

**LAND RESTITUTION AND DEVELOPMENT. A
CASE STUDY OF MANAVHELA “BEN LAVIN”
NATURE RESERVE, LIMPOPO PROVINCE**

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation hereby submitted to the University of Limpopo, for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university; that it is my work in design and execution, and that all material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.

Okumbor Joshua Chukwerokeh



Date

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DEDICATION

The study is dedicated to the memory of my mother Mrs Catherine Igwagbonwen Okumbor (Nee) Okoro 1937-2001. She was a rare-breed, an unsung heroine, a beacon of tenacity and goodwill, and an epitome of womanhood.

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ABSTRACT

The study is on land restitution and development departing from the assumption that the return of a people's land should contribute to the enhancement of their wellbeing. The question is does the common land-use objective of beneficiaries of land restitution match their share historical right to the returned land? What should actions on the returned land be based – livelihood needs or restorative justice?

A profile of the livelihoods of the Manavhelas showed how the land restitution process can be used to reduce poverty amongst previously dispossessed Black South Africans. Methodological triangulation was used to achieve the above. It was observed in this case that land restitution is yet to realise poverty reduction because of gaps in its conception and inadequacies in the implementation. Closing the gap and linking the land restitution programme to the livelihood needs of its beneficiaries will improve its capacity to deliver on its promise.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ASI:	Agricultural Systems Intensification
BMR:	Bureau for Market Research
CBOs:	Community-based Organisations
CPA:	Community Property Association
DANCED:	Danish Cooperation for Environment and Development
DFID:	Department for international Development
DLA:	Department of Land Affairs
GGP:	Gross Geographic Product
HAP:	Human Awareness Programme
IDP:	Integrated Development Plans
IFAD:	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IIED:	International Institute for Environment and Development
IRD:	Integrated Rural Development
ISIGA:	Incomes from Substitute Income Generating Activities
ISRDP:	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme
LAL:	Learning About Livelihood
LCC:	Land Claim Commission
LGDS:	Limpopo Growth and Development Strategy
LRAD:	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
MHLI:	Minimum Household Living Level Income
NLC:	National Land Committee
NSDP:	National Spatial Development Perspective
PGIEP:	Policy Guideline for Integrating Environmental Planning
PSLSD:	Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development
RLCC:	Regional Land Claim Commission
RNFE:	Rural Non-farm Economy
SA – PPA:	South African Participatory Poverty Report
SDI:	Spatial Development Initiative
SIGAs:	Substitute Income Generating Activities

SPG: Settlement Planning Grant
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
WCED: World Commission on Environment and Development
WDR: World Development Report
WSSA: Wildlife Society of South Africa

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 General introduction

According to Mikos (2001), where the land needs of the rural poor are suppressed over long periods, conflict would arise. The implication is that failure to redress land inequality merely postpones civil conflict, such as that which occurred in Zimbabwe in 2000. In South Africa, land restitution with which this study is concerned, aims at providing land to the victims of forced removals that began with the implementation of the Native Land Act, 1913 (Act No. 27 of 1913). Land restitution is based on rights and it is restorative in nature and as such, constitutes the new South African state's attempt to redress unequal access to land.

The impact of colonialism and apartheid that has shaped the political and economic landscape of South Africa is a reality not easily wished away. Additionally, there are the effects of those factors associated with the processes of liberalisation and globalisation. Together they exert severe pressure on the livelihoods of the rural poor in the form of reductions in formal sector employment and in state support of agriculture, privatisation of key resources and the continued marginalisation of the non-commercial or peasant sector (Lahiff and Scoones 2001).

Since ascending to power over a decade ago, the new democratic government of the Republic of South Africa has attempted to redress problems of rural livelihood through a land reform programme, which includes land restitution. Discourse around land and agriculture are derived to a large degree from wider debates around macro-economic policies and structural adjustment. An important sub-theme of this debate is the argument that unequal land distribution is bad for growth. However, the implication of this conclusion has yet to link liberalisation and economic reform policy debates with land policy discussions (Lahiff and Scoones 2001).

In the struggle to reconcile land reform with growth consideration was given to either market-led or market-critical approaches. The former is supposed to enable local economies to adjust more successfully to macro-economic reforms and to promote individual self-reliance, entrepreneurship, expansion of the market, competitiveness, reduction of unemployment, and sustainable growth. The latter supposedly,

promotes endogenous development, local self-reliance, empowerment, participation, local co-operation and redefines work and sustainability (James 2000).

The suitability of either of the options was assessed within the context of the World Bank definition of rural development. It states that rural development is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people (the rural poor), through increasing their access to assets and resources, basic social services, productive employment, and income-generating activities. Central to rural development is sustainable agriculture as the major source of income and food security; ancillary to agriculture are critical issues of environmental sustainability, common property resources, land access and distribution patterns, rural credit, marketing infrastructure and liberalisation, subsidies, gender labour profile, seasonality, and participation (World Bank Strategic Paper 1975).

1.2 Background to the problem

Manavhela is a community in Makhado Municipality in the Vhembe District, Limpopo Province. At the end of the Anglo-Boer War, and against the backdrop of the then recently concluded Union agreement and the Native Land Act, 1913 (Act No. 27 of 1913) referred to as the 'Land Act', the community members (Natives/Blacks) saw the arrival of a European war veteran, named Ben Lavin. The Native Commissioner of Louis Trichardt informed the leaders of the community that Ben Lavin owned the land on which they were living. In accordance with the provisions of the then new 'Land Act', Ben Lavin turned the community members into labour tenants and subjected them to forced labour for a period of three or nine months in exchange for residency on 'the farm'. Community members who refused to work were given notice officially known as a 'Trek-pass' - endorsed by the Native Commissioner of the then Louis Trichardt to evict them from 'the farm'. By 1929, numerous community members had been evicted and in accordance with the 'Land Act' were not given any alternative land. In 1974 Molly Lavin, widow of Ben Lavin, donated a portion of the land to the Wildlife Society of South Africa (WSSA), an exclusive White run, and Whites organisation. Government endorsed the gift to the organisation (Regional Land Claim Commission 2002).

The erstwhile-evicted community lodged a claim to the land with the Land Claims Commissioner (LCC) on 29 August 1996 based on 'beneficial occupation rights', indicating that they had occupied the land for more than 10 years before and after the passage of the 1913 Land Act, until their removal in 1929 without compensation or alternative land. (The community had organised their livelihood on this land in terms of

customary law.) They enjoyed beneficial occupation rights such as residence, access to water, crop growing, grazing land and access to sacred sites (RLCC 2002).

According to a brief historical report given on the official handing back of the land to the Manavhela community (13 April 2002), the people originated from Vhukalanga under the leadership of Tshishonga and are known as Vhandalamo. They initially settled at Dzata and later in Madungeni (Tshikantsini) after the war of Mavhoi. They then moved to the area called Ha-Manavhela. Manavhela is known in official government documents as Vygeboomspruit and marks the route for the northward Voortrekker movement in the former Soutpansberg District of the Northern Transvaal (RLCC 2002). The land which was returned to the community used to be known as Ha-Manavhela and is presently known as Ben Lavin Nature Reserve (Vygeboomspruit 286LS, Remaining Extent Portion 1, 2, 3, and 4). The Manavhela community occupied this land long before 1900 and the community form part of the Ramabulana tribe.

A Communal Property Association (CPA) is presently representing the Manavhela people. The Manavhela CPA comprises 519 households that benefited from the claim. These are the people represented in the legal process of the land claim through the provisions of the Restitution of Land Right Act 1994 (Act No. 22 of 1994). There are 949 members of these households (RLCC 2002). So far, 11 786 households and 647 657 people have benefited from the 1 102 settled land restitution claims in Limpopo Province. Limpopo Province has the lowest number of settled land restitution claims in the country.

The land in question consists of Manavhela Ben Lavin Nature Reserve measuring 2516.0317 hectares. Portion 1 of the farm Vygeboomspruit measuring 14.9082 hectares has operational facilities for broiler production, an abattoir and piggery. Portions 2, 3 and 4 are farmland that is suitable for grazing and cultivation (crop production). The sizes of portions 2 and 3 could not be established from the case file accessed, but portion 4 measures 21.4133 hectares. The nature reserve, which is by far the largest portion of the land, is under joint management by the Manavhela CPA - in overseer role - and Wildlife Society of South Africa (WSSA) in technical and managerial capacity. The abattoir and piggery are currently outsourced while the broiler production is under the management of people employed by the Manavhela CPA. Portions 2, 3 and 4 of the land are not yet in any productive use (Ramovha 2004 - personal communication).

The settlement needs were determined and include water, sewerage and electrical and reticulation services, roads, storm water infrastructure, and top structures. Other needs such as schools, clinics and community centres alongside telecommunication infrastructures were also identified (Banister 2003). Like many other land restitution claims, some of those who are entitled to the awarded land do not want to return while others who were not entitled wanted the land.

The Manavhela community was awarded a Settlement Planning Grant (SPG) to develop the claimed land. The Regional Land Claims Commission invited proposals of land-use development plans. The terms of reference for prospective consultants with regard to future land-use on the restored land guidelines included continued operation and expansion of facilities on Manavhela Ben Lavin Nature Reserve. The terms of reference also included the operation of the broilers, abattoirs and piggery; proposed development of a petrol-port type of operation on the portion of the land on the N1 Highway; farming; and social and community services to support re-settlement (RLCC 2002).

While this study does not analyse the practical details of the agreed land use, its appropriateness, preference or economic viability, the Wildlife Society of South Africa (WSSA) acknowledged the difficulties of achieving productivity in the Manavhela Ben Lavin Nature Reserve principally because of a low patronage and a low financial base, prior to and post restitution (RLCC 2002). The situation might affect the capacity of the restored land to contribute positively to the livelihood of the beneficiaries (Ashley and Ntshona 2002).

The Manavhela land is communal, hence ownership is not individualised and unequivocal. The Manavhela CPA has reportedly rejected a proposed Development Plan (Ramovha 2004 and Broderick 2003 - personal communication), which confirmed the unpredictability of community *veto* on land-use practice as an obstacle to future development (James 2000). There is an ongoing process to design a land-use development plan for the Manavhela project. Therefore, studies that describe the livelihoods of beneficiaries of land restitution claims and the relationship between their land-use practice and their current livelihood are instructive.

Based on the claimant verification list compiled by the Regional Land Claim Commission it was noted that the Manavhela people are mainly scattered all over the Makhado Local Municipality and Vhembe District Municipality, with some living in the rest of the Limpopo Province and the country.

1.3 Statement of the problem

There are competing views on the achievements of land restitution between historical justice and the entrenchment of land-based development. Land restitution has not made a considerable impact in reshaping the racially skewed pattern of land ownership and economic relations in South Africa (Hall 2003). Arguments exist that land restitution schemes would prove useful when appraised within the context of other poverty alleviation strategies, such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

According to Mather (2002), several important and ongoing poverty studies have added urgency to a land reform policy that effectively addresses the legacy of apartheid. The studies have found that poverty in South Africa is an overwhelmingly black and rural phenomenon: the percentage of the country's poor living in rural areas (poverty share) and the poverty rate in these areas are both over 70 percent.

As land restitution progresses, questions have emerged as to the possibility or desirability of “turning back the clock”, to re-establish communities fragmented and scattered through forced removals (Hall 2003), while poverty levels among land reform beneficiaries remain high. It has been argued that beneficiaries of the land reform projects, who are Black South Africans, have little knowledge of the management of projects or how funds are utilised. However, these are all practices of the apartheid era, which the government hoped to overcome by post settlement support to claimants.

The main problem in this study, therefore, is to determine the perspectives of the relationships between land access, poverty reduction and rural development in previously dispossessed Black communities in South Africa which land restitution is supposed to provide. What are the manifestations of these relationships? Can they be mitigated/improved and how? These central issues are raised and examined.

1.4 Justification of the study

Many colonised people have been concerned with the return of their past-dispossessed land. The context within which land is returned will undoubtedly be an important determinant of the success of land reform (Crothers 2002). Therefore, the findings of this study will be useful to development planning agencies and other development stakeholders.

Land is a crucial element in the political economy of a country. A study of land reform/restitution is important for post apartheid South Africa, because of the huge challenges that confront the government in its attempt to undo the imbalances of the past. The land question affects everyone in this country, although the majority landless people are Black South Africans. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) provides for the protection of minority (in this case White) property rights. The study is justified in showing how the rights of the two groups contradict each other, given the fact that socio-economic rights and democracy cannot be separated.

Finally, the study will give insight into the sociological applicability of the livelihood approach in explaining social change. The concept of 'livelihood' has moved analysis away from narrow parameters of production, employment and income to a much more holistic view, which embraces social and economic dimensions, reduced vulnerability and environmental sustainability, all within the context of building on local strengths and priorities (Shackleton, Shackleton and Cousins 2000a).

1.5 Aim of the study

The overall aim of the study is:

- To explore how the land restitution process can successfully reduce poverty amongst previously dispossessed Black South Africans through establishing sustainable land-based livelihoods.

1.6 Objective of the study

The specific objective of this study is:

- To profile the livelihoods of a previously dispossessed and impoverished Black South African community that benefited from land restitution in the context of the return of its land.

1.7 Definition of concepts

Concepts may assume many meanings depending on the context in and perspective from which they are used. An attempt was made to define some concepts and the meanings they may assume. Applicable to this study are the concepts land restitution, poverty, development, livelihood, rural, and household.

1.7.1 Land restitution

The Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994 (Act No. 22 of 1994) defines restitution as taking the forms of restoration of the land from which the claimants were dispossessed, the provision of alternative land or the payment of compensation, and alternative relief such as packages containing a combination of the above or sharing of the land.

1.7.2 Poverty

Poverty is the inability to attain a minimum standard of living measured in terms of the levels of all alienation from community, food insecurity, crowded homes, use of basic forms of energy, lack of adequately paid and secure jobs, and fragmentation of the family (South Africa Participatory Poverty Assessment 1998).

1.7.3 Development

Brookfield (1975) defines development as progress toward a complex of welfare goals such as reduction of poverty and unemployment, and diminution of inequality.

1.7.4 Livelihood

Chamber and Conway's (1992) commonly used definition of livelihood states that it comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims, and access) and activities required for a means of living.

1.7.5 Rural

Wiggins and Proctor (2001) mention that there is no exact definition of the term 'rural' conceptually or empirically though rural areas are recognisable as spaces, where human settlement and infrastructures occupy only small patches of the landscape. Fields and pastures, forests, water, mountains, and deserts mostly dominate the landscape.

1.7.6 Household

Masini (1991) defines the household, in all its different cultural connotations, as the primary social living unit that encapsulates a cluster of activities of people who live together most of the time and provides mutual physical, socio-psychological and development support and functions within the broader organisation and environment of the community.

1.8 Location of the study

Manavhela, as noted, is in the Limpopo Province, situated in the northernmost eastern corner of the Republic of South Africa. The Limpopo Province displays both tropical and temperate conditions in different parts and by extension has a diverse flora, fauna, and relief that earned it the label of Africa's Eden. Limpopo Province shares international borders with three African countries - Botswana to the west and northwest, Zimbabwe to the north and Mozambique to the east (South Africa Year Book 2004 - see appendix). Thus, it is also called the 'gateway to Africa' province. The above situations have implications for the inhabitants on their potential livelihood relating to rain-fed agriculture in particular and other agricultural economic practices and land-use.

However, crucial to this study is the reality that most rural land restitution claims arose from areas of former Homelands or Bantustans with a history of apartheid government engineered inequalities, in resources, poverty, and inefficiencies in service delivery. The Limpopo Province was created from the amalgamation of four former 'Homelands', namely Lebowa, Gazankulu, Venda, and Kwa-Ndebele and the Northern Transvaal areas.

In the Limpopo Province, economic development involves capital formation and resource allocation. In the former, it has shown remarkable performance with an average annual growth rate of 4% for the years 1996 – 2002. It was the highest in the country during the stated period and higher than the national average of 2.8% (Statistics South Africa 2003). The Limpopo Province's contribution to the national economy has increased steadily from 5.7% in 1995 to 6.5% in 2001 (STATSSA 2002). The concern is that the growth in the Limpopo Province's economy is not driven by those sectors capable of expanding the livelihoods of the rural poor such as agriculture. Therefore, the growth falls short of realising the distributive aspect of economic development.

Agriculture's contribution to the rural livelihood is determined by the characteristics of agricultural economic practices, that is its resources – land, climate, water resources, and products: crops, livestock and wild resources – and management. Agriculture in the Limpopo Province creates more jobs than the other sectors given the same amount of capital expansion. It creates 41 jobs for every 1 million Rand expansion of the provincial Gross Geographic Product (GGP) especially in smallholder subsistence type of agriculture (Limpopo Growth and Development Strategy 2004). Agriculture also provides food to

ensure food security, raw material for manufacturing and foreign exchange for those farmers that are exporting their products. Meanwhile, the land holding structure in the Limpopo Province is lopsided to the advantage of commercial agriculture at 70% to 30% for smallholders. The provincial land capability group – characteristics of soil, climate, and topography – is 37.7% suitability for arable farming, 50.1% for grazing, and 12.2% for wildlife (Odhiambo 2003).

Against the above backdrop, the Limpopo Province thus presents a useful location for a study on the land and agrarian question in South Africa, relating to rural dispossession of Black South Africans and the subsequent land restitution.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW ON LAND RESTITUTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the study provides some information on the development of the historical approaches to the land question that is the subject of the land problem today. The study discusses the development of colonialism, apartheid and capitalism as they affected indigenous Black South Africans, specifically with respect to land tenure, agrarian structure, poverty and livelihood, and sustainable rural development in South Africa. The study also discusses the relevance of current (post 1994) debates relating to the subject, in an attempt to provide a conceptual and theoretical orientation for the study. The historical emergence of land ownership in South Africa has implications for South Africa's land tenure system, especially in the rural agrarian context. The study then discusses the various theories that attempt to explain how poverty came about and how it may or could be eradicated by the policies thrown about in global debates as they argue about 'gaps on sustainable rural development', 'implications of state intervention' (land reform/restitution in South Africa), and other options for livelihood in South Africa.

Finally, the study explains the use of learning about the livelihood theoretical framework.

2.2 Historical emergence of the land ownership structure in South Africa

Bernstein's (1996) account supports the most commonly held view of historians - that the South African land problem started in 1652, after the establishment of a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company. The racial attitudes manifested in the symbolic planting of a hedge by the occupants of the fort, was a precursor to the segregation between the races (and thus land), which was to follow in a period of colonial expansion spanning over 300 years. In most historical accounts, there is the implication that indigenous people were either squandering the land or were making totally improper use of the land. Thus, the usurpation of land by foreign settlers was justified as 'White' settlers with superior technology who also provided food and employment to the 'barbarians'. Other accounts support the view that aggressive annexation as a method, such as that of the interior and the Eastern Cape in 1800s, referred to as 'The Kaffir wars' indicated that the control over the land by the settlers was achieved through superior coercive capacity. The latter account became more popular as it indicated that the settlers'

superior capacity was necessary to protect themselves from the ‘marauding hordes’ (National Land Committee 2001; Magubane 1979).

Yet another theory of the origins of land distribution in South Africa is the historical Boer myth, which claimed that the settlers and subsequent ‘trekkers’ found an empty unoccupied South Africa upon their arrival. They were justified to claim land based on their needs. The British often imply the legal requirement of ‘eminent domain’ as they declared tracts of land ‘Crown Land’. This theory of an ‘empty South Africa’ has been disproven, but there is little historical account about the conditions of the previous landowners. However, Magubane (1979) gives vivid descriptions of the material conditions of Black South African farmers in terms of the number of sheep, cattle, goats, size of land (in morgens) owned, crop production, availability of and access to water, viability and more. The British militia recorded these accounts as they prepared for British farmer immigrants. Hence, coercive force was used to disenfranchise Black indigenous farmers, making them into tenants or landless people; prior to the official 1913 Land Act.

Where the settlers’ negotiated right to land from African rulers, the process is voided by the fact that land in the traditional African context is a communal resource, whereby no individual had any specific authority over it. This differed sharply from the settlers’ practice of individual ownership of private property (NLC 2001). Furthermore, early in the 20th century, the forced removal of the Manavhela, in 1929, was predicated on the need to create a route for the escaping (from British rule) northward bound ‘Voortrekkers’ (RLCC 2002).

2.2.1 Colonialism and apartheid

According to popular history, the 1910 boundaries that included the four provinces of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape, resulted from the ‘Vereeniging’ (unity) Treaty between the warring British and Boers in the Anglo-Boer War. A fight over the division of South African land between two White groups from which the natives (Blacks) were completely excluded (Magubane 1979). There existed two different legislative traditions and approaches to the land question – the Boer and the Cape. The Boer tradition was predicated on the need to sustain growth in expanding farming activities of the Boers (later known as Afrikaners) and the Cape (British) tradition, which was founded on the development of deep level mining and the expansion of an agricultural product market in the Cape (NLC 2001).

The former used the process of commoditisation and capitalisation of agriculture (Bernstein 1996), proletarianisation of labour (Bernstein 2000) through tax policies and depeasantation of the rural areas (Bryceson 2000) in colonising their territory. The latter used legislations such as the Glen Grey Act, 1894 (Act No. 25 of 1894) and Cape Private Locations Act, 1899 (Act No. 30 of 1899), which effectively limited African peasant access to land as did the imposition of labour and other forms of taxation and controls (NLC 2001).

The formation of the Union of South Africa from all the republics and colonies after the Anglo Boer War in 1910 brought a new dimension to the settlers' approach to the land question. However, while attempts at developing a unified 'native' policy had occurred in the early 1900s, the most significant of all was the 1913 Native Land Act (NLC 2001). The Act introduced a definitive division and legal sanctification of land in South Africa between areas of White and Black settlement and permanent residence, in a ratio of 92% and 8% respectively. It limited the areas 'reserved' for African (Black/Native) occupation and use (Bernstein 1996). A later Act the South African Native Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act No. 18 of 1936) abolished sharecropping and independent rental tenancy in White rural areas replacing it with labour tenancy, dealing a huge blow to African peasantry. The ultimate result was that 10% of South African land was reserved for Blacks (Thwala 2003).

In 1936 the establishment of the South African Native Trust bought all 'reserve' land not yet owned by the state. It administered African reserve areas by imposing a system of livestock control, division of grazing land and enforced residential planning and 'villagisation', called betterment, under the guise of modernising African agriculture. The 1936 Act also introduced a comprehensive system of registering and controlling the distribution of labour tenants and squatters (NLC 2001).

Thwala (2003) further argues that the Native Laws Amendment Act, 1937 (Act No. 46 of 1937) was enacted to prohibit Africans from buying land in urban areas. The Native Land and Trust Act, 1938 (Act No. ?? of 1938) extended land reserve for Africans from 8% to 13% but this additional land had not been fully allocated by the end of apartheid 60 years later (Bernstein 1996). Thus, access to land and hope of accessing land by all persons classified as non-Whites under the South African system of racial categorisation, had been effectively eliminated by the mid fifties (also mid 20th century).

The apartheid marked by specific harsh legislations and implementation that started with the (Boer) National Party's ascendance to power in 1948 and lasted to 1990 (NLC 2001). It embarked on a comprehensive social engineering process that affected all spheres of life of South African so-called 'non Whites'. With respect to the land question, it systematically eliminated squatting and transformed labour tenancy to waged labour through the vigorous enforcement of 1936 Native Trust and Land Act. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951 (Act No. 52 of 1951) accelerated the process, by empowering white farmers and local authorities to evict farm tenants with relative impunity. These powers were given further effect through the 1950 onward passage of a range of abusive Acts – the Population Registration Act, 1950 (Act No. 30 of 1950), Group Areas Act, 1950 (Act No. 41 of 1950), Bantu Education Act, 1953 (Act No. 47 of 1953) to mention but a few. Later, the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, 1973 (Act No. 7 of 1973), which allowed for the rapid eviction and removal of tenants and so called 'black spot residents', was promulgated. The latter involved the forced removals of 600000 black people in over a ten (10) year period (NLC 2001).

The Group Areas Act, 1950 (Act No. 41 of 1950), for instance, further racially segregated urban areas, consolidated artificial categories of groups with respect to residence and business and control of interracial property holdings. The Bantu Authority Act, 1951 (Act No. 68 of 1951) ensured separate and unequal development. Somewhere along the way, the Bantustans were created to promote access for South African industry to cheap available African labour. All Black South Africans were, therefore, systematically over the centuries removed from the means to make a satisfactory living and prevented by law from seeking an independent existence or development through education or use of their innate skills and knowledge.

2.2.2 Economic implications

The economic position of a people is determined by their relative access to assets including land (Chambers 1988, Woodhouse 1992 and Bernstein 1992a, 1992b and 2000). In South Africa, however, because of the politicisation of land and labour over the years, the so-called 'non-Whites' were forced to derive most of their income from wages, remittances, severe underemployment and differential government grants and pensions rather than agriculture. An analysis of 1991's household census suggests that the bottom 40% of the population (mostly Black Africans) were receiving just 4% of the total personal income (Whiteford 1994). The reality means that at least 16.3 million people were living below

the minimum subsistence level. This includes a quarter of the population of metropolitan areas and over 60% of those in the Bantustans.

In total, approximately 2 million people were tied to White farms (NLC 2001). According to Bernstein (1996), about 60000 White farmers were occupying 80% of rural land; 85.8 million hectares of which 10 million were under arable cultivation. The 14 million people of the former Bantustans were occupying a land area equivalent to one-sixth of White farms. Meanwhile potential arable land available was estimated at 0.2 hectares per person in former the Bantustans, though there is a lack of socio-economic data on this aspect. It is clear from the above that from an economic perspective the removal of land from Black ownership implied that land was considered a factor that would sustain the health, wealth and development of its owners in this case White and the racial laws were designed to impoverish and even eliminate all the so-called 'non-whites' from a sustainable livelihood.

2.2.3 Demographic implications

Frequently used demographic variables are population group (race), sex (gender), age and spatial areas (settlement types). Most historical narratives on the South African land question are biased toward population groups and spatial areas in terms of rural/urban. Gender and age factors, especially concerning women and the youth, and experiences of dispossession are generally hidden. The former category of people (women) face a double process of dispossession and denial - first as Black South Africans (population group) who were systematically dispossessed and removed by successive colonialist and apartheid regimes. Then as people who have been unable to gain secure access to land, or have lost such access, due to discriminatory cultural and social practices and tradition (NLC 2001).

Meanwhile, women and children filled the vacuum created in rural agriculture by the departure of men. Men migrated to the urban areas as a result of the twin processes of dispossession and the need for labour in the mines, euphemistically referred to as the 'gold rush' of the 1880s (Bernstein 1996). The census statistics during the period between 1936 and 1951 recorded that the urban African population doubled from 1.1 million to 2.3 million, thus exceeding the (urban) White population for the first time. At the same time, the proportion of those classified as peasant in the economically active African population declined from 51% to 17% to 8% according to the census of 1936, 1946 and 1951, respectively. By 1994, 65% of South Africans were 'functionally urbanised'. However, the residual of the non-urban African population

did not translate readily into the usual conception of rural, if by that is meant access to rural resources or farm employment.

To the contrary, the 1913 Land Act and other related land laws, settlement planning, forced removals, and the Bantustan system, contributed to overcrowding in the former homelands. It is estimated that more than 3.5 million Africans were forcibly removed and relocated to the homelands and Black townships between 1960 and 1980 (Human Awareness Programme 1989). Consequently, the population in Black areas increased drastically to the extent that density in the homelands averaged 151 people per square km, while the population density, for the rest of South Africa was only 19 people per square km (Thwala 2003).

2.2.4 Liberalisation reform

The process of land dispossession in South Africa did not go unchallenged by the deprived Black people individuals or communities. Evidences of resistance include the Pondoland wars of the 19th century, peasant boycotts in Herschel in 1994, and the struggles of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) to organise tenants and sharecroppers in 1930s. The rise of the African National Congress in the early 20th century was mostly in response to the land question. There were also the battle against homeland consolidation in the 1950s, the reassertion of the African National Congress (ANC) in rural South Africa in the 1960s and the struggle of labour tenants and black spot communities in the 1970s and 1980s (NLC 2001).

Resistance coupled with international rejection and economic and political sanctions necessitated a change of direction by the apartheid government. The earliest form of liberalisation was the acknowledgement of Black peoples' need for permanent land rights in urban areas. It led to the introduction of the 99-year leasehold system in 1978 and the Abolition of Influx Control Act, 1986 (Act No. 68 of 1986) in the mid-1980s (Department of Land Affairs 1997). However, these reforms did not affect the land rights in rural areas where the status quo remained (Thwala 2003).

A major attempt to address the rural land right issue, post apartheid, was the Rural Development Bill of 1991. It established a National Rural Development Corporation, agricultural settlement schemes and the use of agricultural land for communal agricultural settlement. It repealed in whole the Promotion of the Economic Development of National States Act, 1968 (Act No. 46 of 1968) and the Amendment to the Promotion of the Economic Development of National States Act, 1977 (Act No. 80 of 1977). It also

repealed sections of Laws of Development Aid Second Amendment Act, 1986 (Act No. 105 of 1986) and the Development Aid Laws Amendment Act, 1988 (Act No. 53 of 1988).

From the foregoing, therefore, there is no doubt that a need for the redistribution of resources and by extension, wealth exists. Thwala (2003) claimed that the land dispossession of Africans was driven by the need to reduce competition with white farmers and to create a pool of cheap labour for farmers and mines and, later, industry. The pattern of land ownership and control, fundamentally structured the social mechanism of control over Black workers and population surplus to the needs of the capitalist economy. As such, the highly unequal access to land was, and remains, an integral component of the political economy of South Africa. Therefore, any post-apartheid land reform would be dependent on the extent and character of economic reconstruction.

However, the rural dwellers were not adequately mobilised during the struggle on the land question though their contribution to the struggle was acknowledged. These people voted massively for the incumbent government as well as the erstwhile alliance in the Government of National Unity (GNU). Rural dwellers have high expectations from the government on the land issue. The government itself is finding the process of land reform protracted, because of the character of transition to democracy in South Africa. The negotiated process and peaceful transition path called the 'elite pact' was characterised by mass mobilisation and participation rather than structural transformation (Levin and Weiner 1996).

2.3 The implications of South Africa's land tenure system in agrarian context

Karl Marx's 1818-1883 writings on the evolution of political economies alluded to a reality that still exists. His evaluation of medieval Europe's property and social relations in terms of the ownership of means of production, led to the postulation that societies will evolve from feudalism through capitalism and socialism to communism (Turker 1978). Debates on the validity of his proposition continue to enrich literature in Political Economics. According to Parker's¹ (1922) article in *Rand Daily Mail* of South Africa titled 'Serfdom of the Native: The Land Question', on the 1913 Land Act - the law puts these 'unfortunates' (natives) at the mercy of the farmer and gives him (the farmer) power to force those on his farm to work on his terms. However, the term 'serf' used in Marx's treatise on feudalism refers to a labourer's relationship with the land and the land 'lord' owners. A relationship based on freedom of contract and the liberty of the subject that did not exist in South Africa.

1. Reverend Wilfred Parker: clergyman - St George's Vicarage, Parktown, Johannesburg.

2.3.1 The evolution of South Africa's agrarian structure

According to Parker (1922), the industrial problem of competition between black and white semi-skilled labourers would have been rendered less acute if the native had more chance of being where (s)he is best suited, on the 'land'. However, (s)he (the native) must be placed on the land on terms that are intolerable to him/her, such as the provision of the 1913 Land Act. The argument on which the 1913 Land Act was founded is that, 'as the natives are such poor agriculturists, it is a mistake to give them more than a minimum of land, and that only of the poorest quality'.

In the same vein, Bernstein (2000) argues that the crisis of feudalism in Europe marked the beginning of colonial expansion and by extension the introduction of plantation agriculture in colonial territories. Meanwhile, African societies already established with peculiar social and agrarian structure before the arrival of colonialism in the 19th century were now faced by a colonial re-definition of their system, to suit the production of cash crops and plantation agriculture. The changes were made to align with the needs of the emergent capitalist economies and economic orders. To sustain metropolitan capitalist economies settler communities were established in places such as South Africa with the widespread alienation of natives from their land. The implications of this on these societies were the modernisation of agricultural production, state taxation of the peasantry and social differentiation in the countryside.

The alienation of land led to comments such as 'existing native reserves in Transvaal are already overcrowded and cannot hold a larger population' (Parker 1922). These were warnings of acute landlessness, overcrowding and severe soil erosion (Native Economic Commission 1932), the creation of 'desert conditions' and spectre of 'mass starvation' in the reserve (Davies, Meara and Dlamini 1988), and the problems of population growth, resource squeeze and unchanging and outmoded resource use practice in rural South Africa (Andrew and Grove 1987). It elicited responses such as 'under the feckless and improvident methods of Kaffir agriculture' (Prance² 1992).

Indications were that the traditional African farming methods and knowledge of 'slash and burn', and 'hunting and gathering', were obsolete and ineffective for its growing population. It was said to be environmentally degrading and ecologically inappropriate as well (Woodhouse 1992).

