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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANFAA	African Native Farmer Association of Africa
CBEP	Community Based Educational Programme
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CPA	Communal Property Association
CPT	Communal Property Trust
CRDP	Comprehensive Rural Development Programme
DAWN	Development Alternatives of Women in New Era
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DK	Daggakraal
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DOA	Department of Agriculture
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
ESTA	Extension of Tenure Security Act
IDP	Integrated Development Programme
GAD	Gender And Development
GAF	Gender Analysis Framework
GAP	Gender Activity Profile
GRM	Gender Resource Mapping
GEAR	Growth, Employment And Redistribution
LRAD	Land Redistribution and Agricultural Development
LTA	Labour Tenant Act
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PAR	Participatory Research

PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
PWAL	Promotion of Women's Access to Land
SAAU	South African Agricultural Union
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SLAG	Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant
TRAC	Transvaal Rural Action Committee
TPA	Transvaal Provincial Administration
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations
WAD	Women And Development
WB	World Bank
WID	Women In Development

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Land reform, by making changes to land tenure systems and providing for land redistribution, has been a burning issue for a long time. This has been the case for those countries where conditions necessitated, and gave rise to, demands for land reform. This is because land constitutes the primary source of livelihood. A main aim of land reform worldwide has been to raise income levels of the poor in the countryside. Adal (2006:28) argues that women in Ethiopia were happy about land reform and were relieved that they no longer had to worry about food security. A review of case studies on landlessness documented by scholars, such as Milton Esman of Cornell University published between 1975 and 1979 covering India, Guatemala, El Salvador, Bangladesh, Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Colombia and Bolivia, indicated the magnitude of landlessness in those countries and the need for land reform to quell peasant discontent and rebellion (King 1977:25). Although Africa was not covered as a result of poor quality data, it is believed that landlessness in Africa is still a problem (King 1977:28).

Efforts at land reform in a number of countries have yielded both successes and failures. Some countries, such as Japan, have implemented radical reforms that enabled subsequent development (Coralie 1998:13). In China,

Cuba and North Korea, land reforms were a result of peasant mobilisations and are regarded as success stories (Jacobs 1997:25; Jacobs 2002). These reforms have been wide-ranging, aiming at overall social transformation. In some countries, such as Mexico, a large percentage of the land was parcelled out to the landless, but this reform was not a success in the sense that there was no supportive policy environment in the reformed sector (Montgomery 1984; Thiesenhusen 1995). The Mexican case is especially instructive for South Africa in that, like Mexico, South Africa has a fragile resource base that has been used until recently as an economic and political resource.

1.2 THE LAND QUESTION IN AFRICA

In the 1980s, land redistribution on the African continent was effected through a state-controlled model of expropriation and free provision (Lund, Odgaard & Sjaastad 1996). The inadequacies of this model led to the emergence of a market-led approach and a growing emphasis on market liberalisation (Lund et al 1996). The market-led approach makes a number of assumptions, among which are the ability of markets to facilitate the transfer of land from less to more frequent users; the conversion of landed capital into other forms of capital; the mobilisation of credit through the use of land as collateral; and the consolidation of fragmented land holdings (Lund et al 1996:17-18).

During this period, the concern of the World Bank and other bilateral institutions was with land distribution in the countryside and no attempt whatsoever was made to deal with the gender dimensions of land reform

(Fortin 2005:28). The failure to address the gender dimensions is discussed in detail in the literature in Chapter Two.

1.3 BACKGROUND TO SOUTH AFRICA'S LAND ISSUES

The political and economic pressures for land reform grew out of South Africa's history of colonial dispossession in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the racial pattern of land ownership that successive white minority governments enforced after 1910 (Wolpe 1972; Wolpe 1980; Walker 2003). According to Wolpe (1972), internal colonialism in South Africa meant that the ruling class used its political and economic power, during this period, to convert black people into a working class so that they could provide constant and cheap labour power for the growing capitalist economy. As a result of the Native Land Act of 1913, a mere 13% of the land in the country was reserved for use by the African majority (Mbeki 1984; Ntsebeza 2007). This Act and its ramifications, as well as other policies and Acts enacted after 1994, notably the White Paper on South African Land Reform Policy (1997), are further discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

1.4 WOMEN AND LAND RIGHTS

The problem of landlessness is particularly critical for an increasing number of female-headed rural households. In Latin America, women provide a major portion of family labour and yet they still continue to be bypassed by agricultural programmes (Deere 1987:38). The situation is no different in sub-

Saharan Africa, in that land issues still remain unresolved and are potentially explosive in most parts (Okoth-Ogendo 1993; Davison 1988). There has not been an enabling environment for experimentation with radical land reforms.

Women's rights have evolved as a result of historical processes in various cultural settings. These rights are also tied to inheritance and marriage laws. Women derive rights of access to land by virtue of their relationship to men. In sub-Saharan Africa, customary laws coexist with statutory systems, which interact in many ways to confer or deny women rights over land (Davison 1988:87). In southern Africa and some parts of East Africa, land problems have been accentuated by dualism where a developed commercial sector resides side-by-side with a subsistence sector. This state of affairs is more pronounced in Namibia, Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa where land consolidation in the hands of large land owners is more extreme than anywhere in Africa. In fact, Kenyan reform, which was among the first in sub-Saharan Africa, is sometimes referred to as a capitalist reform in that it rewarded a few male African elite and their European counterparts, while a majority of the population remained landless (Bruce 1988). The Kenyan system of freehold reform, which was imposed from above without regard for local custom and a way of life, has had a dramatic effect on the Maasai nomadic pastoralists (Bruce 1988:25). They often came back to their former lands as squatters. It was not surprising that countries with a more or less similar history of settler colonialism, such as Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, would implement land reform measures of some sort, especially at independence.

An important first step in land reform is said to be the implementation of law reform to enable the poor to access land. However, studies indicate that while law reform is the first necessary step to give women rights to land in order to promote gender equity in land and property rights, it is not enough (Tshuma 1997:75). Legal reform needs to be supported by an efficient law enforcement system, as well as legal rights awareness campaigns, to promote attitudinal change among women and men (Tshuma 1997; Rugege 2009). In a comparative study of Zimbabwe, Jacobs (1992:27) argued that although many legal changes had been enacted, these had not been accompanied by changes in legal practice and enforcement of laws concerning marriage, divorce and inheritance. Some countries have made some strides in the direction of giving women rights of access and control of land, and this is more so for countries with a matrilineal kinship system, such as Malawi (Davison 1988). The Malawi Wills and Inheritance Act of 1967, allows a wife and her daughters to be heirs to her deceased husband's estate (Davison 1988:112).

1.5 PROBLEM STATEMENT

In South Africa, white Afrikaner land consolidation was institutionalised by the Land Act of 1913 which prohibited black land owners from acquiring land, except in the reserves (Rugege 2009:235). In 1995, the new government implemented measures aimed at redressing the land inequality in the country (Hall 2007; Lahiff 2007). A land reform policy that would attempt to alter the

distribution of land while maintaining productivity was put in place. A number of laws were also enacted so as to speed up the process of reform. A number of pilot programmes were implemented in the nine provinces and the aim was to provide an experimental approach from which lessons could be learnt for a much wider programme (Cliffe 2000:3). Land reform had three legs, namely redistribution, tenure reform and restitution. The primary aim was to redress the gross imbalance in land holding, while maintaining productivity. It is against this background that this study was undertaken.

A review of the *White Paper on South African Land Policy* (South Africa 1997a), discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, reveals that the main objectives of land reform in South Africa are *productivity* and *equity*. The guiding principles for land reform include a poverty focus and also give priority to marginalised groups (women, evicted labour tenants and farm workers). It also includes a *gender equity* focus which aims at bringing about equitable opportunities for men and women (South Africa 1997a:1-2). Gender issues are spelt out in the statements of vision and objectives of land policy, while the concept of gender is mentioned in relation to land redistribution and tenure reform only, although land reform in South Africa also includes restitution (Walker 2003:113). Most importantly, the land policy does not deal with the main issue for women's land rights and this is that women's existing access to land in most of rural South Africa is mediated through their relationships with men within traditional and other land allocation systems (Cliffe 2000; Walker 2003:115). From the discussion above, the following problem can be deduced:

While the policy document does mention the question of access to land for the poor, it is silent on the question of control of land. It makes too many assumptions about rural social relations. It does not take into account the contested nature of land and the fact that gender equity is dependent on other aspects, such as social, political, cultural and economic structures. Firstly, land redistribution focuses on the household as the unit of the benefits of land reform without taking into account the power dynamics within this unit in the countryside. Secondly, although tenure reform in South Africa has provided an opportunity for new forms of new ownership, such as Community Property Associations (CPA) and Community Property Trusts (CPT) in the rural areas, as this study shows, it cannot be concluded that there will be equal representation of all interests in these entities. For this reason, the study seeks to discern the forms that land tenures have taken in the land reform programme and the gender implications of the chosen forms of tenure. Land tenure reform is as important as land redistribution, in that it answers questions of access to, and control of, land, especially for the poorest of the poor.

The challenge for this research was to find answers to the following research questions:

- To what extent is land reform practice informed by land reform policy?
- Do land reform policies, systems and procedures take gender seriously?

- To what extent were gender concerns incorporated in the design and implementation of the project?
- Was participation by beneficiaries truly participatory, and not merely used as a means of legitimating the policy and project development?
- To what extent has land reform in South Africa achieved equity in the context of a negotiated, market-led reform and a neo-liberal economic agenda?
- What are the constraints to land reform at both the micro- and macro-levels?

1.6 THEORETICAL BASE

Of the perspectives/approaches to be reviewed in detail in Chapter Two, it is the Feminist and Gender and Development Approach that has influenced this study in that it places gender centrally in development. For this reason, it is the theoretical framework of this study. This approach arose as a result of weaknesses and inadequacies of an earlier approach, the Women in Development (WID) approach. The latter approach draws heavily from the pioneering work of Boserup (1970) in the book *Women's Role in Economic Development*.

Gender and Development, as an approach, is part of the larger work of creating an alternative model which incorporates gender. This approach places gender centrally in development and focuses on power relations within the households. Gender analysis goes beyond issues of equity and considers

both men and women. In a study of natural resource management in Zimbabwe, Nabane and Matzke (1997:24) found that gender was not taken seriously and in the process the programme under examination favoured men and not women. The gender analysis framework is further discussed under research methodology below. The conceptual problems associated with this framework are also discussed further in Chapter Two. A more detailed historical account of various approaches to women's issues is given in Chapter Two.

1.7 THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to examine the gender implications of land tenure reform and land redistribution, and the extent to which the poorest of the poor have benefited from the land reform programme.

- The research highlights the ways in which land reform has affected both men and women differently in the rural areas.
- The research looks into the manner in which gender issues and concerns were incorporated in the organisation and management of the project.
- The case study also demonstrates the problems and limitations of macro-level policies as they apply at the local level.
- The study also unravels the context of social relations within which land

reform policy operates and the extent to which the poorest of the poor (women) have benefited from the land reform programme.

- The research also highlights further areas for research.

1.7.1 **Secondary research objectives**

1. Through this micro-level study, the effects of macro-level policies are illuminated.

2. The study assesses the impact of the changing policy framework on land reform delivery.

3. The research also offers an important overview for providing a better understanding of the gender dimensions of land reform policy and through the case study lessons are drawn for a better model of land reform for South Africa.

4. Through the recommendations and proposals emanating from this study, government could be in a position to devise a land policy that addresses the gendered nature of rural social relations.

5. Practical solutions are offered to policy makers, rural development practitioners, and other researchers.

6. This study, it is hoped, will offer a small contribution to the limited writing and research on gender in Africa, and South Africa in particular.

1.7.2 **Specific research objectives**

1. To assess the extent to which men and women have benefited from the land redistribution programme.

2. To assess the impact of land reform on both women and men.

3. To assess the specific gender aspects of land redistribution and land tenure reform.

1.8 THE DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

The historical account for Daggakraal was provided by key informants, namely Mr Mnisi and Mr Ngwenya. A more detailed account of the area is provided in Chapter 4. Daggakraal is a large rural settlement in the province of Mpumalanga. It is situated about 80 km from Standerton and 27 km from Volksrust. It is a freehold area with a population of about 40 000 people. It is a farming area with some arable and grazing land. In the early part of the past century, and before the promulgation of the Land Act of 1913, about 343 black land owners purchased land as a group (Mnisi 1997; Ngwenya 2001). See

also Annexure A. The above land owners had freehold title to the land. The location of such a large black community was a result of segregating policies, rather than any economic rationale. Land held under customary title, and that which was accessed through labour tenancy, was steadily diminishing. Over the years, and particularly during the last phase of apartheid, the plot owners began to accept tenants who had either lost their jobs or who had been evicted from the neighbouring white farms, as well as people who had nowhere else to live.

In the 1980s the community became politicised and was mobilised into action when threatened with forcible subdivision of their land and forced removals. In true resistance mode, they claimed that there were over 80 000 people, whereas the number was much less than that (Development Planning Report for Daggakraal 1997:12). Access to land for agricultural and residential purposes was a concern for a considerable proportion of the households, especially the tenant population whose numbers were increasing in Daggakraal. It was the tenant population that was to form a Landless Committee and a trust, The Hlanganani Trust, was formed and tasked with liaising with the government through the Department of Land Affairs for the purchase of adjacent land from a certain Mr Kenhard, a farmer who had shown a willingness to sell some of his land to the community as early as 1992.

Daggakraal has three sections with different land statuses. These are Daggakraal (DK) 1, 2, 3, Sinqobile and Hlanganani/Sinqobile 2. (See

Annexures D, E and F). The inhabitants of DK 1 are predominantly isiZulu speaking, while those of DK 2 are Sesotho speaking. DK 3 has a larger tenant population than the other two. Tenure in Daggakraal is freehold and has been so since 1912, as indicated earlier. The farmers in DK 1, 2 and 3 were governed by a Committee of 12, which represented the three areas. There is also a Mosotho chief in DK 2 who, it is claimed, has not enjoyed the overall local government status that was attributed to other chiefs in other rural areas in South Africa. He is sometimes referred to as a "chief without land" (Mnisi 1997; Ngwenya 2001). See also Annexure A. A more detailed historical account of the area is given in Chapter Four.

1.9 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

An important motivation of undertaking this study is that for about a year (1994), the researcher worked for an NGO (Community Based Educational Programme) that was part of a task group mandated to come up with a development planning report for Daggakraal. At the time there was a need for a clear development strategy that would better inform development priorities spelt out in the RDP. The DBSA (a member of the Task Group) had made funds available for the feasibility study. The researcher had developed extensive contacts, and had also built good rapport with key informants, in Daggakraal and this has helped in field work research. The researcher's good command of local indigenous languages has been useful in gathering information for this study.

The research highlights both land tenure and land redistribution issues and the extent to which gender concerns have been taken into account in all the stages of the project. In this manner, the case study attempts to answer the research questions on land redistribution and tenure reform in the chosen study area, taking into account the features outlined above.

1.10 METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

The study describes and analyses current empirical realities in the lives of women and men and the power relationships between them, as well as the social processes through which the patterns above are generated (Greer & McBride 2000:1162). The concern was with the "how" of research – the conduct of research itself and the ethics of research, especially the linkages between the purpose of research and its application to human needs and the grounding of the research questions and insights in human experience (Greer & McBride 2000; Reinharz 1992:112). The question of ethics is an important one for women and men (mostly for the former) in this study because women's voices have been muted by both policy and institutional processes in South Africa. These methodological debates caution researchers to reflect critically on their practices. These debates are discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

1.11 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

The study has focused on the period 1997 to 2007. Attention was first paid to

the performance of the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) in land reform delivery, particularly land redistribution and land tenure reform in the rural areas. Although land reform also includes restitution, this has not been covered in this study because the main aim of restitution has been historical redress without paying any major attention to the gender aspects of restitution. According to Cross and Hornby (2002) the restitution policy is focused on redress of the injustices of the past and makes no specific mention of gender. The research has been structured around a broad framework of stages as identified by Pirow (1993) and Neuman (1994). These are summarised below and discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

The research process first involved a literature review where a content analysis of primary and secondary material was carried out. The purpose of the literature study was primarily to establish a theoretical and historical basis for the study and to gain a better understanding of the issues in hand (Neuman 1994:80; Babbie 2011). The research techniques used were both qualitative and quantitative, with more emphasis on the former for the reasons outlined in detail in Chapter Four.

The study called for a research process that gave women a voice; a research process that took their concerns and actions into account, and that ultimately enabled them to be actively involved in the process. It was for this reason that qualitative and participatory research methodologies were used because context was central to both methodologies. The fieldwork component of the research process was informed by the theoretical research and thus formed

the **next stage** of the research process. The Gender Analysis Framework (GAF) was adopted to explain better the gender dimensions of land reform. A discussion of the framework and why it was adopted is provided in Chapters Two and Four.

In summary, the research is a synthesis of the field findings and the theoretical research, both of which have provided a detailed ***content analysis*** of the findings. This is done in light of the theoretical conceptualisation of the study. Conclusions and recommendations are also made. Data collection methods that were used are discussed in Chapter Four.

1.12 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A major limitation of the study is the fact that it is retroactive in that it covers a period of 10 years; a period that has seen a number of policy changes in the area of land reform in South Africa. Though the project under scrutiny was implemented under Settlement of Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG), this has been succeeded by other programmes, such as Land Reform and Agricultural Development (LRAD), without the former being necessarily abandoned or discarded, but relegated to the background. There are also limitations in the approaches which the framework adopted and in the methodology followed and in the purpose of the study. Some of the limitations are referred to in the thesis and in Chapter Four, as methodological challenges. With regard to methodology and the use of participatory methodologies in the collection of primary data, the concern is that it is a methodology that is relatively new in

the social sciences, but it has proved to have been empowering for the researcher, the respondents and the research assistants.

1.13 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter One serves as a general introduction to the study. It also gives an overview of South Africa's land policy of 1997 with a view to highlighting the nature of the problem in hand. The research methods are discussed in terms of the stated objectives, as well as the procedure for research. This chapter also outlines the scope of the research; the research methodology and its challenges; the contribution of the study; why this study was undertaken; and its limitations.

Chapter Two provides a theoretical and historical background to land reform, gender and development. It highlights issues of concern in land reform and gender, worldwide. The literature is reviewed in relation to the framework of Gender and Development (GAD) as discussed by various authors and how this framework has evolved. The current emphasis on gender aspects in land reform is examined in detail. Have the gender dimensions been given enough attention in the literature? Concepts of land reform, including tenure reform and land redistribution, gender, gender equity and development as used in this study, are defined.

Chapter Three reviews South Africa's land policies before 1994 so as to place the problem in historical context. Other land policies enacted since

1995, including the White Paper on South African Land Policy (1997) and other land-related legislation, have been reviewed to establish whether or not they are gender sensitive.

Chapter Four describes the research process and what methodology was followed and why. It also discusses further the use of the gender analysis framework (GAF). Fieldwork (case study) forms a major component of this chapter, as well as participatory research. The research attempts to answer the research questions formulated for this study. It seeks to ascertain whether land reform is informed by policy. The research setting is also described in this chapter.

Chapter Five presents the findings of the study. There is a discussion and a detailed analysis of land reform practice in the country. An analysis of both secondary and primary data is carried out. The impact of the changing macro-policy framework on land reform delivery is highlighted in this chapter. The aim is to discuss the findings in relation to the objectives of the study. For this reason, the research questions are revisited here and discussed: for example, to what extent have gender concerns been incorporated in the land reform delivery, according to the respondents? Most importantly, has land reform improved the lives of men and women in Daggakraal?

Chapter Six pulls together the different strands of arguments in the study and draws conclusions on the major issues raised throughout the thesis. Recommendations and proposals, highlighted as secondary objectives in

Chapter One, are also made.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE STUDY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a historical and theoretical background to land reform, gender and development. It highlights and discusses issues of concern with regard to land reform, worldwide. Concepts that are used in the study are defined and these are land reform, agrarian reform, gender, gender equity, development and rural development. The theoretical framework that informs this study is also discussed.

2.2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LAND REFORM, GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Despite the fact that land reform has been a problem of long standing, there is still no commonly-agreed definition of what it means. Problems in defining land reform arise from the fact that countries differ in their land systems, methods of farming and their general levels of development. For some countries, land reform is still a burning issue, while for others it has disappeared completely from their policies. Ideology has dominated most of the land reform programmes in the Third World. For example, the family farm model was followed by those countries displaying a Western influence, while collectivisation was followed by those with Socialist inclinations (Warriner

1969; Prosterman & Riedinger 1987; Lipton 2009).

Warriner (1969:28) argues that although land reform has been enacted in different countries using different methods and motives, there are points of commonality in most land reforms and these are the abolition of feudalism and efforts at nationalism. Zimbabwe's 1980s land reform programme is cited as a good example of efforts at nationalism (Jacobs 2010). As a result of above problems and ideological standpoints, land reform has been subjected to different interpretations. Some groups have defined the term, narrowly, as referring to the redistribution of land from large to individual farms or cooperative groups, while others have conceived of it as a cooperative programme for the total transformation of the agricultural economy (Lipton 2009:127). In India, the state purchased land from large-scale landowners and redistributed it to 2% of small-scale producers on a family or household basis (Sobhan 1993:28). China's attempt at collectivisation is a classic example at rural transformation during the Mao Zedong era (Liu 2000). Another example is Mexico's agrarian reforms in the 1970s (Sobhan 1993; Dawson 2006). Warriner (1969:XIV) argues that "land reform means the distribution of property or rights in land for the benefit of the small farmers and agricultural labourers".

Other scholars, such as Jacoby (1971); Dorner (1972); King (1977); and Borras, Kay and Akrahm-Lodhi (2007), use a broader definition of land reform. They argue that the concept of land reform embraces public programmes and reforms in land tenure and other policies designed to correct defects in land

tenure systems, and improvements in the institutional framework within which agriculture is practised. The aim is to increase productivity and also to achieve equitable income distribution in the countryside. According to Jacoby (1971); Borras et al (2007); and Lipton (2009), public programmes include land redistribution, improvements in existing land tenure legislation and systems of land tenure, resettlement schemes, land taxation, and land consolidation operations for the reorganisation of farm units.

The use of a broad definition of land reform is intended to widen the conception of land reform policy. The objective is to stress the fact that governments which initiate land reform should not only restrict their policies to redistribution of land, but should also initiate other policy measures to support land reform. Warriner (1969:XV) asserts that these broad definitions are an expression of “What land *reform* ought to be rather than what it generally is”. The definitions tend to downplay the real issue in land reform, which is the acquisition and redistribution of land.

Another concept which is sometimes used interchangeably with *land reform* is *agrarian reform*. Agrarian reform, unlike land reform, is more detailed and comprehensive in that it involves the modifications of a wide range of conditions that affect the agricultural sector (de Janvry 1981:29). The modifications include the determination of pricing policies and investment in agriculture, to name a few. For some, agrarian reform entails changes in the agrarian structure which result in increased access to land by the rural poor and secure tenure for those who actually work the land (Ghimire 2001:7;

Jacobs 2010:14).

In summary, agrarian reform is aimed at providing the necessary support services to facilitate agricultural production and empower poor peasants by aiming at altering the agrarian and class structure of rural society (Barraclough 1991:102). According to Barraclough, agrarian reform is a revolutionary and political concept, rather than a reformist one and yet in practice redistributive reforms are not necessarily revolutionary and are implemented for different reasons and in different contexts and circumstances (Barraclough 1991:102; Jacobs 2010:14). Examples are Peru's 1968 reform that was instituted by the then military government, as well as reforms in Japan, Taiwan and South Korea that were implemented as a result of external pressure from the United States of America, in an effort to prevent socialist mobilisation (Montgomery 1984; Prosterman & Riedinger 1987). Land reform, as described above, is only one of the powerful weapons in agrarian reform. What is pertinent in the discussions above is that definitions of land reform or agrarian reform in the literature so far have generally ignored any notions of gender rights or gender aspects.

Another concept which is important for this study is that of **rural development**. This is much broader than agrarian reform and land reform in that it encompasses agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. It involves a wider range of activities designed to improve the living conditions of people in the rural areas (Cohen 1977). Emphasis is on the interrelationships between sectors, activities and institutions in the process of development (Cohen 1977;

El Ghonemy 2010). Rural development is concerned with empowerment of the poor by broadening their opportunities. Land reform is one of the most important components of rural development, depending on existing patterns of land ownership and control. According to El Ghonemy (1990) and El Ghonemy (2010), a scholar with strong populist inclinations, rural development has a much broader connotation than land reform. It is a dynamic process that involves the participation of government and other actors, including low income groups (El Ghonemy 1990:91; Moseley 2003).

In their discussion of the link between gender, capabilities and resources, Demetriades and Esplen (2009) highlight the issue that it is the poor and vulnerable, who are mostly women, who experience the impacts of vulnerability. Furthermore the poor have the least capacity or opportunity to participate in rural development programmes and other national development programmes that tackle land issues. In Africa in general, women make up a disproportionate number of the poor and marginalised (Demetriades & Esplen 2009; Kabeer 1994). These inequalities are more pronounced in female headed households and among women living in male headed households. This observation speaks to intra household distribution of power and resources such as land and these have a bearing on their participation or otherwise in rural development. Women have fewer capabilities and resources than men and this undermines their capacity to adapt to existing and predicted impacts of climate change (Demetriades & Esplen 2009).

In analysis of gender, capabilities, power and control there is a reliance on

generalisations which cannot hold true for all people in all places (Demetriades & Esplen 2009:23). The tendency has been to conceptualise women everywhere as a homogenous disadvantaged group- the poorest of the poor. Such representations are problematic in that they fail to take into account interactions between gender and other forms of disadvantage based on class, age, race and sexuality (Demetriades & Esplen 2009:24). These inequalities produce differing experiences of power and powerlessness between women in different settings (Demetriades & Esplen 2009:24).

Gender is not static but is constantly refined and contested in the contexts within which it is involved (Scott 1995). Gender mainstreaming varies according to context over time. The GAD approach sees gender inequality as a matter of structural inequality which needs to be addressed directly and not only by women but by development institutions, government and the wider society (Demetriades & Esplen 2009). This is more relevant for women in the developing world for whom structural inequality is more pronounced than anywhere in the world.

2.3 REASONS FOR LAND REFORM

Land reform deals with the adjustment of a cultivator's relations to the land in any land tenure system. Handelman (2011:183-184) argues that rural development, together with land reform, seek to achieve social justice and an equitable redistribution of productive assets. This view was advanced in the

1990s by Barraclough (1991) and Sobhan (1993). There are many reasons why land reform is implemented in different countries. Barraclough (1991) asserts that gross inequality in the control of land constitutes the main obstacle to broad-based rural development in many developing countries. It is for this reason that a land reform programme that attempts to secure rights to productive land for the poor should be a high priority for governments committed to the pursuit of sustainable development. There is agreement in the literature that there are, however, broad motives that are basic and govern most land reforms (de Janvry 1981; Prosterman & Riedinger 1987; El Ghonemy 1990; El Ghonemy 2010; Barraclough 1991; Jacobs 2010). These are the social equity, political and economic motives, which are discussed below.

2.3.1 **The social equity motive**

The social equity motive is based on the ethical moral premise that inequality and exploitation are unacceptable. Prosterman and Riedinger (1987) argue that, together with rural development, land reform programmes seek to achieve social justice and equitable distribution of productive assets. Land reform, according to Lipton (2005), is a necessary and highly desirable condition of economic development and a source of livelihood for those who depend on agriculture. Barraclough (1991), writing in the context of Latin America, shows that land reform has been instituted primarily in response to popular demands for greater economic equality and social justice. King (1977), in a survey of land reforms the world over, agrees with Barraclough

(1991) and Ghimire (2001) that most reforms have occurred in situations where there were great disparities in wealth, income and political power in the agricultural sector, and in society in general. In such situations, proposals for land reform made an assumption that inequalities were unacceptable in the name of human dignity and were also a hindrance to progress. Viewed this way, land reform is considered by some to be an essential measure of social justice and to constitute an attempt to remove the barriers to development (King 1977; Prosterman & Riedinger 1987; Barraclough 1991; Ghimire 2001; Lipton 2009).

The argument above is supported by *institutionalists* such as Dorner (1972) and Warriner (1969), and by *Marxists* such as Lipton (1974); Lipton (2005); Lipton (2009); Bernstein (2002); Bernstein (2003); Bernstein (2004); El Ghonemy (1990); and El Ghonemy (2010). These authors all give social and political rationales for land reform. For institutionalists and Marxists, the abolition of feudalism, serfdom, landlordism and tenancy is considered necessary "in order to create a freer and more equal society by removing oppressive concentrations of economic and political power" (Warriner 1969:4). She further argues that the social and economic equality to be achieved is only a matter of degree in that the land holdings to be distributed may not be equal in size and as such the final outcome of a land reform programme is not a complete levelling down (Warriner 1969:8).

In some countries, the slogan "land to the tiller" was used to rally peasant support for the revolution against those in power. In the end, the state became

the new landlord (Warriner 1969:12). China is a classic example, where the state became the new landlord under their system of “collectivisation” (Jacobs 2010:88). Although land was parcelled out to individual farmers, it was not enough for farmers to produce either for consumption or commercial basis and for this reason all the farms were collectivised by the then Chinese government because the assumption was that there would be more production of food if produced on a bigger scale (Jacobs 2010:88).

2.3.2 **The political motive**

Closely related to the social equity and economic motives is the political motive for land reform. Most governments use the promise of land reform to gain and retain power. The popular appeal of land reform as a levelling mechanism in distributing the basis for wealth in the countryside makes it a very popular and potentially powerful tool for governments in power in any country where there are great disparities in land holdings (wealth) (Jacobs 2010:91). Lin (1999:158) gives a good example with China, where in 1954, six years after the revolution, the poor held 47% of the land, while the landlords held only 2.2%, down from 40% before the revolution.

At various times and places land reform programmes have stressed legitimacy and democracy. Legitimacy in this sense refers to gaining and maintaining popular acceptance by the people. Jacoby (1971) argues that in a country characterised by landlessness, tenancy and high population growth, it is not surprising that land reform commands more popular support and lays a

larger claim to political legitimacy than any other programme. For example, in China land reform was used by the Communist Party as a device to provide the basis of legitimacy for their revolution (Lin 1999). In both Japan and Taiwan, sweeping land tenure reforms were instituted soon after World War 2, partly to legitimise the new post-war elites and partly as counter-insurgency measures against the threat of internal and external communism (Jacoby 1971:71; Borras 2005; Lin 1999). Counter insurgency in this sense is the other side of the coin. In order to strengthen one's claims to legitimacy, opposing revolutionaries and insurgents have to be denied that very same legitimacy (Jacoby 1971:17).

The argument is that in countries characterised by a high degree of unequal distribution of land where there is a high percentage of landless peasants and guerrilla insurgency, political leaders may embark upon a programme of land reform so as to quell peasant discontent and to ward off guerrilla insurgency (Lindio-McGovern 1997; Borras 2005). The programmes are aimed at denying the guerrillas the opportunity to use land as an issue in their campaign to gain rural support for a revolution. Classic examples here are South Vietnam's "land to the tiller" programme in the early 1970s and Marcos' "operation land transfer" for the Filipino tenant farmers (Jacoby 1971:26; Borras 2005; Lindio-McGovern 1997). Zimbabwe's "Fast Track" land reform is another example where a far-reaching programme of land reform was implemented with the intention to quell both peasant and former guerrillas' discontent with the pace of the "willing seller and willing buyer" approach adopted by the government on the eve of independence in 1979 (Moyo & Yeros 2005).

Zimbabwe's land reform is instructive for South Africa**.** Jacobs (2010:183) argues that when the Fast Track Land Reform programme was implemented in Zimbabwe, some women received some land to use for commercial purposes. These women were relatively well off and or educated. Other women who were members of the ruling party were involved in land invasions that characterised Zimbabwe's land reform during this period (Jacobs 2010; Moyo & Yeros 2005). In this manner they were able to acquire some land. This was not the case for the majority of ordinary poor women in the countryside who needed the land for livelihood purposes. Although some women were able to acquire some land, they have, however, been negatively affected by the land reform programme in that they have received very little state support (Moyo &Yeros 2005). This is similar to what is observed in the case of South Africa with regard to how LRAD, discussed in Chapters Three and Five, benefits women who are well off. It is argued that Zimbabwe's land reform has generally not attended to equity for small holders, the majority of whom are women (Jacobs 2010)

2.3.3 **The economic motive**

With regard to the economic reasons for land reform, attention is focused on the developmental implications of land reform in terms of its benefits to the individual farmer and as part of the overall development policy. Proponents of the economic motive include *structuralists*, such as Hirschman (1961) and the World Bank (1983). For them, successful land reforms require corrective

measures to existing land tenure systems that are responsible for a lag in agricultural production (Borras 2005; de Janvry, Platteau, Gordillo & Sadoulet 2001; Jacobs 2010). It is believed that defects in land tenure systems are caused by maldistribution, landlordism, tenancy, and land fragmentation. All of the above are said to be a hindrance to economic development. Underutilisation of land is viewed as a consequence of land maldistribution and tenancy (de Janvry et al 2001). Accordingly, land reform is targeted for rectifying these land tenure defects which are obstacles to economic development. It is believed that once these defects are removed, and with proper incentives, the small farmer will be able to increase agricultural production, raise income levels and improve the standard of living (Borras 2005).

On the other hand, *institutionalists*, such as Dorner (1972); Warriner (1969); and King (1977), argue that while land reform is important, it is not sufficient in itself for improving land productivity and income distribution. It needs to be supported by policies and programmes, such as rural development and a favourable policy framework, if it is to contribute meaningfully to an improvement in the lives of the poor in the countryside. The argument is that in some cases where land reform is associated with major political, social or revolutionary upheavals, the break-up of fairly efficient estates might lead to a decline in production which is only temporary. This can be offset by creating supporting programmes and mechanisms in the reformed sector. A major thrust of the institutionalists' argument is that small-scale farms have greater productivity than large farms (Dorner 1972; Coralie 1998). This view proposes

the establishment of cooperative farms, as well as state intervention, in the implementation of policy.

2.4 MODERNISATION THEORY AND THE WORLD BANK: THE EMERGENCE OF GENDERED APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

The term “development” needs to be thoroughly understood, with regard to how it fits into the gender debate. Decades ago, particularly in the 1950s, attention tended to focus on measures of economic growth as a way of alleviating poverty (Gambhir 2001). Prevalent development paradigms then advocated for a “trickle-down” effect whereby the benefits of development would filter down from the wealthy to other areas of society (Gambhir 2001). The development paradigm of the period was modernisation theory, the major object of study of which was the process by which agrarian societies developed into industrialised societies (Scott 1995). During this period, development was viewed as a “historical process an unfolding human history over a long period of time in a manner that is thought to be progressive” (McGillivray 2012:25). This development saw the emergence of affluent societies. Modernisation was equated with economic growth and involved economic transformations, as well as social, cultural, institutional and political changes (Rostow 1960 and Rostow 2003:123).

The underlying assumption in the interpretation of development was that all nations, including the poor, were able to achieve a modern standard of living by following exactly the path of development followed by Western nations

(McKay 2012:58). Wallerstein (1979:134), influenced more by Marxism, offers a critique of the linear path of development proposed by modernisation. He asserts that "what was primarily wrong with all the concepts linked to the modernisation paradigm was that they were so ahistorical. After all, the modern world did not come out of nowhere. "It involved the transformation of a particular variant of redistributive mode of production … that was based on a capitalistic mode of production" (Wallerstein 1979:134).

Other scholars, such as Frank (1969); Dos Santos (1970); Cardoso (1977); and Bernstein (2003), have also criticised the theory. The theory has been discredited for being unscientific and sexist in its focus on male heads of households (Scott 1995; Bernstein 2003). Another criticism is that it is ethnocentric in its reliance on linear ideas of social and political change (Mohanty 1991; Scott 1995). Moreover, feminist scholars have argued that the theory held deeply masculine/male views of the world of modernity (Mohanty 1991; Young 1992; Hunt 2012). A further argument given by scholars is that the theory relied heavily upon models of social and political change which provided a link for views and ideas about development, modernisation and gender. In this view, the theorists portray development as a struggle for dominance over nature – and by implication women – and development as the ever-widening ability of men to create and transform their environment (Hunt 2012; Scott 1995).

