

Profiling the Success in Land Reform

Cases of South African women doing it for themselves

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ABSTRACT

Women are given specific opportunities to benefit from the Government's land reform policies. Specifically, women contribute to their own sustainable development when accessing and developing land. The article describes the different land reform programmes currently implemented from which women can benefit. The article also describes the research methodology used in the study to identify specific characteristics which enable women to contribute to their own sustainable development. The research is built on observations from five land reform cases in the Gauteng Province. Each of these cases is described in detail and highlights the products developed on and delivered by these farms. Specific observations regarding the commitment, education and availability of women are made, while emphasis is also placed on the cultural and physical environment as contributor to women's sustainable development.

INTRODUCTION

Government faces continuous challenges in terms of ensuring that the available resources and services are spread amongst citizens. Evidence from across the world's main regions confirms that a close link exists between land policy and economic growth, as well as between poverty reduction and empowerment (Deinenger 2003:3). Those locked in the trap of poverty – mostly women – are among those targeted by policies that aim to promote development initiatives.



According to the *White Paper on South African Land Policy* (1997:36), (hereafter referred to as *WPSALP* 1997) work had to be undertaken by the then Department of Land Affairs (currently the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform – DRDLR) to allow potential beneficiaries an opportunity to access land as individuals, instead of focusing on group acquisitions only.

The selection criteria for land access by individuals intend to give priority to the marginalised and to the needs of women, in particular (*WPSALP* 1997:36). The *WPSALP* (1997:36) is clear about its intentions, but rather vague regarding the implementation programmes and strategies. Generalisation is seen as one of the eligibility criteria in the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD). This document states that men and women will have equal access to all benefits of LRAD, although women will be actively encouraged to apply (LRAD Implementation Manual for Provincial Land Reform Offices, 2004:7).

WHY LAND REFORM?

According to Stabler (1975:18), land as a factor of production can be considered in two ways: firstly, from an individual farm production perspective, and as being simply another form of capital; and secondly, in the wider context within which agriculture operates. Land is regarded as a critical resource; hence, the introduction of a *WPSALP* (1997) in an effort to realise the national Land Reform Programme's targets. The targets attempt to change the land ownership patterns in South Africa, wherein a minority of the citizens owned farms and the historically disadvantaged individuals (HDIs) provided labour to these farm owners. This is substantiated by Jeeves and Crush (1997:28), who attest to the fact that any agricultural production has victims, as well as victors, and previous agricultural policies kept the workers in miserable, low-wage employment when they could have secured more productive and beneficial jobs elsewhere for themselves and the economy.

The starting point seems to be land policy – as part of the broader programme of integrated rural development aimed at redressing the injustices created in the past. The issues of achieving gender equity, empowerment and redress of the imbalance of land allocation, whether for purposes of social justice or development, are all highly political (Meer 1997:6-7). The writer further advocates that women's oppression hides from public scrutiny because of the amount of time women spend inside the house making preparation for their family's household needs.

It is generally agreed that the African agrarian crisis is essentially a crisis about land. Competing needs for land, such as mining and housing are major competitors for the use of land for agricultural purposes. The other land uses tend to absorb more men than women. The land condition, its availability and productivity, is as a result of the organisation of labour, the state of agricultural technology, and the resilience of social ideologies that reinforce modes of access to and the control of such land (Bassett & Crummey 1993:248).

Extreme population pressure, stagnation in agricultural productivity, current food shortages and deteriorating living conditions, especially in rural areas, put more pressure on the need for additional land. This resource has been proven to be scarce and in demand.

The lack of security of tenure affects millions of people across the world; women face added risks and deprivations. In Africa and South-Asia, especially, women are systematically denied their human right to access, own, control or inherit land and property (Benschop

2004:2). The vast majority of women cannot afford to buy land, and usually can only access land and housing through male relatives. This makes their security of tenure dependent on good marital and family relations. The lack of access to land is coupled with the lack of access to loans from banks, unless the husbands approve and are willing to provide collateral for such loans. At the same time, millions of women in Asia, Africa and Latin America depend critically on land for their livelihood.

According to Benschop (2004:2), globally, an estimated 41% of female-headed households live below the locally defined poverty line, and close to one third of the world's women are homeless or live in inadequate housing. The exclusion of women from access to land and the lack of proper attention to their needs push them to the cities, where they often join the ranks of the increasing number of female-headed households in slum areas.