2. Mr C. R. Prance was a Nylstroom based ex-policeman turned farmer.

Nevertheless, the argument remains that the problem was not rural South Africa's natural incapacity for appropriate land and other resources use, as postulated by colonial apologists, but rather the unavailability and inaccessibility of those resources (Bernstein 1996). The conditions described above were further exacerbated by the nature and extent of changes in South African farming, which affected social organisations and the environment. The said changes occurred through the interface of the agricultural ecology and access to land, labour and other non-farming economic activities, to the shift by rural economies to intensive maize farming and the enabling social structure, capital involvement and deployment of technology in agriculture (Woodhouse 1992). The structure of agriculture in South Africa will respond to the current competition between increasing global disposition to bio-fuel and the food security need. Meanwhile, agriculture continues to offer the main source of income to many agrarian economies and consequently rural communities in the world. Thus, a reformation of rural economies has a relationship to agrarian reform (Thwala 2003)

2.3.2 Land rights and land-use management in South Africa

The finding of a study commissioned by the World Bank on the relationship between tenure security and agricultural production did not support their initial argument that individual rather than communal title provides tenure security and by extension enhanced productivity (Bruce and Migot-Adhola 1994). A Department of Land Affairs guideline on legislation and implementation of land reform in South Africa separated land ownership from governance. This means that members of particular communities can co-own the land and decide how they want their land administered (Thomas, Sibanda and Claassens 1998). In other words, the expectation that ownership of land would reduce poverty in South Africa, given the history of land disparity has fuelled extensive debate on how to achieve land security in a market economy.

According to Ntsebeza (2000), rural areas of the former Bantustans have two options for tenure security. These are 'individual freehold', where person(s) wanting this would probably have to bear the cost of surveying and registering the land. Rural dwellers and restitution claimants do not have the resources to afford such projects, coupled with the fact that a majority 'tribal resolution' needs to be passed by members of the community to give it effect. 'Communal ownership' implies groups/communities constituting itself into a legal land-holding entity who then applies as a group for transfer of land – a Communal Property Association (CPA). Members are defined in terms of 'households' and must agree to

a set of rules and regulations for land ownership. The researcher would like to add that the 'rules and regulations' are nebulous, alien and abstract to them.

The reality in South Africa today is that the common-hold is still regarded as a property system - where land vests in the members of a community as co-owners. The decisions with respect to the land would be made on a majority basis, and co-owners choose or elect the body to manage their land related affairs on a day-to-day basis (Claassens and Makopi 1999). Unfortunately, this policy never came into effect. Therefore, property rights cannot always derive directly or ultimately from a sovereign, as communities do have a corporate persona. A system which is access based on inclusivity at the same time can define boundaries of exclusivity. The decision-making rules applied by communities do not always demand collective participation by all members (Bromley and Cernea 1989).

The above calls to question the thinking of Hardin in the 'Tragedy of the Common' and those of early property economists that property rights over land could not vest in communities whose rules of organisation and access to resources were essentially inclusive and collective in character and operation. As such the system confers mere privilege, hence no rights and duties in respect of the use of those resources, a situation that must inevitably lead to a tragedy (Okoth-Ogendo 2000). The confusion presently in South Africa is whether common property can deliver agricultural productivity. It is a situation which stems from South Africa's colonial and apartheid past, namely the relocation of title of the commons from indigenous communities to the imperial sovereign (the state) (Ntsebeza, 2000 and Okoth-Ogendo, 2000). Then, there was the problem of the colonial sovereign dealing with the common without reference to or due recognition of the rights of indigenous communities.

The implication of the above is the current debate on land administration in South Africa, which pitched traditional authorities against 'democratic' representative structures. Okoth-Ogendo (2000) uses the term common to identify phylogenetically organised land and associated resources available extensively to specific communities, lineage or families operating as corporate entities. They constitute territoriality and ontological factors such as permanent availability across generations past, present and future. The Common is a creation of social production and reproduction. Agrarian resources in Africa were and largely continue to be organised in that manner. Structural and normative parameters for the management and determination of access to resources of the commons are that land is held as a trans-generational asset, managed at different levels of social organisation, and used in function-specific ways, including

cultivation, grazing, hunting, transit, recreation fishing, and bio-diversity conservation. The question, therefore, is how best and on what platform this can be attained (Okoth-Ogendo 2000).

Arguments such as the above expose the lack of clarity on the definition of the traditional authorities and their new role in a democratic South Africa. It is a fall-out from their role during the colonial and apartheid eras (Mbeki 1984, McIntosh 1995, Ntsebenza and Hendricks 1998, and Ntsebenza 2000). Bassett (1993) claims, that the use of Communal Property Associations is a strategy similar to the policy of indirect rule. The state sought here to maintain the political authorities of chiefs and 'rural' elites, whose status was based partly on their power to allocate land use rights in their territory. Ranger's (1993) argument is that if the idea of chiefly 'trusteeship' was largely a myth, so too was the idea of chiefly ownership of land and that the practice of 'traditional communal tenure' grew up in a sort of rural power vacuum during the early period of colonialism.

Levin and Weiner (1996) add that antagonism towards chiefs is often ambiguous and directed towards individuals rather than the institution of chieftaincy. However, in most provinces in South Africa, there is fairly extensive rejection of chiefs' maintaining their land allocations functions. The preference is for these functions to be vested in new democratic local government structures. Meanwhile, McIntosh (1995) argues that the process leading to the structuring of local governments in South Africa was fraught with indecisiveness on some key issues. Therefore, the effective functioning and sustainability of local authorities are dependent on the resolution of a number of problems.

The problems to be resolved are the entrenchment of power, the consolidation of interest at the centre and provincial levels of government and the rural areas comprising the least organised and least influential group of people. The other problems are the places of chieftaincy and traditional authorities/leadership in the equation and the question of legitimacy and the capacity of rural local governments to raise finance given the absence of established local governments outside of market towns, and commercial farming areas. Lastly, the limited roles and inadequacies of tribal authority in former Bantustans, and the said process of local government transition having urban concerns and issues overshadowing rural ones and rural issues not being a national priority.

McIntosh (1995) continues that the consequences of the non-resolution of the problems mentioned above are the delay in finalising local government models, the lack of pre-interim arrangements, the poor

management of conflict between stakeholders, and the fragmentation of the line functions proper to local governments. While recognising the need for local structure representation, government did not provide the finance, authority and staff for its effectiveness. Cousins' (1996) argument is that the people living under communal tenures should be 'sustained' by their natural resources. However, the use of these resources within the multi-facet system of provisioning is minimal.

2.3.3 The state of agriculture in South Africa

Agriculture is a productive sector where market transactions have greater significance than service provision, since most activities in this sector take place within the private sector, which has led to the argument that public expenditure in the sector should be decreased. Nevertheless, government still intervenes in this sector because of either market failure or for distributive purposes because of the difficulty in transferring income or assets to the poor (Foster, Brown and Nashold 2001). As for the fears of market failure, there are those who question the reality of the 'African crisis' (chronic famine and starvation), suggesting the possibility of 'deliberate misrepresentation or exaggeration'. This emanates from the political economy of grain (food) export and/or the inability to differentiate between food production and availability (Bernstein 1992a).

The state of agriculture in South Africa today is arrived at through inadequate consideration of the agrarian question during the democratic agitation. Save for the rhetoric 'land to the tiller' contained in the Freedom Charter, no critical attempt was made to address the land question *ab initio*, as there were no real rural organisation and mobilisation (Bernstein 1996). Cousins (2000) argues that in a market economy governments tend to create favourable conditions for local and foreign investments in industry and tourism for attaining international competitiveness. This usually occurs at the expense of land reform and agrarian change; the former being viewed as at best a 'welfarist' programme to 'alleviate' poverty. The latter has been equated with enabling the emergence of a class of small-scale commercial farmers, the rural equivalent of 'black empowerment' in mining and industry. However, the question remains of 'whose welfare' land reform will provide, given the nature of spatial, gender and class differentiation in the rural areas. Whose 'empowerment' will agrarian change provide, viewed against the backdrop of constrained access to resources and the sex war over control of assets (Bernstein 1992b).

Cousins (2000) further argues that the continued dichotomisation between commercial 'market based' agriculture and farming as a 'food safety net' (subsistence farming) is a stereotype of African agriculture.

It has its origin in the colonialist attempt to separate the mass of ‘backward peasant’ farming on household plots in the reserve from ‘progressive’, market orientated farmers who deserve to own land under individual title and receive real support from the state. The outcome of this is the hegemonies in the recurring competitions defining contemporary agricultural economy; subsidies versus market, tariffs versus trade liberalisation, subsistence versus environmental conservation, politics of global food trade and aids, linkages between agriculture and industry (Lipton and Lipton 1995, Woodhouse 1992, Mather 2000, Van Zyl and Vank 1988, and Van-Seventer, Faux and Van Zyl, 1992).

Given that the rural peasantry in South Africa is still considered as traditional, static and of self-sufficient existence (Bernstein 1992a), rural farmers are still aggregated indiscriminately as ‘small farmer(s)’ (Esman 1978). Most economists aver that the hope of agriculture in South Africa is dependent on the rise of a new class of black smallholders, who, unlike their large-scale counterparts (White-owned commercial farmers), should develop farming practices that are diverse and labour-intensive and who should use land more efficiently and sustainably (Lipton, Ellis and Lipton 1996). Thus, in South Africa it may be concluded that the agrarian question was completed for the white farmer by apartheid, for big capital by deregulation and market liberalisation, but it is yet to be resolved for the dispossessed.

2.4 The relationship between agrarian structure and livelihood in South Africa

In South Africa, the rural areas carry a legacy of squandered assets and inappropriate production and investment strategies. Consequently, for many people in the former Bantustan areas, economic and social decisions have been conditioned by their unequal and distorted access to markets, services and opportunities. It is assumed that these conditions contributed to poverty and should hence be considered in the process of agrarian reform.

2.4.1 Locating poverty and the poor in South Africa

The World Bank Annual Development Report (1990) defines poverty according to money-metric measurements - that is by household income and expenditure, which reflect individual material wellbeing if the household has access to a market at which it can purchase all goods at a given price. This definition has been the standard for global appraisal of poverty by development agents, international organisations, and governments though it has been criticised for the inherent flaws in its basic assumptions, as well as the extent of generalisation and means of measurement. Examples of these flaws are the use of ‘headcount

index’, which is a measure of the incidence of poverty by the percentage of the total population of those below the poverty line of less than a dollar-a-day and the ‘poverty gap’- a measure of total income shortfall of the poor as a percentage of the total (national) consumption.

These measurements have resulted in sub-Saharan Africa having the second highest incidence or rate of poverty in the world (Bernstein 1992b). South Africa’s history has shown that a systematic, sustained methodical policy attack was made by successive governments over centuries on the politico-socio-economic life of indigenous Black South Africans. Land dispossession was but one part of a host of curtailment of rights including movement, access to job/profession of choice, education, and location of residence. Thus poverty alleviation measures have to consider complex redress policies and projects as well rather than simple comparisons between Black and White individual characteristics. Thus, also, discussions of the South African economy should always consider that for Blacks it was up to eight times worse.

Authors such as May (2000) seem to locate the income disparity in the economic problems of the mid 60’s, during which the South African economy suffered a prolonged deterioration in real growth, domestic savings and employment creation. ‘This resulted in high-income inequality, widespread poverty and high levels of unemployment’ (May 2000). Table 1 shows the aforementioned reality using the 1995 figures.

Table 1: Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment

Indicator	%	Estimated population
Poverty rate total	49.9%	19 700 000
Poverty rate in non-urban areas	70.9%	13 700 000
Poverty rate in urban areas	28.5%	600 000
Poverty share of non-urban areas	71.6%	
African poverty rate	60.7%	18 300 000
White poverty rate	1.0%	44 000
Unemployment rate	29.3	4 250 000
Income share of poorest 40% of households	11.0%	
National Gini coefficient	0.52%	

Source: May, 2000

However, it came about that approximately half of South Africa’s population can be classified as poor while 72% live in rural areas - *rural poverty share*. The rural poverty rate is a measure of the percentage

of those classified as poor, in this instance 71% compared to 29% in urban areas. The African poor were 61% and the White poor a meagre 1%. In 1995, 51.1% of the population (20.2 million people) lived below the poverty line of R355 per adult person at existing prices. Between 1995 and 2002, the absolute poverty rate had decreased by 2.6% to 48.5% of the population. Considering also that the population had grown in the same period, the total number of poor had increased to 21.9 million in 2002. The population of South Africans living in extreme poverty - less than a dollar-a-day using the purchasing power parity exchange rate - had increased from 9.4% in 1995 (3.7 million people) to 10.5% in 2002 (4.7 million people). The rate had also increased for all ethnic groups and for all of the provinces (United Nations Development Programme 2003).

Table 2: Provincial Distribution of Poverty

PROVINCE	% OF HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN POVERTY	% OF INDIVIDUALS LIVING IN POVERTY	POVERTY GAP R MILLION	POVERTY GAP AS A % OF GGP	% OF POPULATION (NON-URBAN)
Eastern Cape	40.4	50.0	3 303	11.4	63.4
Free State	56.8	64.0	3 716	15.7	31.4
Gauteng	29.7	41.0	917	0.6	3.0
KwaZulu-Natal	36.1	47.1	1 159	2.0	56.9
Mpumalanga	33.8	45.1	968	3.1	60.9
North-West	15.4	21.1	1 551	7.3	65.1
Northern Cape	38.2	48.0	257	3.2	29.9
Limpopo	61.9	69.3	2 948	21.4	89.0
Western Cape	14.1	17.9	529	1.0	11.1

Source: May, 2000

Table 2 on the provincial distribution of poverty depicts a high spatial bias and is presented to show comparative figures for the Limpopo Province which are reflected in the racial configuration of poverty in South Africa. In 2002, the poverty rate among the African population living under the national poverty line was 8 times the poverty rate among the white population. Although the income poverty rate has declined since 1995, the depth of the income poverty appears to have increased. The poverty gap increased from 11.2% in 1995 to 18% in 2002. Therefore, the percentage of the population living in poverty declined, but those living in poverty were poorer than before (UNDP 2003).

The existence and persistence of high poverty in South Africa relate to the existence of high-income inequality, which is measured using a Gini coefficient. It measures inequality through a scale of 0 to 1

where 1 implies total inequality and 0 implies total equality in income distribution. South Africa is ranked as one of the most inequitable countries in the world with significant differences in the Gini coefficient. The Black African population group had the highest inequality of the different population groups with a Gini coefficient of 0.58 and 0.48 for Whites (UNDP 2003).

In South Africa, the richest 20% of the population consumed almost two-thirds of the total national consumption while the poorest 60% consumed less than one fifth, which was further exacerbated by the fact that people with higher incomes also had higher access to credit (STATSA 2002). There were indications that there was a worsening of income inequality between 1995 to 2000.

The foregoing addresses technical issues of accurate measurement according to the World Bank definition of poverty. For the purposes of this study, the researcher agrees with other authors that this definition lacks context - especially the conceptual issues for understanding poverty. The social sciences have constructed socially and culturally derived concepts such as relative deprivation, the social relations that generate unequal distribution of income and consumption and aspects of wants and disadvantages such as vulnerability and powerlessness. Chambers (1988) coincidentally identifies other more relevant measurable forms of poverty. It includes poverty proper that is, a lack of an adequate income or access to generate an income, physical weakness due to under-nutrition, sickness or disability. There is isolation that is physical and/or social, due to peripheral location, lack of access to goods and services, ignorance and illiteracy. Lastly, there is vulnerability to any kind of emergency, contingency, and the risk of becoming even poorer, more powerless within existing social, economic, political and cultural structures.

In this section, the researcher has attempted to locate poverty using two different definitions. For the purposes of this study, the researcher finds the latter definition more appropriate. Thus, locating the poor, especially the rural poor and their priorities, involves appraising structural factors concerning access to resources and capital, social relations within the household and community, livelihood strategies, and existential dimension of poverty. According to Bernstein (1992b), it can be achieved by providing answers to the following questions: Who owns or has access to properties such as land and other means of production? Who does what work in different social divisions of labour? Who gets what income, whether in kind or cash? What do they do with the income, between consumption and accumulation?

2.4.2 Poverty and livelihood in South Africa

South Africa's anti-poverty strategies are a post-1994 effort that is multi-faceted and yet a new phenomenon. The most visible set of strategies involves social security grants for the poor and vulnerable people and households. A second set of strategies intends to be 'developmental' and as such focuses on job creation, capital investment, training and financial support, often for small and medium size enterprises. Since poverty is dominant among black South Africans it is expected that developmental strategies would be attempted in those areas where blacks have been excluded. Thus, the study will discuss the status of agrarian livelihood as a possible poverty reduction strategy. According to Gilling, Jones and Duncan (2001), effective poverty reduction lies in a broad range of inter-linked activities. The activities in question, fortunately also correspond to a commonly used definition of the term livelihood as coined by Chambers and Conway (1992).

The poverty reduction activities are:

- Food security, access to basics such as shelter, safe water, and protection from episodic shocks due to increased income and expenditure by the poor, increased consumption of those goods and services recognised as essential within the society by households and individuals. It could be achieved through strengthening the private sector at factor market level to initiate investment, establishing macroeconomic stability and sustained growth and investing in infrastructure such as roads, schools and utilities (Department for International Development 2000).
- Enable the poor to function normally in society by improved access to assets, services and utilities, social and economic services, factor and product markets, and productive assets including natural, financial and human capital.
- Empowering the poor entails enabling their participation in political and social processes, especially in their capacity to affect their immediate environment and promote change.
- Reduction of vulnerability, chronic insecurity at both the individual, household, and group level as well as the development of coping strategies for risk management.

2.4.2.1 Income generation in agrarian livelihood in South Africa

The most common forms of land use in rural South Africa are cultivation/crop production, livestock farming/animal husbandry and the use of natural/wild resources (Andrew, Andrew and Shackleton 2003). It could be for own consumption, seldom included in conventional survey on household income and

expenditure (Cavendish 1999 cited in Shackleton et al. 2000a) or as formally marketed goods and cash income, or for economically valuable indigenous resources or in building social institutions and support systems (safety net) (Shackleton, Shackleton, Netshiluvhi, Geach, Balance and Fairbank 2002). Though these land use forms generate income, their actual contributions to rural livelihood have yet to be evaluated. In this evaluation, attention should be given to possible land use forms, how effective land is used, how land is controlled, the value of the land, and if land uses are sustainable.

2.4.2.1.1 Crop production

Crop production has been estimated to make a relative contribution to rural livelihood in South Africa, as the sale of crops amounted to less than 10% of household income according to a pre-1990s household survey (Andrew et al. 2003). As Blacks did not have access to markets pre-1990, it is quite possible that this survey did not include such households. McAllister's (2000) estimates that crop production constituted between one quarter and one-half of the total food requirements based on the contribution of crop production to food requirements. The contribution of crop production to the total income in South Africa ranges from 7% to 24%. The main economic value of crop production is situated in what is consumed as only a small proportion of households sell crops (Shackleton, Shackleton and Cousins 2000b).

Other economic values of crop production to rural livelihoods are the reinforcement of community ties through barter and the gift of produce and cultivation through community or kin work parties. It also creates employment opportunities as official data suggest that about 13% of communal farming households in South Africa provide jobs for others in the community. Crop production thus contributes directly and indirectly to rural livelihoods albeit in relatively small amounts. It also raises the question as to whether the contribution might be greater if there was access to arable land as a rural safety net (Shackleton et al. 2000b).

2.4.2.1.2 Livestock farming

Livestock farming as an income generating activity is one of the more successful contributors to rural livelihoods. Cattle and goats for home use and for sale have been found to contribute up to \$765 (US) for cattle owning households, \$79 (US) for goat owning households and \$25 (US) for non-owning households. The mean net annual value across all households (owners and non-owners) was in the region of \$22(US), with 7% of the net annual value of all benefits received by households that did not own any

livestock. Other studies estimated the economic value of livestock production in a former reserve and South African Development Trust communal area at R1200 per household per annum and the sector at R2.88 billion per annum.

The commercial production system, as practised by White farmers under freehold tenure, has been used as a yardstick for 'best practice' with respect to rangeland use while communal tenure has been equated with subsistence production. It ignores the multiple, often under-valued uses that rural people derive from livestock ownership within a 'diverse and dynamic portfolio of livelihood activities'. Home use represents direct cash saving and trade provides additional income, non-livestock owners receive gifts in the form of meat, milk, free ploughing service as well as free manure and sealants from dung (Shackleton et al. 2000b). Ignorance of these benefits has informed official consideration of livestock ownership by South African people in the rural areas as technically inefficient and thus wasteful of the limited grazing resources of South Africa, since the early twentieth century (Bembridge and Tapson 1993). These contributions to people's livelihoods are made more significant in the context of the volatility of the formal economy and offers a form of 'invisible capital' (Cousins 1999).

The use of livestock as a safety net against misfortune and for use in times of cash need (funeral, school fees), especially for households with only a few animals is also underestimated. Other under-valued contributions of livestock to rural livelihood are the 'transport' function (that is draught animals - donkeys, oxen), religious purposes (involving the slaughtering of animals), protein (meat) and carbohydrates intake (Bembridge and Tapson 1993). Unlike cultivation, the constraints of production in livestock farming (livestock ownership) and the declining economic fortunes of many rural households are instigating the need for livestock to serve its safety net function (Cousins 1999).

2.4.2.1.3 Wild vegetation resources

Nearly all households in the rural areas use wild spinach, fuel-wood, wooden utensils, grass hand-brooms, edible fruits, and twig hand-brooms. A large proportion make use of edible insects, wood for fences and kraals, medicinal plants, bush meat, wild honey, and reeds for weaving (Shackleton et al. 2002). These resource are either collected for everyday use (for example, fuel-wood) or harvested primarily to generate income or as input into other production systems. The self (own) use of 'free' resources results in considerable reduction in cash expenditure. This is a crucial livelihood strategy for poorer households (Shackleton et al. 2000b). The decline in wild resources has negatively affected rural livelihoods. It has

necessitated coping strategies such as increased collection times, travelling greater distances, decreasing frequencies of collection, substitution with less preferred species, making do without, purchasing the resources from elsewhere, and substitution with alternative goods (usually purchased) (Andrew et al. 2003).

A growing number of rural inhabitants have always engaged in selling raw or processed natural resources such as firewood, marula beer, reed mats, and woodcarvings to generate some cash income. For some of them, it has been a full-time occupation, while for others it provided supplementary income for specific items such as school fees, funeral costs, school stationery and uniforms (Andrew et al. 2003). In South Africa, it has been shown that in some regions up to 25% of households' trade in at least one resource, with women playing a particularly strong role. The same study found that communities in three villages regularly used between 18 and 27 wild products and 100-300 species. Across all studies reviewed, the most commonly used products and main contributors to value are fuel-wood, construction wood, wild fruits and herbs, as well as fodder (Shackleton et al. 2000b).

There are contending views of the implications of the interface of commercial values and direct use values of wild resources. Income from commercialisation can on the one hand act as an incentive for users to attempt to implement sustainable management of natural resources to ensure benefits in the future (Shackleton 2001). On the other hand, it could result in increased appropriation by outsider groups and the wealthy in the community possibly at the expense of subsistence use and the livelihood security of the poor. It could also increase intra-community conflicts (Shackleton et al. 2000b).

In South Africa, the emergence of community-private-state partnerships in wildlife conservation and tourism provides opportunities and challenges to rural livelihoods in communal lands. Within the framework of livelihood diversification, these schemes provide opportunities. At the level of benefits to households, especially cash dividends, it is often very low and may not justify the costs, which is a trade off between one livelihood source and another (for example, game and livestock, game and cropping). The challenge is to be able to balance non-monetised values of wild resources such as its use in local exchange for goods and services, and maintaining a social network, alongside non-market values such as aesthetics, shades, sacred areas, existence values, and ecological services, for increased benefit to the community (Shackleton et al. 2000b).

2.4.2.1.4 Linkages and leakages of agricultural and non-agricultural income generation

Multiple livelihood strategies are important characteristics of poor households in South Africa (May 1987). Recent surveys suggest that non-farm sources account for 40% to 45% of the average rural household income in sub-Saharan Africa. Most of these come from local rural sources rather than from urban migration (Barrett, Reardon and Patrick 2001). There are linkages between the agricultural sector (primary), construction and manufacturing (secondary) and training and services (tertiary). The growth in agricultural production is forwardly linked to growth in the processing and packaging industries, the construction of storage and marketing facilities in the secondary sector, and the growth in transportation and trade in the tertiary sector. It is backwardly linked to agricultural tools and equipment, and input supply (agricultural and veterinary services) respectively. The resultant expansion of these other sectors opens opportunities for employment for the rural poor. At the level of consumption, the growth of agriculture is linked to the rise of consumption of household items and home improvements (secondary sector), domestic services, transportation and sales of consumer goods (tertiary sector) (Start 2001).

The rural communities become multi-spatial, straddling both rural, urban economic domains as the people increasingly depend on urban labour markets, urban remittance, urban trade, and urban social networks (Bryceson 2000). Therefore, only rural non-agricultural enterprises in sectors such as natural resources-based extraction industries, traditional rural skills (craft making), tourism industries that are temporally and spatially proximate to extraction or production sites or depend on cheap labour will survive (Wiggins and Proctor 2001).

2.4.2.1.5 Features of income generation livelihood strategies in South Africa

Income generating activities of rural households as livelihood strategies are outcomes of decisions and conflicts over the use of household resources, including negotiation for rights (May 2000). The importance of gaining control over an income source is recognised in SA-PPA (1998). In spite of the problem of measurability, some activities were identified by May (2000) from which rural households in South Africa are able to generate a measurable income. These are agriculture for own consumption and sale; small and micro-enterprise activities based on the extension of distribution networks such as hawking, petty commodity production (clothes and handicraft), and services such as money lending, child minding (care) and agricultural services.

It also includes wage labour that is migrant labour, farm workers and commuter labourers in both the primary and secondary labour market, and claiming against the state from the social pension system, which has a high coverage amongst the elderly in the rural areas. There is also claiming against household and community members, which is made through receipt of migrant income remittance, assistance within kinship structure and other forms of community reciprocities such as ‘work parties’ and outright charity. Table 3 shows, among other things, that although households maximise whatever they can from available land, agriculture is not the mainstay of rural livelihoods’ existence in South Africa (May 1987).

Table 3: Income Generation and Claiming Systems

Activity	% of households engaged in activity	Rand earned per month by household engaged in activity	
		Mean	Median
Agriculture production (sold & consumed)	36.4	91	31
Small and micro-enterprises	10.4	392	200
Wage labour in the primary labour market	22.1	1 445	1 132
Wage labour in the secondary labour market	37.4	582	500
Claims against household members	39.0	267	200
Claims against the state	32.4	396	320

Source: May, 2000.

Based on the above information, May (2000) created a typology of rural households using a mix of income levels, extra-household claims derived from wage earning activities in different labour markets, and intra-household claims derived from the remitted income of people living away from home. These are:

- Marginalised households, namely those that have no access to wages or remittance and welfare transfers. Their income from petty commodity production (small-scale farming and micro-enterprise) is R92 or less per month.
- Welfare dependent households are those that have access to welfare transfers, are not receiving a wage or remittance and with an income from petty commodity production of R92 or less per month.

-Secondary wage dependent households are those that have wage incomes earned by people living at home employed in the secondary labour market and income from petty commodity production of R92 or less per month.

-Primary wage-dependent households have access to wages earned by people living at home employed in the primary labour market and income from petty commodity production of R92 or less per month.

-Mixed-income households with secondary wages are those that combine wages earned in the secondary labour market with modest small business and other self-employment income. Mixed-income households with primary wages are those that combine wage earned in the primary labour market with small business and other self-employment income.

-Entrepreneurial households earn incomes in excess of R1 000 per month from agricultural activities and /or business activities.

2.4.2.2 Access to assets, services and infrastructure in agrarian livelihood in South Africa

The level of asset holding such as productive assets, natural (land and land resources), financial (saving), human and labour capital, among the poor especially the rural poor is low (Gilling et al. 2001, Devereux 2001 and Start 2001).

There are implications of improved access to social and economic services and facilities on rural livelihoods. These include the frequency of farmers' interaction with the agricultural extension officers, which may improve production and reduce the cost of transport (Fenwick and Lyne 1999). Investments in power, water, communications and transport infrastructure are necessary for agriculture. The rural agricultural factor and product markets are considered a high-risk environment by the private sector, hence the role of the public sector in providing such support for the rural poor. The debate here is whether supporting agriculture is more sustainable and development oriented than transferring food or cash to buy food, where consumption transfers are introduced to compensate for a decline in agricultural production, in the event of market failure.

In South Africa the lack of access of poor households to complementary assets and services is a dimension of poverty. May, Carter and Posel (1996) call it 'poverty of opportunity' where individuals are unable to take full advantage of the few assets they have access to. SA-PPA (1998) reported the inability to borrow

money or self-finance projects as some of the reasons why many poor people cannot engage in income generating activities, ploughing or buying fertilisers, and participate in stokvels and other community-based organisations or running informal businesses.

2.4.2.3 Empowerment in agrarian livelihood in South Africa

In South Africa, empowering the poor presupposes that they were excluded at one point in time, from access to power, assets and infrastructure. This is more glaring when looked at from the point of view of the 'who' and the 'why' of poverty. In general, poverty has been referred to as 'ascribed deprivation' due to conditions, which render certain categories of people more likely to be poor. Ascribed characteristics may be gender (usually women), oppressed ethnic or minority group membership (Blacks in apartheid South Africa) or age (children and the elderly). Spatial location makes particular regions, such as rural localities, poorer than others. These places are usually those inhabited by smallholding farmers, the landless and ethnic indigenous people (International Fund for Agricultural Development 2001).

From the foregoing, the alleviation of rural poverty will involve collective and individual efforts to subvert or defeat structures that reinforce poverty (Johnson 1992). It would seem that improved rural livelihoods can be achieved through empowerment by the decentralisation of local decision-making, review of intra household inequalities and capacity building at all levels of government and civil society (Gilling et al. 2001). It should be taken into consideration the fact that the rural people are conscious actors adapting to circumstances enabling social change, knowledgeable and skilled in imperatives of their local condition and that their social relations and norms have their own validity.

Empowerment initiatives are often met with resistance, the level of which is determined by the nature of the empowerment, whether it is sustainable or survivalist and has long or short-term effects. It is also based on whether the empowerment is individual or collective, related to local conditions or linked to national change, provides room for alliances (outsiders' participation), with whom and in what ways, and who are being empowered and how they are being empowered (Johnson 1992).

Empowerment in agrarian livelihoods in South Africa is conceived in the context of gender sensitivity or equality. The 1997 White Paper on land reform subscribed to this need because of existing inequalities. The most common form of powerlessness amongst women in Africa includes the manipulation and exploitation of women labour in the sexual division of labour or the feminisation of subsistence (Bernstein

1992a). Illiteracy and a lack of organisation along with the traditional lack of control over land and income contribute to women's position of powerlessness (Johnson 1992). There is also the factor of dependence on men because of their limited long-term assets base, which leaves women insecure in times of crises such as divorce or the death of a spouse.

2.4.2.4 Reducing vulnerability in agrarian livelihoods in South Africa

Vulnerability is determined by exposure to risk factors that are generic to groups of people who are connected geographically or by shared risk characteristics and susceptibility to adverse consequences of risk factors that are specific to individuals or individual households. Although an entire community might face exposure to a livelihood threat such as drought or food price inflation, susceptibility or resilience is differentially distributed across households depending on relative wealth and access to alternative income sources, including support from extended family and social networks (Devereux 2001).

The rural poor in South Africa are particularly exposed and vulnerable to livelihood shocks and variability such as rising costs of living. They are also vulnerable to fall-out from apartheid-institutionalised discrimination, an agricultural market defined by existing position of power and differential access of the various users to information concerning these markets. There are the risks of seasonality in rain-fed agriculture that correspond to periods of illnesses, low labour demand and economic activities variability, increasing incidence of HIV/AIDS, episodic events such as floods, drought and desertification, population displacement and chronic food shortage. The situation is compounded by the adverse consequences of globalisation, and a lack of access to agricultural technologies that are sensitive to the skills, resources and objectives of rural livelihood (Tripp 2001).

Therefore, reducing vulnerability in agrarian livelihoods in South Africa will involve adopting risk management strategies that can help the rural poor to mitigate or cope with livelihood insecurities and instituting the necessary support systems. Households whose livelihoods derive from rain-fed agriculture can mitigate production risk by choosing risk-reducing techniques and cultivating low-risk but low-yield crops. For households facing food shortages, it is common to trade-off short-term consumption needs against longer-term economic viability. These are reflective of different levels of desperation. They are insurance mechanisms (saving), disposal of productive assets and destitute behaviour (distress migration). The sequence of these coping strategies adopted is predicated on its effectiveness in bridging the food gap

and the cost and reversibility of each action (Corbett 1988 in Devereux 2001). Table 4 shows typical livelihood risks facing the rural poor.