The World Bank is seen by a number of scholars as an influential international donor in the Third World that has relied heavily on the ideas of the

modernisation paradigm (Bernstein 2003; Borras 2005). The World Bank stresses that the capacity of a state is most effective when private enterprise and initiatives are supported (Scott 1995:71). It is less concerned with the achievement of equality but more with the conditions that will allow market forces to “provide the appropriate engine for a resumption of economic growth and development” (Scott 1995:73). Critics have noted the invisibility of women in the formulation of development policies within the World Bank, particularly in the 1980s (Bernstein 2003; Borras 2005). Issues of gender equity were not considered relevant to economic development in Third World countries (Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead 2007). It was during this period that the Women in Development approach (WID), which embraced modernisation, emerged. Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) are other approaches which are also discussed in this thesis. These three are prominent approaches which have been described and critiqued in the development debate. These debates are discussed below.

The approaches emerged within specific political and institutional contexts and were a result of various debates advanced by feminist scholars and gender activists, on how issues affecting women could be tackled (Razavi 2002; Tinker 1990 & Tinker 1999). Their aim was to sensitise and influence policy makers to come up with policy decisions that addressed gender concerns, worldwide, but mostly in the Third World. It is important for one to understand the arguments advanced by proponents of the approaches as they have influenced the way we approach issues of gender in development. Tinker (1990 and 1999), Mohanty (1991), and Razavi (2002) all agree that the

approaches that have guided development practitioners and researchers are general frameworks. The approaches and their critique are discussed below.

2.4.1 **Women in Development (WID)**

The term “WID” was coined in the 1970s by a Washington based network of female development professionals (Tinker 1990:30). On the basis of their own experiences in overseas missions, they began to challenge trickledown theories of development, arguing that modernisation was impacting differently on men and women. For example, modernisation, during that period, meant a shift away from subsistence agriculture to highly mechanised commercial agriculture (Tinker 1990:31). Commercial farming became a male only domain, leaving out women to produce food only for consumption (Tinker 1990; Young 1992; Pearson 2001 & Pearson 2007).

One of the most influential proponents of the WID approach was Boserup, in her celebrated work, *Women’s Role in Economic Development*, published in 1970. She argued that there was a need for integration of women’s issues in development (Boserup 1970; Razavi & Miller 1995; Tinker 1990 and Tinker 1999). The approach attracted the attention of scholars and other development activists who were grounded in liberal and Marxist feminism (Moser 1993; Scott 1995; Tinker 1999). Their concern was with women’s economic activities and how these could improve women’s lives (Tinker 1999; Pearson 2001 & Pearson 2007). The language of efficiency was adopted by WID advocates in an effort to convince development planners to involve

women in development (Connell 1987; Moser 1993).

These efforts are said to have resulted in the establishment of Women's Projects and Women's Desks in major development agencies which, however, achieved very little and in fact became peripheral to the main development efforts going on (Moser 1993; Tinker 1999; Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead 2007). The development process appeared to be contributing to a deterioration of women's position instead of improving it (Tinker 1990:31). WID advocates began to make links with various UN agencies and networked with women working on UN missions overseas; engaged academics in research on women's productive work, sexual division of labour and the impact of development processes on women (Young 1992:25). WID approaches had their roots in the struggles by African women to challenge the discriminatory laws and practices in every sphere of society (Young 1992:25). Women's struggles and resistances were rarely documented owing to the widespread assumptions that women were powerless and passive victims (Tinker 1990:31; Young 1992).

WID advocates, including women working for development agencies and women in the USA who were concerned also with universal rights for women, all borrowed liberal feminist's language to position their advocacy in the political arena of their time (Connell 1987:34;). Central to liberal feminism was the view that women's disadvantages stem from stereotyped customary expectations held by men and internalised by women, and promoted through various agencies of socialisation (Connell 2005:123; Razavi & Miller 1995).

Liberal feminism argued that women's disadvantages could be eliminated by breaking down these stereotypes by various means, such as giving girls better training and more varied role models, by introducing equal opportunity programmes and anti-discrimination legislation, and by freeing labour markets (Young 1992:39).

The other formative influence of WID, as highlighted by Miller (2003:3), was the emerging body of research on women in developing countries. Boserup (1970) clearly made an important contribution to the WID thinking because she highlighted the dimension and importance of gender processes in development. This contribution was instrumental in establishing WID as an accepted area of study. She also challenged the assumption that a family's income would be equally available to all members of the household (Boserup 1970; Tinker 1990). Boserup also challenged the conventional thinking that women were less productive than men and as such were entitled to a lesser share of scarce development resources (Boserup 1970).

Drawing from the insights of Boserup's research, WID advocates rejected the narrow view of women's roles as merely mothers and wives. Instead of characterising women as 'needy' beneficiaries, WID argued that women were productive members of society (Young 1992; Moser 1993). However, over time a general consensus formed in the development field that the WID approach had not yielded the desired results. WID did not lead to greater gender equality. Problems of poverty, unemployment and inequality persisted (Young 1992).

As a result of the arguments given by Boserup, the first UN Women's Conference, held in Mexico City in 1975, focused on social justice for women (Razavi & Miller 1995:2). Other issues discussed at the conference included the need for improved educational and employment opportunities, equality in political and social participation, and increased health and welfare services (Miller 2003:2). The conference focused on equality, development and peace. This conference addressed women's concerns from Western Europe, Eastern Europe and developing countries and the period 1976-1985 was announced as the decade for women (UNDP 1995:13). This was a very positive move as it demonstrated the seriousness of world leaders to take up issues that affected women.

The Women in Development's focus was on women's access to income via the market, either as individuals or as a form of collective. The WID approach has, however, been criticised for its inability to empower women and in this manner it became merely a technical fix and not an agency for empowering women and transforming development (Young 1992; Sen & Grown 1987; Pearson 2007; Cornwall et al 2007). According to Rowan-Campbell (1999:27), the approach divorced women's productive roles from their need for welfare. In analysing the WID approach, Rowan-Campbell (1999) argues that it does not deal effectively with the root causes of these inequalities in society. The WID approach can result in the overburdening of women at the expense of their lives (Rowan-Campbell 1999:29).

The fact that WID advocated for women's space in the market place did not automatically remove women's household burdens from them. For example, even though women had been integrated into development, comprising 60 to 90% of the labour force in free trade zones such as Mexico, this did not improve their standard of living but rather reinforced their exploitation in garment, textile and electronic industries (Pearson 2001:88 & Pearson 2007). WID maintained the status quo by its failure to link issues of class, race and underdevelopment (Rowan-Campbell 1999:49). The approach could also not differentiate women's needs in different economic, political and social contexts. It placed all women in one basket and this was an important shortcoming (Young 1992; Whitehead & Lockwood 1999). For example, women in the developed world (the North) and women in the Third World (the South) do not necessarily have similar needs and problems and yet the approach assumed they did.

Whitehead (1991:17) provided a good critique of the approach on the notion of a separate subsistence sector with a "feminine nature". She highlighted connections between women's gender specific situations within these processes. WID tended to portray Third World women as powerless, ignorant and trapped in inferior roles and as such legitimised an approach that viewed the women in need of help and with little to contribute to development (Koczberski 1998; Whitehead 1991; Whitehead 2007). Integration efforts were characterised by the assumption that only through the assistance and

direction of Western donor agencies could Third World women become productive members of society (Whitehead 2007). These efforts ignored the realities of women in the Third World and also fostered an approach where women were given little control over how, or whether, they desired to be integrated in development efforts (Pearson 2007; Whitehead 2007). Among the assumptions of WID which rendered it inappropriate for meaningful development is the notion that male bias can only be overcome by integration of women in development. Koczberski (1998:4) argues, while not refuting the effect of male bias, that an emphasis on male bias alone oversimplifies the situation of Third World women and ignores the economic, cultural, and social manifestations of historical processes.

Categorising women as an undifferentiated group fosters a view that they are all equally disadvantaged (Young 1992; Koczberski 1998). Such assumptions ignore the diversity of women's lives and overlook the differences in wealth, power and status between women, attributable to such factors as social class, caste or race (Koczberski 1998; Whitehead 2007). By giving priority to gender inequality alone and ignoring other inequalities, WID has evaded issues of wealth and other inequalities between men and women themselves (Koczberski 1998). Mayoux (1993) concurs with Whitehead and argues that by doing this, the approach makes attempts at encouraging participation based on the notion of common needs and this is fraught with problems. By recognising diversity among women and women's groups, a more equitable allocation of resources may be possible. However, highlighting diversity among women does not in any way suggest there are no socio-economic

characteristics or needs common to most women (Mayoux 1993; Whitehead 2007). For instance, it is generally agreed that women carry heavier workloads than men and comprise most of the poor (UNDP 1996; UNDP 2006). These generalisations cannot be assumed to apply in a similar way everywhere. More importantly, they should not serve to restrict further analysis at the micro-level (Koczberski 1998:6).

While micro-assumptions and studies are worthwhile for providing a general view of an issue or highlighting a particular problem, they can distort our understanding of a particular situation or context if accepted as is (Koczberski 1998; Whitehead 1991). Despite this observation, governments and policy planners continue to make generalisations about different cultures or populations. This is a problem common to development theory and practice. However, Boserup (1970), a pioneer in researching and conceptualising women's role in economic development, contributed to the formulation of policies to translate the studies into development practice.

According to Koczberski (1998) the narrow focus on integration of women in development has led to a privileging of this objective above other broader issues concerning viability and appropriateness of prevailing WID and mainstream development practice. As a result there is very little analysis of whether integration of women in development leads to genuine participation of women. Aid agencies such as the World Bank have introduced a gender analysis framework to the project cycle (Moser 1993). This framework presents an advance on previous gender-blind planning (Koczberski 1998).

However, this is not without shortcomings, as demonstrated elsewhere in this thesis.

A further critique of WID is advanced by feminists working within the Gender and Development Approach (GAD). They argue that the basis of its analytical weakness is the focus on women and not on gender, and on responsibilities and roles of women instead of power relations within households (Mohanty 1991; Kabeer 1994). The approach treats women as a homogenous social category without a consideration of differences between them (Kabeer 1992; Kabeer 1994). Mohanty (1991:35) argues that the treatment of women as a distinct category of analysis assumes an ahistorical universal unity between women, and yet according to Kabeer (1994), the construction of gender is historically and culturally bound and is interwoven with other social relations that give rise to inequalities in society. Within the WID framework, women are assumed to operate in a vacuum, isolated from their relations with men and with each other (Leach 1991:110). The inadequacies and weaknesses of WID gave rise to other approaches and these were Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) approaches, in that order. The Gender and Development Approach is more progressive of the two in that it goes beyond an economic analysis to include environmental, sustainable and qualitative aspects in its definition of development (van der Hombergh 1993)

2.4.2 **Women and Development (WAD)**

Activists from the Third World were the main proponents of the Women and

Development (WAD) approach. Their main argument was that the WID development model being promoted did not include women's perspectives, and it moreover lacked a perspective on developing countries (Sen & Grown 1987). At the end of the first UN Decade for Women, a network was formed by women activists living and working in the Third World and this network was named the Development Alternatives for Women in a New Era (DAWN). This group was critical of WID as a development approach (Chiwome & Gambahaya 1998). These authors point out that the DAWN network of researchers argued that gender inequality was of little interest to the majority of women in developing countries who were concerned about lack of food, housing, safe drinking water and employment, rather than issues of inequality (Chiwome & Gambahaya 1998). The network's views are captured well by Sen and Grown (1987:11) who note that:

> "Women's main problem in the Third World has been insufficient participation in an otherwise benevolent process of growth and development. Increasing women's participation and improving their shares in resources, land, employment and income relative to men, were seen as necessary and sufficient to effect dramatic changes in economic and social position. Equality for women is impossible within existing economic, political and cultural processes that reserve resources, power and control for small sections of people. But neither is development possible without greater equity for and participation by women".

For this network and other women working in non-governmental organisations (NGOs), it was important for women to be mobilised and empowered to realise a different development vision. It challenged the WID approach and its assumption that modernisation just needed to incorporate women (Scott 1995). According to WAD, women are important actors in development processes. This approach draws heavily from dependency theory, a major critique of modernisation theory, in that it looks at the nature of integration of women in development which sustains existing international structures of inequality (Scott 1995; Whitehead 2006).

Like the Women in Development approach (WID) before it, this approach also had weaknesses. A major weakness of the approach is its focus on women only and its preoccupation with women's roles at the expense of women's work and lives. WAD does not question the relations between gender roles advocated by WID and as such makes assumptions about international structures by arguing that once these become more equitable and women participate in such structures, their position will improve (Agarwal 1994a; Agarwal 1994b; Moser 1993; Woodford-Berger 2006). Despite its weaknesses, the approach is credited with advancing women's empowerment (Scott 1995; Whitehead 2006). The weaknesses of WAD gave rise to yet another approach and this is the Gender and Development approach (GAD) discussed below.

2.4.3 **Gender and Development (GAD)**

The Gender and Development approach (GAD) is said to be more progressive than the other two approaches discussed above in that it moves beyond the economic analysis to include environmental, sustainable and qualitative aspects in its definition of development (van der Hombergh 1993). The Gender and Development approach stresses issues such as empowerment, democracy and sustainable development. Under this approach, there is an important recognition that men and women are seen as interactive links (van der Hombergh 1993; Razavi 2006).

The Gender and Development approach presents major criticisms of Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD). The Gender and Development approach advocates that the unequal power relations between men and women prevent women from getting to beneficial levels (Hargreaves & Meer 2000). It also advocates that women's inequality is not a Third World problem alone as advanced by WAD, but a problem that affects women everywhere. According to Young (1992:53), Gender and Development differs from Women in Development and Women and Development in that its main thrust is the gendered aspects of social relations advanced by a number of scholars mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, in their critique of earlier approaches. Among these are Agarwal (1994a) and Agarwal (1994b); Kabeer (1992) and Kabeer (1994); Leach (1991); Mohanty (1991); Razavi and Miller (1995); Whitehead (2007); and Young (1992).

Central to the approach is the point that women are active and not passive recipients of development and the approach proceeds on the assumption that while women may be aware of their subordinate position in society, they may not necessarily understand the structural roots of discrimination and subordination (Young 1992; Cornwall 2003:1335; Cornwall et al 2007). GAD is said to be a holistic perspective that looks at all forms of social, economic and political organisation so as to understand how aspects of society are shaped (Walker 2009). Unlike Women in Development, the GAD approach puts emphasis on the need for women to be organised in terms of their own self organisation so as to increase their power, in all its forms, within an existing economic system (Young 1992; Tinker 1999; Walker 1997; Walker 2009).

Hutchinson (2002:721) argues that the major problem is women's absence from the corridors of power. Power and authority are gained when one is involved in spaces where decisions are made. Women all over the world hold one important principle in common: that they must play an equal role in the politics of the day, as well as in the institutions which are responsible for shaping the policies which determine the quality of people's lives (Hutchinson 2002:722).

The GAD practitioners' concern was the fact that women's child-bearing and caring roles were not given economic value. They contested the claim that women were not integrated into development. They rather argued that women are central to development in providing unpaid family labour as a natural

aspect of being women. GAD questioned the WID approach of treating women as a homogenous category and emphasised the differences between them, based on class, age, marital status, ethnicity, race and religion (Agarwal 1994a; Agarwal 1994b; Young 1992; Tinker 1990; Tinker 1999; Whitehead 2007).

2.4.4 **Convergence among the three approaches**

By the late 1980s, there was a degree of convergence between the three approaches. According to Chiwome and Gambahaya (1998:13) the common denominators among the three are as follows:

- The three approaches agreed that there were inequalities that existed within societies;
- All the approaches refuted the assumption that women could be used to carry out policies designed without their participation;
- A critical look into all the three approaches reveals that women should be integrated in all aspects of development, assistance and involved centrally in the planning, implementing development policies, programmes and projects.

All three approaches above had in common the need for women's involvement in the economy. They only differed on the extent of the involvement and on emphasis. For instance, the Women in Development approach (WID) advocated adding a women's component to already-existing development programmes, while Gender and Development (GAD) advocated

a far-reaching involvement of women, and Women and Development (WAD) emphasised women's welfare and the incorporation of the perspective of developing countries (Hutchinson 2002; Miller 2003; Young 1992). One common concern which the three tried to address was the inequality that existed between men and women in societies. During the period of the late 1970s going forward, different states and UN agencies started to incorporate agreements, protocols and targets that aimed, among other things, to observe women's rights, economic empowerment and the much-needed freedoms that were called for by WID, GAD and WAD (Hutchinson 2002).

Towards the end of the 1980s, most governments in developing countries began to experiment with economic and political liberalisation and most governments committed themselves to minimising their participation in the public sector (Borras 2005; Toulmin & Quan 2001). This was as a result of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) of the World Bank and the IMF's landing policies. Gender became a key public policy agenda item and as such a broader framework was needed for accelerated development to occur. It was during this period that the notion of sustainable development became prominent (Shiva 1989; Fortin 2005; Borras 2005).

The major thrust of sustainable development was the improvement of the lives of the poor, particularly women (Shiva 1989). Its elements included a human development focus, examples of which are basic education, improved health care, gender equity and the empowerment of communities, especially where

women make up a greater percentage of the poor and marginalised. Shiva (1989:35), a major proponent of environment and sustainable development approach, argues that sustainable development differs from development per se, in that it takes the development debate away from a reliance on provision of social safety nets for the empowerment of people to participate in decisions affecting their lives.

A review of existing literature on gender and development (Agarwal 1994b; Gambhir 2001; Moser 1993; Miller 2003; Razavi & Miller 1995; Razavi 2006; Walker 1997) shows that national level approaches to eliminate female poverty are made on a piecemeal basis, rather than through gender-sensitive development planning. This necessity to engender development implies a need to integrate gender concerns in the planning and implementation of policies and programmes for the empowerment of women (Gambhir 2001:19). This empowerment means increased access to, and control over, resources. It involves a major shift in organisational cultures and ways of thinking and a commitment on the part of governments and other stakeholders to actively pursue all strategies that will not only enhance the roles that women play in the development process, but also question the fundamental barriers to women's participation in the development process (Gambhir 2001:19-20). In summary, it entails a shake-up of the existing status quo, both at the national and local levels (Agarwal 1994a; Hutchinson 2002; Kabeer 1994; Razavi 2006).

According to Gambhir (2001) and the UNDP (1995); UNDP (1996) and UNDP

(2006), engendering development takes into account three principles and these are: equality of political, economic, social and legal rights. Women must be regarded as agents of change rather than as passive participants; they should be able to exercise their choices at various levels including at the level of public policy where gender mainstreaming is linked to the issue of governance and representation (Gambhir 2001:20). At the level of the household, Moser (1993:15-27) and the World Bank (2001:31) agree that two models of decision making exist and these are the *unitary* and *collective* models. The unitary model makes the assumption that household members pool resources and allocate them, according to a common set of goals, while the collective model assumes that resources are *not* necessarily pooled and the household simply acts as a collective with members having their own preferences (Gambhir 2001:25). For this study it is also important to find out the impact of the model, adopted by government through the Department of Land Affairs, in furtherance of the principles of engendered development. This assertion is described elsewhere in this thesis.

2.5 THEORETICAL BASE DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Among the perspectives mentioned earlier in this chapter and discussed briefly in Chapter One, it is the feminist/gender and development perspective that has influenced this study, in that it places gender centrally in development. It is for this reason that the GAD (gender and development) perspective has been adopted as the theoretical framework of this study. This perspective grew out of the women in development (WID) and women and

development (WAD) approaches discussed earlier in this chapter.

Gender as a concept is useful in that it highlights dynamics within households. Poats and Sims (1989) argue that intra-household dynamics reflect gender roles and responsibilities and access to resources, such as land. They define gender as a variable used to analyse the roles, responsibilities, constraints and opportunities of people, both men and women, involved in a development effort (Poats & Sims 1989). The gender analysis framework and the conceptual problems associated with this framework are further discussed in Chapter four.

Gender equity or fairness implies the treatment of men and women as equals, such that gender is not used as a basis for systematic discrimination in access to and allocation of resources (Daley & Englert 2010:99). On the other hand, **gender equality** in land rights implies that all men and women be granted equal rights to equal amounts of land, while **gender equity** in land implies that men and women be given equal opportunities to access land, irrespective of gender (Daley & Englert 2010:100).

Another important **concep**t for this study is **development,** which is linked to that of gender mentioned earlier. The concept has been defined in various ways, and over different time periods, in the literature (Hunt 2012). As with gender approaches, discussed elsewhere in this thesis, the term has been influenced by different historical development periods. From the 1950s to the 1970s, development was described as historical progress or modernisation

and equated with modernity and economic growth (Rostow 1960; Rostow 2003; McKay 2012). This definition of development implies that societies move in a fundamental and complete transition, from one condition to another (Hunt 2012). This definition was criticised when the so-called modernity was not achieved by those countries that had followed the path of development advocated by modernisation theory. This led to an emergence of contemporary meanings of development, including that which emanated from the release of the UNDP Human Development Report (Hunt 2012; Scott 1995).

The definition which emerged from the UNDP Report stresses economic, cultural, social and political aspects, with a commitment to equality in the distribution of resources, hence the importance of gender in development. Handelman (2011) defines development as positive change, while Rist (2008:8) defines development as “a process which enables human beings to realise their potential, build self-confidence and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment”. Development is not only about economic growth, but also social production that sustains life. Development is also defined as a movement away from political, economic or social oppression (Rist 2008).

The UN Human Development Reports, UNDP (1996) and UNDP (2011), argue that the development objective is to enlarge the range of people’s choices to make development more democratic and participatory. These choices include access to income and employment opportunities, education and health. In a nutshell, individuals, including women, should have the

opportunity to participate fully in various spheres of their lives and enjoy human, economic and political freedoms (UNDP 1996; UNDP 2011).

Another **concept** defined earlier is that of **land reform.** Dorner (in Coralie 1998:68), a major authority on land reform, defined land reform as a radical measure aims at redistribution of land in favour of peasants and small farmers. His definition also places emphasis on tenure reform. For him, land reform is central to the whole process of development (Coralie 1998). Prosterman and Riedinger (1987) also concur with Dorner in defining land reform as an attempt at altering inequitable power structures for effective development. According to Jacobs (1997) and Moyo, Rutherford and Amanor-Wilks (2000), land reform generally involves the transfer of land from large scale commercial farms to small holders and this can take various forms under different types of tenure. The land reform programme in this study will be studied in the context of gender relations to find out the extent to which the poorest of the poor have benefitted from the programme.

2.6 GENDER ANALYSIS – CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS

The gender analysis framework (GAF) has sensitised governments to take a gendered approach to public policy, thereby mainstreaming gender in development. Unlike WID, gender analysis considers both women and men and goes beyond issues of equity (Agarwal 1994a; Agarwal 2003; Kabeer 1994). It is based on the premise that success in development programmes is enhanced if efforts are specifically targeted at beneficiaries while issues of

equity are being addressed (Nabane & Matzke 1997; Hutchinson 2002). Unlike WID which integrates gender issues within existing development paradigms, a gender perspective implies the transformation of existing development agenda to one set by women. The participation of women is the key strategy, not only as passive recipients of development but as active "shapers" of the process (Koczberski 1998:8; Razavi 2006). In this approach, women themselves define what they perceive as important in the various spheres of their lives. For Koczberski (1998:10) the approach is both a technical and political process in that it requires a shift in ways of thinking and a commitment on the part of governments and other actors in development to engage in strategies that will enhance the roles that women play and to also question the fundamental barriers to women's participation in the development process.

Women have to be part of the decision-making processes at both the national and local (household) levels. It is not realistic to assume that someone who has no say at the level of the household will have much say at a higher level, and vice versa. At the level of public policy, the issue is governance and hence representation (Moser 1993:23). On the other hand, at the level of the household, two models of decision-making are adopted and these are the *unitary and collective* models discussed earlier in this chapter (Gambhir 2001; Jacobs 2010). The former assumes that household members pool resources and allocate them according to a common set of goals, while the latter assumes that resources are not necessarily pooled together and that the household acts as a collective, with members having their own preferences

(Gambhir 2001:25).

The study hopes to unravel which model of decision-making South Africa, through the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), has adopted for the land reform programme in the country. Was an assessment made by government, through the DLA, of which model dominates in the countryside, and particularly for Daggakraal? Such an approach and assessment of public policy has the aim of seeking to equalise opportunities for both women and men. A review of gender mainstreaming efforts in the Third World indicates that not much has been achieved, although successes have been observed in countries such as the Philippines, Zambia and Turkey (Gambhir 2001:8). South Africa has also made some effort in this direction. However, the process of gender mainstreaming, according to Walker (2003:114), is still very much complex and highly politicised, and generally government elites and bureaucracies are rather hostile to mainstreaming efforts. As such, there exists a situation whereby at best there is tokenism.

Walker (2003) and Daly and Englert (2010) argue that even though there was a strong commitment to gender equality as illustrated in the White Paper for South African Land Reform (1997), in practice there were no clear policies and programmes. South Africa's land reform policy is a case in point. Good policies for gender mainstreaming exist but the problem lies with their implementation. In this manner, the highly visible commitment at the national level is not matched by what happens at the level of practice or household level (Walker 2003). Such bottom-up activities aim to alter the rules for

enabling women to participate meaningfully at the micro (household) level (Walker 1997; Walker 2003)). It is, therefore, important that policy makers are aware of the issues that have a bearing on how a gendered development approach should take place (Walker 2003).

Morley (2006) uses micro politics perspective to demonstrate how power is relayed in every day practice. The conceptual framework of micro politics discloses underlying conflicts, competitions and the smallest/tiniest of social relations and reveals both subtle and sophisticated ways in which dominance is achieved in organisations (Morley 2006:544). An important aspect of the perspective is that it allows one to see how power is exercised and experienced in organisations and not only how it is processed. Morley (2006:550), in a study of higher education in South Africa, Nigeria, Uganda, Tanzania and Sri Lanka, reveals how a micro politics perspective makes it possible to see how power is exercised and experienced in higher education institutions.

The main argument is the manner in which gendered power is relayed in every day transactions and relationships. Morley (2006:543) gives an example on South Africa where, even though there exists a strong national policy framework, this is not translated into positive changes for individuals and groups in their daily lives (Morley 2006:544). This observation is similar to what is the finding in this study that good policies are there but implementation is still a problem. The major finding was that gender power relations regulate women's everyday experiences of higher education and the

need to challenge this in order to achieve the aspirations of gender equity policy initiatives.

Writing in the context of a developed country, Australia and on the subject of gender and power relations in the countryside, Pini (2006), agrees with Hutchinson (2002) referred to elsewhere in this chapter, by arguing for new forms of rural governance that address the gendered power relations in the countryside. Her main argument is that women's absence or presence in leadership positions can be contextualised in relation to the question of power in the countryside (Pini 2006:406). She concludes that the findings of her study, while important, are applicable to specific contexts and environments (Pini 2006:399). This illustrates that the question of gender and power remains unresolved in developed countries as well. Little and Panelli (2003), on the other hand review rural geographies of developed countries, Australia and the UK. Their study illustrates the point that the "concept of gender is situated within material and symbolic settings that result in real inequalities as well as uneven political and social implications" (Little & Panelli 2003: 283)

In their review of the World Bank's poverty assessments in six developing countries, Whitehead and Lockwood (1999:3) highlight some inconsistencies in the way gender is treated. The authors argue that there is no clear analytical framework for understanding gender and no detailed guidance on how to produce a gender-sensitive poverty profile (Whitehead & Lockwood 1999). They argue that the lack of consistency mirrors the complexity and

confusions of gender conceptualisations, analysis and language in the development field as a whole (Whitehead & Lockwood 1999). Academic analysis and research on gender and development began with debates about the language of gender. Whitehead and Lockwood (1999) noted that the initial effort was to develop appropriate concepts but the donor community and development practitioners and public institutions subsequently came under pressure to elaborate on their language of gender. The authors further recorded that a then recent common shift had been away from WID to GAD formulations as a result of intense debates about what gender means (Whitehead & Lockwood 1999).

In a review of the World Bank's approach, Moser (1993) contends that there is no agreement on what the term 'gender analysis' means in policy documents. Whitehead & Lockwood (1999) argue that the complexity and lack of coherence in the language of gender and gender approaches arises out of a relatively weak commitment to gender issues within the institution. Razavi & Miller (1995) analysed, over a period of twenty years, the history of the limited resources allocated to gender specialists in the World Bank institution, as well as its mandate and institutional position. The authors describe a marked and early preference for diffusing gender issues throughout the organisation and a tendency to locate gender concerns in the 'soft' areas, such as human resources, while giving strong analytical and policy priority to economics (Razavi & Miller 1995). It is for this reason that Whitehead & Lockwood (1999) and Moser & Moser (2005) argue that there is a need for a common framework of gender analysis. In their review of gender mainstreaming efforts

within a number of international development institutions, Moser & Moser (2005) found out that points of commonality between the institutions were that gender equality and gender empowerment were the main pillars of gender mainstreaming. They came to the conclusion that the main problem was a lack of implementation of the policies that the institutions had set up (Moser & Moser 2005).

The lack of a clear analytical framework leads the researcher to conclude that the treatment of gender in this study should be driven by a set of methodological choices which have greater potential to bring about gender issues and which can also be used to support quantitative research methodologies, such as national surveys (Moser 1993; Moser & Moser 2005; Whitehead 2006). These are participatory methodologies and these will be used in this study. Household surveys rarely provide any intra-household data on gender differences on income or access to land, for example (Moser 1993; Pearson 2007; Poats & Sims 1989).

2.7 GENDER AND LAND REFORM PROCESSES

In South Africa, the language of gender presents some difficulties in the sense that, even though the commonly-used language of gender, such as ‘gender inequality’ reflected in the Constitution and ‘gender-sensitive policies’ reflected in programmes of the DLA (Department of Land Affairs), ‘gender transformation’ is not linguistically connected with other social inequalities, such as those shaped by race and class (Walker 2003:123). According to

Walker (2003:123) “particular uses of gender language can mask the complicated ways in which gender relations intersect with social relations of class, race, age, geography, and ethnicity. In the absence of more inclusive language, it is only in specific contexts that the assumptions underlying particular terms are made clear”. It is only with concrete detail that effective meaning is given to such general terms as ‘gender equality’, as will be seen in this study on gender and land reform.

The land sector presents challenges, because it is in the control and ownership of land that patriarchal power ultimately resides (Hargreaves & Meer 2000). The government, through the DLA, focuses on race where the historically disadvantaged are black people, without looking at issues of differentiation even within this race. Hargreaves & Meer (2000) and Walker (2003:115) argue that this is consistent with the analysis prevalent within the South African liberation movements in which neither race nor class were seen as gendered. The concern was with redressing legacies of the past with race as the all-important yardstick. The reality, however, is that women and men of a particular race or class experience differential access to, and control over, resources, power and authority because of the way in which gender relations are constructed (Walker 2003:116). Despite the equality provisions in the constitution and despite the land reform processes established in 1995, it is highly unlikely that women will be able to make claims to land or access land as individuals (Meer 1997; Hargreaves & Meer 2000).

Kabeer (1992:25) points out that the power relations aspect of gender derives

from social arrangements and cultural rules which provide men of a given social class greater capacity than women within that class to mobilise a variety of cultural rules and material resources in pursuit of their own interests. Kabeer (1992:27) further argues that since power relations between women and men are conceptualised at the level of both ideas and practice, genuine change must encompass both levels. In addition to highlighting the point that gender and other inequalities overlap, Kabeer (1992:28) offers a framework for understanding the role that institutions play in reproducing unequal social relations. She points out that unequal social relations dictate unequal relations to resources, claims and responsibilities (Kabeer 1992). Social relations give rise to the meaning of who we are, what our roles and responsibilities are, what claims we can make, what our rights are, and what control we have over our rights and over the rights of others (Kabeer 1992:29).

Kabeer (1992:29) defines institutions as a framework of rules for doing things and organisations as the specific structural forms that institutions take. She gives four key institutions and these are the state, the market, the community at the national level, and the family at the level of the household. The state is the larger institutional framework for a range of legal and administrative organisations. While few institutions profess to have ideologies of gender or any other form of inequality, in reality they reproduce inequalities (Hargreaves & Meer 2000). Furthermore, Kabeer (1992:29) contends that although the institutions appear to be self-contained, they in fact act on each other and need to be understood in relation to each other.

According to Hargreaves & Meer (2000) the importance of this approach is that it highlights the state as an institution that safeguards and reproduces specific race, class and gender interests, and it situates a specific government department as a specific organisational form within the institution of the state. This requires that while we may look to the state or to a specific government department to reallocate resources in an equitable way, as is the case with land reform and the DLA in the context of South Africa, we should also be cognisant of the role which the state plays in maintaining inequalities, since the state is not neutral in this regard (Hargreaves & Meer; Walker 2003). This approach prioritises the links between the household, the community and the state, and suggests that we need to understand the ways in which these institutional levels interact with each other to reproduce or challenge existing imbalances (Walker 2003:114; Daley & Englert 2010:104).

Kabeer (1992:45) defines institutions as relations of power which symbolise relations of authority and control. Agarwal (1994a) concurs with Kabeer (1992) that power struggles take place within institutions. Some institutional actors have authority over others and promote practices that reinforce a privileged position. Those actors who benefit from the specific rules and practices are likely to resist change. Power shifts can result in challenges to the status quo from the less privileged. The argument also highlights the importance of informal rules, attitudes and practices in maintaining existing relations and the need to look beyond the formal picture in order to understand how inequities are reinforced (Kabeer 1992). This position suggests that legal solutions will not be adequate to address gender and other

inequalities. A good example in this study is the point that the existence of land legislation and other instruments will not, on their own, address gender concerns in the countryside.

2.8 THE IMPORTANCE OF LAND

Land has a strategic importance and is very different because of this from other concerns of the state such as education, health or social welfare. Land ownership defines economic status, social status and political power, in addition to restructuring relationships within and outside the household (Agarwal 1994a:2). Writing in the context of South Asia, Agarwal (1994a:2) points out that redistributive land reform is not on the agenda of public policy in any country. She points out that there are numerous obstacles in the way of getting land reform on to the agenda. For example, Agarwal (1994a:3) argues that advancing women's independent land rights:

> "means admitting new contenders for a share in a scarce and highly valuable resource and which determines economic wellbeing and shapes power relations in the count; and it means extending the conflict over land that has existed largely between men, to men and women, thus bringing it into the family's inner courtyard".

Advancing women's rights requires engagement in struggles against social norms and practices, struggles for women's access to public decision making at every level, and struggles against gender ideas. It will require shifts in

power balances in women's favour within the household, market and the various tiers of state apparatus (Agarwal 1994a:10). Understanding the meaning of land in the way Agarwal suggests, entails a shake-up of the existing order and acknowledges the political nature of land reform. It suggests the need for strategies to support poor women in the face of a range of powerful vested interests which will resist a change in the prevailing status quo.

In the case of South Africa, there is a tendency to adopt a basic needs approach that treats land as a practical need and depoliticises the nature of land reform (Walker 2003). Cross and Friedman (1997:37) argue that meeting the social equity goal of delivering large numbers of small plots of land to those who were denied access in the past would alter existing rural relations dramatically. Such a shake-up would be resisted by those who benefit from the status quo and these are commercial farmers, traditional chiefs and men within households in the countryside (Walker 2009). Commercial agriculture, for example, reacted to legislation aimed at providing greater security of tenure to farm workers and tenants by evicting workers just prior to the law being promulgated (Walker 1997; O'Conchuir 1998). This has continued even after the introduction of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (South Africa 1997c) and its amendment (2001) (South Africa 2001), as well as the Land Reform and Labour Tenants Act (South Africa 1996a). Traditional leaders also view tenure reform as a threat to their powers to allocate land (Walker 1997; Walker 2009).

2.9 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LAND REFORM, GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT: A SUMMARY

As reviewed earlier, writers on land reform and tenure hold a variety of perspectives, among which are ***structuralists*** (Hirschman 1961) for whom the patterns of land tenure are responsible for the lag in agricultural production. According to this perspective, communal tenure is blamed for most of the problems in Africa's agriculture. ***Dependency theorists***, on the other hand, use political economy to explain exploitative land relations in developing countries (Frank 1969). Frank's argument is that internal colonialism has given rise to poor economic performance among the poor, the landless and the near landless. ***Institutionalists*** give economic reasons for land reform (Dorner 1972; King 1977) and assert that small-scale farms have greater productivity than large-scale farms. This view proposes the use of cooperative farms, as well as state intervention, in the implementation of policy.

