
Migrant labour	0	1	1	0	1	1
Business	0	1	1	0	1	1
Livestock sales	0	1	1	0	1	1
Other	1	0	1	1	0	1
Total	9	14	23	16	14	30



Table 6: Households relying on pensions as a primary source of income

	Female-headed households	Male-headed households	Total
One pensioner	8	5	13
Two pensioners	0	5	5
Three pensioners	0	1	1
Total	8	11	19

Table 7: Individual pensioners by sex of household head

	Female-headed households	Male-headed households	Total
Females	8	7	15
Males	0	11	11
Total	8	18	26

neighbours, friends and relatives who were helping her were suffering as their own supplies of money and food were running out and they feared she might not be able to repay the loans she had made. Her granddaughter was also traumatised by the situation as she often had to go without food and had tried to help her grandmother by trying to find food for both of them.

There are also cases on Gallawater A where people's pensions were cut off on the grounds that they were too young to qualify. They were told to reapply when they were old enough. However, some relatively younger beneficiaries receive a pension, while the pensions of relatively older people have been cut off. In one case a man's pension was terminated on grounds of age, but his wife's was not, even though he is older than her according to their identity documents.

Some of the members of the resident households are also migrant workers. However, the significance of the contribution of remittances from migrants to the livelihoods of the households is so low and intermittent that it was not considered. This is in contrast with statistics in the 1997 *Rural survey* (SSA 1999), in which the total average contribution of remittances towards household income is 21.3 per cent while the Eastern Cape's figure is 23.4 per cent, the highest of the six provinces included in the survey.

Most of the migrant workers did not visit regularly or send any remittances in cash or in kind, even though many had left children on Gallawater A with their grandparents. The few migrants who sent remittances mainly sent remittances in kind in the form of items like clothes for the children and assistance with the building of houses.

Other primary sources of income for the resident beneficiaries include businesses – one man owns a minibus taxi business.

Actual livelihoods: Crop farming

Queenstown, the district in which Gallawater A falls, is not very conducive to crop farming. Rainfall is 'spatially and temporally highly variable' and unpredictable in terms of amount and frequency, with common cases of drought (Bobo & Marsh 1999:3). Gallawater A experiences more unpredictable and variable rainfall than other areas in the district, and frost and rain are not unusual. In 1998, hailstorms on Gallawater A damaged maize and pumpkins. Fortunately the plants were very young – no maize cobs or pumpkins had emerged yet, and the damaged leaves quickly grew back. Bobo and Marsh say in areas where frost and hail occur, it is necessary to know when to expect such conditions so that planting can be timed to minimise potential damage. Crops which are less susceptible to damage by these weather conditions should be planted. The region is also dry and windy, particularly in the late winter and early spring period. According to Bobo and Marsh (1999:4), this is a delicate period, because the arable soils are bare – no planting has yet been done.

The areas on Gallawater A which are under irrigation (group fields A) have high cropping potential. They are not suitable for flood irrigation due to 'inappropriate gradients and soil type' (Bobo & Marsh 1999:6). The riverbank fields are too sandy in places and too steep in others to make flood irrigation advisable, but if landscaping were done, the situation could



be rectified. At the moment, the riverbank fields are being used by individual beneficiaries for flood-irrigated crop farming. It stands to reason that these fields give higher yields than the dry land fields which are also used for individual crop farming. Beneficiaries complain that the individual riverbank field plots are too small. Residents say the previous owner of the farm also used these fields for crop farming, mainly for growing livestock fodder. They assume he used flood irrigation.

The soils on Gallawater A are relatively conducive to crop farming, in terms of the chemical content. The soils were found to contain the necessary chemicals and nutrients for most crops, with the exception of phosphate. This would have to be added for most crops to produce good yields (Bobo & Marsh 1999:7).

According to an assessment report of Gallawater A (Antrobus and Antrobus 1991), the arable lands on the farm consist of approximately 34ha scheduled for irrigation from Waterdown Dam. Of the 34ha, 6ha are not irrigated because they are located next to the river and are therefore 'wet' due to the high water table. The remaining hectares were under dragline spray irrigation with water drawn from the Klipplaat River below Waterdown Dam from a weir feeding into a 2km gravity open earth canal. The water from the canal is kept in irrigation storage dams from where it is pumped with the use of two pump stations and approximately 33 sprays each for irrigation. According to the assessment report, the previous owner of Gallawater A farm used the irrigated lands for mixed perennial pastures of clover/fescue/ryegrass. The current residents of the farm say when they arrived to settle on the farm and during the first years of their stay, there were remnants of lucerne visible on the irrigated lands. The beneficiaries and current owners of Gallawater A farm have allocated this irrigated land for group crop farming.

Despite all the potential for irrigated crop farming on Gallawater A, there are a number of hindrances: the poor condition of the irrigation infrastructure and equip-

ment, the fact that the irrigation storage dams and the irrigation canal are leaking and need repairs, and the need for new irrigation pipes and sprays. Heavy financial investment is therefore required before the irrigation potential of the farm can be realised.

Group crop farming

There are conflicting accounts on whether the group fields have ever been cultivated by the group. Some of the informants say the fields were cultivated for one year immediately after the beneficiaries arrived on the farm, but that the crops were destroyed by livestock. Others say no group cultivation of the fields has ever taken place. The overall plan was that all beneficiaries would work the fields as a group for the benefit of the group, but there are different views on how this should be done. The main problem regarding group crop farming is that there are no clear practical plans on how the group fields are to be worked.

Most of the resident beneficiaries are very sceptical of the group venture, particularly because they have experienced a lack of commitment to the farm and the group from non-resident beneficiaries. These people are concerned that non-residents might not provide the necessary labour or contribute financially to the working of the farm. Where non-resident beneficiaries are unable to provide labour themselves, they have been offered the alternative of hiring people to do the work on their behalf, or giving the Trust committee money to hire labour. However, when this method of obtaining labour was tried for the digging of trenches for the water supply system, it failed. Because the Trust committee is failing to hold regular meetings, there is no forum where these issues can be aired at the moment.

The trustees responded to a request by a group of women beneficiaries for land for collective crop farming by allocating them a plot on the dryland fields. The group comprises ten women, nine of whom are resident on Gallawater A and one who lives in greater Zweledinga. This women's group and crop farming project is near



Table 8: Arable fields used on Gallawater A and in greater Zweledinga by sex of household head

Number of fields used	Female-headed	Male-headed	Total
1	6	5	11
2	2	6	16
3	1	2	9
4	0	1	1
Total	9	14	40

collapse. Last season the plot was cultivated but never weeded because members were engaged in other tasks. The project is a low priority for the members because nothing has been done to prevent livestock destroying the garden and because it relies entirely on rainfall. The needs of these women beneficiaries are not acknowledged or protected, threatening the livelihoods of their households.

Individual crop farming

All resident families on the farm are engaged in individual crop farming. However, there are different levels and patterns of engagement. Some beneficiaries have one plot of arable fields on Gallawater A while others have three. Some beneficiaries have plots elsewhere, particularly in greater Zweledinga, where most of the sub-settlements have irrigated arable fields. The number of fields allocated to non-resident beneficiaries could not be verified, but at least two non-resident beneficiaries have access to and actual use of arable fields on Gallawater A farm.

Unlike the group fields, informants said the individual plots are cultivated every year, especially during the rainy season (October–December). The main crop grown on the individual fields is maize followed by pumpkin, watermelon and beans. Resident farmers said the previous harvest was very good. The harvest for the current season was not as good, particularly in respect of pumpkins which are sold to the public. They said wild animals, probably baboons and hares, ate their

pumpkins at night. Different households reported different pumpkin harvests. Some said they did not harvest even a single pumpkin to sell to the public, others reported a yield of between 10 pumpkins and a bakkie load of pumpkins for sale. Maize harvests also varied from farmer to farmer, depending on when and how planting and weeding had been done, what seed had been used, and the location of individual fields.

Much of what is harvested is consumed by the households of farmers rather than sold. Most respondents said they did not consider selling any of their maize harvest as it was their staple food. It can be eaten in many forms – on and off the cob, or as maize meal. At times, there is no local market for the crops produced. For example, some farmers grow a type of pumpkin called ‘senza’ which is small, yellow-orange in colour and very sweet but, because there has been no marketing of this variety, there is no demand for it. One farmer said she grew so much senza she gave it away and even left some in the fields. Another household grew cow-peas, a variety for which there is no demand on the local market.

None of the resident beneficiary households reported selling any crops this year. Crops are grown mainly for household consumption, with some grown to feed livestock and domestic animals. Pigs and chickens are mainly fed watermelons and maize respectively. There were also cases where some of the produce was given to



relatives in need. The amount of the harvest kept for seed for the following year varied from household to household.

Crop farmers say there is a need for the Trust to buy or hire tractors and make them accessible to people farming on Gallawater A. No one owns a tractor and hiring one is very expensive, given that most residents are pensioners and that they do not get much cash income from farming.