Table 4: Livelihood Risks Facing the Rural Poor

Nature of risks	People at risk
Crop production risks (drought, pests and others).	Smallholders with little income diversification and limited access to improved technology (for example, high yield varieties), landless farm labourers.
Agriculture trade risks (disruption of exports and imports).	Smallholders who specialise in an export crop. Small-scale pastorals. Poor households that depend on imported food.
Food price risks (large, sudden price rise).	Poor, net food-purchasing households, including deficit food producers in rural areas.
Employment risks	Wage-earning households and informal sector employees (in peri-urban areas and, when there is a sudden crop production failure, in rural areas.)
Health risks (for example infectious diseases and currently HIV/AIDS resulting in labour-productivity decline).	Entire communities, but especially households that cannot afford preventive or curative care and vulnerable members of these households.
Political and policy failure risks	Households in war zones and areas of civil unrest. Households in low-potential areas not connected to growth centres via an infrastructure.
Demographic risks (individual risk affecting large groups).	Women, especially those without education. Female-headed households. Children at weaning age. The aged.

Source: von Braun et al. (1992) used in Devereux 2001

Other ways the poor have been found to respond to livelihood shocks are the informal non-market transfer of goods and services from social networks of extended families, friends and neighbours, wealthy patrons with or without expectations of reciprocity. The practices of drawing on safety nets especially between wealthier ‘patrons’ and poorer ‘clients’/households’ ‘vertical’ redistribution is thinning out in sub-Saharan Africa as a result of commercialisation. The ‘horizontal’ redistribution between households of similar economic and social status, though remaining widespread, is vulnerable to covariant risks such as drought, which could eliminate food production surpluses across a community (Devereux 2001).

2.5 The implications of state intervention (land reform/restitution) on livelihoods in South Africa

Fourteen years down the road into democracy in South Africa, new challenges have emerged for the national government. The end of apartheid marked the beginning of a neo-liberal economic order, which perpetuated the unequal economic relations of the past. Meanwhile, the South African state has committed itself to both land reform and to a macro-economic strategy of market economy (willing buyer and willing seller), which presently appears to contradict its stated commitment to land reform. However, the right to

land reform is enshrined in three fundamental rights clauses of the Constitution and reinforced by the requirement Section 7 (2), that ‘the state must respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights in the ‘Bill of Rights’, including those of land reform.

A further fundamental right to ‘just’ administrative action (Section 33), grants ‘the right to administrative action that is lawful, reasonable and procedurally fair’ and requires the adoption of legislations to promote an efficient administration. This section of the constitution implies both that people receive a fair share of the national resources such as land, and that the state fulfils its obligations in a fair and efficient manner (Thwala 2003). The Bill of Rights also states that everyone has a right to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations through reasonable legislation and other measures that, amongst other things, promote conservation. There are apparent difficulties in reconciling land reform and biodiversity conservation in the midst of poverty (Kepe, Wynberg and Ellis 2003).

The success of the land reform programme will depend a great deal on complementary measures. These measures include, among other things, extension support, improvement of marketing infrastructure, access to credit and other financial services and the creation of rural off-farm income opportunities. Most importantly is the need to understand specific livelihood problems facing a people (beneficiaries) and strengthening the whole reform process by ensuring that local stakeholders play a greater part in determining the content of interventions designed to fight poverty. This should be executed through the identification of interventions; responsive, sustainable and people-centred implementation and participatory and dynamic monitoring and evaluation (Gilling et al. 2001). Clearly, for poverty alleviation to be successful, the intervention of the state is essential but its economic policies could be detrimental to the very poor it intends to support.

2.5.1 Aligning land reform/restitution to the livelihood needs of South Africans

Land is clearly a major resource through which poor rural communities can attain food security for the short to medium term. The South African land reform programme makes a contribution towards rural development through a clearly defined set of interventions within the context of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP). In this regard, the programme provides support to the ISRDP through the implementation of tenure reform measures within the nodes. The critical challenge in land restitution is continued focus on rural claims and most importantly, strengthening the efforts of the

Department of Land Affairs and the Land Claims Commission in ensuring the sustainability of these rural projects, most of which are agricultural in nature (DLA 2004).

It is a common error to equate the rural economy with agriculture because there is apparently an increased diversification of rural economies (Ellis 2000). Although agriculture continues to be the dominant use of land in rural areas, the rural non-farm sector is a major source of income and employment that can provide greater sustainability of income for households and the community, and new opportunities for production and trade (Csaki 2001). The need to align land reform to the livelihood needs of the people stems from the same arguments that rural poverty flows from and is perpetuated by the lack of access to essential assets (Rahman and Westley 2001). Therefore, poverty reduction involves changes in material factors such as land, water, infrastructure, technology and knowledge, and social and economic relations as well as institutions that give the poor greater control over their environment. Where inequality is as high as in South Africa, economic growth alone is not sufficient to reduce poverty.

2.5.1.1 The Case for agriculture

Csaki's (2001) argument is that rural poverty is as diverse as are the rural poor in their livelihood strategies. In most developing countries, including South Africa, agriculture is the chief source of overall economic growth. The production of staple food is the primary source of livelihood for many poor rural households, yet a rising proportion also relies on a diverse mix of livestock and cash crops. Therefore, it seems without agricultural growth, poverty reduction may not be successful.

These arguments reiterate the primacy of agriculture in the rural economy and extend the scope of analysis to include linkage with other sectors and macro-economic frameworks. The logic and counter logic for aligning agriculture to land reform are similar to those justifying and refuting land dispossessions. Kydd and Dorward (2001) concur that agriculture in poor countries is under-capitalised and features skewed distribution of resources, which could be corrected through 'agricultural systems intensification' (ASI).

The outcome of ASI is agricultural growth that manifests directly and indirectly, short and long-term and partially and generally in rural poverty reduction benefits as shown in table 5.

Table 5: Benefits of Agricultural Growth

Farm economy	Higher income for farmers, including smallholders. More employment on-farm as labour demand rises per hectare, the area cultivated expands, or frequency of cropping increases. Rise in farm wage rates.
Rural economy	More jobs in agriculture and food chain upstream and downstream of farm. More jobs or higher income in non-farm economy as farmers and farm labourers spend additional income. Increased job and income in rural economy allow better nutrition, health and increased investment in education amongst rural population. Lead directly to improved welfare and indirectly to higher labour productivity. More local tax revenues generated and demand for better infrastructure such as roads, power supplies, and communications. Lead to second-round effects promoting rural economy. Linkages in production chain generate trust and information, build social capital and facilitate non-farm investment. Reduced prices of food for rural inhabitants who buy in food net.
National economy	Reduced prices of food and raw materials raise real wages for urban poor and reduce wage costs of non-urban sector. Generation of saving and taxes from farming allows investment in non-farm sector, creating jobs and income in other sector. Earning of foreign exchange allows import of capital goods and essential input fro non-farm production. Release of farm labour allows production in other sectors.

Source: Irz et al., 2001

In South Africa, agriculture is inadequately supported quantitatively. There are also the issues of excessive taxation and discriminatory macro, trade and industrial policies. Inefficient and uncompetitive agricultural marketing institutions that are poorly linked to the international markets and government departments providing services to farmers also exist. The rural financial systems in South Africa do not stimulate and capture agricultural savings for channelling into agricultural investment. Rural farmer organisations and other political institutions are weak while insecure property rights inhibit investment in land improvements. These contribute to policy and institutional failures (Kydd and Dorward 2001).

The equity versus productivity debate persists in the case for agriculture. Rahman and Westley (2001) argue that improving the asset holding of the rural poor, whether physical or human, would promote equity. It would also encourage efficiency by stimulating higher productive and economic growth. Assets empower the rural poor by raising their incomes, increasing their reserves against shocks and increasing their choices. An asset is pro-poor if it is labour intensive, has low seasonal and annual variation and risk, is accessible to women and minorities and is used to produce items that comprise the bulk of poor peoples budget, for example staple food. In South Africa, women constitute more than half of the rural poor and complex socio-political issues involving power relations and the role and status of women are also of major importance to tenure reform (DLA 2004).

Over two-thirds of the income of the rural poor comes from farming and small farmers make up a large majority of the rural poor. However, large amounts of land are locked in large inefficient farms, while small equally sized plots promote employment, efficiency and growth. Land reforms to create small, equal family farms are often cost-effective in poverty reduction. They also help by hiring farm workers as small farms employ more people per hectare than larger ones, and small farmers and employees spend more of their income on employment intensive non-farm products (Rahman and Westley 2001).

2.5.1.2 The case for a National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP)

NSDP in its various forms, Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) and municipal Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) were conceived to analyse the spatial impacts of infrastructure and development programmes with the view of improving their alignment. NSDP distinguishes between social development interventions that are need-based and economic development interventions that are based on some form of commercial potential (economic growth). The allocation of government resources, it is stated, should be driven by the need to ‘achieve a balance between complimentary necessities’. These necessities do not always favour the extremely formerly deprived (Black) poor of South Africa, especially in a macro market economy.

No conclusions can be drawn on the impact of SDIs yet. However, an assessment of the concept, its principles and on-the-ground experience appear to be promising (Kepe, Ntsebeza and Pithers 2001) whether negative or positive. In the context of land restitution, one of the driving forces of SDIs especially in agric-tourism and conservation is the assumed adoption of the ‘Makulele/Dweba Cwebe’ approach to land claims. Here, the community won the right for the commercial use of the land, but not agricultural or residential use, as the only way of reconciling a potential conflict between the pursuit of tourism and forestry growth and land rights (Ashley and Ntshona 2002). But one wonders if this approach is not again based on the prejudices that Blacks tend to misuse land by farming practices developed out of necessity rather than eco sense or soil conservation for future generations.

In the face of the above reality, Wiggins and Proctor (2001) provide a lesson from Location Economics, namely that the economy of agglomeration lead to increased return to scale. It also shows that the positive externalities generated by clusters of enterprises inform the growth of a particular location. As rural economic roles are defined by the immobility of natural resources such as farmland, forests, water bodies, mineral deposits, and the likes, which are for most practical purposes immobile and can be used either on

sites or not at all. Therefore, in villages and small rural markets centres apart from activities based on natural resources, only those activities that are effectively non-tradable such as everyday services are likely to survive.

When designing intervention economic clusters priorities should be set to achieve the redirection of national (public) attention to the plight of the rural poor. According to Csaki (2001), this should include a spatial approach that reflects economic growth, social wellbeing and sustainable natural resource management. The scaling up of good practice investment in rural development is also important when improving its poverty focus, sustainability, institutional development impact, and other quality indicators for its operation. Table 6 shows development cluster priorities that collaborate with the economic activities.

Table 6: Development Cluster by Priorities

	Least developed	Less poor	Middle income
Broad-based growth	Promote agriculture. Integrate subsistence farmers into market economy. Develop rural infrastructure and basic institution	Improve agricultural productivity and diversification. Non-farm private sector development. Improve access to markets.	Promote competitiveness of commercial rural sector. Promote high-value crops. Expand private sector provision for semi-public services.
Improving social wellbeing, managing risk and reducing vulnerability.	Basic social services. Introduce safety nets. Develop social capital.	Expand social services. Promote improved risk management.	Specialist medical services and higher education. Comprehensive national safety nets
Sustainable management of natural resources	Property rights. Reduce soil degradation and deforestation.	Getting recourse prices right. Watershed management.	Environmental regulation. Reduce negative externalities of agriculture.

Source: Csaki 2001

Consequently, diversification, which is interpreted as rural non-farm economy (RNFE) by household or of the economy is imperative. The former analyses, the livelihood strategies of multi-functional households (Ellis and Briggs 2001) and the latter require a broader and complementary approach to long-term structural transformation (Wiggins and Proctor 2001 and Start 2001) such as SDIs. RNFE is most likely to cut poverty if it is based on successful farmers and workers who demand services such as construction. RNFE activity interventions should then provide the poor with appropriate skills and education rather than just physical non-farm assets.

Unlike agriculture, where public good for farming and public strategies for private asset support can be identified and advocated, the RNFE is diverse in its asset requirements. Therefore, subsidisation of RNFE

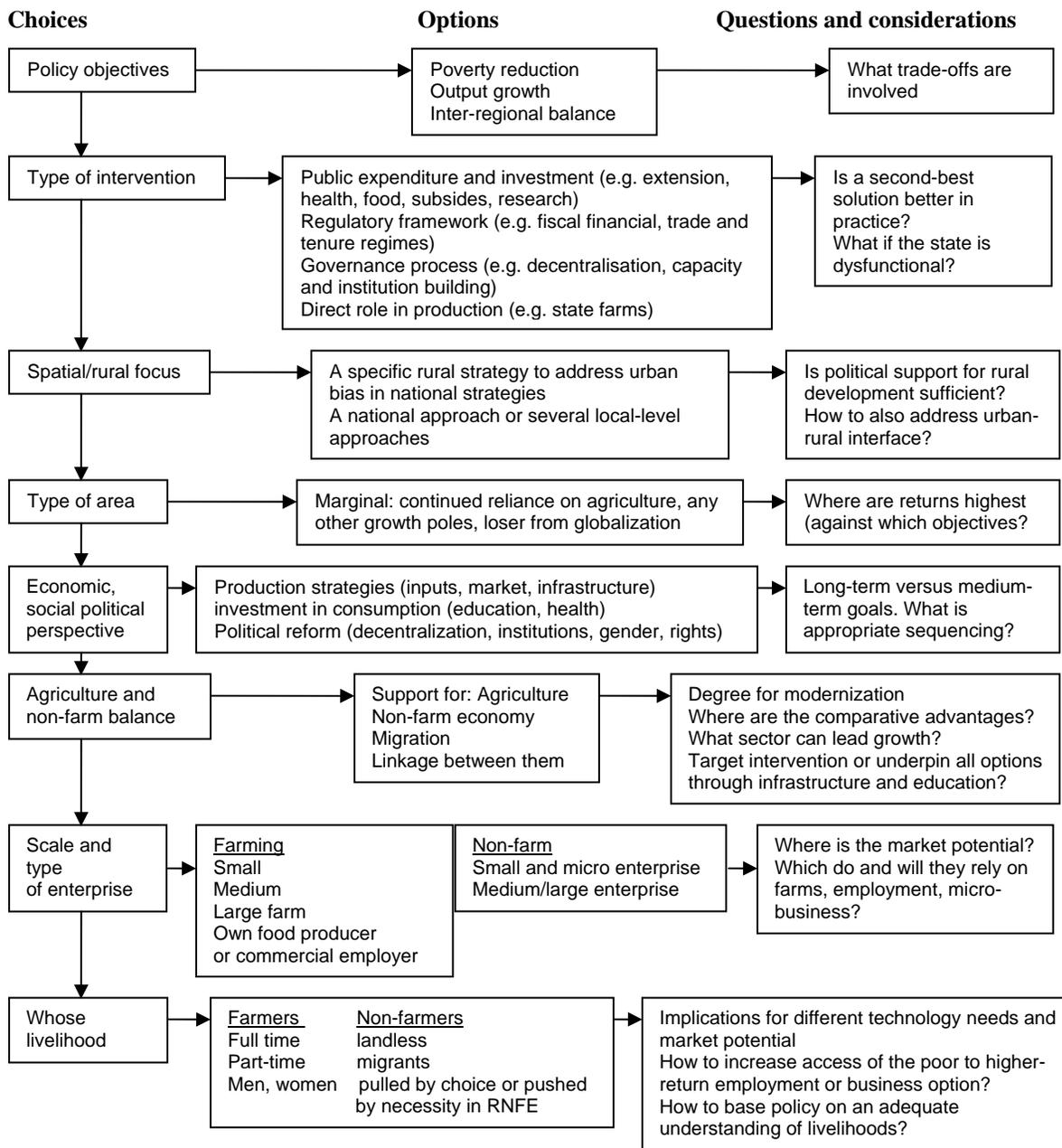
activities such as subsidised ‘industrial estates’ (SDI economic clusters) usually fails because benefits leak to the rich. Sustainable support for the RNFE must be conceived in terms of appropriate credits and micro-credit, bearing in mind health and safety concerns and competition from progressive urban sectors (Rahman and Wesley 2001). Rural tourism provides an example of the potential of RNFE as well as how to increase its benefits to the poor. The benefits are, however, greater for the non-poor than the poor, particularly the poorest of the poor. In South Africa, pro-poor tourism initiatives were able to increase the incomes of the poor, strengthen community institutional capacity and protect the environment. It also created new commercial and political partnerships involving poor people (Ashley and Maxwell 2001).

2.5.2 Implementing land reform/restitution in South Africa

According to some authors, including Ashley and Maxwell (2001), the South African land reform/restitution programme can be effective and relevant to the people. However, they state that the great diversity to the rural situation should be recognised, it should respond to past and future changes in rural areas, and be consistent with wider poverty reduction policies. It must also reflect wider moves to decentralisation and make the case for the productive sector in rural development as a strategy both to maximise growth and to reduce poverty. All these have been mentioned before.

The implementation may thus, be realised by offering different options for peri-urban and remote locations. It should favour livelihoods-strengthening diversification options for multi-occupational and multi-location households. It must accept that market institutions need to be in place before liberalisation and that the state has a role to play in the supply of public goods. It must explicitly take on inequality in assets and income with targets, timetables and concrete measures. It should demonstrate that agricultural strategies would be consistent with natural resources protection. It must recognise the importance of investment in infrastructure and human capital. It should propose pragmatic steps towards greater decentralisation and devolution, among other things. Flow chart 1 suggests alternative actions and their implications.

Flow Chart 1 - Choices in Interventions



Source: Ashley and Maxwell, 2001

2.6 Global debates and gaps on sustainable rural development

The notion of rural development has produced numerous concepts, ongoing debates and contradictions and developmental misconceptions on what it is, and what it should be or do/accomplish. The conceptualisation is mostly influenced by the prejudices the perspectives of the wealthier regions bring when attempting to develop solutions for regions of ‘ascribed characteristics’. As mentioned earlier, Chambers (1988) explains ‘ascribed deprivation’ as a condition, which renders certain categories of people/groups/regions more likely to be poor/deprived/backward and so on, by the wealthier regions’ standards/yardsticks/experiences. With this in mind the developing societies have been examined and put through concepts in policies such as Community Development, Intensive Agricultural Development, Integrated Rural Development, Livelihood Approaches, Green Revolutions, Doubly Green Models, Sustainable Agriculture and articulation such as Accumulation and Differentiation, Depeasantation, Women in Development, and now Gender and Development (Ashley and Maxwell 2001).

The debate is also captured in timeline albeit with caution: periods of the 1960s followed the Modernisation Theory; the 1970s ‘improved’ with State Interventions; the 1980s followed to correct previous decades failures with Market Liberalisation and Poverty Alleviation; and the 1990s improved on the 1980s with Citizen Participation and Empowerment, and Poverty Reduction . These concepts continue to find resonance in development circles as new terminology - Poverty Eradication has taken hold in the first decade of the 2000s (Ellis and Briggs 2001). The reality of rural societies has changed but they continue to be misrepresented in the concepts developed in liberalised economic policies with drastic social consequences, such as structural adjustments.

Attempts to capture rural livelihood realities have continuously been made since the deviation from the thinking of rural development as modernisation. The Modernisation School of development theory focussed primarily on economic growth. Thus, its proponents set the following development criteria - an interlocking set of social, economic, political, and cultural processes and relationships that emerged from a European point of view, as the determinants of whether a people could be considered undeveloped, developing or developed. They argued that for a country to move from undeveloped to developed would simply require the implementation and acquisition of modern policies and modern agricultural goods that is mechanised with modern western made combined-harvesters, tractors using hybrid seeds/chemical fertilizers and so forth, in what was dubbed ‘the greening of Africa’. Indigenous was out, context was out.

‘Modern’ was a condition determined by European standards. However, it soon fell into disrepute, having amassed huge failures all over the so-called Third World. Flow chart 2 shows the evolution of rural development ideas captured in decades of prevalence.

Flow Chart 2 - Rural Development Ideas in Timeline

1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modernization Dual ‘economic’ model ‘Backward’ agriculture Community development Lazy peasants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transformation approach Technology transfer Mechanization Agricultural extension Green revolution (starts) Rational peasants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Redistribution with growth Basic needs Integrated rural development State agricultural policies State-led credit Induced innovation Green revolution (continued) Rural growth linkage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Structural adjustment Free markets ‘Getting prices right’ Retreat of the state Rise of NGOs Rapid rural approach (RRA) Farming system research (FSR) Food security and frame analysis Rural development as process not product Women in development (WID) Poverty alleviation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Micro-credit Participatory rural appraisal (PRA) Actor-oriented rural development Stakeholder analysis Rural safety nets Gender and development (GAD) Environment and sustainability Poverty reduction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sustainable livelihood Good governance Decentralization Critique of participation Sector wide approaches Social protection Poverty eradication.

Source: Ellis and Briggs 2001

In the evolution of rural development, the earliest critical ideas and theories conceived this reality in terms of the importance of the small farmer. The 'small farm first' proposition argues that agriculture plays a key role in overall economic growth by providing labour, capital, food, foreign exchange, and a market in consumer goods for the nascent industrial sector. It is the 'rural growth linkage' that leads to a conjunction of outcomes that would satisfy growth and equity as the rural poor are mostly small farmers (Ellis and Briggs 2001). A counter argument to the 'small farm first' claims that the rural poor are not actually the small farmers but rather they are the landless, who depend more on non-farm and often non-rural sources of income to sustain their livelihood (Ellis 1998).

A challenge to this line of thinking led to the emergence of the participatory process, which emphasises the empowerment of rural dwellers to take control of their own priorities in the process of social change. It proposes a grassroots, bottom-up approach to rural development. The idea coincided with the period of market liberalisation, which encourages state de-investment in agriculture (Ellis and Briggs 2001). It led development thinkers to ponder whether the participation of the rural poor in the process of social change alone would translate into rural development. Neo-Marxist thinking on the political economy of agrarian change would not agree. It claimed rural reality could only be understood in relation to class, power, inequality, and social differentiation in agrarian settings driven by the large-scale farmers and tendencies of development under capitalism. It concluded that the 'small farm first' and the subsequent 'process approaches' neglected the divisions in rural society (Harris 1982).

The Neo-Marxist Dependency School led by key proponents such as Frank (1929-2005), Amin (1997) and others explained a world system in which wealthy nations at the centre needed a peripheral group of poorer countries in the post-colonial era, in order to maintain their wealth. Poverty would persist in peripheral countries because of the manner in which they were integrated into the world system. They would always be dependent on rich 'big brother' for survival and handouts. The development interventions based on this school of thought were no more successful than those of the Modernist School, as the dynamics of the relationship locked everyone into a position from which no one, but especially wealthy countries, could or wanted to shift (Amin 1997).

The inability of earlier theories to engender the required development levels led to the promotion of Neo-Modern Economic Expansion Model (Privatisation, Market Liberalisation, Deregulation, and Structural Adjustment Programme) in the 1980s. In the post-modern era, development does not equal economic

growth but the emphasis is rather on sustainability. Sustainable Development is the process of development (land, cities, businesses, and communities) that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Brundtland 1987). Built into the paradigm of sustainable development are social development, human development and environmental, physical and economic development. Social development, in its broadest sense, contains elements of the others. It focuses on desirable 'results' and 'strategies'. The former may be higher income, longer life expectancy, low infant mortality, and more education, and the latter peace, democracy, social freedom, equal access, laws, institutions, market, infrastructure, education, and technology.

Shortcomings in the Process Approach led to its demise but the Sustainable Livelihood Approach evolved spontaneously. The Livelihood Approach draws from various works ranging from food-security to asset vulnerability and it has become the current concept in rural development thinking. However, it is still continuously being reshaped but it has not lost its central theme. The highlight of this approach is that it is not reductionist by grouping the poor rural individual or household into a category of 'small farmer(s)'. It takes an open-ended view of the combination of assets and activities that turn out to constitute a viable livelihood strategy for the rural households (Ellis 2000). It is made more apparent by the fact that field evidence has established that farming activities constitute about 40% of the livelihood package in sub-Saharan Africa. The fact is that rural growth linkages have also been unable to explain the pattern of activities and income sources that correspond to the non-farm component of rural livelihoods. Remittances and transfers, and wages and salaries occur in activities that have little or nothing to do with agricultural linkages (Ellis and Briggs 2001). The livelihood framework, a sustainable development approach, is premised on the four critical elements of income generation and expenditure, access to assets and socio-economic infrastructures, empowerment that is relations of power, and vulnerability to risk factors (Gillings et al. 2001).

In spite of all the debate, President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa at a United Nations forum stated that Africa and Africans and all its challenges including the problem of rural poverty is an 'after thought' in international discourse, consensus and interventions. The statement puts into perspective the intractability of the poverty problem in Africa. It reflects a critical gap that needs to be bridged if meaningful progress is to be made towards rural development targets and choices of appropriate interventions. The question is what are 'developing', 'low income' or Third World countries doing on their part as there is alleged public under-funding of agriculture (IFAD 2001).

Although there are also arguments to the contrary, that agriculture is not under-funded when compared to the relative funding of other initiatives that could create viable rural livelihoods from non-farm activities. Clearly then, some of the ideas and concepts may become relevant when the realities of rural livelihood and strategies for poverty reduction are mainstreamed into policies and international discourse as a matter of priority (Bryceson and Bank 2001).

2.7 Theoretical framework (The Learning about Livelihoods [LAL] framework)

Macro level sociological theories of structural-functionalism, interactionism and conflict would view land restitution and development differently. The structural-functionalist would examine the function (contributions and consequences) of land restitution to beneficiaries' income, access, power, and security to the broader society, in order to maintain the social equilibrium. Evidence of this is replete in the work of Talcot Parson (1902-1979) and other structural-functionalist scholars. It was the foundation of most post-World War II development interventions. Structural-functionalism was the framework used to maintain the inequities of apartheid and discrimination worldwide. Therefore, it is not appropriate for this study.

A typical interactionist analysis would examine the meanings people attach to the land restitution intervention in terms of their livelihood. What do work (income), access, power, and security mean to the beneficiaries of land restitution claims (Graaf 2003)? According to the South African Constitution, restitution would return citizenship status - a positive development - to a majority people dispossessed of status and country, stripped of value and humanity. Restitution would thus reduce, if not remove, the possibility of conflict/violence induced by inequalities. Therefore, in conflict theory, an analysis of land restitution and development would examine who benefits and who is deprived in the social arrangement amongst the beneficiaries of restitution land claim in terms of income, access, power, and security. Is it the men or women, the rural or urban locations, the rich or poor, the children and aged or economically active people and others who benefit (Landis 1992)? Conflict theory would assist with refining the land restitution process.

It was observed earlier that the livelihood approach evolved resulting in several variations. The Learning about Livelihood (LAL) framework is used for this study because it addresses the issues of land restitution and development and as a framework it is a particular way of viewing the world. Therefore, the livelihood framework is a way of understanding how households derive their livelihood by drawing on their

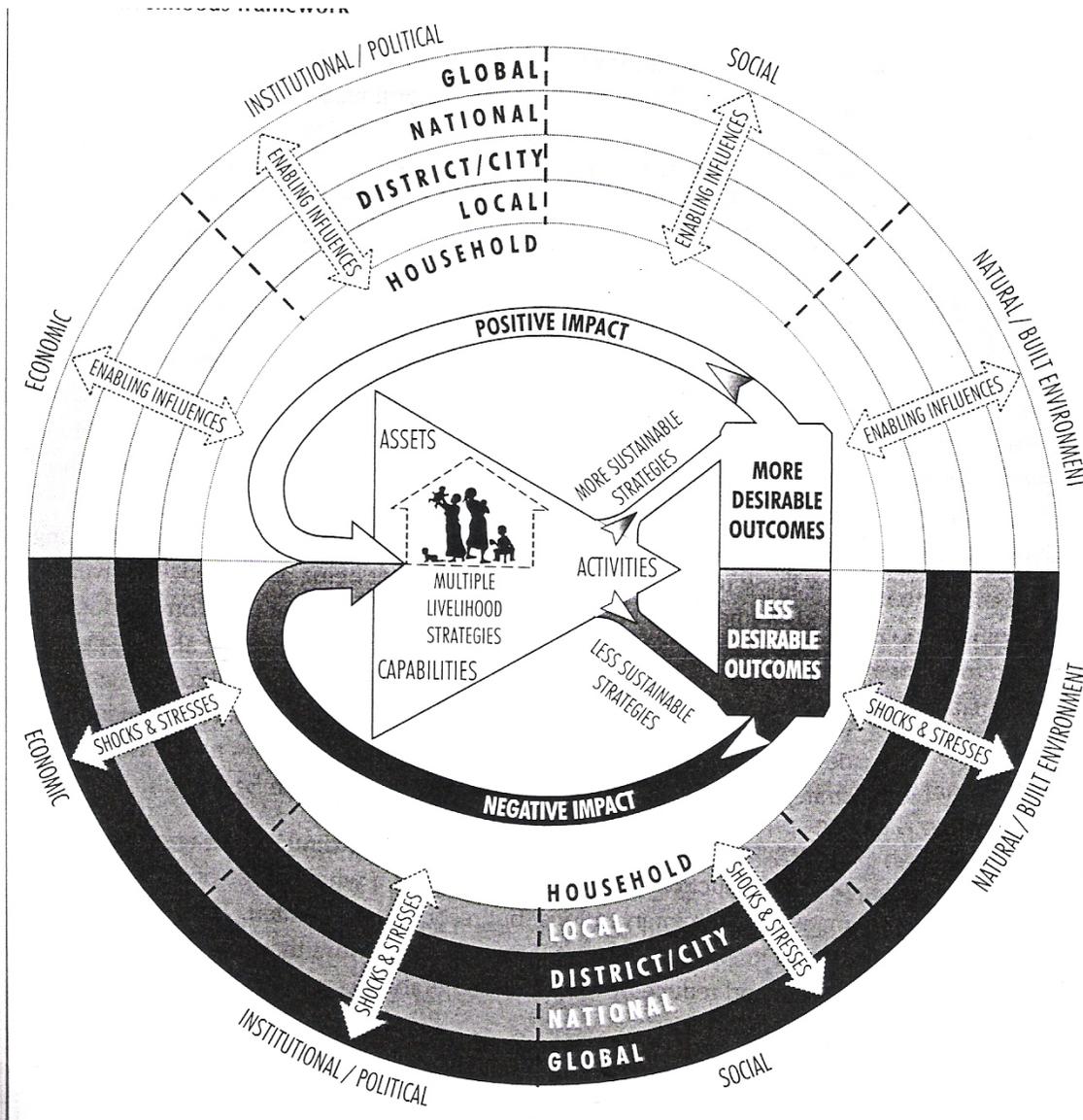
capabilities and assets to develop strategies composed of a wide range of activities. It identifies and values what people do to cope with risk and uncertainty. It connects factors that constrain or enhance people's livelihoods on the one hand, and policies and institutions in the wider environment. It identifies measures that can strengthen assets, enhance capabilities and reduce vulnerability (de Satge 2002).

The LAL framework puts people in the centre. Thus, households of different shapes and sizes, different levels of well-being and access to resources and power carry out different livelihood activities. It also looks at gender and age relations within and outside the household because these factors affect access to resources and the kinds of livelihood activities that are possible. The more diversified a household livelihood strategy is the more secure it is likely to be because livelihood strategies have different outcomes that may be more or less sustainable. Households achieving the desired outcomes experience improved assets and capabilities, while those achieving undesirable outcomes experience a reverse effect (de Satge 2002).

Local livelihood activities are affected by macro environmental factors such as physical, social, political/institutional, and economical at local, national and international levels. These factors can help a household engage in sustainable livelihood strategies by having an enabling influence. They can also undermine livelihood sustainability through shocks and stresses. In the same way the external (macro) environment affect the households, households affects the external environment either positively or negatively (de Satge 2002).

The learning about livelihoods (LAL) framework in the diagrammatic wheel chart 1 was developed from the Policy Guideline for Integrating Environmental Planning into Land Reform (PGIEP) model. It is the outcome of the 1998 collaboration between the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) and the Danish funding agency Danish Cooperation for Environment and Development (DANCED).

Wheel Chart 1: Learning About Livelihood Framework



Source: de Satge 2002. *Learning about Livelihoods: Insight from Southern Africa.*

2.7.1 Measuring with the LAL framework

The social demographic profile of the household describes it, while a combination of the household's assets and capabilities determines the sustainability of its activities. Therefore, assets are those reported by household members as assets. The number of its members with the reported level of educational attainment and their employment status measure the household's capabilities. Household activities are measured by the reported distribution of the occupational status of its members, the substitute income generating activities (SIGAs) they are engaged in, and the location of employed members of the

household. The outcomes of household's activities are measured in terms of their desirability by the reported amount of income accruing to the household from both formal employment and SIGAs. The impacts on the household of the outcomes of its activities, whether negative or positive, are measured by the reported pattern of household expenditures and that of household members' migration.

The measure of the effects of macro environmental factors whether as enabling influences or as shocks and stresses depends on how they affect the household's livelihood at different levels of interactions. The reported types of vulnerabilities the household is exposed to and its coping strategies measure the physical factors. The social factors comprise the measure of the reported household conflicts over the use of resources, with whom decision-making responsibilities are vested, and its membership in community based organisations (CBOs). The political factors are measured by the reported nature and consistency of household supports. The reported types of energy used and the source and accessibility of domestic water supply measure economic factors. To measure the interaction - positive or negative - of the household and the external macro-environment at local, district/city, national, and global levels, the reported household constraints, its coping strategies, and government provisions are considered.

2.7.2 The strengths and weaknesses of livelihood frameworks

In this study, the adoption of the LAL framework as the analytical model is grounded on the earlier claim that it is one of the varieties of livelihood approaches, the latest in the evolution of rural development ideas. Murray (2000) has identified some common strengths and weaknesses of livelihood frameworks.