The perspectives mentioned above do not say anything about the gender dimensions of land reform. There were some major shifts in policy circles in the 1980s and 1990s (the fall of Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War) with regard to the way in which land reform policy objectives have been stated. There has been a move towards incorporating gender relations in the discussions of land reform.

Marxists, while arguing for social and political rationales for land reform, have

tended to focus on class concerns (Bernstein 1996; Bernstein 2003; Cox 1986; Lipton 1974; Lipton 2009). ***Populists*** on the other hand, have ignored gender divisions while concentrating on class concerns (Christodoulou 1990; El Ghonemy 1990; El Ghonemy 2010). While class concerns maybe important, as Marxists and populists assert, they do not take into account the fact that women are positioned differently to men of the same class and culture in terms of resources and power (Jacobs 1997). Marxists and populists (Barraclough 1991; Bernstein 1996; Bernstein 2003; Cox 1986; Christodoulou 1990; El Ghonemy 1990; El Ghonemy 2010; Lipton 1974) also question the viability of small holdings, although the record of collectives has not been an impressive one. Attempts at collectivisation have largely been reversed in China, Nicaragua and Vietnam (Jacobs 2010; Li & Bruce 2005).

While not paying attention to land reform in their analysis of the relationship between class and gender, Bryant & Pini (2009) draw from sociological literature and populist perspectives to explain what they term “rural theories of class and gender” in a rural setting in Australia (Bryant & Pini 2009:48). They trace the evolution of the concepts of gender and class over time and discuss the emergence of feminist literature in the 1980s and 1990s (Bryant & Pini 2009: 49-51). The thrust of their argument is that the gender and class debate will be enhanced and that context is very important. Gender and class are connected in rural spaces. This work is important as a comparative work on gender, class and rurality within the context of developed countries and is useful in exploring ways in which differences may shape gender and class in a rural setting (Bryant & Pini 2006:56).

In discourses on land reform, women are assumed to reside conceptually within the household with little attention being paid to their productive contribution to household agriculture and petty commodity production (Jacobs 1997). The Marxists' school of thought and that of populists then become unified in their treatment of gender in that both make similar assumptions about women's positions. Studies influenced by the two perspectives have focused on the societal rather than the household level, thereby concealing gender relations within the household. These perspectives are beginning to be critiqued by a growing body of feminist literature, discussed below.

The ***feminist and gender and development*** perspectives also analyse gender with regard to land reform policies. However, this literature still exists in isolation from mainstream literature on land reform. Major contributions are Agarwal (1985); Agarwal (1988); Agarwal (1994a); Agarwal (1994b); Agarwal (2003). The concern here is with peasant households, gender and class, gender relations, state policies and land reform issues in South Asia. With respect to Malawi and Mozambique, the major contributor is Davison (1988; & 1993) who has also written on gender implications of land reform in these two countries. Writers on Latin America are Deere (1977); Deere (1983); Deere (1987); Deere & Leon de Leal (1982); Deere & Leon de Leal (1987) who focus on state policies and gender relations among peasant small holders in Latin America. In South Africa and Southern Africa, the major contributions on gender and land reform are (Meer 1997; Jacobs 1989; Jacobs 1992; Jacobs 1997; Jacobs 1998; Jacobs 2010; Marcus 1994; Marcus, Eales & Wildshut

1996; Walker 1994; Walker 1997; Walker 2003; Walker 2005; and Walker 2009) but not much research has been done on the dynamics of the rural household.

What is also lacking in the literature on gender and land reform is theoretical and analytical work on gender and development and women and development issues, despite the fact that a high proportion of women reside in the rural areas. There have not been enough empirical studies done on gender and land reform. It is hoped that this study will make a contribution to this area. Other writings on South Africa, inspired by populism, Marxism and postmodernism or discourse theory, take gender seriously but make the assumption that households can be discussed as unified entities, even if inequalities exist (Levin & Weiner 1996; Murray & Williams 1994; Bernstein 1996; Bernstein 2003; Neocosmos 1993).

Based on the discussion above, this study aims to refute this assumption and to show that the rural terrain is an area of contestation of social relations. An important aim of the study is to find out the relation between men and women and between women themselves in terms of their rights to land, access to land, and their control of this resource. Since different perspectives and theoretical assumptions give rise to particular policies and strategies, it was important to unpack them.

2.10 CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter has been to provide a historical and theoretical background to land reform, gender and development. Issues of concern with land reform have been discussed. It is important to note that almost all of the literature on land reform reviewed has been gender blind. In cases where gender was mentioned, it was in passing, without any link to land reform. It has also been demonstrated why the Gender and Development (GAD) framework has been adopted as the theoretical framework for this study in spite of the identified conceptual problems associated with gender analysis – a central aspect of the framework.

The next chapter will look at the problem in historical context, with a major focus on South Africa. Land policies and legislation before 1994 will be reviewed to establish the nature of the South African state in terms of people's access and control of land. With regard to the period after 1994, the intention is to look at what strategies were adopted to redress the gross imbalances in the countryside. Has the enacted legislation been followed to the letter? What are the obstacles? Are land policies sensitive to gender? These are some of the questions the following chapters will seek to address.

CHAPTER 3
THE LEGISLATIVE AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The discussion below gives a broad overview of land reform issues in the Third World, with a focus on Africa. The discussion then narrows to South Africa where the focus is specifically on a number of legislative and policy frameworks that impact both directly and indirectly on land reform delivery and the gendered aspects thereof. Firstly, it will review legal mechanisms for land reform and more specifically those dealing with land redistribution. Of major importance here is the *White Paper on Land Reform Policy* of 1997 (South Africa 1997a). Secondly, it will look at the role of the World Bank in shaping land reform policy in South Africa. Thirdly, it will look at the role of Government's Growth and Employment Strategy (GEAR) in facilitating or hampering land reform delivery.

3.2 THE LAND QUESTION IN THE THIRD WORLD

Land reform has taken various forms in different countries. Prior to the 1990s, land reform in some countries was not a significant programme but in the 1990s it emerged as an important component of national development policy (Borras 2005; Borras et al 2007). For example, in Brazil and the Philippines, there have been state-driven attempts at land redistribution (Borras 2005).

Both countries have also witnessed strong military dictatorships, peasant movements and the rise of rural social movements agitating for reform in the land sector (Borras 2005). Market-led agrarian reforms have been implemented side by side with the state-driven land reform programmes. Some countries have experimented with land reform in the past, within a broad capitalistic framework (Bush 2002). Examples are Bolivia and Egypt, where land reform did not result in significant impact on poverty reduction and it is for this reason that they are confronted by important changes in land policy regimes (Borras 2005; Borras et al 2007; Jacobs 2010).

Other countries, such as Ethiopia, implemented land reforms with socialist inclinations but are now promoting varying degrees of market-oriented land policies. In some countries with a long history of colonisation, new land policies have had to be developed when the new post-colonial state came into being. Examples here are Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Moyo & Yeros 2005). In these countries land reform has been shaped by the way colonialism ended, as well as by the character of the nationalist government that came into power (Moyo & Yeros 2005; Lahiff 2007). All these countries were, in the early stages, forced to adopt the market-oriented land policies. The policies have been replaced by more radical land policies in Zimbabwe, for example, where large amounts of land were expropriated through the “fast track land reform programme” (Moyo & Yeros 2005; Worby 2001).

It has been demonstrated in Chapter One that governments in Africa experimented with land reform without success (Lund et al 1996) and that this

was replaced by the market-led approach advocated by the World Bank which have not yielded successes either (Fortin 2005; Lund et al 1996; Shipton 1988).

3.3 BACKGROUND TO LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Prior to 1994 there were various debates on the land question in preparation for a democratic post-apartheid state (Cliffe 1992; Cooper 1992). Why was land reform important for South Africa? The answer lies in the history of colonisation when in the late 1880s and early 1900s mechanisms were instituted by the various colonial governments to systematically dispossess Africans of their land (Legassick 1976; Bundy 1979). Bundy, in his 1979 celebrated work *The Rise and Fall of the African Peasantry,* and Mbeki (1984), argue that Africans were successful farmers who had ventured into sharecropping schemes with white South Africans and it was this very success that led to their downfall**.** Sharecropping was a system of agriculture where land owners allowed their African tenants to use their land in return for a share of the crops. The political and economic pressures for land reform grew out of this history of colonial dispossession in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the racial pattern of land ownership that successive white minority governments enforced after 1910 (Walker 2003; Ntsebeza 2007; Wolpe 1972).

With the discovery of minerals, especially gold in the 1880s, systematic attempts were made to compel Africans to become wage labourers in the

growing gold mines and capitalist economy (Ntsebeza 2007). Of major significance here was the Native Land Act of 1913 which sought to reduce competition from the black peasant producers by dispossessing them of their lands (Bundy 1979). The Act set aside scheduled or segregated areas for African occupation. These were first referred to as the Reserves and later as Bantustans in the latter part of the twentieth century. Africans were forbidden from buying or owning land on these reserves and were placed under the control of chiefs who imposed on them by the government of the day (Ntsebeza 2007).

According to Bundy (1979:46; Ntsebeza 2007), the abolition of sharecropping, which had worked well prior to the Land Act of 1913, as well as Africans' inability to access land outside the reserves, all led to the fall of the peasantry in South Africa. Ultimately, Africans provided cheap labour power to the growing white-owned commercial farming sector and to the growing capitalist economy, while maintaining strong links to the countryside (Legassick 1976; Bundy 1979). The legislation enacted by the apartheid state perpetuated and gave rise to overcrowding, landlessness and mass poverty in the reserves which became the home for victims of forced removals of "black spots" from "white territory" (Legassick 1976).

It was, therefore, not surprising that immediately after the first democratic election in 1994 in South Africa, the new ANC-led government would embark on a wide-ranging and ambitious programme of transformation of the countryside through the Reconstruction Development Programme (ANC 1994;

Aliber 2003:471). A major tenet of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) policy framework was the need to reduce the poverty affecting millions of South Africans, thereby redressing inequalities and injustices of the past (Aliber 2003:472; May 2000; Turner & Ibsen 2000). One damaging legacy of past discriminatory apartheid policies is the inequitable distribution of productive assets, including land, between race groups which meant that land had become a source of social tension (Aliber 2003; Ntsebeza 2007). Many rural people are landless, and even those with small pieces of land are unable to produce for both subsistence and commercial purposes. It was only logical that access to land, through land redistribution, tenure reform and land restitution, was one of the main priorities highlighted in the RDP document. Land redistribution, more than the other two approaches to land reform, became the central and driving force envisaged in the RDP document (May 2000).

The RDP's main aim was to involve all people in a process of empowerment that led to equality in gaining access to resources (Rangan & Gilmartin 2002). It identified land and agrarian reform as the most important issue facing the new government (Hargreaves & Meer 2000; Rangan & Gilmartin 2002; Walker 2003). The RDP was, however, replaced by a growth, employment and redistribution strategy (GEAR) (Bond 2000). This strategy placed greater emphasis on using market mechanisms to create employment opportunities, redistribute assets, reform state institutions and reduce poverty in the rural and urban areas (May 2000:21). It also reiterated a commitment to gender equity in land reform by supporting women to undertake market-oriented

farming, training and capacity-building on land-related matters (Turner & Ibsen 2000).

Even though issues of land were a major topic in scholarly articles, prior to 1994, the ANC did not produce any substantial land and agrarian policies in anticipation of a post-apartheid South Africa and land reform did not feature prominantly on the ANC agenda (Bond 2000; Weideman 2004:5). Bond (2000) argues that it is for this reason that it was easy for the ANC to replace RDP by GEAR. Although RDP offices were set up in the President's office, charged with the responsibility of coordinating RDP activities, RDP was not implemented. The offices were closed and subsequently replaced by a more "business friendly" and fiscally conservative model (Aliber 2003; Bond 2000:7). In early 1996, in the midst of much public debate as to what the RDP meant for economic policy, the RDP offices were closed and the staff dispersed to various government departments (Aliber 2003). Those opposed to GEAR were surprised by this shift in programme focus and wondered how the government would tackle the country's problems of unemployment and poverty, using this inappropriate approach (Weideman 2004:9).

The introduction of GEAR totally overshadowed the RDP as the central economic programme of the government (Aliber 2003; Hargreaves & Meer 2000). The introduction of GEAR to replace the RDP reinforced government's emphasis on fiscal discipline and export promotion (Weideman 2004). It is often said it is no coincidence that the word 'redistribution' is at the end of the acronym. GEAR is concerned mainly with economic growth and it was not

surprising that it was warmly received and supported by business in South Africa. According to Bond (2000), critics of GEAR accused government of reneging on its promises of a people-driven process for service delivery. The move was labelled a “neo-liberal sell-out” (Bond 2000). Many scholars and critics ascribe problems in land reform and rural development to government’s abandonment of a more radical approach to social transformation (represented by the RDP), in favour of a more liberal, market-oriented approach (represented by GEAR) advocated by the World Bank (Bond 2000; Rangan & Gilmartin 2002). It was against this shift in strategies that the present land reform was implemented in South Africa.

3.4 LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA – GENDER ASPECTS

Generally, South Africa has reflected an awareness of a broad trend of issues of gender in land reform, especially among populists, Marxist and feminist writers, such as Bernstein (2003); Bernstein (2004); May (2000); Hargreaves and Meer (2000); Walker (1997); Walker (2003) and Hall (2007). Policies adopted by the ANC led government “outlined a strong commitment to gender and human rights in its approach to development” (Rangan & Gilmartin 2002:634). The state is legally committed to promoting and fulfilling the democratic rights of everyone which are set out in the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. This has been seen as committing the state to promoting a “gender perspective”, embedded in all its programmes and policies (Hargreaves & Meer 2000). South Africa has also signed various declarations and conventions the aim of which was to promote

women's advancement (Rangan & Gilmartin 2002:634; Walker 2003).

In April 1997, South Africa's Department of Land Affairs (DLA) approved a Land Reform and Gender Policy document (LRG Policy 1997b) aimed at creating an enabling environment for a gender-sensitive land reform (DLA 1998:13; Walker 2003). The document committed the Department to implementing a set of guiding principles to actively promote the principle of gender equity in land reform (Walker 2003).

> The principles "included mechanisms for ensuring women's full participation in decision making; communication strategies; gender sensitive methodologies in project planning; legislative reform; training; collaboration with NGOs and government structures and compliance with international commitments such as the 1995 '"Beijing Platform for Action"' and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which South Africa had re-ratified in 1995" (Walker 2003:123).

The approval of the gender policy document coincided with government's formal adoption of its framework for land reform, the W*hite Paper on South African Land Policy* (Walker 2003). The White Paper endorsed gender equity as a key outcome to be achieved through the targeting of women as beneficiaries (DLA 1998:17). However, it is argued that, in practice there appears to have been very little advancement of gender rights and land reform in South Africa (Walker 2003:123; Rangan & Gilmartin 2002). Walker (2003) and Turner and Ibsen (2000) give reasons why gender equity in South

Africa's land reform has failed and among these are inconsistencies in the interpretations of gender equity and the lack of clarity on how women should be identified as beneficiaries of land reform.

There appears to be no connection between what is spelt out in formal policy documents and the treatment of gender issues in practice (Walker 2003:12). This is one of the thrusts of the thesis. The concern here is why gender equity has operated at the level of policy but not at the level of practice. To what extent has the DLA engaged with rural women? To do this, I will use the experience of Daggakraal during the first phase of land reform and argue that the current phase has not made it better for land reform beneficiaries, particularly women beneficiaries, either. Land reform has noble intentions and these are aimed at ushering in a just, productive society as envisaged in the *White Paper on South Africa Land Policy* (South Africa 1997a; Walker 2003). It has been viewed as a catalyst for altering unequal rural gender relations. However, for land reform to succeed as a catalyst for transforming gender relations in the countryside as Walker (2003) suggests, means there is a need to challenge the unequal gender relations that are embedded in the mind-sets of people living in the countryside.

3.4.1 **The first phase of land reform in South Africa 1993 – 1999**

The major aim of land reform under the Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) was to redress the injustices of colonialism and apartheid which had resulted in a skewed distribution of land where white South Africans, who

represented about ten per cent of the population, owned about eighty-seven per cent of the land (South Africa 1997a; Mutangara 2007). In addition, land reform was intended to address extreme conditions of rural poverty in the countryside where the majority of South Africa's poor lived, and to address the aspirations of women, in particular (Walker 2003; Cross & Friedman 1997). The land reform programme has three components and these are land redistribution, land restitution and land tenure reform. Land redistribution is aimed at transforming the skewed pattern of land ownership in the countryside and redressing the rural imbalance in land holding. Land restitution is aimed at addressing the restoration of historical rights in land for victims of forced removals and dispossessions. Land tenure reform is intended to secure and extend tenure rights for victims of forced removals and dispossession (Davis, Horn & Govender-Van Wyk 2004:6).

The first phase of land reform that emerged from the negotiated settlement and policy debates in the 1990s attempted to highlight a strong commitment to the goals of social justice within the principles of market-led land reform (Walker 2003). The task of the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) was to meet the expectations of land reform among the newly enfranchised majority; to draft and guide through an unfamiliar parliamentary process the legislation to achieve this; and to develop the institutional structures and operating systems to achieve its work. All of this had to be undertaken within the unsettled political transition with a limited budget and with a small core of new recruits (Walker 2003). At the time, the DLA worked within an isolated environment where there was no proper coordination between provincial and local

governments (Hall 2007; Walker 2003:114). The purpose of the land redistribution programme was to provide the poor with access to land for residential and productive purposes in order to improve their quality of life and income (South Africa 1997a). It was to be realised through a market-assisted programme in which the state would support those wanting to acquire land, “willing buyers”, from those willing to sell their land, “willing sellers” (Lahiff 2007; Mearns 2011).

The Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) programme was introduced as a pilot programme in 1995 and in designated “pilot districts” in each province, while systems and procedures were developed and new offices set up (Walker 2003; Turner & Ibsen 2000). Utilising a state grant package, eligible households could purchase land on the market, assisted by the DLA or an NGO, and any balance of the grant remaining available was used for development of the land purchased (Davis et al 2004:6; Walker 2003). Because of the high cost of the land relative to the grant, most projects involved groups pooling their grants to buy land jointly, either as CPA or Trusts or Equity Schemes, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis (Bradstock 2005; Hall 2007). In most cases, strong historical ties held groups together, as did economic and social considerations (Hall 2007).

The projects focused primarily on resettlement and very little attention was given to economic development and this became a regular complaint of land reform critics in the country, especially those in the commercial farming sector (Levin 2000; Walker 2003). However, over time the DLA put more emphasis

on smaller projects and ecological sustainability (an important step in that gender aspects were pushed to the background) (Levin 2000:68). For the period 1999, going into 2000, a Quality of Life Report commissioned by the DLA was cautiously positive about the achievements to date and among these was the target to reach the poorest of the poor, even on a very limited scale (DLA 2000). Most importantly, the study concluded that a "properly structured land reform programme has considerable potential for productive development and poverty eradication" (DLA 2000). By the end of 1999, redistribution efforts had transferred only 1.13 per cent of agricultural land to black ownership, and women accounted for 47 per cent of the 78 758 beneficiaries listed in the national database in June 2000 and this total included mainly joint male and female households, and not women as a distinct category (Walker 2003:114).

Although women were represented at project committee levels in some projects, male-headed households had access to larger plot sizes, on average, and female-headed households were less likely to use their plots for agricultural purposes (DLA 2000:26; Walker 2003). This assertion supports this study's argument that the major problem is the fact that the concept of the household was not unpacked when the land reform policy was conceptualised and formulated. For this reason, the study will, among other things, serve as a window on gender relations in the countryside.

3.4.2 **The second phase of land reform in South Africa**

The late 1999s and early 2000s, when President Thabo Mbeki came into power and reshuffled the DLA, was a period marked by major shifts in the national policy framework that stressed the importance of agricultural productivity and the need for an African commercial farming sector (Jacobs 2010:173). During this period, a moratorium was placed on all existing projects pending a policy review and, significantly, income was dropped as a criterion for eligibility for land reform grants (Hall 2007; Jacobs 2010). This made it possible for wealthier black people to apply for grants under this new programme, the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development Programme (LRAD) (Jacobs 2010). During this period, new senior management was appointed by the new Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs. All of the above led to institutional paralysis because officials on the ground could not get proper directives from the new management who in turn were unable to provide the needed direction on the ground until a new policy document was published. This state of affairs effectively stifled operations on the ground (Hall 2007; Walker 2003). The new policy document, the Land Redistribution and Agricultural Development policy (LRAD), was finally published in 2000 and officials on the ground then had direction as to how to implement the programme (Walker 2003:121).

The aim of the new programme (LRAD) was to transfer 30 per cent of agricultural land from white to black ownership over 15 years and to revamp

the earlier grant system to support agricultural initiatives (Walker 2003:125). Unlike in the earlier programme, in this phase grants are awarded to eligible individuals, as opposed to households, with grants ranging from R20 000 to R100 000 (DLA 2000:5). All members of disadvantaged groups are eligible, provided they make a contribution in cash or kind and use the grant for agricultural purposes and not for housing resettlement, as was the case in the earlier phase (Walker 2003:121). This is evidently a significant departure from the market-led and World Bank (WB) welfare proposals of providing a safety net for the poor, as well as an outright base grant.

Some gender activists have argued that the new shift from *household* to *individual* has opened up possibilities for women to own land and acquire land rights that are independent of the family and male control (Cross & Hornby 2002:55; Walker 2003). These land rights, however, mean that only the wealthier sections of black farmers, which include men and women, will be able to acquire land rights, to the exclusion of poor women and men in the countryside (Walker 2003). In essence, this means that although LRAD has noble gender specific targets, it is only wealthier women who will access the grant under this programme. For this reason, the problem of gender will remain unresolved (Rangan & Gilmartin 2002). There are valid fears that this programme will end up benefitting women in strategic positions only and that women who are poor may only enter the programme with the support of a male relative and this is a step backward from gender equity (Cross & Hornby 2002:55). It is hoped that recommendations emanating from this thesis will shed light on how this process and others on land reform could best address

the gender aspects in South Africa.

As a result of prevailing unequal power relations in the countryside, as they affect the economic and social standing of most rural women, it is clear that only the better-off and educated women are likely to benefit from the new opportunities (Walker 2003). This programme is an ambitious one, implying a dramatic increase in budget allocation for the DLA, in staff capacity and general support for land reform at various levels of government. However, budget allocations for redistribution and tenure reform have not increased but declined from R421.9 million in 2001/2 to R339.5 million in 2003/4 (Walker 2003:125).

3.4.2.1 The comprehensive agricultural support programme (CASP)

The Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) is a framework developed to complement both LRAD and SLAG and is managed by the Department of Agriculture (DoA). The aim of CASP is to improve the quality of post-settlement support in agricultural projects and is available to all emergent farmers, including women (Hall 2004:213). CASP is a programme designed to enhance the provision of support services in order to promote and facilitate agricultural development, targeting beneficiaries of the land reform programmes (Rungasamy 2011:46). The programme draws its mandate from the recommendations of the Strauss Commission (1996), which introduced the adoption of a package, aimed at improving the conditions of the

beneficiaries of land reform and it is further mandated by other policies, such as the *White Paper on Agriculture* (1997) (Hall 2004:213).

The beneficiaries of the programme are farmers both under LRAD and SLAG. The beneficiaries are provided with farm level support under this programme. CASP targets beneficiaries from previously disadvantaged groups so as to enhance national and household food security. Beneficiaries receive a once-off grant for an agricultural-related project and the request for the grant is expected to adhere to the guidelines proposed in the LRAD operational manual (Hall 2004:214; Rungasamy 2011:46).

A major weakness of CASP is that women are not targeted as a group but are mentioned as a part of targeted beneficiaries. These are emergent farmers, subsistence and household food producers, and the hungry and vulnerable (Department of Agriculture (DoA) 2004). A review of the programme shows a major concern for all state agencies supporting the agricultural sector was a lack of delivery and implementation of regulations and programmes and an ineffective support mechanism in the land sector (DoA 2004:10; Rungasamy 2011). In a nutshell, CASP has not been effective in its support of land reform, particularly land reform for agricultural development (LRAD).

According to Hall (2004:215), a major challenge is how to ensure that land transfers are implemented as part of the broader changes in access to resources and infrastructure. This, in effect, gives beneficiaries only two choices: to either undertake low-input agriculture that they can finance

themselves, or, to engage in joint ventures with public or private sector partners (Hall 2004:216).

3.5 LAND TENURE REFORM.

Land tenure reform is said to be the most significant of the three land reform programmes mentioned in this study. Tenure reform aims to address the inequalities between owners and occupiers (tenants) by formalising informal rights, upgrading weak rights and putting in place restrictions on the removal of rights to land (South Africa 1997a:57). This is done through a number of Acts which are discussed below. With regard to progress, land tenure reform has not received enough attention, as was the case with land redistribution in the late 1999. Tenure reform has continued to be relegated to the background as politicians procrastinate through fear of upsetting traditional leaders and other landed interests in the countryside (Walker 2003; Jacobs 2010). Only in late 2000 were draft principles finally released for public comment, with the hope for the release of the draft Land Tenure Security Bill in 2001 (Walker 2003:122).

The principles in the Land Tenure Bill argued for a case for accommodating traditional leaders as the registered owners of communal land, while proposing that provision must be made for a range of other land holding arrangements (Sibanda 2001:15; Walker 2003). This was in keeping with government's commitment to build on "existing local institutions and structures both to keep costs down and to ensure "local commitment and support" (DLA

2001:11). Gender equity was not given any prominence in the principles of the Draft Land Tenure Reform Bill (Walker 2003).

The new policy directions were in line with the GEAR strategy adopted by the ANC led government. The aim was to promote commercial agriculture, and also to fulfil the aspirations of the emerging black elite. As a result of this the major task of land reform came to be redefined to support black access to commercial agriculture on the grounds of race and historical deprivation, rather than poverty and current need (Classens 2000; Hall 2004; Walker 2003). This meant that the policy commitments of the 1997 White Paper to poor rural women remained in the periphery (Classens 2000; Hall 2004; Walker 2003).

3.6 THE ROLE OF THE WORLD BANK IN SHAPING LAND REFORM POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, the neo-liberal policy, as opposed to a programme directed at significant social and economic transformation of society, was adopted in an effort to search for a compromise in line with Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Manji 2003:157). It is not surprising, then, that the World Bank was instrumental in shaping land reform policy in South Africa, as it has done in other Third World countries (Manji 2003).

The World Bank engaged in South Africa's land policy development process

in the early 1990s and was very influential. It argued for a market-led land reform programme to redistribute 30% of the land over a period of 15 years (Rangan & Gilmartin 2002). Land could change hands based on the principle of "willing seller and willing buyer". The World Bank's involvement in the policy process was received with scepticism from a number of critics as to what its intended objectives were (Bernstein 2003; Bond 2000). This scepticism, perhaps, is a result of the realisation that early debates on land reform in Africa were characterised by the very little attention that was paid to gender and women's rights in land in Africa.

This has been evident in the series of reports produced by the World Bank which have failed to analyse the gender implications of land issues in Africa and have neglected the literature that shows that households are heterogeneous units where the interests of members are not identical (Agarwal 1994a & Agarwal 1994b; Manji 2003). The World Bank's recommendations were, not surprisingly, well received by landed interests in the country, namely the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU), who were assured that "no land would be expropriated or nationalized with a view of establishing small farmer projects" (Bond 2000). Among these recommendations were liberalisation of the economy, the abolition of protectionist policies, a constitutional guarantee of private property rights, and a flexible communal tenure and land ownership (Weideman 2004:7).

Civil society and rural communities were represented in these negotiations. However, alternative views and concerns raised by rural communities at these

deliberations were not fully integrated in the policy process (Levin & Weiner 1997). Local activists and experts from a variety of NGOs in the land sector were also not in agreement with the World Bank on an appropriate course of action (Weideman 2004:9). According to some critics, there have been noticeable changes in its policy in that more emphasis is now placed on the legality and legitimacy of existing institutional arrangements and on the acceptance that issues of efficiency will not automatically resolve equity issues, including the rights of historically disadvantaged groups such as women, herders and indigenous populations (Deininger & May 2002). Moreover, there has not been a concerted effort within the World Bank to grapple with the gender dimensions in land reform (Manji 2003:157).

The land reform programme needs to be understood in the context of various political processes that preceded a variety of policies that were adopted in an effort to implement land reform in the country. The nature of South Africa's transition to democracy, in that it took a negotiated settlement rather than a revolutionary overthrow of state power, has been a strong determinant of which forces were able to shape the nature of the post-apartheid state (Levin & Weiner 1996). This is referred to as an "elite pact" where reformers in the old regime and new elites from the democratic opposition enter into negotiations to avert a civil war (Bond 2000). The result is the introduction of a democracy that effectively preserves the status quo. It is within this framework that land reform was implemented in South Africa.

The liberal democratic framework discussed above did not allow for a

representation of various interests. The key actors at CODESA were political parties, international financiers, namely the World Bank, and legal experts (Goetz 1997). Women delegates who got to the negotiating table as a result of pressure from women's organisations found themselves operating under the dictates of their political parties, in the main. As such, they were constrained from advancing women's specific interests (Weideman 2004:8). The outcomes of the negotiations reflected the middle ground arrived at and the various policy directions which it was hoped that the ANC would pursue, took a back seat. Nationalisation was a case in point. As mentioned elsewhere in the thesis, the ANC was lukewarm to nationalisation even before CODESA (Weideman 2004:8).

The middle ground is reflected in a balancing act, for example: reconstruction going hand-in-hand with reconciliation in overall policy; with the country's constitution making provision for land reform while entrenching existing property rights; the guaranteeing of gender equality while simultaneously safeguarding traditional and customary rights that infringe such rights (Meer 1997). Other critics have argued that the "aspirations of rural people around land have been subordinated to other priorities" (Levin & Weiner 1997:267; Weideman 2004).

3.7 PROVISION OF LAND AND ASSISTANCE ACT 1993.

The aim of the Provision of Land Assistance Act was to provide for the designation of certain land and to provide land for settlement purposes; for

rendering financial assistance in the form of subsidies, for example, for acquisition of land and to secure tenure (South Africa 1993). The Act laid the groundwork for land reform policy in South Africa. The aim of the Act was also to address impending issues of land reform. It gave the Minister power to buy land for settlement purposes; for a transfer of land to beneficiaries for a multiplicity of purposes, among which are residential, small-scale farming, and community, etc. The importance of the Act is that it laid the foundation for all the other Acts that would be adopted after 1994 in South Africa. The Act was promulgated in 1993, the year the World Bank released its report, “Options for Land Reform in South Africa” which was to guide South Africa in its formulation of a market-led land reform programme and this is an indication that the Act was influenced largely by the World Bank (World Bank 1993).

3.8 THE LAND REFORM (LABOUR TENANTS ACT) (1996)

The Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act, 1996, deals with the rights of farm workers as a homogenous group (South Africa 1996a). Unlike the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA), discussed below, this Act deals with farm workers’ rights as labour tenants and is intended to prevent their arbitrary eviction. It gives labour tenants on farms the right to claim stronger rights, including ownership to the land they use. The Act also allows labour tenants to obtain independent long-term secure tenure rights to land they occupy or to alternative land through assisted purchase. This means they have the opportunity to become members of a CPA for purposes of accessing grants for redistribution purposes (Hall 2003). An important contradiction of labour

tenancy is that the tenant is normally a man and it is only he who has a claim to the land, even though his wife and children might also provide labour on the farm (Williams 1996). When a man is evicted, it means his wife and family will be evicted too. The Act, therefore, does not take into account the fact that there is gender differentiation in the countryside. It makes assumptions about the nature of social relations within the household but ignores the fact that these are gendered. The ramifications of the Act will be evident in the analysis of both primary and secondary data in Chapter Five.

3.9 EXTENSION OF SECURITY OF TENURE 1997 AND AMENDMENTS OF 2001

The purpose of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act is to prevent evictions of farm workers and other occupiers who may not have title deeds to the land they occupy (South Africa 1997c). The Act's intentions, though good, do not go far enough in preventing arbitrary evictions. For instance, according to the Act, employees who reach the age of 60 and who satisfy the requirements for secure tenure on the land, may not be evicted but their families' rights of residence may be terminated after 12 months' written notice (South Africa 1997c:10; Hall 2003). Clearly, this does not protect women and their children who in most cases are dependents of men on the farms. Like the Land Reform and Labour Tenants Act discussed above, this Act does not pay attention to the gender dimension within households and the nature of rural family social relations. It protects the landowner, at the expense of the farm worker and his or her family. However, both Acts have made it possible for

farm workers to access land for settlement and agricultural purposes, both as individuals and as members of a Community Trust or a Community Property Association (CPA), as discussed below.

3.10 COMMUNITY PROPERTY ASSOCIATIONS ACT 28 of 1996 (CPA)

The purpose of this Act is to enable communities to form legal institutions in the nature of associations which will acquire and manage property on the basis agreed to by members of a community (South Africa 1996b). The assumptions made by the Act are that an association formed under the Act will be non-discriminatory, democratic, equitable and will ensure that influential or male members of the grouping do not abuse their power over other members such as women (South Africa 1996). This new vehicle for ownership has been made possible by the introduction of tenure reform. Tenure reform has provided government with an opportunity to put in place a number of mechanisms to ensure new forms of ownership which stress accountability, principles of democracy and gender equality within land administration and management (Classens 2000).

The Act is designed to protect individual land rights within the group through a constitution which clearly sets out rules of membership and management (Meer 1997:82). Gender equality is noted as a prerequisite. Although the Act provides for a relatively simple land-holding mechanism for groups to obtain land through either redistribution or restitution, it is not without problems, particularly with regard to implementation. For example, most CPAs take the

household as the unit of membership while a few take the individual as the unit. In the former case, the household acquires the rights of residence, land access and the power to vote. The household mandates one individual household member to represent the interests of the household at the meetings. Given the prevailing power relations in the countryside, it is highly likely that male members of the household will generally represent the household. To what extent, then, will they represent the interests of the household, as opposed to their own individual (male) interests, ignoring any differing interests of women and other members of the household?

In anticipation of the scenario discussed earlier, government, through the Department of Land Affairs, has strongly suggested that communities include a clause in their CPA's constitution that requires that a certain percentage of women serve on the decision-making body of the association, which is the executive committee (Meer 1997:82). Research on restitution projects supports the assertion that CPAs have not been able to advance women's interests in the context of prevailing power dynamics among land-claiming households (Cousins 2000; Classens 2000).

A major criticism of the CPA Act is that it regards the introduction of a quota system as a guaranteed way in which women's interests will be represented in redistribution and restitution. It fails to take into account the point that the prevailing community dynamics may not necessarily be able to formulate social equity goals which go against and are antagonistic to community ideas. Another important assumption of the Act is that the community is viewed as a

homogeneous and cohesive entity and as such it underestimates the role of community conflict in subverting the implementation of land reform goals, including gender equity goals (Meer 1997:82).

3.11 THE WHITE PAPER ON SOUTH AFRICAN LAND POLICY 1997

Land policy in South Africa, represented by the White Paper on Land Policy, is the starting point for the implementation of both tenure reform and land reform (redistribution) (South Africa 1997a). The important question is how best to ensure that the gender dimension is considered when land redistribution is implemented. What happens in practice is very important. Land reform officials need to follow the spirit and the letter of the law in the implementation of land law, for example.

South African land reform's main objective is restorative justice and equitable redress. This was made possible through the application of legislative measures by the state which implemented relevant policies. Among these is the White Paper on South African Land Policy. Land reform addresses both land tenure and land access. The three land reform programmes are land restitution, tenure and redistributive reforms. According to the White Paper, government's land reform has the following aims:

- "to redress the injustices of apartheid
- to foster national reconciliation and stability
- to underpin economic growth

- to improve household welfare and alleviate poverty" (South Africa 1997a:i).