The riverbank fields are very small and there are few plots. There is no mechanism of properly allocating these fields in such a way that all the beneficiaries, or at least those residing on the farm, benefit equally. According to the Trust committee, these fields were not formally allocated, so anyone using them is doing so illegally.

Actual livelihoods: Livestock farming

The bulk of the 904,9ha of Gallawater A is grazing land. According to the report by Antrobus & Antrobus (1991), there is 860ha of grazing land on Gallawater A, divided into camps averaging 50ha each. The grazing veld consists of bush and sour grasses in the mountain camps and sweet grass and bush in the lower camps.

Carrying capacity and actual numbers

The Antrobus and Antrobus report (1991) estimates the livestock total carrying capacity² of the farm at 100 cattle, 800 sheep and 200 goats. According to Wotshela (cited in Vetter & Goqwana 1999:11), in 1995 there were 275 cattle, 238 sheep and 340 goats on Gallawater A. In 1999, there were 180 cattle, 541 sheep and 675 goats.

By 1995 the carrying capacity had already been exceeded for cattle and goat numbers, while total numbers of sheep

were still well below the carrying capacity. However, it should be noted that the figures for 1999 are less than the actual numbers of livestock on the farm. This is because only the numbers of livestock whose owners are resident on the farm were counted, excluding livestock kept on the farm on behalf of others. It was not possible to get the exact figures of the total numbers of livestock on the farm. Residents who take care of livestock for non-beneficiaries, something which is illegal under Gallawater A rules, were understandably reluctant to supply information.

The decline in numbers of cattle on the farm between 1995 and 1999 can be explained by the fact that most of the non-resident farmers who had initially brought their livestock to Gallawater A took them back to Zweledinga. This was done to avoid having to pay a livestock levy on Gallawater A, and so that households resident in Zweledinga could have easy access to the milk of their cows during the milking season.

Some non-resident beneficiaries hire residents of Gallawater A to look after their livestock because there are better grazing lands and vegetation, the grazing land is not overcrowded, and there is less stock theft. Vetter and Goqwana (1999:6) support this viewpoint, saying that, based on the communal farming objectives of Gallawater A farmers, Gallawater A resources (veld condition, grass cover, amount and size of palatable bushes) are better than those in Zweledinga. Gallawater A also has an abundant supply of *Acacia karoo*, a plant especially valued for goat grazing. Vetter and Goqwana (1999:12) argue that, although at present the vegetation is still good enough to allow



Table 9: Livestock carrying capacity and actual numbers of livestock on Gallawater A

	Capacity	Numbers in 1995	Numbers in 1999
Cattle	100	275	180
Sheep	800	238	541
Goats	200	340	675

more animals to graze, if the same stocking rates and grazing patterns are maintained, this might not always be the case.

Most of the livestock owners argue that their livestock is doing better on Gallawater A than at Zweledinga or Gallawater B, something proven by the rate at which the animals multiply. They say that goats do better than other animals on this land. Most of the female goats give birth to two to three kids at a time, something which they say has never happened with their goats anywhere else. Most of the livestock owners on the farm argue that the land is more suitable for goats as sheep and cattle find grazing in such mountainous conditions difficult. There are thus more goats than any other type of livestock on the farm.

Livestock levies

A levy per unit of livestock was supposed to have been paid by livestock owners to the Gallawater Trust fund to try to curb overstocking. Many livestock owners moved their livestock back to Zweledinga to avoid paying the levy since they are still entitled to use resources there. This has positive and negative consequences – revenue is lost when livestock is kept on one of the other farms that beneficiaries have access to, but there are more livestock resources available for those who are willing to pay the levy on Gallawater A.

Keeping livestock for others

Payments for keeping and looking after the livestock of non-residents vary, depending on the arrangements between the owner and the minder. These range from allowing the use of milk from the goats and cows, to paying the minder at least one animal born in the herd every year. While beneficiaries are free to keep their livestock on Gallawater A whether they reside there or not, the practice of resident beneficiaries keeping livestock for non-beneficiaries is illegal under the rules of the Gallawater Trust. However, beneficiaries, especially resident beneficiaries, are well aware that this practice is widespread. Offenders may be given two warnings before being expelled from the Trust, but one respondent argues that action is not taken by

resident beneficiaries because they are wary of souring the social relations between residents – ‘*soyika ukubhekana kakubi*’.

Because the practice is illegal, it is surrounded by secrecy. This made it impossible to determine the extent of the practice, or even to develop a profile of those involved. However, all the cases I am aware of involved men. This is not surprising since men tend to keep livestock and constitute the majority of livestock owners. It is easier for livestock owners to engage in this practice because they can easily pass off all the livestock under their control as their own.

Livestock ownership

The ownership of livestock is not evenly distributed among livestock-owning households. For example, one household had about 150 goats and 221 sheep, while another had only one pig. The few households which have sheep tend to keep them in large numbers. Six of the 23 resident households own 510 sheep among them. Of this number, one household owns 221 sheep and another owns 210. There are 162 cattle on the farm.

Livestock farming is practised by both male-headed and female-headed households. Men tend to be the owners of cattle, goats and sheep, and women tend to own pigs and chickens. There are women who own cattle and goats (although no woman owns sheep), and there are men who own pigs and chickens. However, there are no women in male-headed households who own cattle or goats, except when these were acquired in the absence of the household head or male spouse. Similarly, there were no men who owned pigs and chickens in female-headed households, or in male-headed households where there is at least one adult female.

There are households, all headed by women, which are not involved in livestock keeping at all. Some have made it clear they have no interest in owning livestock. One woman said that even if she was given livestock she would not accept it because it is a heavy financial responsibility, it requires hard work, and she did not have the time.

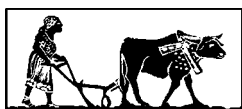


Table 10: Livestock ownership by sex of household head

	Female-headed	Male-headed	Total
Cattle	4	11	15
Goats	5	12	17
Sheep	1	8	9
Pigs	7	13	20
Poultry	7	14	21

Table 11: Livestock numbers by sex of household head

	Female-headed	Male-headed	Total
Cattle	25	155	180
Goats	31	644	675
Sheep	3	538	541
Pigs	18	55	73
Poultry	25	168	193
Total	102	1560	1662

Table 12: Livestock ownership by sex of individual owner

	Females	Males	Total
Cattle	2	13	15
Goats	5	12	17
Sheep	0	9	9
Pigs	18	2	20
Poultry	15	6	21

Table 13: Livestock numbers by individual owner

	Females	Males	Total
Cattle	8	172	180
Goats	35	640	675
Sheep	0	541	541
Pigs	71	2	73
Poultry	117	76	193

Table 14: Acquisition of livestock through purchase by sex of household head

	Female-headed	Male-headed	Total
Cattle	3	11	14
Goats	4	9	13
Sheep	1	7	8
Pigs	3	8	11
Poultry	3	6	9

**Table 15: Acquisition of livestock through inheritance by sex of household head**

	Female-headed	Male-headed	Total
Cattle	0	0	0
Goats	0	2	2
Sheep	0	1	1
Pigs	0	0	0
Poultry	0	0	0

Table 16: Acquisition of livestock through gifts/isahlulo³ by sex of household head

	Female-headed	Male-headed	Total
Cattle	1	0	1
Goats	1	1	2
Sheep	0	0	0
Pigs	3	2	5
Poultry	3	6	9

Livestock use

Keeping livestock in communal areas has been noted for its multiple purposes, such as 'meeting subsistence needs, providing draught and manure for field crops, investment for surplus funds, as a source of cash from occasional sales and creating ties of dependence, reciprocity or obligation between individuals and households within social networks' (Cousins 1992:4).

Livestock is rarely used for manure on Gallawater A. Sheep are kept mainly for wool. Cattle are primarily kept for investment, and goats are primarily kept as a source of cash in times of need. Sales are occasional, and primarily occur with smaller livestock units such as goats. According to local livestock owners, it is easier to sell goats in December when people from urban areas spend time with their families and engage in ceremonies, festivities and rituals. Using animals for draught purposes is common in some parts of the Eastern Cape, particularly the former Ciskei and Transkei (O'Neill et al 1999), but this is not the case on Gallawater A.

Although the majority of the beneficiaries are engaged in individual livestock farming, some activities take place in a group. There are clubs of women who are engaged in activities such as keeping and selling pigs as a group. Each woman in the club is a pig owner, and each gets a turn to slaughter a pig and sell the meat to the other members. The members of the club are obliged to buy the meat. Prices can range between R800 and R1 300 depend-

ing on the size of the pig and, at times, the person setting the price. Women say pigs are expensive to keep because, to fetch good prices at clubs or *stokvels*⁴, they need to be well fed on pollard bought from shops in Whittlesea.

There are also marketing groups and clubs for livestock products. Sheep owners, all of whom are men, often transport their wool together as a group. Each owner weighs his own wool prior to it being transported so that he can be paid for it.