The strengths of the LAL framework are that it seeks to understand changing combinations of modes of livelihoods in a dynamic and historical context. It acknowledges the need to transcend discrete sectors such as urban and rural, industrial and agricultural, and formal and informal in an analysis. It implicitly requires an inquiry into the relationships between different activities that constitute household livelihoods, which in turn requires attention, both to intra-household and extra-household social relations. It explicitly advocates creative debate between the different levels of analysis.

The weaknesses of the LAL framework are that in its analysis it does not provide adequately for important elements of the vulnerability context such as rampant inflation, extreme civil conflicts and ripples of mass redundancy. It seems to presume that it is possible to expand people's assets in a generalised and incremental way. In its analysis, it does not sufficiently acknowledge the inequalities of power and

conflict of interest. It does not provide an adequate definition of what constitutes livelihood sustainability such as what criteria will be used to assess sustainability over what time. It provides through the notion of participation the potential to disguise the fact that the enhancement of the livelihoods of one group could undermine the livelihoods of another group.

It is difficult to identify a 'best practice' measure or single universal model or approach to deal with the land question. Functional and satisfactory land reform is predicated on a complex mix of ideas and practices in the pursuit of effective intervention. This literature review was an attempt at the exposition of some of these perspectives as they relate to the study. It is also a reiteration of the relevance of a continued inquiry on the land question in South Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The study is based on the primary assumption that the ownership of a commodity (property) such as land may reduce or eliminate poverty of the land owner(s). Therefore, the data collected in this study will attempt to answer the understated research question.

- In what ways will land restitution promote poverty reduction relating to land access, land-use practice and the livelihoods among previous victims of land dispossession in South Africa?

To answer this question relevant methodological requirements were considered and implemented.

3.2 Study design

This study implemented the triangulation methodology by deliberately combining qualitative and quantitative procedures to determine how the restoration of land to the Manavhelas affected their livelihood. The strategy was adopted, as it was best suited for the study because according to De Vos (2005), the use of multiple methods is necessary to study a single topic. Strydom and Delpont (2005) argue that with triangulation each data source has strengths and weaknesses, each of which would compensate for the strength and or weakness of the other data source.

3.2.1 Population and sampling

The unit of analysis in this study is the household. Therefore, the population of the study (universe) are the 519 households each represented by a descendant of the dispossessed. The person nominated by the unit was accepted as a *de facto* head of the household. Inasmuch as there was a sampling frame - the claimant verification list compiled by the Regional Land Claims Commission (RLCC) of the Limpopo Province - a non-probability purposive sampling was used. The respondents who most closely manifested the characteristics representative of the population were included in the sample. Therefore, those villages where 10 and more beneficiaries of the Manavhela land claim lived were included and it is from these that the sample was then drawn.

The 52 respondents - heads of households - available for the study were selected from 519 beneficiary households. An effort was made to ensure that the sample was representative of the proportions of males and females in the study population in deference to Babbie's (1995) claim that gender is a factor in people's experience of social phenomena and so should be reflected in sampling.

The general rule of a sample size is that the larger the population the smaller the percentage of it sampled and vice versa. However, Seaberg (1988) and Grinnell and William (1990) cited in Strydom (2005) argue that 10% of a study population may be considered as an adequate sample size for controlling for sampling error where the need arises. In terms of the minimum number of respondents, Grinnell and William (1990) further contend that 30 are sufficient to perform basic statistical procedures. Strydom (2005), citing the argument of Huysamen (1993), concurs with the above. The argument is that while a sample size does affect statistical testing by making it either insensitive or overly sensitive; it is also determined by the relative homogeneity and heterogeneity of the population, the purpose of the investigation, the type of sample, the number of variables in which the data are grouped, and the resources available for the study.

Premised on the above arguments a study sample of 52 respondents was drawn comprising approximately 10% of the study population. Researchers are encouraged to obtain the largest possible sample but in this case, the sample size was determined to be sufficient because the number of respondents included in the sample reflected the range of participants and the sites that made up the population, and it allowed for the performance of relevant statistical manipulations. The inclusion of more respondents would have constituted logistical and resource strain because of the pattern of the location of the beneficiaries of Manavhela land restitution claim, as stated in the background to the study. Other contributory factors of consequence were considered in determining the sample size such as the similarity of the income levels, the structure of surviving households and the compensatory effect of the other data sources.

3.2.2 Secondary data sources

Some information was obtained from secondary sources such as government documents and literature on research in land reform, restoration, poverty, and rural development.

3.2.3 Method of data collection

The questionnaire was the main instrument used in the collection of the empirical data in this study. The questionnaire was used to elicit subjective responses from which objective conclusions would be derived.

The technique was chosen because it provided the required data according to De Vos and Fouche (2001) while also accommodating the constraints associated with the dispersion of the population from which the sample had to be selected. The dispersion of the sample involved costly travel from one village to another but the questionnaire compensated for the limited time and resources available.

The population under investigation was rural and it was assumed that they were not proficient in the English language. Therefore, the questionnaire, while drafted in the English language, was translated into the mother tongue of the Manavhela households namely the Tshivenda and Xitsonga languages. Furthermore, fieldworkers who could speak the local languages (Tshivenda and Xitsonga) administered the questionnaires. The design of the questionnaire facilitated the collection of relevant data that related to the research question (Fouche 2001).

As part of the triangulation procedure, the empirical data were compared to data from the said secondary sources. The aim was to validate and crosscheck the findings in terms of the congruencies and incongruities of the established patterns of relationships of the variables under consideration from both data sources.

3.3 Variables used in the analysis

A variable is a characteristic that may assume more than one set of values to which a numerical measure can be assigned. There are two broad types of variables, categorical and numeric. The categorical, also called qualitative variable, classifies responses into either mutually exclusive or exhaustive categories. In the former, responses belong to only one category, whereas, the latter requires responses to cover the entire set of possibilities. They can be either nominal or ordinal categorical variables. A nominal variable is one that describes a name or category, while the ordinal variable allows possible categories to be placed in a specific order. The numeric, also known as a quantitative variable, can assume a number of real values and is either continuous or discrete. The continuous variable can assume an infinite number of real values, while the discrete variable can only take a finite number of real values.

Though the classification of variables in a study may sometimes overlap, those used in this study were grouped into household profiles comprising basic demographic variables such as gender, marital status and kinship, age of the respondents, spouse(s) and dependants, and dependants – number and status of residence. The variable household history is the present location of the household, the duration of

residence at the present location, places of previous residence, and the reasons for moving if there had been any migrations, and current residential status.

The variable livelihood indicators consist of socio-economic, access to infrastructures, socio-political participation, and vulnerabilities measurements. The socio-economic indicators used are the household's employment status, location of the jobs, occupational status, substitute income generating activities (SIGAs), purpose of migration, and assets. The others are the household's levels of educational attainment, income from formal employment, income from substitute income generating activities (ISIGAs), and expenditure, migration, as well as the duration of migration. The indicators of access to infrastructures are the types of the household's cooking and lighting energy and sources of domestic water supply, accessibility of domestic water supply, cost of cooking and lighting energy, and perceptions of service provision.

The indicators of socio-political participation taken into account are who is responsible for the household's decision on expenditure, and the types and sources of household's support and membership of community based organisations (CBOs). The others are accessibility of the household support, and conflicts over the use of the household's assets and benefits of membership of CBOs. The indicators of the household's vulnerabilities are the constraints to the household's daily survival, occurrences of vulnerabilities, and coping strategies against the constraints to the household's survival and the occurrences of vulnerabilities.

3.4 Scope and limitations of the study

The following are some limiting factors encountered in the course of the study, and therefore a guide on boundaries of application and generalisation of the findings of the study:

- The logistics of data collection created a problem. Precise contact details of the respondents were not contained in the sampling frame; as a result, the researcher relied on the Manavhela CPA to reach the respondents. Therefore, those introduced to the researcher as beneficiaries of the Manavhela land restitution claim at the respective sites were accepted and thus made respondents with limited own verification by the researcher to avoid violating the respondents' privacy.
- There was no evidence that respondents were coached. However, the presentation of a sample questionnaire to the Manavhela CPA – as part of the requirement before consent was granted to proceed with the administration of the questionnaire – and the pre-arrangement of the

administration of the questionnaires exposed the exercise to the risk of coaching. Coaching has implications on the objectivity of the responses.

- The fragmentation of line functions relating to land restitution, inconsistency and the lack of standardisation in record keeping within the levels of government responsible for the land reform programme in South Africa had a serious effect on the quality of secondary data used in this study.
- There was a need to use caution on the extent of generalisation in the use of the findings of this study because the beneficiaries of the land restitution claims exhibited different livelihoods and the Manavhela community was no exception to the rule.
- The various sites where the respondents in this study lived manifested different dynamics with respect to the depth of their rural-ness, especially in terms of physical and social environmental features. What is reported here is an average and may not be made precisely applicable to land restitution beneficiaries who have returned to the land and those who are still living in inclusive communities that are not extensively dispersed as the Manavhela were.
- The livelihood approach was used in this study as an analytical framework and not a methodology. There is a possibility of realising a different result when the livelihood approach is used as a methodology.
- In part, research findings do reflect the method of inquiry. Though the study augmented for that concern through triangulation, testing the findings with a different method of inquiry or the conclusions with different statistics could derive other results.

3.5 Ethical considerations

The information that was elicited from the respondents was basic and commonly sought after information that was not to the knowledge of the researcher of any personal or sensitive nature. Babbie (1995) considers the above an ethical issue. Therefore, the researcher obtained the informed consent of the participants by providing them with sufficient information on the goal, procedures and implications of the study (Strydom 2005). There were no overt material incentives to the participants in this study (Judd, Smith and Kidder 1991). This enabled the participants to make informed decisions on voluntary participation and on the choice to discontinue with the study at any stage of it (Dane 1990). Finally, the research questionnaires also received the approval of the University Ethics Committee.

In some cases, anonymity means that the researcher should not be able to identify the subject after the study (Babbie 1995). In such cases, confidentiality is emphasised. In this study, the researcher maintained strict confidentiality. It also ensured anonymity by the use of numbers so that only the researcher and the fieldworkers would be able to associate identifying characteristics of the respondents, if a follow-up was necessary (Dane 1990). The researcher considered and treated the information obtained as privileged (Robinson 1991). The fieldworkers were trained to assure the respondents that there were no 'right' or 'wrong' responses to the questions, only sincere and concise responses were required and expected. An effort was made to ensure as much objectivity and restraint on the part of the researcher from making value judgements on cultural aspects of the participants' community (Strydom 2005).

The findings of the study were not disseminated to other entities outside of those involved in the process for which it was conducted. In the event that the findings are to be disseminated to entities beyond the known, the participants will be informed. According to Strydom (2005), citing the proposition of Huysamen (1993) the participants in a study need to be informed about the findings of the study as a mark of goodwill. However, this should be done in such a manner as not to compromise the researcher's commitment to confidentiality.

3.6 Data management

The literature on methodology describes data management in many ways, the details of which are study specific. However, the recurrent attributes of these descriptions entail overlapping procedures, which affect the quality of the data. They include planning the data needs of the study, data collection, data entry, data validation and checking, data manipulation, file backup, and data file documentation. Overall, it is about what to manage and how to manage it.

When planning the data needs of a study, the guide is the objective of the study. It is difficult to offer a substantive definition of what constitutes data because there are different types of data and ways of generating it. The empirical data needs of this study were typical and divergent but susceptible to statistics.

Data collection in data management deals with the provision made in the process of data collection to enhance the quality of the data. Data collected through a survey instrument, barring any error in transcribing, coding of responses and calculating derived variables, are usually accurate reflections of the

actual responses given to the questions. The study implemented what Babbie (1995) describes as interview survey. This included the appropriate training of the fieldworkers to familiarise them with the questionnaire and to follow to the letter the order and wording of the questions as well as the recording of accurate responses. The training also included how to be neutral to prevent their presence having any bearing on the responses to the questionnaire items. Successful training should have produced a less incomplete result, a higher return of questionnaires and fewer misunderstood questions.

There are several ways of entering data. However, the study implemented the direct data entering procedure. It is directly entering a data set into the prepared fields in the relevant application programme running in the computer. It was possible because while designing the questionnaire codes were built into all the close-ended questions. The responses to the open-ended questions were classified into meaningful categories by grouping, labelling and assigning numeric codes. Another part of data entering is editing which is an ongoing process aimed at the removal of possible errors in a data set. Errors get into a data set through a respondent misunderstanding a question and/or providing inaccurate responses, and an interviewer forgetting to ask a question or record the response, entering the wrong response, wrong code or misunderstanding written responses.

Therefore, the fieldworkers and the researcher ensured that every question in the questionnaire was answered, clarified any unclear responses and assigned a code for missing data during the micro (field) editing in this study. The items edited by the fieldworkers were legibility, comprehensiveness, completeness, consistency, and uniformity. The researcher ensured that the correct addresses were visited, the correct respondents interviewed, the interviews conducted as per instructions, and that the respondents did not misunderstand questions.

Data validation and checking often referred to as data cleaning are seen as another form of data editing. However, it is unlike micro (field) editing, which ensures that what is entered into the questionnaire is the actual representation of the respondents' responses. The macro-editing (data cleaning) ensures that what is entered into the computer is the actual representation of the codes in the questionnaire. Here the data rather than the questionnaire are edited to ensure that the data set created is as accurate and as error-free as possible.

The study implemented what Babbie (1995) identified as possible-code (out-of-field) and contingency data cleaning. The former is a check on whether or not all the codes were within the range of permissible value for the data field including missing values in the application programme in use. The data editor in the software cleaned the data at the point of capture based on the defined minimum, maximum and permissible missing values. The latter involved checking whether the columns for contingency questions did not contain the codes for respondents who were not supposed to answer such questions. Internal consistency cleaning was carried out by checking for contradictions between codes that represented logical relationships between answers to various questions, where the response to a question depended on a prior response to other questions. A final check was made to ensure that data from all the questionnaires were captured by comparing the number recorded in the data set with the number of questionnaires.

The subsequent procedure in data management invariably becomes easier once the data validation and checking have been completed. Data manipulation involves sorting the data according to the record numbers to create the final data set that will be used in the data analysis. Thereafter this final data set is stored in a permanent medium; in this case, the memory locations of the researcher's personal computer as back-up files. However, copies were kept in compact discs and removable USB media. Finally, given that the data set held in the statistical package used in this study comprised variable descriptions, code descriptions, derived data and more, the need arose for data file documentation.

3.7 Data analysis

Data in its raw state are not useful; to make sense of them involves applying some statistical measures. Empirical data collected in this study were subjected to statistical analyses using the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) computer software package. The computer application programme produced the required data analyses. In terms of levels of analyses in the data processing two statistical analyses were performed in this study. They are descriptive statistics (univariate analysis), which summarises the important features of the data only and inferential statistics (bivariate analysis) which uses the comparison of the variables in the sample statistics to give indications about the population parameters where the description goes beyond the data and generalisations may be required. The use of these statistics is informed by the objective of the study which profiled the kinds of livelihoods beneficiaries of land restitution (the Manavhela community) in South Africa could obtain as a result of the return of their land.

In performing univariate analysis, the data examined the distribution of cases on a single variable time basis. It could be presented as the frequency of all individual cases, the distribution of grouped data in raw numbers as marginal, or as a distribution of the percentage of grouped data. The study reported the distribution of the relative frequency and the percentage frequency of the grouped data.

To measure the relative frequency (rf) of a particular observation the frequency (f) is divided by the number (n) of the observation.

$$rf = f \div n$$

To measure the percentage frequency (pf), multiply each relative frequency (rf) value by 100.

$$pf = rf \times 100 = f \div n \times 100$$

Another way of performing univariate data analyses reported in this study is the presentation of a measurement of central tendencies that is a summary of averages. The mean is the average value of all the data in a set, while the standard deviation is the measure of the spread variability around the mean.

To measure the mean add all the observed values and divide the sum by the number observation.

$$\Sigma x \div n$$

To measure the standard deviation is to calculate the square root of a variance.

To perform bivariate data analyses a relationship is established between variables and the nature of the relationship is determined. When related, variables are said to be dependent and where they are unrelated they are said to be independent. The study used the Pearson correlation analyses.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATIONS OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS, SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

Kruger, De Vos, Fouche and Venter (2005) state that though quantitative data do not provide answers to research questions, answers are found by way of interpretation of the data and results. To interpret then is to take the results of the data analysis, make inferences pertinent to the research relations studied and draw conclusions about these relations. In this chapter, the relationships established in the analyses of the empirical data were interpreted to enable a profile to be constructed on the livelihoods of the Manavhelas. The implications of these livelihoods were explained in the context of the return of their land based on the LAL livelihood framework discussed earlier.

4.2 Presentation and discussion of empirical findings

Babbie (1995) alludes to the possibility of making univariate inferences on the population from the sample findings. One of the grounds on which such inferences may be made is when the sample is drawn from the population on which the inferences are applied. Statistical inferences can also be made on the study subject matter base on the comparison of the empirical data with those from existing data sources as implemented in this study. The presentation of the findings of this study followed the structure of the instrument (see appendix). The different diagrammatic presentations and tables are serially numbered continuing from earlier chapters.

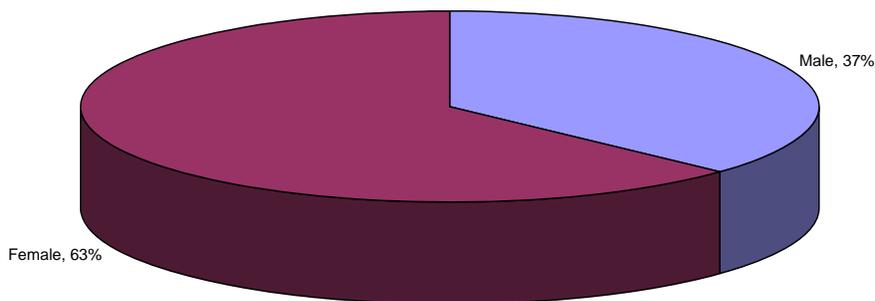
4.2.1 Household profile

The household profile comprises basic demographic variables such as gender, age of the respondents, marital status, age of spouse(s), number of dependants, age(s) of dependants, number of resident members of a household, and the nature of kinships in the household. The differences showed by the households' shapes, sizes, gender, and age relations have implications for their economic situation, access to resources (land) and power (participation in local decision-making), and the kinds of livelihood activities that are possible for them.

4.2.1.1 Gender

On the gender of the household, Pie chart 1 shows that the majority of the sampled population of the beneficiaries of the Manavhela land restitution claim are female.

Pie Chart 1: Gender



The reality of the Manavhela women is the same as that of the South African women. They are people who are faced with a double process of dispossession and denial both as black and culturally, resulting in them being unable to gain secure access to land, or have lost such access. The women also filled the vacuum in rural agriculture created by migrant labour (NLC, 2001).

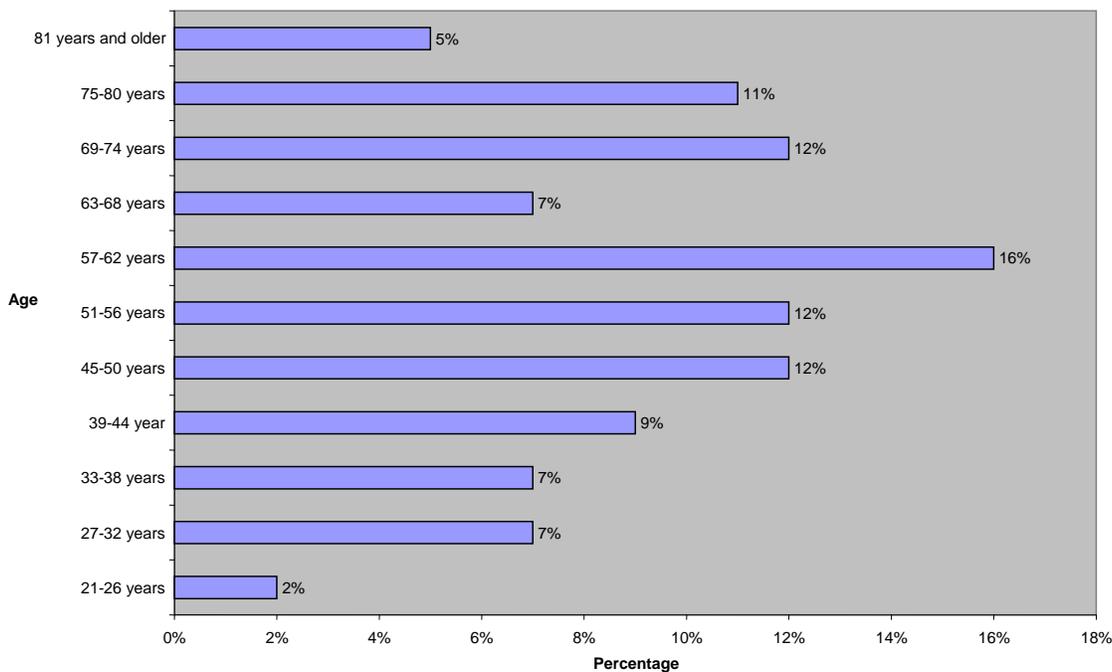
The implications of the result presented are that there are more female-headed households in the Manavhela community than their male-headed counterparts. The assumption is that female-headed households are more vulnerable and poorer than households headed by men and those that have two heads. In South Africa, female-headed households earn a third of what is earned by those headed by men because it comprises fewer income earners (Budlender nd.). According to Bernstein (1992), this is the outcome of the manipulation and exploitation of women labour in the sexual division of labour, what he terms the feminisation of subsistence. Johnson (1992) attributes it to the traditional lack of control over land and income by women.

In South Africa, women constitute more than half of the rural poor and complex socio-political issues involving power relations and the role and status of women are confronted in land reform (DLA 2004). Meanwhile, the 1997 White Paper on land reform acknowledges the need for gender equity. Therefore, the land restitution intervention should accommodate the peculiar needs of women in its implementation. This will improve the economic well-being, access to land, and participation in making decisions on the use of common resources by the majority female-headed households.

4.2.1.2 Age of respondents

Horizontal bar chart 1 shows that in the sampled population most of the people were in the age category of 57-62 years. The youngest age category was incidentally the fewest, those between 21-26 years old. Those in the category of 27-32 years old were equal to those in the 39-44 and 63-68 years old categories. The people in the age categories of 46-50 were equal to those in 51-56 and 69-74 years old.

Horizontal Bar Chart 1: Age of Respondents



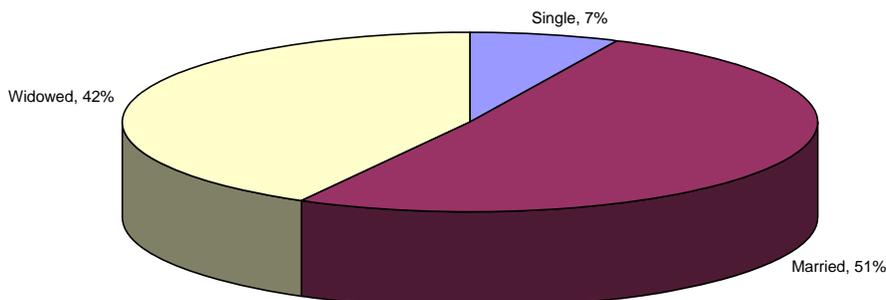
Based on the sampled population, with the share of the people 57 years and older, the population in Manavhela is ageing. At this age, it would be difficult to re-tool skills and they may not be as productive as a younger generation would be. If the proposition by President Mbeki to lower the retirement age to free up the labour market for younger new entrants is taken into consideration, the women proportion of the community's population will be pensioners. The household income may improve by more people enrolling for old age pension grants or decline by reducing the strength of the labour force assuming every member of the household is employed or engaged in a substitute income generating activity (SIGA).

Land restitution interventions should advisably reflect this reality in terms of the nature of post-settlement support offered to its beneficiaries. This in turn will enable the households to make adjustments (modifying their activities) or shift their livelihood strategies, whichever is expedient.

4.2.1.3 Marital status

Pie chart 2 shows there were more married members in the sample than widowed and single people respectively. None of the respondents reported to be separated or divorced.

Pie Chart 2: Marital Status



Individual households are linked together through family ties established in marriages resulting in extended family networks. The extended family network provides a mutual support system and a framework on how households relate to one another. Depending on the nature of cohesion in this network – either strong or weak – May (2000) states that households are able to draw on the value chain of such cohesion in an increasing social, material and moral claims, especially in the face of poverty and HIV/AIDS. Devereux (2001) alludes to the widespread practice of drawing on the extended family network as safety nets. However, he cautions that such claims between households of similar economic and social status is vulnerable to covariant risks.

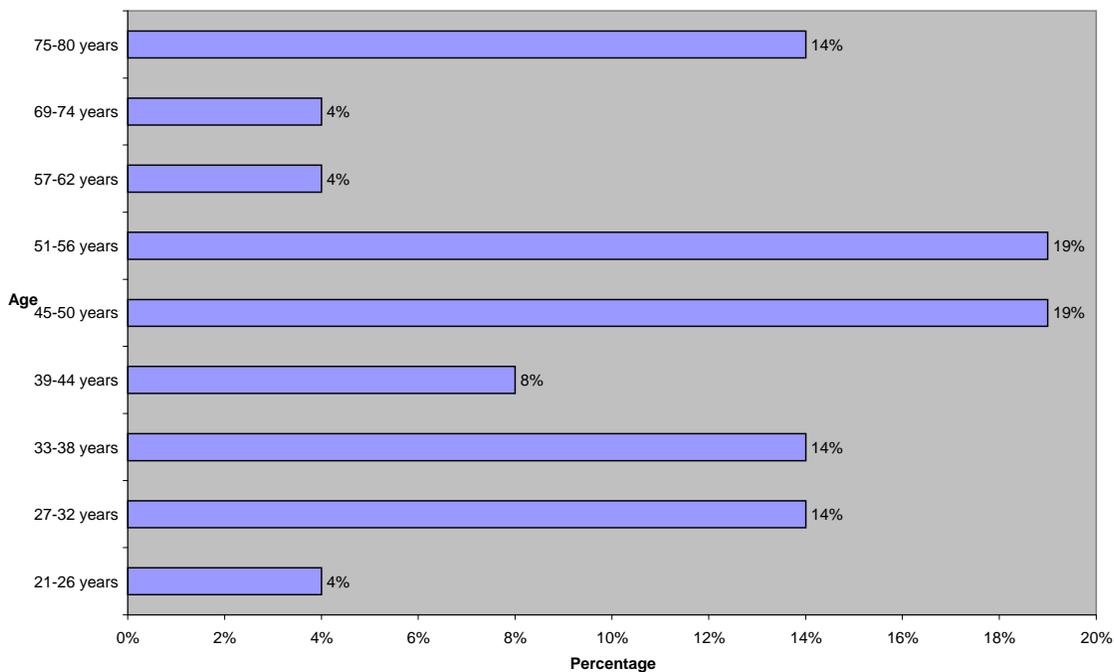
The fact that there were no reported cases of divorce or separation in the sampled population of the beneficiaries of the Manavhela land claim indicated that the majority were married and widowed, thus portraying an evidence of strong extended family networks. The implications of divorce and separation are similar to those of the death of a spouse (husbands); it creates a state of insecurity for women. This is because in African rural communities women depend on men as men have a long-term asset base. In this case, the proportion of widowed members of the population provided a ground for concrete efforts to address the said insecurity.

Therefore, the package of the land restitution intervention should make provision for an alternative claim system for this category of people. This provision should be different and separated from the existing social grant system.

4.2.1.4 Age of spouse(s)

Horizontal bar chart 2 shows that in the sampled population most married people were in the age category of 45-50 and 51-66 years old and the fewest in the 21-26, 57-62 and 69-74 years old category. Married people in the age categories of 27-32 years old were equal to those in the 33-38 and 75-80 years old categories.

Horizontal Bar Chart 2: Age of Spouse(s)



The implications of the ages of the spouses on the household are in comparative terms to the ages of the respondents, where a greater disparity reflects the levels of economic activities and by extension income and household's economic well-being. This is because tasks are assigned to people according to their age. However, in the Manavhela case the ages of the spouses were marginally lower than the ages of the respondents. This shows that the spouses were not significantly economically more active than the respondents were. As such, the ages of the spouses, just like the ages of the respondents, were instrumental to the sustainability or otherwise of the household livelihood activities (Scoones 1998).

In terms of specific interventions to remedy this reality, a land restitution package should have provisions that will enable the households to make adjustments (modifying their activities) or shift their livelihood strategies.

4.2.1.5 The dependants in the household and the household members living at home

Table 7 is a summary of the set of data on the number of dependants in the household and the number of household members living at home into the most representative values and its spread variability. The fractions in the mean only make statistical sense. The table shows that there was an average of 3 dependants in a household in the sampled population. It also shows that as at the time of the interview an average of 5 members of the household lived at home (homestead).

Table 7: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Household Dependants and Residence

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation
Number of dependants in the household	0	13	3.35	2.590
Household members who are living at home	1	14	5.07	2.640

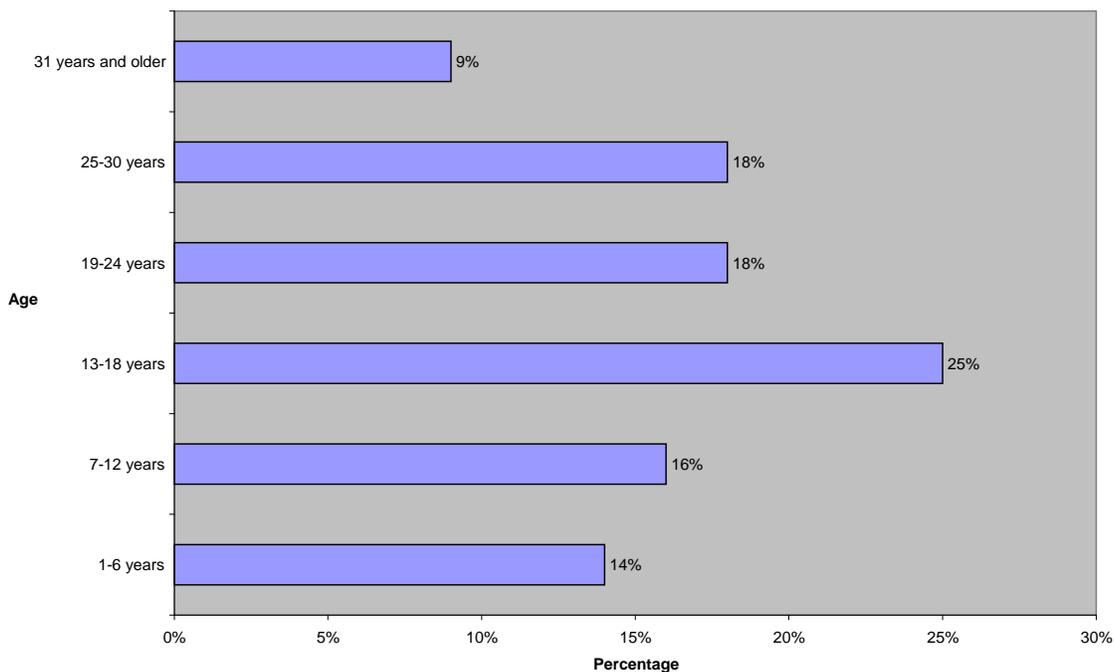
The livelihood framework divided household activities into three – productive, reproductive and community. The reproductive activities involve the day-to-day maintenance of the household to ensure its physical and emotional well-being. These are activities mainly reserved for women, children and the youth. It is the responsibility of parents to care for the dependants in a household up to a certain age. The number of dependants in a household has implications for the household because it determines the number of people to be cared for and who are available to meet its reproductive needs. This is because where there are only a few people to meet the reproductive needs there is little time for productive activities. The NLC (2001) recognised the roles of children in rural agriculture (productive activity) in the absence of men due to land dispossession and subsequent migrant labour. These roles have changed to the dependant(s) often caring for sick parent(s) (reproductive activity) given the HIV/AIDS pandemic. This time consuming hard work is not accounted for as part of the productive activities that is thus depriving the households of income needed to care for the dependants.

It is assumed that not every dependant is an offspring of the heads of the household and that they do not necessarily live in the same homestead. Therefore, of the 5 people that were living at home in a Manavhela household 3 were usually dependants. According to Robert (1991), the shape and size of the household has consequences for its livelihood activities in terms of the cost of maintaining the household and its ability to cope and adapt to change. As a result, the household shape and size should be considered as a factor in planning interventions such as the proposed Manavhela land-use development plan.

4.2.1.6 Age of dependants in the household

Horizontal bar chart 3 reflects the age of the dependants in the households. It shows the reported share of the sampled population in the different age categories.