Land reform is essential for sustainable growth and development in South Africa and is a precondition for the success of government's growth employment and redistribution strategy (South Africa 1997a:ii). The statement above is a clear indication of the centrality of GEAR as a strategy adopted by government in place of the RDP.

Throughout the White Paper the importance of participation in decision making and of gender equity and environmental sustainability in the implementation of land reform, as well as constitutional, land, market and environmental issues, are mentioned (Hall 2007; Walker 2003). The White Paper does not say how these points are going to be carried out. For example, on one hand, constitutional rights to existing property rights are highlighted. At the same time, it is said there is also a need to implement specific strategies that would enable women to access land and to participate fully in land reform projects. The White Paper fails to spell out clearly what these strategies should be and how equitable access to land will be achieved (Classens 2000).

In terms of land market issues, land reform in South Africa is implemented under a market-led framework where land would change hands on a "willing seller" and "willing buyer" basis. With regard to institutional issues, the White Paper mentions the need to strengthen the DLA by increasing its staff

complement. No mention is made of recruiting those most qualified to deliver on the land reform programme. Other issues relate to the environment in that it is assumed that the programme of land reform will reduce land degradation as more people move from congested areas to resettlement sites. For instance, it is assumed that land reform will reduce poverty, diversify sources of income for the poor and allow people more control over their lives and their environment (South Africa 1997a; Cousins 2000; Hall 2007; Walker 2003).

In the discussion of what land policy entails, no attention is paid to the gender dimensions of land reform. Apart from general gender issues that the White Paper mentions in passing, such as the removal of legal restrictions on the participation of women and the use of proper mechanisms in project planning and beneficiaries' selections and project appraisal, no attention is given to gender issues in detail (South Africa 1997a:12). In an effort to undo injustices of the past, land reform policy singles out women-headed households. Land is to be used by communities, individuals and companies for both residential and productive purposes under a variety of forms of tenure. Although in principle land reform aims at bringing about gender equity by giving priority to women applicants, it is not clearly stated how this is going to be achieved. It is also assumed that access to productive resources, such as land for the poor and especially for women, will make it possible for them to provide food for their families and cash for the purchase of food items on a consistent basis (South Africa 1997a:6; Walker 2003).

Throughout the White Paper it is said that women will be targeted in all the

services of the land reform programme. However, in allocating the Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant, focus is on the household and this places the responsibility of deciding what to do with the resource on the head of the household (Walker 2003; Hall 2007). In a patriarchal society, such as South Africa, men are the main beneficiaries. The assumption here is that men and women's needs and priorities within the household are similar and yet this is not necessarily so. The household is an area of contestation, of competing interests. The White paper is accordingly vague on how women will be targeted within their households.

Even in cases where communities decide to form themselves into groups, such as trusts or CPAs, to access land collectively, no mechanism is in place to ensure that the women who access land are treated on an equal basis to men. The priority criteria referred to in the document are fairly ambitious but contradictory in some instances and conflicting in others. It does not address the question "how" adequately. For example, it is said that "priority will be given to the marginalized and to the needs of women in particular" (South Africa 1997a). At the same time, it is said that priority will be given to projects that can be implemented quickly and effectively.

Other issues addressed in the White Paper with regard to land tenure include the need to build a non-racial system for all South Africans by "developing a system of land registration, support and administration which accommodates a variety of systems of land rights within a unitary framework" (South Africa 1997a:21). People will be able to choose a tenure system that is appropriate

to their circumstances. These may be group based or individually based. An important tenet is the need for tenure systems to be consistent with the constitutions' commitment to basic human rights (South Africa 1997a:26). It is evident that a rights-based approach is central to tenure security. Land tenure law, it is argued, will provide protection pertaining to equality rights for women. However, nothing much is said about how land tenure law will be effected (Classens 2000). The White Paper further cautions against unintended consequences of tenure reform with respect to gender equity. An example here is that women may be further alienated from the land under tenure reform. It is not surprising that the much-anticipated Land Tenure Reform Bill was only passed in 2010, even though discussions and consultations began as early as 2000, as mentioned elsewhere in this chapter.

3.12 CONCLUSION

From the discussion above, it is evident that rural communities are not homogenous and are made up of women and men with different gender needs and different access and rights to resources. This postulates that agrarian and land reforms should be designed and implemented in such a way that they are able to address the needs of specific groups. Unfortunately, land and agrarian reforms implemented under the market-led approach of the World Bank have been gender blind. The land reforms discussed above are based on the assumptions that assets will be equitably distributed and beneficial to all members of a household (Razavi 2006). The other observation is that early debates on land reform in Africa were characterised

by the dearth of attention paid to women's rights, and even gender activists working within the World Bank seem not to have seriously made a case for women's land rights.

With regard to land policy in South Africa, the policy mapping process involved a number of stakeholders, including women's groups, but the roles and rights of women are not explicitly integrated in the White Paper on South African Land Policy. Perhaps the most important observation here is that the White Paper adheres largely to the tenets of GEAR, even though in the initial stages the RDP provided guidelines for the policy formulation process. It is against this background, discussed above, that the next chapter discusses and analyses land reform practice in South Africa. Fieldwork (case study) forms a major component of this chapter, which also includes discussion on participatory research. The research attempts to answer the research questions formulated for this study.

CHAPTER 4
DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter One, the objectives for the study and the chosen research methods have been mentioned briefly. The research methods are discussed in terms of the stated objectives, as well as the procedure for research. Chapter Two provided a theoretical and historical background to land reform, gender and development. I also discussed the perspectives that have influenced this study and these are the feminist and gender perspectives that place women's issues at the centre. Gender perspectives on land are useful in helping researchers assess and analyse the impact of land reform in the countryside. Chapter Three takes the debate further and concentrates on the macro context, by giving an overview of land reform worldwide, with a focus on South Africa. It looks at the legislative and institutional framework for land reform delivery.

The present chapter draws on the literature reviewed in Chapter Two to advance further the conceptual framework that informs this study. The chapter also gives a more detailed background discussion of the area of study. The aim here is to give the reader an idea of the social, economic, political and cultural conditions in the area of study. The chapter discusses and analyses land reform practice in South Africa. Fieldwork (the case study) forms a major

component of this chapter, as well as the procedure for research. The research attempts to answer the research questions formulated for this study. It was important to first give details of the macro context in the previous chapters so as to understand better the micro context which is discussed in the present chapter. Lastly, the research process employed is discussed in full.

4.2 THE GENDER ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK (GAF)

The literature reviewed in Chapter Two illustrates the extent to which land reform has focused primarily on the social, political and economic dimensions of land reform, without an emphasis on the gender dimensions. On the other hand, there is a growing body of feminist literature that is beginning to criticise the mainstream approaches by asserting women's independent rights (Agarwal 1994a; Agarwal 1994b; Meer 1997; Mohanty 1991; Walker 2003). This feminist literature, however, still exists in isolation from mainstream literature on land reform, as discussed elsewhere in the thesis.

The feminist and gender and development literature is useful in that it builds a conceptual basis for understanding gender relations in the countryside, and in particular the relationship between women and land. Although these relations may differ in various contexts, there is a need for a conceptual analysis that helps us understand and explain the gender dynamics in the countryside. This thesis draws heavily from these broad perspectives, represented by the Gender and Development Approach discussed earlier. The gender analysis

framework, which draws from the above approach, is a framework that gives insight into the topic in hand: the relationship between women, men and land at the micro level – the household and community level – and the impact of national and macro-level policies.

Gender analysis is said to be a critical step in identifying entry points when undertaking research and in the pursuit of culturally sensitive strategies (Osman 2002:25). Gender analysis is about assessing whether or not the needs and priorities of women, as well as men, are reflected in policy and programme initiatives undertaken or envisaged. It asks questions, such as what steps are needed to enable women to participate and benefit from a programme. Do opportunities exist that will prevent situations occurring where interventions benefit only one gender, usually men? These are some of the questions that this study also seeks to address.

The framework's usefulness in this research process is that it highlights gender-disaggregated data with the aim of showing gender differences and inequalities, in access to resources, for example. The Gender and Development Approach helps to mainstream gender by analysing inequalities between females and males, issue by issue and sector by sector.

4.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study is about the gender dimensions of land reform and the focus on Daggakraal is at a local level (micro-level) of analysis, which in the end

illuminates the effects of macro-level policies. The main goals of the study are to examine the gender implications of land tenure reform and land redistribution and the extent to which the poorest of the poor have benefited from the programme. The two resettlement areas, Sinqobile and Hlanganani in Daggakraal, represent two of the three components of land reform in South Africa, redistribution and tenure reform. The following research questions, which are outlined, briefly, in Chapter One, guide the study:

- *To what extent is land reform practice informed by land reform policy?*

  How was land reform implemented in Daggakraal? Are the principles embodied in land reform documents, especially the White Paper on Land Reform Policy, applied on the ground?

- *Do land reform policies, systems and procedures take gender seriously?*

  The main focus is a critical examination of existing land reform policies to examine whether or not they are indeed gender sensitive. What are the strengths and weaknesses in the current policy framework? This question has been addressed largely in Chapters Two and Three.

- *Was participation by beneficiaries truly participatory and not merely used as a means of legitimating policy and project development?*

  The aim here is to examine the nature of participation by the beneficiaries and the way in which land was allocated. Who controlled

and influenced the process? There is also an examination of the context of social relations within which land reform policy operates and the extent to which the poorest of the poor (women) have benefited from the land reform programme.

- *To what extent were gender concerns incorporated in the design and implementation of the project?*

  This question is a follow up on the first question in that it examines how the whole process of land reform unfolded, beginning with the drafting of related legislation and other policy documents until implementation. Were gender issues central to land reform in all the stages? The research looks into the manner in which gender issues and concerns were incorporated in the organisation and management of the project. The aim is also to examine how land reform has affected men and women in the rural areas.

- *To what extent has land reform in South Africa achieved equity in the context of a negotiated, market-led reform and a neo-liberal economic agenda?*

  The intention here is to look at whether there was a commitment to equity principles at all levels, even in such a constraining environment as described above. What have been the major constraints to equity at the local level?

- *What are the constraints to land reform at both the micro- and macro-levels?*

  There is also an examination of macro-level problems and limitations as they apply at the local level.

4.4 RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA ANALYSIS

In this study, the research methods employed are guided by the research questions outlined above, as well as by the conceptual framework adopted by the researcher. The main aim of the study is to examine the gender dimensions of land reform in the countryside, using Daggakraal as a case study. A major focus is the extent to which the poorest of the poor have benefitted from the programme. For this reason, the researcher felt that participatory research methodologies would go a long way towards giving voice to the marginalised, especially women in the countryside whose voices have been muted by both institutional and cultural processes. The research techniques used were participant observation, interviews, surveys and focus group discussions. These are explained on page 113.

Sources of data were both secondary and primary. Secondary data involved reading and perusing through a considerable amount of literature on land reform. This involved a content analysis of secondary material, such as journal articles, books and other project-specific documents including development planning reports, progress reports, minutes of official meetings and any other related documents. This literature is discussed in Chapter Two

and to a lesser extent, in Chapter Three. In Chapter Three important land legislation, prior to and after 1994 was examined in detail. Of major importance was the White Paper on South African Land Policy (South Africa 1997a) and the Land Reform and Gender Policy (South Africa 1997b). This also included an examination of other studies on land reform, especially research commissioned by the Department of Land Affairs This document analysis is discussed in Chapter Five.

With regard to primary data, a content analysis of primary material, such as land reform policy documents, government publications, newspaper clippings and working documents, was carried out. The techniques used to collect primary data were interviews, participant observation and focus group discussions. Fieldwork was carried out in Daggakraal, an area in the Pixley Ka Seme Municipality in Mpumalanga, the history of which is discussed in this chapter. Participants in the study were women and men who had been resettled in Hlanganani and Sinqobile, as well as tenants who still resided in Daggakraal proper. Rural community dynamics and a consideration of cultural contexts, which I was aware of already, had a bearing on the research methodologies used in this study.

Qualitative and participatory methodologies described in this thesis embody what Nygreen (2010:16) argues are feminist theories of knowledge production that attempt to equate power between the researcher and the researched. Writing in the 1990s, Wolf in Nygreen (2010:16) argues that participatory research (PAR) is an “ideal for feminist researchers” in that it addresses a

variety of dilemmas in the research process, for example power inequalities between the researcher and the researched. These are some of the methodological choices I had to make. I had to consider how I entered the area; how often I did so and why, the purpose that guided my inquiry, and to whom I was accountable; and how to make sure that I explained to all the purpose of this exercise. Nygreen (2010:16) asserts that:

> "participatory research calls for the use of research questions, analytical lenses and pedagogical processes that strive to uncover how oppressive social structures and exploitative power relations are reproduced, legitimised, challenged and transformed. PAR calls for research and action aimed at transformative social change" (Nygreen 2010:16).

Writing in the context of Australia, Ramzan, Pini & Bryant (2009) examine issues of rurality, gender and indegeneity in a rural setting. They also raise methodological questions with regard to research undertaken by white Australian women among indigenous Australians. Taking the experience of one of the authors, Ramzan, who is an indigenous Australian, they argue that while white women may perceive issues of gender as important, while for indigenous women gendered identities may be as important as their social location or they may even privilege their social location over gender (Ramzan, Pini & Bryant 2009:44). They caution researchers who undertake studies in rural settings to be aware of their privileged positions and to strike a balance between the requirements of knowledge production and objectifying rural people's knowledge. At the same time they conclude that researchers have a

responsibility to disseminate the findings to other researchers in academia and outside (Ramzan, Pini & Bryant 2009).

In light of the above, I must say that at times I was conflicted and felt a sense of discomfort. This in a way delayed the process of compiling all this rich data into something meaningful. Questions going through my mind were, for example, whose knowledge counts (Chambers 1997)? As discussed elsewhere in this chapter, I had to constantly reflect on my practices to make sure the power relationships between the researched and the researcher were not unequal. On the one hand, my intention to undertake this research was driven by my desire to produce a good product and the pursuit of knowledge, and on the other hand, my intention was to employ a research process that was empowering for all – the researcher and the research subjects.

I had worked in the area before I undertook this project, as a field worker for an NGO based in Johannesburg. This was in 1994. I knew my way around Daggakraal very well and I knew quite a number of people, three of whom were trained as research assistants and in the use of participatory methods. I was well-conversant in isiZulu and Sesotho and this made it easier to communicate directly with the respondents. I was, however, aware of my privileged position as an urban-based educated woman and the realisation that I had to reflect constantly on my research practices.

4.5 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH AREA

According to the provincial profile for Mpumalanga and carried out in 2006, the population of Daggakraal was about 25 308 and this represented 4946 households (Statistics South Africa 2006). Daggakraal falls under the Pixley Ka Seme Municipality, in the Gert Sibande District Municipality, Mpumalanga. As indicated earlier, it is situated in the eastern part of Mpumalanga, about 80 km from Standerton and 27 km from Volksrust. The area provides a good opportunity to examine the gender dimensions of land reform, for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is one of a number of areas that were referred to as “black spots” in the apartheid era. It is also an area where a few hundred individuals owned land under freehold title. Secondly, it was among the first pilot land reform projects in South Africa. Moreover, the area has a rather complex system of governance in that freehold resides side-by-side with an unclear and unresolved system of chieftaincy, as will be illustrated below. As a researcher, I was also fascinated by the presence of a large number of former labour tenants in Daggakraal, as well as farm hands who had been evicted from the neighbouring white farms. In terms of land redistribution, how was this carried out? How was this group accommodated? The historical account in this section was narrated to the researcher by two key informants, Mnisi (1997); Mnisi (2001); and Ngwenya (2001). See also Annexure A in Chapter Six for an account provided by the Committee of Twelve and mentioned elsewhere in this thesis.

The history of Daggakraal and other adjacent “black spots”, such as

Driefontein and Boomplaats, is well documented in the historical literature (Liberation Heritage of South Africa 2013). Its history can be traced to the 1913 Land Act, described in Chapter Three, which effectively divided the country into separate areas and dispossessed Africans of lands they had occupied for a long time. Prior to this Act, black people owned land in areas such as Carolina, Bethal, Ermelo, Lydenburg, Middleburg and Wakkerstroom (South African History online, 2013).

Daggakraal and Driefontein are said to owe their existence to the efforts of one Pixley Ka Seme, a lawyer by profession and one of the founding fathers of the African National Congress (Liberation Heritage of South Africa 2013). Pixley Ka Seme, together with one Ntshebe Ngwenya, joined hands and set in motion processes that ended with the purchase of the farms Daggakraal, Vlakplaats, Driefontein and Driepan. These were bought by black farmers under the African Native Farmers Association of Africa (ANFAA), an association founded by Pixley Ka Seme. They were bought from a trust known as the Slazenger Trust, representing a Mr Gouws, who was the owner of the farms. These farms were bought for about 3 pounds per morgen (1 morgen is about 0.85 hectares). Title deeds were then issued to the farmers who were all members of ANFAA.

At the time of the first purchase of land, about sixty families were involved. Over the years, other people came to buy and settle in Daggakraal. Among these were the Makholokwe from Witsieshoek (QwaQwa), led by Chief Maitse Moloi and his son Popo. They had heard that land was being sold in the area

even after the 1913 Land Act was passed. This group bought land in Daggakraal 2. The community argues that this chief bought land like everyone else but was never accorded any chiefly status in the area. He had no authority over the people of Daggakraal.

When the National Party came into power in 1948, attempts were made to forcibly remove black people from the area to different parts of the country that had been designated as homelands. Swazis were to be removed to Kangwane, Basotho to Witsieshoek (QwaQwa) and Zulus to Babanango in KwaZulu-Natal. These attempts did not succeed, as the community resisted fiercely. When this failed, attempts were made to install some form of chieftaincy, which also failed. In the end, the provincial administration, the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), announced that some form of community authority would have to be set up so that this could have direct communication with government. Only land owners were eligible for election. This is how the Committee of Twelve came into being. This is the authority that governed Daggakraal until around 1999 (Development Planning Report for Daggakraal 1997). (Also see Annexure A).

The farms Daggakraal and Vlakplaats, which were adjacent to each other, were rezoned. The former was referred to as Daggakraal 1 and 2, while the latter became known as Daggakraal 3 (Development Planning Report 1997). Each of the three areas described above were represented by four people who were on the Committee of Twelve.

4.5.1 **Land ownership – Sinqobile**

It is said that as far back as 1990 the community's expectations were raised by the then provincial administration which indicated that the farms bordering Daggakraal would be sold to the community. When this did not happen, the community, through the Committee of 12, set up a trust, The Daggakraal Trust, whose mandate was to liaise with Mr Kenhard with a view to purchasing his entire farm. Funds, however, were not available and a different option was pursued. An application was made to the then provincial administration (Transvaal Provincial Administration) in 1992, for the establishment of a less formal township.

Prior to this there had been threats to occupy the farms by force as a result of frustrations over unfulfilled promises. Before the provincial administration could reply to the application, the community proceeded with the purchase of the farms from Kenhard in late 1992. Although the government was opposed to the land invasion, it gave the community five years in which to establish the township legally. Tenure in Sinqobile had not yet been determined by 1997 but it was envisaged that it would be a less formal township. About 1 500 people had purchased stands, through a trust set up by the community. The trust was named the Daggakraal Trust. Legal title still resided with the farmer, Mr Kenhard, when the researcher visited Daggakraal in 2001. A year later when the researcher visited Daggakraal again for field work, it was clear that some households held legal title, while others were still waiting. Complete occupation of the area had been attained by about 2003, some eight years

after resettlement. Two years earlier, the area was still a “greenfield” area in that there was no infrastructure in place yet. By 2007 all the resettled households held legal title (Mnisi 1997; Mnisi 2003; Ngwenya 2001). Maps of Daggakraal are provided as Annexures C and D.

4.5.2 **Land ownership – Sinqobile2/Hlanganani**

In Hlanganani the resettled farmers were going to be included in the larger Daggakraal and were to be resettled on the periphery of Sinqobile-Daggakraal (See Annexures E and F, Resource Mapping for Sinqobile2/Hlanganani and Sinqobile, respectively). The intention was to resettle about 500 households, the majority of whom came from Daggakraal 3. In 1997, a total of 7 farms had been purchased by the Hlanganani Trust, with the help of the Department of Land Affairs and about 300 households had been resettled and the area was still a greenfield area, like Sinqobile. Complete occupation occurred in 2003. Not all the resettled farmers had received copies of the legal title by 2007 even though the Hlanganani Trust had received the title deed on behalf of the community in 2006.

This area has been chosen as a model case study to answer the research questions on land redistribution and tenure reform because of the features mentioned above. The research highlights both land tenure and land redistribution issues and the extent to which gender concerns have been taken into account in all the stages of the project.

4.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

One of the challenges faced by the researcher in terms of choice of methodology is that the research has been carried out in a rural setting with people of a different social class, although one advantage is that both the researcher and the research subjects share a common culture and language. This demands that the researcher reflects constantly on her research practices. Feminists have long argued that much of the research on women has tended to objectify them and that it is the duty of those involved in feminist research to adopt methodologies that involve women as active participants in the research process (Reinharz 1992; Acker, Barry & Esseveld 1983).

An important aspect of feminist research is reflexivity which means that the researcher should be intimately involved in the generation of knowledge (Greer & McBride 2000:24). In this approach, research is not conceptualised as something done for or to research subjects by an objective observer, outside of the research setting, but rather as encompassing the researcher's orientations, actions and biases, which are integral to the research process and its outcomes (Greer & McBride 2000). The importance of feminist research is also connected with social change and social policy questions – policy recommendations are said to be typical of feminist research (Greer & McBride 2000:31). The concern is with practice and its link with theory and practice.

The study has focused on the period 1997 – 2007. Attention was first paid to the performance of the Department of Land Affairs in land reform delivery, particularly land redistribution and land tenure reform in the rural areas. The research has been structured around a broad framework of stages as identified by Pirow (1993) and Neuman (1994), as mentioned in Chapter One.

The research is structured around two forms of research techniques, namely qualitative and quantitative research, with much more emphasis on the former. The choice of qualitative research methodology has been influenced largely by the feminist critique of conventional research methodologies which have ignored the gender dimensions of social relations (Maharaj 1994; Walker 1994). The notion that research is purely an investigation of empirical facts is an illusion because both its content and the way it is carried out reflect the theoretical assumptions, interests and values of those carrying out the research. Against this background, it was important that one contemplated both one's theoretical biases and research practices.

It was the belief of the researcher that the involvement of the research subjects could best be achieved through employing **qualitative and participatory research methodologies**. Context is very important in both methodologies. The importance of qualitative research is that it places parts of social life into a larger whole. Its major importance lies in its ability to use diverse methods, namely, the case study method and fieldwork. This involves a process of triangulation which is used frequently in participative research (Pratt & Loizos 1992; Chambers 1994a).

A variety of methods have therefore been used in this study to achieve a better portrayal of the object of study. Fieldwork enabled the researcher to understand better the object of study and the context in which it operates. Fieldwork was informed by the theoretical research and is the last stage of the research process. An attempt was made to establish a relationship of trust and equality with the community and this was achieved through the application of participatory methods of data collection. Key informants were trained and deployed as research assistants. Another important research method used was a socio-economic survey and this draws from quantitative research. The usefulness of survey research is that it provides information on non-threatening questions (Pratt & Loizos 1992:59).

Participatory research methodology also allowed for more interactive involvement and allowed for a context-specific approach to research. Participatory research is said to be one element in the process of empowerment (Blackburn & Holland 1998; Chambers 1994a). Unlike quantitative research methods discussed earlier, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is now an increasingly accepted set of qualitative research tools (Chambers 1994c; Chambers 1995:33). The focus of PRA and other participatory research tools is at the local level where gendered difference exists.

It was also important to employ a gender analysis as a participatory research methodology. Its usefulness is that the context of development enables an

understanding of the gender differences in access to resources (Parpart 2002:112). This methodology is integral to participatory methods, including PRA. In gender analysis, the focus is on the factors that determine the relationship between men and women and the implications for development, and this is an important objective of the study. Gender analysis also gives an opportunity for a comparative exploration of the research questions from the perspectives of both male and female members of the community.

4.6.1 **Participant Observation**

Participant observation is said to be one of the best ways of understanding the dynamics of power relationships between men and women within households (Pratt & Loizos 1992:65). Participant observation provides a well-rounded and well-founded picture of the research area (Pratt & Loizos 1992). Its usefulness is that it attempts to avoid some of the biases of conventional methods, such as the survey and the use of questionnaires. The latter methods tend to overlook important gender aspects, such as access to land and other household dynamics (Maxim 1999; Singleton, Straits, Straits & McAllister 1988). These methods helped to strengthen the trust between the researcher and the research subjects. The different research methods used, for purposes of triangulation and for validation, were semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. These are discussed below.

Field observation was carried out among the project beneficiaries, the resettled farmers in Hlanganani and Sinqobile. They were observed, both as

individuals performing their daily chores, and in their group interactions with other individuals in the community (e.g. at community meetings). During these observations, questions were posed so that interviews and participant observation occurred simultaneously. The aim here was to address the stated research objectives for the study, such as ascertaining the extent to which issues of gender are incorporated in the organisation and management of the project. The gender analysis framework has been used because it made it possible to present the experiences of both men and women and their feelings and attitudes towards the project and the whole process of land reform.

4.6.2 **Interviews**

In the study, semi-structured interviews were also conducted and these included individual and household interviews. The importance of semi-structured interviews was that they indicated the boundaries within which the interviewer worked, thereby giving focus to the study. Semi-structured interviews also give the researcher the freedom to adapt the schedule to specific circumstances and to tap the knowledge, experiences and insights of different respondents (Singleton et al 1988). The interviews have attempted to capitalise on the strong points of each individual. Different categories of people have been interviewed and they include project beneficiaries in Hlanganani; landlords in Daggakraal 1, 2 and 3; tenants still living in Daggakraal; community leaders (members of different subcommittees in DK); and other key informants. Sampling techniques that have been used to select

respondents included the following:

4.6.2.1 Random sampling and quota sampling

Sampling is a procedure where respondents are selected from a population group. This technique gives all elements of a sampling an equal chance of being selected. This technique was used in combination with quota and purposive sampling methods to ensure that the perspectives of various categories of people/beneficiaries were represented. Quota sampling is helpful in getting responses from specific/targeted respondents in a study. It has been used to select a sample that is representative of different categories of people.

In this research, the first phase of sampling included compiling household lists. For Hlanganani and Sinqobile, household lists already existed (Annexure B). The socio-economic data for Hlanganani addressed redistribution issues, while Sinqobile's socio-economic data was focused on both redistribution and tenure issues for the resettled labour tenants who had previously been accommodated in Daggakraal, 1 2 and 3. Sinqobile is one area where tenure issues have not been fully resolved or settled and are more pronounced than anywhere else in the area. For Daggakraal 1, 2 and 3, a sample of households was developed where 5 households in each of the three areas were chosen. For Sinqobile and Hlanganani, 15 households each were chosen. An adult man and woman in each household were interviewed. The rest of the respondents were selected using quota and purposive sampling

methods. The total sample was 100 people and this included 10 people who were key informants.

The survey was conducted with both men and women in the two resettled areas. As mentioned elsewhere in the thesis, my prior knowledge of the area and the rapport I had built with key informants, some of whom I had worked with before, made it easier to conduct research in this area. I also communicated well in either Sesotho or isiZulu – two prominent languages spoken in the area. The semi-structured questionnaires addressed both open-ended and closed questions.

Sampling, like all other quantitative methods of collecting data, has limitations. For this study, the limitations had to do with its inability to examine other non-quantifiable data, such as the gender and household dynamics. It is for this reason that this method was used in combination with other qualitative methods so as to offset the limitations described above. Qualitative methods were also used to further clarify issues raised in the questionnaires and for triangulation and validation.

4.6.2.2 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling helps in the selection of a sample of people who are strategically placed to provide the necessary information (Babbie 2007; Babbie 2011:35). It has been used to select interviewees from among project officials (local and provincial) and people from other organisations, such as

NGOs, working in Daggakraal, as well as relevant authorities in the area, including the Committee of Twelve. All three sampling techniques have been used to complement one another for purposes of triangulation and for validation.

4.7 THE LINK BETWEEN PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES AND THE GENDER ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

Participatory research methodologies, as opposed to conventional research methodologies, do not package methods and programmes into a "one size fits all" system based on a notion of universal best practices (Lilja & Bellon 2011:13). Participatory methods are useful in that they involve the study population in the research process. In this way, rural people are able to determine what is being studied and they are taught the basics of research methodology (Lilja & Bellon 2011:14). Participatory methodologies have been used for a long time. However, the term "participation" has often been abused and misused (Swanepoel & De Beer 2011). In the 1990s it was used by such actors as the World Bank, universities, national and international NGOs, and bilateral development agencies to involve people in decision-making processes (Slocum & Thomas-Slayter 1995:3).

In the context of South Africa, Levin (1994) argues that the term has been used by government and other agencies, such as the World Bank, largely to legitimise top-down policy-making processes. Levin and Weiner (1997) give an example concerning the South African land issue where government and

communities had different positions on the envisaged land reform programme at the negotiating table prior to 1994. The interests of powerful actors, such as the government and the World Bank, prevailed over those of communities when the two agreed on a market-based land reform programme, while communities rejected the approach (Levin & Weiner 1997; Bond 2000). It is for this reason that this study endeavoured to ascertain the extent to which participation in the area was truly participatory and not merely a mechanism for legitimising government programmes.

The usefulness of participatory methods was that they were able to strengthen the confidence of all members of a group in that all their viewpoints were taken into account. These methodologies complement gender analysis described above in that they both increase our understanding of the dynamics of a community, the existing structures and systems, and their supporting values (Thomas-Slayter 1995). Gender analysis clarifies the division of labour within a community and facilitates our understanding of who has access to and control over resources; and who participates in community institutions by gender. Gender analysis considers the nature of women's disadvantages, the structures and institutions (social relations) which maintain their disadvantages, the historical patterns and trends in these relations, and the relationship between the local, national and international levels that create and perpetuate the disadvantages (Koczberski 1998; Thomas-Slayter 1995). A gendered perspective, together with participatory methodologies of research, lead to a deeper analysis of gender issues and these are empowering.

Participatory research methodologies were used later on during the field research, when mutual trust had been established with the community. These included ranking and mapping exercises. The aim was to elicit information from local people, which was focused on their concerns. The method is useful for the study as it deals with tensions and conflict over resources. PRA, like other participative research methods, enables groups to review their situation and to learn the techniques for carrying out their own reviews in future (Pratt & Loizos 1992). It is for this reason the methods are said to be empowering.

4.7.1 **Focus group discussions**

Focus group discussions are examples of participatory research methods/techniques. Focus groups are generally groups of 10 to 15 people. They enable the researcher to understand and better describe a range of perspectives in a community. Although they may be single (women or men only) or mixed (men and women), they produce better results than single age/gender groups in a culture where women or the youth are not comfortable speaking in large assemblies with men. Women may speak more freely about risky topics in groups of women only.

Discussions were held with two focus groups (mixed and women only) from tenants still residing in Daggakraal, and with two focus groups each (mixed and women only) from the beneficiaries of land reform residing in Hlanganani and Sinqobile resettlements. The discussions addressed research questions

for the study and covered issues of women and men's perceptions of resource (land) use; knowledge of implementation of land policies on the ground; women and men's perceptions of institutional structures in the area; their understanding of project processes and aims; leadership issues; decision-making processes; interactions with the broader community of Daggakraal; and their understanding of the national and provincial context in which development occurs. The research tools used with the focus groups included gendered resource mapping and gender activity profiling, and wealth ranking.

4.7.1.1 Gendered Resource Mapping and Gender Activity Profile (GRM & GAP)

Some of the PRA techniques that were used included ranking and mapping exercises. The aim was to elicit information from local people, which was focused on their concerns. PRA, like other participatory research methods, enables groups to review their situation and to learn the techniques for carrying out their own reviews in future (Pratt & Loizos 1992; Thomas-Slayter 1995:13). It is for this reason that the methods are said to be empowering. Gendered resource mapping (GRM) makes it possible to identify and present gender differences in resource use and control. The resources surveyed for this study are water and land, with land being the more important of the two. The usefulness of GRM is that it can be used at the household, community, regional, and national levels. These mapping exercises are shown in Annexures E and F.

These methods highlighted the impact of gender distribution and access and control of land in the area, thereby addressing issues of tenure reform and land redistribution. The Gender activity profile (GAP) highlighted who was responsible for which activities, and why, in the community. The exercise raised awareness about who was responsible for which activities in the household and community, and why. It clarified reasons for gender-based division of labour and control of resources. It clarified the division of labour by indicating who did what in the household and why women did some tasks and men others. The 10-15 women in the women-only (single) group were able to detail their activities on a daily basis and this included the activities that were done concurrently. This was the case also for the mixed (women and men) focus group. The information obtained through this exercise helped the researcher to understand how men and women understood their access and control of resources and how this differed from the results of surveys. The gender activity profiles are shown in Appendices C and D.

4.7.1.2 Wealth ranking (Activities, resources and benefits analysis)

Rocheleau and Slocum (1995:59) argue that this method gives information about livelihood strategies of households and reveals the link between activities, resources and benefits. For this reason it was used as a starting point for more detailed focus group discussions on a variety of topics intended to address the research questions for this study. It revealed information on various socio-economic categories.

The first step was to come to a common understanding of the term “wealth” and in the end the groups were able to determine which households were better off, and why, and what problems were experienced by different women and men, especially with regard to access to land and other resources. All the problems identified were ranked and a major focus placed on land concerns. In summary, this exercise highlighted household dynamics and who controlled which resources and gender differences in resource benefit.

4.8 ETHICAL PRINCIPLES AND DATA ANALYSIS

The researcher endeavoured, at all times, to adhere to high ethical standards of research. The principle of anonymity and confidentiality was applied for those respondents who had requested that this be done. The respondents who gave permission for their names to be made public are cited in the text and in the bibliography. In this manner, the principle of informed consent was applied at all times in the research process. The aims and objectives of the research were explained to the respondents, including the relevance of the beneficiary list from which household lists were obtained. In Annexure B, it was decided to omit all the beneficiaries’ national identity numbers, as well as their names for the sake of confidentiality. From the list, the researcher was able to determine how many women were on the beneficiary list when land reform was implemented. Data was analysed by using MS Excel, as opposed to the more sophisticated SPSS, for the reason that it was easier to tabulate data and to make inferences. According to Levine (1996:1), “data analysis is a

body of methods that help to describe facts, detect patterns, develop explanations, and test hypotheses. It is used in all of the sciences ….” In this study the researcher used tables and figures, as well as words, to make the data speak for itself.

Although the study reflects the inclusion of minors as part of an age bracket, in reality all the respondents were over 18. The researcher had expected that some households would be headed by minors as a result of HIV and AIDS and cultural traditions where young people are married young in some rural areas. The use of participatory research methodologies, which were said to be new to the community, including the research assistants, was said to be a worthwhile exercise that was empowering for all.

4.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the historical background to the research area is presented. The research methodologies employed are also discussed, as well as the methodological challenges that the researcher encountered. It has been demonstrated why participatory methods were used in conjunction with quantitative methods for the validation of data and triangulation. The next chapter provides an analysis of the secondary and primary data. It starts first by analysing the key findings in the secondary sources and then focuses on primary data. This is done in relation to the research questions and the quantitative data obtained from the respondents in this chapter. The purpose will be to draw findings and to make a link with the literature reviewed, as well as with the conceptual framework adopted for this study.

CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an analysis of both secondary and primary data. The first section analyses key findings in the secondary sources in the previous chapters, particularly Chapters Two and Three, and then focuses on primary data. This is done in relation to the research questions and the qualitative and quantitative data obtained from the respondents. The purpose will be to draw major findings and to make a link with the literature reviewed, as well as with the conceptual framework adopted for this study.

5.2 SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS

This section is an analysis of gender and land reform issues, emerging from the literature reviewed. It also includes document analysis of other studies on land reform in South Africa. A review of literature indicates that, although land reform has been carried out in a number of countries and over different time periods, definitions of what it is and notions of gender rights and gender aspects have been largely ignored, despite an emphasis on the poor. Most importantly, in almost all the literature on land reform reviewed, it is important to note that it has been gender blind. In cases where gender was mentioned, it was only in passing, without any link to land reform.

