Land and Ubuntu as competing narratives in rural South Africa: a practical theological perspective

by

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Declaration

I, Hermanus Nicolaas Holtzhausen, declare that LAND AND *UBUNTU* AS COMPETING NARRATIVES IN RURAL SOUTH AFRICA: A PRACTICAL THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE, which I hereby submit for the degree Philosophiae Doctor at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university. All the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signed at Wolmaransstad on 30 August 2017

.....

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Abstract

Agricultural land ownership, tenure and access in South Africa are historically determined along racial lines. Reactions to this untenable problem are becoming increasingly volatile. More than two decades into South Africa's constitutional democracy, little has changed to empower the under privileged majority of South Africans in this regard. The resentment about this institutionalised discrimination and poverty is growing in the wake of government's failures to meaningfully address the situation. For many Black South Africans, this remains a symbol of their dehumanisation by the previous racist government and its supporting voters.

I am a sixth generation land owner of a small-scale farming operation in the arid North West Province of South Africa. This research represents my efforts in searching for ways of creating a more equal and just relationship with my Tswana co-worker in terms of his access and tenure of land. In the final instance, this work would hopefully be of value to farmers and their labourers in similar contexts.

I engaged a narrative enquiry based on social constructionism, employing postfoundational practical theology as interpreted and developed by Műller in his 7-steps to participate in this action research.

Auto-ethnography and fictional research writing enabled me to problematise a dominant narrative that has become increasingly one-dimensional. According to this narrative, Whites stole the land at gunpoint or through trickery. Political leaders with varying agendas are prone to abusing this version of our past to the advancement of their self-enrichment and patronage networks. My methodology of choice offered the opportunity to establish a non-dominant narrative, using the particulars of this context to create a preferred outcome.

I created a revisionist understanding of *ubuntu* as 'right action', which is helpful in securing Joba's access and tenure to the land. Current affairs in terms of State Capture and other narratives that are dynamically related to this course of events, thicken the plot to such an extent that it causes strain between *ubuntu* and land

reform. I engaged mindfulness as my chosen spirituality to create harmony rather than competition between land and *ubuntu*.

Subsequently, it seems that Joba and my working partnership can be beneficial for both of us and also for other land owners and their co-labourers, particularly, when operated as a share scheme.

Keywords: Fictional research writing; land reform; mindfulness; narrative; postfoundational; share schemes; social constructionism; *ubuntu.*

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study is my effort at integrating the competing demands of my heritage: agricultural land in South Africa's North West Province. As owner and sixth generation custodian of this land I hold dear, I regard it as my duty to pass it on to my descendants. Yet, I wish to pass this land on liberated from the shame of its discriminatory past. My responsibility to my co-worker, Joba Makwakwa, looms large in a context where the indigenous peoples lost their land to my pioneer forebears. He comes from a family, who was precluded by law from access to agricultural land on the basis of racial discrimination. I want to change this century-old narrative by enabling him with access to land.

As a practical theologian, my point of departure is local – the lived and interpreted experiences of my family and the family that works the land with me, the Makwakwas. I hope to explore our shared humanity as expressed in our efforts to create meaningful connectedness to the land. Along this journey, my co-researchers and I may find a preferred reality that transcends the limitations of our past narratives.

How I will go about it will unfold in the chapters of this research.

1.2 Limitations of Scope

I will be limiting the scope of my research to my immediate context, namely Strydpoort farm portion 8 in the North West Province of South Africa. Within this very specific context and my relationship with my co-worker, I will seek to listen to our marginalised narratives. As the field of land reform is problem-rich because of its complexities and emotionality, I had to limit myself considerably. These self-imposed limitations allow me to be open to the layeredness of the narrative as suggested by, for instance, Du Toit (2013), who distinguishes between market- and rights-based approaches.

I did not include my neighbouring farmers in the area covered in this study. Much as I would have prefered to include their voices as co-researchers, I am not trusted as one of the inner circle. Land reform is a subject that no-one wants to discuss with me. These farmers are vulnerable to criticism from all quarters and it is most hurtful, when one of their own holds a critical and dissenting opinion. I have no doubt that their attitudes contribute to racial tensions, but I also respect the fact that most of them have no other option, but to eek out a living from this arid land. Farmers do not receive subsidies; they carry millions of Rand of risk every season; they are dependent on changing weather patterns in an area of the country that offers only marginal agricultural opportunities, and the political instability, which leads to insecurity, is not conducive to risk-taking and change. Demanding that they share their productive units has become increasingly problematic. I, on the other hand, have other options to earn a livelihood in the city, making me less vulnerable to land reform.

As I study evolving current affairs in a time of crisis that impact on my research, I also had to limit the timeframe I report on. This is necessitated by new revelations of State Capture and new considerations regarding land expropriation without compensation on an almost daily basis. These developments speak directly to my context, shifting understandings of the subject at hand. Therefore, I state that this research does not include events after 2 July 2017. I considered not researching current affairs as changes in that narrative could relativise my work. Yet, ignoring this element of the context would have created the illusion that *ubuntu* is not a competing narrative to land; that *ubuntu* follows effortlessly on calls for land owners to forfeit or share their access and ownership to land.

1.3 Co-researcher

My co-researcher is Joba Makwakwa. He is also my co-worker and employee.[1]

[1] Allow me to describe Joba's role as co-researcher: He is exceptionally gifted in husbandry – in the care and cultivation of animals and crops. Regrettably he had to start working for an income to support his family at age 13. Consequently Joba couldn't take his formal schooling further than Grade 7 at the local under resourced farm

1.3.1 Ethical considerations

Throughout this narrative study, I was aware of two major ethical challenges. The first was that Joba and I communicated cross-culturally and that we used my mother tongue as language of communication. The second ethical challenge was that I am Joba's employer as well as his co-worker and co-reseacher. Both these aspects put me in an advantageous position of authority.

Kearns (2014:518) used the terminology of 'mindfully tracking self', when she referred to reflexivity. This, she suggested, assists in working empathically with positioning (employer/employee) and difference (cross culturally). I was constantly aware of this reflexivity in our discussions and work. It dovetailed with my epistemology and methodology to 'work toward more complex, culturally inclusive possibilities for living together on a shared planet' (Cole 2017:343).

I developed a daily mindfulness meditation routine, in which I stepped back from our work and conversations, to look at it non-judgementally with a beginner's mind. This self-tracking enabled me to also view Strydpoort from a position, where I imagined I would be closer to Joba's than mine. It cleared the way to talk about this study with him in a way that he realised just how important his voice is. I did not isolate this self-tracking to quiet moments, but also used it during conversations.

I also used reflexivity by moving along the time/space continuum: I would reflect on conditions as they were for our ancestors; how it was now; and how it may be in future for our descendants. This relativised and contextualised the importance of our role as partners in this study.

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school. This limits his direct textual contributions on a PhD level. Yet narrative research refers to people involved in the research project as co-research rather than subjects or worse, objects of research. The term 'co-researcher' aims to convey the understanding that as researcher I am not in an objective position to my research where I manipulate or control the input of my co-researcher. Rather I am equally subjective and open to be read as text by our research and our readers. The term does not imply, in my use thereof in any event, that Joba co-authored or co-designed the text in any direct manner with me. Yet he did co-author and co-design the research in an indirect manner by inspiring me in formulating this thesis, embarking on the research journey with me and encouraging me to complete it through his lived experience of *ubuntu*. He inspired me every time I came under the impression of his skill, love of the land and under privileged position as a landless agriculturist. In the final instance Joba and I are co-workers of the land named Strydoort Portion 8, creating meaning and seeking liberation from our restrictive pasts. Describing us as anything less than co-researchers is unthinkable.

I realise that whatever methods I used, I remained in a position of power and therefore made it clear to Joba that this study was not in his job description and that he was free to withdraw or indicate discomfort, if ever he felt that I was imposing.

The Letter of Consent and Form is in the Appendix. It shows that Joba was so comfortable with this process that he wanted his name in the study and not a pseudonym. I feel that this study created a more equal relationship between us, for which I am grateful.

1.4 Unique Contribution

My unique contribution to the knowledge in this field is my perspective as land owner and theologian − an intention of both self-preservation and transformative justice. In this regard, I am the custodian of the land for my children, who are the seventh generation of our family on the farm – I am therefore invested in retaining control of ownership and access to the land. Yet, I am also a theologian, trained in postfoundational practical theology, which urges me to take the context seriously, seeking for the marginalised narratives in creating a preferred outcome to a position of conflict. When I invoke *ubuntu* as guiding principle, I cannot turn a blind eye to the plight of my co-researcher, who needs access to land to fulfil his potential. I am embedded as a land owner and theologian.

Academics such as Turner (2000), who researched under the auspices of the Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies or PLAAS; De Villiers (2003), who is a constitutional law expert looking at land reform in Southern Africa and Australia; and Yanou (2009), who investigated land law and the conceptualisation of access to land as a human right, represent the average perspective on land reform. These studies focused their investigations on the stories of the dispossessed. The current land owner's narrative is generalised and not thickened. Most academics, like Mostert (2006), will enter the debate in defence of the Constitution and property rights enshrined there.

My contribution differs and is unique in so far as it represents the perspective of a participatory narrative researcher, who uses social constructionism to understand his own efforts at creating meaning not only as title holder and custodian of the land, but also as agent of change, facilitating access to this very land.

This perspective influences my epistemology and methodology to this study.

1.5 Epistemology

1.5.1 Postfoundationalism

As a postfoundational practical theologian and land owner, I am subjectively invested in the quest to right the eschewed land ownership patterns of South Africa in my private context. Foundationalism refers to an understanding that all knowledge is built on certainty. This certainty forms the foundation, on which all other knowledge is built. Foundational rationality sets out from the bottom up, first constructing the absolutes, on which further knowledge and beliefs are built. In theology, the debate as to the nature of this certainty raged between liberalism, where human experience was regarded as the basis of all knowledge as opposed to conservatism, where Scripture is the basis of all knowledge and beliefs. On the other end of the spectrum is non-foundationalism, an approach borne of postmodernity. The mere notion of absolute knowledge in postmodernity is impossible. Van Huyssteen (1997) recognised that some forms of non-foundationalism are so invested in absolute relativism that they represent nothing else, but foundationalism in disguise. He proposed an alternative to both foundationalism and non-foundationalism and coined the term postfoundationalism. Van Huyssteen (1997:4) described postfoundational theology as wanting to:

> *[M]ake two moves. First, it fully acknowledges contextuality, the epistemically crucial role of interpreted experience, and the way that tradition shapes the epistemic and non-epistemic values that inform our reflection about God and what some of us believe to be God's presence in this world. At the same time, however, a postfoundationalist notion of rationality in theological reflection*

claims to point creatively beyond the confines of the local community, group or culture towards a plausible form of interdisciplinary conversation.

Postfoundationalism requires a rationality that does not only foster interdisciplinary research, but transcends the borders to share *foci* and become transversal, replacing universality and rationality.