Horizontal Bar Chart 3: Age of Dependants in the Household



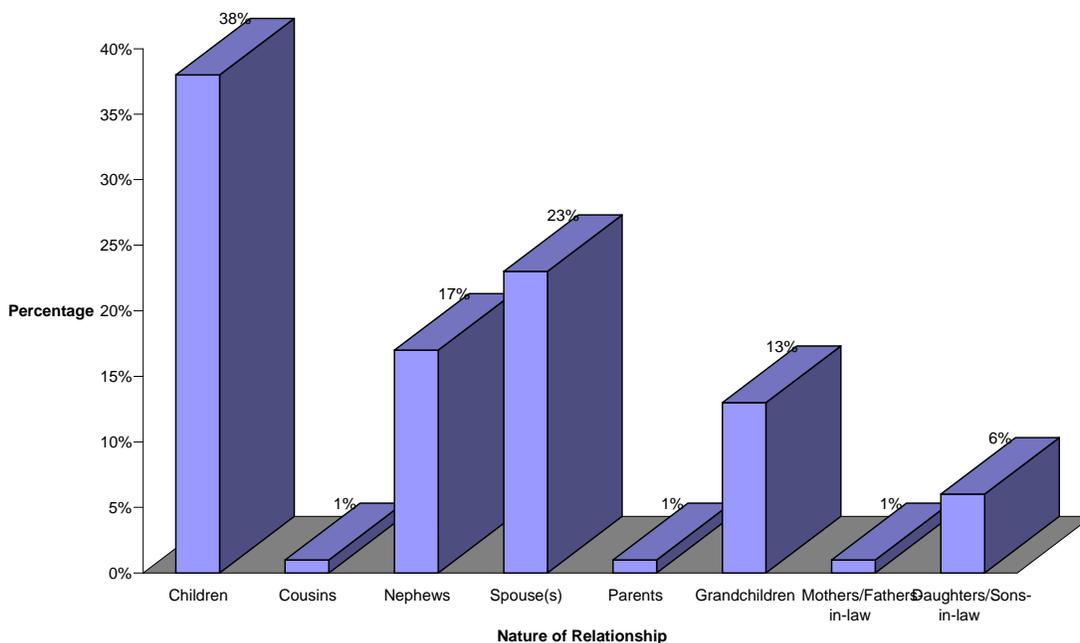
The age of the dependants in the household has implications for the household activities and by extension the income. Those of them under 14 years old - most likely grandchildren given the age of the respondents - are expected to claim against the state drawing on the child-support grant if they meet the other criteria to qualify for it. It was not clear whether child support grantees were contributing to the household income, as they are the direct parents of the children. Most of the times, this category of people – the parents (mothers) of the children who are entitled to a child support grant - do not live in the homestead. At the age 19 years and older these economically active dependants should have been contributing to the household income but were often not due to unemployment. Therefore, such a household is deprived of a potential source of income.

In terms of May (2000), in the typology of rural household, the age of the dependants in the household makes the Manavhela community fit the profile of ‘welfare dependent households’. This situation provides useful information for planning interventions, especially relating to post-settlement support.

4.2.1.7 Kinship status

On the nature of the relationship within the households in the Manavhela community, vertical bar chart 1 shows how members of the households are related to the respondents. This was in terms of the share of household members related to the respondents in different ways.

Vertical Bar Chart 1: Kinship Status



Cultural rules of kinship are useful in land allocation and inheritance. However, evidence exists of the extended family relationship in the reported nature of the relationships, which is relevant in a people's coping with vulnerability. According to Devereux (2001) susceptibility to and resilience against livelihood risks faced by households are predicated on, among other things, support from the extended family and social networks. The pressures on this system because of excessive claims emanating from the rising poverty, force more secured households to restrict their responsibility to their immediate families.

In Manavhela the majority of the kinship relationships in the study were children who have the right of entitlement to support from the household. However, provisions should be made for those who are without support because of the shrink in mutual support within the extended family network as part the land restitution programme.

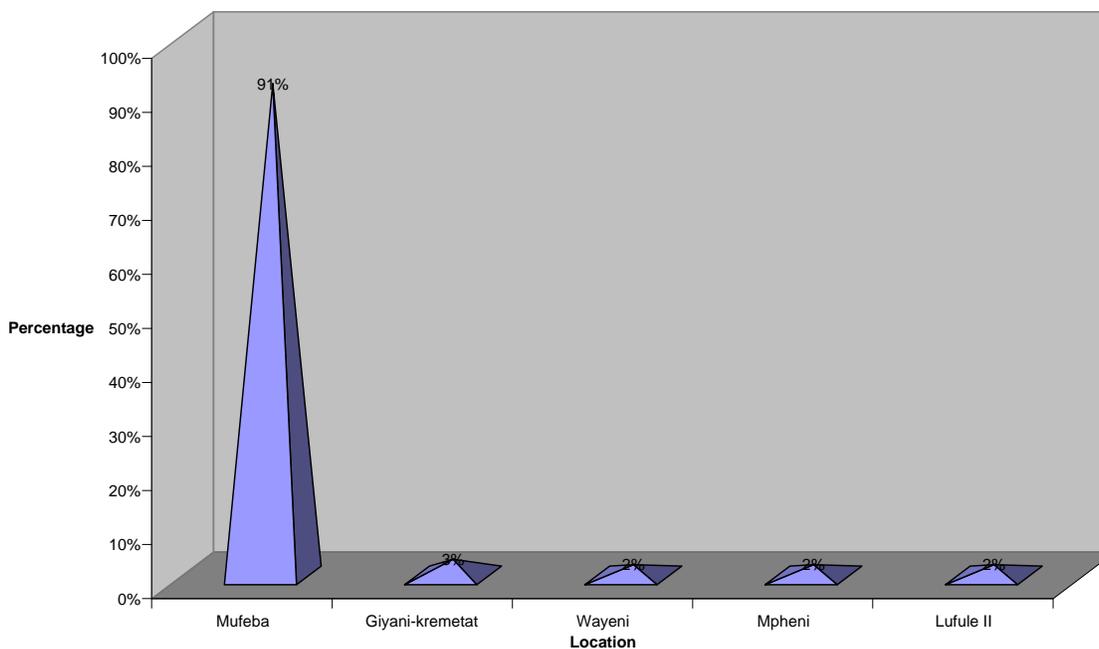
4.2.2 Household history

The history of the households is relevant to the description of the households and is constructed by looking at the present location of the household, the duration of residence at the present location, places of previous residence, the reasons for moving if there have been any relocation, and current residential status. This is because the above variables are factors of the external environment that create pressures and opportunities that affect household livelihood strategies.

4.2.2.1 Current location of household

Pyramid chart 1 shows the current location of the households. It shows where the households in the sampled population were living.

Pyramid Chart 1: Current Location of Household

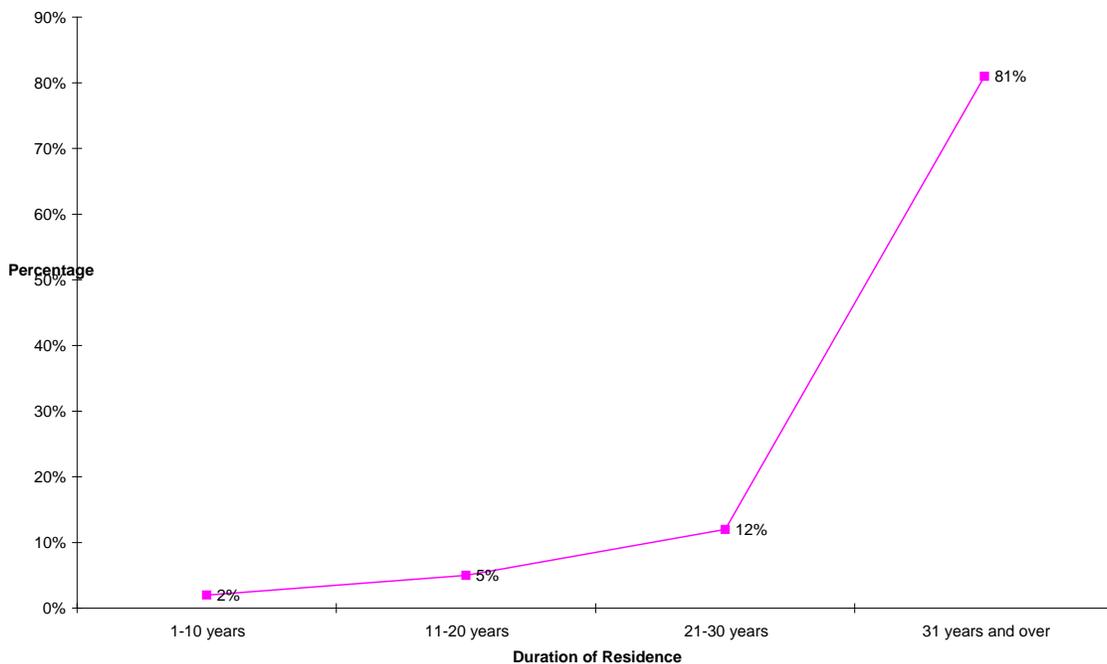


The land-use in the location of the majority of the beneficiaries of the Manavhela land restitution is different from those in the returned land. Therefore, the tasks of those responsible for land restitution administration are to get people with the knowledge of the right of entitlement to the returned land who want to relocate to the land (James 2000) and how to reconcile land reform and biodiversity conservation in the midst of poverty (Kepe et al. 2003).

4.2.2.2 The duration of household residence at the current location

Line graph 1 reflects the duration of households' residence in their current location. It shows how long members of the households in the sampled population had lived in their current location and it reflects the earlier pattern in pyramid chart 1.

Line Graph 1: Duration of Households' Domicile in Current Location



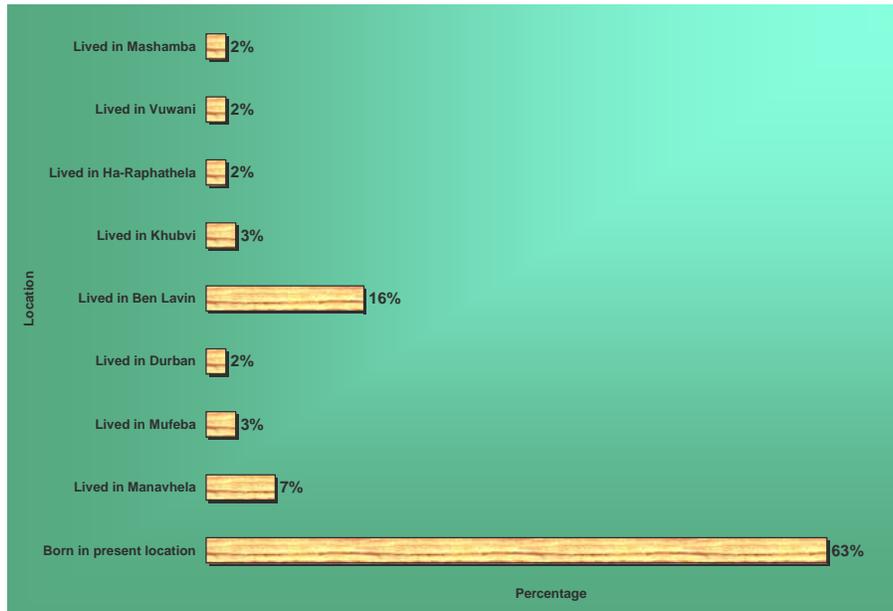
The beneficiaries of this land restitution case seemed relatively settled in their present locations. The fact that the proposed development for it intended to return people to their ancestral home area presented a problem of uprooting households in a disruptive and unattractive manner similar to forced removals. This is the recurrent question of the linkage between local realities and national policy frameworks.

Hall (2003) asks whether land restitution should achieve historical justice or entrench land-based development that is the possibility or desirability of turning back the clock, to re-establish communities fragmented and scattered through forced removals. The market-led proponents of development thinking claim that attempts to re-create artificially, long-severed communities on the sole basis of shared historical rights rather than need or common land-use objectives is a flaw of land restitution (Hargreaves and Eveleth 2003). This flaw should not be reproduced in the Manavhela land restitution.

4.2.2.3 Change in household location

There are reported instances of relocation as shown in outdoor bar chart 1. It reflects the share of the sampled population that had moved from one place to another.

Outdoor Bar Chart 1: Change in Household Location



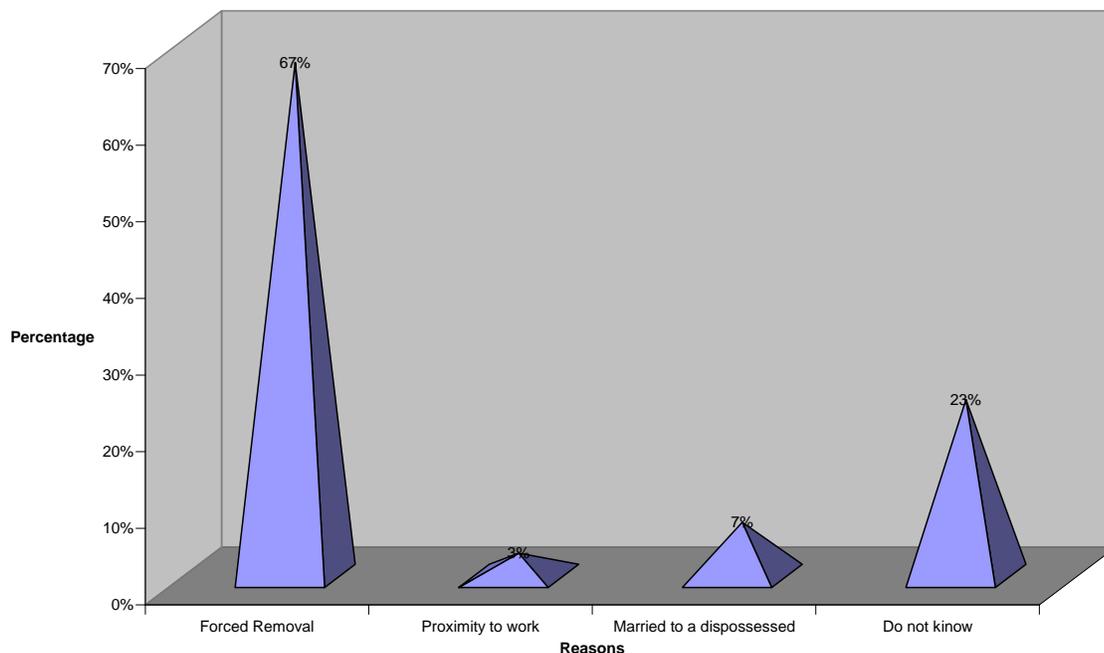
The livelihood framework suggests that marginal groups should be represented in the design of the strategies and indicators of sustainable development. In this case, the representation was not established. However, the status of ‘relatively settled’ as observed in the duration of residence in the current location was supported by the fact that most of the respondents were born in the location where they are living presently. On the variable change in household location, the above reality makes it difficult for the community to comprehend the logic for the probable relocation to the returned land. According to Hall (2003), though such historical claims to land are usually articulated powerfully and carry strong political resonance; they do not always coincide with the current needs for development and expanded livelihood opportunities.

Therefore, the approaches to maximising the benefit of the returned land should consider the above factor in the implementation of the development strategies for this land restitution. A situation where the people use land objectively should be given prominence over other considerations.

4.2.2.4 Reasons for change in household residence

Pyramid chart 2 portrays the reasons given for each instance of relocation. It shows the proportion of the various reasons reported to have informed the respondents' relocation.

Pyramid Chart 2: Reasons for Change of Residence



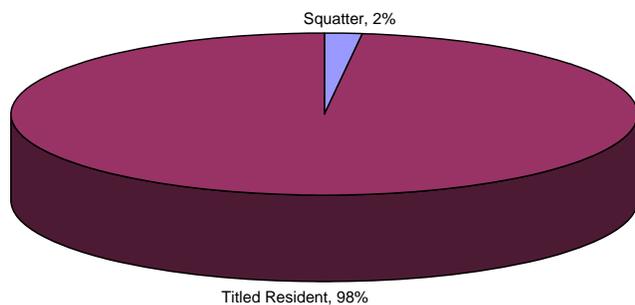
Forced removal was prominent amongst the several reasons given for moving from the various places of residence. Forced removals are a process in the formalisation of the racial division of land and thereby spatial basis of racial segregation in South Africa with serious and far-reaching social and economic consequences on the natives (NLC 2001). It is blamed for several social malaises, including family disorganisation and the health concern of the rampant rural HIV/AIDS. It also accounts for the lack of access to land, which reduces the economic potential of the people (Bernstein, 1992b).

According to Thwala (2003), earlier attempts at the resolution of the problems created by forced removals such as the Abolition of the Influx Control Act, 1986 (Act No. 68 of 1986) in the mid-1980s and the promulgation of the Rural Development Bill of 1991 did not change the rural land reality. Therefore, the success of any post-apartheid land reform would be dependent on the extent and character of its economic reconstruction. This should be the guiding principle in the case of Manavhela land restitution.

4.2.2.5 Status of residence at the households' current location

Pie chart 3 reflects the status of residence of the respondents. It shows the share of the sampled population under the various titles in their current location.

Pie Chart 3: Status of Residence at the Households' Current Location



On the status of residence in their current location, the Manavhela households had secured titles on their properties and they were no reported threat to the status. The question then arises on whether the beneficiaries of this land restitution would want to relocate from the various locations where they had secured tenures on the land to the returned (communal) land under the management of a CPA. If not, how then can the administrators of land restitutions factor the economic interests of the beneficiaries into the context of their land in terms of Thwala's (2003) recommended 'economic reconstruction'?

This is a daunting challenge facing those responsible for land restitution administration in South Africa. In the light of the said challenge, an understanding of the livelihoods of the Manavhela people is a good starting point.

4.2.3 Livelihood indicators

The variable livelihood indicators consist of questions on education, employment, occupation, incomes, substitute income generating activities (SIGAs), expenditure, migration, household support, assets, energy and water, membership of community-based organisations (CBOs), vulnerabilities, constraints to survival, and service provision. Livelihood indicators are measurements of socio-economic conditions, access to infrastructures, socio-political participations, and vulnerabilities. The inferences made here are on the households' assets and capabilities, activities, the effects of the physical, social, political/institutional, and economic factors, and the interactions with state structures and policies at local, national and global levels.

4.2.3.1 Education

The livelihood framework is centred on the people, hence the inquiry into the capabilities the people possess. Household capabilities are the knowledge, skills and abilities that the households draw on to secure their livelihood. They include the levels of education, which relate to the people's ability to labour (work). Table 8 on the central tendency and spread variability of household education status shows that among the members of the respondents' households over 20 years old, an average of 1 did not have any form of schooling, had some primary education, and completed primary education. The table also reveals shows that an average 2 members of the household had some secondary education, completed secondary education with Grade 12/Standard 10, and tertiary education.

Table 8: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Household Education Status

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Household members over 20 years old with no schooling	1	2	1.17	.383
Household members over 20 years old with some primary education	1	2	1.29	.469
Household members over 20 years old that completed primary education	1	1	1.00	.000
Household members over 20 years old with some secondary education	1	3	1.55	.759
Household members over 20 years old with Grade 12/Standard 10	1	6	2.27	1.438
Household members over 20 years old with tertiary education	1	4	1.80	1.033

The observation of very low levels of education among the Manavhelas is tantamount to low skill levels and disadvantages the people in both the individual's competitiveness in pursuit of formal employment and the management of land restitution projects. May (2000) has observed that this has resulted in the poverty levels as well as the levels of dissatisfaction among land reform beneficiaries remaining high, as many projects do not show any sign of economic potential.

In a newspaper interview in 2003 Monwabisi Fandesois, the Chief Executive Officer of Land Bank alluded to the need to up the skill and capacity building levels of beneficiaries of land restitution because finance on its own cannot solve the land question. He argued that skills should be improved by aligning the procedures of all stakeholders toward the greater goal of attaining rural development and by extension the development of the agricultural sector.

4.2.3.2 Employment

The livelihood framework makes a linkage between the capabilities that the people draw on to utilise assets and develop activities to meet their livelihood objectives. Capabilities also referred to as human capital are transformed into financial capital – income, credit, claims, and savings – based on a people’s employment status. Table 9 on the central tendency and spread variability of household employment status shows that among the members of the respondents’ households an average of 3 were unemployed, 2 employed while 1 was self-employed

Table 9: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Household Employment Status

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Unemployed members of the household	1	8	2.56	1.423
Employed members of the household	1	4	1.82	1.015
Self employed members of the household	1	1	1.00	.000

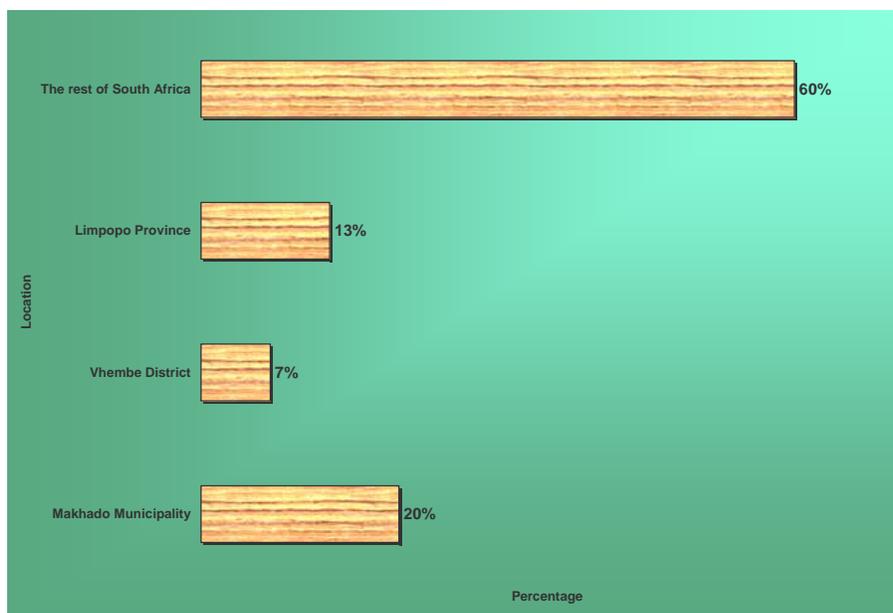
There is a high rate of unemployment amongst the Manavhela people and by implication a low level of income accruing to the household. Income variability arises from the high rate of unemployment creating poverty and associated livelihood insecurities. This is due to a lack of saving and a low credit profile. This situation necessitates the adoption of relevant livelihood strategies such as agriculture. Kydd and Dorward (2001) state that agriculture is under-capitalised and features skewed distribution of resources in poor countries. Nevertheless, Rahman and Westley (2001) have shown that over two-third of the income of the rural poor comes from farming and small farmers make up a large majority of the rural poor. The small farmers are mainly those who reported to be self-employed and engaged in cultivation where there was a minimum requirement for high profile skills. Unfortunately, the same group of people were those without land ownership and they could thus not engage in lucrative commercial agriculture.

Land restitutions cases such as the Manavhela’s should therefore be used to mainstream the agriculture that will create small, equal family (household) farms, which are often cost-effective in reducing poverty. According to Rahman and Westley (2001), these small farms employ more people per hectare than larger ones, and small farmers and employees spend more of their income on employment intensive non-farm products than commercial farmers do. Ultimately, this will result through ‘agricultural systems intensification’ (ASI) in the benefit of agricultural depicted by Irz et al (2001) in table 5.

4.2.3.3 Spatial distribution of employed members of the household

The livelihood framework supports the view that efforts to improve the livelihoods of a people should look beyond the community. This is because policies, practices and decisions taken in these places outside of the community can either create an environment for a household's livelihood to flourish or decline. Therefore, the geographical distribution of the employed members of the Manavhela households in Outdoor bar chart 2 shows the share of the sampled population working in different geographical locations in South Africa.

Outdoor Bar Chart 2: Spatial Distribution of Employed Members of the Household

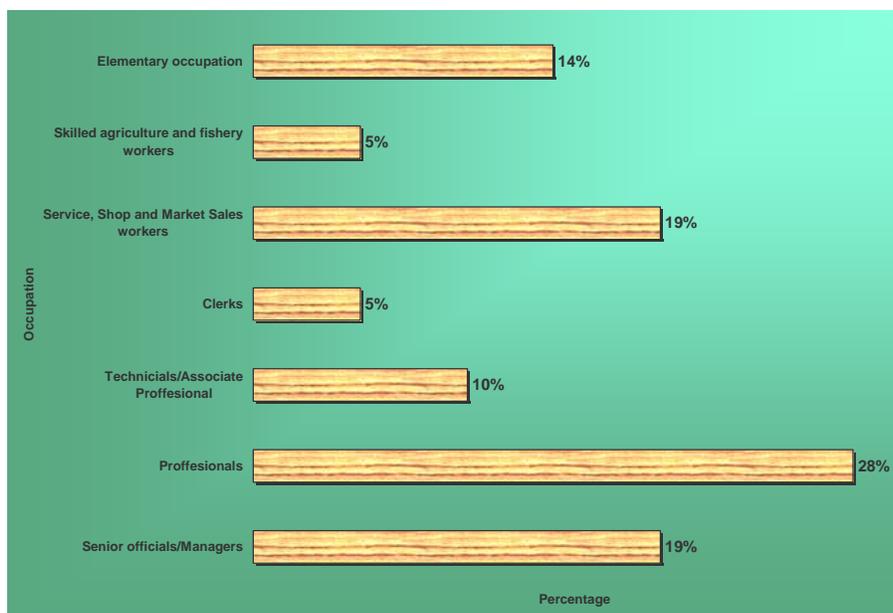


The fact that the majority of the members of Manavhela households were working outside of their community - disaggregated as job opportunities - can be attributed to macro-economic policies and structural adjustment. Examples of the consequences of these external environmental factors on the livelihoods of the rural poor are the reductions in state support to agriculture and the continuing marginalisation of the non-commercial or peasant sector (Lahiff and Scoones 2001). This means that the people will pursue their livelihood in places where opportunities exist, which are lacking in the rural areas. May et al. (1996) also comment on 'poverty of opportunity' – the inability of the individual to take advantage of the few resources they have access to – in the rural areas. Land restitution interventions should take cognisance of these critical realities of rural livelihoods.

4.2.3.4 Occupation

The livelihood framework argues that livelihood diversification acts as a safety net for poor households because those that depend on too few strategies are vulnerable to inadequate provisions from these strategies or its complete failure. Diversification in this case refers to the different occupations of members of the households. Outdoor bar chart 3 reflects the occupation of employed members of the Manavhela households. It shows the proportion of the sampled population reported to be employed in different occupations.

Outdoor Bar Chart 3: Occupational Status



The observation is that for those in a form of formal employment were also involved in the higher echelon of their organisations' hierarchy. This is because those classified as professionals and senior officials/managers are considered to have a higher occupational status. There was no evidence that their level of social mobility had any relationship with their land ownership.

However, Murray (1992) claims that land ownership do provide such benefits as decent education and socio-economic mobility. It achieves it only when the ownership right is individualised and unequivocal, and the land could be sold or leased for cash. The Manavhela land is communal land and thus does not avail the co-owner the above-mentioned rights. However, the land restitution package should provide the said benefits of individualised land ownership to its beneficiaries.

4.2.3.5 Household income

Income is a financial asset and an outcome of productive activities in the livelihood framework. The amount of income that comes to the household is related to the activities of members of the household. Given that the household have limited time and assets, it cannot spend the same time and resources on more than one activity. The opportunity cost of the activities the household is engaged in is the foregone alternative activities. However, a household makes choices that are expected to maximise its income but does not always have control over its productive activities or its benefits. Amongst the Manavhelas there were two main sources of income, namely formal employment and substitute income generating and a third household support that was implied.

Table 10 represents the mean and spread of household income from formal employment. No respondent reported to be in the monthly income category of R1 – R500. It shows that on the average, 1 member of the household employed formally earned in the order of the reported income categories except between R1501 – R2000 and R4001 – R5000 where the average of 2 people were earning it.

Table 10: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Household Monthly Income from Formal Employment

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Household members earning R501-R1000	1	2	1.33	.516
Household members earning R1001-R1500	1	1	1.00	.
Household members earning R1501-R2000	2	2	2.00	.
Household members earning R2001-R3000	1	2	1.40	.548
Household members earning R3001-R4000	1	1	1.00	.
Household members earning R4001-R5000	1	3	2.00	1.000
Household members earning R5001 and more	1	1	1.00	.

The average total monthly income from formal employment at R2174.53 (see table 13) was below the suggested minimum in money-metric terms of the UN dollar-a-day per person and the South African Bureau for Market Research (BMR) minimum household living level income (MHLLI) given the average size of the household. Therefore, the households in this community were income-poor and fit the profile for land restitution that seeks to reduce poverty among its beneficiaries. The onus is on those responsible for the implementation of land restitution to develop appropriate interventions based on the income profile of this community to reduce this dimension of poverty among them.

4.2.3.6 Substitute income-generating activities (SIGAs)

The livelihood framework claims that households’ productive activities reflect the diversity of its resource base and the local demand. As part of livelihood diversification households engage in other productive activities to augment their main source income. Table 11 portrays on the central tendency and spread variability of the household members engaged in substitute income generating activities (SIGAs). No respondent reported any member of their households to be engaged in agro-processing, craft making and gathering. The table shows that an average of 2 members of households were engaged in cultivation and animal husbandry. The mean of those engaged in petty trading, tourism, commuter transport, and sewing was 1.

Table 11: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Household Substitute Income Generating Activities (SIGAs)

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Household members engaged in cultivation	1	3	1.94	.680
Household members engaged in animal husbandry	1	2	1.50	.707
Household members engaged in petty trading	1	1	1.00	.000
Household members engaged in tourism	1	1	1.00	.
Household members engaged in commuter transport	1	1	1.00	.
Household members engaged in sewing	1	1	1.00	.

The most frequently reported types of SIGAs were cultivation and animal husbandry but the operational use of the returned land was still conservation-tourism and it seems contradictory to the form of land-use that supports the people’s SIGAs. The land was yet to be demarcated into ploughing or grazing fields despite the imperative in such arguments as Andrew, Andrew and Shackleton (2001) that cultivation, animal husbandry and the use of wild resources are the most common form of land use in rural South Africa.

However, the International Institute for Environment and Development (1995) argues that there is a need to evaluate the contributions of land use forms to rural livelihoods because they affect possible land use, how the land is used and controlled, the worth of the land, and the sustainability of the land use. In the light of the IIED’s (1995) argument, Andrew et al (2003) show evidence that land-based rural livelihood have been undervalued because poor rural households encounter constraints to their production. Interventions such as Manavhela’s land restitution should address these constraints to production on rural

agriculture. This will negate the view of subsistence use of land as wasteful, destructive and economically unproductive in comparison with the commercial production system.

4.2.3.7 Income from substitute income generating activities

The livelihood framework considers income as an outcome of the households’ livelihood activities, which is more or less desirable. The incomes accruing to the household from SIGAs are shown in table 12 on the central tendency and spread variability of income from substitute income generating activities (ISIGAs). On the average, the households were earning R6.25 monthly from cultivation, R50 a month from animal husbandry, R466.67 from petty trading, R700 from commuter transport, and R500 from sewing. There was no income reported for tourism despite reporting it as one of the SIGAs.

Table 12: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Households’ Monthly Income from Substitute Income Generating Activities (ISIGAs)

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Income from cultivation	.00	100.00	6.2500	25.00000
Income from animal husbandry	.00	100.00	50.0000	70.71068
Income from petty trading	100.00	1000.00	466.6667	472.58156
Income from commuter transport	700.00	700.00	700.0000	.
Income from sewing	500.00	500.00	500.0000	.

Agriculture constituted the bulk of the Manavhela community’s SIGAs but contributed an insignificant amount of ISIGAs. Hence, such claims as May’s (1997) that agriculture is not the mainstay of rural livelihood existence in South Africa. The rural economy goes beyond agriculture, as evidence exists of diversifications into rural non-farm economy (RNFE). According to Csaki (2001), RNFEs are a major source of income and employment, and can provide a greater sustainable income and new opportunities for production and trade for the households and the community. This has been the basis for arguments against giving people such as the Manavhelas more than a minimum of land.

On the contrary, Shackleton et al. (2000b) argue that the overall contribution of agriculture to household income was undervalued when degenerated into monetary terms because a good chunk of prospective income from it was lost to own consumption. Cousin (1999) concurs, arguing that the volatility of the formal economy makes ownership of livestock a form of ‘invisible capital’ when it serves as a safety net. Therefore, access to arable and grazing land is important as a rural safety net. The foregoing erodes the grounds of the arguments for the failure to deploy further land to subsistence agriculture. Those

responsible for the implementation of this land restitution should make land available for the dominant SIGAs notwithstanding their contribution to the ISIGAs.

4.2.3.8 Total household income

The total household income is a combination of the total income from household members employed in the formal sector and the total income from household members' engagement in SIGAs. Table 13 on the central tendency and spread variability shows that the average ISIGAs was R62.12 while the average income from formal employment was R2174.53 and the average grand total of household income was R2239.65.

Table 13: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Total Household Income

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Total income from substitute IGA	0	1000	65.12	199.862
Total income form formal employment	0	16000	2174.53	3970.052
Grand total of household income	0	16000	2239.65	3946.292

The average total monthly household income excludes those from the third source of household support (claims) such as old age pensions and child-support grants. These social security payouts were inadequate in terms of the amount of income it brought to the households. In terms of the livelihood framework, it can be inferred that the outcomes of the livelihood activities of the Manavhela's were less than desirable.