Livelihood activities and strategies are gendered and can therefore not simply be categorised into what the majority and what the minority of the community members do. It is important to explore who, according to gender category, constitutes the majority of beneficiaries. In this case, livestock owners, especially owners of large stock units, are men. The keeping of small livestock units such as pigs and chickens tends to be associated with women.

Problems and constraints

One of the main day-to-day problems of livestock-owning beneficiaries is having to buy medicines for their animals. Because medicines are so expensive, sick animals may die. Depending on the disease and the state of the carcass, an animal which has died of a disease cannot even be eaten. Animals may be slaughtered when they are getting ill, often when they cannot move anymore. Certain diseases are contagious, affecting more than one animal in a herd, or more than one herd on the farm. The fact that there are no camps where sick animals can be isolated means diseases can spread easily.

The objective of keeping large numbers of livestock is often compromised by having to sell livestock to pay for expenses related to education (especially tertiary education), rituals and ceremonies. At times it is even necessary to sell livestock to meet the need to buy food for the household.

Some local farmers said the incidence of stock theft on farms around Gallawater A was increasing and the level of accompanying violence was getting worse. They therefore argued that they needed to arm themselves with guns and invest in expen-



sive theft-prevention measures. Stock theft is more of a problem for farmers with large herds, as these herds are often targeted.

The lack of water provision in most grazing camps is also a problem. As a result, these camps are often not used, which means the low-lying camps near the river are overutilised, especially in winter when most streams and dams are dry. Because the river runs on one side of the farm, access for livestock to its water is unfortunately through the arable fields.

Actual livelihoods: Natural resource use

There are gender differences in terms of how men and women relate to natural resources, including access, collection and use, and the way in which changes in the state and availability of the resources affect them. Deshingkar (1995:2) notes that women have a closer relationship with natural resources than men in terms of use, through the fulfilment of their tasks and responsibilities, therefore women are more adversely affected by the degradation and depletion of such resources. She further notes that, even though women have such high stakes in the state of natural resources, they often do not play a role in the management of such resources and in related programmes.

This is the case on Gallawater A farm, especially in the use and management of such resources as water. However, women are often faced with a dilemma. On the one hand they must provide for their families and they have an interest in making sure that natural resources are not degraded to the point where they will no longer be able to provide for them. On the other, being able to perform their tasks and meet their responsibilities may require using natural resources at the expense of the conservation and protection of the natural resource base. This can be seen when women sell firewood from the farm, an illegal practice according to the Gallawater A rules and regulations.

Water

Water is the most widely used natural resource on Gallawater A, given the need

for water for drinking, washing, household chores, livestock farming and crop farming. The main source of water is the Klipplaat River, which runs along one boundary of the farm. There is also a piped water system, but this is not very reliable. The activities of the water sub-committee are discussed in Chapter 4.

When water is not available from the taps, water must be fetched from the river. The majority of the residents are settled on a steep slope in residential site A, some distance from the river. This means that it is difficult for elderly women and children to fetch water.

Firewood

Residents say, compared to Zweledinga, there is an abundant supply of firewood on Gallawater A, there are more wood varieties, and people do not have to walk so far to collect it. Firewood is now so scarce in greater Zweledinga that people are using dry cow dung or are buying firewood from elsewhere.

The task of collecting firewood is often performed by adult women and children, depending on the type of wood that is needed. The wood that children collect is usually light, so it produces few coals and does not burn for long. When there is a need for wood which produces more coals, often necessary when cooking traditional beer or for use during rituals and ceremonies, adult women do the collection. However, the performance of most tasks depends on the capabilities of the available members of the household.

Most of the households on the farm use firewood for cooking and heating. They use paraffin stoves for cooking when it is not possible to cook over an open fire. Households rely so heavily on firewood because the original farmhouse is the only dwelling on the farm which has electricity.

The Gallawater Trust has rules and regulations governing the collection of wood. It is illegal to chop down trees or to collect green wood, even when collecting branches for fencing off gardens and protecting plants against livestock. There are no written rules forbidding the collection of firewood by non-resident beneficiaries, but it is seen as 'improper'. Re-



spondents knew of only one case of a non-resident beneficiary collecting firewood on the farm.

In spite of the sale of dry wood to outsiders being prohibited, some resident beneficiaries sell firewood to outsiders from neighbouring areas. Because the practice is illegal, it is done secretly, so the extent of this practice could not be easily established. Of the few cases known to informants, both men and women were involved in selling firewood. In order to buy firewood from Gallawater A, outsiders had to place an 'order' with someone on the farm who was prepared to break the rules.

As one informant pointed out, selling firewood would definitely lead to the kind of scarcity of wood which is now felt in greater Zweledinga. She said the shortage in Zweledinga was largely due to the practice of selling firewood by the truck load to outsiders. At the moment, the wood sellers on Gallawater A are not chopping down trees or collecting green wood, they are selling wood from the clearing of their arable fields, particularly from the riverbank fields. This practice might not be a serious problem, provided it is restricted to wood harvested only from clearing arable fields.

Soils

Most soils found on Gallawater A are suitable for building, especially those around the settlement areas. The local people praise their quality and durability for use in housing construction. Most of the houses on the farm are built with red clay bricks made from the local soils, and they are plastered with local soils.

Digging soil from the pit and carrying it to the construction site is usually done by men and boys using wheelbarrows. Depending on the availability of male members of the household and wheelbarrows, women may perform this task using containers which they carry on their heads.

There are no rules and regulations governing the collection and use of soil, probably because it is a freely available resource and, as such, is not prone to abuse.

Medicinal plants

According to resident herbalists and other residents, Gallawater A has an abundance of various kinds of herbs and medicinal plants, especially on the hills and mountains. This could be due to the fact that many collectors and users of these plants did not have access to the farm before the Gallawater Trust bought it.

It is often assumed that in areas where traditions are still adhered to, mostly in the rural areas, the collection of medicinal plants is only done by traditional herbalists or doctors. Recently, more ordinary people have been collecting these plants for sale (Deshingkar 1995:11). The shift towards ordinary people collecting medicinal plants is also evident on Gallawater A, but beneficiaries collect for their own personal consumption rather than for sale. In fact, there has even been a decline in the collection of plants by traditional herbalists or doctors, who now collect plants as they are needed, rather than collecting them in advance for sale. Two locally well-known herbalists, both women, are resident beneficiaries on Gallawater A.

According to local informants, there are many people who use the herbs from the farm for various purposes. The local knowledge of useful herbs is very good across generations for such ailments as stomach aches, cramps, headaches, diarrhoea, and the control of pests such as lice and ticks on humans and domestic animals. The heavy reliance of locals on medicinal plants is partly due to the limitations of the health services on the farm which are described in Chapter 4.

There are no concrete rules and regulations governing the collection and use of medicinal plants, especially by outsider non-beneficiaries. However, there is an implicit understanding that the farm and its resources are for the exclusive use of beneficiaries⁵. In spite of this understanding, no action has been taken to prevent outsiders accessing medicinal plants, for example when outside herbalists are invited onto the farm by their Gallawater A colleagues. It seems that beneficiaries do not value medicinal plants on the farm enough to protect them by rules and regulations.



Reeds

Reeds for grass mats are collected by adult women residents from the banks of the Klipplaat River. The mats that are made from these reeds are mostly sold in the Transkei. The women who make the mats say there is no market for the mats on Gallowater A because the residents are pensioners and therefore do not have the money to buy them. Furthermore, they say residents are very bad payers. However, it could be argued that residents have no reason to buy mats because the reeds are easily accessible and most adult women residents know how to make them. Outsiders collect reeds in spite of the implicit understanding that the farm's resources are only for the benefit of beneficiaries. As is the case with medicinal plants, there are no specific rules and regulations stopping outsiders from doing this.

Division of labour

Children perform most of the daily chores such as herding and fetching water and firewood. (Herding mainly involves taking livestock out of the *kraal*, leaving them in the field for the day, and putting them back in the *kraal* at night.) However, having to perform these tasks depends on the ages of the children and also on the ages and state of health of the adults in the household. In cases where the children are too young, adults do most of these tasks. Where the adults are very old, weak and sickly, children perform these tasks. Generally, girls are responsible for collecting fire-

wood and fetching water, while boys are responsible for herding livestock. This also depends on the ages of the children, and on the availability of children. There are cases where girls herd livestock, and cases where boys fetch water and collect firewood.

In households where there are no resident children, a child (usually a relation) may be asked to live in the household to assist with some of the household tasks. These arrangements may be long-term or short-term, and often involve paying the child or providing for the child's needs in terms of food, clothing and other things. Such arrangements may involve boys or girls, depending on the needs of the household.

Most of the labour required for such tasks as digging trenches and farming crops, planting and hoeing is done by the women, since most of the men are in poor health. There are more women than men living on the farm, and the women are generally more able-bodied and in good health than the men.