1.5.2 Research structure

I will follow Müller's (2004:300) 7-step interpretation of postfoundationalism to see how the lived experiences of our two families and our connectedness to each other and the land can result in the land empowering both groups. I will:

- Describe our specific context;
- Listen to in-context experiences and describe them;
- Interpret our experiences, describe and develop them in collaboration with co-researchers;
- Describe our experiences as they are continually informed by traditions of interpretation;
- Reflect on the religious and spiritual aspects as they are understood and experienced in our context;
- Thicken our experience through interdisciplinary investigation;
- Develop alternative interpretations that point beyond our local community.

1.5.3 Social constructionism

Müller (2008) argued that although Van Huyssteen did not mention social constructionism, his postfoundationalism falls within the same epistemology. Müller suggested that postfoundational epistemology can be used with social constructionism and hermeneutics. Epistemologically, I will therefore approach knowledge from a social-constructionist understanding of reality. Social constructionism (Gergen 2001, Potter 1996) describes ways, in which we construct meaning socially. Gergen (1985:267), and Freedman and Combs (1996:22) all agreed that there is no grand narrative; rather, we create and negotiate knowledge and meaning locally through the language we use in the stories we relate, in other

words, through social interaction. In this regard, the narratives of our two families will be a significant feature.

1.6 Methodology

My perspective determines my methodology.

1.6.1 Qualitative

My research design is qualitative with the understanding that 'evidence is constructed knowledge', as stated by Freshwater et al. (2010:498). This choice falls within the understanding of social constructionism that knowledge is socially constructed. In my context, as in others, we create meaning by the stories we relate through the language we use. In other words, we create meaning socially, taking into account news reports, political rallies and elections. However, predominantly, we build our reality through the stories we relate about our lived experiences and a local understanding of events.[2]

1.6.2 Participatory action research

I choose to conduct my qualitative research from an ethnographical viewpoint, utilising participatory action as method. This is an interpretative approach that creates meaning through interaction with my co-researchers. It does not seek positivist certainties or 'uniform precise rules that organise the world' (Rubin 1995:32). These qualitative research interviews are both unconstructed and semi-constructed, engaging narratives to create meaning and knowledge. DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006:314) commented that the distinction between unconstructed and semi-constructed interviews is largely artificial; especially, when the researcher follows an ethnographic participatory approach. I focus on the stories of my family and the family that has worked the land with us for 164 years. My work is therefore unavoidably auto-ethnographical in nature. Wainberg et al. (2007:297) declared that:

[2] These stories that we relate and research constitute narrative inquiry. Trahar (2009) refers to narrative enquiry's evolution from Participatory Action Research to a more sensitive understanding of cultural and social differences. She makes mention of the inevitable messiness of researching intercultural communication. I will refer to this challenge later on again when I incorporate the interviews with Joba.

> *Ethnography provides a detailed and in-depth account of the local context and social ecology, in which an intervention is to be implemented, helping to understand prevalent norms, attitudes and strategies.*

In their research, they used focus groups and targeted interviews. My research involves interviews with Joba, my co-reseacher; Johann Magerman, an activist; Mauritz de Kock, an agricultural economist; my wife, and also literature studies, including articles by political scientists, lawyers and investigative journalists. I also make use of auto-ethnography; in other words, I tell my own story. I chose to speak about myself as the public narrative does little more than entrenching the dominant narrative, marginalising the private narratives. Auto-ethnography is evident throughout the study; for example, when I investigate the current political landscape and my need of mindfulness to integrate and transcend the complexities created by, amongst others, State Capture. [3]

Patricia Leavy (2009:47) explained that this approach to research is gaining ground in multicultural research. One discovers a disjuncture between what is said in an interview, what one observes and what literature claims. Doing research from an ethnographical viewpoint enables me to bring texture and trustworthiness to the converging data.

Rhodes and Brown (2005:484) stated that '*ethnographic work in particular is not just an investigation of the 'other', but a search for a uniquely personal 'voice"* and that it is essential that the researcher realises that they are taking on '*multiple sets of responsibilities to varied constituencies*', on the same page. This can be done by either giving an account of how matters are or writing with a clearly articulated political agenda. Finally, again on the same page, Rhodes and Brown (2005:484) asserted that as researchers, we do not simply account for reality, but '*write to persuade'*.

[3] 'Barnard (2014) states: 'Autobiographical and autoethnographical theology do not start from well-ordered and systematically arranged knowledge, but from a life as it has developed and as it is developing in its connections with others. Difference is therefore a keyword in the method.' Essentialism is the antithesis of postfoundationalism. When one further involves auto-ethnography, the reader can look forward to the unusual.

1.6.3 Fictional research writing

In the chapter, 'The Land became people', I use fictional research writing as a strategy to elucidate a hidden interpretation of my ancestors' settling in the North West province. I explain the use of this method in the chapter itself. Here, in the introduction, though, I want to acknowledge that I am biased and will be endeavouring to convince the reader of my standpoint. My personal embeddedness in the research makes this inevitable. In their article, 'It Takes a Village to Raise a Researcher: Narrative Interviewing as Intervention, Reconciliation and Growth', White and Dotson (2010:78) stated that:

> *The question is not whether the data are biased; the question is whose interests are served by the bias (Gitlin, Siegel, & Boru 1989). Bias can be viewed as a positive factor, if it reveals important aspects of phenomena that are hidden from other perspectives; however, bias can be viewed as negative, if the perspective obscures more than it reveals.*

I this study, I hope the reader will find that my bias serves my co-researcher as much as it serves me. Given the epistemology and methodology I have chosen, I hope to reveal that the land owners and their co-workers are strategically placed to steer land reform in a spirit of *ubuntu* towards a beneficial and harmonious outcome for all concerned.[4]

1.7 Problem Statement

Access to land and land ownership is central to the liberation from colonialism and the restoration of human dignity. Yet, more than two decades after South Africa's first democratic elections, the struggle for an equitable distribution of land has fallen dismally behind target. Mr Malema verbalised this frustration on 21 June 2017 in his

[4] I limit my formal explorations of my chosen epistemology and methodology on purpose in this thesis. My design is not an expository essay as mentioned by Műller & Műller (2017). Rather my design is a postfoundational thesis where the form or research design exemplifies the character of postfoundational research as much as the content aims to do it. In other words, I don't introduce a heavy foundation, re-counting the detailed development of epistemology and methodology.

address to the South African Property Owners Association as reported by The Daily Maverick: *'The state must be the custodian of the land. Why? Because you are refusing to release the land. The struggle has always been about property ownership. The beginning and the end of South Africa.'*

Du Plessis (2011:46) remarked that '*by the time of the advent of the new South Africa, about 17 000 statutory measures had been issued to segregate and control land division, with 14 different land control systems in South Africa'.* Tragically, each and every land reform target that was set was not met, which paints a picture rich with problems.

At the centre of the problem is certainly South Africa's search for a shared moral discourse, which Letseka (2011:47, 48) described as follows:

> *On the one hand, South Africa is struggling to comprehend the enduring legacy of apartheid, which left it fractured and with no shared moral discourse. On the other hand, South Africa is attempting to mobilise its peoples to embrace the constitutional values of non-racialism, non-sexism, non-discrimination and respect for freedom, human rights and dignity.*

1.8 Primary Research Question

- How can we relate *ubuntu* to South African land reform from a practical-theological point of view?

1.9 Secondary Research Questions

- How did my forbears obtain ownership of the land?
- How does legislation control our relationships to the land and each other?
- Which understanding of *ubuntu* can contribute to land reform?
- What is the current political context and how does it influence resistance to *ubuntu* and land reform?

- What spirituality in my experience enables *ubuntu* and land reform?
- How can *ubuntu* be the shared moral discourse we are searching for?
- Are there alternative narratives that would support our share scheme on Strydpoort?

1.10 Aim of this Research

This study aims to investigate how *ubuntu* may reframe the debate around land reform.

1.11 Objectives

- To do ethnographical participatory narrative research with Joba Makwakwa;
- To create an alternative interpretation of my forebears' settling in the area now known as Strydpoort Portion 8;
- To study the legislation that perpetuates racially-eschewed land access and ownership;
- To research the meaning of *ubuntu* and explore its contribution to land reform;
- To explore the language used to describe the spirituality of mindfulness and the meaning thereof that enables and urges me to participate in land reform;
- To study the nature of our share model, explore models similar to ours and investigate, whether this model has therefore wider application;
- To keep the focus on humans and relationships.

1.12 Chapter Outline

In my argument, *ubuntu* is not a 'stand-alone solution'. I have to describe my context and my understanding thereof to study *ubuntu's* possible place therein.

- I therefore start in Chapter 2 by re-telling the history of my people's arrival on our ancestral farm, hoping to create a thickened understanding and compassion for them;

- In Chapter 3, I explore how our relationship with the land is regulated by law along racial lines;
- In Chapter 4, I investigate *ubuntu*;
- In Chapter 5, I use interdisciplinary investigations to see how our context has become more complex with a thickened plot;
- In Chapter 6, I describe my spirituality, mindfulness, as essential in my efforts to transcend my limitations and follow the directives of *Ubuntu;*
- In Chapter 7, I explore our model's place in the context of share schemes as alternative to the extremes offered by the dominant narratives.
- In Chapter 8, I reflect on the alternative narrative my co-researcher and I created in this study.

1.13 Land

1.13.1 Meaning of Land

When I use the term 'land' in this study, I refer to more than a portion of soil and earth. This soil is both symbolic and material. It is symbolic in as much as it creates feelings of belonging and loss in the present, which point both to the past and the future. It is also material as an income generating resource − it holds the creative potential of offering a livelihood, food security and status.

In Chapter 3, I refer to 'The Land' in capitals, when I explore the perspective that our relationship with each other to the land as 'our mother' is regulated by legislation. This relationship by law dehumanises us and objectifies the land.

1.13.2 Land reform

In this study, the term land is inextricably entwined with the action of Land Reform. Land is not a neutral word, but rather connected to a web of challenges. Land reform refers to three approaches:

- *Land redistribution, which focuses on providing land to designated*

categories of people, largely through purchases on the open market;

- *Land restitution, which provides for restoration of ancestral land or compensation;*
- *Land tenure reform aims to 'secure and extend the land-use rights of the victims of past discriminatory practice.* (Lahiff 2016:181).

1.13.3 Politics and land

1.13.3.1 Early legislation

The meaning we create around land is inextricably linked to the history of land ownership and access in South Africa. The *Natives Land Act of 1913* and the *Native Trust and Land Act of 1936* prove that our relationship with the land was indeed controlled by legislation, along racial lines. The outcome is, as stated by Moseley and McCusker (2008:322), that 'South Africa is one of the starkest examples of inequity relative to population'. They quoted figures provided by Borras (2003:384), which are generally accepted: 71% of the population is confined to 13% of South Africa's total land area. How does this rhyme with the preamble of our Constitution?

> *We, the people of South Africa, respect those, who have worked to build and develop our country, and believe that South Africa belongs to all, who live in it, united in our diversity.* (n.p.)

Are we able to implement *ubuntu* to give heed to our Constitution and give expression to clauses 25(5) and 25(6) to right the wrongs of 342 years of colonialism and apartheid in terms of access to land for all? I will trace this legislative narrative of our land.