The South African Land Reform Policy, 1997, currently comprises three principal sub-programmes namely, the Land Restitution Programme, the Land Redistribution Programme and the Land Tenure Reform Programme (WPSALP 1997:29). For the purpose of the article cases from the Land Redistribution Programme were chosen and will now be described.

THE LAND REDISTRIBUTION PROGRAMME

The Land Redistribution Programme is based on *the Provision of Certain Land Rights for Settlement Act, 1993* (Act 126 of 1993). This Programme provides for the designation of land for settlement purposes, and financial assistance to people acquiring land for agricultural purposes. The introduction of this Programme was aimed at ensuring that land is bought and transferred to groups initially, and later to qualified individuals as well. Five sub-programmes were introduced: Settlement for Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG); Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD); Equity Share; the Commonage Scheme; and the Pro-Active Land Acquisition Scheme (PLAS).

The Commonage Scheme has been discontinued and a moratorium has been put on the Equity Share. SLAG and LRAD will be discussed because of their relatedness to the matters of sustainable development. Their introduction and continued existence were aimed at utilising land for agricultural purposes.

Settlement for Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG)

The first version of the Land Redistribution Programme, implemented from 1995, involved the then Department of Land Affairs (DLA) providing a Settlement for Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) to assist the poor with land purchases. This Grant had challenges in terms of its benefits, which were intended to cater for groups of people on one farm. Interests and priorities differed. These differences led to the failure of most of these projects (LRAD Manual 2001:12).

Observations made from the SLAG were that: *firstly*, acquisition was through large groups of applicants, since farms were expensive. As a result, large group conflicts persistently ensued and delayed any efforts towards the productive use of these farm acquisitions. Even though the establishment of such groups was guided by the formation and registration of legal entities – mainly the Communal Property Associations (CPAs), no production activities occurred and there was no development for or by the newly settled land owners.



Secondly, a larger percentage of project members in the SLAG groups were women, because of their availability at the homesteads. The SLAG had attempted to provide land to the previously disadvantaged, but productivity and improved livelihoods were not as evident. Reference to this Programme is made because of its contribution towards increased access to land by women. Access to land did not contribute to women's empowerment and development; hence, the introduction of LRAD, which is briefly discussed in the following section.

Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) Programme

The Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) Programme is aimed at promoting access to land for the poor, for labour tenants, farm workers and women, as well as emergent farmers (WPSALP 1997:29). The LRAD Programme may be regarded as being of particular interest, as it is the only Programme specifically aimed at transforming the racial patterns of land ownership for agricultural development and sustainable development.

The Programme is the focus of this article because the use of such acquired land and other related resources towards sustainable development, are relevant to the research. The WPSALP (1997:30) stipulated that land redistribution would be implemented through a willing buyer – willing seller principle. A redistributed land transfer occurs only between a white and willing seller and a black and willing buyer, not from a black, willing seller to a black, willing buyer or from a white, willing seller to a white, willing buyer.

A land sale between a black seller and a black buyer does not contribute to land redistribution statistics. The LRAD Implementation Manual for Provincial Land Reform Offices (2001:7) was the tool used to guide the implementation of this Programme. One of the principles of the LRAD Programme was to expand growth and development opportunities for women and young people residing in rural areas as stated in section 3.1 of the LRAD Manual (2001). A further eligibility criterion, according to section 3.2 of the Manual (2001), is that men and women will have equal access to all benefits of LRAD, and women will be actively encouraged to apply.

The above statements are not descriptive as to how women would be encouraged to apply or even how opportunities would be expanded for women to access land more easily. The assumption was that at the implementation level of any programme, details on how to achieve the originally stated goals would be more descriptive and specific – to allow for a proper evaluation of the results.

The LRAD Programme was introduced in 2001 to address some of the challenges experienced with the implementation of SLAG. Based on the *Provision of Certain Land Rights for Settlement Act*, 1993 (Act 126 of 1993), the main provisions were to provide land to individuals and smaller groups who could afford to make their own contribution towards land acquisition transactions. The main approach towards implementing this Programme was reducing the number of people from large groups, as assisted by SLAG, to manageable smaller groups. The use of land for agricultural production is the main thrust of this Programme; hence, the name Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD).

LRAD improved challenges posed through SLAG, by reducing the large groups to lower numbers of between 10 and 20 members per piece of land acquired. The purchase of land by individuals is still not possible through the grant, because land prices are still very high in

relation to the LRAD grant given per individual. In an attempt to address this lack of funds for permanent land purchases, women used land in and around public places, such as schools, churches and clinics to produce food to provide for their family's nutritional requirements.