There have also been important policy shifts where marked-led land reform has replaced state-driven land reforms in most countries in the Third World (Fortin 2005; Lund et al 1996; Shipton 1988). This shift is particularly important in this study with regard to the role that the World Bank has played in shaping land reform in South Africa. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Three. For instance, the unitary model advocated by the World Bank, and adopted by South Africa, makes assumptions that households pool resources together and allocate them fairly within the household, and yet this is not so. We will deal with this later on in the chapter. This neo-liberal framework was adopted, despite the fact that the World Bank had not shown any commitment to gender issues in Africa. Agarwal (1994a) and Manji (2003) argue that the reports produced by the World Bank had failed to analyse the gender implications of land issues in Africa and had ignored the growing body of feminist literature that showed that households were heterogeneous units where the interests of different members competed. This is a clear indication that there was no concerted effort to deal with the gender dimensions of land reform (Manji 2003:157). This is an indication that macro-level policies impact on what happens at the local level.

5.2.1 **Policy and institutional arrangements for land reform in South Africa**

Although a number of policies and institutional instruments were put in place to advance gender rights in South Africa, there has been very little success in advancing gender rights in land reform, mainly because there appears to be

no link between what is contained in formal policy documents and what happens in practice (Walker 2003:114). Among the institutional instruments was the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the major aim of which was to reduce poverty affecting millions of South Africans, thereby redressing injustices of the past (ANC 1994; Walker 2003; Daley & Englert 2010). Notable among these instruments were the Land Reform and Gender Policy Framework (South Africa 1997b), which sought to advance gender rights, and the White Paper on South African Land Policy (South Africa 1997a).

The White Paper endorsed gender equity as a key outcome in targeting women as beneficiaries (Walker 2003:114). The literature reviewed shows that in a majority of land reform projects implemented in South Africa, there is no clear translation of what is in the policy documents to the level of practice. Very little has been achieved in practice, in advancing gender rights (Turner & Ibsen 2000; Rangan & Gilmartin 2002:7; Walker 2003:129). With regard to the implementing agency, the DLA, there were no effective tools, such as policy guidelines, provided for officials to use to ensure gender equity goals (Walker 2003:113). According to Walker (2003), funding for land reform has also not been adequate, as explained elsewhere in this thesis. This is an illustration that gender concerns have existed on paper only, and have not been taken seriously at the level of implementation.

The South African Constitution, 1996, provides for land expropriation for a public purpose, against payment of just and equitable compensation (Rugege 2009:6). However, there has not been commitment on the part of government

to be more proactive in its land reform strategy whereby land expropriation could be utilised to obtain suitable land for clearly identified beneficiaries. Constitutional commitments to gender equity are not matched by practice on the ground and women's access to land is still a problem. The new land audit recently announced by the Ministry of Rural Development and Land Reform hopes to achieve the aim of establishing who owns what type of land, and how much (Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform 2013).

Other issues emerging from the literature are about differing and competing views on land reform in South Africa. On the one hand, there are those who in their writings call for a more far-reaching land reform programme (Lahiff 2007; Walker 2003; Cousins 2000; Bernstein 2004), and on the other hand, there are government and other interest groups, such as the World Bank, that argue for a land reform that focuses on agricultural production and the creation of a landed class of black commercial farmers, hence the introduction of LRAD. Redistribution, therefore, has remained merely an add-on to various policies that government has developed. It is, so far, not aimed at increasing rural livelihoods, but is a means of placating the poorest of the poor on the ground.

5.2.2 **The nature of poverty in rural South Africa**

This section is a document analysis to find out what has been done by other researchers in the field of land reform and gender in South Africa. A review of land reform projects between 1995 and 2000 gives us a better picture of the achievements, if any, of land reform delivery, as well as of the weaknesses in

it (DLA 1998); May, Stevens & Stols 2000). The studies illustrate the extent to which poverty in South Africa is gendered.

5.2.2.1 The 1995 Quality of Life Study

In a study commissioned by the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), May, Carter and Posel (1995:1) illustrate the findings of a Rural Poverty Study that was undertaken in 1995 to determine the extent and profile of poverty in South Africa. One of the findings of the study was that among rural adults, more women were poorer than men. The study also found that there were differences between women and men in terms of access to resources and other services (May et al 1995:3). The study also determined that rural and urban poverty share was different. Table 5.1 below illustrates that there were more poor people in the rural areas, at about 71%, compared to about 29% in the urban areas. Gender differences in poverty risks were also reflective of the differences between men and women in terms of access to resources and other services (May et al 1995:3).

The 1995 Rural Poverty Study was an important study as it highlighted the need for access to resources, especially land for the poor (May et al 2000:1) It was against this background that land reform was implemented in South Africa. It was argued that land was an important resource in improving the well-being of poor people, particularly poor women and men in the rural areas (Levin & Weiner 1997). However, it seems that there was no clear analytical framework for understanding gender and no detailed guidance on how to

produce a gender-sensitive poverty profile. It is for this reason that this thesis has adopted a gender analysis framework because it provides intra-household data on gender differences on access to land and other resources, as will be demonstrated later in the analysis of primary data.

Table 5.1: Rural Poverty in South Africa in 1995

INDICATOR	**% POPULATION**	**ESTIMATED POPULATION**
Poverty rate- total	49.9	19 700 000
Poverty rate in rural areas	70.9	13 700 000
Poverty rate in urban areas	28.5	6 000 000
African poverty	60.7	18 3000 000
White poverty	1.0	44 000

(DLA 1998:12); (May et al 2000)

With regard to land delivery to female-headed households, the study found out that only 1639 (8.2% of the total number of beneficiaries) of female-headed households in the country received land under the redistribution programme, even though there are more women than men in the rural areas (DLA 1998:12; Bob 1999). There were variations between provinces but in Mpumalanga where this study was undertaken, it is said that only 4.2%

(about half of the national average) of the households that received land were female-headed (DLA 1998:12; Bob 1999).

The study illustrates the difficulty of using the household as a unit of analysis for accessing land reform benefits and needs. Married women are assumed to have benefitted from the programme as members of the household. This illustrates the points raised in the literature that the gender dynamics within households need to be thoroughly analysed and taken into account before programmes are designed and implemented because of the nature of rural social relations. Furthermore, women's access to information and education is lower in rural areas.

5.2.2.2 The 1998 and 2003 Quality of Life Studies

In 1998 a further quality of life study was commissioned by the DLA to evaluate the impact of land reform on the lives of beneficiaries. Monitoring and evaluation was considered an important aspect of policy analysis in South Africa as it provided insight into the management and implementation processes, as well as the effectiveness of targets and provision of support (May et al 2000:1) Unlike the first quality of life reports, where the Monitoring and Evaluation Directorate of the DLA had not been involved in the process and were unable to pick up problems as they arose, this time around the Directorate was involved in the first and all subsequent planning exercises initiated by the Department (May et al 2000:3).

According to May et al (2000:2) and DLA (2000), the original design for monitoring and evaluation was based on a series of questionnaires developed during 1994 through a series of workshops convened by the Land and Agricultural Policy Centre (LAPC). The system that was developed focused on three main elements, namely measurement of the quality of life enjoyed by land reform beneficiaries using a household questionnaire; assessment of the targeting and equity components of the land reform programme as a whole, using a community level questionnaire supported by an on-line management information system; and a number of other questionnaires, referred to as formats, which collected a range of community and household level information (May et al 2000:2)

According to May et al (2000:2), the conceptual framework that underlined the new monitoring and evaluation system in 1998 was based on a number of propositions, among which were food security as an important determinant of well-being that was directly affected by land reform; access to services which were thought to be important determinants of the physical quality of life of land reform beneficiaries; local Institutions which were important in the management of land; targeting whose aim was to ensure that categories of beneficiaries identified in the land policy legislation were not excluded; the role of agriculture as an important component of agrarian transformation (May 2000:2-3). The land reform programme was based on these five propositions. All of the propositions were taken as important in the land reform process.

Local institutions such as CPA were evaluated on their attempts at facilitation development and as outcomes of development (May 2000:2). Beneficiary profiles were drawn up as a result of the targeted approach adopted in the land reform process. For instance under Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) the grant was meant for the poor and women in particular. SLAG did not cater for the wealthier sections of society and as a result a new programme, Land Reform for Agricultural Development (LRAD), was introduced. This programme has not benefited the poor, particularly poor women and men either because these groups have not been able to afford own contribution as discussed elsewhere in this thesis as well.

While agriculture was not regarded as the sole activity addressed by land reform, it was agreed that land reform proper should include an agricultural component because a land reform programme is also about a regeneration of an agrarian economy and this was the main thrust of a market-assisted land reform adopted in South Africa (May et al 2000:2-3).

This 1998 *Quality of Life* report was completed in the year 2000. The findings of the study were that many projects under the land reform programme were not economically viable and did not show any signs of economic potential. The majority of the beneficiaries of the land reform projects did not have the technical know-how about the management of their projects and how to use the funds at their disposal. This more educated and well off beneficiaries tended to misuse community funds (May et al 2000:4).

The recommendations of the study were that the land reform programme should continue to be supported, and perhaps even expanded (May et al 2000). It was recommended that future success of land reform depended on identifying what worked and in what circumstances. There was a suggestion for beneficiaries to make an own contribution and to reduce project sizes; relying on a more participatory and broader-based process at the local level, as key determinants of economic success (May et al 2000:11). Other areas of attention included simplifying the administrative procedures followed; increasing the flexibility of the programme to allow for larger grants; linking to other programmes of livelihood support and service delivery; and careful targeting of groups of the rural poor, including women, whose current participation in land reform was limited (May 2000:11). The recommendations of this report were taken into account when supporting programmes, such as CASP, discussed in Chapter Three, were introduced in 2004. However, as noted earlier, there have not been successes even after the introduction of CASP as the programme did not focus on the gender aspect.

With respect to the 2003 study, the results are said not to have been released officially because this study differed significantly from the other two mentioned above in terms of its methodology and research design (Hall 2009:9). Unlike the previous studies, this study focused on impact analysis of land reform and did not focus so much on numbers as was the case with the two previous studies. Its recommendations were for a need for household information on beneficiaries prior and after the transfer of land; a need for the DLA to produce Quality of Life (QOL) reports on an annual basis; a need for a control

group that had not benefitted from the land transfer in order to make comparisons (Hall 2009:9-10). On the whole the above reports fail to show the link between land reform and improved livelihoods for land reform beneficiaries (Hall 2009: 10).

5.2.2.3 Other studies on Land Reform for Agricultural Development (LRAD) projects

Apart from the Quality of Life Studies commissioned by the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) there were a number of studies carried out in different parts of the country. Notable among these is the study carried out by the HSRC (Human Sciences Research Council). The study assessed two types of projects and these were group projects and individual or family type projects. The beneficiaries of family-farm type projects were the wealthier sections of society that were able to afford an own contribution while group projects were for the poorer beneficiaries among which were male and female farm workers (HSRC 2003:12). The groups also included labour tenants and other farm workers who had the option to buy the farms they had been working on (HSRC 2003:12).

The findings of the study were that it was mostly the family farm-type projects that worked well because the beneficiaries of the project seemed to have more entrepreneurial experience and these were wealthier beneficiaries. There was less infighting because the groups were small and the project was sufficiently capitalised (HSRC 2003:13). Such projects, however, only

benefitted very few beneficiaries and excluded the poorest of the poor – women, the majority of whom were in multi-household (group farming) projects and other projects where the LRAD funding had been used by farm workers to purchase the farms they had worked on (HSRC 2003:13).

Group farming projects were, not surprisingly, a popular choice for poorer beneficiaries. In this type of project, beneficiaries, who were largely poor and included women, undertook agricultural farming after the purchase of a farm from the previous owner. However, the finding of the study was that group farming projects did not do as well as the family farm type projects discussed above (HSRC 2003:14). Their failure was attributed to a lack of expertise in drawing up business plans for managing the acquired farms (HSRC 2003:14). This observation illustrates that such projects would have succeeded if they had been supported with the necessary inputs, such as skills training, extension service and other support services needed by the agricultural sector (HSRC 2003:14)

In 2004, the DLA did its own systematic assessment of LRAD projects, the aim of which was to investigate land use and the impact on livelihoods of the beneficiaries of those projects. This study was similar to the study above, done by the HSRC, in that it also focused on qualitative case studies and identified two types of projects, namely group-based projects and individual projects (DLA 2004).

Group-based projects consisted of groups of poor people who came together with the aim of obtaining sufficient grant funding for the purpose of acquiring land (DLA 2004; HSRC 2003:12). The study found that most of these projects had failed because of a lack of training, infrastructure and capital, resulting in the non-implementation of approved business plans. Another cause of the failure of projects was attributed to a lack of access to extension advice and local markets which emanated from the high cost of transport from the rural area to the closest town (HSRC 2003:13).

As regards the individual type projects, the study found that it consisted mostly of men who were able to afford an own contribution and were thus able to secure higher grants. Many women were too poor to access the LRAD funding as individuals. This supports the literature reviewed in this thesis which indicates that, although the LRAD programme has opened up possibilities for women to own land and acquire land rights that are independent of family and male control, it is only the wealthier sections of black farmers (men and women) who are able to acquire land rights, to the exclusion of poor women and men in the rural areas (Cross & Hornby 2002:66; Walker 2003). For this reason, problems of gender need to be resolved in order to ensure that the programme does not only benefit women and men in strategically wealthy positions.

The main observation from this study is that it has highlighted the plight of beneficiaries who had focused mainly on the acquisition of land to conduct commercial farming to generate a profit. However, no thought had been put

into how such commercial farming was going to be implemented and funded, or how the gender targets were going to be achieved. Most importantly, LRAD did not take into account issues of class differentiation in the countryside which resulted in the better off and educated women benefitting from the programme. The LRAD programme has generally not been able to meet its stated gender equity goals in that not enough women have been able to access LRAD funding.

The findings above illustrate the difficulty of delivering on land reform on the part of government because government officials are ill-equipped to grapple with the challenges of identifying who the beneficiaries are. These findings support other studies reviewed in this chapter that argue that government officials do not have the necessary skills or information or who the beneficiaries are in some cases (DLA 2004; HSRC 2003; Walker 2003). They are not well-equipped to adequately tackle gender issues in land reform.

Another study was undertaken by Farm-Africa, a British based NGO that has been working in the land sector in the Northern Cape since 1995. This study was on land reform and its impact on livelihoods among beneficiaries of land reform in the Northern Cape Province. The aim was to develop the technical and agricultural managerial skills of beneficiaries to enable them to develop their land optimally (Bradstock 2005:1). The study focused on land reform beneficiaries who had benefited from the land redistribution programme, or the land restitution programmes in eight different projects, as its basis for

analysis. It assessed their assets, activities and income resources between 2001 and 2003.

The study found that, even though there was a significant increase in the income of the households, this increase could not be attributed to land reform (Bradstock 2005:13). Secondly, with regard to livestock, it was found that none of the households were re-structuring their livelihoods to make livestock a key element, even though the Northern Cape region was more suited to livestock farming (Bradstock 2005:13).

The study concluded that the land reform beneficiaries were not developing the land received in terms of the programme owing to constraints, such as a lack of technical inputs for male and female beneficiaries; a lack of agricultural skills; poor infrastructure; and a lack of access to credit (Bradstock 2005:25). In summary, the finding of this study, like the studies reviewed above, was that there was no technical support or other support in the reformed sector. The above constraints point to a constraining macro-economic framework, which has increased risk in the agricultural sector (Bradstock 2005:25). The role of the macro-economic framework in land reform is discussed elsewhere in the thesis.

5.2.2.4 Gender and other land reform issues emerging from the literature and relevant to this study

There is general agreement in the literature, as discussed in Chapter Three, that land reform, both under SLAG and LRAD, has been slow. As discussed in Chapter Three, Walker (2003) has noted that very little land was then under black ownership, with women holding less than 50% of the land. The list of beneficiaries used included joint male and female-headed households and not women as a distinct category. Men had access to larger plot sizes, on average, while female-headed households used their plots primarily for residence and small-scale agriculture, mainly for household consumption (DLA 2000:26). This was the case, in spite of the fact that under this programme the average household obtained access to about 12 hectares (DLA 2001b:1). Under LRAD, the average land holding was set at 7 hectares (DLA 2001a).

The discussion above supports the contention in this thesis and in the literature reviewed (Moser 1993; Walker 2003), that the concept "household" needs to be unpacked and problematised when land reform policy is conceptualised and formulated. Because this was not done, it became difficult for land reform officials to understand what the term implied at the implementation stage.

Women have generally not fared well in the land reform programmes implemented so far. They continue to be dependent on men and remain

marginalised. Women lack access to public processes and have to deal with unresponsive traditional authority structures in their communities. They also have to deal with other mechanisms through which men attempt to curtail their independence, such as gender violence (Cross & Hornby 2002:54).

What has also emerged from the studies undertaken, and specifically from the Quality of Life Reports analysed earlier, is that single or female-headed households came forward less to claim resources and to participate in land-based activities. It also seems that very little gender analysis was done in any of the studies carried out between 1995 and 2000. Female-headed households had fewer and smaller plots of land, compared to their male counterparts, and men engaged more in crop production while women focused more on food production on household plots. This observation is also made in this study.

The Promoting Women's Access to Land Programme (PWAL) commissioned a study in 2002 (Cross & Hornby 2002), the mandate of which was to explore women's opportunities in land reform and this included an assessment of the Quality of Life Reports prepared for the DLA. This study is all the more relevant for this thesis in that there was at least an attempt made to disaggregate data pertaining to women and men in its analysis. For example, the study made an observation that there were more male beneficiaries than female beneficiaries in the Quality of Life Studies, at 42 versus 22% (Cross & Hornby 2002:56). A very small percentage of beneficiaries were other women in the household and men tended to dominate participation in income

generating projects. More male heads of households participated in projects. Married women who were the sole beneficiaries were very few, at 6% (Cross & Hornby 2002:63). This observation supports the literature reviewed earlier that argues that institutional and cultural barriers block women from participating in male-dominated and male-structured institutions.

With regard to land tenure reform, a major observation is that men are still the main beneficiaries of land reform, and this state of affairs does not help address the power dynamics within households (Cross & Hornby 2002:40). Land tenure rights are still a thorny issue and are still the domain of male members of a household. This is the case, despite the fact that there have been legislative changes that allow space for "allocation of land rights to women because this would also result in women gaining autonomy and independent citizenship rights thus reducing male power within households and the community" (Cross & Hornby 2002:41). This point is discussed in this chapter under primary data to illustrate what the position is in Daggakraal.

Typical examples are the Land Reform and Labour Tenants Act (South Africa 1996) and the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (South Africa 1997c) and the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 1996 and Amendments (South Africa 2001), reviewed in Chapter Three, the aims of which are to protect farm dwellers, although farmers and traditional authorities have resisted their implementation. The farmer and farm workers conflict observed after the introduction of the Acts has resulted in the informalisation and casualisation of

labour. The problems with the Acts are discussed in Chapter Three and highlighted later in the analysis of primary data below.

Although the challenges to promoting access to land for women are at the local level (community) and the micro-level (household) power relationships, government has tended to prioritise national level delivery goals over local level and household anti-poverty intervention measures. An example is the policy shift from RDP, which was a people driven process aimed at poverty eradication, to GEAR, a national level strategy where growth was central and the distributive aspect on the periphery.

5.3 ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY DATA

This section focuses on the data gathered through surveys, semi-structured interviews, participant observation and participatory exercises and focus group discussions, conducted with women and men in the resettled areas of Sinqobile and Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani as well as tenants still residing in Daggakraal proper namely Daggakraal 1(DK1), Daggakraal 2 (DK2) and Daggakraal 3 (DK3). Interviews were also conducted with key informants, such as Mr Kenhard, the farmer from whom the community purchased land, representatives of the Committee of Twelve, Mr Makhubo, Mr Zwane and Mr Ngwenya, members of the development committee Mr Mnisi and Miss Lephoto, representatives of NGO working in the area and local and provincial government representatives on land reform. The issues raised in this section are linked to the research questions, as well as the gender analysis

framework adopted for this study. These issues comprise a basket of emerging issues from the data and are in most cases overlapping. They are:

- Socio-economic profile of respondents
- Who is responsible for which activity in a household
- Access to land reform for women and men
- Household dynamics
- Community dynamics
- Institutional arrangements for land reform
- Implementation issues(land reform policies and other processes)
- Livelihood strategies
- Participation of women in land reform processes and other institutional structures(Community Property Associations/Community Trusts)
- Resource allocation and use (who does what and who owns what)
- Tenure arrangements.

5.3.1 **Socio-economic profile of respondents**

This section summarises the socio-economic profile of the respondents, which includes their ages, educational levels, marital status and occupational profiles.

Table 5.2: Gender of Respondents Within Households N=90

GENDER	SINQOBILE	HLANGANANI/ SINQOBILE 2	DK 1	DK2	DK3	TOTAL

FEMALE	16	18	6	7	6	53
MALE	14	12	4	3	4	37
TOTAL	30	30	10	10	10	90

Of the 90 respondents, 37 were males, representing 41%, and 53 were women, representing 59% of the respondents. These percentages are illustrated in Figures 5.1 below, 5.2 below and 5.3 below.

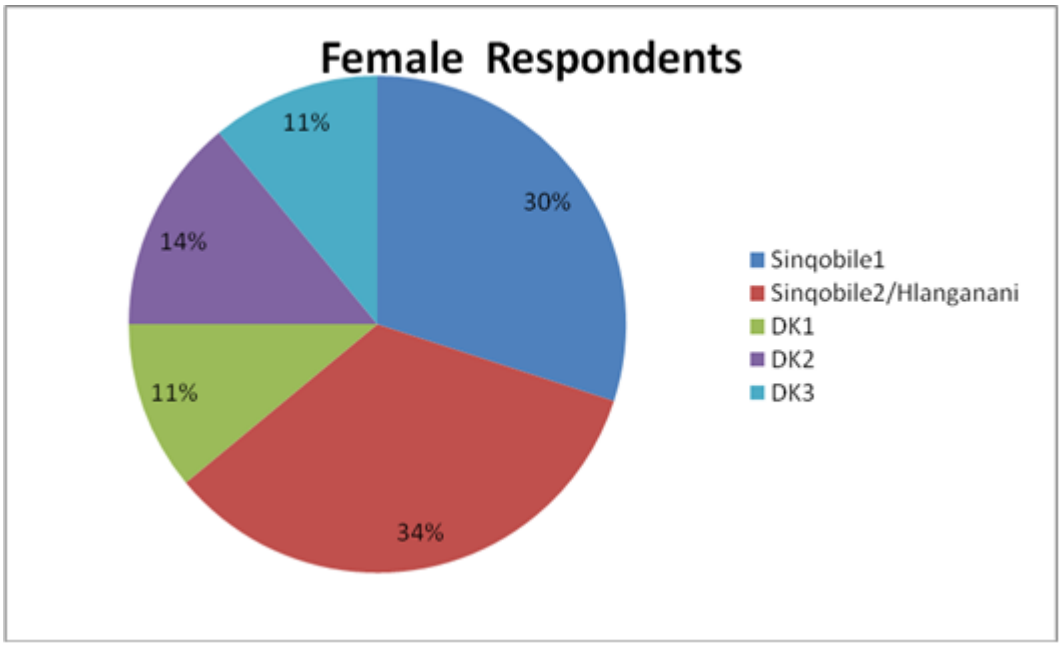

Figure 5.1: Female Respondents as a Percentage (all areas) N=37

Figure 5.1 above shows that the majority of female respondents were from the resettled areas of Sinqobile and Sinqobile2/Hlanganani, where issues of land reform are being resolved. Land tenure in Daggakraal 1, 2 and 3 is freehold and this illustrates that not all tenants were accommodated in the new resettled areas. In focus group discussions with the respondents, it became clear that farm workers came to settle in Daggakraal with the hope that they would be able to pool their resources together with other land hungry beneficiaries so as to access government funding for settlement and agricultural purposes. This was the group that was able to be part of the newly-formed Hlanganani Trust in the early 1990s. Figure 5.2 below represents the male respondents from the five areas identified in the study. As with Figure 5.1 above, the majority of respondents were from Sinqobile and Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani, the two resettlement areas that are the main focus of this study.

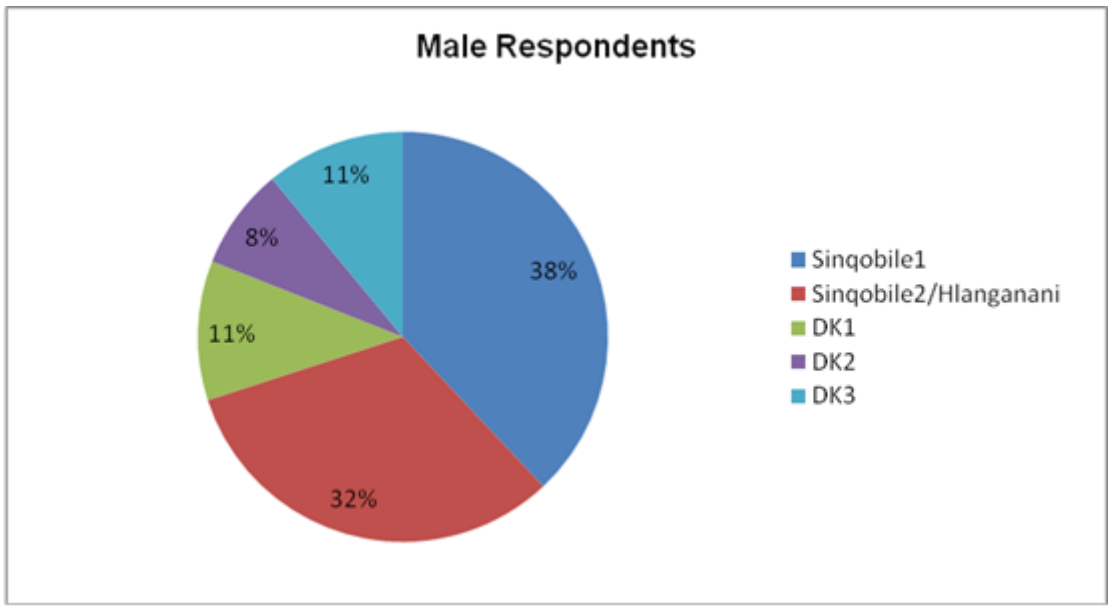

Figure 5.2: Male Respondents as a Percentage (all areas) N=37

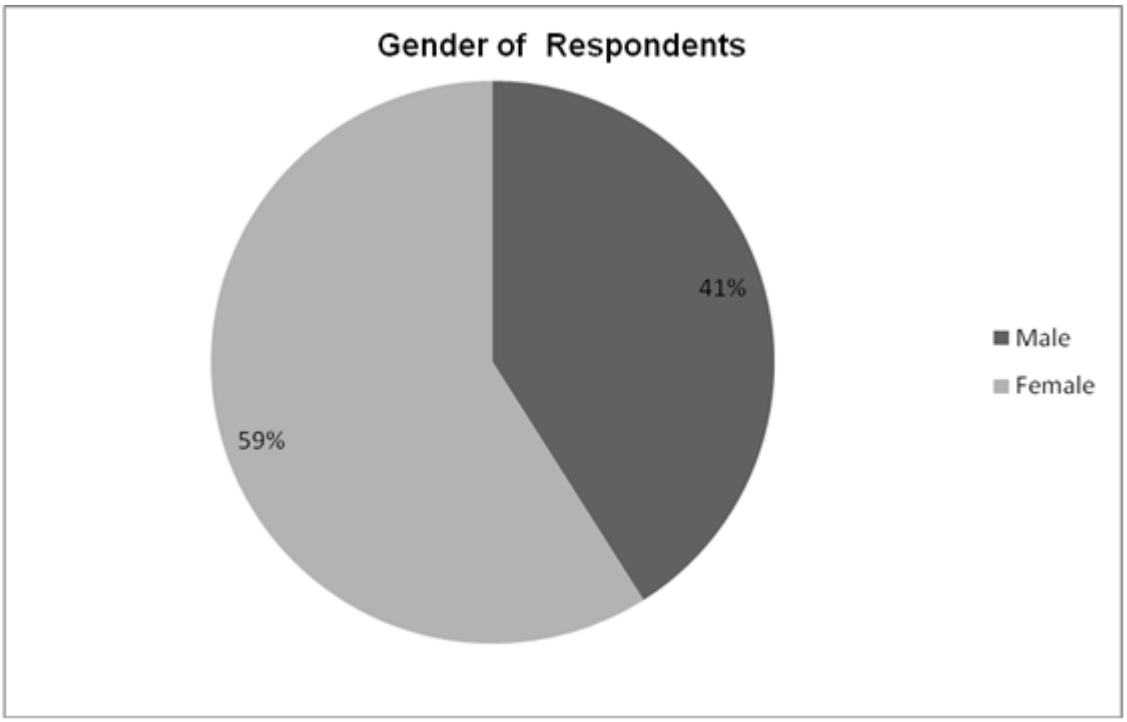

Figure 5.3: Gender of Respondents as a Percentage (all areas) N=90

Figure 5.3 above explains why some of the households sampled were female-headed households. Figure 5.3 above and Table 5.1 above show that there were more females (59%) than males (41%) in the households sampled. As will be illustrated later, there are more female-headed households (either single or widowed) in Daggakraal, as a whole. One of the reasons for this is that husbands work away from home, in Standerton, Johannesburg and Piet Retief, and they rarely come home. In such households, women are practically the de facto heads of households. Another factor mentioned by the respondents is the issue of HIV and AIDS which has ravaged the community, as it has done throughout South Africa. Another explanation that can be deduced from the beneficiary household lists is that there was an effort to

include as many women as possible in the beneficiary lists drawn up by the community. In reality, as the women respondents explained in interviews and focus group discussions, not many women accessed land as individuals in Daggakraal. For those who did, they adopted other strategies, such as presenting their male family members as heads of households.

Table 5.3: Age Profile of Respondents (Sinqobile) N=30

AGE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
15-25	0	0	0
26-36	4	3	7
37-47	6	7	13
48 and over	4	6	10
TOTAL	14	16	30

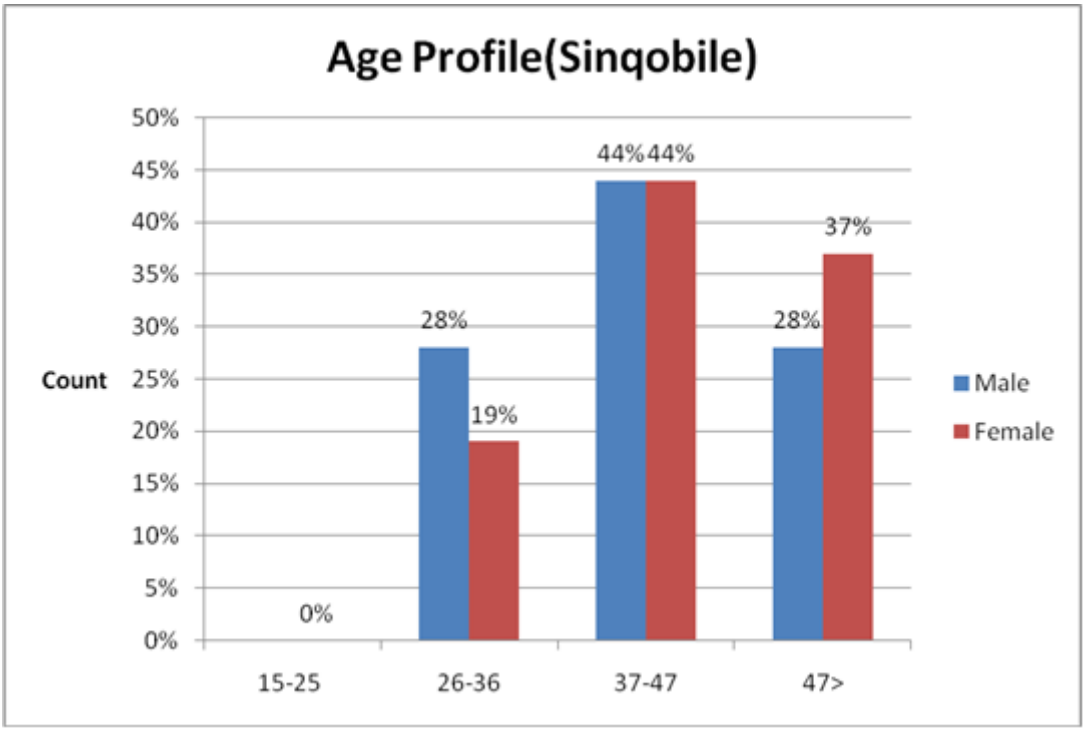

Figure 5.4: Age Profile of Respondents as a Percentage (Sinqobile)

Table 5.3 above shows that a total of 14 male and 16 female respondents were from Sinqobile and that the majority of them were older than 37. Figure 5.4 above shows that more than 72% of male respondents and 82% of female respondents were over the age of 37, indicating that they would have encountered land reform when they were young and that some of them would have inherited their land from their parents who had since passed on. Less than 30% have acquired the land through inheritance and some would have settled here as tenants evicted from neighbouring farms. Another group is made up of descendants of landlords still residing in Daggakraal proper. There are more female than male respondents in this group, for the same reasons as mentioned under Figure 5.3 above. This group were the first to be resettled in this area.

Table 5.4: Age Profile of Respondents (Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani)

AGE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
15-25	0	0	0
26-36	2	4	6
37-47	3	4	7
48 and above	7	10	17
TOTAL	12	18	30

Table 5.4 above illustrates that there were more female than male respondents in this area and that the majority of them were older than 48, as was the case with Sinqobile. There were again more female respondents in this area.

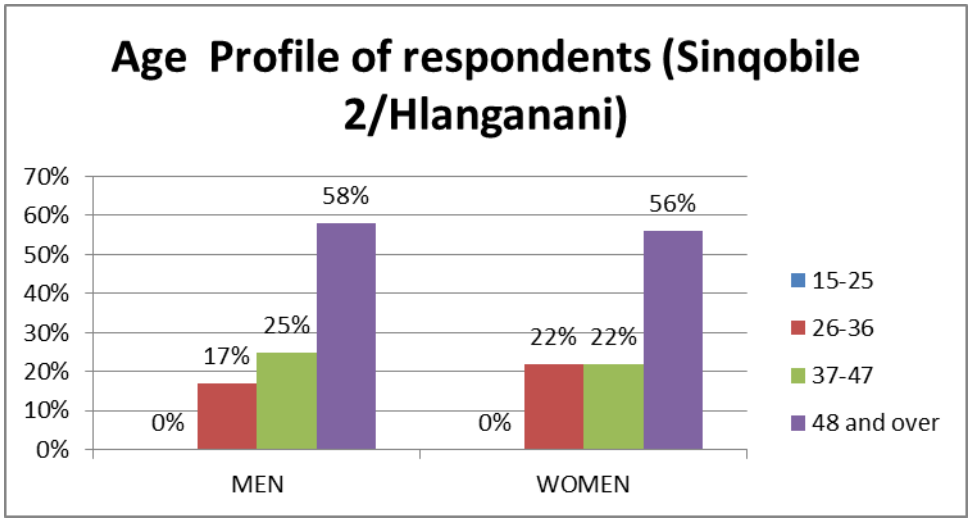

Figure 5.5: Age Profile of respondents (Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani)

As with Figure 5.4 above, there are more women than men in this sample (60:40 split) and young men represent only 17% of the sample, while the more mature age groups (37–47) and 48 and over) represent about 83% in this group. There are more women in the mature age groups, (37-47) and (48 and over), at 78%, while the relatively younger groups (15–25) and (26–36) represent 22%. Hlanganani is one of the first areas where the majority of beneficiaries were former labour tenants and other farm workers who had settled in Daggakraal 1, 2 and 3. The majority were resettled from Daggakraal 3. This was the group that formed the Hlanganani Trust in order to access funding to buy land adjacent to Daggakraal as described in Chapters One and Four. The beneficiary list in Chapter Six demonstrates that more people were resettled from Daggakraal 3, which had a higher tenant population than Daggakraal 1 and 2.