The *Centenary of the Natives Land Act of 1913*, commemorated on 19 June 2013, brought the legacy of this and the *Native Trust and Land Act of 1936* into sharp focus. Walker (2013:282–289) argued that the celebrations showed how government was not addressing the changing relationship to rural land and land ownership, but rather used it as an opportunity for political theatrics. She pleaded for a differentiation between the symbolic (which includes political) and material dimensions of land. If poverty reduction is indeed an objective of government, she

held that implications of urbanisation have to enter the land issue. The fact is that urbanisation is a global phenomenon with more people leaving rural areas for urban lifestyles than the other way around.

1.13.3.2 Perceptions

Bernadette (2011:121) referred to Gibson's research, where he surveyed 3 700 South African participants in 2009; 85% of Black South Africans believed that the land was taken unfairly from them by White settlers and that they, therefore, have no right to the land today. In short, in racial terms, they believe that White people own land they stole from Black people. Laing (2011) quoted Mr Malema's pre-election rhetoric:

> *We have to take the land without payment, because the Whites took our land without paying and transformed them into game farms. The system of willing seller, willing buyer has failed. We all agree they stole the land. They are criminals, they should be treated like that (n.p.).*

Understandably pressurised by its electorate, the ANC's Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Mr Gugule Nkwinti, proposed a 50/50 sharing of agricultural land early in 2014. This stance had the desired effect at AGRI SA's 110th Year Congress, named 'Family farming in a transforming society', held in Tswane from 16 to 17 October 2014.

At this instance, AGRI SA tabled a 'Holistic plan for land reform' with the following bullet points:

- *Farmers have to be empowered and this will lead to the rural communities determining their own futures;*
- *District Committees have to identify land and people, who can be empowered;*
- *District Committees have to manage and supervise empowerment deals in their areas;*
- *Participation cannot be compulsory, but rather encouraged by way of financial benefits;*

- *AGRI SA commits itself to the entrepreneurial development and social upliftment of farm labourers;*
- *AGRI SA commits itself to open dialogue with government on land reform as the health of the agricultural community depends on disadvantaged people gaining access to land.*

These statements caught the Minister unaware. He put his prepared speech aside and said his day was made. His only question was, what had taken AGRI SA so long. Social media, reporting from the Congress, told stories of tears of relief being shed all around. Minister Nkwinti expressed his desire to amalgamate his team and the AGRI SA teams.

The time was indeed 'now', if one considers the work of Gibson (2010:135). He looked at an extensive survey that showed that the majority of dispossessed Black South Africans insist on land redistribution as a symbolic act, '*grounded in values connected to land as a symbol and in concern for the historical injustices of apartheid and colonialism*' (Gibson 2010:135). The people were not interested in direct profit in the first instance. In fact, he found that land is a symbol of historical injustice.
Gibson (2010:136–140) pointed to numerous studies, which showed how South Africa is socio-economically divided amongst racial lines and that Black South Africans are more concerned about the past than any of the other racial groups. Land is a symbol of our repressive past.

Hendricks, Ntsebeza, and Helliker (2013:1–366), amongst others, reiterated the fact that colonial dispossession led to land ownership being historically determined by race. Our inability to rectify the current situation, where only 20% of agricultural land is in the hands of the Black majority of citizens, is untenable for both the landless dispossessed people and the majority of land-owning agriculturalists.

Gibson (2010:153) reported that Black South Africans attach much higher value to land than White South Africans do:

> *Without having a piece of land, one is really not a complete person. Land is a symbol of all that has been taken away from Africans. I feel a special*

> *attachment to the place, where my ancestors are buried. When times are tough, one can always survive, if one owns some land. Land is special: Having land is more important than having money. If I had my choice, I would live on a piece of land that I could farm.*

Gravlee's (2009:57) explanation that race becomes biology and embodiment, further points to the land reform as a sensitive racial nerve in the South African landscape. Ntsebeza and Hall (eds. 2007:7) observed that:

> *What land reform is for, who should benefit and how should it be pursued are often treated as technical economic questions, but at its heart, the land question is political – it is about identity and citizenship as well as production and livelihoods.*

1.13.3.3 Manipulations

The land has become a political soft ball, manipulated by politicians from all sides, when they need to stir emotions. As confirmed in the *Sunday Times* article, 'Zuma could call for a referendum on land expropriation' of 2 July 2017, the Premier of the North West Province, Supra Mahumapelo, called for a referendum on the expropriation of land without compensation at the ANC's national policy conference on 1 July 2017. His motivation for this extraordinary call is equally extraordinary: He holds that the question should not be posed to Parliament − as a vote in favour will necessitate an amendment of the Constitution, which may not be successful as the ruling party does not enjoy a two-thirds majority. The President is empowered by the Constitution to call for a referendum through an Act of Parliament. This call follows Mahumapelo's earlier call as reported by the SABC on 26 June in the article 'Zuma critics should call for a referendum: Mahumapelo', where he, a Zuma loyalist, called for a referendum to determine, whether the President should step down rather than submitting this question to another vote in Parliament. Given the current allegations of State Capture, the interpretation I make of this is that these calls are aimed at strengthening a network of patronage rather than creating opportunities for the poor.

This point was illustrated earlier, when tragically, land reform fell prey to yet another political game after our National Government needed to distract the nation's attention

from the chaos at the State of the Nation Address in February 2015. Minister Nkwinti (2015) decided unilaterally to continue with his 50/50 proposal; his statement read as follows, as recorded in his media briefing of 25 February 2015:

> *The 50/50 Policy Framework will be implemented immediately. Government has received a number of proposals from commercial farmers; and will pilot at least 50 projects during this term (n.p.).*

Different to what his official statement proclaimed, no commercial farmers offered 50% of their land. His conduct did untold damage to the relationship of trust needed to solve this problem at grassroots level; but more importantly, the land issue was used to manipulate political support. This manipulation resulted in a setback in the process of land reform, and divided us further along racial lines.

Du Preez, in his opinion article, 'How the Guptas helped write the Mining Charter' of 20 June 2017, articulated the frustration with the current political agenda on land, when he referred to President Zuma and his preferred presidential candidate Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's repeated calls to take land from commercial farmers 'in order to end Black poverty'. This was stated, while there are approximately 5 000 farms, which government had acquired, but were unable to redistribute due to bureaucratic ineptitude. The situation is worsened by government's inability to support and manage the current beneficiaries of land redistribution. As a consequence, thousands of hectares of agricultural land lie fallow.

South Africans are facing a serious dilemma, worsened by the failure of Land Reform, in trying to remedy the legacy of apartheid as embodied in the unequal distribution of land ownership.

The result is that land owners and landless people are at loggerheads. One of the problems, which the current approaches face, is that government and organised agriculture seek to find general solutions. Cavanagh (2014:431) remarked that even a term like 'colonial dispossession' is unhelpful as the general application thereof is too vague. I suggest that dominant narratives and generalisations, as true as they may be, do not lead to helpful local outcomes. I will therefore endeavour to focus on my private narrative, a localised problem and postfoundational approaches to it. Hereafter, one may suggest ways of implementing an approach in a wider context.

1.14 Ubuntu

Ubuntu weaves a reality, where people are humanised by their interdependence. This is a marginalised narrative, which could deliver justice, hope and a harmonious future. It competes with and subverts the dominant narratives around land.

Huggins and Clover's (eds. 2005:9) statement in this regard is noteworthy: 'Land rights, like all property rights, are socially-mediated entitlements'. As much as land rights are therefore protected by social sanction, it is a negotiated right that depends on history and relationships. This perspective is helpful as it invites human relationships to the centre of the land issue, where people's desires and rootedness find a voice. It is here that we can work compassionately towards change in the spirit of *ubuntu*.

Gade (2012:484–503) organised the answers to the question of understanding *ubuntu* in two clusters. The first cluster referred to *ubuntu* as a moral quality of a person and the second as an African worldview.

1.14.1 Tutu

Desmond Tutu (1984:65) explained his interpretation of *ubuntu ungamntu ngabanye abantu* like this:

> *We say a person is a person through other persons. We do not come fully formed into the world. We learn how to think, how to walk, how to speak, how to behave, indeed how to be human from other human beings. We need other human beings in order to be human. We are made for togetherness; we are made for family, for fellowship, to exist in a tender network of interdependence*.

Tutu (1984:155) proclaimed that 'the central work of Jesus was to effect reconciliation between God and us and also between man and man'. This work stands in opposition to separation, discrimination and disempowerment. Tutu (1984:127) held that true worship is not possible, if we live impartially to other human beings' suffering. The interconnectedness, of which *ubuntu* speaks, makes this impossible. Tutu went as far as saying that impartial Christianity is false Christianity. Tutu's *Ubuntu,* in fact, emphasises the following aspects of Christian community,

according to Battle (1997:112–113): First, the church is in, but not of the world, always standing as testimony to the unifying love of God. Second, the church stands on call, ready to stand with the powerless; and third, it reflects on the divine activity of its head, Jesus, which is akin to *ubuntu*, always crossing over boundaries to reconcile and dissolve separation.

Tutu's *ubuntu* became of significance to all of us, when in 1995, the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act* promulgated that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, headed by him, would focus on confession and forgiveness. His understanding that *ubuntu* can only come to actualisation through forgiveness, set the tone for the post-apartheid years. Perpetrators in particular, the White churches in general and everyone standing apathetic to our apartheid past were forgiven – with the hope of reconciliation and justice bringing us real peace and security. Du Toit (2013:16) reached a noteworthy insight, when he remarked that the decade after 1994 was hallmarked by narratives of reconciliation and redress, which 'privileged reparative justice placed above distributive equity. This tended to obscure the complex trade-offs and impacts involved in implementation'.

The questions around land access and ownership stand paramount as a symbol of the delay of justice. More than two decades later, the question remains, how we can bridge this *impasse*?

1.14.2 Spiral includes land

Yet, a linear or circular understanding of *ubuntu* limits our understanding of the land issue as it separates people from their social, religious and physical worlds. We tend to view people as autonomous agents. If we could reinterpret African cosmology as a spiral, we could broaden the interpretation of *ubuntu*. Müller and Van Deventer (1998:265) set the family in the centre of this cosmological spiral:

> *The creation of people and the institution of marriage and family life go hand-in-hand with the formation of the whole universe and everything that is in it, and the forward-moving and ever-expanding spiral of growth and development*

towards the eschaton is inclusively applicable to all dimensions of being part and parcel of the world.

If socially created institutions like marriage and family life form our universe, then it can be argued that our physical environment is also part of that spiral that forms us and which we form in return. A person is therefore not only a person through other people, but becomes a human being also through the land and the sky above. We are indeed the land walking. This broadened view of *ubuntu* enables one to view an uprooted landless people with compassion, as brothers and sisters in need of dignity and livelihood.

1.14.3 Competing narratives

How then does it come that the title of my research describes land and *ubuntu* as competing narratives, when my argument shows how crucial land reform is to restoring justice and human dignity?