The use of such public land is as a result of – amongst others -- the women's urgent need for land, which through LRAD could not be acquired as soon as their need for the use of such land dictated. Land purchase transactions involve money from government grants, and often a top-up bank loan is essential to meet the asking price. Transactions require that household heads, mainly husbands who have formal employment in cities, provide collateral or endorse the transactions. This support from men is often a challenge, because they do not form a part of these transactions from the beginning, but they are expected to provide finance-related assistance to their women partners.

The Pro-Active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS)

The Pro-Active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) has been used to acquire land where the state has to hold the land in its capacity as owner, but such land is leased to prospective farmers with an option to purchase. The option to purchase is exercised in cases where the farms are productive and successful. This process is facing challenges due to the lack of any proper co-ordination in supporting these PLAS farms. Farmers face the challenge of losing the renewal of their lease contracts due to their minimal usage of the land, and due to financial institutions that are reluctant to issue loans because of the lack of ownership status on the part of the land users.

The PLAS has been introduced to accelerate land reform targets in terms of the number of hectares that the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDRLR) acquires, especially towards the national target of redistributing 30% of all agricultural land by 2014. In relation to PLAS, there is no mention of any target beneficiaries, as has been generally advocated by the *WPSALP* (1997). The assumption is that, as stated in section 3.2 of the LRAD Implementation Manual for Provincial Land Reform Offices (2001:7), which commits to improving the opportunities for women to gain access to land, women should be assisted to take the opportunity presented through PLAS.

In PLAS, land is transferred to the state, and farmers then lease the land for a period of three years. If they prove to be successful in their farming operations, they are given an opportunity to buy the land from the state.

This principle may well become successful, but careful consideration of the land reform target to redistribute 30% of agricultural land by 2014 should be taken. The PLAS has the same requirements as those of LRAD and SLAG programmes in terms of land utilisation for production. The PLAS will be discussed for comparison purposes as a case study, when looking at the older land acquisition approaches versus the new approaches. The main interest is the focus of these Programmes on women's empowerment and sustainable development.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In the execution of this research, the interpretive approach is applied. Interpretive research is described by McNabb (2002:271), as looking at research elements that explain people's



actions in social circumstances and situations. Qualitative research has been adopted because the thrust of this article is an inquiry on *how* land reform has empowered women in their drive towards sustainable development, as well as *what* has been the process of ensuring that women have equal access to land. Qualitative research is concerned with process rather than outcome. The Land Reform Policy formulation is a process with, for the purpose of this study, a target focused on women's empowerment and sustainable development.

A case study is a research type used to engage in social research when the inquirer wants to answer questions on the *how* and *why* in a scenario. Case studies are specific explorations and the inquiries of individuals which can be on groups, cultures, communities or even programmes (Lunenburg & Irby 2008:96). Case studies embrace several approaches and purposes, as they can be used as illustrations, examples and anecdotes, in which they do not necessarily prove anything, but facilitate the understanding of a concept by making it more concrete (Thorpe & Holt 2008:388).

The different qualitative case study features above enable the researcher to discover, obtain insight and interpretation rather than merely focusing on hypothesis testing (Merriam 2009:42). The case studies that will be used for this research are a sample of projects that have benefited from land reform. Use is made of redistribution-related projects such as the LRAD, PLAS and SLAG projects.

The criteria used to select projects within these programmes are their goal of using land accessed for agricultural production; sustaining their livelihoods through agricultural produce and ensuring that land as a resource is not utilised exhaustively, and not merely to sustain future generations. The use of land acquired through the Redistribution Programme is solely for agricultural purposes, as confirmed by Lahiff (2007:6).

Land reform projects in which women as beneficiaries have benefited are identified and a set of questions are administered through an interview. The inquiry considers the impact of the Land Reform Policy on women's sustainable development. The sample is selected from a group of land reform projects that benefited in the Gauteng Province. A total of five projects (herein referred to as cases) with a majority of women or with women only will be used as the target population.