Conclusion

Livelihoods on Gallowater A farm are multiple and diverse, as well as gendered. This can be seen in the differential use and access of men and women to land and other natural resources. The ability of people is often hampered by the restrictive and 'authoritarian' institutional framework imposed by the management structures of the Trust. Good management practices are



Figure 6: Case study: Enforcing rules in a complex web of social relations

(The numbers refer to households as they are numbered on maps 3 and 4 of Gallowater A)

Mrs 19, Mrs 27 and Mrs 28 are sisters. All three households are male-headed. The mother of these women is Mrs 18, a widow, who lives with her son, his wife and their two children, (a daughter and a son). Mrs 20 and Mrs 21 are sisters, both are widows, and thus both are heads of their households. They are sisters to Mr 27, which means Mrs 27 is their sister-in-law.

Mrs 20 and Mrs 21 are always together during the day. They spend all day in one of their houses, one visiting the other. Throughout my field research, I have never seen them apart. They are elderly pensioners and they are not in good health, so they do not engage in heavy household tasks. Both of them have young children living

with them who help out with household tasks. One has a boy and the other has two girls, all of whom are children or grandchildren of these women. Mrs 21's son herds the six goats of his aunt (Mrs 20) together with his mother's one goat.

One of Mrs 18's resident son's daughters (he has three children) lives at household number 28, her aunt's house, helping out with the household chores. However, this is not the reason why she lives there⁶ and she still sleeps at the home of her biological family at times. She is still very much a part of her own biological family. In fact, both households counted her as a permanent resident of the household.

The rules of Gallawater A, agreed to by the beneficiaries, prohibit the sale of alcohol on the farm. The rule was made because beneficiaries felt that in greater Zweledinga, where they come from, there was excessive drunkenness. Mrs 18's resident daughter-in-law buys beer in Whittlesea which she sells illegally from her house (18). She argues that she needs to do this to generate some income because her husband only has an occasional job – managing the water supply on Gallawater A. She says he is not very well paid for the job as resident beneficiaries always complain that they do not have the money to pay him. The household is therefore dependent for cash income on the pension received by the household head (Mrs 18), and the occasional hawking in clothes that Mrs 18's daughter-in-law engages in.

Mrs 28 discovered the trade in alcohol when her son bought beer from another woman illegally selling beer on the farm. She immediately reported this to the resident member of the Trust committee, saying that she was helping to enforce the rules of the farm. However, she later admitted her action would upset her relatives because, if the Trust committee took action, the sale of liquor from the house of her mother (Mrs 18) would also have to stop.

The woman who had illegally sold beer to Mrs 28's son said she was disappointed that Mrs 28 went straight to the 'authorities'. As far as this woman was concerned, Mrs 28 should have taken the matter up by speaking to her as a relative instead.

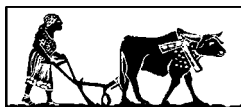


Figure 7: Case study: A look into one household on Gallawater A

Mrs 14 was born on 1 March 1928, according to her identity document. She could not remember the date of her marriage. Her husband used to work in Cradock on the railway lines. They had five children, one of whom has died, leaving her with two daughters and two sons.

As a young girl and being the first-born child, she used to do most of the chores at home, such as plastering the walls with mud and the floors with cow dung, fetching water, collecting firewood, and cooking. She used to assist in ploughing and yoking the cattle used as draught animals, and also assisted in other tasks on the arable fields such as weeding.

As a married woman, most of her tasks were in the homestead, and included cleaning, cooking, and other chores around the house. Children in the household helped out with fetching water and collecting firewood, and they also helped out in the arable fields.

Her farming skills were greatly enhanced in Mbekweni (one of the villages of greater Zweledinga). She was employed at the Oxton Manor irrigation scheme, planting, weeding and selling the produce of the scheme. Employees of the scheme were taught how to plant wheat, irrigate it, manually grind it to produce brown flour, and how to make the flour into bread. They worked hard at the scheme.

Her husband left her and she has not heard from him, and does not know about his exact whereabouts since then. He left for Vereeniging (in Gauteng province) when her oldest girl was doing grade five and her youngest child was three years old. Now all her children are adults and are married with their own families. She believes that her husband could still be alive because he would have been brought home if he were dead or sick. Some people claim to have seen him but were not specific about his whereabouts.

Since her husband disappeared, she had looked after her children by herself, initially through employment at the Oxton Manor irrigation scheme, and now as a pensioner. With her pension money she supports her youngest son and his wife, both of whom live with her. This son is not employed and she says his health is not very good. Mrs 14 pays for the wives of both of her sons, as well as her elder son, who was retrenched, to go to school. Mrs 14 also supports the two children of her elder son who live with her, including their school fees, food and clothing. She has educated her two daughters who are now teachers.

Mrs 14 owns six cattle, 16 goats, six pigs and three chickens. Her two daughters assisted her to build a cement block house, which is relatively bigger and better-looking than the other houses on the farm at present. She said after plastering it, her daughters would also help her with furnishing the house. She said the daughters occasionally also help her with groceries and, whenever they come to visit, they bring something for her.

In the wealth-ranking exercise, of the possible seven categories, Mrs 14's household was ranked in the third-highest category, the highest ranking for a female-headed household. Only male-headed households are found in the top two categories, a total of six households.

Notes

- 1 'Residents' refers to those who are residing on the farm, including beneficiaries and their dependants. It has to be noted that while men constitute the majority of the *beneficiaries* of Gallawater A, women constitute the majority of the *residents* on the farm.
- 2 Vetter and Goqwana (1999) argue that carrying capacity depends on the objectives of the farmers, and there are therefore differences in the carrying capacities for commercial farmers and non-commercial or traditional farmers. With different objectives, vegetation and other resources are viewed, desired and valued differently, which also affects the way the condition of the vegetation and of resources is perceived, in terms of degradation, also depending on the farming objectives.
- 3 A share.
- 4 Savings or investment societies to which members regularly contribute an agreed amount, receiving a lump sum payment either in turn or in times of need. When a member's turn to receive the lump sum comes around, that person is the host of the members' meeting and sells food which members are obliged to buy.
- 5 Clause 8.1 of the Deed of Trust says beneficiaries have exclusive use of participation in, and occupation of, Gallawater A.
- 6 The reasons are personal problems experienced by the biological mother, which compelled her to let the child stay there while she was still young, in an attempt to alleviate the problems. These are too personal to discuss here.



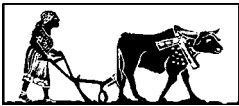
Chapter Six:

Future prospects for Gallawater A farm

There is a need to look into the future prospects of Gallawater A in terms of the sustainability of the livelihoods of beneficiaries, based on the various resources available to them, and their capabilities to utilise these resources. The findings of the cropping management and grazing management studies are also discussed.

Individual households

The sustainability of the household as a unit is highly dependent on its position within the community in terms of political and social standing. These factors affect the unit's access to resources. On Gallawater A, it is evident that social relations play an important role in accessing resources.



Loan repayments

The household as a unit needs to comply with the rules and regulations of the farm as stipulated in the Deed of Trust. 'Beneficiaries have an obligation to contribute to any financial commitments of the Trust' (clause 7.2.3), including making the loan repayments agreed to when the state assisted the Gallawater Trust to purchase the farm as described in Chapter 4. The majority of the beneficiaries rely on pensions for their cash income, and these are inadequate to meet even the basic needs of their households. It is very likely that, even though they may be willing, most beneficiaries will never be able to meet all their loan repayment obligations. Not repaying the loan will have wide implications, going beyond the household to the community, and even the state whose ability to assist other communities will be diminished.

It is not clear how many people have already fully paid their 'share' of the loan¹, and what would happen to them if the farm were repossessed. Those who have paid up their loans are all non-resident beneficiaries. This could imply that resident beneficiaries use the money at their disposal for resettlement expenses, while non-residents, who have had no such expenses, can therefore afford to keep up with their loan repayments.

Those beneficiaries who are behind in their loan repayments may lose their share of the farm if the Trust committee decides to expel them from the Trust. This would also adversely affect the other members of the beneficiary group, in the sense that they might also lose their interest in the farm if it is ever repossessed. The remaining beneficiaries would have to find replacements for any beneficiaries who are expelled, or have to shoulder additional responsibilities associated with the farm.

The state, as the loan provider, has much to lose if the loan is not repaid. Given the situation on Gallawater A, particularly the demonstrated inability of beneficiaries to make the repayments, the state will have to write off the loan or take legal action against the Trust.

At the time of writing, the group had not yet made any payments to the DLA. Rather, loan payments were being made into the Gallawater Trust fund, pending the outcome of negotiations with the DLA for access to the Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) – R16 000 per qualifying household – to write off against the loan.

Age profile and labour

Labour is a crucial livelihood resource and, to a large extent, the age of members of a household determines how much labour is available. Most of Gallawater A's household's residents are old people and children. Most other household members are lost to the household because they are engaged in migrant labour in urban areas. It is very likely that the children of most households will also go to the urban areas in search of employment and better opportunities when they are old enough to do so, creating a vicious cycle. The old people who are left behind become less and less able to perform physical work, and any children in the household are likely to be too young to perform certain physical tasks. Children who leave the household to go to the urban areas also take the knowledge and skills they acquired on the farm with them. They may never return, or they may return when they are old and less able to perform physical work.