The plot thickens indeed, when in Chapter 5, we turn to the current political narratives of State Capture, White Monopoly Capital and Radical Economic Transformation. These onslaughts undermine transparent and accountable governance, leaving all South Africans vulnerable. In times of instability, privileged people typically lose their appetites to halve their riches; to live a life of *ubuntu*. Expecting a farmer to hand over or share his lifelong investment, whilst the economy is being downgraded as a result of the ruling party's misconduct, may be a bridge too far. *Ubuntu* seems to ask too much, when it is this very party that takes no responsibility for an ailing economy, but rather lays all ailments at the door of the White minority.

It is now, I will argue, that I and others in my shoes have to draw from our spiritualities to transcend and transform our fears in order to follow the directives of *ubuntu*.

1.14.4 Compassion as directive

Compassion is a value that directs my spirituality and influences my understanding of *ubuntu.* I do not equate compassion with *ubuntu* and would not want to compare it

either. My study will show, though, that compassionate intent directs my mindfulness, which urges me to act in accordance with *ubuntu*.

Mbigi and Maree (1995:110) described the key values of *ubuntu* as survival, compassion, solidarity, dignity and respect. For the purposes of this study, I would like to give attention to 'compassion' as the value in my mind that is most lacking in the South African land ownership debate. The term 'compassion' intersects with *ubuntu* in the:

> *Deconstruction and dismantling of old systems of knowledge and power-discourse, while also being active in the construction, establishing and entrenching of new ones – a constant interplay of dynamic forces that manifest themselves in unique ways. This is by no means a linear process of clear causality and predictive envisioning as the knowledge-power-discourse dynamic infiltrates all processes and systems. Rather, it is a set of antagonistic relationships; a conjunction that joins, but does not necessarily unify; simultaneously dynamic, violent, complex, and constructive* (Du Plooy 2014:97).

I am influenced by a writer such as Battle (1997:123), who referred to Tutu's '*ubuntu* theology' as an 'African spirituality of passionate concern'. My greatest theological influence in this regard is Karen Armstrong, who launched the Charter of Compassion alongside Bishop Tutu in 2009. After the 9/11 tragedy occurred in New York, Armstrong conducted extensive work on this subject. She examined the world's religions, including Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Buddhism as well as classical rationalism (1999, 2001, 2007, 2010, 2011), and found that compassion was the common thread in all of these. Technology, Entertainment and Design (TED) awarded her a prize of $100 000 in 2008 to fulfil her vision of a better world with a 'summons to compassionate action' (Armstrong 2011:22). Her Golden Rule as guiding principle is the adage 'do unto others as you would have them do unto you'.

In 2011, Armstrong published a popular book called *Twelve steps to a compassionate life* (2011), alluding to the 12-step processes, followed by groups to retrain and reform addictive behaviours. Compassion can be perceived as only a mental quality, but ideally, it translates into action. This action is characterised by the

intention to alleviate the suffering of other living beings. Philosophically, the question is asked first, how we know that the other is suffering; and second, what the remedy is. In this regard, I would refer to the so-called 'Golden Rule', which intersects with a definition like that of Taylor (2014:338): '*An action is right insofar as it promotes cohesion and reciprocal value amongst people. An action is wrong insofar as it damages relationships and devalues any individual or group'*.

1.14.5 'More humanity'

Currently, the farm serves as a platform for Joba and me, where we grow stronger together and where we both find a sense of *ubuntu* that we miss amongst our own people for different reasons. Let us see, where it takes us, what the next step is. Maybe together one day, we can buy a farm of more potential? What is sure is that I and other White agricultural land owners have to find concrete ways to humanise ourselves and our landless co-workers in terms of access to our land. The words of Senghor (1962:190) still ring true:

> *Faced with this divided world on the brink of a catastrophe, it is our duty to bring back the antagonists to a more reasonable state of mind. We must call on them for more humanity.*

I found the article by Taylor informative in translating *ubuntu* into a measure of the right action. This is helpful in determining, what *ubuntu* would ask of us in the context of the land issue. Taylor (2014:331) pointed to the fact that the word *ubuntu* or localised versions thereof is used in various regions of sub-Saharan Africa as a term that defines how people and communities should act in relationships.

1.15 Personal Positioning

1.15.1 The two researchers

My postfoundational and social-constructionist practical-theological approach requires of me first to describe a context and the related lived experiences and

interpretation of such experiences. A biography of Joba and Herman, written in the first person by Herman:

1.15.1.1 Herman

I am a land owner and farmer in the North West Province. The land I own has been in the possession of my family for seven generations, since the first half of the 19th century. Allow me at this stage to express a caution: I am employing auto-ethnography to reveal texture and contradiction. My narrative may seem esoteric or personal at this stage, betraying a bias or assumption on my side. I relate my story, aiming, as mentioned before, to bring my private narrative, that of a previously advantaged member of society into the light. The advantages that came my way were enshrined in an unjust system called apartheid. Racial discrimination is a crime against humanity, a sin in biblical terms. It is unjust and 100% contrary to the reconciliatory message of Scripture. I have taken responsibility for my personal and collective past in various ways and writing this thesis is just one such a way.

The soil I own and work is almost literally an extension of my body – my ancestors ate the fruit of this land that fed our bodies and integrated with our genes. Wherever I am, I feel joined to this land like a child to his mother. I have no understanding of God beyond the Earth, her soil and what grows from her.

1.15.1.2 Joba

Alongside me works Joba Makwakwa, a 31-year-old father of three. Joba's mother is Tswana. His biological father packed up and left the family, when he was a baby. Joba's mother lost an eye in those early days. This set her aside as a young woman. She later married a foreigner to our area, a Venda. He adopted Joba as his own and gave Joba his surname, Makwakwa. The Venda surname puts the Tswanas on their guard, which has made Joba a bit of an outsider. On Joba's mother's side, his family has worked in this area and later on our farm, for at least the past 100 years. As far as our collective memories reach, Joba and his family have not owned agricultural land. This statement exemplifies the question: Did the Makwakwa's never own agricultural land,

was their ownership simply not recorded and erased from memory or was their ownership of land constituted in terms of a tribal, pastoral understanding of land ownership? We do not know. What both Joba and I do know is that he is an agriculturist with multiple skills and experience, in need of access to land.

1.15.1.3 Interviews

My formal interviews with Joba as co-researcher is an integral part of this thesis. The content indicates the nature of our working relationship in both its practical detail but also its limitations. Joba works as co-researcher in his second language with me, a person who is also his employer. I have touched on the ethical considerations in this regard but the interviews included below also expose the fact that my co-researcher is a man of action and not of words. He is hesitant and careful when he speaks, creating the impression that he counts every recorded word. Our co-research therefore carries the stamp of collaborative activity. These structured interviews are only the tip of the iceberg.[5]

Interview 1

HERMAN: It's recording.

CO-RESEARCHER: All right.

HERMAN: Okay Joba, the reason we are doing this recording, later on I will give you a letter to sign.

CO-RESEARCHER: All right.

HERMAN: So as to show that you understand what I am doing.

CO-RESEARCHER: I see.

HERMAN: So what is going on, why am I recording now? I am doing research at the University of Pretoria, Tswane, to see what plans we can make.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, Mr Herman.

[5] In this regard I share Trahar's (2009) intention not to enter the field to gather data but to deliver insightful accounts of processes. She also states that 'narrative enquiry does not priviledge one method of gathering data,'but that research is life as it is lived on the landscape – Trahar referring to Phillion.

HERMAN: To help correct the land reformation issue in a different way, as we know that in our country most of the farmers are White.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: We hoped that after democracy, things would change so that we could have more Black farmers. So that I can have a neighbour who is a Black farmer. As long as most of the farmers are White, there is inequality, and that is unhealthy. How are we going to change that? How do we fix it so that we have more Black farmers? There are all kinds of people with all kinds of ideas. The Government is trying, but it does not work. I see those guys on the way to Wolmaranstad, where the chicken coops were...
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes?
HERMAN: That is now farmlands. That is one of the programmes, where you can go and ask the local government, and they will give you land for farming.
CO-RESEARCHER: The same people?
HERMAN: They ask the municipality, but they say the problem with that is, it is ordinary people, who have connections inside the municipality that get the land. It is municipal land, where a Black man or woman can say, look I can farm, but I do not have land. Help me to farm here, and then they help you.
CO-RESEARCHER: I see.
HERMAN: If there is land, many times, they have money to buy land, the municipality. That is one of the ways. Me and you know how they work. Twice they had chicken coops, if they sell the chickens, then there is no more money.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, you are right.
HERMAN: There is all kinds of problems with putting farming land in our country into everybody's hands and not just White people. I then said to my professor, me and Joba work together, but we work a certain way. We look for ways for Joba to also work like a farmer. So you can also have that freedom and become a farmer. I also say in writing, that it is not as if I have enough land that we can cut in half and say, half of it is Joba's and half is mine. It is North West, the farm is small and we try to share what is here. I hope we find a way. We are at that level now, we are now going to talk about what we can do. I am looking for ways and how it works is, you are going to help me look

for ways. That is why you and I are talking, it is not just my ideas, in English they say, we are co-researchers.

CO-RESEARCHER: I see.

HERMAN: You help me search.

CO-RESEARCHER: I see.

HERMAN: You hear the word “research”, you “search”, and you search again. What are we missing here?

CO-RESEARCHER: I see.

HERMAN: Let’s look again, let’s ask different questions. It doesn’t help just saying, this is the answer, that one doesn’t work.

CO-RESEARCHER: We have to search again differently.

HERMAN: That’s why I say, for me, you are the right people to talk to, to help with the search.

CO-RESEARCHER: Really?

HERMAN: Who else must I help? Bebe next door, I just know him. He is a big man, walking around there. Me and you, we work together here. You are the right man, we come a long way. That’s why I am recording you. Later on, I must then write down everything we are going to say, half an hour to an hour. I must listen to it and write down every word.

I then put it in a book that I am writing. Here me and Joba wrote, I didn’t just suck it from my thumb. I say, Joba says, and then Joba is not even here. They can hear your voice, that is what you said. You will also be able to see, Yes, it is true, me that is Joba, said this. I will not write anything about you that is not true because you will also be able to read it.

CO-RESEARCHER: I see.

HERMAN: If I then come with ideas for us you can also later, when we’re almost done, say, okay, I like that idea, but that idea of yours, Herman, I think we must work on it a bit. Just like we do with the sheep food.

CO-RESEARCHER: That is so, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: Is that okay, Joba?