The prerequisite for the transfer of farms from DRDLR is that beneficiaries should register as legal entities. The legal entity can either be a Communal Property Association (CPA), (which was commonly used in SLAG and Restitution acquired farms) or a Trust, which is common in LRAD and PLAS cases. Respondents from LRAD are labeled RESPL 1, which are respondents from the first LRAD case; RESPL 2 represents respondents from the second LRAD project; RESPP 1 stands for respondents from the first PLAS case; RESPP 2 represents respondents from the second PLAS case; and respondents from SLAG are labeled RESPS 1, which represents for respondents from the SLAG case.

Cases that indicated common characteristics, such as land acquired through land reform, land used for agricultural production, and people deriving benefits from the land, have been selected. A review of the land usage and the processes followed in land access for women are analysed – as opposed to the prescribed policy and its programmes. The level of knowledge and skills acquired by women, as well as their assets and liabilities had to be assessed.

Details gathered through the above processes assisted in the conclusion of cases when combined with the information gathered during the contact sessions. Aspects that were investigated, included land details, details of the beneficiaries and the business.

Table 1 Details of case participants that are common and contribute to their production activities on the farm

BENEFICIARY DETAILS								
RESPONDENT	Beneficiary Number			Level of Education	Training	Age Range	Production percent (100% is the total land area)	Legal Entity & Position in Legal Entity
	Starting Number	Mid-term Number	Current Number					
RESPS 1	62	42	13	Gr 0 – 10	Yes	35 – 69+	30 (total 155ha)	CPA later Trust & Secretary
RESPP 2	2	2	2	Gr 12 +	Yes	29 – 35	50 (total 89ha)	Trust & Treasurer
RESPL 2	6	5	5	Gr 0	No	69+	55 (total 110ha)	Trust & Member
RESPP 1	2	3	4	Gr 12 +	Yes	24 – 32	66.7 (total 173ha)	Trust & Chairperson
RESPL 1	2	2	2	Gr 10	No	+56	45 (total 55ha)	Trust & Member

Table 1 provides beneficiary details in terms of the number of initial beneficiaries, mid-level and current, as at the time of the interview. A decrease in the number of project members at the end of the project, as opposed to the starting number of project members at the beginning is observed in RESPS 1 and RESPL 2. In terms of the decrease, cases might be regarded as not being sustainable, but the reverse is true; the fewer the number of project members, the more co-operative. Jointly, they would appear to be putting in a lot of effort. The level of education has a direct correlation with the age of the beneficiary, as the younger women are more educated when compared with the older ones.

The type and level of education for women in businesses like land use is highly crucial (Butler 2003:4). Additional training has usually been acquired by the younger women, as opposed to the older. It was further discovered during the interviews that the educated women in this instance (RESPS 1; RESPP 1 and RESPP 2) are more involved with decision-making responsibilities in their legal capacity in the locality.

The women that have been placed in the column entitled *Position in the legal entity* were those participants who were interviewed, and the positions allocated specifically to them. The column on the production percentage is the percentage of land that was utilised during the visit, as opposed to the total land available in each case.

ANALYSIS OF THE CASES

In qualitative research data analysis is a continuous process comprising comparison and assessment procedures that are initiated as soon as the researcher begins to collect literature



or gathers data in the field (Cloete 2007: 513). Cresswell (2007:244) defines the analysis of themes as the analysis of data for specific themes, accumulating information into large clusters of ideas and bringing forth details that support the themes. Cloete (2007:513) further provides clarity on the analysis of data, as he highlights the truth that during the report write-up, specific data can still be missing. Gaps may be identified within the existing data; which would call for further collection of data from the participants or from the literature.

In some cases participants will be given different names instead of their real names for identity-protection purposes.

Case 1 RESPL 1: First LRAD case

This farm is located 20km north of the former town of (Kungwini) Bronkhorstspuit in the Gauteng Province. The size of the farm is 55 hectares. The farm was acquired and occupied in 2005. The beneficiaries are one female and one male (mother and son for purposes of this study, and according to their request for confidentiality, they will be named Rose and Dave). Dave is the less dominant partner, while Rose is the manager and active member in the project. The main enterprises are maize on 30 hectares, poultry in the form of 100 indigenous chickens that are supplied to the Nando’s chicken franchise, and livestock (cattle and goats).

Rose is a widow and she inherited livestock from her late husband. On enquiring about her interest in farming, Rose outlined her previous experience in running a shop at the village while her husband was still alive. She gained business management skills from the shop; and after the death of her husband, she decided to look for a farm because her husband had left cattle which did not have proper grazing in the village, and they were roaming about without adequate land.