Inheritance

Inheritance is an important aspect of the future of the household's share of Gallawater A. Who within the household will inherit, and what will he or she decide to do with the inheritance? Heirs may decide to sell their inheritance, possibly disadvantaging other members of the household and rendering them more vulnerable to livelihood disasters.

According to the beneficiaries, there are inheritance forms which they may sign to bequeath their rights as beneficiaries. Most of the beneficiaries say they will leave their share of the farm to their children. Those who have more than one child and intend to leave their rights to their children have not yet chosen which child will inherit, arguing that whoever wants it will get the share of the farm. Because benefi-

ciaries have the right to choose the person to whom they want to leave their beneficiary rights, it is possible that this will be done along traditional lines, discriminating against women in the family.

Among the children of beneficiaries, it seems there is a lack of interest in farming or inheriting the farm share. In one case, a beneficiary intended to move onto Gallawater A with his family. When he died, his children refused to move to the farm because they were not interested in it.

The community

Management structures and practices

Effective management is a crucial factor to facilitate the beneficiary community's ability to derive meaningful and sustainable livelihoods from Gallawater A. The development of the farm is at stake.

Most of the farm's problems stem from the fact that only 23 of the 102 beneficiaries have settled on the farm (actually 22, since one of the houses is occupied by the dependant of a beneficiary). There is a clear lack of commitment to the farm from non-resident beneficiaries, so important decisions are delayed or not taken at all. Because resident beneficiaries are a minority, they cannot take binding decisions about the farm. Meetings are infrequent and, when they are held, there are often not enough beneficiaries present to form a quorum.

Most decision-making is in the hands of the Trust committee but, of the nine trustees, only two are residents, neither of whom is the chairperson. This hampers effective management of the farm since most important decisions must be taken by the Trust committee. This also hampers the ability of trustees to enforce rules and regulations which have been agreed to by the group, including the prohibition on the selling of firewood and the prohibition on keeping livestock on the farm for non-beneficiaries, both of which constitute the illegal use of limited resources. In addition, the fact that members of the specialised sub-committees of the Trust are non-residents means that some sub-committees are less effective than they could be.



Gallawater A's beneficiaries have different interests, particularly in terms of land use, yet they are expected to function as one body. The fact that the beneficiaries do not live in one place defeats the idea of being one organisation. On the face of it, a trust which can administer land on behalf of beneficiaries seems to be a suitable landholding legal entity for a group which owns one piece of land, has many different interests and has difficulty meeting even once a year. However, there must be effective mechanisms to ensure the trustees act in the interests of beneficiaries. In the case of Gallawater A, the lack of annual general meetings means members have not been able to hold the Trust committee accountable or elect trustees as the Deed of Trust entitles them to do. The fact that only two trustees are residents of the farm is a problem, but members have been able to do nothing about it by, for example, electing more people onto the Trust committee who are residents on the farm. Similarly, there has been no opportunity to make the Trust committee more representative of women's interests by, for example, ensuring that there is more than one woman trustee, or ensuring that the current woman trustee is elected into a more significant post than that of secretary, or ensuring that women's needs are met.

It is often assumed as part of a management strategy that close social relations create social pressure, formal or informal, for the members to conform to group rules (Merafe 1992:199). This is not the case on Gallawater A farm where there are high levels of close relations between people, but rules continue to be broken. Practices such as the illegal keeping of livestock for non-beneficiaries persist, despite the fact that many beneficiaries know about it. Such practices need to be addressed and eradicated to protect the communal resources and thus the survival of the group as a whole.

The main problem in terms of management on Gallawater A is not the lack of management structures, but the lack of capacity. The working sub-committees responsible for issues such as agriculture,

water, health and education are supposed to work closely with the trustees in managing the farm. However, most are not effective and are, in practice, defunct. They may be 'resurrected' when the need arises, particularly when there is a need to liaise with outsiders, researchers, funders or government officials.

In effect, the structure of the Trust has given a few people power over others. Ironically, this situation is similar to the one in Zweledinga with the chief who was abusing his power to allocate land and access to common resources such as the irrigation scheme to his own benefit. A similar pattern is thus emerging on Gallawater A, with a few members of the Trust committee being more powerful than the others. Vetter and Goqwana (1999:4) say some resident beneficiaries, particularly livestock farmers, are disillusioned by the fact that the situation on Gallawater A in terms of the management of resources is not very different from the one in greater Zweledinga. They argue that they have very little control over their own resources.

Infrastructural services

Infrastructural services such as communications, power/energy, transport, water and sanitation are important aspects of livelihoods in general. These are even more crucial in rural communities which derive most of their livelihoods from agriculture, in the sense that there is a need for markets, information, employment and economic opportunities for the general well-being of the residents, and accessing of social and other services not related to agriculture (Central Statistics 1998:9).

Gallawater A farm lacks all of the abovementioned infrastructural services, with the exception of water. Beneficiaries are therefore disadvantaged in terms of economic, agricultural and general opportunities. There is therefore a need for the provision of these services to enable the farm's beneficiaries to survive and succeed.

Support services

There is a lack of the provision of support services such as extension services and the



kind of information often provided by NGOs on Gallawater A, services which can play an important role in the success of the farm and its beneficiaries.

The provision of extension services is especially important in farming communities which do not have the skills and knowledge necessary to manage and operate a farm on a commercial basis, as is the case on Gallawater A.

Extension services

Gallawater A's beneficiaries made contact with extension officers from the Whittlesea office of the Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture when they lived in Zweledinga. These officers helped beneficiaries to demarcate residential sites on the farm after they had bought it. Whittlesea extension officers are keen to continue working with local communities, but Gallawater A falls under the Queenstown office. Beneficiaries have difficulty in accessing extension services from Queenstown as it is further away than Whittlesea.

According to the Whittlesea office of the department, extension officers used to be stationed at the villages where they were working but this is no longer done because they often became unintentionally embroiled in local conflicts. Extension officers now visit the villages where they are to work and introduce themselves. They call meetings, run lectures and workshops, organise agricultural shows, and offer assistance in the villages where they work. Advice and assistance is provided in response to the needs of the local people as well as proactively, especially on technical issues.

The extension officers interviewed in Whittlesea said local people responded to the service positively, but that at times they were unable to attain their farming objectives because they were poor. Another shortcoming is that, previously, local people were not encouraged to do things for themselves. The government, particularly the Ciskei government in this case, used to provide most of what was needed for farming. This included tractors for ploughing, fencing around arable fields

and grazing camps, transport, and seeds for planting. As a result, people ask the extension officers not only for information and advice, but also to provide equipment, or at least to also show them how to acquire equipment which is government-sponsored or free.

The extension officers said, as recipients of extension services, women were more active than men. This was attributed to the fact that there are more women than men in the rural areas because men are migrant labourers in urban areas. Traditionally, women were more involved in agriculture and men in hunting. More older people were recipients of extension services than youths. However the extension officers are trying to involve more middle-aged people and the youth in their activities.

The Whittlesea extension office has experienced staff who can help the people of Gallawater A. There is also a marketing directorate, which could be helpful should Gallawater A engage in commercial farming. Group fields which can be irrigated have already been allocated for this purpose on the farm. Some members of the extension staff are still involved in providing extension services to the Oxton Manor irrigation scheme in greater Zweledinga, which operates on a slightly commercial scale.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have an important role to play in assisting rural communities to secure viable livelihoods, particularly those involved in activism and advocacy.

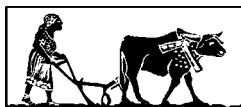
The BRC has played an important role in assisting Eastern Cape communities in their struggles for land through its activism, advocacy, networking and information provision activities. The BRC assisted Gallawater A beneficiaries from the outset with their land struggles (as Zweledinga residents) against the government. It referred them to the Legal Resources Centre in Grahamstown, which helped them with the legal aspects of their land struggles and their purchase of Gallawater



A. Even after the acquisition of the farm, the BRC continued to offer support in the form of land-use planning suggestions, and assisted them in seeking the provision of water services through the Rural Support Services, an NGO based in East London.

However, there has recently been a disagreement between the BRC and the beneficiaries. According to informants in management positions on Gallawater A, it has been alleged that some of the BRC researchers misappropriated funds intended for projects such as a chicken farm on the farm. It is further alleged that the researchers want to control what is done with the land, failing to acknowledge that the beneficiaries have the sole right to make such decisions. One of the BRC researchers says the Trust committee is being autocratic, and not democratically managing the farm on behalf of all the beneficiaries as it should. The BRC has withdrawn from working on Gallawater A.

The rift had a seriously negative effect on beneficiaries who still needed advice and assistance on settlement, as well as access to infrastructural and support services. They are struggling without the assistance of organisations such as the BRC.