CO-RESEARCHER: That is okay, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: We have to talk about two things. Firstly, can we hear who you are? I already mentioned who I am, but we want to hear who you are, where

do you come from? Rembember, we already spoke about that?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, we did speak about that, Mr. Herman.
HERMAN: We have to get that and, maybe three things. The other thing is Ubuntu. Who are people, when they understand Ubuntu. The third thing is, what me and you are already doing together.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: Is that okay?
CO-RESEARCHER: It is okay.
HERMAN: Let's begin. We can start with you.
CO-RESEARCHER: All right.
HERMAN: Your name is Joba Makwakwa?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, it is Joba Mosimane Gape Makwakwa.
HERMAN: Which means blessing, right?
CO-RESEARCHER: Let me tell you, if your first child is a boy and the second child is also a boy, that's why they say Mosimane Gape, Gape means second time.
HERMAN: Are you Mosimane Gape?
CO-RESEARCHER: I am Mosimane Gape.
HERMAN: Okay, I see.
CO-RESEARCHER: I have a brother, then there was me, and after me came two sisters. My youngest sister was not called Mosimane Gape.
HERMAN: I see, to say that she is another girl?
CO-RESEARCHER: No, they didn't say. Only with me they said Mosimane Gape.
HERMAN: How many children are you, Joba?
CO-RESEARCHER: We were only four.
HERMAN: Two girls and two boys.
CO-RESEARCHER: Okay.
HERMAN: You were born here behind at Carel's, at uncle Gerrie's? That is the farm behind us.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: Lukaskraal? You were born there?. Were all four of you born there?

CO-RESEARCHER: No, the last one was born at..., no all of us were born, if I remember correctly. The two girls, they were still small. If I remember correctly, the older one was about 10, the younger one about five or four. After that, my mother and father went to Wolmaranstad.

HERMAN: That was when Karel died?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, Mr Karel was still at the farm, but at that time, life was very hard for him. That is why he told the people to go somewhere else to see what they can do.

HERMAN: Yes, he was battling. He eventually lost everything.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: You told me, Joba, look Makwakwa is not actually a Tswana surname, or is it?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, as I heard from my grandmother, she said it is actually a Zulu surname. You write it Motswana, but you pronounce it Makwakwa. My grandmother told me her father was Zulu.

HERMAN: That is now your grandmother, Liesbet?

CO-RESEARCHER: Bettie.

HERMAN: Bettie, that's right.

CO-RESEARCHER: Old Bettie's father, yes, but he's grandmother was Motswana. His surname was Tswana, Mahini.

HERMAN: That was old Bettie's mother, and your mother?

CO-RESEARCHER: My mother's surname?

HERMAN: Yes.

CO-RESEARCHER: My mother took my grandmother's surname.

HERMAN: You have your mother's surname?

CO-RESEARCHER: I have my mother's surname.

HERMAN: Is it normally like that with Tswana people or not? Don't you normally, like with White people, take your father's surname?

CO-RESEARCHER: That was a big thing. We spoke and you told me you have a stepfather. You won't believe what I am going to tell you. There was a man, he was my father that my mother stayed with, he was not my father, Simon. I grew up like that, then I knew it is my father.

HERMAN: I see.

CO-RESEARCHER: That is why I don't like the word stepfather, I don't like that.

HERMAN: That is a hard word.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, because that father got me far, Mr Herman. My mother also cared, it was a bit difficult. That bothered me, Mr Herman. I remember how difficult it was, when I was younger. I didn't know that later on I would feel different.

HERMAN: You have a very good father. I know Timbolientjie, that is his Tswana name.

CO-RESEARCHER: That is his Tswana name.

HERMAN: He is also the only Black man that I know around here with a beard.

CO-RESEARCHER: Really?

HERMAN: Do you remember, he always had a beard.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, and he still does, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: Yes?

CO-RESEARCHER: Now he shaves it just a bit. Not completely, he just makes it like, not big like the time, when he was young.

HERMAN: I understand Joba. I mean here by us, if I remember correctly, you and your mother, was it your mother and your grandmother that sometimes helped my grandmother in the kitchen?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, it was, Mr. Herman. Everytime the girls came with grandmother, Mr. Karel sent my grandmother here, or he sent both, because my grandmother did not work for Mr. Karel. Maybe I was a bit young then, but I knew old Bettie.

HERMAN: Your mother's name, Joba? Just so we have her on record as well.

CO-RESEARCHER: It's Lena.

HERMAN: They came, then you were at school 500 metres away, then after school you came here. You walked with them in the morning.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, when they came to work, I went to school.

HERMAN: Then after school, you came here.

CO-RESEARCHER: Then I came to the farm.

HERMAN: Then you watered the garden or what?
CO-RESEARCHER: If I remember correctly, the girls showed me how to work the garden. I remember the first time, when I came here, there was a drain in front of the house, I first cut that grass with the schears. The drain I broke out that time.
HERMAN: Yes.
CO-RESEARCHER: Afterwards, I built and plastered something there.
HERMAN: This used to be a vegetable garden. My grandfather also used that water. There used to be vegetables, where the car is standing now.
CO-RESEARCHER: Oh, it was vegetables?
HERMAN: Yes, in my grandfather's time.
CO-RESEARCHER: I see.
HERMAN: Okay Joba, when you finished school, did you go work for Karel or not?
CO-RESEARCHER: Actually yes, I did now and then, my father taught me the work, so that I know farm work. Mr. Karel as well, he didn't like the boys to stay in the city. When school was closed, they had to go work in the garden at the farm. If the girls didn't come, because they were in Randburg, if they came, he would send us to go and help. That was father's time.
HERMAN: That's right.
CO-RESEARCHER: That was my father's time. We quickly helped him with the big lawn at the back. We cut it a little with the sickle. Afterwards, Mr. Karel told us, no, when the grass is like that, he will send the tractor with the big bush cutter to cut the grass.
HERMAN: You got married, when you were still with Karel? Then you left him and went to Tinus van Wyk.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, but when I left Mr. Karel, I was still at school. The time my parents went to Wolmaranstad, Mr. Herman. My father found work at the Corporation, making maize. They did that now and then and sometimes, they didn't have work. I was in school at Ottosdal then. I looked at life at home and saw that it was not good. Life is good, Mr. Herman, but here and there, we have trouble.

When I came on Friday, then on Sunday, my father must go around borrowing money so that I can go back. I asked myself, if my father has to borrow this money, I stay with people, how am I going to buy food? Life is going to be tough at home as well. That's why afterwards I thought to myself, I was still young, Mr. Herman, I thought I have to leave school. I was at home for one week. My first job was picking up corn. I was 17 then.

HERMAN: At the Corporation?

CO-RESEARCHER: No, at another farm behind [inaudible 17:38]. I worked there for three years, but not every day, we only worked for three months, and then for four months there was no work. Then again the next year, we would work for three or four months before the work was done again, and again the next year for three or four months.

My father was still in Wolmaranstad then. Life got very hard for him and he saw that he must go look for other work again. When he got money for the day that he worked, then at least he brought something home. That little bit only cared for us for about two to three weeks. Then he decided to go and look for work at Tinus van Wyk.

My father then got the work. I was still at [inaudible 18:38]. Then the work finished again and I went home. The next year, I went to work there again. I looked at myself and said no, there is nobody at home, I locked that house. My mother was not there, my brother was not there, what must I do. I then saw for myself. You know life?

The time I was there, I found Liesbet and I took her here and there, to the location, but then I saw, Mr. Herman, we are growing up now. Then I saw, it seems like Hilda is on the road now. What can I do here? I must go look for real work now, so that my father don't have to help me here and there everytime the man's work is done. I helped them, but farm life is not like location life, location life is a bit difficult. At the other farm as well, life was hard, as I saw for myself. My father worked there for a year, then I went again, I took Liesbet. Hilda was done with life. Then we went there.

That time, we took the bicycle. I don't know that place, it's about 30 kilometres there. We went with the bicycle, what can we do? We went to my father and

found my father there. The first Monday, he started working again at Tinus van Wyk, and I started working again for three or four months.
After that my father said to me, no, you can't go to the location again, he will speak with Tinus van Wyk to give me a job. Then my father did that.
HERMAN: I see. Then you worked with him there and then you all left Tinus van Wyk.
CO-RESEARCHER: Who? Me, Mr Herman?
HERMAN: You and your father, right?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, we were both there. We were three, together with my brother. He was there.
HERMAN: They still worked there after you left?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: Then you came to work here.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, they were still there, that side, I worked for a long time, about eight years. The time Tinus van Wyk, my father worked there about 17 or 18 years.
HERMAN: Tinus actually told your father and everybody that he doesn't want people on his farm anymore. Then your father had to go to the location again.
CO-RESEARCHER: My father and them are at the location now.
HERMAN: But there is no work there now.
CO-RESEARCHER: There is no work, no.
HERMAN: Your father is also elderly now.
CO-RESEARCHER: He is about 1954.
HERMAN: Born in 1954?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: I see. Now we are here, Joba. I remember you once came and told me, what did you tell me, "Am I ready?" I didn't understand at first what "Am I ready?" meant. Then I didn't farm at all. Then you told me, no, we can farm. Then I told you, give me two months, let me see. Then we said, let's work together. How it was for me then is, you actually taught me about sheep farming. I like sheep, but I don't know them.
CO-RESEARCHER: That work, Mr. Herman, once you know how to inoculate and dose to prevent disease, it is easier. Or you go to the Corporation and tell

those people my sheep is doing this, they have a book, where they look up that disease and tell me, your sheep looks like this, you must dose or inoculate. We never did that, we only did Multivax and dose, when the sheep was a bit ill.

HERMAN: We didn't lose a lot of sheep.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: Good Joba, then we started with the sheep and the chickens. That is what we have on the farm. You then said no, you want to stay in town. You have a house there, you will come and work during the day. Then after a while, Kath and me said, no, you must take the chicken farming. Because it was not enough money for three people, not even enough for two, actually only for one person, and you do the work. You have the business.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, I have the business, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: You take about 500 chickens per month. They are grown in six weeks and then you have customers at the location. They phone you or you go to them. I give you a basic salary and then you have the chickens.

We have the sheep. Then we said, okay, if you get R1 400,00 for a sheep, I will give you R200, any sheep. Then earlier, not long ago, we said, okay, with this year's lambs, you take all the ewes, 34 or so.

CO-RESEARCHER: They are not all ewes. The rams are more than the ewes, I counted them. Looks like there are 18 ewes and 21 rams.

HERMAN: Every year, we have round about 30 lambs. Now, the idea is, Joba, that we raise those ewes and you then decide, whether you want to sell them. Do you want to slaughter them, do you want to breed with them to increase them.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, Mr. Herman. I just want to see, Mr. Herman, I want to see, when they are three months old.

Interview 2

HERMAN: There it goes. Actually today, I'm going like this, Joba. CO-RESEARCHER: No, that's all right, Mr. Herman. That's all right.

HERMAN: How did you work last time? Like this? Wait, I'll hold it like this.

CO-RESEARCHER: You had it like...