Land acquisition was made up by the LRAD grant and a Land Bank loan to top up the mortgage. Rose has an outstanding loan amount of R40 000 from the initial R120 000 taken; and she still has to repay it annually until 2011. She received a Balance of Grant (BOG) from the LRAD grant in 2005, and this was used to purchase a tractor that belongs to the farm. The BOG is the amount of money that remains after the property has been paid for and transferred; this becomes available for the farm usage.

The experience gained by Rose away from the farm is not from government, but has been self-acquired, and has made a positive contribution to the farming operations. She confesses her lack of formal training in the enterprises in which she is engaged, but has received other assistance from the neighbouring farmers. Commitment that was observed needs to be

Table 2 Case 1 RESPL 1 Land acquisition details versus support

Enterprises	Year of land acquisition 2005	1st year of loan repayment 2006	Year of support 2007	Year of breakeven 2008	Year of profit 2009
Maize in tons	2	4	5	5	4
Cattle	5	5	3	5	8
Goats	0	8	14	16	16
Chickens	40	40	100	120	100

Source Land reform unstructured interview on women’s sustainable development: RESPL 1: May 2010

commended. The maize crop and her cattle are taken care of and are looking good. Table 2 below indicates the year of acquisition, the enterprises in which the participants were engaged, and the levels of production.

Case 2: RESPL 2 Second LRAD case

The farm is situated 40km North East of the former town of Bronkhorstspuit; and occupation was taken in 2005. There are five beneficiaries, four women and one man, who received the LRAD grant to purchase the farm, which comprises 110 hectares. A different observation was made on this farm, of the four women two were mandated to get formal jobs outside the farm, while the two remaining women and the man were left working on the farm.

The employed women send money to the farm for paying the bills and the labourers. This group had planted maize and vegetables on the land and quicker sales were made from the vegetables to augment the employed partners' salaries and to meet the expenses of the farm overheads. The group had received a loan of R100 000 to augment the DRDLR grant for purchasing the farm. The joint repayment of the loan by the five members forced them to stay together on the farm.

The beneficiaries had repaid R60 000 between 2005 and 2010. It was interesting to find out why this agreement was made among the five members; and why it seemed to work perfectly. The farming beneficiaries explained that when they all felt that not enough support was forthcoming from government, they decided to have a division of labour, by allowing half of the beneficiaries to seek employment, with the other half remaining on the farm.

The level of commitment and co-operation was impressive from the beneficiaries that stayed on the farm. The farm had a BOG that was used to install an irrigation system for the vegetable crops. None of the participants were well-educated, but they have a genuine interest in owning land, and are making a success out of the land through their farming.

The sales of vegetables have made the business more profitable, because even though the participants did not have a formal market, they were guaranteed good cash sales in informal markets. This allowed them to invest money back into the land and pay other farm overheads. Table 3 below shows the levels of production on the farm before and after government's intervention. Government intervention has been in the form of support through the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) and the equitable share that has been allocated to the nine provinces.

CASP is a grant allocated through the annual Division of Revenue Act to the National Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF). The DAFF, in turn, transfers CASP funds to the various provinces for farmers' support. Support is in the form of the six CASP pillars: these being on-off farm infrastructure, marketing and business development, access

Table 3 Enterprises produced by the RESPL 2 group

Enterprises	Year of land acquisition 2005	1st year of loan repayment 2006	Year of support 2007	Year of breakeven 2008	Year of profit 2009
Vegetables in tons	2	5	5	10	12

Source Land reform unstructured interview on women's sustainable development, 2010



to finance, information and technology management, technical and advisory support and training and capacity (CASP Implementation Manual 2004:5).

Vegetable production is the main enterprise on the farm, and it has sustained the participants from 2005, since there was no form of government support until 2010. The participants indicated that they had stayed on the farm without much success, until they decided to divide their responsibilities into two women getting jobs outside the farm, and three members working on the farm since 2007. This was also when the participants received government support in the form of a borehole, a water pump and a mounted water tank.

The case that follows is a PLAS-acquired farm; and there is no land ownership. Unlike the two cases above, the participants lease land from the DRDLR, and use it to sustain themselves and to pay the lease rental to government. A new discovery was made in this case in the form of shared responsibility and trust amongst the beneficiaries.