Livestock farming

A grazing management study of Gallawater A found that the sustainability of the rangelands on the farm depends heavily on good management. This includes rotational grazing and resting of the camps to prevent overgrazing. Soil erosion and total depletion of resources also occur at a faster rate on overgrazed land. Once overgrazing has occurred, it is difficult and expensive to rehabilitate the land, as new invading unpalatable species may be growing.

In the study, Vetter and Goqwana (1999) investigated whether the depletion of grazing resources such as grass cover and palatable bushes that has happened at Zweledinga can possibly happen on Gallawater A. They justified the comparison of the two places by saying the biophysical environment (that is, the geology,

vegetation and rainfall) is the same in both areas. They also argue that the areas are similar in terms of population densities and stocking rates, especially if all the beneficiaries of Gallawater A farm were to move onto the farm.

By comparing the two areas, Vetter and Goqwana were consciously ignoring the use of carrying capacity estimates and other traditional measures of assessing farm potential. They argue that the traditional methods of assessing carrying capacity and grass/veld conditions are often biased against communal farming methods and often underestimate the economic value of communal rangeland, which is more than the commercial land use given its multiple uses and benefits.

Management of rangelands on the farm is very poor. Livestock are allowed to graze everywhere and there are no restrictions on individual stock holdings or livestock numbers on the farm. The agriculture sub-committee, which is responsible for managing farming resources, is clearly not functioning, in spite of the fact that its members are resident beneficiaries. The majority of resident beneficiaries and some of the non-resident beneficiaries keep livestock which they can sell when they need cash. Unless a viable strategy for grazing management is developed and management structures work effectively to implement it, the land of Gallawater A will become degraded and the livelihoods of beneficiaries will steadily be undermined.

Crop farming

Bobo & Marsh (1999) say that Gallawater A farm has one of the highest potentials for irrigated crop farming in South Africa. However, a major problem is the lack of farming equipment, coupled with the bad condition of farming infrastructure on the farm. The beneficiaries do not have equipment of their own, and they have no access to government farming equipment such as tractors, which they say are not in good working condition anyway. Beneficiaries say they cannot get help from neighbouring white-owned commercial farms, as most of these are livestock farms and

relations between Gallawater A and the few nearby crop farms are not very good.

The study also noted that the level of knowledge and skills around crop farming was very limited. This affected the level of energy and commitment towards individual crop farming activities on the farm. There is a need for Gallawater A farmers and extension officers to work closely together. Extension services have to be geared towards diverse local needs, including taking gender-specific needs into account. At the same time, local farmers need to take the initiative and articulate their needs for extension services according to their interests and objectives in farming, so that the assistance provided is relevant. Bobo and Marsh conclude that 'the level of local knowledge and understanding of crop production in general is at a very basic and low level' and that the 'community has very poor cropping knowledge, understanding and practices' (1999:10).

Bobo and Marsh's study says there is a need for fertiliser supplements for the soil, particularly around the dryland fields. The authors express surprise that, given the significant number of livestock owners among the resident population, all of whom are also engaged in crop farming, the two kinds of farming were not combined for maximum benefit. For example, livestock can be used for draught power for ploughing, and kraal manure can be used as fertiliser.

Crop farming can be maximised at little cost, an advantage especially on the drylands, given the unfavourable climatic conditions such as frost and low rainfall that characterise Gallawater A. According to Bobo and Marsh (1999:5), in order to maximise production, there is a need to 'accommodate' the risks involved in farming on the drylands by low input, the use of drought-resistant and multipurpose crops, and such practices as the harvesting and storage of runoff water, maximising runoff infiltration into the soil and soil moisture conservation practices.

Given the prevalence of drought noted in Bobo and Marsh's study, the best prospects in terms of efficient and productive

crop farming is for the beneficiaries to engage in irrigated farming. However, this involves significant financial investment in the initial stage and further long-term financial commitment for maintenance of the system. The implications of deciding to do this are that the group would have to work together to shoulder the costs.

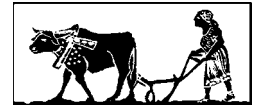
The first option is to pump water directly from the Klipplaat River to the irrigated area, using a bigger electric pump. The second is to pump water from the ley dams to the fields, which would require a smaller electric pump. Estimated costs for the first option are R111 060² and an annual operating cost of R8 900, and for the second, R92 000 and annual running costs of R5 900.

The second option is dependent on the furrow/canal functioning well. The furrow is in bad condition at the moment, and the estimated cost of this option does not include the costs of repairing it.

Both options have serious financial implications for the beneficiaries. However, there is a 'cheaper' alternative, which is flood irrigation. There would be no need to buy or maintain expensive equipment such as pumps. However, flood irrigation would require landscaping since the soils on Gallawater A are not suitable for flood irrigation. Although initial expenses and maintenance financial expenses would be lower, (an estimated R45 000 for landscaping), the benefits would also be less.

It seems that crop farmers on the farm were making rather limited use of available and less expensive resources such as kraal manure for fertilisers, and use of cattle for draught power for ploughing. Beneficiaries attributed not using animals for draught power to the fact that when they lived in Zweledinga, the former Ciskei government had provided them with tractors for ploughing. The skill of using animals to plough has therefore been lost to the group.

Given the weak financial status of most of the beneficiaries and of the Trust itself, it is clear that the costs of implementing Bobo and Marsh's recommendations cannot be borne by the beneficiaries in their individual capacities. Because the

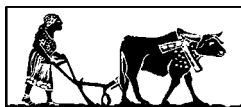


loan made by the state to the Gallawater Trust has not yet been paid off, it has no significant collateral. Also, no repayments have been made on this loan for about five years. If normal lending criteria are applied by a financial institution, it is unlikely that the group will qualify for a loan to begin irrigated farming.

In terms of day-to-day operations, the move towards commercialised farming will put even more pressure on the resident beneficiaries, unless a mechanism is put in place to address the lack of financial, physical and material (labour) commitment of the non-resident beneficiaries to the farm. A strong, properly functioning management structure is needed to enforce the group rules and sanction defaulters in this regard.

Natural resources

Land-based natural resources are in danger of being depleted for two reasons. Some resources are undervalued and therefore not protected through rules and regulations governing collection and use. Secondly, where there are rules, these are often not adhered to, and no action is taken against transgressors.



Conclusion

There is an urgent need for Gallawater A beneficiaries to consciously think of their future if they are to survive. The most urgent issue to be considered is the management of the farm. The management has to start working effectively, elected committee members and other working structures have to perform, and non-performing structures and members have to be replaced. At the moment, beneficiaries can still survive as individuals even though the group is not functioning well, but this situation will not go on indefinitely. The situation must be remedied before it gets out of hand.

It is clear that there is a need to match land to the needs and capacities of prospective beneficiaries, not the other way round. Considering immediate and short-term costs such as the purchase price of land is insufficient. There is also a need to

consider ongoing and long-term costs, especially when the land has equipment and infrastructure on it which needs constant maintenance.

Notes

- 1 Even though financial records are being kept, it is often not easy to get the records. However, those who have paid up have receipts.
- 2 Excluding value-added tax.

Chapter Seven:

Conclusions and recommendations

Even though the case of Gallawater A farm originated prior to the land reform policy of 1994 and the White Paper on South African Land Policy (DLA, 1997), valuable lessons can be learnt from its successes and failures in order to shape future land redistribution processes and policy.

The gendered nature of communities must be acknowledged in policy

The needs and interests of the beneficiaries of a communal land-owning entity such as the Gallawater Trust are different, and one of the factors that shapes these differences is gender. Communities are gendered, with specific gender needs and interests. This stems from the basic fact that communities are constituted of men and women, and that men and women have differential access to resources. However, gender is not the only factor that characterises communities, nor are gender interests the only interests. There are various interests even within gender categories. If land reform aims to attain gender equity as stated in the White Paper, then there has to be an express acknowledgement of the gendered nature of communities, and the existence of gendered needs (among others) within communities. Gendered institutional frameworks that shape access to and control over resources result in gendered access to resources and therefore gendered livelihoods.

Access is not enough

Although giving women priority access to land is an attempt to realise gender equity in land reform, the Gallawater A case study shows many problems are likely to be

encountered. Having *access* to land does not necessarily mean that rural women will be able to *use* it to effectively improve their livelihoods. Local practices obstruct the implementation of the policy at household and at community level. Factors which influence women's access to land include the institutional frameworks that shape their access to economic power, skills and knowledge, information, and decision-making powers and structures. Women do not have the money to join purchasing groups. Also, they usually do not often have power within the household to make decisions on land acquisitions and land use.



Communities have differing and sometimes conflicting interests

Different interests motivated the decisions of individual beneficiaries to join the group that purchased Gallawater A. For some, Gallawater A provided an option to finally have a residential place of their own. Others saw a way of realising their goals of being individual farmers of crops or livestock or both. There were members who wanted to farm crops on some of the land as a group for the benefit of the group. Still others bought a share in the farm as a form of investment for themselves or their children.