4.2.3.8.1 The relationship between total household income and formal employment

Table 14 shows the correlation of total household income and employment status. It indicates a significant negative relationship between household income and unemployment. The relationship between employment and household income was also significant but positive.

Table 14: Correlations between Total Household Income and Employment Status

		Total household income
Unemployed members of the household	Pearson Correlation	-.301(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.050
Employed members of the household	Pearson Correlation	.826(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
Self employed members of the household	Pearson Correlation	.100
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.522

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The relationship shown by the correlation of total household monthly income and employment is indicative of a positive interface between economic activities and their outcomes. Therefore, the Manavhela land restitution should address the unemployment among members of the community through instituting land-based livelihoods.

4.2.3.9 Household expenditure

It was observed that the Manavhela households realised less desirable outcomes of their livelihood activities. In the livelihood framework, households that were achieving the desired outcomes of their activities experienced improved assets and capabilities. The pattern of expenditure of the households will reflect on the improvement of their assets and capabilities. The central tendency and spread variability of household monthly expenditure shown in table 15 is for the different items purchased by the household. It shows the average amount of money spent on food, water, energy, communication, health, education, transport, and toiletries.

Table 15: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Household Monthly Expenditure

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Monthly household expenditure on food	100.00	2000.00	497.1429	382.80279
Monthly household expenditure on water	10.00	300.00	142.5000	121.75796
Monthly household expenditure on energy	10.00	200.00	67.2727	56.69396
Monthly household expenditure on communication	20.00	550.00	119.3750	127.82638
Monthly household expenditure on health	50.00	980.00	159.6296	176.64570
Monthly household expenditure on education	45.00	1200.00	233.3871	233.19301
Monthly household expenditure on transport	20.00	600.00	95.8621	119.83671
Monthly household expenditure on toiletries	62.00	62.00	62.0000	.

The households in this community spent the most on food followed by education. Food enhances the capabilities to labour, while education provides skills. The remainder monthly expenditure went to existential needs. There is a difference between the sum of the monthly expenditure and the reported amount spent. Three things are possible here, under accounting, provision for taxes or saving as accumulation. However, no household reported expenditure on investments in long term insurance, banking or financial services products.

As the household income was below what was required to buy the minimum quality of life, it means inadequate expenditure. The expenditure is inadequate if it does not reflect what Gilling et al. (2001) show

as ways by which increased income and expenditure of the poor serve as a form of poverty reduction. Those responsible for the Manavhela land restitution should adopt the DFID (2000) suggestions on how to increase the income and expenditure of the people.

4.2.3.10 Decisions on household expenditure

The variable decision on household expenditure is part of the livelihood framework provision to ensure that inequalities around power and control within the household are not hidden. The attempt to bring about more balance in the relationship between men and women is reflected in who decides what items are purchased in the household.

Table 16: Household Decision on Expenditure

		Frequency	Percent
Food	Not applicable	1	2.3
	Male	8	18.6
	Female	25	58.1
	Both	9	20.9
Water	Not applicable	39	90.7
	Female	1	2.3
	Both	3	7.0
Energy	Not applicable	11	25.6
	Male	5	11.6
	Female	19	44.2
	Both	8	18.6
Communication	Not applicable	26	60.5
	Male	3	7.0
	Female	8	18.6
	Both	6	14.0
Health	Not applicable	16	37.2
	Male	4	9.3
	Female	15	34.9
	Both	8	18.6
Education	Not applicable	13	30.2
	Male	4	9.3
	Female	20	46.5
	Both	6	14.0
Transport	Not applicable	13	30.2
	Male	5	11.6
	Female	15	34.9
	Both	10	23.3
Toiletries	Not applicable	42	97.7
	Female	1	2.3

Control – the power over the different elements and processes of production and the right to dispose off the product – is essential and Johnson (1992) states that the traditional lack of control over land and income makes women powerless. In table 16, the observation among the respondents was that women dominated the decision-making on household expenditure.

4.2.3.11 Migration

The livelihood framework allows for macro-micro linkages on issues that enhance or undermine livelihood security. Among the wide range of economic factors that affect the sustainability of households’ livelihoods are those that ‘push’ and ‘pull’ people into migration. The earlier observation is that there were no surpluses in the households’ income and there was inadequate expenditure. The need to increase household expenditure led to spatial diversification of livelihood activities. Therefore, the migrations prominent among the people were poverty induced. On the average 2 members of a household was living temporarily away from their home and for a minimum average of 7 months continuously. See table 17 on the central tendency and spread variability of household patterns of migration. Migration was either seasonal or permanent depending on the duration of absence from home and evidence of the existence of both was in the data.

Table 17: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Household Pattern of Migration

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Household members living away from home	1	4	1.84	.850
Duration of household members absence from home in months	1	12	6.60	4.637

May (2000) highlights the significant contributions of migrants to secondary wage dependent households’ income through remittances. However, the contribution of migrants to household income should not becloud arguments such as Cousin’s (2000) that South African’s macro policies create favourable conditions for local and international investment in industry and tourism at the expense of land reform and agrarian change.

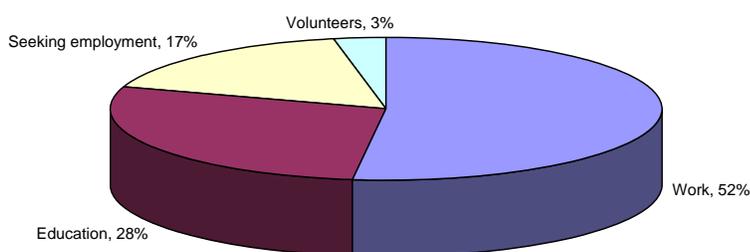
There is need to stem this kind of migration and maintain the rural-urban balance. This is because the inequality between the rural and urban areas makes economic growth inadequate in reducing poverty. In the Manavhela case, the land restitution should align to the need of the people for poverty reduction. Therefore, it must involve changes in the material factors such as land, infrastructure and skills, in social

and economic relations, and in the institutions that give the poor greater control over their environment as suggested by Rahman and Westley (2001).

4.2.3.12 Purpose of migration

The purpose for which these members of the household migrated was captured in Pie chart 4. It shows the proportion of the sampled population that migrated for the different purposes. The relevance of this is reflected in the relationship between purpose of migration and duration of migration.

Pie Chart 4: Purpose of Migration



4.2.3.12.1 The relationship between duration and purpose of migration

On the relationship between duration of household members’ absence from home and the purpose for which they lived away from home table 18 shows a significant correlation between migrating for work purposes and the duration of the migration.

Table 18: Correlations between Duration and Purpose of Migration

		Duration of household members absence from home in months
Household members living away from home for work purposes	Pearson Correlation	.725(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
Household members living away from home for educational purposes	Pearson Correlation	.015
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.923
Household members living away from home seeking employment	Pearson Correlation	.077
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.624
Household members living away from home as NGO volunteers	Pearson Correlation	-.060
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.704

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

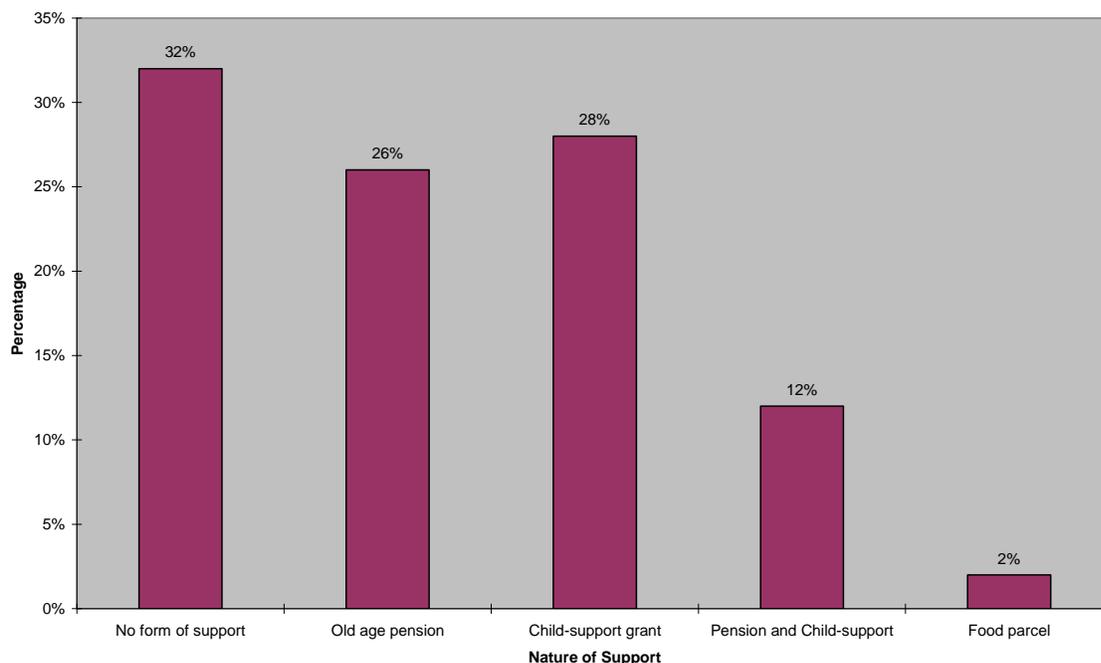
Most migrating Manavhelas did so for work related purposes and the purpose of migration determined the duration of the absence from home. The purpose of migration confirms the earlier finding that the migration was poverty induced. The political economy of migrant labour holds significant implications for

land restitution but is beyond the scope of this study. The fact of migration presents a difficulty for the implementation of this land restitution relating to how migrant members of the community should benefit from the return of their land.

4.2.3.13 Household support from government

The livelihood framework claims that systems and institutions of governance must recognise and support the needs and livelihoods of ordinary people. On the nature of household support from different stakeholders for the well-being of the Manavhela community, there was no reported support from non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The only reported sources of household-support were government and business. The nature of these support did not reflect on the determination of the people’s rights, access and control over resources but concentrated on the claims against the said stakeholders. Vertical bar chart 1 shows in household receipt from government the proportion the reported form of support from government.

Vertical Bar Chart 1: The Nature of Household Support from Government



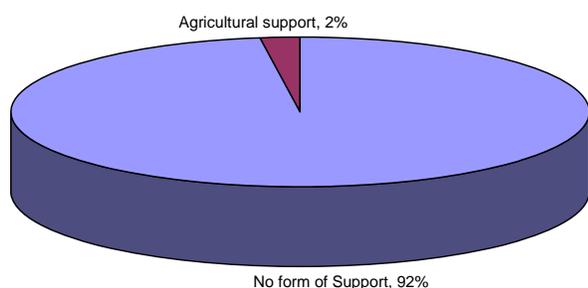
The government provision in this land restitution case was within the framework of the national social welfare-provisioning scheme. There was no specific support directed at the peculiar problems that the people might experience in the context of their land return. May (2000) in table 3 on income and claiming

systems showed the share of the rural households she describes as ‘welfare dependent’ that benefit from the state social provisioning and the average amount of the benefit of these supports. The amounts of income available to the households in terms of these supports are inadequate and reinforce the argument for targeted supports relevant to livelihoods from their returned land.

4.2.3.14 Household support from business

The livelihood framework contends that the issues of household supports are not confined to the state. On the household supports from business, pie chart 5 reveals the proportion of the respondents’ households that reported the forms of assistance it received from businesses.

Pie Chart 5: The Nature of Household Support from Business



The support for households’ needs and livelihoods from organised business is generally minimal. Linked to the reports of production failures by some claimant communities on existing commercial estates, Molefe (2003) argues that the advice to communities claiming agricultural lands in the Limpopo Province to lease back the land to the existing owners or enter a partnership with them or a third party basis to ensure continuity of production is suspect. The situation allows government and business to avoid their underlying obligations to provide effective post-settlement support and ‘corporate social responsibilities’ respectively to claimant communities

4.2.3.15 Accessibility of household support

Table 9 deals with the accessibility of the household-supports and shows that the government provided support fairly consistently. Therefore, support from government is always accessible and should be improved. Organised business provides its household-support in a very inconsistent manner because it is seldom accessible. Therefore, organised business should reassess its approach to providing household-support.

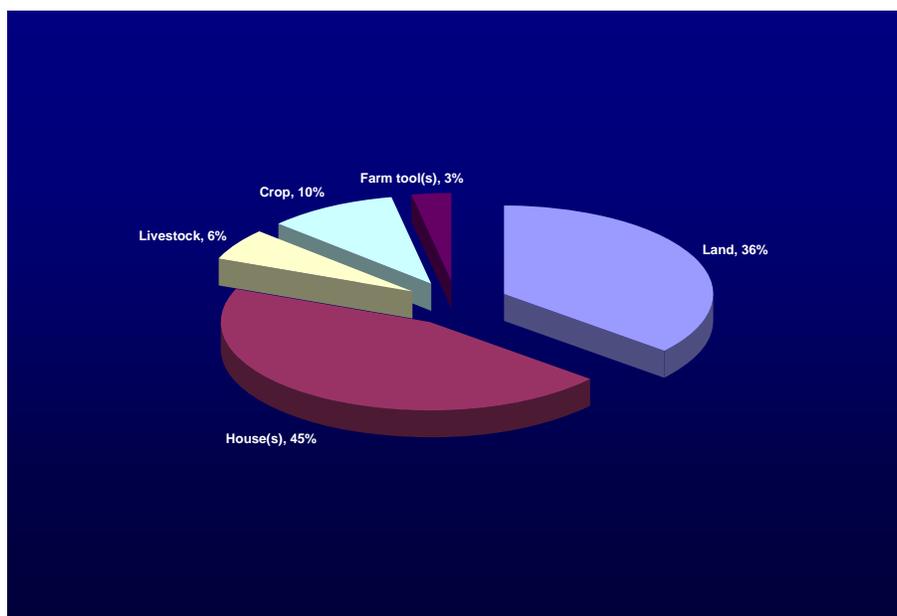
Table 19: Accessibility of Household-support

		Frequency	Percent
Household-support from government	Not applicable	14	32.6
	Always	28	65.1
	Seldom	1	2.3
Household-support from businesses	Not applicable	42	97.7
	Seldom	1	2.3

4.2.3.16 Household assets

Based on the livelihood framework’s categorisation of assets this study considered as assets natural capital – land and natural resources, and physical capital – farm equipment and stocks, shelter and infrastructure. It looked at the ownership, access, control, and the relationship between assets (land) and human capital (capabilities) - education, employment, occupation and place of employment, and SIGAs. Pie chart 6 shows the share of the reported cases of household assets.

Pie Chart 6: Household Assets



The Manavhela’s returned land is a communal land and Okoth-Ogendo (2000) explains the implications of the vesting ownership in a communal land. The Manavhela CPA controls the land and Bassett (1993) describes the use of the CPA in the management of communal land. Ownership and control of land bear on access and the improving of the access of the poor to assets such as land that are central to poverty reduction. This is because assets raise income; increase reserves used against shocks, and increase the

choices of the poor. Rahman and Westley (2001) claims that pro-poor assets should be labour intensive, have low seasonal variations and risk, be accessible to women and minorities, and be used to produce items that comprise the bulk of poor people’s budget – food.

The existing land use in this case described in the background to the study does not reflect the improving of the access of the poor to pro-poor assets and should be realigned to realise poverty alleviation objectives.

4.2.3.16.1 The relationship between land ownership and education

The livelihood framework analysis of the relationship between capabilities and assets is to clarify how household capabilities enable household members to effectively utilise their assets. Table 20 on the correlation between land and education status shows a very weak statistical relationship. The implication of this is that access to land or lack of it does not affect education and vice versa given the nature of land ownership and control in the Manavhela case. See Murray (1992).

Table 20: Correlations between Land and Education Status

		Land as household asset
Household members over 20 years old with no schooling	Pearson Correlation	-.092
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.555
Household members over 20 years old with some primary education	Pearson Correlation	.065
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.678
Household members over 20 years old who completed primary education	Pearson Correlation	-.082
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.600
Household members over 20 years old with some secondary education	Pearson Correlation	.166
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.287
Household members over 20 years old with Grade 12/Standard 10	Pearson Correlation	.185
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.234
Household members over 20 years old with tertiary education	Pearson Correlation	-.063
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.687

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

4.2.3.16.2 The relationship between land ownership and employment

Table 21 portrays the correlation between land and employment status and shows a reverse but significant statistical relationship between reported ownership and self-employment. This suggests private commercial agriculture was impractical on communal land, confirming the Ashley and Ntshona (2002) argument on the capacity of land to uplift the economic well-being of beneficiaries of land restitution.

Table 21: Correlations between Land and Employment Status

		Land as household asset
Unemployed members of the household	Pearson Correlation	.154
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.323
Employed members of the household	Pearson Correlation	-.041
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.792
Self employed members of the household	Pearson Correlation	-.394(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

4.2.3.16.3 The relationship between land ownership and occupation

Table 22 on the correlation of land and occupational status reveals that land ownership has a very weak, in some cases reverse, and insignificant statistical relationship with occupation.

Table 22: Correlations between Land and Occupational Status

		Land as household asset
Employed household members working as senior officials and managers	Pearson Correlation	-.119
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.446
Employed household members working as professional	Pearson Correlation	-.150
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.337
Employed household members working as technicians and associate professionals	Pearson Correlation	-.082
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.600
Employed household members working as clerks	Pearson Correlation	.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.494
Employed household members working as service, hop and market sales workers	Pearson Correlation	.081
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.607
Employed household members working as skilled agriculture and fishery workers	Pearson Correlation	.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.494
Employed household members working as craft and related trades workers	Pearson Correlation	.(a)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.
Employed household members working as plant and machine operator and assemblers	Pearson Correlation	.(a)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.
Employed household members working in elementary occupation	Pearson Correlation	-.005
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.977

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

The implication of such observation is that land ownership did not bear on livelihood diversification in this land restitution case. Therefore, the return of their land to the Manavhelas did not expand their safety

net in terms of options for diversification in land based livelihoods. Devereux (2001) explains the consequences of a group of people lacking options in their safety net.

However, the situation thus provides challenges for those responsible for the implementation of land restitution as to which strategies will cope and adapt best to the vulnerabilities the households are exposed to due to a lack of livelihood diversifications. There is the strategy of reinforcing multifunctional households (Ellis and Briggs 2001) – in this context further alienation from the land or that of long-term structural transformation (Wiggins and Proctor 2001 and Start 2001) – probably beyond the scope of the land restitution programme.

4.2.3.16.4 The relationship between land ownership and place of employment

In table 23 deals with on the correlation between land and place of employment, and reveals a very weak statistical relationship between landownership and place of employment.

Table 23: Correlations between Land and Place of Employment

		Land as household asset
Employed household members working within Makhado local municipality	Pearson Correlation	.041
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.792
Employed household members working within Vhembe district municipality	Pearson Correlation	-.222
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.152
Employed household members working within Limpopo Province	Pearson Correlation	-.082
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.600
Employed household members working within the rest of South Africa	Pearson Correlation	.055
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.728

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

There were implications of this reality to the Manavhela community and for the land restitution process, namely that the community members’ lack of access to land did not reflect on where they were pursuing their livelihoods. Two questions are raised from the said implication on the community that need to be addressed through the restitution process. First, what informs the people’s place of employment? Second, what interventions are necessary under these circumstances?

It was observed that the availability of job opportunities informs where the people pursue their livelihood. This is an outcome of macroeconomic policy decisions taken outside of the community creating a situation of decline in local livelihoods because of a lack of job opportunities in the rural areas. According to May et al. (1996), there is also ‘poverty of opportunity’ in the rural areas. On the exigent interventions,

Cousin (2000) claims state initiatives such as land restitution are viewed as ‘welfarist’ programmes to ‘alleviate’ poverty.

Whether or not land restitution will create the needed job opportunities or enable the individuals to take advantage of the few resources they have access to in the rural areas depend on ‘whose welfare’ it provides. This is so because there are spatial, gender, and class differences in the rural areas, which determine the type of productive activities possible for the people.

4.2.3.16.5 The relationship between land ownership and SIGAs

In terms of the productive activities possible for the beneficiaries of the Manavhela land restitution a correlation between land and SIGAs in table 24 shows a significant but negative relationship between landownership and cultivation.

Table 24: Correlations between Land and SIGAs

		Land as household asset
Household members engaged in cultivation	Pearson Correlation	-.580(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
Household members engaged in animal husbandry	Pearson Correlation	-.152
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.330
Household members engaged in agro-processing	Pearson Correlation	.(a)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.
Household members engaged in craft making	Pearson Correlation	.(a)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.
Household members engaged in petty trading	Pearson Correlation	.190
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.222
Household members engaged in gathering	Pearson Correlation	.(a)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.
Household members engaged in tourism	Pearson Correlation	.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.494
Household members engaged in commuter transport	Pearson Correlation	-.222
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.152
Household members engaged in sewing	Pearson Correlation	.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.494

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

The implication of the relationship between land and SIGAs is that landownership does not influence cultivation, a land-based and dominant livelihood activity among beneficiaries of this land restitution. Two arguments then suffice here, one that the people do not need land ownership to further this agrarian

livelihood and the other to give the people access to expand this agrarian livelihood by way of land ownership. The former is the basis for community-private-state management in conservation and tourism, the ongoing operation in the Manavhela case. Ole-Meiludie and Mwihomeke (2003) provide the conditions for such argument to prevail. The latter is the basis of arguments for land-based livelihood in the context suggested by Hall (2003) and Hargreaves and Eveleth (2003), a context different from what was observed by Cousin (2000) as the government’s view of agrarian change as the emergence of a class of small-scale commercial farmers, the rural equivalent of ‘Black Economic Empowerment’ (BEE) in mining and industry.

4.2.3.17 Conflict over the use of assets

On the conflicts arising from the use of household assets, only a few cases for land, house(s) and crops were reported. There were no reported cases of conflict over the use of livestock and farm tools.

Table 25: Conflict over the Use of Household Assets

		Frequency	Percent
Land	Not applicable	14	32.6
	Yes	1	2.3
	No	28	65.1
House(s)	Not applicable	7	16.3
	Yes	1	2.3
	No	35	81.4
Livestock	Not applicable	38	88.4
	No	5	11.6
Crops	Not applicable	34	79.1
	Yes	1	2.3
	No	8	18.6
Farm tools	Not applicable	41	95.3
	No	2	4.7

Inequalities of access, power and control have the potential to breed conflict in intra-household and inter-household relations in terms of the uses of assets among beneficiaries of land restitution. The inequalities occur through socially enforced gender roles, kinship rules of inheritance, social class, age, and caste. The conflict is on the use pattern of assets (land) and the appropriation of the surpluses in terms of the decisions on land governance (Thomas et al. 1988) and the tenure security that enhances productivity (Bruce and Migot-Adhola 1994). According to James (2000), a major concern over communal land administration and an obstacle to future development of the returned land is the unpredictability of

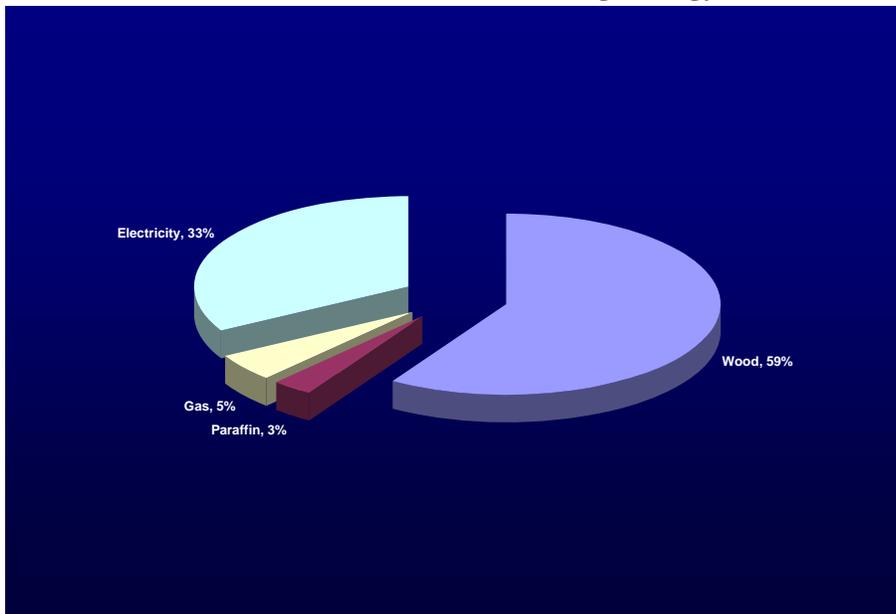
community veto. Bromley and Cernea (1989) counter that the decision-making rules applied by communities do not always demand collective participation by all members. Classen and Makopi (1999) concur that the decisions made on a majority basis are with respect to co-owners of communal land such as choosing the body to manage their land-related affairs on a day-to-day basis.

Therefore, the potential conflicts over the use of household assets should not fundamentally affect the land restitution process. The few reported cases of conflict among the Manavhelas imply a situation of relative consensus in joint decision-making on most subjects considered. This atmosphere of accord is a rarity in an increasingly individualised society with a debased social support system and should be strengthened.

4.2.3.18 Household sources of cooking energy

External environmental factors such as macro-economic energy policies influence the types and cost of energy used in the household and this affects the people's livelihoods. Pie Chart 7 reflects the household source(s) of cooking energy. It shows the proportion of the sampled population that reported the use of the various types of cooking energy. No household reported the use of coal in cooking.

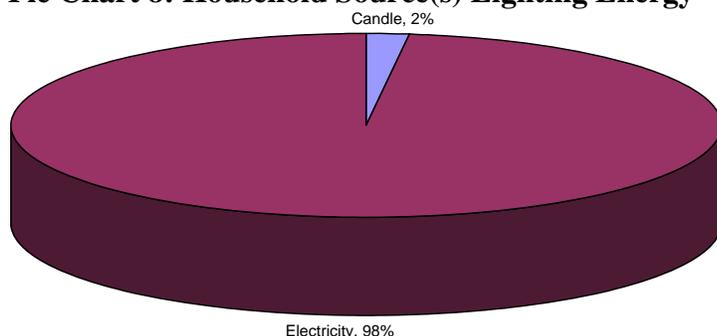
Pie Chart 7: Household Source(s) of Cooking Energy



4.2.3.19 Household source of electricity

Pie Chart 8 deals with the household source(s) of electricity. It shows the share of the sampled population that reported the use of the different types of energy to light their homes. No household reported the use of paraffin or other sources.

Pie Chart 8: Household Source(s) Lighting Energy



4.2.3.20 Household expenditure on cooking and lighting energy

Table 26 reveals that the central tendency and spread variability of household monthly expenditure on cooking and lighting energy were R104.28 on the former and R50.18 on the latter average for the households under study.

Table 26: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Household Monthly Expenditure on Cooking and Lighting Energy

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Monthly expenditure on cooking energy	20.00	550.00	104.2857	124.49182
Monthly expenditure on lighting	10.00	383.00	50.1860	58.04606

Energy is an economic infrastructure and its accessibility is not entirely a function of its availability but also of affordability. The provision of energy for beneficiaries of land restitution is within the ambit of the municipal Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). IDPs are subject to argument for public good (need based social development objectives) and market (growth based economic development objectives). The former argues for investment in energy as a form of complementary poverty alleviation services, while the latter argues for commercial viability.

In this study electricity was observed as the main source of energy for lighting, and was reasonably frequently used in cooking. The challenges of providing this infrastructure to rural communities are the

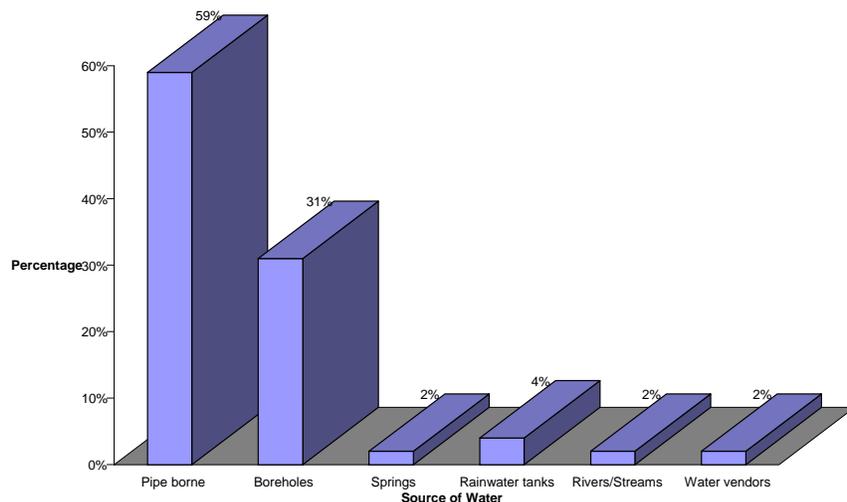
capacity of rural local municipalities to raise finance for such projects – a factor seen by McIntosh (1995) as responsible for the absence of established, effective, functional, and sustainable local governments outside of market towns and commercial farming areas - and the cost of the service to community members. Meanwhile, in recent times electricity has become an expensive and dwindling source of energy. This implies a further reduction of household income and the need for government to increase its subsidies on electricity, especially for the rural poor.

Wood is the most widely used type of cooking energy and it is said to be free in the context of the direct use value of wild resources to rural communities, and the reduction of household cash expenditure. In the same vein, the use of wood for cooking is said to have adverse effects on the physical environment as it causes deforestation, soil erosion and the depletion of the ozone layer through emissions, global warming and natural disasters that result in the decline of these resources. Conservation policies prevail in the use of wild resources but income from commercial use encourages sustainable management while at the same time it compromises livelihood security of the rural poor (Shackleton et al. 2000b).

4.2.3.21 Household source(s) of domestic water supply

In South Africa, water is a critical economic infrastructure in limited supply. There is competition between commercial (agriculture and mining) and domestic usage. The need for sustained provision of water to both sets of consumers involves interfaces amongst the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) and different stakeholders such as municipalities and water boards.

Vertical Bar Chart 2: Household Source(s) of Domestic Water Supply



The planning and policies implemented in this process affect the source(s) and accessibility of domestic water supply and its value chain of sanitation, diseases, health, and quality of life. Vertical bar chart 2 on the household source(s) of domestic water supply shows the proportion of the respondents' households that received their supplies from the different source(s). No household reported to receive its domestic water from dams/pools.

It was observed in the case of the Manavhelas that the infrastructure for the delivery of domestic water to the community was available because the people were predominantly connected to pipe-borne water sources. There is also a provision of free basic water supply by the South African government. The implication of the availability of free water is linked to health status through sanitation and safe drinking water, arguably very important in terms of preventive rather than curative health care (Budlender 2000). Stakeholders in water supply delivery in this land restitution case should be guided by this reality.

4.2.3.22 Accessibility of domestic water

In a water-scarce country such as South Africa, the distribution of water is expectedly problematic. Table 27 reflects the accessibility of domestic water supply. It indicates that the majority of the reported cases of the consistency of supply from a source are seldom consistent for pipe-borne sources, most of the time for borehole sources, and seldom for springs and rainwater tanks sources.

Table 27: Accessibility of Domestic Water

		Frequency	Percent
Consistency of domestic water supply from pipe-borne water	Not applicable	14	32.6
	Always	3	7.0
	Most of the time	2	4.7
	Seldom	24	55.8
Consistency of domestic water supply from borehole	Not applicable	29	67.4
	Always	1	2.3
	Most of the time	12	27.9
	Seldom	1	2.3
Consistency of domestic water supply from spring	Not applicable	42	97.7
	Seldom	1	2.3
Consistency of domestic water supply from rainwater tank	Not applicable	41	95.3
	Most of the time	1	2.3

In as much as the Manavhela community was predominantly connected to pipe-borne water (a source of safe drinking water) at the time of the study, the consistency of the flow was not steady, threatening its

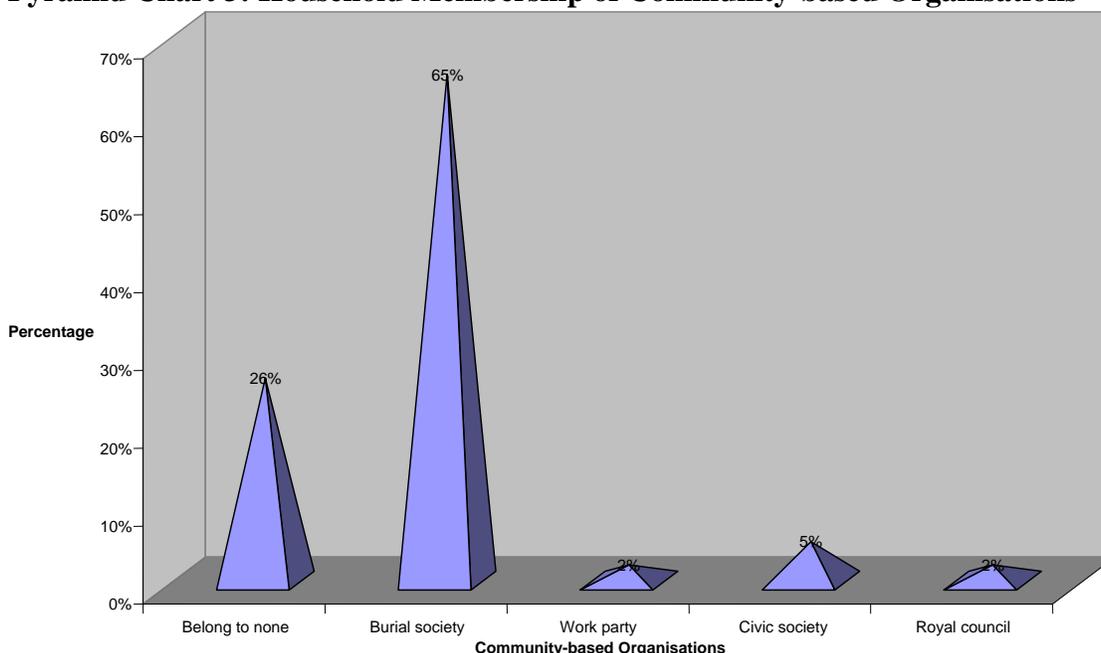
value-added on health status. The factors responsible for the inconsistency of flow of domestic water supply from pipe borne sources are numerous. One is low dam levels due to the low annual rainfall average in the Limpopo Province of between 300 – 400mm and 600mm depending on where one is in the Province (M'Marete 2003). The others are low levels of ground water and doubt on the quality of South Africa's ground water due to possible contamination from deep level mining.