HERMAN: I had it like this?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, you had it like that, Mr. Herman.
HERMAN: Joba, okay, now we are speaking to the microphone again, while we are working. I'm going away for a month again, which is too long for me. Okay, we are talking about the sheep now. First, it was the chickens, now we are talking about the next thing, the sheep. Let's quickly discuss the idea. The idea is that you sell two sheep per month. That is then, say for instance, R2 800,00. Then there is a bit of money left that I owe you. I thought, just to start with, let's say I pay you that money cash.
CO-RESEARCHER: All right.
HERMAN: I thought, for February, I must just give you some of the cash now, for the sheep you already sold.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes?
HERMAN: You then hold the money back. Look, it's sheep you already sold. Otherwise I have to take the money to Johannesburg and pay you through the bank. Let me rather leave some of the money here.
CO-RESEARCHER: I hear you.
HERMAN: Then we begin with that idea.
CO-RESEARCHER: I hear you.
HERMAN: Then another thing. Another lamb came last night. Can you believe it. A little lamb, I did not check, whether it is a ram or an ewe, but the placenta was lying there.
CO-RESEARCHER: So the lamb is alive?
HERMAN: Yes.
CO-RESEARCHER: Good lamb.
HERMAN: It must have been early in the morning. Then Joba, I thought about something else we did not discuss yesterday. How you can grow is, you buy the pregnant ewe. You see, now you just buy an ewe, but me and you know that ewe is pregnant.
CO-RESEARCHER: Mr. Herman, I asked myself that same thing yesterday.
HERMAN: Must I charge you more for that ewe?
CO-RESEARCHER: Please.
HERMAN: We can talk about that. Do you understand, then you gain,

because now you are getting a ewe...

CO-RESEARCHER: With a lamb.

HERMAN: In the winter, that lamb will come, it is your lamb.

CO-RESEARCHER: Mr. Herman, that thing, I asked you yesterday at the kraal about the pregnant sheep. We must get food for those sheep.

HERMAN: All right, but the idea is I help you, where I can. What helps me, is that I do not have to pay your salary every month, that helps me.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is that so, Mr. Herman?

HERMAN: Because you then sell the sheep we do not want and you can from that money...

CO-RESEARCHER: Is that so, Mr. Herman?

HERMAN: If I now and then have to buy food just to start with, say for the first year or so, we can do that, that helps you. So these lambs have food. At least I do not buy sheep food and pay a salary, I just buy sheep food.

CO-RESEARCHER: You just buy sheep food.

HERMAN: Yes, not always, only when you need it. For instance, let's say you see the lambs are there and you see, we also see, we are not selling a lot of sheep. What I am trying to say is, we are always going to have to talk to each other. If you see you only sold one sheep this month, then I am not going to say to you, "Well bad luck," you are only getting one sheep's money. You tell me just one sheep was sold and I will help you with a salary.

CO-RESEARCHER: I understand very well, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: We must draw up a contract for that, otherwise we are not going to help each other.

CO-RESEARCHER: Here and there I don't understand.

HERMAN: Yes, now this is it, I do not pay you a salary, you sell sheep, but now if you do not sell a sheep, I know you will try, but it can happen. You did well, you just sold four sheep, two lambs and two ewes. It will probably be like that, but if it is not, we make the contract so that I can help you.

CO-RESEARCHER: I hear you.

HERMAN: To buy food, that is what I am saying.

CO-RESEARCHER: That is good, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: In the mean time you can, if I were you, buy that nice ewe first.

The one that brings the good rams. What we must do Joba is, if you can, I do not know, can you send me a photo via MMS?

CO-RESEARCHER: No Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: Then we must let you take a photo when you buy a sheep, if you can, it is just good for my head, do you understand? I now got used to the sheep. Say, here comes a man and he buys a sheep, just take a photo of the sheep's head.

CO-RESEARCHER: The other day, I thought about that, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: So I can just see, okay that one is gone. I know you count correctly, but for me, it's the faces as well, to know, okay that sheep is gone.

CO-RESEARCHER: I hear you, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: If you buy the sheep for yourself, that nice ewe, she looked at me yesterday, a clean face.

CO-RESEARCHER: Did you see the others, they are good.

HERMAN: Then I know Joba bought that one. Otherwise we have to start tagging them.

CO-RESEARCHER: I hear you, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: Eventually we want you to buy all the sheep. We do not have to tag them, it's just for the mean time, if I have a photo I know, which is yours, when I am here on my own. That is Joba's. I think that is all there is.

CO-RESEARCHER: I hear you, Mr. Herman, like you say about the food. You can help me, if I sometimes not come right, and I tell you. To me that will be good, Mr. Herman, but I know that it has to be paid like you say, I hear you. On the other hand, like I told you regarding the adult sheep, I thought about that thing. Yesterday, my head was spinning, then I asked myself, this thing that I want to discuss with you, the lambs of this year. My head tells me that I must sell them all.

HERMAN: Really? Eighteen of them I gave to you? Do you want to sell them as well?

CO-RESEARCHER: Together with the rams, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: All of them?

CO-RESEARCHER: My head says all of them.

HERMAN: Why? So that you can buy the adults?

CO-RESEARCHER: So that I can buy the adults. I thought that myself yesterday. I must do this thing now so I can get started. Every month, like we just said Mr. Herman, you can deduct that money, but do you think I should try a bit with those little rams and ewes, because I ask myself, if they are not a little young still. People come here and then I weigh them and they make 30 or 35, then they sell for about R950.00. Then I asked myself, if I can sell them like that.

But definitely, Mr. Herman, if I can sell the sheep, I must tell you, so you can see how many sheep I have sold. You must know how many is left. So I do not know if Mr. Herman thinks I am ready for that.

HERMAN: No, it's all right, Joba. We already work like that. You are selling, I do not always know that you are selling, but then you come back and tell me you have sold so many and give the money and there is so many left.

What we must do now is, then I'm going to stop now.

CO-RESEARCHER: Okay.

HERMAN: I am going to draw up that contract. I left the keys for the mail box here again.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, because last month, I did not really go to town during the day.

HERMAN: No that is okay, Joba, I did empty it today. I just mean, maybe sometimes me and you need to mail each other something. Then I can mail from there to here and you know you have the key.

CO-RESEARCHER: That is good, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: It is not necessary now, I am here again. Okay Joba, then we will speak about it again in a month, if we have to. When we have the contract.

CO-RESEARCHER: All right, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: The reason, why we are doing this, I just lastly want to say is, two reasons. The one is so that we can create a business from the sheep. I only see the sheep once a month, you always work with them. It just makes sense that the sheep becomes yours, because you look after them.

We have not lost one sheep. What helps me is that the sheep then pays your salary. So that you can again gain independence for yourself. So you can rent land from me and farm for yourself.

CO-RESEARCHER: Actually, there is just something, Mr. Herman. Maybe it is something I do not understand. You see these sheep, I think there are now 103.

HERMAN: 105 with those two.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes 105. What I want to understand, Mr. Herman, I am going to start paying, I'll pay, but we do not know, when it is going to come to an end, because you know we are going to have lambs again.

So, I do not know, somebody must just understand, so I do not leave anything behind. You are not here. That is just something I want to know. Like, yesterday you said to me I have not, in a month I bought two sheep from you. The others are still yours. They are not mine yet, they are still yours.

When I buy I know I have about two and next time I have two, now at least they are four. There I just want to know how me and you are working. I do not know if Mr. Herman understands.

HERMAN: How do you mean with what? What is still mine?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, they are going to have rams again. That lamb is still in your camp. I just want to know about this.

HERMAN: You have not bought the ewe yet. If you buy that ewe, then that lamb is yours. What makes it good is that it also gives you more time to buy the ewes you want.

CO-RESEARCHER: Okay, Mr. Herman, my heart is, I am now okay.

HERMAN: Really?

CO-RESEARCHER: Mr. Herman, I am now okay.

HERMAN: Then later, we can also see, that old ram is getting old now. You can surely sell it for R7 000.00, I do not know. Maybe a bit less. You are not going to sell it as a stud-ram anymore, but it has a lot of meat. If he has not worked for a year or so, and we want to sell him, then...

CO-RESEARCHER: On the other hand, I do not know, if I am right. Let me ask Mr. Herman already. You saw that big ram. If he is with the sheep he gets, I asked myself the other day, is that ram not getting old?

HERMAN: We have to look at his teeth, but I think he is getting old.

CO-RESEARCHER: I think he is getting old, Mr Herman.

HERMAN: He probably has another year or two left.

CO-RESEARCHER: Really, that he can be with the sheep?
HERMAN: Yes.
CO-RESEARCHER: No, that's good, Mr. Herman.
HERMAN: Yes.
CO-RESEARCHER: I just asked myself to just ask you that, maybe his time is up. The other day you mentioned that you can talk to the people of BKB, so they can have a look at the ram. Then they look for you and you maybe buy two other rams, so that we can get different blood. Then we know for sure this is his last year. If those people say we can take three, then I give you two rams, new rams. Maybe that will be good. Then we know we are not going to change the ewes. Those rams come with new blood. I do not know, but maybe you will say that they can still work another two years, we can still leave them a bit.
HERMAN: I think so. All right, Joba.
CO-RESEARCHER: All right, Mr. Herman.

Interview 3

HERMAN: Okay, Joba, you say what you think you want to do with the lambs.
CO-RESEARCHER: I thought like this, after three or four months, I want to look at the stronger lambs, I just want to see how many they are. You saw with the sheep it is also different, they are not coming nicely. You cannot say those lambs, you are going to keep for rams. You will have the same trouble.
HERMAN: We are going to see, because I also spoke to Jaco. They think, if we put the Dormer with our sheep, we will get good lambs, they grow fast. I think we must keep our youngest ram and sell the two oldest ones and get one more from outside. The same blood also makes these lambs smaller.
CO-RESEARCHER: I see.
HERMAN: I have heard that, but we will see how it goes, I agree with you. Joba, okay, tell me, if we look at your business, the chickens. The sheep is only starting now, how is your business doing?
CO-RESEARCHER: It is difficult here and there, the trouble comes, when the chicks die.
HERMAN: Like now, 16, 12, 14 every day.

CO-RESEARCHER: Every day.
HERMAN: Out of 500?.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: At least they are dying young, you have not spent much money for their food.
CO-RESEARCHER: Still, if you loose 100, it is too much. Those chicks die at about two to three weeks. Then they have already eaten two bags.
HERMAN: How much does one chick cost you?
CO-RESEARCHER: About R 5.27.
HERMAN: There you lose, 100, you lose R500.00, without their food. Their food is about R300.00 for two bags. You are talking about R800.00 that you are actully losing in a month. What is left you sell for R60.00, but that is not all profit because they eat a couple of bags. The other day I heard a guy say, this guy with the big chicken farm, he makes between 20 and 40 cents profit on a chicken. That is all. He has thousands every month. He has three big barns. With your way, you make more, but you have much less chickens. Those barns cost R2 million each. That is not something we can do.
CO-RESEARCHER: No, we cannot do that.
HERMAN: The chickens is half, but it is extra. I helped you with the van, you paid me. You cannot buy a van with the chicken's money, with 500 chickens.
CO-RESEARCHER: No, you cannot. What I also saw, Mr Herman, I am going onto four years, if I remember correctly. The thing I am asking myself all the time, that is in my head, I see that van is a good van, it can increase my business. If it does all the work, then after five or six years it is going to be tired. With that money, Mr. Herman, maybe I have not saved anything there. What am I going to do then? That is why I said to you the other day, I am looking for a way.
HERMAN: A way means what? A way to make money?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: I have been thinking, there are two ways. The one way, as you say is, get pigs, keep to what you are doing. You are actually your own boss. I am here once a month. You do what you think best with the chickens. You do it better than I can. The sheep, you care for them, you phone me if there is

trouble. You are free to say you are going to get pigs. Let me see, if that is the way. How it works in my head is, we are looking for ways to make you stronger. Get you on your own feet. The best for me is, if you get land.