Case 3: RESPP 1 First PLAS case

The farm is situated around 25km north of the former Bronkhorstspuit; and occupation was taken in 2007. The members initially started with one female farmer; who was later joined by her mother, sister and daughter. The participant who was the first to take occupation of the farm is a teacher by profession. She gained formal education outside the farming profession and obtained a degree in education. Her experience in farming with pigs on a rented piece of land earned good results that led to her requiring her own farm. The total extent of the farm is 173 hectares and the farm enterprises at the time of the interview were a piggery with over 288 pigs (including piglets), 30 hectares under yogo beans (these are bean-shaped delicacies that have a nutty taste; and they are either boiled or roasted; in some African countries, they are eaten raw), 15 hectares under sugar beans, 50 hectares under groundnuts; cattle used five hectares for grazing; pigs occupied 10 hectares; and five hectares were under maize.

PLAS-acquired farms do not have any BOG, but as of 2009, the DRDLR decided to provide infrastructural support to the farmers leasing these farms. The infrastructure support fund was calculated at 15% of the total farm purchase price. This was allocated to the farmer to develop the farm infrastructure. The farm also received financial support from the Provincial Department of Agriculture and from the Kungwini Local Municipality.

The Provincial Department of Agriculture's support was in the form of a pigsty. The Kungwini Local Municipality provided R40 000 as support to the farm. Of significance, was the number of jobs created by the farm, both casual and permanent employees. A total of four permanent jobs and about 70 casual employees were working on the farm on the day of visiting the farm.

The presence of the owners on the farm as managers made it easy to get all the information. The manner in which activities on the farm were organised and carried out showed professionalism. A formal market had been organised for all the produce. A challenge to the formal markets is that produce is received and payment is made at specified intervals. These involve some periods of waiting for payment, since the receipt of the produce and the large sums involved frequently come at a time when the financial reserves of the seller have frequently been under pressure.

Table 4 below shows the level of production on the farm since the land acquisition (which was in 2007). The piggery has been highlighted as the main enterprise that attracted the

Table 4 Enterprise on the RESPP 1 case

Enterprises	Year of land acquisition 2007	1st year of loan repayment 2008	Year of support 2009	Year of breakeven 2010	Year of profit 2010
Piggery (small stock unit /ssu)	27	64	112	288	288

Source Land reform unstructured interview on women's sustainable development: RESPP 1: May 2010

participants towards land acquisition. Maize, in this case, was planted as the first crop on the farm, even at a time when there no other form of support.

The table above shows the piggery as the main enterprise on this farm, and it has been the source of income on the farm. The introduction of other crops was supported by the formal marketing of pigs. The quality of the pigs was such that they meet the entire formal market requirement pigs to be sold.

The observation is that participants have indeed made more money from the piggery, and this enterprise supported other new enterprises on the farm. The decision-making ability could be observed in the amount of land usage and the level of the yield. In her own words, one of the young women RESPP 1 said that: "I am not a farmer, but I am a business woman in agriculture". The emphasis on independence and self-esteem was observed, and this could be confirmed by the level of production occurring on the farm at the time of the visit.

The beneficiary (RESPP 1) had secured markets for the following:

- 288 pigs, which had increased from 27 at the time of occupying the farm;
- 50 ha of groundnuts;
- 30 ha of Yogo beans;
- 15 ha of sugar beans; and
- 5 ha of maize that had been planted to feed her pigs, and straw that would be used to add to her cattle feed.

Government support provided for this project has been in the form of fencing and piggery infrastructure. An added benefit was the increase in the number of jobs created from the above operations. It is worth noting that even though the educated beneficiaries with a postgraduate qualification were not necessarily qualifications in Agriculture, (but were qualifications either in nursing or teaching), the zeal and commitment on their farming activities was impressive.

Case 4: RESPP 2 Second PLAS case

The farm is situated 36 km West of the former Bronkhorstspuit. There are two beneficiaries, a mother and daughter. The contract to occupy the farm is under the mother's name, while the daughter is there in a supporting role. The husband to the daughter is employed by government and, therefore, does not qualify to be a member of the PLAS project. He supports the farming operation with cash for inputs and labour salaries. The farm is 89 hectares and the farming enterprises are maize, piggery and cattle. The cattle are sold on auctions, while the pigs are sold to the same market to which the RESPP 1 case participant sells.

The initial occupant is a nurse by profession, but she left her job to take up an opportunity in farming. Besides taking care of their own farms, they have indicated that they assist other

farmers in the area with advice and even make suggestions for possible markets. This farm received financial assistance of R170 000 from the DRDLR and water infrastructure from the Gauteng Provincial Department of Agriculture.