These differing interests regarding the intended use of the land on Gallawater A

are often in competition with one another. For example, there are often conflicts over land use for cropping and grazing. These conflicts are not dealt with openly; rather, they are effectively resolved and addressed through the existing unequal power relations between people. The interests of those who are more powerful often prevail over those who are less powerful (often women). For example, a women's gardening group repeatedly complained about livestock destroying their garden. The trustees, who are responsible for organising members' meetings and tabling issues for discussion (most of whom are male livestock owners) said the issue should be dealt with through the proper channels. The issue was never addressed in a public members' meeting so nothing was ever done to protect the interests of the women's gardening group.

Gender plays an important role in communities. However, the aim here is not to argue that all women are the same, with the same gender needs, or that all men are the same, with the same gender needs. There are differences among women and among men coming from the different backgrounds and experiences which shape their needs and interests. Gendered patterns in livelihood activities can clearly be seen in the Gallawater A farm case study. For example, women tended to focus on the immediate survival needs of the household, while men focused on cash-earning enterprises and on longer-term plans and strategies. Land reform policies need to consider these different needs.

Legal entities must function properly

The Gallawater Trust was established to hold the farm and to manage and administer its natural resources for the benefit of the beneficiary group. It is supposed to do this through the Trust committee and specialised working sub-committees, but these bodies do not function as they should. The Trust committee itself has not been constituted according to the Deed of Trust. Annual general meetings are not held regularly which means that the formal

forum through which trustees should be held accountable is not available to beneficiaries. At these meetings, three of the trustees should offer themselves up for re-election or replacement. The Deed of Trust provides this key opportunity for beneficiaries to elect better representatives (especially residents who arguably have a more direct interest in how the farm is managed), but it is not honoured in practice. The trustees clearly have more power than ordinary members and the decisions they make (or do not make) critically impact on the livelihoods of members.

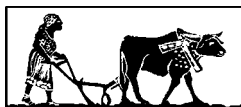
Multiple membership means little commitment

The fact that Gallawater A beneficiaries retain their membership of the Zweledinga community complicates the situation because they have access to the resources of both communities. They can elect to stay in Zweledinga, while continuing to benefit from Gallawater A without making any sacrifices or commitments to contributing to either farm. Whatever they cannot easily get from one place, they can get from the other.

Weak management of resources must be taken in hand

The major problem facing Gallawater A in this regard is that only 22 of the 102 registered beneficiaries are actually resident on the land and that non-residents show no commitment to the farm. The fact that residents are such a small minority means they have very little power to ensure that important decisions are taken in good time. Meetings of beneficiaries are very seldom held and, when they are, because most non-residents do not have enough interest to attend, a quorum cannot be mustered so decisions are delayed or not taken at all.

Most decisions are in the hands of the Trust committee, but only two trustees of the total of nine are resident on the farm, neither of whom is the chairperson. The vice-chairperson of the Trust committee, who is resident on the farm, is the *de facto* sole decision-maker and manager of the



Trust, especially with regard to the day-to-day running and management of the farm. Many specialised sub-committee members are not residents and, as a result, several sub-committees are moribund. The sub-committees are expected to work on their areas of specialisation and to advise the trustees. In practice, the Trust committee often ignores what the sub-committees have to say.

Another major issue which requires urgent attention is the illegal use of farm resources by non-beneficiaries in collaboration with resident beneficiaries. The Trust committee has failed to act and the delicate web of social relations makes it difficult for beneficiaries to take on other beneficiaries alone. Some of the non-resident Trust committee and working sub-committee members are involved in such practices, which of course makes the issue even more difficult to tackle, especially in the absence of regular members' meetings.

There is too much movement of live-stock between Gallawater A and broader Zweledinga, putting undue pressure on the grazing resources of Gallawater A. Because the stock is moved, it is difficult to track and address the problem of the illegal use of grazing resources.

Unequal power relations need to be addressed

At all three levels of decision-making on Gallawater A farm (the Trust committee, sub-committees and community meetings) there are gender imbalances. The Trust committee is dominated by men (only one woman serves as a trustee), although the various sub-committees of the Trust comprise men and women. Because there are few able-bodied and committed individuals available on Gallawater A, the same individuals often serve on more than one sub-committee. Active members of sub-committees are often co-opted onto other sub-committees temporarily to cover for non-resident members.

Community meetings are rather poorly attended – usually only the chairperson of the Trust committee who resides in greater Zweledinga and most resident beneficiaries

are present. Participation in the community meetings is dominated by a few individuals, most of them men. Women tend to be passive participants and rarely contribute to the issues and debates on the agenda. The few women who participate actively are frequently members of the sub-committees. One of the most active women participants is the only woman trustee and is also the chairperson of one of the sub-committees. Even among the men, certain men tend to dominate, most notably the chairperson and the vice-chairperson.

Barriers to effective participation include 'culture', history, and personal experience – women who actively participate are often verbally dismissed by both men and women as being destructive and not being aware of the real issues. This pattern has been evident in the history of the Gallawater A beneficiaries from the beginning. Women were never prominent or active in the formal decision-making structures in Glen Grey, in Zweledinga, or the formation and functioning of the Zweledinga Residents' Association. Certain men have been dominant and at the forefront throughout the history of the group.

The effective and structural exclusion of women and the majority of the beneficiaries from formal decision-making processes affects the livelihoods of their households and the community as a whole. Effective and active participation in decision-making structures and processes is essential to improve rural livelihoods.

This study raises fundamental issues around group ownership and communal tenure on land and other resources. These issues include the complexities of 'communities' – the group of beneficiaries in this case – and how power is exercised within them through the legal entity the group has chosen.

Gendered access to land and other resources must be addressed

Land reform projects are aimed at redressing past injustices and ensuring gender equity by targeting, among others, women. However, there are other resources that are



necessary in enabling people to utilise land as a resource, including access to credit, information and skills. Access to these resources is gendered because the access of women is more limited than that of men. Female-headed households on Gallawater A farm are poorer than their male counterparts. Within households, women members are poorer than male members. Women own few assets which are considered to contribute to wealth, such as property, primarily livestock. Given that women on Gallawater A farm are not well represented on the Trust committee (there is only one woman and she is the secretary of the committee) and that they often do not attend community meetings due to other responsibilities, they also have limited access to information. The less they are able to effectively participate in community decision-making processes, the less powerful they are in advancing their own interests.

Access to land was more or less equal for women and men, in so far as the method of choosing Gallawater A beneficiaries was simply the first 102 adults who could pay the R375 deposit. However, given the fact that women are poorer than men and that female-headed households are poorer than male-headed households, women were disadvantaged from the beginning. The access of women to land on the farm is further limited by the prevailing land-use and management patterns on the farm, which are biased towards men and male-oriented activities such as livestock keeping.

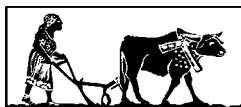
Most of the Gallawater A women used to be employed at the Oxton Manor irrigation scheme in greater Zweledinga, and they worked the fields allocated to their households. Most of the men used to be migrant workers on the mines, primarily in Gauteng province. The majority of women therefore have more experience in crop farming than men, yet they have limited access to enabling factors in crop farming such as extension services, farming equipment and infrastructure, as well as credit. This pattern can also be seen elsewhere in the country (Deshingkar 1995; Mini 1994).

In terms of livelihood strategies, land is not the main contributor to livelihood *cash* resources in South Africa generally and in the Eastern Cape in particular. It is surpassed by pensions followed by remittances from migrant workers. This seems to be the trend in most parts of rural South Africa, where levels of unemployment are high. Therefore, there is a need for land reform to be complemented by other ventures such as job creation or facilities that would enhance livelihoods. Commercial farming is very expensive. Even if beneficiaries wanted to opt for a dominantly agriculturally-based livelihood strategy, being poor means they are unlikely to be able to do so. Access to credit is an issue here – the majority of beneficiaries of land reform projects are poor and therefore have no collateral to offer a lending institution.

Differentiated and gendered livelihood activities need to be taken into account

The differential and gendered patterns of access to resources inevitably results in, among other things, gendered livelihood activities. The group activities practised by men tend to be centred around livestock farming, such as sheep shearing and group marketing of wool. The group activities of women on Gallawater A tend to be the selling of pork within marketing clubs and a limited amount of group crop farming. Women tend to draw on their social networks to enhance their access to livelihood resources, such as cash, food (meat) and labour. However, these social networks are drawn upon for resources that are 'traditionally' seen as women's resources. For example, the social networks of women are not drawn upon to enhance access to sheep-shearing skills or to livestock-keeping information. In other words, social networks are also based along gender lines. Men rely less heavily on social networks than women do.

Livelihood strategies on Gallawater A farm are both multiple and diverse, with a heavy reliance on pensions as a source of



cash income, and heavy reliance on land for non-cash livelihood needs.