CO-RESEARCHER: Really?

HERMAN: Yes, if you can be my neighbour. Not just me, I think other farmers will also be glad. They got to know you, they can see that you are not here to start a location on the farm, you are here to farm.

CO-RESEARCHER: To farm, yes.

HERMAN: He has a farmer's heart. He has farmer's hands. This man is a farmer and we can trust him. I mean, one of the reasons, why you did not want to stay here on the farm was, you said you did not want all the people to come and visit you. It might bring trouble here. Now you stay on the farm, when I am not here. You do not want to work on your house. You say you want to keep it small at the rondawel, so people do not bother you because, say this man flourishes, we also want some of that money. The people trust you.

CO-RESEARCHER: It is.

HERMAN: There is an idea, not just to keep in the back of our heads, but to look at. That is part of what I am writing now. I look at the Government's ways, they have thousands, millions of rands, Joba, for this thing.

CO-RESEARCHER: Really?

HERMAN: Of which a lot have been wasted, disappeared, but a lot of it they also use to buy farms for people.

CO-RESEARCHER: I see.

HERMAN: Most of those farms are not working. When they give it to those people, then most of those farms are not working. Once they give it to the people, then those people say, I do not have a tractor, I do not have money for a borehole or pipes, what must I do with a piece of land. I am not a farmer. It is as good as staying in the location, except that it is worse because I am far from work.

CO-RESEARCHER: You see.

HERMAN: The people that write about this and what I also see is, when the Government helps you to buy land, then they must also help you with money,

even if you borrow it from the bank. To say, at least I have 100 sheep. I must at least have food for a few months, until I can sell the chickens. We know what these chickens cost. Hundreds of rands for food every month. Now you make a bit of profit. The farmers here that do well are the big farmers, they have a couple of farms.

CO-RESEARCHER: You are right.

HERMAN: Pieter at the back tells me 1000 hectare is a bit small.

CO-RESEARCHER: 1000?

HERMAN: 1000, he says you battle with 1000.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is that so, Mr. Herman?

HERMAN: My grandfather's piece of farm here is 300. You see the trouble. My grandfather could farm here, he had one car, he didn't have a van. The car was the van.

CO-RESEARCHER: Really?

HERMAN: Yes, the Open Ranger. He did not even use the Open Ranger, he rode the bicycle, when there was trouble. Then they fix with the tools, if they needed many tools, then he fetced it, the car's boot was the big toolbox.

CO-RESEARCHER: I see.

HERMAN: Tractors, eventually in his life he had some, one Ford and 2 Fiats. My grandfather died a poor man. He did not lose anything, but he could not grow. The house me and you are sitting in now was built by my father's father.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is that so, Mr Herman.

HERMAN: That is just the picture to show you that it is not just like that now, it has always been like that. Small farm. My grandfather's thing was, he was sick for a long time. He had stomach cancer. It bothered him, but he also said, look I only have one daugther, if I had a son I would have made another plan. I do not have to provide a farm for a boy, some day my daughter is going to move away, we own 300 morgen. The one idea is then, once I finished writing this thing, you and me must look, I do not want to lose you, but if you can become a farmer with your own land and have enough money to make it work, then that is number one, it is first prize.

For me, I think we are working towards that, but where we are now, I am talking too much now. I am going to stop. That is the one idea. You carry on

with the farming, you make it bigger, you become strong. You forget about the thing that you are actually working for another man.
The second idea is that you do what I do. What is that? I want to farm here, that is what I always wanted to do. I do not have a tractor. I cannot anymore, but when my business were strong I could say, right, I will borrow money from the bank to buy a tractor. With the amount of crop that you can make here, I will not be able to pay for that tractor. It is not a tractor, it is a planter and a wagon and seed. Then you hope it goes well that year. How many drought years have we had now. The people are closing, they are leaving.
CO-RESEARCHER: You are right, they are leaving.
HERMAN: Say it goes well and I could, but I cannot, I work in the city, and the farm costs me. The electricity is R3 000.00 per month. The sheep cost me, actually you yourself know. I am doing it because I am working in the city. Another way you can also do it, I thought about it, is if you stay here and carry on farming, but you take a job at the Corporation, at Bamboes.
CO-RESEARCHER: I see.
HERMAN: I don't know. Then you double your money. You get money from me, you get money from your chickens and your sheep and maybe pigs, as well as working at the Corporation.
CO-RESEARCHER: And I work at the Corporation?
HERMAN: Five kilometres away. Gerhard started working like that. He has been with the fertiliser people for years. He was long time married, he had all his children, then he still worked there. He sells fertiliser now, but he is also on the farm.
CO-RESEARCHER: I see.
HERMAN: For the money. He has the land, but where is the money? He makes money in town.
CO-RESEARCHER: I see, Mr. Herman.
HERMAN: You must think about it Joba, I am just saying.
CO-RESEARCHER: I hear you very well, Mr. Herman. He is okay. I just want to say something, the sheep is here, the chickens are here, the pigs are here. Every morning, if I go to work I will ask myself, as I am working now, Mr. Herman, at the Corporation or another man, it is not going to look like I am

working at this farm.

HERMAN: It is not going to look like it does now.

CO-RESEARCHER: You see. I must open the sheep earlier. Then I must feed the pigs and the chickens a bit earlier. During the day, I am not here.

HERMAN: Can you not lunch. Like this is close now, then say you come home.

CO-RESEARCHER: I can do so, say around 13:00, I come home, but then I must drive to get to the farm. That is going to cost me again. The sheep and the pigs and chickens too, if I cannot see them, when I opened them, when I come back at 13:00, I will find there is trouble. Do you see, Mr. Herman? So I am not saying I do not want other work, but that thing is going to be in my head.

HERMAN: Yes, that is true.

CO-RESEARCHER: It is in my head.

HERMAN: Let's see, we are doing good. I do not think we have to change anything, but we have to stay open for other ideas.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: See what the best ideas are.

CO-RESEARCHER: We have to see, like I said to you, with the pigs as well. I first look for a plan to find out from the other people, where they are selling their pigs. They say here at Wolmaranstad they just take the pigs for nothing. You know, if you want good pigs you will pay for them. To get those pigs. You yourself know, you went with the bull once or twice. I know the pigs do not take that long. I worked with pigs for a long time, but his things I lost a bit now, I forgot some things. Pigs take about 112 days before they can get pregnant. The first day, you must already put it on the calender, then you know, by the fifth day that boar started. To raise them is not difficult, Mr. Herman, but when you have piglets, you need to take your time a bit You must raise them well, when they go to the auction, you know those pigs are nice. So they can pay you well. You must get the right pigs.

HERMAN: I hear you, Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: The right pigs. If you are at Bamboes, that little house there, I do not know if you saw them. Those big pigs, if you can get them, you

will be okay.

HERMAN: Then you will progress.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, but you only get two, you do not get the boar here, you get the boar from somewhere else. If you just get a few, you can do without a boar for three to four years. You just use that boar and the two you bought. You just sell the piglets. If you see that they are getting a bit old, then you know that at least you made enough money, you change them. They are not hard work. What is the most work. Actually the pigs cannot be inoculated, but if you want to you can do it. If you do not want to you can just raise them and sell them.

HERMAN: Joba, and then I think that is enough about the farming for now. Lastly, we have to talk about that thing I spoke to you about many times, that I got from you, Ubuntu. In Tswana it is Umuntu, am I right?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes...

HERMAN: Umuntu actually means human. Some people are Umuntu and some people are not Umuntu.

CO-RESEARCHER: No.

HERMAN: What is the difference between those two people?

CO-RESEARCHER: There is not really a difference there. If you say Umuntu, you're talking to one person, but if you say Ubanto, you're talking to many people.

HERMAN: I see.

CO-RESEARCHER: That is not just a word you say to say, I'm just saying it. That is actually a word that the man who says it, respects it.

HERMAN: I see.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes. Actually, always when you speak, you must not just say I saw that man. You have a name, you must say I saw Herman. It shows respect. You don't just say I saw that man. What is "that man"?

HERMAN: What is his name?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes. If you say the name, people undestand you're talking about Joba.

HERMAN: Arch Bishop Tutu, Desmond Tutu, did you know he is from Klerksdorp?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: Look, he used the word in a way that we have all heard, Umtu Nguntu Nkabanto.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: What does that mean?
CO-RESEARCHER: Umuntu.
HERMAN: Umtu Nguntu Nkabanto means Umuntu?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, actually, as I have heard, Mr. Herman, You can say that in three ways. Umuntu, Ubantu, like you just said. When you speak that word, you must show respect.
HERMAN: Something I also remember you telling me, and it stuck with me, Joba. You must tell me if I remember correctly. I remember that you said the word Umuntu, you cannot just say it in public. Because as I remember, it actually means you are opening your door. Everybody can come in. Like your mother coming to stay with you. You cannot say no to anything, they can use sugar and food, it belongs to everybody. You must not say that word aloud.
CO-RESEARCHER: No, you cannot.
HERMAN: Because you are going to end up with nothing. How I see it, if I understand you correctly, it is a word that you whisper, you almost never use the word.
CO-RESEARCHER: Actually, the word is not bad, Mr. Hermam, but Motswana, with us, I cannot say it. Like I told you, look that man, Motswana, if I use that word, what am I saying, when I speak those words. Look that man. I am saying [inaudible 22.13]. Those words are not good.
HERMAN: Look at that person.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, If you are alone I say, look at that man, I am saying [inaudible]. If you're a few, I say look at those people, [inaudible].
HERMAN: I understand,
CO-RESEARCHER: That's bad.
HERMAN: People or more people?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: Just a last question about this, Joba, then we are finished. If you can say, he is a bad man, is he still Umuntu?

CO-RESEARCHER: He is, but you cannot say it.
HERMAN: When do you lose that? How I understand Umuntu is, it is a way of being human. What makes you human. I almost want to say it makes you a good person. A person that shares with others. That is how I think me and you are now working together. I trust you with my stuff, then my stuff becomes yours. That is what the other farmers around here also see now. They cannot tell me stories, because they see Joba, and that it is also Joba's stuff. It is a way of working and being together.
CO-RESEARCHER: You have got it now, Mr. Herman, when you are saying that.
HERMAN: Really?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, we are both like that. We can say those two men [inaudible]. We are two in that thing. That's why I said to you, you have now got it.
HERMAN: I see.
CO-RESEARCHER: We are there now. If you are alone in it then we cannot say Batu, we must say one, because then you are alone.
HERMAN: Yes, I see.
CO-RESEARCHER: Actually, the way they have written those words, you can hear that it is not actually Tswana. I do not know what it is, but it's not Tswana. In Tswana you say it like it is written. You can hear, that is not actually Tswana. I do not know what it is, but it's not Tswana. Because in Tswana, if we say Ubuntu [inaudible], in Tswana we must say Batu. We say Batu. We do not say Buntu. I don't know if Mr. Herman saw on PSL, the soccer, there is another team called Sundowns.
HERMAN: Yes.
CO-RESEARCHER: You must look at the words on their T-shirts, Ubuntu.
HERMAN: Oh, do they say it there?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, you must just have a look.
HERMAN: I will.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, you must just look there. It looks like this big man of their's, Patrice Motsepe, is a good man. Looks like he is a good man, Patrice Motsepe. Looks like he is a good man. I don't know, but here and

there I hear that he helped the children at school.