Table 5.5: Age Profile of Respondents (DK1)

AGE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
15-25	1	1	2
26-36	4	3	7
37-47	0	1	1
48 and over	0	0	0
TOTAL	**5**	**5**	**10**

Table 5.5 above illustrates that the majority of the respondents in DK1 were relatively young, between 15 and 36 with 7 out of 10 in the 26–36 age bracket. There were no male or female respondents older than 48. Expanded details about this group are shown in Figure 5.6 below.

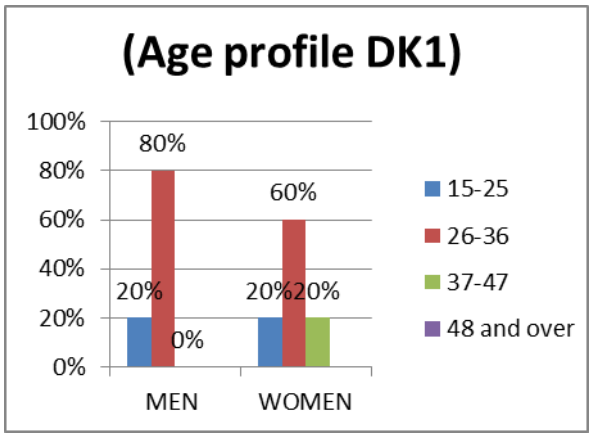

Figure 5.6: Age profile of respondents as a percentage (DK1)

Figure 5.6 above shows that the majority of respondents were relatively young (15 – 25) and (26 – 36). The age group 26–36 reflected 80% for males and 60% for females, while only 20% of females and males were older than 36. 20% of males and females were in the age bracket (15–25). These respondents fell under two groups. Some were relatives of plot owners and the others were tenants who had come to settle in Daggakraal with the hope of accessing government grants for housing alone and for housing and agricultural purposes. This matter is discussed later in the analysis. The tenants also included former farm labourers who had been evicted from

neighbouring farms and had nowhere else to live and those farmworkers who still worked on the farms as seasonal labour.

Table 5.6: Age Profile of Respondents (DK2) N=10

AGE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
15-25	0	0	0
26-36	4	5	9
37-47	1	0	1
48 and over	0	0	0
TOTAL	**5**	**5**	**10**

Similar to Table 5.5 above, there are more people in the age bracket 26–36 in the area covered by Table 5.6 above. There were an equal number of males and females. One respondent was a widowed male and another was a single female who was related to the plot owner. In discussions with respondents, it was explained that plot owners still accepted people who came to settle in Daggakraal and those who were destitute, whether married or single. However, they are accepted on the understanding that they are temporary residents. As such, most of the respondents' dwellings in this group were not permanent structures. In discussions with key informants, it was stated that the plot owners wished for these tenants to leave as soon as it was feasible

for them to do so, so that they could engage in agricultural activities themselves on their plots. This observation applies to DK1, DK2 and DK3 where tenure is freehold.

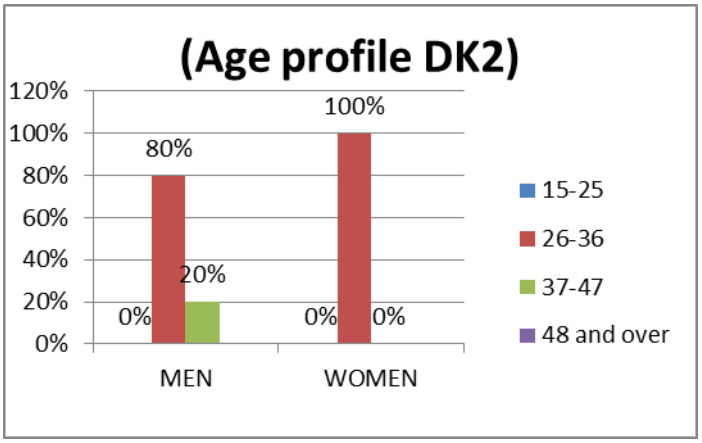

Figure 5.7: Age profile of respondents as a percentage (DK2)

Figure 5.7 above shows that all the female respondents were in the 26-36 age bracket (100%), while 80% of the males were in the 26-36 bracket, and that the other males (20%) were older than 36, but still resided in DK2 as tenants. Among this group were relatives of plot owners, as well as tenants wishing to leave DK 2 when they received land settlement grants from government for *housing alone* and for *housing and agricultural purposes*, as was the case with DK 1 above.

Table 5.7: Age Profile of respondents (DK3) N=10

AGE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
15-25	0	0	0
26-36	5	5	10
37-46	0	0	0
48 and over	0	0	0
TOTAL	**5**	**5**	**10**

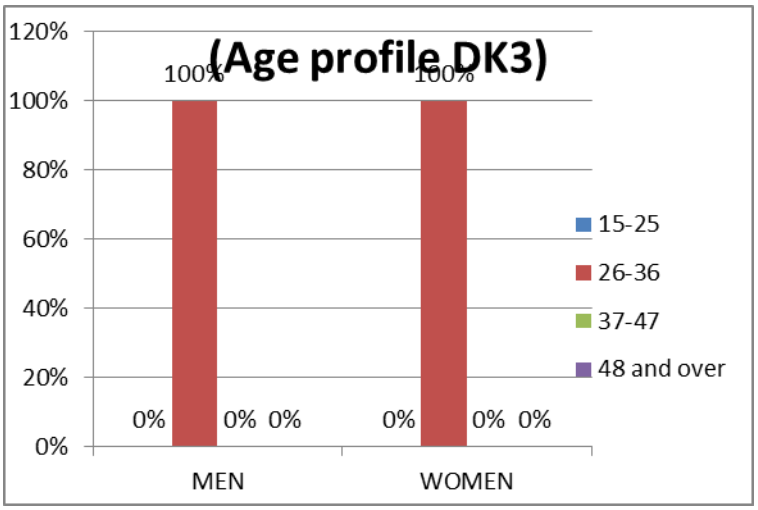

Figure 5.8: Age profile of respondents as a percentage (DK3)

All the respondents in the DK3 sample were in the 26-36 age group, as illustrated in Figure 5.8 above and Table 5.7 above. An equal number of male

and female respondents were in the sample. All the males and females regarded themselves as temporary tenants, who were anxiously waiting to be resettled so that they could engage in agricultural activities. In contrast to the two groups mentioned above (Figures 5.6 above, DK1, and 5.7 above, DK2), this group would like to have land for both housing and for agricultural purposes. In focus group discussions with men and women as a group and with females only, it was clear that some had been evicted from neighbouring farms, while others still worked as farm hands, on a casual basis. This point is discussed later in this chapter. The beneficiary list from which the household lists were drawn illustrated that the majority of beneficiaries in this area, male and female, were resettled from Daggakraal 3, confirming that this area has always had a larger tenant population than DK1 and DK 2.

Table 5.8: Marital Statuses of Respondents (all areas) N=90

MARITAL STATUS	SINQOBILE 2/HLANGANANI	SINQOBILE	DK1	DK2	DK3	TOTAL
Married	24	28	4	4	6	
Single	4	1	4	5	2	
Widowed	2	1	2	1	1	
TOTAL	30	30	10	10	10	90

Table 5.8 above shows that 24 respondents from Sinqobile/Hlanganani were married and that the rest were either single or widowed. The corresponding figures for Sinqobile were 28 and 2. In such households, one of the members of the household was interviewed, as explained in Chapter Four. It was found that in such households the strategy adopted by some was that of presenting the male family members of their households to access land reform benefits.

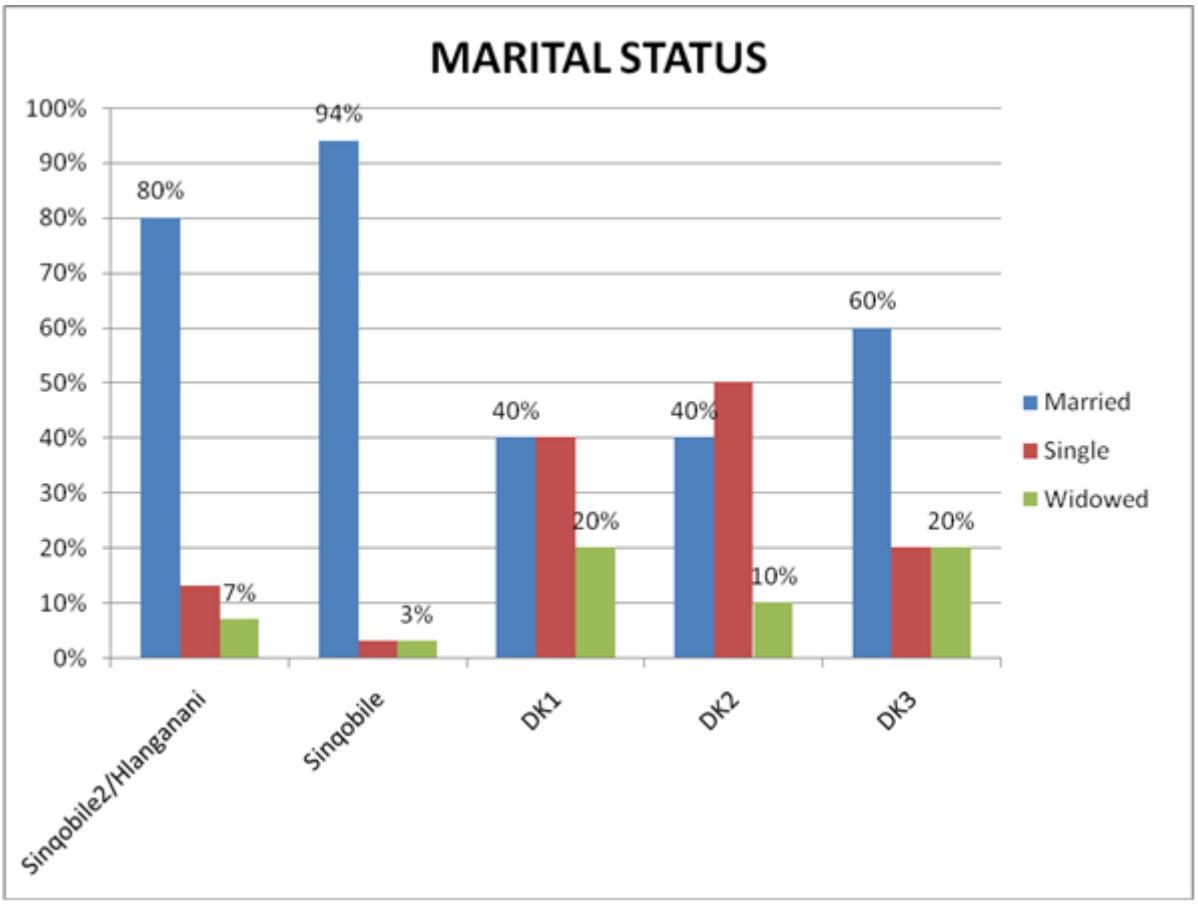

Figure 5.9: Marital Statuses of Respondents as a Percentage (all areas)

As shown in Figure 5.9 above, the majority of respondents in Sinqobile/Hlanganani were married (80%) and a very small percentage of women and men within households were single (13%) and widowed (7%). A

greater percentage of respondents from Sinqobile were married (94%) and a small percentage of women were single (3%) and widowed (3%). For DK 3, 60% of households comprised married people, while the rest were single and widowed (40%) each. For DK1 and DK 2, the figures for those married are similar (40%), and for those single or widowed, the figure is 60% for both areas. The number of single and female-headed households could be explained by the argument in the literature that labour tenancy does promote fragmented family structures (Bob 1999; Marcus et al 1996; Ditlhake 1997). For example, tenants living in DK 1, 2 and 3 were former labour tenants and people still working on neighbouring farms, as well as relatives of the plot owners. These people are accepted as tenants, both as individuals and as family units. For Sinqobile and Sinqobile 2, the resettlement process used the household as a unit for accessing land reform benefits and the interpretation of “household” was that of a married man and woman and their families. Very few women accessed land reform benefits as individuals, even though the beneficiary list indicated that many women were on the beneficiary list. The socio-economic data, however, revealed that members of households included own children, parents, grandparents, grandchildren and siblings. This was confirmed in focus group discussions with groups of men and women.

Table 5.9: Educational Levels as a Percentage (all areas) n=90

EDUCATIONAL STATUS	SINQOBILE 2 /HLANGANANI	SINQOBILE	DK1	DK2	DK3	TOTAL
NONE	40 (12)	15 (2)	5 (1)	5 (1)	20 (2)	18
PRIMARY	35 (10)	25 (6)	5 (1)	10 (3)	50 (15)	23
SECONDARY	15 (2)	40 (12)	35 (3)	35 (3)	20 (2)	23
MATRIC	10 (3)	10 (3)	40 (4)	40 (4)	10 (3)	15
POST MATRIC	0	10 (3)	15 (5)	10 (3)	0	11
TOTAL	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**90**

The discussion on Table 5.9 above is included with that on Figure 5.10 below.

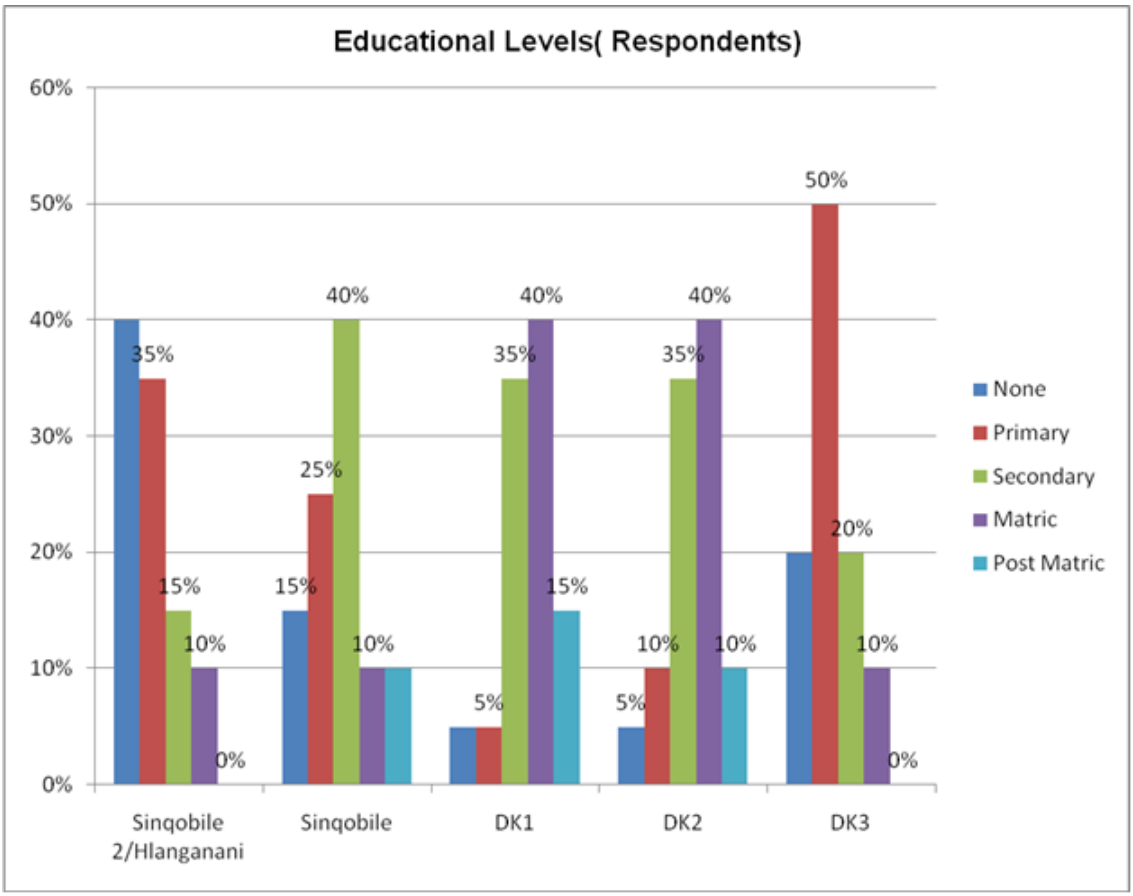

Figure 5.10: Educational Levels as a Percentage (all areas)

In terms of educational levels, Figure 5.10 above shows that only DK 1, 2 and Sinqobile had a high proportion of respondents with a secondary education and matric, 75% for DK 1 and 2, and 50% for Sinqobile. On the other hand, DK3 and Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani had a higher proportion of respondents with primary education or less, at 70% and 75%, respectively. Access to formal education is still a problem for most people in the areas, including Daggakraal, because not enough resources have been allocated by government to education in the rural areas. This observation is backed by socio-economic data for the Pixley Ka Seme Local Municipality which indicated that lack of education in Wards 9, 10 and 11 was one of the reasons

that the majority of people in the area were not economically active and were unemployed (Statistics South Africa 2006). Daggakraal 1, 2 and 3 fall under Ward 9, Sinqobile falls under Ward 10, and Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani fall under Ward 11 in the present demarcation system. At the time I conducted the research they were still referred to by the names used in this thesis.

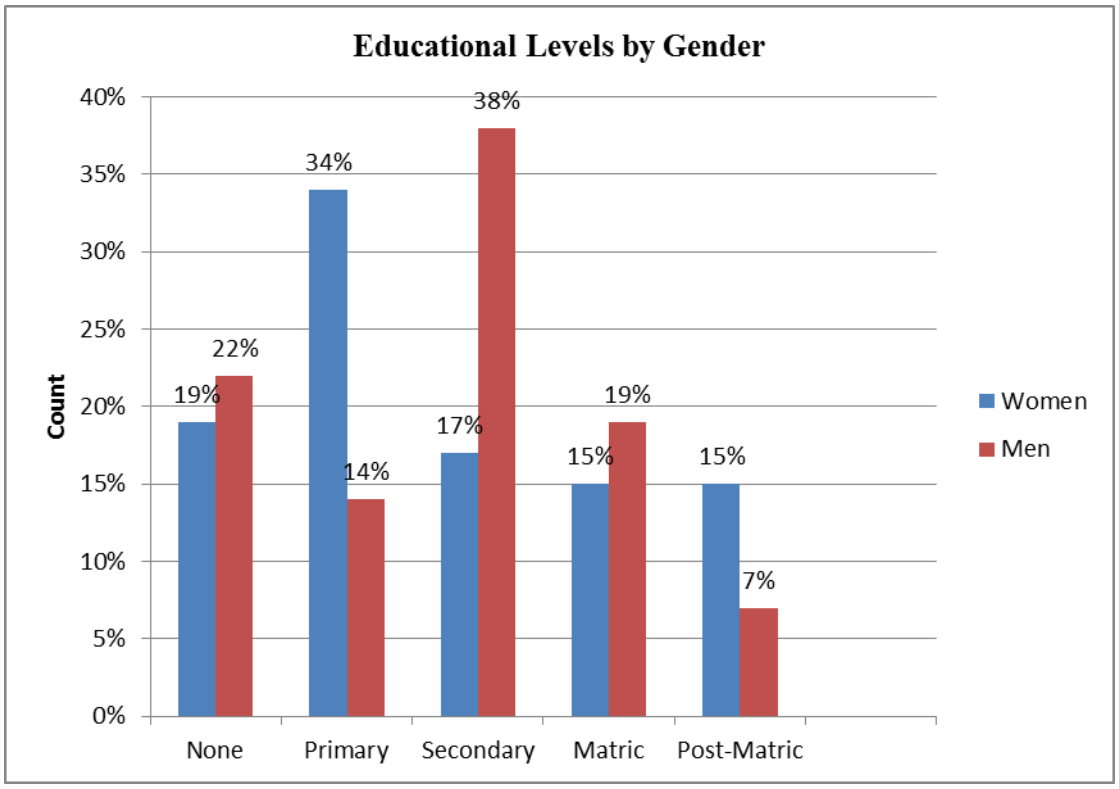

Figure 5.11: Educational levels by gender as a percentage

In terms of gender and educational levels, Figure 5.11 above shows that women were more represented in the lower levels of education, namely primary and no education. For example, 53% had only primary or no education at all. The figure for men was 36%. Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani had a higher proportion of people with less education, male and female, as

illustrated in Figure 5.10 above and Figure 5.11 above. These were mostly former farm labourers and other seasonal workers residing in Daggakraal and the majority represented female-headed households. The few that had secondary education and matric were mainly from DK 1, DK 2, Sinqobile and DK 3. These are the areas where primary and secondary schools are situated. This has implications for development and for land reform in that to be able to access relevant information, women beneficiaries need to be educated and this was one of the reasons that their participation in CPAs or Trust was ineffective. This is discussed later in this chapter.

Table 5.10: Sources of Household Income as a Percentage

ACTIVITY	**Per cent household**					
	HLANGANANI/ SINQOBILE 2	SINQOBILE	DK1	DK2	DK3	
Household plots/gardens	30	35	0	0	0	
Livestock production	40	30	5	5	0	
Crop production	35	25	0	0	0	
Informal sector	25	20	60	30	10	
	45	40	40	35	40	

ACTIVITY	Per cent household					
	HLANGANANI/ SINQOBILE 2	SINQOBILE	DK1	DK2	DK3	
Grants/pensions						
Off farm e.g.: Tuckshops Road construction Roofing/repairing huts Sewing club Factory/shops in Standerton/Volksrust (remittances) Gardening Domestic work Construction Work for commercial farmers	30	20	30	30	50	
Professionals: Telkom/post office/Teaching/ clinic local government	5	5	5	5	0	

ACTIVITY	**Per cent household**					
	HLANGANANI/ SINQOBILE 2	SINQOBILE	DK1	DK2	DK3	

NB: Respondents gave multiple answers

Most households engaged in multiple activities, with food crops, livestock production, informal sector activity production, off-farm employment and grants being the main sources of income. A very small percentage of the respondents (5%) derived their income from working in the government and the private sectors. It was mostly the respondents from DK 1, 2 and 3 who worked as seasonal workers on the surrounding farms, and in the informal sector as well. This group of respondents did not own livestock nor did they have any household plots on which to plant food. An interview schedule showing the socio-economic data for respondents is provided as Appendix A.

5.3.2 **Research questions**

In Chapters One and Four a number of research questions were identified. This section of the chapter will deal with those. In some cases there is an

overlap and where this is the case the questions are grouped together. For example, the question on the extent to which land reform practice was informed by land reform policy is grouped together with that on whether gender concerns were incorporated in the design and implementation of the project, as well as the question of whether policies systems and procedures took gender seriously. These are all issues about the interpretation of legislation and other instruments at the local level. The remaining set of questions is about the macro-economic context and its impact on land reform delivery.

The main focus is an examination of existing land reform policies to examine whether or not they are indeed gender sensitive. What are the strengths and weaknesses in the current policy framework? This question has been addressed largely in Chapters Two and Three and is revisited in the analysis of secondary data above.

5.3.2.1 Land reform planning and other legislative processes

The questions below concern the nature of the land reform planning process and other legislative arrangements.

- **To what extent is land reform practice informed by land reform policy?**
- **To what extent were gender concerns incorporated in the design and implementation of the project?**

- **Do land reform policies, systems and procedures take gender seriously?**

When land reform was introduced in Daggakraal, the instrument used to access funds was the Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) discussed in Chapter Three. This was to be followed later by LRAD, also discussed in Chapter Three. Interviews held with key informants and focus group discussions held with the respondents indicated that the process was very slow and overly bureaucratic. Firstly, communities would send their applications to the DLA which would then prepare a project identification report. The report would then have to have approval of provincial subcommittees. The approval would then have to be sent back to the DLA's project planning office.

While these documents went back and forth between government offices, communities were asked to form a legal entity before funds could be transferred for the purchase of the land. This was the process that was followed in Daggakraal. The process took much longer than the community had anticipated in that funds were released five years after the community had identified land for purchase. The bureaucratic nature of the process of land reform in South Africa is well documented in the literature reviewed (Cliffe 2000; Hall 2007).

The White Paper on South African Land Reform Policy (1997a) and the Land Reform and Gender Policy (1997b) committed themselves to facilitating the

targeting of the poor and women on the ground and yet even in the planning stages it did not seem that there was a commitment in addressing the gender specific-goal. In discussions with focus groups with women, they reported that no attempt had been made to do a gender analysis of who needed the land the most. The household was used as the unit of analysis and the assumption was that men and women's needs were similar and yet this was not so, as will be discussed later in this section. The literature reviewed earlier supports this observation (Agarwal 1994a; Agarwal 1994b; Walker 2003).

During interviews with key informants, notably the Committee of Twelve, and in focus group discussions with the respondents, it was explained how the legal entities were established. These were the Daggakraal Trust, the Hlanganani Trust and the Lephatsoana Trust that was set up later than the other two, in 1996. These were said to have been problematic in that they took long to be put in place. It was assumed that the legal entities established by the community would be able to receive land and so deliver development to the members as quickly as possible.

In Daggakraal, the Hlanganani trust was set up by people who had been tenants in Daggakraal proper. The Daggakraal Trust was described as having been set up by land owners in Daggakraal with the aim of accessing the neighbouring farms for residential and agricultural purposes, both for relatives and for the tenants who had been residing on their plots for a long time. Although the constitutions for all these entities demanded that women be represented on these committees, very few women did and those that did only

occupied secretarial posts and attended important meetings infrequently. In this way, they effectively helped legitimise CPAs and Trusts, but were not influential when major decisions were taken. In some households, men would volunteer to stand in for their wives when they were unable to attend committee meetings.

The majority of women commented that their reasons for not attending such meetings were that they had to do other chores, such as looking after a sick child. This observation supports studies done on CPAs and Trusts which note that meetings are often held at times that do not suit women (Cross & Hornby 2002:63). This reinforces the stereotype that there are categories of chores and tasks that only men and only women perform! Women's numbers on the Trusts are used as a yardstick for assessing gender equity, without a clear concern as to whether this translates to real benefits for women in Daggakraal. These limitations continue, despite the policy principles that profess to prioritise women as a special category, as illustrated in the reviewed literature (Lahiff 2007; Walker 2003).

This also demonstrates that policies, as discussed in the literature sections and highlighted in the secondary data analysis above, only exist on paper. Officials of the DLA (now DRDLR) do not follow what is prescribed in the legislation. In some cases they are ill-equipped to implement land reform in rural South Africa. This is an illustration that gender concerns have existed on paper only and have not been taken seriously at the level of implementation. This point is highlighted earlier in the analysis of secondary data. The

discussion above illustrates that policies did not take gender seriously and that beneficiaries, especially women, were not consulted about what their land reform needs were. This is supported by the literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three (Walker 2003; Rangan & Gilmartin 2002; Hall 2007).

5.3.2.2 Community dynamics and beneficiary participation

The question set out below concerns the extent of beneficiary participation, particularly women's participation, in the land reform programme. The aim here is to examine the nature of participation by the beneficiaries and how land was allocated and who controlled and influenced the process. This is about the prevailing community and household dynamics. This question, in a nutshell, examines the nature of the context of social relations within which land reform policy operates and the extent to which the poorest of the poor (women) have benefited from the land reform programme. This question is outlined in Chapter Four.

- **Was participation by beneficiaries truly participatory and not merely used as a means of legitimating policy and project development?**

Participation is an important factor in the land reform programme. This is more so for women beneficiaries of land reform whose voices are muted by both policy and institutional process. As discussed in Chapter Two, participation is central to the gender analysis framework adopted for this study and is

supported by the literature reviewed (Agarwal 1994a; Hutchinson 2002; Kabeer 1994; Koczberski 1998; Razavi 2006). It is about women setting the agenda for development by articulating what is important for them. In this approach, women themselves define what they perceive as important in the various spheres of their lives. Gender analysis also gave an opportunity for a comparative exploration of the research question from the perspectives of both male and female members of the community. It is for this reason that the literature calls for a different approach to the way development programmes are carried out (Koczberski 1998; Kabeer 1994). It is important to pursue strategies that are empowering for land reform beneficiaries, especially female beneficiaries.

In Daggakraal, the community has a long history of being very vocal and organised, as illustrated in the discussion of the history of the area in Chapter Four. In discussions with community leaders, especially the Committee of Twelve, it was clear that the community was familiar with local and national politics. The community was, for example, able to take the initiative to approach Mr Kenhard prior to 1994 to purchase land for agricultural and settlement purposes. This trend has continued in present-day Daggakraal. However, among the poor and marginalised were women and farm workers (male and female) who were not knowledgeable and educated enough to understand the environment (See Table 5.10 above). The complex requirements for preparing elaborate business plans in the land reform process, in effect excluded the marginalised communities and individuals. The SLAG pre-planning process discussed above is case in point. In

summary, the bureaucratic process excluded poor women and men, both in its design and in its implementation.

The literature shows that the demand-led programme of land reform, supported by the World Bank, has tended to favour those with a strong asset base, to the exclusion of the poorest members of a community (Zimmerman 2000). In discussions with focus groups, it was evident that knowledge of land reform policies and programmes was very limited and sometimes absent in cases, particularly for inhabitants of Sinqobile, Sinqobile 2 and Daggakraal 3. This was more so for poor women within households, as well as for men and women who were former farm labourers and for those who still worked off farm. All these areas have larger proportions of people, especially women, who did not understand the processes in the same way as inhabitants of Daggakraal 1, 2 and Daggakraal 3, as demonstrated in discussions with focus groups with women only (Appendix B).

The success of any land reform programme depends largely on the extent to which land reform beneficiaries participate meaningfully and are able to make demands on government. Although land reform had been implemented in Daggakraal for a long time, by 2007 not very many people, especially women within male headed households, felt they had benefitted from the programme, as individuals. Female-headed households, while targeted in the beginning for land reform benefits, have not received the necessary support in the land reform programme. For instance, about 70% of the single women respondents had not been visited by an extension officer and did not have a

clear knowledge of what land reform entailed. Most respondents, including those in male-headed households, argue that there has not been constant post-settlement support from government, represented by the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), now the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform- (DRDLR) and the Department of Agriculture (DoA).

A wealth-ranking exercise carried out with the respondents and a gender activity profile with women and men, as shown below, illustrate the division of labour between men and women and how this impacts on land access and control (See Table 5.11 below and Table 5.12 below.) This data demonstrates the extent to which activities are gendered. For women, this is an important observation in that performing these activities takes time away from engaging in agricultural activities, even in instances where women have access to and control of land. With regard to other tasks, men are responsible for structural repairs and building. In some female-headed households, such as those in the sample, women performed these tasks in situations where there were no male members in the household to help. The activities include fetching water from the stream, borehole or communal tap, collecting firewood, cooking for the household, cleaning the dwelling, caring for children and gardening. Young girls perform these activities with other female members of the household. Young boys on the other hand, perform activities such as running errands for the households, fetching water, household gardening and looking after livestock. In addition to the tasks outlined above, the majority of respondents indicated that their households participated in crop and livestock production. The gender distribution of domestic and agricultural activities

within the households is illustrated in Table 5.11 below and 5.12 below.

Table 5.11: Domestic and Agricultural Activities by Gender

ACTIVITY	MALE	FEMALE
Carrying water	<	X
Firewood collection	<	X
Cooking for the household	<	X
Laundry		X
Cleaning of dwelling	<	X
Care of children		X
Dwelling repairs and building	X	
Plot cultivation/gardening		X
Livestock production	X	

where:

X: primary activity for the group

<: minor activity for the group

Table 5.12: Who is Responsible for Which Land-Related Activity

ACTIVITY	MALE	FEMALE
Ploughing	X	<

ACTIVITY	MALE	FEMALE
Planting	X	<
Weeding	X	X
Harvesting	X	X
Distribution/access and control	X	<
Food crops		X
Livestock production	X	<

where:

X: primary activity for the group

<: minor activity for the group

In discussions with the respondents, both mixed groups (males and females) and single gender groups (females only), it was clear that in undertaking agricultural activities, there were gender divisions and these were crop specific. There was some overlap though. This was particularly true for agriculture for commercial purposes, as it is in any community-specific income-generating activity where males are represented. The data presented in Table 5.11 above and Table 5.12 above indicate that most females produced food for household consumption on their plots, while males primarily reared livestock, namely cattle and sheep. The females who owned livestock were few and it was mostly poultry, pigs and goats. More males than females ploughed the fields. This supports the literature which notes that men tend to

engage in ventures that represent cash earning activities, which include cash-crop production. Males are also responsible for deciding how the crops are distributed in the household. The exception is with female-headed households where the women may decide who controls what. This illustrates the gendered nature of rural social relations which needs to be taken into account when land reform and other development programmes and projects are undertaken.

The high ranking of land in the community needs to be contextualised, as has been done using Table 5.13 below and Table 5.14 below.

Table 5.13: Wealth Ranking (Females)

	SCORE	RANKING
Water	9	1
Land	8	2
Toilets	8	2
Roads	2	8
Telephones	3	7
Day Care Centre	6	4
Community Hall	0	10
Clinic	7	3
Schools	5	5
Electricity	8	2
Jobs	8	2
Building Material	2	8

Table 5.14: Wealth Ranking (Males)

	SCORE	RANKING
Land	7	3
Toilets	7	3
Roads	6	4
Telephones	1	9
Day Care Centre	3	7
Community Hall	0	10
Schools	6	4
Electricity	7	3
Jobs	8	2
Building Material	8	2
Livestock	9	1

In DK 1, 2 and 3, land was identified as a priority because this group consists of tenants, male and female, who are waiting for access to land for both housing and agricultural purposes. This group identified water and land as priorities, in that at present they depend on someone else for water and where to live, or graze their livestock, if they had any. The majority of respondents from Sinqobile and Sinqobile2/Hlanganani identified water as being as important as land, even though these households had land already. The women from these areas expressed a desire to have more land, independent of the household.

However, an analysis of the data above indicates that water is regarded as important by women in all areas and access to this resource is just as important as access to land. In discussions about the value of land, women indicated that if they owned their own pieces of land, they would be able to enter into negotiations with the private sector and government to improve their agricultural activities, on their own, without the support or approval of the male head of household. Building materials, such as thatch, wood and mud were ranked highly by both groups, which is an indication of a lack of proper housing in the area. Women argued that access to conventional energy sources, such as electricity, would make their daily chores easier to do, with the result that they would not have to walk long distances searching for firewood to use for cooking, primarily, and for lighting to a lesser extent.

In summary, all the resources are linked and are useful in alleviating the resource problems that women face, in the rural areas. In Sinqobile and Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani, women complained that it was draining to fetch water and collect firewood and to do all the other chores in the household (Table 5.13 above). Men, on the other hand, ranked livestock as an important resource, indicating this was an important sign of wealth and social status in the community (Table 5.14 above). However, their major concern was a lack of grazing land.

The wealth ranking exercises and activity profiles illustrate who controls which resource in the community and what kind of activities women engage in on a daily basis: this illustrates the gendered nature of rural social relations in

Daggakraal, as described in the literature reviewed (Agarwal 1994a; Agarwal 1994b; Marcus et al 1996; Walker 2003; Jacobs 2010). The gender activity profiles validated the data collected above through quantitative methods. Women and men perform a variety of activities that are in the main, gendered. Women's activities are lengthy in terms of time spent undertaking them. (See Appendix C and D for the gender activity profiles of female and male respondents, at the end of Chapter Six).

Table 5.15 below, Table 5.16 below, and Table 5.17 below illustrate the extent of the problems that the poor face, generally, in Daggakraal.

Table 5.15: Access to Water as a Percentage

Streams	20
Tap in yard / private borehole	10
Well	20
Spring	20
Community tap/ communal borehole	30

The respondents gave multiple answers

Table 5.16: Primary Sources of Fuel and Lighting as a Percentage

Wood	35
Paraffin	30
Electricity	10
Candles	20
Gas	5

Access to water, sanitation facilities and energy sources are still a major problem for this community. The Pixley Ka Seme Municipality IDP (2008-2012) indicates that the resources above were a top priority for the municipality, particularly for Daggakraal (Mayoral IDP and Budget Speech 2008-2012). In terms of housing, StatsSA (Statistics South Africa 2006) gives figures that show that by the year 2006 only about half of the households in Daggakraal had formal housing. The majority still had informal housing and other traditional structures similar to those identified by the respondents in this study. This was more pronounced among female-headed households in this study. This observation is very important in that it illustrates that for the community, land reform would have to cater for the residential and agricultural needs of women and men in this area. For this reason, it is clear why the new LRAD programme, discussed elsewhere in this chapter, is not the preferred programme in the view of the majority of the poor in Daggakraal.