It became clear from the interview that the two PLAS cases were more organised and focused in their production activities. They were of service to the rest of the community in the area. To quote their words, they said that: “We are not farmers, but we are in the business of farming” (Participants from RESPP 1 & 2, 20 May 2010).

Case 5: RESPS 1 SLAG case

The farm is situated on the Eastern side of Pretoria, and the allocation was done in 2000. The group of 62 beneficiaries settled during this period on a 155 hectare farm that has been riddled with conflicts right up until the development of a new legal entity introduced in 2005. During 2000, a Communal Property Association (CPA) was established as a legal entity to receive the land transfer on behalf of the applicants. Due to the ineffective functioning of the CPA, a new legal entity – in the form of a trust – was established. The group that remained on the farm comprised 90% women. The women were more committed, as a result of the lack of any other formal employment. The group produces vegetables and sell these in the area, and outside a formal market. Formal markets, as opposed to informal markets, provide security to the sellers/suppliers, and guaranteed sales irrespective of the price at the time of sale and the constant transport costs.

The presence of women in this group held the group together, because these women participants indicated that most men left after the second year, when they saw that the business was not earning enough money for their families. On enquiring as to why the women stayed, when the men left, the women indicated that they felt that; *firstly*, they owed it to their government that had acquired the land for them which they never thought was possible to own in a lifetime; *secondly*, they saw land as a sign of wealth, because as a result of produce from land they could now support their families and people around them; and *thirdly*, they kept the land so that they could leave it as an inheritance for their children.

In all the above cases, support from government came a year later, after the year of settlement on the farm and was no longer expected by the RESPS 1 case participants. The late support affected the productive use of the farms. This late start had a negative impact on the repayment of loans and rental to the Land Bank. The delayed start of loan re-payments became a threat in terms of the accrued interest on the loan. Anxiety, as a result of this gap between farm occupation and actual time of support was observed in all the participants.

Loans were received by RESPL 1 and RESPL 2, two cases that are LRAD cases. The RESPL 1 case had received a loan for R120 000 and the RESPL 2 case had received a bank loan of R100 000. The RESPL 1 case had repaid R80 000 by May 2010, and the RESPL 2 case had repaid R60 000 during the same period. Loan repayment had been delayed by R3 200 for RESPL1, and RESPL 2 had made payments that were in arrears to the tune of R8 000 (they were supposed to pay R20 000 and instead they could only afford to pay R12 000).

This level of payment on a straight line indicates that if the cases had received support in the initial year of production, which was the first year of loan repayment, they would not be in arrears. The understanding that exists between government and the Land Bank in achieving national land reform targets has assisted these projects and others who could not

repay their loans in the first year after the land transfer. The Land Bank is a State-Owned Entity (SOE) and it receives support in the form of guarantees from government. The delay in supporting these farmers placed pressure on the Land Bank's records because these beneficiaries had to be given extended time to repay their loans.

OBSERVATIONS

The study provided an opportunity to assess common characteristics amongst women in the cases.

Commitment of the participants

Commitment is a condition whereby an individual or members of a group entrust their abilities to some task or goal (Fox & Meyer 1995:22). The level of commitment shown by a specific group towards its organisation is a reflection of the strength in that organisation's culture (Fox & Meyer 1995:22). Banki (1981:211) defines commitment in the administrative and management context as an obligation to undertake a specific activity or service. In an expenditure spreadsheet, commitment indicates the amounts of money that cannot be retrieved or re-used for other purposes, because they have been committed to an agreed-on service delivery programme.

Commitment from the women in the context of this study is the level of obligation, strength and belief entrusted by women through their time, energy and hope in their farming activities. Under commitment the presence of the participant on the farm; the management of the farm operations and the ability to make decisions were investigated and used to measure the levels of commitment. These three attributes are critical for continuous production on farms.

Knowledge of the participants

Knowledge is a detailed familiarity with or even understanding of a situation gained from gathering the facts, information and realities through education, experience or reason (Wikipedia 2011). Knowledge can either be implicit, which comprises skills and expertise, or explicit which comprises a theoretical understanding of a subject (Wikipedia 2011). In this study, both the implicit and explicit forms of knowledge are critical. Knowledge that women have gained as a result of their experience in farming (implicit), as well as knowledge gained through training on farms and other related disciplines (explicit) – both formally and informally.