Farming provides a small proportion of cash income, which is neither regular nor a primary source of cash income, with the occasional sale of farm products such as pork, wool, pumpkins, and live animals. Yet farming constitutes a significant part of livelihoods as there are various and multiple uses and benefits derived from farming.

Livestock and crop farming constitute the main land-use activities; however this is almost entirely on an individual and small-scale basis. Crop farming is practised by all resident beneficiaries on a 'subsistence' (self-provisioning) scale. However, there are more arable fields 'allocated' and used by male-headed households than by female-headed households, and women tend to lean more towards group farming than men do.

With regard to livestock farming, women are more inclined towards activities and strategies that are geared towards the daily survival of the household while men are inclined to engage in activities and strategies that ensure long-term livelihoods.

This can be seen in the fact that women tend to own small animals while men own large livestock. Smaller animals are easily bought and sold and can be slaughtered to feed the family in times of need, while larger animals are more of an investment over a period of time.

The farming trends and patterns are also issues that need to be taken into consideration in policy formulation, as, for instance, policies that target particular farming patterns may be discriminating against some members of the group/community along gender lines.

Besides farming, there are also other multiple and intense uses for the land and its resources, which include the use of the natural resources such as medicinal plants, soils, firewood, grasses/reeds and others for both non-cash and cash livelihoods. The multiple and diverse livelihood strategies employed by people should be taken

into account in the way policy-makers view poverty.

The gender bias of poverty must be taken on

The gendered access to resources further perpetuates the gendered bias of poverty. This deeply influences the livelihood strategies of men and women as individuals within households, and as heads of households. The limited access of women to resources limits their opportunities to make a living and for their livelihoods to be sustainable. There is a need for policies to address access to resources (its nature and the processes involved). Because poverty has a gender bias, targeting the 'poor' as an ungendered group will exacerbate the more severe poverty that women experience.

Has Gallawater A been a successful land reform project?

It could be argued that there has been a positive change in the lives of beneficiaries of Gallawater A. Their needs and interests at some levels have been met. For example, those who needed land for settlement have actually settled on the farm. The fact that only 22 of the 102 beneficiaries actually have settled on the farm should not be used to measure the success of Gallawater A farm as a land reform project because the beneficiaries had different intentions regarding land use from the start. For most beneficiaries, their primary need was not settlement. All were able to relocate to Gallawater A if they wanted to, but most beneficiaries chose to remain in greater Zweledinga. Despite the difficulties that this creates with regard to management as discussed above, this could be a good thing because, given the resource limits of the farm, it would not be sustainable to settle all 102 beneficiaries and their dependants on Gallawater A.

Most of the beneficiaries intended to use the land for farming purposes. All the settled beneficiaries are engaged in crop farming on an individual basis and a majority are engaged in livestock farming. Some beneficiaries who are not resident on



Gallowater A are using the farm for farming purposes. However, Vetter and Goqwana (1999:33) point out 'there are several farmers who feel they are not benefiting from their investment in Gallowater A, and some even feel they would have been better off in Zweledinga'.

In as far as obtaining land as compensation for having moved from Glen Grey is concerned, being able to purchase Gallowater A farm was a success for its beneficiaries. However, not all the people who left Glen Grey have benefited, given that only 102 members of the greater Zweledinga community and their families could be accommodated in the Gallowater A scheme. However, those who assisted the Zweledinga Residents' Association to purchase Gallowater A farm say that this was the only option available to the community at the time. The position of the people of greater Zweledinga who are not beneficiaries of the project has not changed. There are almost as many people on the land as there were before and the pressure on resources is as bad because the people of Gallowater A retain access to the resources of Zweledinga.



The individual beneficiaries whose lives have improved are most likely to be those who use their dual membership of Gallowater A and Zweledinga. Non-resident beneficiaries with access to arable and residential land in Zweledinga who are also active crop and livestock farmers on Gallowater A have benefited most. This category of beneficiaries excludes the poor and women are poorer than men. Those beneficiaries who are more likely to be worse off are those who had no access to arable and residential land in Zweledinga, who had to bear the costs of relocation and resettlement on Gallowater A, and who have access to limited livelihood resources, given that there are fewer cropping resources and facilities on Gallowater A.

Comparing the two areas in terms of land-based resources, Gallowater A has better grazing resources while Zweledinga has better cropping resources. However, one has to note here that not all Gallowater

A beneficiaries had access to arable land in Zweledinga, and that not all the sub-settlements of Zweledinga have relatively better (irrigated and fenced off) arable fields. Zweledinga is much more established and has better services than Gallowater A, which has hardly any services.

As this study points out, Gallowater A beneficiaries have diversified livelihoods. However, the fact that they bought commercial farmland means they can probably only survive on commercial terms. For example, the beneficiaries must pay for rights to use water from the Waterdown Dam for irrigation purposes, even though they do not have the equipment to use these rights. There is a continuous stream of expenses on the farm which exceed the benefits to people of having their own land. In fact the land is a liability. To get out of this situation, beneficiaries will either have to give up the farm or engage in commercial irrigated crop farming. Commercial farming will be expensive, in terms of financial obligations, and the need for skills, training and labour. Given the fact that the population is characterised by elderly people who are pensioners, and who have limited experience or training in the management of large-scale commercial farming, serious difficulties face this option.

Commercial farming requires growing 'saleable' crops, that is, what is in demand and therefore marketable, not necessarily what people need for their own subsistence. Ngqaleni and Makhura (1996) say that one of the hazards of the commercialisation/commoditisation of agriculture is that farmers may have to sell even the surplus they need for their own survival in order to meet cash needs. Gallowater A beneficiaries are likely to face enormous financial expenses if they were to engage in commercial farming, particularly in the initial stages of establishing and repairing the irrigation infrastructure – furrows, pipes and sprays and dams. A positive aspect is that some of the beneficiaries have experience of the Oxtan Manor irrigation scheme, but it seems unlikely

that the group will be able to raise the finance it would need to take on commercial farming.

Recommendations

The existing gender inequality on Gallawater A needs to be addressed effectively. Even though the aim of achieving gender equity in land reform has been expressed, there is a lack of commitment from government. This stems primarily from the lack of a deeper understanding of the complexities of the issues, some of which are addressed in this report.

Monitoring of group ownership systems

This study shows some of the problems which arise when a group of people holds or owns land together. Groups are comprised of individuals with different interests and needs, which may compete with each other. Those who can exert more power in the situation are more likely to get what they want at the expense of others. There is a clear need to monitor group land ownership systems to ensure that the underlying principle of equity is advanced.

After land has been handed over to communities or groups, there is a need to monitor how the group functions over an extended period. This should include monitoring of decision-making structures and processes to ensure that the needs of all the members of the group are represented and addressed. Institutional frameworks within the group or community shaping access to resources by all the members also have to be monitored to ensure that they are fair.

The DLA could be given the responsibility of 'seeing the projects through' over an extended period, but capacity, financial and human resources are an undeniable constraint. Another possibility could be to allocate this responsibility to NGOs such as the BRC which have extensive experience of working with communities on land and related issues. High levels of activism in such organisations can assist communities to grapple with difficult issues. However, because NGOs are dependent on funding, which in most cases is project-

specific, this hampers their ability to work with communities over an extended period.

Comprehensive evaluation of 'projects'

Evaluation of projects needs to be more comprehensive in terms of assessing the successes and failures of the projects according to the standards of individuals and groups. There is a clear need for government departments to evaluate the successes and failures of 'projects' in terms of the inputs they have made. However, to ensure the sustainability of these projects, it is essential that assessment also takes into consideration the needs of the beneficiaries over the longer term, including indicators which monitor gender discrimination.

Provision of support services

This study indicates that access to land alone is not sufficient to ensure a proper livelihood. Other factors which are important include the size of arable land and assistance with agricultural activities.

There is an acute lack of support services in rural areas. Water, roads, electricity and general infrastructure are necessary for people to improve their ability to utilise land-based resources for their livelihoods. Other critical support services include the provision of information, skills and training, as well as extension services which are targeted at women as well as men.

Community capacity-building

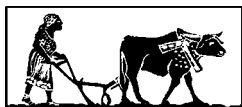
There is a need for information and training services for beneficiaries, backed up by a well-managed resource allocation strategy. All members of the beneficiary group should be targeted, management structures and ordinary members alike. This will provide those responsible for the management of group resources with the capacity to perform their duties, and enable ordinary members to know their rights and the procedures for allocating and protecting resources on the farm. In this way, the group would be able to monitor itself. There is also a need to create awareness of gender inequality and how to improve the situation.



The role of NGOs and others

As discussed in Chapter 6, NGOs play an important role in assisting communities to go through various processes which are essential in their livelihoods, including gaining access to land and other resources. There is therefore a need to acknowledge and to continue to draw on the contribu-

tion which they can make. There is potential for partnerships between communities, state departments and NGOs, working together towards the sustainable livelihoods of beneficiaries. However, creative ways will have to be found to deal with differences between the parties when these arise.



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