Table 5.17: Water Rights as a Percentage

	Sinqobile	Sinqobile 2/ Hlanganani	DK1	DK2	DK3
Communal	70	80			
Individual rights	10	5			
Right of use	20	15	100	100	100

Table 5.17 above illustrates that in DK 1, 2 and 3, none of the respondents had water rights in that they were all tenants who paid for the water provided by the landowner. Some of them were relatives of land owners in these areas. In Sinqobile and Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani, water rights are, in the majority, communal in that community members do not have their own taps in their yards, but are dependent on a water source used by the majority of the community. At the time of the study there were 7 boreholes in Daggakraal, 4 of which were in Daggakraal 1, 2 and 3 and the other 3 in Sinqobile and Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani. This adds a burden for females in that they are the group responsible for water collection for use by the household.

With regard to land and questions of access to land and other resources linked to land, most respondents were agreed, as illustrated in Table 5.18 below:

Table 5.18: Land Use and Land Access for Women and Men

WOMEN	MEN
Women have access to smaller plots of land but not control over this resource, except in female headed households.	Men controlled the land and its use in male headed households
Women, however, rely more on other females in the household to assist with domestic tasks and household food production Women also relied on males within households to help with livestock production	Men control how labour in the household is utilised. This is important particularly for livestock and agricultural crop production
Women collect water from areas that are mostly controlled by men	Men control where the water sources should be
Women may be members of development committees but they are not as active as they should be. This is illustrated in how they performed in the Trusts, discussed earlier	Most decisions within households and in the community are made by men. A good example is the Committee of 12 which was dominated by men as well as The Hlanganani Trust, Daggakraal Trust and The Lephatsoana Trust.

In land reform programmes there is a process that is followed to identify who the beneficiaries are. Beneficiary selection in Daggakraal took place at the community and district levels, as mentioned earlier. Factors that were taken into account were the current land needs of the beneficiaries, as well as other pre-determined poverty indicators. A study conducted by the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Hargreaves & Meer 2000) in rural communities, such as Daggakraal, concluded that beneficiary selection was enhanced in those communities which had been supported by NGOs, which were influential in helping women include their names on the beneficiary list. Daggakraal was a case in point in that both the respondents singled out both TRAC and the CBEP as having been helpful in informing the community, particularly women, about land reform. A large number of women were on the beneficiary list mentioned elsewhere in this thesis. This list is provided as annexure B in the Appendices. However, problems seem to have arisen at the implementation stage, but the main source of the problem was the fact that the legislative and institutional environment discussed in the literature, did not allow for women to access land as individuals, in the first place (Kabeer 1992; Meer 1997; Walker 1997; Walker 2003). There is a need, therefore, as argued in this thesis, for the concept of the household to be unpacked before land reform is implemented so that it is clear who constitutes the household, where power lies and what the gender dynamics are in this institution.

In focus group discussions with the respondents, they all agreed that it was the community, acting through the trusts, the Hlanganani and Daggakraal

Trusts that decided on the beneficiary list. The majority of the respondents indicated that it was the head of the household, in most cases male, who was allocated the Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) on behalf of the household. For female-headed households, women received the grant on behalf of the household. In such cases women indicated that they allowed male members of the household to make decisions about land use. These were the responses from some of the women who were allocated land through the land reform programme in Sinqobile 2/Hlanganani and Sinqobile. This was the case for male-headed households as well. In focus group discussions with women-only groups, it became clear that some of the women had used various methods to obtain land and among these were cases where they approached land reform officials on their own, and as a group in some instances. However, the women explained that in most cases the land allocated to them was smaller compared to that allocated to their male counterparts. This supports the assertion made by the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 and mentioned throughout this thesis.

Knowledge of the land reform process among male and female beneficiaries varied. This information was obtained through one-on-one interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions. The pre-planning process had involved frequent visits from the DLA in Secunda and Mpumalanga. There had also been some NGOs working in the area as mentioned in the preceding paragraph. All of these provided information about land reform. That is how the older women and men came to know about land reform. NGOs, especially TRAC, and the DLA, to a lesser extent, were helpful in providing relevant

information on land reform at community meetings. Further meetings conducted with both the Hlanganani and Daggakraal Trusts and other local committees were a different matter, however. This is where women felt that their concerns were not taken into account fully because males dominated such entities and advanced their own interests.

Further discussions with women who obtained land through the land reform programme showed that these women had achieved this by being more assertive in the Trusts, CPAs and other development committees set up in the area. Some of the older women who had interacted with a number of NGOs in the 1990s agreed that they were able to make their demands as a result of help which they had received from NGOs, such as TRAC and CBED, which had worked in Daggakraal during that period. These were the primary organisations that had informed the community about land reform, according to the respondents. This illustrates the point that the government, through the DLA, was not committed to participatory processes, despite the fact that land policy commits itself to facilitating participatory processes in all stages of the land reform process. Participation, as mentioned elsewhere in the thesis, was simply a legitimising of policy and process.

5.3.2.3 The macro-economic policy framework and the land reform programme.

The set of questions below concern the macro-economic context and its impact on land reform delivery. This context includes the role of international donors and government.

- **To what extent has land reform in South Africa achieved equity in the context of a negotiated, market-led reform and a neo-liberal economic agenda?**
- **What are the constraints to land reform at both the micro- and macro-levels?**

The intention here is to ascertain whether there was a commitment to equity principles at all levels, even in a constraining environment such as is described in the literature throughout this thesis. What have been the major constraints to equity at the local level? There is also an examination of macro-level problems and limitations as they apply at the local level in terms of how this has impacted on land reform delivery. The two paragraphs below summarise important observations in the analysis of both primary and secondary data.

When land reform was introduced in the 1990s, there were no attempts made by government or the World Bank to include the participation of beneficiaries in the process, and as such their needs were relegated to the background

(Levin & Weiner 1997; Bond 2000; Bernstein 2003). This happened even though the World Bank's record in land reform in Africa was poor, as highlighted in the analysis of secondary data and in Chapter Three. No attention was paid to gender rights and the implications of land reform. Most importantly, the World Bank's proposal for a market-led land reform, supported by the government's macro-economic framework, meant that land reform did not become the central programme for rural transformation. The RDP, which was a more radical approach to rural transformation, was effectively replaced by a more market-friendly approach advocated by the World Bank. The literature argues that this approach has not benefitted land reform beneficiaries (Rangan & Gilmartin 2002; Davis et al 2004).

The unitary model advocated by the World Bank (Moser 1993) makes the assumption that household members pool resources and allocate them according to a common set of goals, while the collective model assumes that resources are *not* necessarily pooled and that the household simply acts as a collective. It was, therefore, important for this study to find out the extent of the impact of the unitary model, as adopted by government through the DLA/DRDLR. In the section below, attention is now focused on the mechanisms for land reform delivery in South Africa, and on how these have played out in Daggakraal.

As discussed elsewhere in Chapter Three and in this chapter, the introduction of the new programme of land reform, Land Reform for Agricultural Development (LRAD), did not mean that SLAG was completely discontinued.

It continued to operate in the background. LRAD, which was introduced later than SLAG, adopted different models of land delivery. Under LRAD, land reform beneficiaries could access funds as individuals and as a group. Under SLAG, the household was used as the unit for assessing the grant of benefits of land reform under the unitary model. Both were implemented in an environment which did not allow for participation, as illustrated above.

In focus group discussions with the respondents, it was evident that some households had continued to try and access funding through SLAG after the introduction of LRAD, as a group, because they could not afford to raise the required cash contribution of R5 000 under the new LRAD programme. This was the view of most respondents, and mostly the former farm workers and those farm workers who were living in Daggakraal as tenants because they had lost their jobs on the neighbouring farms. SLAG was preferred despite the inadequacies of the unitary/household model in addressing the gendered nature of rural social relations. Men and women have different needs, as illustrated in this study, and these needed to have been taken into account before land reform was implemented. Most respondents, especially female-headed households, remarked that they were too poor to afford the required cash contribution. Moreover, under LRAD funds are allocated mainly for agricultural purposes, while under SLAG they may be used for both agricultural and settlement purposes. This also illustrates the limitations of the delivery model adopted under LRAD.

It is, therefore, not surprising that SLAG became a more attractive option for the poor, including women, because beneficiaries could use the grant for housing/settlement and agricultural purposes. LRAD was not regarded as an attractive programme for the poor in this community because its focus is mainly on agricultural production. For example, farmers willing to undertake agricultural activities were given preference over those willing to settle on the land and farm (DLA 2001b:2).

Among the groups that expressed land hunger were tenants still residing in Daggakraal proper and these included the farm workers who were engaged in seasonal labour on neighbouring farms, as well as those who had been evicted even after the passage of the Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act (1996) (South Africa 1996) and the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (1997) (South Africa 1997c) and Amendment Act 2001 (South Africa 2001). These Acts were reviewed in Chapter Three. Although the Acts were aimed at protecting the farm dwellers and workers, the farmers and traditional authorities have resisted this through various means, among which were summary evictions. This is well documented in the literature (Hall 2003; Cousins 2000; Williams 1996).

As discussed in this chapter, the Acts have resulted in the informalisation or casualisation of labour. Farmers no longer feel obliged to look after the wellbeing of their employees as they no longer live on the farm. Former farm workers and those who are still working on farms as seasonal labour, as well as other farm hands on farms bordering Daggakraal, have used the

opportunity created by the Labour Tenants Act that allows labour tenants to obtain independent long-term secure tenure rights through the assisted purchase of alternative land as part of a CPA or Trust. This is how they decided to rather pursue the accessing of funding under SLAG, as a group under the Hlanganani Trust. They argue that land reform has made it possible for them to access grazing rights for their livestock, and for those who do not have land, this is an incentive for them to acquire some livestock as well. Tenure arrangements seem to be working well, although in discussions with women-only groups it was clear that female-headed households, which did not have livestock, were able to let others graze on their portions, for a small fee or for free, in some cases.

The continuation of the demand-led approach (represented by SLAG) prompted the community to continue to enter into negotiations with willing sellers. In further discussions with the respondents, they illustrated how the Trusts, notably the Hlanganani Trust, received further funding from government in late 2006 and in 2007 to undertake vegetable and apple projects. During the investigation, the income-generating projects were in the process of being established. There was enthusiasm among all the project beneficiaries, male and female, about the anticipated benefits of the project. The community were rather disappointed with the performance of the Lephatsoana Trust, which was blamed for the failure of the Somerhook project, discussed below. The Trust was said to be under the leadership of Chief Moloi and the chief's council (Lephoto 2001; Ngwenya 2001; Mnisi

2003). Perhaps this explains the documented community resentment to the system of chieftaincy, which is shown in Annexure A.

The role of Chief Moloi in the development of Daggakraal deserves mention in that he is not regarded as a chief in the true sense of the word, as is the case with traditional leaders in other areas, such as former homelands. He has, however, been accorded the status of a chief, amid protests from the community. He has no control over communal land. It is the Committee of Twelve, together with other elected development committees, that decides on the allocation of grazing rights. This point is also discussed in Chapter Six, and mentioned elsewhere in the thesis as well. It is for this reason also that I was motivated to undertake this study so as to examine the nature of the relationship between the community and Chief Moloi and his council.

LRAD's failure can also be attributed to the fact that it has failed to take into account the multiple needs of households, as illustrated in this study. This is also supported in the literature (Turner 2002:14). One example that illustrates the problems of LRAD among poor beneficiaries was related by one key informant, Selby Mnisi, and was corroborated in focus group discussions with both male and female respondents. Mr Mnisi was an active member of the Hlanganani Trust in the mid-1990s. The community purchased a farm, Somerhook, near Amersfoort, with the help of the Lephatsoana Trust. The farm was purchased under LRAD but the venture did not succeed because the community did not have the necessary resources, information and power to ensure the farm was successful. It is said that it failed because the

community had been misrepresented by the Trust in its negotiations with the farm owner. This case study illustrates the extent to which communities become vulnerable to unscrupulous buyers and committee members. Crucial information was not shared with the beneficiaries.

It was clear in focus group discussions that the respondents agreed that LRAD in its current form would not benefit the poor. LRAD makes flawed assumptions that the poor can be divided into clear categories, such as those who want land for housing and those who want the land for agricultural purposes, yet studies indicate that this is not so. The literature (Turner 2002:14) indicates that rural households have multiple needs that need to be taken into account when land reform is envisaged and implemented. This study has also demonstrated the multiplicity of needs that men and women within households have and these do not always coincide.

The discussions above are indicative of the manner in which macro-level policies, both national and international, impact on what happens at the local level. The question to ask is whether the strategies used to allow women and men to access land reform benefits are appropriate. Land reform proper, at the time of this study, was still not part of a broader policy of rural development and land reform. This has happened recently, when the new Ministry of Rural Development and Land Reform was set up in 2009. The establishment of the ministry was preceded by the introduction of the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme, (CASP), in 2004, as

discussed in Chapter Three. The role of this ministry is further discussed in terms of the way forward, in Chapter Six.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the gendered nature of rural social and land politics at the community and household level have been highlighted. Both the secondary and primary data have illustrated the concerns of both men and women, as well as how they view land reform and how the process has unfolded on the ground. The gender analysis framework has been helpful in terms of placing gender centrally in development and by focusing on power relations within households. It has been demonstrated in the thesis that the gender analysis framework is useful in that it considers both men and women (Nabane & Matzke 1997). It is for this reason that it has been used here in the analysis of the data. Most studies present data that is often not disaggregated. The strength of gender analysis is the ability it provides to present data that is disaggregated. In the next chapter, conclusions are drawn on major issues raised throughout the thesis and particularly in Chapter Five. The objectives outlined in Chapter One are revisited with the aim of determining whether or not the study achieved the intended objectives. This is done in light of the theoretical conceptualisation of the study outlined in Chapters Two and Three.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this chapter is to summarise key research findings and put forward recommendations and further research questions. The chapter pulls together the different strands of arguments in the study and draws conclusions on the major issues raised. Recommendations and proposals, highlighted as secondary objectives in Chapter One, are also made. The objectives outlined in Chapter One are revisited with the aim to determine whether or not the study has achieved the intended objectives. This is done in light of the theoretical conceptualisation of the study discussed in Chapters Two and Four.

While case studies cannot, in general, claim to provide definitive answers to questions on land reform in South Africa, through this micro-level study, the effects of macro-level policies are illuminated. The literature reviewed in this study also highlighted land reform concerns. These concerns are about the gendered nature of land reform processes in the countryside.

6.2 KEY RESEARCH FINDINGS

The gender analysis framework was adopted as the framework to analyse the problem at hand because its major strength lies in the fact that it gives us

insight into how programmes impact on men and women differently. In those countries where it has been used, gender analysis has sensitised governments to take a gendered approach to public policy (Agarwal 1994a & Agarwal 1994b; Kabeer 1994), thereby reducing inequalities between men and women, while also empowering women. For this study it was important to find out how the South African Government approached the land reform programme. The framework and the feminist and gender perspectives that have influenced this study place women's issues at the centre. Gender analysis has helped the researcher to understand and explain the gender dynamics in Daggakraal and these findings are discussed in Chapter Five. Most importantly, it is clear that in all the stages of the land reform programme very little gender analysis was carried out to identify the needs of men and women. The adoption of the household model was made on the assumption that household heads – males – would take decisions on behalf of the household. In this manner, women's needs and wants are relegated to the background. It is for this reason I argue that the main problem was the failure to unpack and problematise the concept of the "household" before land reform was implemented in South Africa.

In all the stages of the land reform programme in South Africa, beginning with policy formulation until implementation, there has not been any serious commitment to gender equity. No attempt was made to take steps to enable women to participate in land reform. The policies that were set up in preparation for land reform were not followed to the letter on the ground. For example, even though the Land Reform and Gender Policy (South Africa

1997b) was adopted almost at the same time as the White Paper on South African Land Reform Policy (South Africa 1997a), there was no connection between what was provided for in the documents and what happened in practice. There was no attempt to challenge the unequal gender relations that are embedded in the countryside. This point is highlighted in the literature in Chapter Two and discussed in Chapter Five.

The findings in Chapter Five illustrate the fact that the DLA did not engage fully with rural women in Daggakraal because its main focus was the household. This approach ignored existing gender relations on the ground and the fact that the land needs of men and women were not identical. I submit, therefore, that the first land reform programme did not make it better for land reform beneficiaries, especially women, and that the second, under LRAD, has not fared better, either. This point is illustrated in the analysis of both secondary and primary data in Chapter Five.

The aim of the research was to examine the gender implications of land redistribution and land tenure reform and the extent to which the poorest of the poor had benefitted from the programme. The study focused on the relation between men and women in terms of their rights and access to land and their control over this resource. In this manner, the study has demonstrated that the rural terrain is an area of contestation and competing interests. This is supported by the literature inspired by the feminist and gender perspectives (Agarwal 1994a; Agarwal 1994b; Kabeer 1994) that argues that questions of access to and ownership of land are rather complex

and are gendered in various contexts. They are also linked to local, national and international factors. The contrasting view is seen in the literature inspired by populism and Marxism, also discussed in Chapter Two, that takes gender seriously but assumes that households can be regarded as unified entities, even if inequalities exist (Neocosmos 1993; Bernstein 1996; Murray & Williams 1994)

South Africa has signed and ratified a number of conventions, such as CEDAW and the Beijing Platform of Action, as illustrated in Chapter Three. It also put in place mechanisms such as the RDP, the White Paper on South Africa Land Reform Policy (South Africa 1997a) and the Land Reform and Gender Policy (South Africa 1997b). However, all of the above have not been matched by what happens on the ground. There is a lack of institutional arrangements to implement a gendered approach. The limitations of land reform are evident in the state's inability to deliver on its mandate of redressing historical disadvantages and providing equity in land redistribution and land tenure reform.

Moreover, the implementing agency, the DLA (now Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 'DRDLR'), has not fulfilled its constitutional and legal mandate set out in the documents mentioned above. For example, institutional and cultural biases that operate in the rural areas remain unchallenged and these exclude women in decision-making processes. This point is illustrated in the analysis of primary data in Daggakraal where no women held executive positions in the Daggakraal, Hlanganani and

Lephatsoana Trusts, nor in other development committees set up in the community.

The macro-economic and liberal framework has focused on quantitative aspects of land reform delivery with little or no attention being paid to qualitative aspects. The concern was with the numbers of households that received land reform benefits, as discussed in the secondary data analysis in Chapter Five. A good example is the Quality of Life Reports and other research on LRAD that showed that land reform success was measured by how many households received land reform benefits. No proper gender analysis was done to collect gender disaggregated data, even though South Africa had ratified the conventions mentioned elsewhere in this chapter. This illustrates a lack of political will and a lack of institutional arrangements to carry out a proper analysis of the dynamics at the local/micro-level and of how macro-economic policies affect the outcomes at various levels. An analysis of primary data in this study, on the other hand, focuses on qualitative aspects of land reform delivery by unravelling intra-household dynamics. This study, therefore, illustrates the need to transform rural social relations at the household and community levels (micro-level) if government is to be serious about land reform in the countryside.

The enforcement of land-related legislation has been a problem in the rural areas. For instance, the land tenure reform programme is a problematic one in that evictions have gone on in the rural areas, even after the implementation of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (South Africa

1997c), and its Amendment (South Africa 2001), and the Land Reform and Labour Tenants Act (South Africa 1996). There has not been a proper implementation of existing legislation. In fact, victims have rather been encouraged to seek alternative land elsewhere. More women than men are evicted from the farms. This has been the case with the former labour tenants and other landless tenants in Daggakraal, as discussed in Chapter Five. They are among the poorest in the community.

Legislation has failed them in that they have been evicted from the neighbouring farms, although they had the right to live on the farms under the abovementioned Acts. This is more so for women and young people whose tenure rights are regarded as secondary through their relationships with male heads of households (Hall 2003). This is also discussed in Chapter Three. There have not been sustained attempts to educate farm workers on their rights. There is a need, therefore, to tackle the existing power relations in the countryside before land reform proper is implemented.

The case of Chief Moloi, who is endeavouring to preside over the people of Daggakraal, illustrates the need to tackle all the community dynamics before implementing any development activity in the area. The community argues that Chief Moloi was imposed on the community amid protests from the community as to the role of chieftaincy in the area. This has led to friction between the Committee of Twelve, the community, and local councils. He is a “chief without land”, as mentioned earlier. (See Annexure A for a fuller discussion of the reasons the community of Daggakraal was opposed to the

new Traditional Courts Bill 2010). The community still decides, through their elected representatives, where grazing can and cannot take place (Mnisi 2003; Ngwenya 2001; Ngwenya 2003). The history of the area supports this assertion in that the area, particularly Daggakraal 1, 2 and 3, has been freehold since the early twentieth century, as discussed in Chapter Four.

With regard to the methodology that has been used in various studies, including those commissioned by government, through the DLA, the focus, as illustrated in this chapter, was with targets and numbers. This was the case although South Africa had committed itself to protecting women's full rights to resources, including land, by signing the international conventions and protocols mentioned earlier in this chapter and in Chapter Three (Walker 2003). South Africa had also committed itself to the use of gender- and age-disaggregated data on poverty and other activities, including land reform. However, this also operates at the level of policy in that studies done on land reform, as discussed in Chapter Five, have focused on quantitative and not qualitative aspects, and have not presented gender-disaggregated data.

Quantitative data may be useful and accessible to use but it fails to examine, in detail, questions such as who owns and controls what? Who has access to what? These questions speak to intra-household and intra-community dynamics which can only be obtained by using qualitative and participatory methodologies. In this study, it was accordingly important to employ a gender analysis framework to examine the nature of rural social relations with regard to land reform. It is, therefore, hoped that this study has provided a much-

needed gendered critique of the land reform programme in South Africa and contributed to the limited writing on gender and land reform

In discussing the key findings of the study, attention is focused on the stated objectives of the study to determine whether or not the study achieved what it set out to do. The objectives were as follows:

- **To assess the extent to which men and women have benefited from the land redistribution programme.**

It was demonstrated in Chapter Five how land redistribution has benefitted women and men in Daggakraal differently. This observation is also supported by the literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three, which shows that land reform implementation in South Africa, and indeed in other parts of the developing world, has benefitted men more than it has women. For instance, men have bigger plots than women, as discussed in this case study. Men, in general, also control how land is used for household purposes. The concern of the study was with qualitative aspects of land reform and not with numbers as observed in the analysis of secondary data, such as how many men and women received land. The discussion about the different dynamics is highlighted in the literature reviewed throughout the thesis and analysed in Chapter Five. The research highlights ways in which land reform has affected men and women differently in the rural areas and illustrates that gender issues and concerns were not incorporated in the organisation and

management of the land reform project. As a result of the above, land reform has affected men and women differently, and to the detriment of women.

- **To assess the impact of land reform on both women and men**

The objective in this section links with the objective discussed above. In Chapter Five it was reported that land reform had impacted on men and women differently. By adopting and using the gender analysis framework, the researcher was able to unravel who had access to land, what mechanisms were followed in the implementation of the land reform programme, and who has control over land, both at the macro- and micro-levels. The analysis of data has been done through the use of the gender analysis framework and participatory methods, which focused on intra-household and intra-community dynamics, and how they impacted on land reform in Daggakraal. The study has highlighted the relation between men and women and between women themselves (female-headed and women in male-headed households) in terms of their rights to land, access to land and their control of this resource.

- **To assess the specific gender aspects of land redistribution and land tenure reform**

This objective is all-encompassing in that it is concerned about all the identified gender dimensions of land reform. What were the issues at play at both the national (macro-level) and the household (micro-level)? Under what kind of environment was land reform implemented? Was gender central to

land reform in South Africa? Was it the case in Daggakraal? These issues are discussed throughout the thesis and are analysed in detail in Chapter Five. Most importantly, it can be concluded that land reform, in its current form, has not had a livelihood impact for men and women in Daggakraal.

6.3 CONCLUSION

In light of the discussions above, the study has demonstrated that a successful land reform programme needs to take gender aspects seriously if it is to make any meaningful impact on women. Land reform legislation and policies need to allow for participation of beneficiaries (men and women) as well. Those who are tasked with land reform (such as the DRDLR) need to devise mechanisms that compel officials and other extension officers to follow the letter of the law, but at the same time, honour the spirit of the law. Moreover, there is a need for the South Africa Government to reaffirm the commitments it has made in terms of the conventions mentioned in this thesis and to commission proper participatory research which provides gender-disaggregated data. For Daggakraal, the concerns around the system of the disputed chieftaincy need to be resolved as these may threaten the existing local structures, such as the Committee of Twelve, which the community has endorsed.

The study has also addressed the following secondary objectives throughout the thesis:

- Through this micro-level study, the effects of macro-level policies have

been illuminated.

- The study has also assessed the impact of the changing policy framework on land reform delivery by discussing the shift from the RDP to GEAR.
- It is hoped that the research has provided a better understanding of the gender dimensions of land reform policy and that lessons will be drawn for a better model of land reform for South Africa, one that is committed to the gender aspects of land reform.
- It is also hoped that through the recommendations and proposals emanating from this study, government will be in a position to devise a land policy that addresses the gendered nature of rural social relations.
- Practical solutions are offered to policy makers, rural development practitioners and other researchers.
- This study offers a considered contribution to the limited writing and research on gender in Africa, and South Africa in particular.
- The case study has also demonstrated the problems and limitations of macro-level policies as they apply at the local level. Micro-level studies are useful in illuminating the macro-level context.
- The study has demonstrated that the gender analysis framework has a better chance of illuminating the gender dimension in land reform in Daggakraal and in other development programmes that government may want to undertake.
- Gender analysis also gave an opportunity for a comparative exploration of the research questions from the perspectives of both male and

female members of the community. It is hoped, therefore, that this study will sensitise development planners and researchers to the use of gender analysis framework in the planning, implementation and monitoring of land reform and other programmes.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

In light of the findings above, it is important that there should be a clear attempt made to analyse the prevailing environment for land reform delivery so as to gauge what the constraints are, at both the macro- and micro-levels.

There is a need for a far-reaching land reform and rural development programme in South Africa. Although the new land reform programme, LRAD, is far-reaching, at least in intent, it is also fraught with difficulties as discussed in this thesis. For instance, the Comprehensive Agricultural Support programme (CASP) was intended to support both Land Reform for Agricultural Development (LRAD) and the Settlement and Land Assistance Grant (SLAG), but it has failed to do so, as discussed in Chapters Three and Five. A new programme (CRDP), introduced late in 2007, is more comprehensive in that its aim is rural transformation in line with the visions of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Unlike CASP, this programme targets women as a special category in its programme of rural transformation. However, women are still not a specific and central category in its operational plans (Commission for Gender Equality 2009:70). Based on this view of the new programme, it becomes clear that the CRDP has a rather

ambitious mandate. The question is the extent to which all that it stands for will be translated into practice. As with other programmes and policies before it, such as the Land Reform and Gender Policy and the White Paper on South African Land Policy, will it be translated into practice or will it also exist on paper only? Will it make women central to the programme? Like other programmes before it that have failed to place gender at the centre of programmes, the CRDP will not achieve progress in advancing gender rights. This is unfortunate because this is the one programme that could achieve much, if only gender issues were central in all its programmes of land reform, rural development and agrarian transformation.

6.4.1 **Tenure reform issues**

It has been argued in this study and in the literature reviewed that both the Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 1997, (ESTA) and the Land Reform and Labour Tenants Act, 1996, (LTA) are fraught with problems. They are not enforced and there is non-compliance with the legislation in the countryside. There is a need, therefore, to ensure compliance with legislation, particularly in respect of farm owners. There is a need also to educate farm workers and other labour tenants on their rights and how legislation can protect them. They should have access to legal resources which will protect their rights as beneficiaries.

There is also a need to amend the above legislation, particularly ESTA, so that female beneficiaries are also able to assert their rights to the land they

have occupied for a long time. Poor women on the farms are evicted more than men, as discussed in Chapters Three and Five. It does not make sense that government (through the DRDLR) would rather help evicted farm workers with the purchase of alternative land to secure their tenure, than challenge illegal evictions. This illustrates a lack of political will to tackle poor people's land problems in the country, in general.

A classic example is the recent restitution case study where a community had lodged a claim against the Mala Mala Game Reserve. The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform opted to pay an exorbitant price (R1 billion) to the owners of the game farm, rather than test the existing expropriation legislation that would have determined whether the price asked for was fair or not, and this was done amid protests from the beneficiary community (Sunday Times 2013). As a result of the above, farm owners continue to evict farm workers and labour tenants with impunity, as illustrated in this study. It is, therefore, imperative that government ensures that land reform legislation is not only enacted, but that it is also enforced and carried out to the letter.

The Daggakraal case study illustrates that there are progressive farmers out there who are willing to share land with beneficiaries of land reform and there are beneficiaries out there who are willing to work the land, provided they are given the support they need. Sadly, land reform benefits the wealthier sections of society, who in most cases do not have the necessary skills and experience to undertake farming.

6.4.2 **Research instruments used in land reform programmes**

One other glaring weakness in the way land reform is undertaken in South Africa concerns targeting, as discussed in this thesis. The DRDLR, it is argued, does not have an “agreed set of gender indicators” (Commission for Gender Equality 2009:20). There is a need, therefore, to develop a framework that will define how data is collected, analysed and presented so that the picture of land reform is a true reflection of what happens on the ground.

South Africa needs to recommit itself to the many conventions and protocols that it has signed and ratified. It needs to concretise and operationalise these commitments by equipping planners and other land reform officials with the necessary training in the use of the gender analysis framework. It has been demonstrated in the literature reviewed and analysed that the “numbers game” or the use of the most “accessible criterion” has not worked (Commission for Gender Equality 2009:119). There is a need to generate gender-disaggregated data as argued in this study, if government is serious about the gender dimensions of land reform in South Africa. A preoccupation with numbers, as is the case with the literature reviewed in this study, for example, does not do much for ensuring that gender issues are central to land reform programmes.

There is also a need to unpack the concepts used in gender mainstreaming and land reform. For instance, it has been demonstrated that the concept of

the “household” needs to be unpacked and problematised so that it is clear who comprises the household and what the intra-household dynamics are.

There is a need also for the proper and meaningful participation of women in decisions that affect their lives. This entails an overhaul of institutional arrangements that impinge on women’s participation in land reform programmes. The DRDLR needs to advance an institutional arrangement that implements a gender perspective in land reform. Nowhere is this more important than in the countryside where it is important to break the roots of apartheid where “early-on relationships were forged between white masters and black servants” (Ainsle 1973:25).

There is much that could be learnt from working with NGOs as they are more in touch with what is happening in the rural areas. In this case study, the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC) and the Community Based Educational Programme (CBEP) were helpful in providing needed information and in advising the community of Daggakraal on the land reform programme.

It is important also that beneficiaries of land reform, women and men, and particularly the former, are included in data collection, implementation and evaluation. This approach is empowering as demonstrated in this study and contributes to a demystification of the social sciences for the poorest of the poor (Korten 1990).

There is a need for a gender sensitive land policy that truly takes women’s

issues and concerns into account. It has been demonstrated that gender blind policies benefit the wealthier sections of society and males in society. Beneficiaries engage in a multiplicity of livelihoods and it is important that land reform is regarded as part of these strategies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Socio economic profile of respondents

CONFIDENTIAL

QUESTIONNAIRES

A: COMMUNITY DETAILS

Name of area _____

B: RESPONDENT DETAILS

Name: _____

Gender: _____

Occupation_____

C. HOUSEHOLD PROFILE AND STATISTICS

All members of households

	Nature of relationship	SEX(M/F)	AGE	MARITAL STATUS	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	PLACE OF ORIGIN See code	OCCUPATION

1	respondent	f/m					
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							

CODES:

Relationship	**Marital status**	**Education**	**Place of origin**
A. Husband	A. Married	A. none	A. DK1
B. Wife	B. Single	B. Primary	B. DK2
C. Daughter	C. Divorced	C. Matric	C. DK3
D. Son	D. Separated	D. Post matric	D. Other
F. Other relative	E. Other		
G. Parents			

2. Do any family members work away from home?

Yes	No

2.1 How many and do they support the household? _____

3. HOUSEHOLD CHORES

3.1. Indicate who among the household members perform the following household tasks

	Girls <15	Boys <15	Women <35	Men < 35	Women <45	Men < 45	Women > 45	Men > 45
Water collection								
Firewood collection								
Cooking								
Laundry								
Cleaning								
Child care								
Building								
Repairs								
Household plot cultivation								
Livestock production								
Other								

3.2 Does the household participate in crop production?

Yes	No

3.2.2 If yes, which crops are cultivated? _____

3.2.3 Who in the household performs the following tasks?

	Girls <15	Boys <15	Women u <35	Men < 35	Women <45	Men<45	Women > 45	Men >45
Ploughing								
Planting								
Weeding								
Harvesting								
Other								

D: HOUSING

1. Type of dwelling	Hut	Brick and mortar	Other
2. Number of rooms/huts	1-2	3-4	Over 4
3. Condition of dwelling	Good	Fair	Poor

4. Is the dwelling adequate for the household?

If no, what can be done? .....

E: LAND AND LAND USE

1. Did you own land in the past

Yes	No

1.1 If yes how did you lose the land?

Evicted	
Sold the land	
Gave up the land	
Other	

1.2 If no from which area were you resettled?

Daggakraal 1	
Daggakraal 2	
Daggakraal 3	
Other	

2. Do any members of your household own land individually or jointly? Yes	No

2.1 If yes complete the table below

See codes below

Owner	Arrangement	Land type and use	How it was acquired	When it was acquired

Codes

1.Respondent 2.Husband 3.son/daughter 4.parents 5.grandparents 6.other relative	1. communal 2. individual 3. mixed 4. other	1. arable 2. grazing 3. residential 4. garden 5. fallow 6. other	1. redistribution 2. tenure reform 3. inheritance 4. other	year

3. TENURE

Labour tenant	Owner	Owned by husband/wife	Rented	other

4. Who makes decisions regarding land use in the household? What is the relationship to the respondent?

Female	
Male	
Jointly	

5. How has acquiring land rights changed your life?

_____

_____

_____

6. Do you have access to the following communal resources?

Type of resource	Yes	No
Grazing land		
Water		
Fuel wood		
Other		

7. Do you know of any women who own land in the community?

Yes	No

7.1. If yes what are their marital status?

Single	
Married	
Widowed	

F. GOVERNMENT AND NGO SUPPORT

8. Do you or anyone in your household receive assistance from government?

Yes	No

If yes, what type?.....

9. Have you received any support from the DLA?

Yes	No

9.1 If yes what type of service did you receive?

10. Does your household receive any assistance from NGOS?

If yes what type?

_____

G. EMPLOYMENT AND OTHER INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES

1. What are the sources of income for the household? (Rank multiple sources)

Household cultivation	
Household livestock production	
Agricultural labour	
Informal activity	
Pensions/grants	
Remittances	
Income from rent	
Qualified professional	
Other	

1.2 Do you work on the surrounding farms?

Yes	No

1.2.1 If yes answer the following questions

Full-time	
Part time	
Seasonally	
Other	

1.3 What tasks do you perform?

Ploughing	
Crop cultivation	
Harvesting	
Herding livestock	
Kitchen hand	
Other	

2. Are there any income generating projects in the community?

H. ACCESS TO SERVICES

What are the primary sources of water for the household?

Stream	
Well	
Borehole	
Communal tap	
Tap in yard	

1.2 If the primary source is not tap in yard, how far is the household water source?

……

1.3 What type of rights do you have to the water source?

Own	Right of use	Communal	No rights	Other

2. What are the primary sources of fuel and what are their uses?

Source	**Lighting**	**Cooking**	**Heating**
Wood			
Paraffin			
Electricity			
Coal			
Gas			
Generator			
Candles			
Other, e.g. cow dung			

2.1 If the primary source is wood, how far is the collection point?

I. KNOWLEDGE OF AND PARTICIPATION IN THE LAND REFORM PROGRAMME

1.1 What is your understanding of the land reform programme?

_____

1.2 How did you hear about the programme (information sources)?

METHODS	Yes	NO
Workshops		
Media		
Articles/publications		
Radio		
Other media		

1.3 Who informed you about land reform?

Organisations	Yes	No
Government (DLA)		
NGOs		
Local authority		
Provincial government		
Other		

1.4 Did you participate in the process? What was the nature of your participation?

Process	yes	no
Planning		
Formation of CPA/ TRUST		
Skills development		
Other		

1.5 Are you on the executive committee of the legal entities in the area?

Yes	No

1.5.1 How many women are on the executive committees? _____

1.6 Do women participate in any other structures that address land related issues, including the Hlanganani/ Daggakral/LephatsoanaTrusts?