The success of the participants

The success of the participants means that government programmes and policies have achieved their intended goals. According to McKinney and Howard (1998:10), the criteria used for measuring success in the public sector relate to qualitative goals and objectives, such as the improvement of personal security and educating citizens to their fullest capability. Success of government programmes should entail aspects of assuring citizens in regard to their growth and development.



Elements of success include area utilised; market access; income from enterprises *versus* high-value enterprises and re-investment in the farm. Table 4 shows that the respondent RESPS 1 used 30% of the area; RESPL 1: used 45% of the total area; RESPP 1 used 66,7% of the total area; RESPP 2 used 55% of the total area; and RESPL 2 used 50% of the total area. Added to the land usage is the fact that RESPP 1, RESPL 1 and RESPP2 had formal markets and were assured of their money, as long as they honoured their contractual obligations in terms of supplying the required quality and quantities of farm products.

RESPL 2 and RESPS 1 sell their produce on informal markets, but they have made a success of their farming activities; hence, their continuous stay on the farms from 2005 and 2000 respectively. Added to the aspects that are contributing to the economic status of cases above are socially and environmentally related inputs from the participants. These will be discussed in the section that follows.

Socially related inputs from participants

The social inputs of the participants were looked at in the form of their roles in the community, their roles in the case – especially in the legal entity and their role in the household. With the exception of RESPL 1 and RESPL 2, all the other participants played a role within their communities, as well as in their legal entities, which are registered to transfer land on behalf of the beneficiaries. RESPP 1 was a chairperson of the women’s group in the area and chairperson of the case’s legal entity. RESPP 2 was a treasurer within the case’s legal entity, while the RESPS 1 was a secretary within the case’s legal entity.

The household role was predominant for all the participants, including the RESPL 2 participants who had an active male member.

Cultural aspects and women’s inputs

Culture is regarded as the complexity of knowledge, beliefs, laws and customs in a society which is what comes naturally to people (McKinney & Howard 1998:118). Vasu *et al.* (1998:266) in defining organisational culture define culture as a collective phenomenon that embodies people’s responses to the uncertainties and chaos that are inevitable in human experiences. The participants were aware of their cultural heritage and they respected the fact that some of them had husbands, and even those that no longer had husbands, recognised the fact that the husband’s family still existed.

Participants acknowledged that at these farms they were often forced to make unanimous decisions because of the nature of their enterprises. The enterprises are seasonal, and time is of the essence to ensure quality and better market contracts. A decision as to whether to take the produce to the market and even to buy new stock to continue farming had to be made by the women participants, even without their male counterparts as household heads.

The implications of not taking a decision would be detrimental towards the produce, the participant and those concerned in the case. A further observation was made that the ability to decide without getting permission or authorisation from their male counterparts (for example in the case of Rose and Dave) improved the women participants’ self-esteem. They were subsequently more confident and better in control of the activities that occurred on the farms.

Environmental aspects and women's inputs

Matters that were scrutinised in terms of the participants' input towards environmental aspects were their practices on farms for realising their produce; their disposal of waste, especially in the case of pig farmers; and their awareness of the environmental aspects of their operations. There was consensus that all waste should, as far as possible, be re-used in the fields – as fertiliser and as cattle feed. None of the participants were engaged in organic farming, but they were aware of the benefits of engaging more lucrative markets, such as the organic product specific markets. Organic products are said to fetch better prices than conventionally produced products; hence, consumers are paying too much for organic food (Royal Society of Chemistry 2011).

CONCLUSIONS

The *WPSALP* (1997) states that the land reform targets women as beneficiaries, but there is no detail on how this should be done, what the time frames are, and who would ensure the achievement of this goal. The need to address women's sustainable development aspects is quite clearly expressed, but this lacks any detailed guidelines. The lack of any clear guidelines is complicated by the hostility regarding such practical matters, where women operate.

There is a need for the proper co-ordination of support for and with beneficiaries – especially where the intention is to empower the people that will benefit. The cases have shown that women are taking the land access opportunities with enthusiasm and are willing to make a living for their families – as a result of these resources. Government support in all the cases came a year later, after the land transfer. Reasons for the late support range from unco-ordinated government land transfer processes to the non-readiness of the beneficiaries to utilise land, and the conflicting needs of the beneficiaries. Inclusive planning and implementation will benefit both the providers of the services and the recipients.

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