The South African service delivery and natural resources management policies should recognise the fact that the factors responsible for the inconsistency in domestic water supply are global environment issues beyond the immediate control of stakeholders and the community in this land restitution case. Many strategies have been mooted that purportedly offer solutions to the problem but have failed due to their conceptual inadequacies. The World Commission on Environment and Development's (WCED) in Brundtland (1987) perspective is that poverty is a major cause as well as an effect of global environmental problems and should be dealt with in that context to finding a solution to environmental problems.

4.2.3.23 Household membership of community-based associations (CBOs)

Social issues such as membership of CBOs are often reduced to the decisions of the individual to participate in such organisations. Pyramid chart 3 on household membership of CBOs shows the share of the sampled population that belonged to various CBOs.

Pyramid Chart 3: Household Membership of Community-based Organisations



In reality the membership of and the types of CBOs are conditioned by external social environmental factors. For example, SA-PPA (1998) reported that the inability to borrow money or self-finance projects is part of the reasons why some poor people cannot participate in stokvels and other CBOs. There are many social issues of importance to rural communities but the overwhelming membership of burial societies by the Manavhelas makes the impact of HIV/AIDS on rural livelihood in context of land restitution a compelling consideration. The effects of HIV/AIDS on rural households are the illness of the heads of households and their subsequent inability to provide for their dependants, meeting the tenure and productive needs of child-headed households, and the death in-between the lodging of land claims and the actual transfer of the land to the beneficiaries. Given that, HIV/AIDS affects the poorest sections of the society, the least able to cope with the burden of care, the loss of labour and income, and the cost of medicine and funerals (Kaya, Materechera and Palamuleni 2003) many people thus join CBOs such as burial societies.

4.2.3.24 Benefits of households’ membership community-based organisations (CBOs)

The benefits of household membership of CBOs correspond with the type of CBO. Table 28 shows that the majority of the members of burial societies received assistance in burial costs from this CBO. The benefit of belonging to a work party consists of the assistance members receive for the execution of their own tasks. Members of civic societies and the royal council benefited from communal works and communal administration respectively.

Table 28: Benefits of Households’ Memberships of Community-based Organisations (CBOs)

		Frequency	Percent
Burial society	Not applicable	13	30.2
	Assisting with funeral cost	30	69.8
Work-party	Not applicable	42	97.7
	Assisting with own works	1	2.3
Civic societies	Not applicable	41	95.3
	Communal works	2	4.7
Royal council	Not applicable	42	97.7
	Communal administration	1	2.3

There are several areas of assistance to community members relating to the HIV/AIDS pandemic such as providing land for community-based AIDS support projects - food gardens, community centres, craft markets and other income generating projects. The more service orientated ones include but are not

limited to home-based care, drop-in centres and support groups. In Manavhela the dominant benefit of membership of burial societies is assistance with funeral costs, a reality which has been linked to the rising mortality rate induced by the HIV/AIDS which place a heavy burden of claim on a stretched and shrinking social network system. Burial societies do not cater for the aged and poor rural women upon whom the responsibility often falls to take care of the rising number of AIDS orphans, thereby leaving most rural household vulnerable to poverty (Kaya et al. 2003).

Shackleton et al. (2000b) report that the economic value chain of crop production, which is often not accounted, is the reinforcement of community ties through community or kin work parties. The implication of this in respect of the Manavhela land return is that members of the community engage in cultivation (SIGAs) would benefit from their membership of work parties and civic societies. The affected households will save on labour costs when assisted in their own work. The community will also benefit in the implementation of community projects when civic societies organise communal work.

4.2.3.25 Vulnerabilities

The livelihood framework assesses relative vulnerability among households. Relative vulnerability is about the shocks – sudden events that affect livelihood security and the stresses – long-term trends that undermine livelihood potential – facing the households. The central tendency and spread variability of household exposure to vulnerabilities in the last 5 years is reflected in table 29. It shows that on the average the household had 3 experiences of loss of livestock. The experience of crop failure, drought, chronic diseases, loss of job, and death on the average occurred once in the same period. In the last 5 years, the households reported they experienced an average of 2 occurrences of bushfire.

Table 29: Central Tendency and Spread Variability of Household Exposure to Risk /Vulnerability

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Household vulnerability to loss of livestock in the last 5 years	1	5	2.50	1.643
Household vulnerability to crop failure in the last 5 years	1	3	1.36	.745
Household vulnerability to drought in the last 5 years	1	3	1.40	.553
Household vulnerability to chronic diseases in the last 5 years	1	5	1.31	1.109
Household vulnerability to bush fire in the last 5years	1	5	1.80	1.789
Household vulnerability to loss of job in the last 5years	1	2	1.17	.408
Household vulnerability to death in the last 5years	1	3	1.27	.647

Devereux (2001) used a von Braun et al. (1992) typology in table 4 to explain the livelihood risk facing the rural poor. In the Manavhela case, among the risk exposures considered were drought and crop failure,

which are connected, and hinder the SIGAs in an arid South Africa. The most compelling in terms of its implication was chronic diseases and death. Sick roles are not productive roles and sick people need care. The sick person and those that are caring for them within the household are technically eliminated from productive activities or from contributing to the household income. The situation is worsened with the eventuality of death, where the surviving dependants assume the responsibilities of the deceased head of the household, for example. This has accounted for the growing number of children and women-headed households with a low income, bad health and nutrition profile.

The DLA (2004) recognises the need for the land restitution programme to address the risk profile and susceptibility of children and women headed households. This is emphasised in communities where social and cultural norms do not protect widows and orphaned children.

4.2.3.26 Household strategies against vulnerabilities

The livelihood framework assesses households' resilience that is their coping strategies concerning short-term response to specific shocks and adaptive strategies as well as long-term changes in behaviour and practice in response to continuing stresses. The household coping strategies are interim 'next to the best' measures pending when the household can return to its normal livelihood activities, while the adaptive strategies are people's response to their analysis of risk. Table 30 is a summary of the respondents' households' reported specific coping and adaptive strategies to their different vulnerabilities and risk.

Table 30 shows that the majority of the households that experienced livestock loss did not receive the assistance they expected from state agencies while they bore the difficulties that followed because they did not make any claims. Among the households that experienced the occurrence of crop failures the majority did not receive the assistance they expected from government followed by those that were unable to do anything to help themselves, they thus bore the difficulties that followed. There were those assisted by relevant state agencies, and those that made claims on their family-network respectively. When drought occurred the majority of the households could not do anything to help themselves followed by those who did not receive the assistance they expected from government, those assisted by relevant state agencies, those that gathered wild resources, those that bore the difficulties that followed, and those that made claims on their family-network in that order.

Table 30: Household coping strategies against vulnerabilities

		Frequency	Percent
Loss of livestock	Not applicable	37	86.0
	Bore the difficulty that followed	2	4.7
	No expected assistance from state agencies	4	9.3
Crop failure	Not applicable	28	65.1
	Unable to do anything about it	4	9.3
	Bore the difficulty that followed	3	7.0
	Assisted by relevant state agency	2	4.7
	No expected assistance from state agencies	5	11.6
	Made claims on the family-net	1	2.3
Drought	Not applicable	10	23.3
	Unable to do anything about it	11	25.6
	Bore the difficulty that followed	3	7.0
	Assisted by relevant state agency	5	11.6
	No expected assistance from state agencies	9	20.9
	Made claims on the family-net	1	2.3
	Gathered wild resources	4	9.3
Chronic diseases	Not applicable	31	72.1
	Unable to do anything about it	4	9.3
	Bore the difficulty that followed	4	9.3
	Assisted by relevant state agency	4	9.3
Bush fire	Not applicable	39	90.7
	Unable to do anything about it	2	4.7
	Bore the difficulty that followed	2	4.7
Loss of job	Not applicable	37	86.0
	Unable to do anything about it	3	7.0
	Bore the difficulty that followed	3	7.0
Death	Not applicable	35	81.4
	Unable to do anything about it	2	4.7
	Assisted by relevant community-based organisation	5	11.6
	Made claims on the family-net	1	2.3

The share of the reported coping strategies for chronic diseases was the same for the inability to do anything to help the situation, bearing the difficulties that followed, and being assisted by relevant state agencies. The share of the reported coping strategies against bushfire was the same - inability to do anything to help the situation and bearing the difficulties that followed. The share of the reported coping strategies against loss of job was the same, namely inability to do anything to help the situation and bearing the difficulties that followed. In the event of death, the majority of the households coped by receiving assistance from relevant community-based organisations followed by those who could not do anything to improve the situation, and those who claimed from the family-network.

The Manavhelas' strategies aggregate to the livelihood framework's three broad stages of coping and adaptive strategies of diversification, asset disposal and destitute behaviours. Devereux (2001) argues that the sequence by which the stages of the coping and adaptive strategies are adopted depend on their effectiveness in dealing with the specific vulnerability and risk as well as the cost and reversibility of such strategy. Land restitution should include livelihood planning, which involves strengthening existing areas of resilience. This is because not everyone who is poor is equally vulnerable. Hence, the needs to understand how people anticipate, cope with, resist, and recover from shocks and stresses.

4.2.3.27 Constraints to household survival

The livelihood framework analyses how the interplay of different issues (physical, social, political, and economic) and trends at the different levels (local, district, provincial, national, and global) affect the household through policies, planning and resource allocation. These external influences affect households', development and livelihood opportunities in a complex way. In this study, these influences are seen as constraints to households' daily survival activities. Vertical bar chart 3 shows the proportion of the respondents' reported cases of constraints in the following order: rising unemployment, lack of access to finance and the rising inflation, food insecurity, lack of access to economic infrastructure¹, lack of access to social infrastructure², lack of access to social welfare³, and lack of access to assets⁴ respectively.

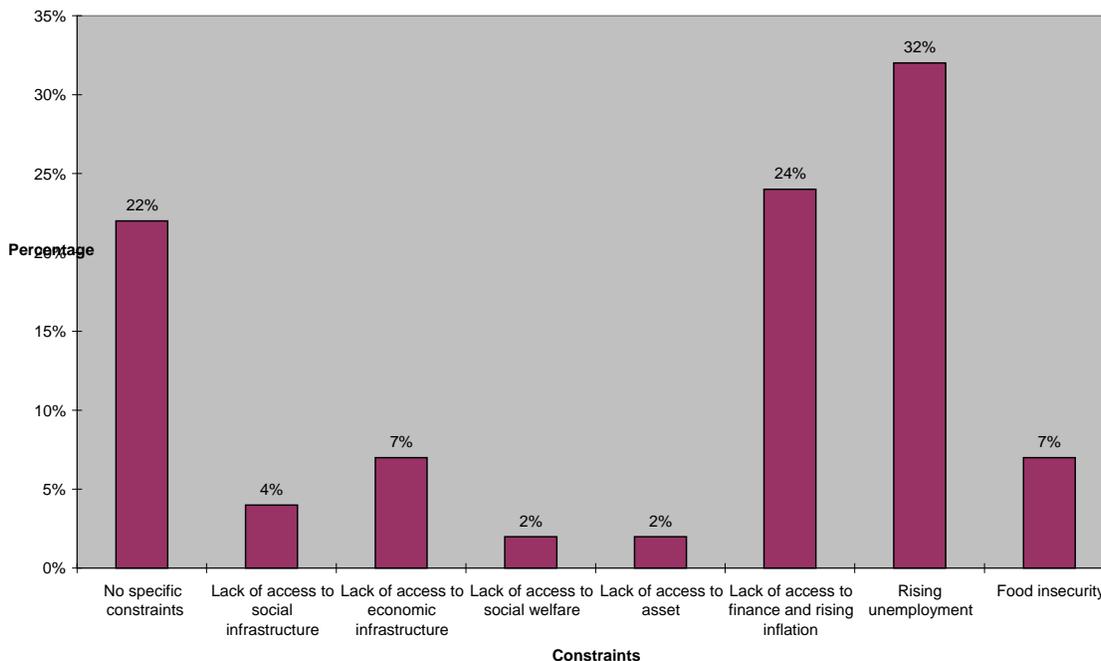
¹Economic infrastructure – transport, water and sanitation, electricity or telecommunication

²Social infrastructure – education, health, sport, or art and culture

³Social welfare – child support, pension, disability, subsidies, or food parcel

⁴Assets - housing, land, farm tools, livestock or crops

Vertical Bar Chart 3: Constraints to Household Daily Survival Activities



The overall constraints profile implies a lower quality of life, which is neither localised nor isolated. Therefore, these constraints should be mitigated at the different levels through a mix of micro and macro policies and programmes, and developmental initiatives of superstructures such as the World Bank.

4.2.3.28 Household strategies against constraints to survival

The households devised strategies at overcoming the constraints to their daily survival activities. These strategies, their sophistication and effectiveness are a reflection of the approaches to mitigating these constraints from the different levels. In the Manavhela case, table 30 reveals that for the households that reported a lack of access to social infrastructure as a constraint, their strategy was to depend on state facilities. The strategies for the households constrained by a lack of access to economic infrastructure were devising alternative measures, depending on state facilities and depending on claims from the social network respectively. In the event of a lack of access to social welfare, the only reported strategy was dependence on their social network. When a household lacks access to assets, it has no specific strategy for overcoming the constraint. The strategies for overcoming a lack of access to finance and rising inflation are depending on claims from the state, borrowing net expenditure, expanding own capacity, devising alternative measures, depending on claims on social network, and having no specific strategy respectively. The majority of the household reported not having any specific strategy to deal with rising unemployment, while the others devised alternative measures to deal with it.

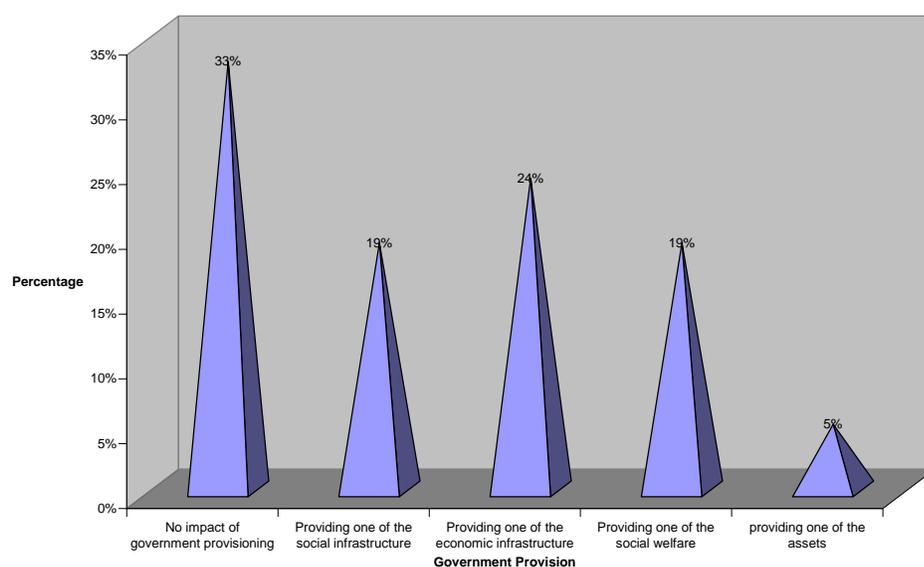
Table 31: Household strategies at overcoming the constraints to daily survival activities

		Frequency	Percent
Lack of access to social infrastructure	Not applicable	41	95.3
	Depending on state facility	2	4.7
Lack of access to economic infrastructure	Not applicable	39	90.7
	Depending on state facility	1	2.3
	Devising alternative measures	2	4.7
	Depending on claims from the social-net	1	2.3
Lack of access to social welfare	Not applicable	42	97.7
	Depending on claims from the social-net	1	2.3
Lack of access to assets	Not applicable	42	97.7
	No specific strategy	1	2.3
Lack of access to finance and rising inflation	Not applicable	30	69.8
	No specific strategy	1	2.3
	Devising alternative measures	2	4.7
	Depending on claims from the state	4	9.3
	Depending on claims from the social-net	1	2.3
	Expanding own capacity	2	4.7
	Borrowing net expenditure	3	7.0
Rising unemployment	Not applicable	26	60.5
	No specific strategy	4	9.3
	Devising alternative measures	2	4.7

4.2.3.29 Perception on service delivery

The livelihood framework analyses the effects of policies, legislation and planning on the rural poor. Pyramid chart 4 reveals the awareness of the sampled population on government service provision.

Pyramid Chart 4: Impact on the Household of Service Delivery



There was impact of service delivery on household. Therefore, the political institutions have to understand the way in which the household affects its external macro environment to design appropriate policies and proper legislations. The people's perceptions of the role of government in the Manavhela community were informed by their assessment of what government was doing to remove the constraints to their daily survival and/or enhance their strategies at overcoming the constraints. This is because the overall welfare of the people was purported to be the responsibility of the state.

The perceptions of the people on state provisioning are a gauge of the contribution of the state to the people's well-being. The report card is not encouraging because of the number of households that did not feel the presence of government in their community. However, a comparison of vertical bar chart 3 and pyramid chart 4 shows a linkage of constraints and delivery. Ashley and Maxwell's (2001) typology in flow chart 1 reveals the options of interventions open to government in implementing land reforms. In South Africa, land restitution is a component of the land reform programme.

4.3 Summary

The Manavhela community was dispossessed of their land in 1929. In 2002, as a provision of the restitution component of the South African, post-1994 land reform programme, they claimed the land as they had enjoyed beneficial-occupation rights 10 years prior to and after the 1913 Native Land Act. Land reform is a programme designed to address the problem of rural poverty assumed to have been created in part by land dispossession during the apartheid era.

The literature suggested that there is a land and agrarian question in South Africa, which is alleged to have been addressed for the White farmers by the White apartheid government; for big capital by deregulation and market liberalisation, but yet to be resolved for the Black dispossessed. Amongst the many aspects of the land and agrarian question for the Black dispossessed are issues of their livelihood and the context of the return of their land. The mere fact that all the White governments had identified the politics of land as the force that enabled them socioeconomic security and safety, form the basis for the assumption that the fortunes of the dispossessed and impoverished Blacks would be positively affected by land restitution. It is against this background that answers to the research question are sought. The question is whether the mere return of the land to the Manavhela community would restore to them their pre-dispossession comforts that could resolve their land and agrarian question. The other aspect of the question is how land restitution will promote poverty reduction in this community and in the wider society.

Given the foregoing, it was important to uncover the intervening circumstances to the land restitution programme using the Manavhela case, such as identifying the livelihoods of the community and the factors that could support those livelihoods. It also included how these livelihoods could be incorporated into the land restitution programme, as well as whether in the present socioeconomic situation in South Africa, these livelihoods could be the prevailing consideration in the design and implementation of the land restitution programme.

Against the backdrop of the above, the study attempted an explanation of the state of affairs in literature. It looked at the relationship between the obtainable land-based livelihoods and the resolution of the land and agrarian question for the Black dispossessed. The study discussed the current debates on the land and agrarian question in South African such as the impact of land dispossession, tenure and use on peoples' livelihoods and on sustainable agriculture. The study used relevant methodology to collect and analyse data and it subsequently arrived at the following conclusions and recommendations from the data.

4.4 Conclusions

Based on the assumption of the study that land restitution could alleviate and/or eliminate rural poverty among the Black dispossessed, it was necessary firstly to define poverty and then identify the poor. The poor are those that are structurally denied access to the resources and capital of their society. They also have peculiar social relations within the households and the community as well as with the land. They have diverse livelihoods and the dimension of poverty they experience is consistent with their existence. The knowledge of the aforementioned is necessary because the priorities of the poor are adequate income and consumption, independence, security, and self-respect. In South Africa, land restitution was devised as an intervention to address poverty.

From the data collected and the discussion of the findings of the study, the conclusion drawn is that land restitution alone cannot and will not reduce or address poverty. The Manavhela, like all Black South Africans as classified under apartheid regimes, fit the definition of the poor. Any relocation is difficult and costly under the best of financial conditions. The present financial condition of the Manavhela is precarious and desperate. However, even more compelling is the fact that most of them, though victims of forced removals, have been at the same location for over thirty years, and own the properties in their

current location. Save for the sake of restorative justice of having their land back, the unaddressed obstacles to relocation make it impracticable.

Land restitution has not met the priority of the poor of adequate income and consumption because on the premises of land ownership and access the Manavhela land return does not yet contribute to the people's livelihood. In terms of land-use, the incongruity of the practise on the returned land to the people's livelihood activities leads to the conclusion that their independence is infringed in this case of land restitution. A people who have satisfied their consumption need attempt to secure their future through accumulation in the absence of adequate structural provision for social security. It is in the context of who gets what income that it is concluded on what is done with the surpluses. In Manavhela there is no proof of accumulation, therefore, the returned land did not change their situation of insecurity. Self-respect as an aspect of the priority of the poor is predicated on the attainment of social security, which guarantees the people the prerogative of independent decision-making or the right to self-determination.

4.5 Recommendations

Land restitution could deliver on its objectives in Manavhela and other similar cases if it is effective and relevant to the people. It is exigent on government and stakeholders in the land restitution process to:

- Recognise the diversity of the rural situation and strengthen livelihood diversification for multi-occupational and multi-location households for it to be sustainable.
- Respond:
 - To the past: apartheid induced dispossession and its fallouts.
 - To the future: globalisation and its consequences on domestic (national) policies such as the liberalisation of the agricultural sector.
 - To changes in the rural areas: the lack of access to infrastructure and resources such as markets, skills, finances among others in the agricultural sector.

However, these responses should be implemented as a matter of public good and not just for economic effectiveness (efficiency). It is because the government has a stake in and a moral obligation to ensure that land restitution succeeds and contributes toward poverty alleviation, since the public purse is used for it.

- Therefore, the expected response in the case of land restitution should be in the area of post-settlement support. The section of the Regional Land Claim Commission (RLCC) assigned with this responsibility should be strengthened to deliver on such aspects of it as markets, finance,

training, and input. In terms of market a liaison a recommended between the post-settlement support unit (PSU) of the RLCC and commodity boards and farmer associations to access the commodity markets for the products of the beneficiaries of land restitution. Therefore, training as post-settlement support should include financial competence by appropriate agents, extensive on-farm agricultural extension services and other opportunities considered relevant as the needs arise.

- Keep the land restitution process consistent with poverty reduction by tackling the problem of inequalities in assets and income among its citizens, through redistributive measures.
- Reflect decentralisation by realigning and harmonising the line functions of organs of governments and agencies involved in the land restitution delivery. It should also devolve responsibilities to the beneficiary communities.
- Encourage the productive sector by promoting an agriculture that can realise food self-sufficiency and security as well as supplying raw materials for the manufacturing industry while protecting the natural resources. It entails investment in relevant infrastructure and human capital.
- Encourage the creation of progressive movements among beneficiaries of land restitution.
- If the Manavhela experience is generalised to all other land restitution cases, the overall recommendation would be that in all cases beneficiaries should have to be heavily subsidised/assisted in their peculiar livelihood activities, to realise the poverty alleviation goals of land restitution. It should become the operational policy at the local, provincial and national levels.

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UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO
TURFLOOP CAMPUS
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Dear Respondent,

Re: Land Restitution and Development: A Case Study of Manavhela ‘Ben Lavin’ Nature Reserve, Limpopo Province.

My name is Okumbor J.C. I am a Master of Arts student in Sociology at the above mentioned university. I am conducting research on the above topic.

The study is aimed at gaining information on the livelihood needs of beneficiaries of restituted land claims and the constraints in delivering them.

I kindly wish to appeal to you to provide honest and concise answers to the questions that follow. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions. The questionnaire is not designed to assess what you know and how you feel about the subject matter.

Your answers will be treated with confidentiality and your name will not be recorded. Therefore your participation is voluntary and you may wish to discontinue from participating in this study at any stage of it.

Thanks for your cooperation.

This is to confirm that I [Name (optional)] have read through and understood the purpose of this questionnaire and I give my consent to participate in the study.

Respondent signature Date

Witness signature Date

INSTRUCTIONS

- (i) Please answer all questions
- (ii) Choose the answer(s) that is applicable by ticking X in box provided.
- (iii) Write the correct number(s) of case(s) in the box marked NUM on top.
- (iv) Write down the information required in the space provided on the drawn line.

SECTION ONE: HOUSEHOLD PROFILE

1. Gender

1	Male	
2	Female	

2. Age _____

3. Marital status

1	Single	
2	Married	
3	Divorced	
4	Widowed	
5	Separated	

4. If married what is the age of your spouse(s) _____

5. How many dependants do you have in your household? _____

6. What is the age (s) of each of the dependant? _____

7. How many members of your household are living at home presently? _____

8. How many members of your household are related to you in the following ways?

			NUM
1	Children		
2	Brothers/Sisters		
3	Cousins		
4	Uncles/Aunts		
5	Nephews/Nieces		
6	Spouse		

Others specify _____

SECTION TWO: HOUSEHOLD HISTORY

9. Where is your household located presently? _____

10. How long has your household been at the present location?

1	1-10 years	
2	11-20 years	
3	21-30 years	
4	31 and over years	

11. Which places has your household lived in before moving to your present location

12. What are the reasons given for moving each time? _____

13. What is the status/condition for your household residence in the present location?

1	Tenants	
2	Squatters	
3	Titled residents	

Others specify _____

SECTION THREE: LIVEHOOD INDICATORS

14. How many members of your household have any of the following levels of education?

			NUM
1	No schooling		
2	Some primary		
3	Completed primary		
4	Some secondary		
5	Grade 12 / standard 10		
6	Tertiary		

15. How many members of your household are in the following employment status?

			NUM
1	Unemployed		
2	Employed		
3	Self employed		

16. Where are the employed members of your household working? (Example: Pretoria).

17. What is the occupation of the employed members of your household? (Example: Domestic worker) _____

18. How many of the employed members of your household are within any of the following income categories per month?

			NUM
1	R1 – R500		
2	R501 – R1000		
3	R1001 – R1500		
4	R1501 – R2000		
5	R2001 – R3000		
6	R3001 – R4000		
7	R4001 – R5000		
8	R5001 and more		

19. How many members of your household are engaged in any of the following income generating activities apart from employment?

			NUM
1	Cultivation		
2	Animal husbandry		
3	Agro-processing		
4	Craft making		
5	Petty-trading		
6	Gathering		
7	Tourism		

Others specify _____

20. How much does the household earn per month from any of the following income generating activities?

1. Cultivation R_____
2. Animal R_____
3. Agro-processing R_____
4. Craft making R_____
5. Petty trading R_____
6. Gathering R_____
7. Tourism R_____
- Others specify R_____

21. How much does your household spend approximately per month on the following items?

- 1. Food R_____
- 2. Water R_____
- 3. Fuel R_____
- 4. Communication R_____
- 5. Health R_____
- 6. Education R_____
- 7. Transport R_____
- Others specify _____ R_____

22. Who decides on how money is spent on the items above in question 21?

		Food	Water	Fuel	Comm.	Health	Education	Trans.	Others
1	Male								
2	Female								
3	Both								

23. How many members of your household temporarily live away from home?

24. How long do these members of our household live away from home at one time (state in months)_____

25. How many members of your household live temporarily away from home for any of the following purpose?

			NUM
1	Work		
2	Education		
3	Others		

Explain _____

26. What kind of household-support does your household receive from any of the following (explain)?

- 1. Government_____
- 2. NGO's_____
- 3. Business_____
- Others specify_____

27. How often does your household receive these household-supports from any of the above in question 26?

		Government	NGOs	Business	Others
1	Always				
2	Most of the time				
3	Seldom				

28. Which of the following kinds of assets does your household own?

1	Land	
2	Houses	
3	Livestock	
4	Crops	
5	Farm tools	

Others specify _____

29. Is there any conflict over the use of these household assets? (Explain)

Land

1	Yes	
2	No	

Explain _____

Houses

1	Yes	
2	No	

Explain _____

Livestock

1	Yes	
2	No	

Explain _____

Crops

1	Yes	
2	No	

Explain _____

Farm tools

1	Yes	
2	No	

Explain _____

Others

1	Yes	
2	No	

Explain _____

30. What kind of energy does your household use for cooking?

1	Wood	
2	Coal	
3	Paraffin	
4	Gas	
5	Electricity	

31. How much does your household spend approximately per month on cooking energy R_____

32. What does your household use for lighting?

1	Candle	
2	Paraffin	
3	Electricity	

Others specify _____

33. How much do your household spend approximately per month on lighting R_____

34. What are the source(s) of domestic water supply to your household?

1	Pipe borne water	
2	Borehole	
3	Spring	
4	Rainwater tank	
5	Dam / pool	
6	River / stream	
7	Water vendor	

35. How often is domestic water available to your household from your source(s) in question 34 above?

		Pipe borne water	Borehole	Spring	Rain water	Dam / pool	River / stream	Water vendor
1	Always							
2	Most of the time							
3	Seldom							

36. To what kinds of community-based organisation(s) do members of your household belong (Example: Stokvels)_____

37. What are the benefits to your household of membership of such community-based organisations in question 37 above_____

38. How many times has your household had any of the following shocking and stressful experiences in the last 5 years?

			NUM
1	Loss of livestock		
2	Crop failure		
3	Drought		
4	Chronic diseases		
5	Bush fire		
6	Loss of job		
7	Death		

Others specify _____

39. How are/did your household cope with this stressful and shocking experience?

1. Loss of livestock _____

2. Crop failure _____

3. Drought _____

4. Chronic disease _____

5. Bush fire _____

6. Loss of job _____

7. Death _____

Others _____

40. What kinds of difficulties/constraints is your household experiencing in your daily survival activities

41. What is your household doing to overcome these difficulties/constraints?

42. How has the new democratic government affected your household in the provision of services to the community?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Eka mulavisisiwa,

Mayelana na: Ku ttheriseriwa misava na nhluvuko: Ndzavisiso lowu endliweke endhawini ya Manavhela, 'Ben Lavin' exifundzeni xa Limpopo.

Hi mina Okumbor J.C. Ndzi muchudeni wa digiri ya Master of Arts eka dyondzo ya filosofi eyunivhesiti leyi tsariweke laha henhla. Ndzi le ku endleni ka vulavisisi hi nhloko-mhaka leyi nga laha henhla.

Xikongomelo xa ndzavisiso lowu i ku kuma vuxoko-xoko mayelana na swilaveko swa vanhu lava vuyiseriweke misava ya vona na swiphiso leswi va hlanganaka na swona.

Ndzi kombela leswaku mi nyika tinhlamulo leti hetisekeke eka swivutiso leswi landzelaka. A ku na tinhlamulo leti nga hoxeka kumbe leti nga tona. Ndzi kombela mi ndzi nyika matitwele ya n'wina hi nhloko-mhaka leyi.

Tinhlamulo hinkwato leti mi nga ta ndzi nyika tona ti ta hlayiwa hi mina ntsena na swona a ti nge kandziyisiwi. Hikokwalaho, swi le ka n'wina (ku pfumela kumbe ku ala) ku va xiphemu xa ndzavisiso lowu. Na loko mi pfumerile, mi nga ha tshika ku va xipemu xa ndzavisiso lowu nkarhi wun'wana na wun'wana.

Hi nkensa nseketelo wa n'wina.

Leswi swi seketela leswaku mina [Vito (a ri bohi)]

ndzi hlaye no twisisa xikongomelo xa ndzavisiso lowu na swona ndza pfumela ku va xiphemu xa wona..

Nsayino wa mina Siku

Nsayino wa mbhoni Siku

SWILERISO

- (i) Mi komberiwa ku hlamula swivutiso hinkwaswo.
- (ii) Hlawulani nhlamulo ya n'wina hi ku tsala X etlhelo ka xibokisani lexi nga na nhlamulo leyi mi yi hlawuleke.
- (iii) Tsalani nhlayo ya leswi vutisiweke ehansi ka NUM.
- (iv) Tsalani tinhlamuselo leti lavekaka ehenhla ka layini leyi nga nyikiwa.