Yes	No

1.6.1 What are the roles that men and women play?

	Role	
Structure	Women	Men

1.7. Were you informed how you could benefit from land reform?

Yes	No

Please explain_____

_____

1.6. What do you know about land related developments in the area?

_____

1.7. What tenure arrangements do you have? Do you have a title deed?
If not who has it?

_____

1.8. What is the size of your land holding? _____

1.9. What were your expectations about the programme? Please elaborate_____

_____

1.9.1 What has been done to meet these expectations? By whom?

Please explain_____

J. FUTURE PLANS AND CHALLENGES

1. What are the long term needs of the household? _____
   What are the household needs of women within households? _____

2. How can the challenges be overcome? _____

Adapted from Bob, 1999

Appendix B1

Questions for focus group discussions with (women only)

Date of the discussion…….

A. COMMUNITY KNOWLEDGE OF LAND REFORM PROCESSES

1. What is your understanding of land reform?

2 To what extent have you participated in the land reform process?

3. What was the role of each of the following in land reform: government; NGOs; the Hlanganani and Daggakraal Trusts? What is your role in the Trusts?

B. LAND AND LAND USE

4. Has land always been a problem in Daggakraal?

5. How are you affected as women, by the problem?

6. How have you dealt with the issue of land in the past?

C. TENURE ISSUES AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

7. What tenure arrangements do you have in the household?

8. Do you have access to grazing land?

9. Do you have access to resources such as electricity, fuel wood and water?

10. Who makes decisions about resources such as land and land use and what types of crops to plant in the household? Who decides on access to services such as water, and fuel wood?

11. Do you think your rights to land and other resources are different to those of men?

12. Do you own any livestock?

13. How else do you make a living other than working on the land?

14. What are your long term needs with regard to all of the issues raised above?

Appendix B2
Questions for focus group discussions with (women and men)

Date of the discussion…….

A. COMMUNITY KNOWLEDGE OF LAND REFORM PROCESSES

1. What is your understanding of land reform?

2 To what extent have you participated in the land reform process?

3. What was the role of each of the following in land reform? Government; NGOs; Hlanganani and Daggakraal Trusts? Are you on the executive committee of any trust?

B. LAND AND LAND USE

4. Has land always been a problem in Daggakraal?

5. How are you affected by the problem?

6. How have you dealt with the issue of land in the past?

C. TENURE ISSUES AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

7. Do you own land? What tenure arrangements exist in the household?

8. Who decides on access to grazing land?

9. Who has access to resources such as fuel wood and water?

10. Who makes decisions about land use and what types of crops to plant?

11. Do you think your rights to land and other resources are different to those of women?

12. Do you own any livestock?

13. What type of crops do you grow?

14. How else do you make a living other than working on the land?

15. What are your long term needs with regard to all of the issues raised above?

APPENDIX C

Gender activity profile (women)

A 30 year old single mother who resides in Sinqobile

TIME	ACTIVITY
5:00am	Wake up to fetch water from the communal borehole
6:00am	Take a bath
6:30am	Prepare breakfast for family
7:00am	Leave for off-farm employment
6:00pm	Walk home from work
7:00pm	Work on garden plot
8:00pm	Prepare supper for the family
9:00pm	Take a bath
10:00pm	Go to bed

APPENDIX D

Gender activity profile (Men) Sinqobile

A 45 year old male who is a member of the Hlanganani Trust

TIME	ACTIVITY
6:00am	Wake up to take a bath
7:00am	Check livestock
8:00am	Have breakfast
9:00am	Attend community and committee meetings
2:00pm	Check on livestock
6:00pm	Return home
7:00pm	Have supper
8:00pm	Go to bed

APPENDIX E

Interview guide for key informants

1. Have you lived in Daggakraal all your life?
2. What do you know about the history of Daggakraal:
3. Do you own land? Are there tenants living on your land?
4. What do you know about land reform?
5. How was land reform implemented in Daggakraal?
6. What is the role of government in the land reform process?
7. What is the role of women in the land reform process?
8. What is the role of men in the land reform process?
9. Do women own land?
10. Are you a member of a trust? Do you hold any executive position?
11. Are women represented on the trusts? Do they hold executive positions?
12. What is the role of the Committee of 12?
13. What is the role of Chief Moloi?
14. What is the role of the farmer from whom the farms were purchased?
15. Who decided on the beneficiary list?
16. Are there NGOs working in the area? What is their role in the land reform process

ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE A
SUBMISSION ON THE TRADITIONAL COURTS BILL BY THE DAGGAKRAAL COMMUNITY AUTHORITY (THE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE)

Twelve Committee

Daggakraal No 2

Stand 140

Vlakpoort

31 January 2012

Pixley Isaka Ka Seme Municipality Mpumalanga

Contact details: 082 513 5939

Email: Jackie.twala@gmail.com

The Speaker of Mpumalanga Legislature

Private Bag X11305

Nelspruit

1200

Re: Submission on the Traditional Courts Bill by Daggakraal Community Authority.

1. The farms that I am going to talk about are portion 90hs Daggakraal and portion 87hs Vlakplaats, which together constitute one out of three farms that were purchased by Pixley Isaka ka-Seme -namely, Daggakraal, Driefontein and Driepan,

situated in the east of Mpumalanga Province. Portion 90hs Daggakraal and portion 87hs Vlakplaats were consolidated, rezoned, subdivided, proclaimed and became three farms- namely, zone 1, 2 and 3. These farms were purchased by black farmers who were issued title deeds. This area consists of 343 land owners and has about 40 000 people. Ntshebe Ngwenya embarked on a search for land; that is, when he met Pixley Isaka ka Seme who was a founding member and first treasurer of the South African Native Congress and also founded the African Native Farmers Association* (ANFAA)which was registered as a company in 1912. The ANFAA bought these three farms at 3 pound per Morgen. Ln 1912, the three farms were bought by Pixley Isaka ka Seme consulting with Mr Gouws' Agents known as (Siazenger Trust) who was the owner of the farms.

Through a committee that he set up he was able to collect an amount of 100 pounds from each of the people who intended to buy and they were able to collect 6000.00 pounds cash in order to be able to buy these three farms. There were 60 families involved in the purchase of this land. After the surveyor had sub-divided the farm, Daggakraal, into mostly 10 morgen plots, the founders were allocated a numbered plot each. This all happened before the 1913 Land Act and these properties were bought through a company before the introduction of the 1913 Act that would take away people's land. In 1913, the Board seeing that the Company still needed funds still owing to Mr Gouws for the sale of the farms passed a resolution to raise a bond with African Colonial Banking and Trust Company of Africa Ltd. This was approved unanimously. As a result the company was able to pay its debt to Mr Gouws in full. In 1916, four years after the settlement of Pixley ka Seme, the Makholokwe tribe who were a branch of Witsieshoek, led by Chief Maitse Moloi and his son Popo Moloi, heard that land was being sold in the area they then bought and moved from the Free State into Daggakraal. Already during that time in 1916 it was made clear that the chief was purchasing property like everybody else and therefore had no authority over the Daggakraal community who had purchased in the area as their **properties were regarded as fully paid freehold stands,** they bought at Daggakraal no 2. There was also the farm called Daggakraal no 3 (which is portion 87hs and is commonly known as Vlakplaats). This area was bought after 1916 by another black group (whose names are on record). Now the proposed Traditional Courts Bill takes away our title deeds and put us under [11]the jurisdiction of the nearest chief". We were never subjected to chieftaincy and traditional authority even under apartheid.

2. The community continued to reside in the area from 1912 without problems and not under any traditional authority. In 1950, there was an attempt by the government to forcibly remove the people of Daggakraal from the area, it emerged that each would be relocated according to their culture, the Swazi's would be relocated to Kangwane homeland, Zulu speakers to Babanango in Kwazulu and Sotho speakers to Qwaqwa. This was done through the introduction of the Black Authorities Act interlinked with the tribal authority systems wanting to introduce a chieftaincy in order to have a leader who would override any other authority in the area. An official from the then Department of Constitutional Development and Planning came to Daggakraal to conduct community elections but was chased away by angry land owners who told him that he had no mandate to conduct elections in Daggakraal. One of the landowners Abner Dlamini, whose father, Alexander Dlamini, was the general-secretary of the AFAA when its chairman and ANC co-founder, Pixley lsaka Ka-Seme, bought the land in 1912,said that ***"we reject both the tribal authority and the Community Act which the government is ramming down our throats".*** Finally, after a long battle in 1982,Mr Piek, an official from the Transvaal Provincial Administration announced that the government had made a decision that the people would remain in Daggakraal and that this would not change. He stated that a **community authority** would be established which would have direct communication with government; this would apply to all of Daggakraal. Piek said that elections would be conducted and only land owners would be eligible for election. He also said that the **community authority** would not be run by a chief because the landowners could not have a chief ruling over them. The community welcomed the decision. Mr Gweje Twala said ***"we are particularly happy that the government has decided that Daggakraal will not be run by a tribal authority, but by a community authority as we have requested over the years».*** The State president authorised the establishment of the **Community Authority** for Dagaakraal **1,** 2 and Vlakplaas (Daggakraal3). This was done under the Proclamation in government gazette Notice 744 of 1988. (A copy of this is attached to this submission.) Thereafter, in 1989, a letter to Chief Moloi was sent by Department of Constitutional Development Services stating that Moloi was *not* the chief of the Daggakraal Area; they even said that he was a chief without land. (A copy of this is attached to this submission). Chief Moloi knew at all times that he had no authority over the community of Daggakraal although he held the title of chief; he was just an ordinary land owner like everyone else. The problem we currently face are that The chief together with government wants to have jurisdiction over our land, we are people from different backgrounds and do not practice a singular culture and custom so how

will chief Moloi handle disputes amongst us. The position taken by the community of Daggakraal is that this history shows that we have never had traditional authority and we do not want to have one.

3. Section 29 read with section 19 of Mpumalanga Traditional leadership and Governance Act 3 of 2005 empower the chief to have authority over our land and it will dispossess the investment that was created by our forbearers, who only had informal education but managed to acquire land for survival as early as 1912. For example the government gazette dated 09-04-2010 changed tune when it reflected that the Chief now has jurisdiction over Pixely Isaka ka Seme Municipality, giving him authority over our land. We therefore recommend that the Bill should be withdrawn in entirely, failure of which we recommend that the Bill be amended in a manner that will exclude privately owned land.

4. The first time we heard about the TCB was on the 30 January 2012. We did not receive any community communication from the government of any kind. The only reason we found out about the Bill was when an NGO was asking us about our views in regards to the Bill. If we had been consulted on the issue we would have stated our case and we believe that the government would have been better informed had they consulted with the communities when the TCB was first drafted.

5. It is very imperative and prudent for ordinary rural people to be consulted because they are ordinarily marginalized. We as rural people don't have access to electronic media or news papers for that matter. This whole exercise of the TCB will actually take away the only hope that we were privileged to back in 1912 by Seme. When this pocket of land was acquired, at that time ownership of land to the natives was unheard of, Daggakraal was the Promised Land for black Africans.

6. We therefore recommend that future element of this nature must be broadcasted on television or even radio so as to enable the broader society to know and be contacted. Methods such as hailing (over the speaker) will be better because hailing does talk to the broad based community. Announcement of consultation dates must be done six months before the actual date. Due to this Bill land owners can be evicted from their land and that could affect their rights as South African citizens. This will turn us into squatters in our own land.

Source: Submission on the Traditional Courts Bill (TCB) by Daggakraal Community to the NCOP. Available at www.lrg.uct.ac.za/usr/lrg. (accessed on March 31 2013).

ANNEXURE B

BENEFICIARY LISTS FOR SINQOBILE AND SINQOBILE/HLANGANANI

BENEFICIARY LIST FOR DAGGAKRAAL					
NUMBER	**NAME**	**I.D**	**ADDRESS**	**STAND CHOICE**	**SIGNATURE**
30			16/DK3		
246			14/DK1		
247			14/DK3		
360			13/DK3		
104			15/DK3		
491			12/DK1		
105			15/DK3		
361			13/DK3		
106			15/DK2		
107			15/DK1		
108			15/DK3		
362			13/DK3		
248			14/DK1		
109			15/DK3		
110			15/DK3		
493			12/DK3		
495			12 S B		
31			16/DK2		
495			12/DK1		
32			16/DK3		
492			12/DK1		
264			13/DK1		
11			15/DK2		
249			14/DK3		
250			14/DK3		
33			16/DK3		
365			13/DK3		
366			13/DK3		
112			15/DK2		
367			13/DK3		
368			13/DK1		
1			17/DK3		
34			16/DK3		
113			15/DK3		
114			15/DK3		
35			16/DK1		
369			13/DK3		
115			15/DK3		

116			15/Farm		
496			12/DK3		
370			13/DK3		
371			13/DK3		
572			13/DK3		
497			12/DK2		
498			12/DK1		
251			14/DK3		
117			15/DK3		
118			15/DK2		
119			15/DK3		
252			14/DK2		
2			17/DK1		
253			14/DK3		
120			15/DK3		
254			14/DK3		
255			14/DK2		
36			16/DK3		
373			13/DK3		
256			14/DK3		
499			12/DK3		
121			15/DK3		
257			14/DK2		
258			14/DK3		
37			16/Farm		
3			17/DK3		
38			16/DK3		
374			13/DK3		
259			14/DK3		
122			15/DK3		
39			16/DK3		
500			12/DK2		
501			12/DK3		
4			17/DK3		
375			13/DK3		
5			17/DK3		
260			14/DK3		
261			14/DK3		
6			17/DK2		
40			16/DK2		
376			13/DK2		
262			14/DK2		
7			17/DK3		
502			12/DK3		
263			14/DK3		
377			13/DK3		
123			15/DK3		
378			13/DK3		

264			14/DK2		
265			14/DK2		
379			13/DK3		
124			15/DK3		
41			16/DK2		
42			16/DK3		
8			17/DK3		
380			13/DK2		
266			14/DK3		
381			13/DK3		
143			15/DK2		
144			15/DK3		
145			15/DK2		
49			16/DK3		
394			13/DK3		
50			16/DK3		
51			16/DK3		
146			15/DK3		
147			15/DK3		
505			12/DK3		
148			15/DK3		
272			14/DK3		
52			16/DK3		
273			14/DK3		
274			14/DK3		
396			13/DK3		
395			13/DK3		
149			15/DK2		
397			13/DK1		
150			15/DK3		
151			15/DK3		
275			14/DK3		
276			14/DK3		
277			14/DK3		
278			14/DK2		
279			14/DK3		
398			13/DK3		
53			16/DK2		
152			15/DK3		
399			13/DK2		
400			13/DK3		
280			14/DK3		
281			14/DK1		
14			17/DK1		
401			13/DK2		
402			13/DK3		
403			13/DK3		
404			13/DK3		

405			13/DK3		
406			13/DK3		
407			13/DK3		
54			16/DK2		
282			14/DK3		
154			15/DK3		
153			15/DK3		
408			13/DK2		
283			14/DK3		
155			15/DK3		
409			13/DK3		
284			14/DK3		
55			16/DK3		
410			13/DK2		
411			13/DK3		
156			15/DK3		
285			14/DK3		
412			13/DK3		
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414			13/DK3		
286			14/DK3		
415			13/DK3		
416			13/DK1		
417			13/DK3		
56			16/DK3		
15			17/DK3		
157			15/DK3		
158			15/DK3		
159			15/DK3		
418			13/DK3		
160			15/DK3		
287			14/DK2		
419			13/DK3		
288			14/DK3		
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162			15/DK3		
289			14/DK2		
290			14/DK1		
291			14/DK2		
163			15/DK2		
420			13/DK3		
164			15/DK3		
165			15/DK2		
292			14/DK3		
293			14/DK1		
166			15/DK3		
421			13/DK2		
167			15/DK3		

294			14/DK3		
295			14/DK1		
422			13/DK3		
423			13/DK3		
296			14/DK3		
168			15/DK2		
57			16/DK3		
169			15/DK2		
16			17/DK3		
58			16/DK3		
59			16/DK3		
297			14/DK3		
382			13/DK3		
267			14/DK2		
383			13/DK2		
125			15/DK2		
9			17/DK1		
126			15/DK2		
43			16/DK3		
127			15/DK3		
384			13/DK3		
10			17/DK3		
385			13/DK3		
44			16/DK3		
386			13/DK3		
128			15/DK3		
268			14/DK3		
129			15/DK3		
269			14/DK3		
130			15/DK3		
387			13/DK3		
131			15/DK3		
132			15/DK3		
388			13/DK3		
133			15/DK2		
503			12/DK2		
389			13/DK3		
134			15/DK2		
45			16/DK3		
11			17/DK3		
135			15/DK3		
136			15/DK1		
138			15/DK3		
137			15/DK3		
270			14/DK2		
46			16/DK3		
47			16/DK3		
390			13/DK3		

139			15/DK3		
12			17/DK3		
504			12/DK3		
391			13/DK2		
392			13/DK3		
13			17/DK3		
140			15/DK3		
141			15/DK3		
504			12/DK3		
271			14/DK3		
393			13/DK2		
142			15/DK?		
48			16/DK1		
17			17/DK3		
68			16/DK3		
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178			15/DK1		
179			15/DK3		
180			15/DK3		
69			16/DK3		
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316			14/DK3		
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193			15/DK3		
445			13/DK2		
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317			14/DK3		
447			13/DK3		
184			15/DK3		
185			15/DK2		
70			16/DK3		
186			15/DK2		
187			15/DK1		
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318			14/DK3		
448			13/DK3		
449			13/DK3		
71			16/DK2		
72			16/DK2		
189			15/DK2		
73			16/DK3		
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191			15/DK2		
321			14/DK2		
450			13/DK3		
19			17/DK3		
74			16/DK3		
451			13/DK2		
322			14/DK2		
75			16/DK3		
452			13/DK3		
323			14/DK3		
324			14/DK3		
19			15/DK3		
76			16/DK3		
325			14/DK3		
20			17/DK3		
453			13/DK3		
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457			13/DK3		
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202			15/DK3		
328			14/DK3		
329			14/DK3		
80			16/DK3		
81			16/DK2		
458			13/DK1		
203			15/DK2		
204			15/DK2		
459			13/DK3		
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82			16/DK3		
60			13/DK3		
206			15/DK3		
207			15/DK3		
208			15/DK3		
461			13/DK3		
209			15/DK3		

210			15/DK3		
330			14/DK3		
462			13/DK2		
331			14/DK2		
21			17/DK2		
463			13/DK3		
22			17/DK3		
83			16/DK2		
84			16/DK2		
464			13/DK2		
85			16/DK3		
86			16/DK3		
332			14/DK3		
465			13/DK2		
211			15DK2		
333			14/DK1		
334			14/DK3		
335			14 Farm		
87			16/DK2		
466			13/DK3		
212			15/DK3		
193			15/DK3		
194			15/DK3		
195			15/DK3		
196			15/DK3		
197			15/DK3		
88			16/DK3		
33			14/DK1		
213			15/DK3		
214			15/DK2		
467			13/DK3		
468			13/DK1		
23			17/DK3		
469			13/DK2		
215			15/DK3		
337			14/DK1		
338			14/DK2		
470			13/DK2		
89			16/DK1		
471			13/DK3		
216			15/DK3		
90			16/DK3		
339			14/DK3		
472			13/DK3		
473			13/DK3		
474			13/DK3		
91			16/DK3		
340			14/DK2		

24			17/DK3		
341			14/DK3		
92			16/DK2		
475			13/DK3		
217			15/DK3		
25			17/DK3		
26			17/DK1		
218			15/DK3		
476			13/DK3		
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220			15/DK3		
221			15/DK2		
342			14/DK2		
93			16/DK2		
27			17/DK3		
343			14/DK2		
222			15/DK1		
344			14/DK2		
477			13/DK2		
345			14/DK1		
223			15/DK3		
224			15/DK1		
225			15/DK3		
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28			17/DK2		
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96			16/DK2		
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347			14/DK3		
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479			13/DK1		
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98			16/DK3		
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231			15/DK1		
481			13/DK1		
351			14/DK3		
99			16/DK3		
482			13/DK2		
352			14/DK3		

483			13/DK2		
484			13/DK3		
353			14/DK3		
354			14/DK2		
100			16/DK3		
232			15/DK2		
233			15/DK2		
485			13/DK3		
29			17/DK3		
101			16/DK3		
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486			13/DK3		
235			15/DK3		
487			13/DK2		
488			13/DK3		
236			15/DK1		
489			13/DK3		
298			14/DK2		
170			15/DK2		
424			13/DK3		
60			16/DK2		
299			14/DK2		
425			13/DK2		
300			14/DK1		
426			13/DK2		
427			13/DK3		
171			15/DK2		
172			15/DK3		
61			16/DK2		
301			14/DK3		
428			13/DK3		
173			15/DK3		
429			13/DK3		
430			13/DK2		
431			13/DK3		
62			16/DK2		
174			15/DK3		
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432			13/DK3		
305			14/DK3		
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434			13/DK3		
435			13/DK1		
436			13/DK1		

307			14/DK3		
64			16/DK2		
65			16/DK3		
308			14/DK3		
437			13/DK3		
309			14/DK3		
438			13/DK3		
439			13/DK3		
66			16/DK3		
310			14/DK1		
311			14/DK3		
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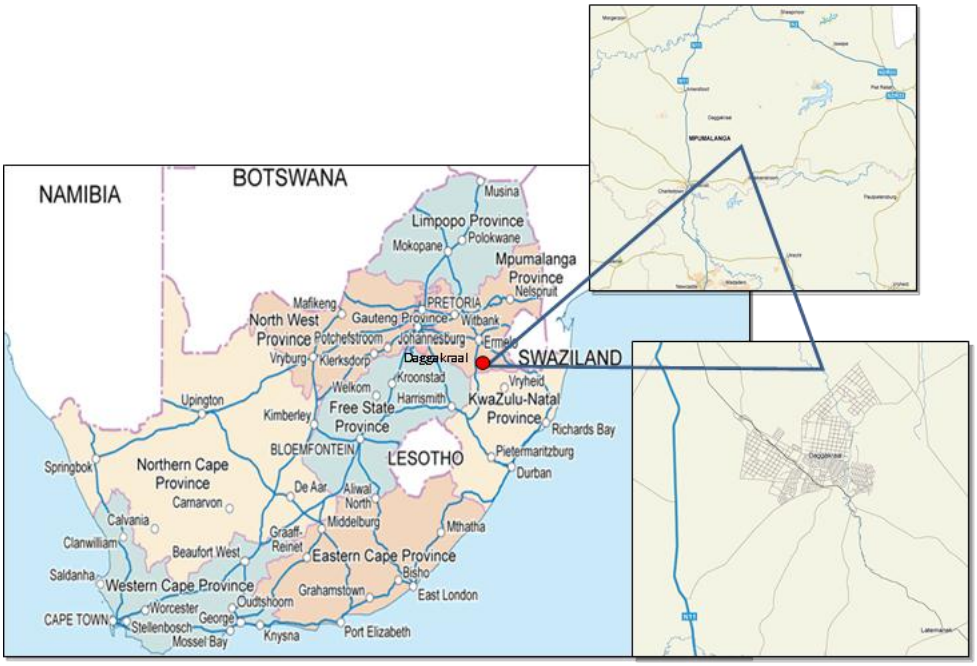
176			15/DK2		
67			16/DK3		
177			15/DK3		
440			13/DK2		
312			14/DK3		
313			14/DK3		
102			16/DK1		
355			14/DK3		
237			15/DK3		
238			15/DK3		
356			14/DK3		
239			15/DK3		
240			15/DK3		
490			13/DK3		
241			15/DK3		
357			14/DK3		
242			15/DK3		
358			14/DK2		
359			14/DK1		
243			15/DK3		
244			15/DK2		
103			16/DK2		
245			15/DK2K		

Source: Development Planning Report for Daggakraal, 1997.

ANNEXURE C

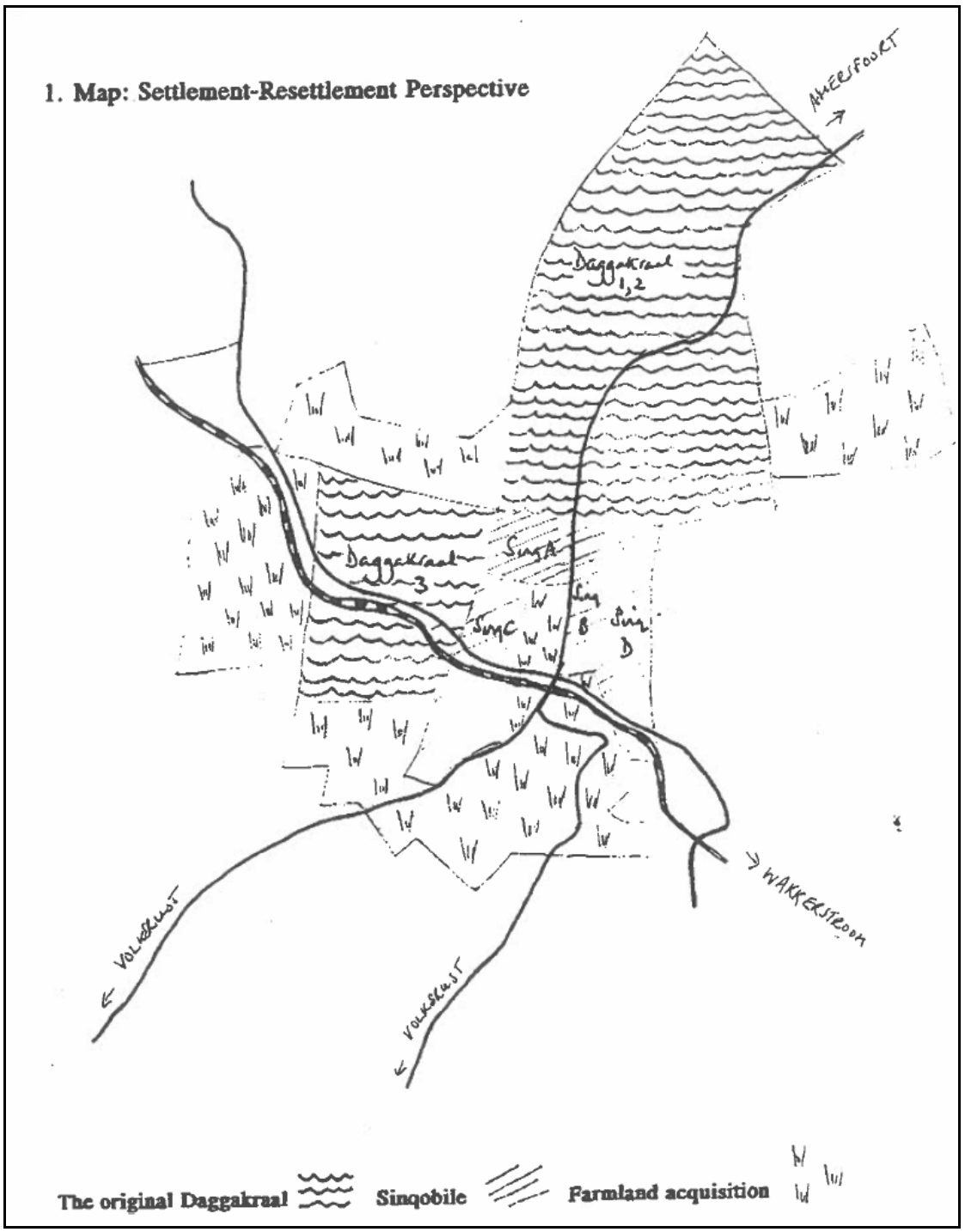
MAP OF DAGGAKRAAL



Source: online map of Mpumalanga at http://www.mapstudio.co.za (accessed on November 12 2013)

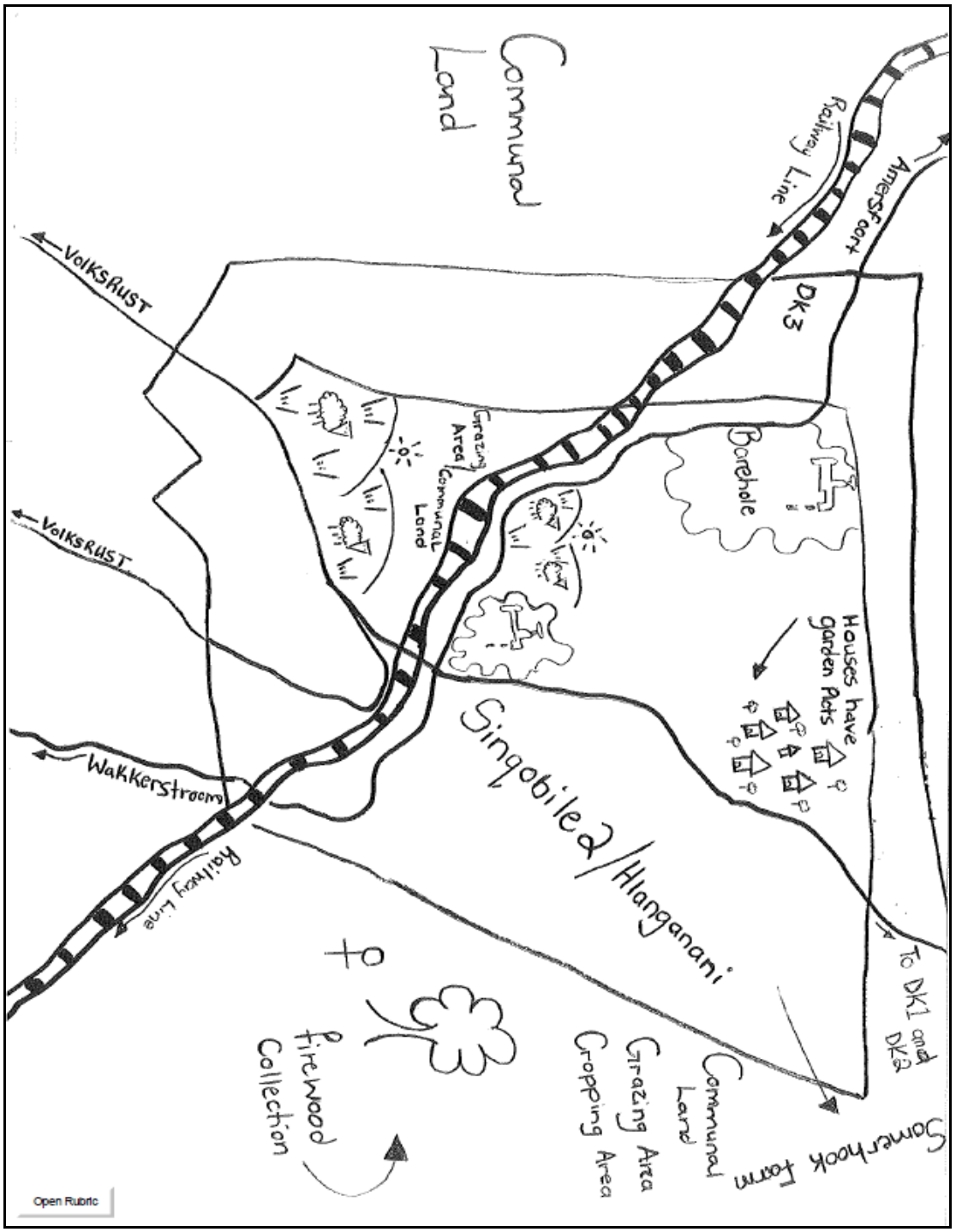
ANNEXURE D

SETTLEMENT RESETTLEMENT MAP FOR DAGGAKRAAL



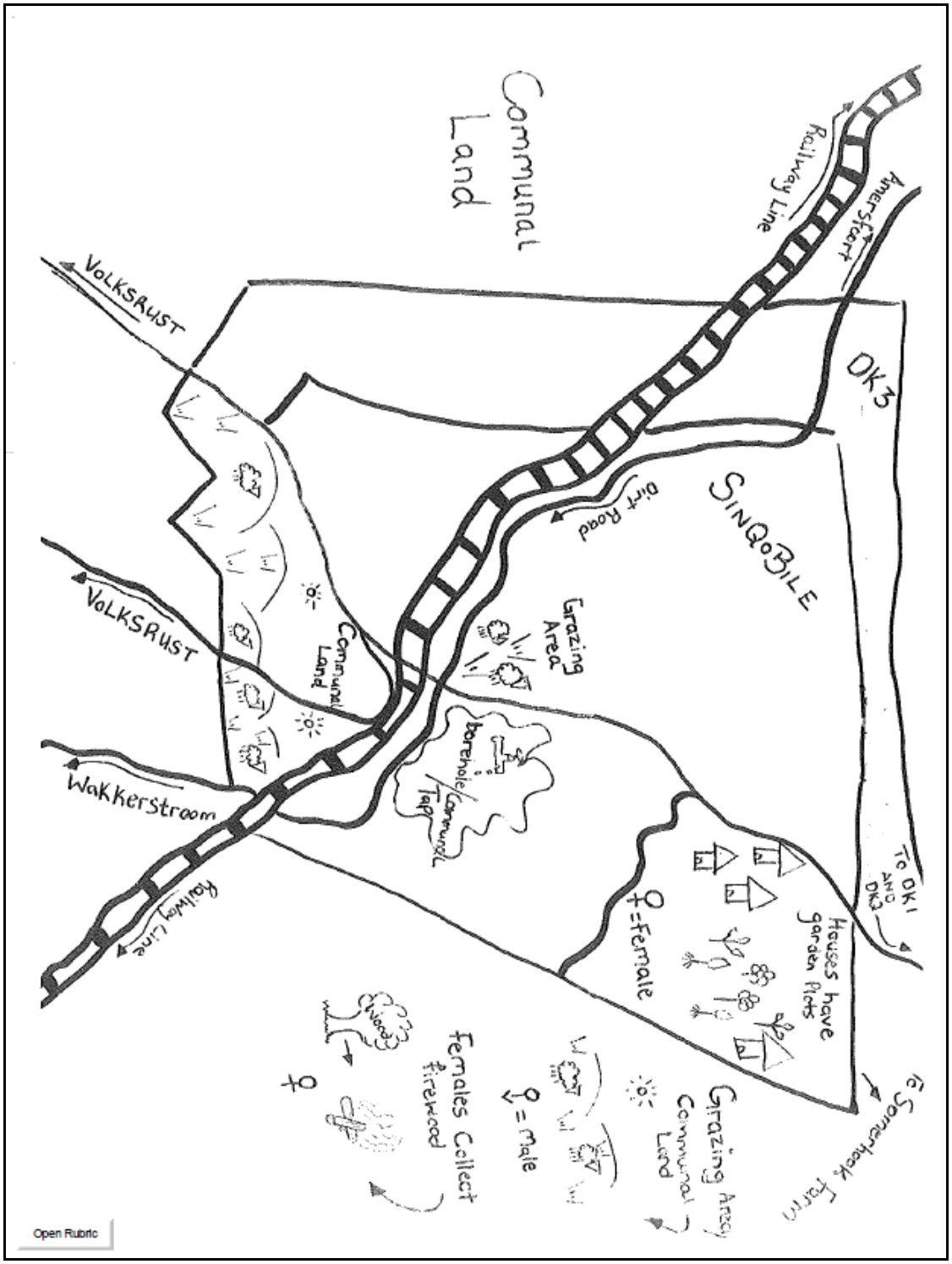
ANNEXURE E

RESOURCE MAPPING (Sinqobile)



ANNEXURE F

RESOURCE MAPPING (Sinqobile 2/ Hlanganani)



ANNEXURE G

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Development Studies, Unisa. I am undertaking research in this area and would like to invite you to participate in this study whose title is given below:

The gender dimensions of land reform in South Africa: a case study of Daggakraal Rural Housing and Resettlement Project.

I promise to abide by Unisa's code of ethical conduct at all times during the research process.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and confidential. You are also welcome to indicate if you wish to be anonymous at any point during the research process. Furthermore you are free to decline to answer any particular question and to withdraw from this research at any time.

Thank you