XIYENGE XO SUNGULA: VUXOKO-XOKO BYA NDYANGU

1. Rimbewu

1	Va xinuna	
2	Va xisati	

2. Vukhale _____

3. Ta vukati

1	Lava nga tekangiki	
2	Lava nga teka	
3	Lava nga thalana	
4	Lava nga feriswa hi nuna/nsati	
5	Vatekani lava nga ha tshameki swin'we	

- 4. Loko mi tekile/tekiwile, tsalani malembe ya vasati va/nuna wa n'wina _____
- 5. Xana I vanhu va ngani lava u va hlayisaka ekaya ka wena? _____
- 6. Xana malembe ya un'wana na un'wana wa vona hi waha? _____
- 7. I va ngani vanhu lava tshamaka ekaya sweswi? _____
- 8. I vangani vanhu va laha ndyangwini va nga na vuxaka lebyi landzelaka?

			NUM
1	Vana		
2	Vamakwavo va xinuna/xisati		
3	Vana va hahani/malume		
4	Vahahani/Bava-ntsongo/Malume/mhani-ntsongoi		
5	Vana va vamakwerhu		
6	Nunu/nsati		

Van'wana (hlamuselani vuxaka) _____

XIYENGE YA VUMBIRHI: MATIMU YA NDYANGU

- 9. Wu tshama kwihi ndyangu wa n'wina sweswi? _____
- 10. I malembe mangani wu tshama eka ndhawu leyi?

1	1-10	
2	11-20	
3	21-30	
4	31 na ku tlula	

11. Ndyangu wa n'wina wu tshame eka tindhawu tihi tin'wana wu nga ti tshama laha wu nga kona sweswi? _____

12. Xivangelo xo suka eka yin'wana na yin'wana ya tindhawu leti a xi ri xihi?

13. Ku na swipimelo muni laha mi tshamaka kona sweswi?

1	Hi hakela hi nhw'eti	
2	Hi tshame hi nkanu	
3	Hi vinyi va ndhawu	

Swin'wana (hlamusela)_____

XIYENGE XA NHARHU: SWA TIDYONDZO NA MINTIRHO

14. I vanhu vangani endyangwini va nga eka swiyimo leswi landzelaka hi swa dyondzo?

			NUM
1	A va nghananga xikolo		
2	A va hetanga phurayimari		
3	Va hete phurayimari		
4	A va hetanga sekondari		
5	Va hete ntangha khume/matiriki		
6	Va na tidyondzo ta le henhla ka matiriki		

15. I vangani endyangwini wa n'wina va nga eka swiyimo leswi landzelaka swa mintirho?

			NUM
1	A va tirhi		
2	Va tirha		
3	Va titirhela		

16. Lava va tirhaka, va tirha kwihi? (xik: Pitori).

17. Lava tirhaka va tirha mintirho muni?(xik. emakhixini)

18. Eka lava tirhaka, i vangani wa welaka eka swiyenge leswi landzelaka swa muholo?

			NUM
1	R1 – R500		
2	R501 – R1000		
3	R1001 – R1500		
4	R1501 – R2000		
5	R2001 – R3000		
6	R3001 – R4000		
7	R4001 – R5000		
8	R5001 na ku tlula		

19. I vangani endyangwini wa n'wina va tirhaka leswi landzelaka, xikan'we na ntirho?

			NUM
1	Vurimi		
2	Fuweke swifuwo		
3	Swimakiwa swa swibyariwa		
4	Swa vutshila (art)		
5	Xavisa swilo swintsongo		
6	Hlengeletaka swilo		
7	Swa vupfhumba (tourism)		

Swin'wana (hlamuselani) _____

20. Ndyangu wa n'wina wu kuma mali muni hi xin'wana na xin'wana xa leswi landzelaka?

1. Vurimi R_____
2. Swifuwo R_____
3. Swimakiwa swa swibyariwa R_____
4. Swa vutshila R_____
5. Swixavisiwa swintsongo R_____
6. Ku hlengeleta swilo R_____

21. Xana ndyangu wa n'wina wu tirhisa mali muni eka leswi landzelaka?

1. Swakudya R_____
2. Mati R_____
3. Swo sweka R_____
4. Swo vutihlanganyisi (ku fana na tinqingho) R_____
5. Swa rihanyo R_____
6. Swa dyondzo R_____
7. Xakufamba R_____

Swin'wana (Hlamuselani) _____ R_____

22. I mani a tekaka xiboho xo tirhisa mali eka leswi vuriweke eka xivutiso 21?

		Swodya	Mati	Swolumeka/ sweka	Vutihlan ganyisi	Rihanyo	Dyondzo	Xakuf amba	Swin' wana
1	Wa xinuna								
2	Wa xisati								
3	Hinkwavo								

23. I vangani endyangwini va tshamaka xinkarhani endhawini yin'wana, xik., hi ntirho?

24. Va tshama nkarhi wo leha ku fika kwihi eka tindhawu leti (tinhw'eti)?

25. I vangani va sukaka xinkarhana ekaya ku ya endla leswi landzelaka?

			NUM
1	Tirha		
2	Dyondza		
3	Endla swin'wana		

Hlamuselani _____

26. Xana ndyangu wa n'wina wu kuma mpfuno muni ku suka eka leswi landzelaka(hlamuselani)?

1. Mfumo _____

2. Swiyenge leswi nga riki swa mfumo _____

3. Va mabindzu _____

Kun'wana (hlamuselani) _____

27. Mi kuma mpfuno lowu kangani ku huma eka swiyenge leswi nga vuriwa eka 26?

		Mfumo	Minhlangano leyi nga riki ya mfumo	Mabindzu	Kun'wana
1	Minkarhi hinkwayo				
2	Minkarhi yo tala				
3	Minkarhi yin'wana				

28. Hi swihi swa leswi landzelaka mi nga na swona endyangwini n'wina?

1	Misava	
2	Tiyindlu	
3	Swifuwo	
4	Swirimiwa	
5	Switirhi swa le purasini	

Swin'wana (hlamuselani) _____

29. Ku na swirhalanganyi loko mi fanele ku tirhisa leswi landzelaka? (Hlamuselani)

Misava

1	Ina	
2	F-e	

 Hlamuselani _____

Tiyindlo

1	Ina	
2	F-e	

 Hlamuselani _____

Swifuwo

1	Ina	
2	F-e	

 Hlamuselani _____

Swirimiwa

1	Ina	
2	F-e	

 Hlamuselani _____

Switirhi swa le purasini

1	Ina	
2	F-e	

 Hlamuselani _____

Swin'wana

1	Ina	
2	F-e	

 Hlamuselani _____

30. Xana ndyangu wa n'wina wu tirhisa yini ku sweka?

1	Tihunyi	
2	Malahla	
3	Pharafini	
4	Gasi	
5	Gezi	

31. Mi tirhisa mali muni hi nhw'eti ku xava switirhisiwa leswi? R_____

32. Xana ndyangu wa n'wina wu tirhisa yini ku voninga/lumeka?

1	Makhandlhele	
2	Pharafini	
3	Gezi	

Swin'wana (hlamuselani) _____

33. Xana ndyangu wa n'wina wu tirhisa mali muni eka swo lumeka/vononga? R_____

34. Xana mati lama mi ma tirhisaka ekaya ya huma kwihi?

1	Ya ta hi tiphayiphi	
2	Ya borhiwile	
3	I ya swiselu-selu/swimbyari-mbyari	
4	Ya huma ethangeni; i ya mpfula	
5	Edan'wini / exidziveni	
6	Enambyeni /exinambyanini	
7	Yo xaviwa	

35. Xana mati ta kumekisa ku yini hi ku ya hi tindlela leti mi ti hlawuleke eka xivutiso

34?

		Ya tipayiphi	Yo borhiwa	Ya swiselu-selu/ swimbyari- mbyari	Ya mpfula	Damu/ xidziva	Nambu/ xinamby- ana	Yo xaviwa
1	Minkarhi hinkwayo							
2	Minkarhi yo tala							
3	Minkarhi yin'wana							

36. Xana swirho swa ndyangu wa n'wina i swirho swa minhlangano yihi ya muganga? (xik: Switokofela/tisosayiti)_____

37.Xana va vuyeriwa hi yini hi vuxirho bya vona eka minhlangano leyi nga vuriwa eka 36 laha henhla?

38. Swiyimo leswi landzelaka swa ntshikelelo swi mi humelele kangani endyangwini?

		NUM
1	Ku lahlekeriwa hi swifuwo	
2	Ku fa ka swibyariwa	
3	Dyandza	
4	Vuvabyi byo heta nkarhi	
5	Ritshwa	
6	Ku lahlekeriwa hi ntirho	
7	Rifu	

Swin'wana (Hlamuselani) _____

39. Xana mi swi kotisa/kotise ku yini ku amukela swiyimo leswi landzelaka?

1. Ku lahlekeriwa hi swifuwo _____

2. Ku fa ka swibyariwa _____

3. Dyandza _____

4. Mavabyi yo heta nkarhi _____

5. Ritshwa _____

6. Ku helela hi ntirho _____

7. Rifu _____

Swin'wana _____

40. I swirhalanganyi muni leswi ndyangu wa n'wina wu hlanganaka na swona hi masiku loko wu karhi wu ringeta ku tihanyisa _____

41. Xana ndyangu wa n'wina wu endla yini ku lwa na swirhalanganyi leswi?

42. Xana mfumo lowuntshwa wa xidemokhirasi wu ve na xiave muni eka mphakelo wa vukorhokeri bya vaaki? _____

NDZI NKHENSA NKARHI WA N'WINA

UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO
TURFLOOP CAMPUS
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Kha Mufhinduli

**Re: Mbadelo na Mveledziso ya Shango: Ngudo ya ndingo ya tsireledzo ya vhupo ha Manavhela
'Ben Lavin' Limpopo Province.**

Dzina laṅa ndi Okumbor J.C. Ndi matshudeni wa Masiṭasi ya Sociology kha Yunivesithi ire afho nṯha. Ndi khou ita ṯhoḍisiso nga ṯhoho ire afho nṯha.

Vhugudisi uvhu ho livha kha kha u wana mafhungo nga ha ṯhoḍea dza kutshilele dza beneficiaries dza mbilo dza mavu na vhukonḍi kha u dzi ṯetshedza.

Ndi a humbela uri vha nṯee phindulo pfufhi nga u fulufhedzea dza mbudziso dzi tevhelaho. A hu na phindulo yo khakheaho kana ire yone sa izwo hu si na dzangalelo la u nwala zwine na ḍivha na uri ni ḍi pfa hani nga ha ṯhoho.

Phindulo dzavho dzi ḍo dzhiiwa sa dza tshidzumbe na dzina laṅa a li nga ṯwaliwi. Zwenezwo vha dzhenela nga u tou funa vha sa kombetshedzwa, vha nga kha ḍibvisa kha uvhu vhugudusi tshifhinga tshiṯwe na tshiṯwe vha tshi funa.

Ndi livhuwa u pfesesa havho.

Hezwi ndi u ṯanziela uri nṯe [Dzina (arali vha tshi funa)] ndo vhala zwoṯhe nda pfesese ndivho ya khweshenee iyi, ndi a ḍinetshedza kha u dzhenela vhugudisi uvhu..

Tsaino ya mufhinduli Ḍuvha

Tsaino ya ṯhanzi Ḍuvha

MILAYO

- (i) Ndi humbela uri vha fhindule mbudziso dzothe
- (ii) Kha vha nange phindulo yo (dzo) teaho nga u nwala X kha bogisi tsho newaho.
- (iii) Kha vha n'wale nomboro yone (dzone) ya (dza) kheisi kha tshibogisi tsho n'waliwaho NUM nga ntha.
- (iv) Kha vha n'wale mafhungo ane a khou tode a fhethu ho n'tshedzwaho ho olwaho mutalo.

KHETHEKANYO YA U THOMA: NYIMELE YA MUṬA

1. Mbeu

1	Tshiduna	
2	Tshisadzi	

2. Miṅwaha _____

3. Nyimele ya Mbingano

1	A thi ngo mala/ malwa	
2	Ndo mala/ malwa	
3	Ndo ṭalwa	
4	Ndo lovhelwa	
5	Ro fhandekana	

4. Arali no mala/malwa mufarisi waṅu una minwaha mingana? _____

5. Hu na vhathi vhangana vhane vha vha ṭundela muḍini wavho? _____

6. Vhathi avho vha no vha ṭundela vha na miiṅwaha mingana? _____

7. Ndi mirado ya muṭa mingana ire hone hayani zwino? _____

8. Ndi mirado ya muṭa mingana ire na vhushaka na inwi nga ndila i tevhelaho?

		NUM
1	Vhana	
2	Vhakomana/Khaladzi	
3	Vhazwala	
4	Malume/Vhomakhadzi	
5	Nephews/Nieces	
6	Mufumakadzi / Musadzi	

zwiṅwe kha vha sumbedze _____

KHETHEKANYO YA VHUVHILI: DIVHAZWAKALE YA MUṬA

9. Ndi ngafhi hune muṭa wa haṅu wa vha hone zwino? _____

10. Vho no fhedza miṅwaha mingana vha tshi khou dzula afha?

1	1-10	
2	11-20	
3	21-30	
4	31 na ufhira	

11. Ndi ngafhi he vha vhuya vha dzula hone vha sa athu ḡa afha?

12. Ndi ṭhalutshedzo dzifhio dze vha ṅea vha tshi pfuluwa tshifhinga tshoṭhe?

13. Ndi nzulele ifhio ine haya havho ha vha zwone afho hune vha dzula hone zwino?

1	Vho tou hira	
2	Vho tou ḡihahedza kha vhaṅwe	
3	Vha na vhudzulo ha mulayo	

zwiṅwe kha vha sumbedze _____

KHETHEKANYO YA VHURARU: ZWI SUMBAHO MATSHILELE

14. Ndi vha ngana miraḡo ya muṭa vha re na pfunzo dzi tevhelaho afha fhasi?

			NUM
1	A vho ngo dzhena tshikolo		
2	Vho dzhenaho kha phraimari		
3	Vho fhidzaho phraimari		
4	Vho dzhenaho sekondari		
5	Gireidi ya 12 / murole wa 10		
6	Pfunzo dza nṭha		

15. Ndi vha ngana miraḡo ya muṭa vha re kha vhuimo ha mishumo hu tevhelaho?

			NUM
1	U sa shuma		
2	U shuma		
3	Vhane vha ḡishuma		

16. Ndi ngafhi hune miraḁo ya muḁa ya shuma hone? (Tsumbo: Pretoria).

17. Ndi mishumo ifhio ine miraḁo ya muḁa ya shuma yone? (Tsumbo: mushumi wa muḁini)

18. Ndi vha ngana miraḁo ya muḁa vhane vha hola nga ndila I tevhelaho nga ḁwedzi?

			NUM
1	R1 – R500		
2	R501 – R1000		
3	R1001 – R1500		
4	R1501 – R2000		
5	R2001 – R3000		
6	R3001 – R4000		
7	R4001 – R5000		
8	R5001 na u fhira		

19. Ndi miraḁo mingana ya muḁa wavho vhane vha ita mbuelo nga zwi si muholo zwi tevhelaho?

			NUM
1	Ndimu		
2	vhufuwi		
3	U bvedza zwa ndimo		
4	U vhaḁa		
5	U rengisa zwithu		
6	Miḁangano		
7	Vhuendelamashango		

Zwiḁwe kha vha ḁivhadze _____

20. Ndi masheleni mangana ane vha a wana nga ḁwedzi nga zwi tevhelaho?

1. Ndimu R_____

2. zwifuwo R_____

3. Ubvedza zwa vhulimi R_____

4. U vhaḁa R_____

5. U rengisa R_____

6. Miḁangano R_____

7. Vhuendelamashango R_____

Zwiḁwe kha vha ḁivhadze R_____

21. Ndi vhugai ine vha muṭa wavho wa I shumisa nga ṅwedzi kha zwi tevhelaho?

1. Zwiḽiwa R_____
 2. Maḽi R_____
 3. Zwivhaswa R_____
 4. vhudavhidzano R_____
 5. Mutakalo R_____
 6. Pfunzo R_____
 7. Tshiendedzi R_____
- Zwiṅwe kha vha ḽivhadze_____ R_____

22. Ndi nnyi a no amba uri tshelede kha I shumiswe kha zwe zwa ambiwa afho ṅṅha kha mbudziso ya 21?

		zwiḽiwa	maḽi	zwivhaswa	vhudavhidzano	mutakalo	pfunzo	tshiendedzi	zwiṅwe
1	Munna								
2	Mufumakadzi								
3	Vhoṅṅhe								

23. Ndi miraḽo mingana ya muṭa ine ya dzula lwa tshifhinganyana ṅṅa?

24. Ndi tshifhinga tshingafhani tshine miraḽo ya muṭa ya dzula ṅṅa? (vha ambe nga miṅwedzi)

25. Ndi miraḽo ya muṭa mingana ine ya dzula ṅṅa lwa tshifhinganyana nga zwi tevhelaho?

		NUM
1	mushumo	
2	pfunzo	
3	zwiṅwe	

Kha vha ḽalutshedze _____

26. Ndi thuso ya muṭa ifhio kha I tevhelaho ine muṭa wavho wa I wana? (vha ḽalutshedze)

1. muvhuso_____
 2. dziNGO_____
 3. mabindu_____
- zwiṅwe kha vha ḽalutshedze_____

27. Ndi lu ngana hune vha muṭa wavho wa wana thuso iyi kha vhaṅwe vha re kha mbudziso ya 26?

		Muvhuso	Dzi NGO	mabindu	vhaṅwe
1	Tshifhinga tshoṭhe				
2	Tshifhinga tshinzhi				
3	tshiṅwe tshifhinga				

28. ndi ndaka ifhio ya I tevhelaho ine muṭa wavho wa vha nayo?

1	mavu	
2	dzinnḍu	
3	zwifuwo	
4	zwimela	
5	Thundu dza bulasini	

dziṅwe kha vha ṭalutshedze _____

29. Hu na ndwa musi hu tshi shumiswa ndaka ya muṭa? (Kha vha ṭalutshedze)

mavu

1	Ee	
2	Hai	

Kha vha ṭalutshedze _____

dzinnḍu

1	Fe	
2	Hai	

Kha vha ṭalutshedze _____

zwifuwo

1	Fe	
2	Hai	

Kha vha ṭalutshedze _____

Zwimela

1	Fe	
2	Hai	

Kha vha ṭalutshedze _____

thundu dza bulasini

1	Fe	
2	Hai	

Kha vha ṭalutshedze _____

zwiṅwe

1	Ee	
2	Hai	

Kha vha ṭalutshedze _____

30. Ndi fulufulu lijhio line muṭa wavho wa li shumisa kha u bika?

1	khuni	
2	malasha	
3	pharafini	
4	Xasi	
5	muḍagasi	

31. Ndi vhugai ine muṭani wavho vha I shumisa kha fulufulu la u bika? R_____

32. Ndi mini tshine vha tshi shumisa kha u vhonetshela?

1	khandela	
2	Pharafini	
3	Muḍagasi	

zwiṅwe kha vha ṭalutshedze_____

33. Ndi vhugai ine muṭani wavho vha I shumisa nga ṅwedzi kha renga zwa u vhonetshela? R_____

34. Ndi tshiko tshifhio tsha maḍi tshine muta wavho wa tshi shumisa?

1	maḍi a phaiphini	
2	Mulindi wa maḍi	
3	tshisima	
4	Thangi la maḍi a mvula	
5	damu / tivha	
6	mulambo/ kudambo	
7	Vharengisi vha maḍi	

35. Ndi lungana lune maḍi are kha zwiko zwi re afho ṅṅha kha 34 a vha a tshi wanala?

		maḍi a phaiphini	Mulindi wa maḍi	tshisima	Thangi la maḍi a mvula	damu / tivha	mulambo/ kudambo	Vharengisi vha maḍi
1	Tshifhinga tshoṅhe							
2	Tshifhinga tshinzhi							
3	tshiṅwe tshifhinga							

36. Ndi zwiimiswa zwifhio zwa zwitshavha zwine miraḍo ya muṭa ya vha khazwo? (Tsumbo:

zwiṭokofele)_____

37. Ndi mbuelo ifhio ine muṭa waṅu wa vha na vhuraḍo kha madzangano a zwitshavha a re kha

mbudziso 37 I re afho nṭha? _____

38. Ndi lungana miraḍo ya muṭa waṅu u tshi vha na tshenzhemo ya vhuḍungu vhu tevhelaho kha miṅwaha 5 yo fhiraho?

			NUM
1	U xeelwa nga zwifuwo		
2	u moḍa ha zwimela		
3	gomelelo		
4	vhulwadzwe		
5	Mililo ya maḍaka		
6	Uxeelwa nga mushumo		
7	lufu		

zwiṅwe kha vha ṭalutshedze _____

39. Vho muṭa waṅu vho zwi kona hani u tshila na vhuṭungu he vha ṭangana?

1. U xeelwa nga zwifuwo _____

2. U moḍa ha zwimela _____

3. Gomelelo _____

4. malwadze mahulu _____

5. mililo ya maḍaka _____

6. u xeelwa nga mushumo _____

7. lufu _____

zwiṅwe _____

40. Ndi vhukonḍi vhufhio vhune muṭa wavho wa vha u tshi khou ṭangana naho musi vha tshi khou tshila?

41. Ndi zwifhio zwine muṭa wavho wa vha u tshi khou ita u lwa na vhukonḍi kana vhuleme uho?

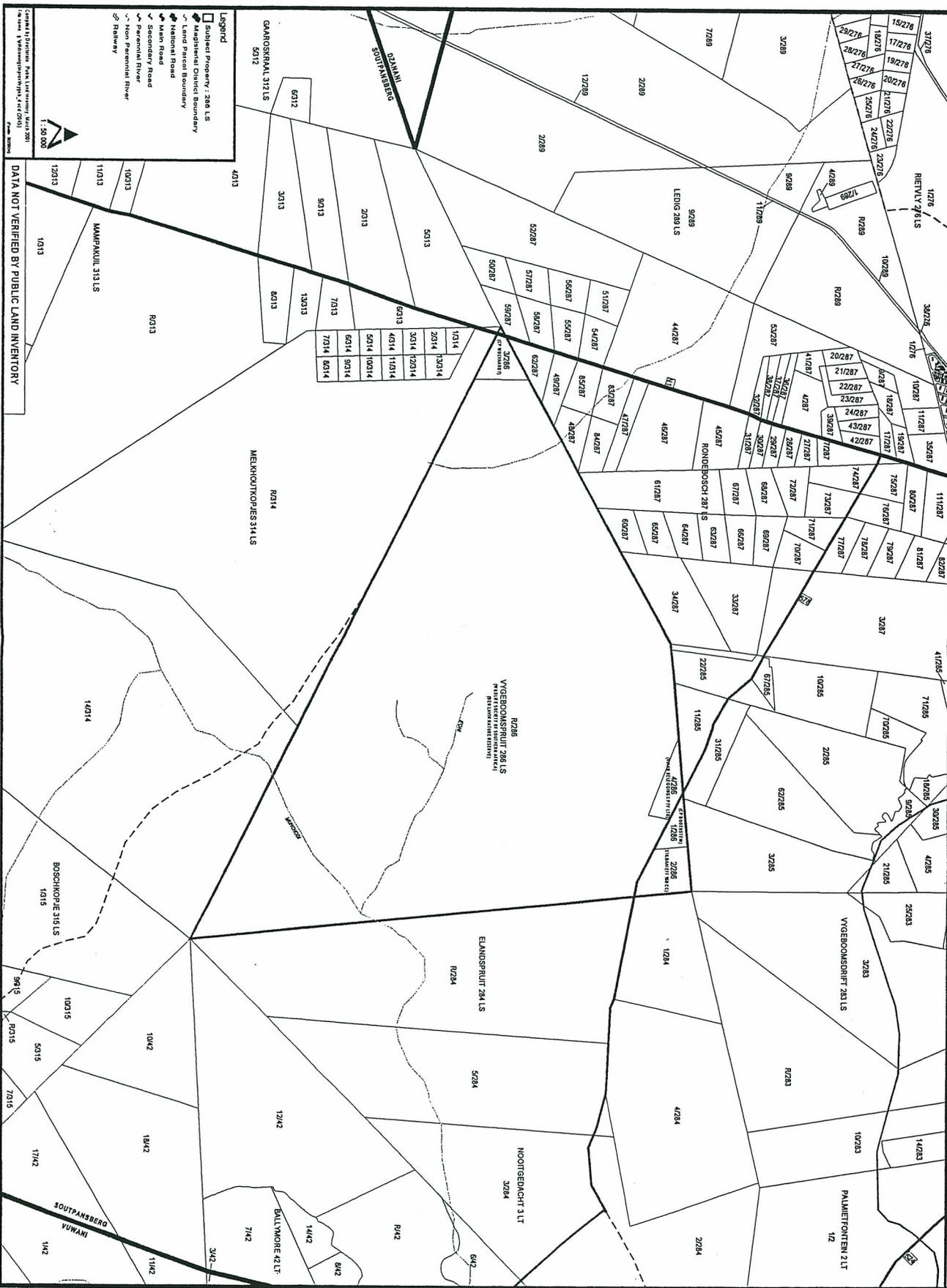
42. Muvhuso muswa wa dimokrasi wo kwama hani muṭa wavho kha u ṅea tshumelo kha zwitshavha?

NDI LIVHUWA TSHIFHINGA TSHAVHO



LOCALITY OF FARM : VYGEBOOMSPRUIT 286 LS

SOUTPANSBERG MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT

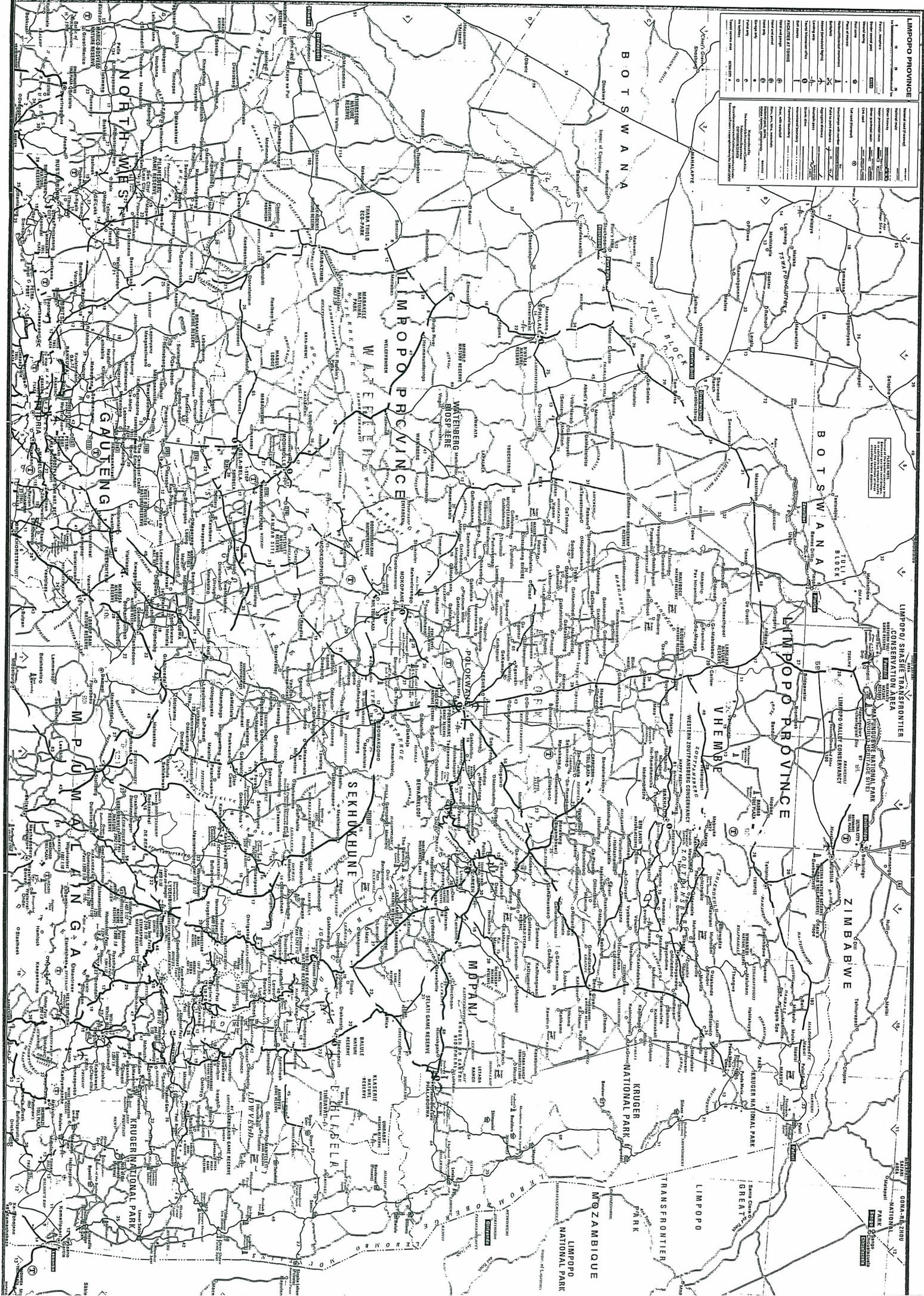


Legend

- Subject Property : 286 LS
- Magisterial District Boundary
- Land Parcel Boundary
- National Road
- Main Road
- Secondary Road
- Perennial River
- Non Perennial River
- Railway

Scale 1:50,000

DATA NOT VERIFIED BY PUBLIC LAND INVENTORY



LIMPOPO PROVINCE

1	1:50,000	1:50,000	1:50,000
2	1:100,000	1:100,000	1:100,000
3	1:250,000	1:250,000	1:250,000
4	1:500,000	1:500,000	1:500,000
5	1:1,000,000	1:1,000,000	1:1,000,000
6	1:2,500,000	1:2,500,000	1:2,500,000
7	1:5,000,000	1:5,000,000	1:5,000,000
8	1:10,000,000	1:10,000,000	1:10,000,000
9	1:25,000,000	1:25,000,000	1:25,000,000
10	1:50,000,000	1:50,000,000	1:50,000,000
11	1:100,000,000	1:100,000,000	1:100,000,000
12	1:250,000,000	1:250,000,000	1:250,000,000
13	1:500,000,000	1:500,000,000	1:500,000,000
14	1:1,000,000,000	1:1,000,000,000	1:1,000,000,000
15	1:2,500,000,000	1:2,500,000,000	1:2,500,000,000
16	1:5,000,000,000	1:5,000,000,000	1:5,000,000,000
17	1:10,000,000,000	1:10,000,000,000	1:10,000,000,000
18	1:25,000,000,000	1:25,000,000,000	1:25,000,000,000
19	1:50,000,000,000	1:50,000,000,000	1:50,000,000,000
20	1:100,000,000,000	1:100,000,000,000	1:100,000,000,000
21	1:250,000,000,000	1:250,000,000,000	1:250,000,000,000
22	1:500,000,000,000	1:500,000,000,000	1:500,000,000,000
23	1:1,000,000,000,000	1:1,000,000,000,000	1:1,000,000,000,000
24	1:2,500,000,000,000	1:2,500,000,000,000	1:2,500,000,000,000
25	1:5,000,000,000,000	1:5,000,000,000,000	1:5,000,000,000,000
26	1:10,000,000,000,000	1:10,000,000,000,000	1:10,000,000,000,000
27	1:25,000,000,000,000	1:25,000,000,000,000	1:25,000,000,000,000
28	1:50,000,000,000,000	1:50,000,000,000,000	1:50,000,000,000,000
29	1:100,000,000,000,000	1:100,000,000,000,000	1:100,000,000,000,000
30	1:250,000,000,000,000	1:250,000,000,000,000	1:250,000,000,000,000
31	1:500,000,000,000,000	1:500,000,000,000,000	1:500,000,000,000,000
32	1:1,000,000,000,000,000	1:1,000,000,000,000,000	1:1,000,000,000,000,000
33	1:2,500,000,000,000,000	1:2,500,000,000,000,000	1:2,500,000,000,000,000
34	1:5,000,000,000,000,000	1:5,000,000,000,000,000	1:5,000,000,000,000,000
35	1:10,000,000,000,000,000	1:10,000,000,000,000,000	1:10,000,000,000,000,000
36	1:25,000,000,000,000,000	1:25,000,000,000,000,000	1:25,000,000,000,000,000
37	1:50,000,000,000,000,000	1:50,000,000,000,000,000	1:50,000,000,000,000,000
38	1:100,000,000,000,000,000	1:100,000,000,000,000,000	1:100,000,000,000,000,000
39	1:250,000,000,000,000,000	1:250,000,000,000,000,000	1:250,000,000,000,000,000
40	1:500,000,000,000,000,000	1:500,000,000,000,000,000	1:500,000,000,000,000,000
41	1:1,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:1,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:1,000,000,000,000,000,000
42	1:2,500,000,000,000,000,000	1:2,500,000,000,000,000,000	1:2,500,000,000,000,000,000
43	1:5,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:5,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:5,000,000,000,000,000,000
44	1:10,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:10,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:10,000,000,000,000,000,000
45	1:25,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:25,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:25,000,000,000,000,000,000
46	1:50,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:50,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:50,000,000,000,000,000,000
47	1:100,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:100,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:100,000,000,000,000,000,000
48	1:250,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:250,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:250,000,000,000,000,000,000
49	1:500,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:500,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:500,000,000,000,000,000,000
50	1:1,000,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:1,000,000,000,000,000,000,000	1:1,000,000,000,000,000,000,000