HERMAN: That's right, he is from here in Rustenburg.

CO-RESEARCHER: You see there, Mr. Herman, they speak those words, that word Ubuntu.

HERMAN: I see.

CO-RESEARCHER: That's a man that can help the people. Can I tell you, that man cares. You must respect that word.

HERMAN: I See.

CO-RESEARCHER: That's why that man wrote those words on the T-shirts of those people. He shows it is a person. You must just have a look at that sir.

HERMAN: I will. Sundowners, they help each other, but Patrice Motsepe also helps them.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: That way they help him again.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: Because he can now say, I have a soccer team. It's my men that are playing. They play for him?

CO-RESEARCHER: They play for him.

HERMAN: He also works for them.

CO-RESEARCHER: See, that is why that word is used there to say, Ubuntu.

HERMAN: I see Joba, thank you. This helped now.

CO-RESEARCHER: Mr. Herman, you have many ways. I know you also have that thing. I see many people, who say we have many things. I always tell people, I say, no man, we, if we want to do that thing, we batlle to do it. Maybe if you can get one of the White people and say to him, I'm having the trouble I'm having here, help me. Then you will get it, Mr. Herman. That is why I'm doing the business with you now, Mr. Herman, because it is not me or you only. It is together. That is why I say to you, the people underneath the ground and the people above, those people see all these things. The can tell you, where it started. If you get the right people, they will show you, where you went wrong. They will show you. If something bothers your heart, those people tell you what happened. God as well, he sees. This man has trouble. You see the day, can I say to you today it is like this, tomorrow it is like that. If

you have trouble, you can go to sleep and not understand, but tomorrow, when you get up, then you have an idea. You mustn't hurry, you must be patient.

HERMAN: Thank you, Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: That's good, Mr. Herman.

Interview 4

HERMAN: Joba, I just want to say that I am recording this too. That what I think can help, when we are done with this study. That we can show people we are working together. Ubuntu, if you wish. Things are better for me, things are better for you.

CO-RESEARCHER: Okay.

HERMAN: We want it to be even better for you.

CO-RESEARCHER: Okay.

HERMAN: Then maybe people can take the book. I must see, who I can talk to, then we go and see them and ask them how the Government can help you. Look, here is a man, everything about him is written in this book. This PHD, that's what they call this degree.

CO-RESEARCHER: I see.

HERMAN: He is a co-reasercher. He worked with me, he searched and searched again and asked questions.

CO-RESEARCHER: I see.

HERMAN: This is the book. This man Joba wants land. That's what I am hoping. That we can take it and say, we can go that far and no further. This man now needs land. What plan can we make. That is what I am hoping can happen, Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: I also hope that, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: Just think, if you can get land in your name. I mean, you will be the only Black farmer here, between Ottosdal and Wolmaranstad.

CO-RESEARCHER: That is true.

HERMAN: It will only be you, and the people need Black farmers.

CO-RESEARCHER: That is so, Mr. Herman.

HERMAN: Let's hope that is where this is going.

CO-RESEARCHER: This thing, Mr. Herman, it turned a lot of people's minds. It is going to fix their minds a bit. Why did those two men choose this.
HERMAN: It is a very good thing for me that the neighbour bought chickens from you. Him as well. Who is this man Joba, why is he so different, is he even different? Are my people not also good people, maybe I'm not giving them a chance, whatever.
CO-RESEARCHER: You are right.
HERMAN: We are hoping people's minds will change. When we are finished with this thing, I tell you, we walk into the Municipality next year and say, we see you are giving people land next to town. How can Joba get land.
CO-RESEARCHER: You are right, Mr. Herman.
HERMAN: Tell us what the requirements are, so that we can get Joba there.
CO-RESEARCHER: Like you say, Mr. Herman, let's hope we can get this.
HERMAN: We'll get it.
CO-RESEARCHER: Okay, Mr. Herman.

Interview 5

HERMAN: Okay, Joba, it is now 5 June.
CO-RESEARCHER: That's right.
HERMAN: This is the last recording we are making.
CO-RESEARCHER: That's right.
HERMAN: At the end of the month, I must hand in my thesis.
CO-RESEARCHER: Okay.
HERMAN: So, I am just going to re-cap on what we are going to do.
CO-RESEARCHER: Okay.
HERMAN: What I wrote here, Joba, is how me and you decided to work together on the farm. That we gave you the chicken bussiness. You learnt with us and went ahead on your own very well. How many chickens did you start with?
CO-RESEARCHER: We started with about 100.
HERMAN: One hundred? How many do you have now?
CO-RESEARCHER: About, one month I take six, another month I take eight.
HERMAN: Six boxes?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, six boxes.
HERMAN: That is 600 chicks. So you grew from 100 to 600.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: I did not give you any extra money, I pay the chickens for you upfront, but I mean, you buy the food. We slowly handed it over to you. In the beginning, we still bought food, now you buy your own food.
CO-RESEARCHER: That is right.
HERMAN: How long has it been, three years?
CO-RESEARCHER: No, it's going onto four years now.
HERMAN: Yes, that is right. Now already it is so that I pay for the chickens and you pay me back. You do not owe me anything.
CO-RESEARCHER: That is so.
HERMAN: You paid for the van.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, Mr. Herman.
HERMAN: Now let's quickly see. What are we doing with the sheep. I said I'll give you all the ewes from last year. How many were they?
CO-RESEARCHER: About 18, Mr. Herman.
HERMAN: Yes.
CO-RESEARCHER: As you, the other day, with that month, what was it, February, when they started dying and we did not inoculate.
HERMAN: What did they have?
CO-RESEARCHER: Blue Tongue.
HERMAN: Then you went into town. You came to ask Cornelia, what was wrong, then your father helped and said it is Blue Tongue. I read and saw that your father was right, it was Blue Tongue. Then you went to buy the medicine.
CO-RESEARCHER: No, I did not get it, you did.
HERMAN: You are right, I got it, you injected them.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, I injected.
HERMAN: They pulled through, they are okay.
CO-RESEARCHER: Now they are okay.
HERMAN: It is now lambing time again. Our next idea with the sheep was, you buy the ewes from me.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: The big ewes as well. That way, you buy over the business. You buy every ewe and then every lamb that comes is yours.
CO-RESEARCHER: Okay.
HERMAN: In this week, in last week, people came and bought two of your young, year old ewes.
CO-RESEARCHER: That's right.
HERMAN: Then you said, for you this is taking too long.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: That's the reason you are now going to buy the adult ewes from me.
CO-RESEARCHER: That's right.
HERMAN: You are going to take the money you got for the year-old ewes and give it to me?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, I am going to give it to you.
HERMAN: As payment for two ewes that are already pregnant, that will lamb now.
CO-RESEARCHER: That's right.
HERMAN: Then for the price of one adult you get an adult plus a lamb and that way you grow ahead.
CO-RESEARCHER: I thought about that a bit. We spoke and said the lambs of this year is your lambs. I have not finished paying for the ewes, it is going slow with the ewes. Maybe next year, when we are done adding in the rams, maybe there will be 20, maybe 15 or 10, we do not know, then we must look at something.
HERMAN: But if you buy a pregnant ewe from me, that lamb is yours.
CO-RESEARCHER: That is so.
HERMAN: We just have to mark it, or what?
CO-RESEARCHER: Now I don't know, I didn't think like that, I thought this year's lambs is yours. The ewes that are going to lamb now, the money will come afterwards. The ewe that has already lambed, that ewe is yours, not mine yet.
HERMAN: But you gave me money for two ewes, so we must have a look. The small ewe weighs 40kg, the big ewe, without the lamb, weighs 55kg. She

is a bit heavier, so she is a bit more expensive than the small ewe. Still, at least it is one big ewe that you can buy. That big ewe, I already have the money, the lamb is yours.

CO-RESEARCHER: Okay.

HERMAN: You buy her before she, or even if you buy that big ewe with the lamb, it is yours.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is that so, Mr. Herman?

HERMAN: I mean, you are not paying extra for the lamb. If you say to me that for the money you gave me Saturday, you want to buy the big ewe with the lamb, then it is yours.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, but we must look at that together. We must put the good ewes aside and see what they look like. They are about 20 or 25. As we discussed, the other ewes we must sell.

HERMAN: After this season, let them lamb first.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: Okay, Joba, we can talk about it. Good, so that is how we will work now. We signed the contract as well today, so you have a rental agreement with your name on it and you know that nobody can chase you off there. You also signed another letter that says I can put everything we talked about in the thesis. I am just going to go through the process. What I saw was good, our work on Ubuntu. I asked you what Ubuntu is. What I remember very well, and it was new to me, is that you said, it is as if you take your door off. That is how you see Ubuntu, right?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, it is.

HERMAN: You cannot talk to just any man about Ubuntu because he will clean you out.

CO-RESEARCHER: That's right.

HERMAN: Maybe with your mother, someone you can trust.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: Actually me and you trust each other like that.

CO-RESEARCHER: That is true.

HERMAN: We have said before we are working together, you take very good care of my stuff.

CO-RESEARCHER: You are right.
HERMAN: I am trying my best for you. It looks like this Ubuntu thing is helping me and you to work together. That's what I saw, and that is what I am writing. I think this way we can live more equally, so that you have animals, you make your own money and you farm on your own.
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, I see.
HERMAN: Maybe, I do not know, but I cannot say that our neighbours are going to do the same we are doing.
CO-RESEARCHER: I don't think so.
HERMAN: Don't you think so, Joba?
CO-RESEARCHER: I don't think so, but we don't know. Let us rather say we don't know.
HERMAN: We hope, right?
CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.
HERMAN: That they see that here is a way to work together and the farm is doing much better.
CO-RESEARCHER: It's true.
HERMAN: Now, that is all I have to say, Joba.
CO-RESEARCHER: Okay. Yes, it is better that Mr. Herman decided this. That you came up with it, to do this thing. You are showing many people you are not just for one side, you are for two sides. You are not just for one thing. So, the people can see how these two men can live together, even though they are not the same. If this man takes a side, the other takes the same side. It is good like that, Mr. Herman. I hope my children and your children as well, if they see this, it will be good.
HERMAN: It is true, Joba, it is actually the only way forward.
CO-RESEARCHER: Like I said to you on Saturday, your farm, not that time, but now I understand for myself how it worked for me, where I am, where I am going. He does what I do, but the skin is not the same. I must help this man. I couldn't just see something is broken or the ewes are dying and sit and say, I will help this man tomorrow. Then I tell him about the ewes. If that thing happened, I pick it up and show it, I took care of this thing.
HERMAN: I can see you care very well for the farm. All the Katbos is out, I

don't see any for a long way.

CO-RESEARCHER: You see, if I open those camps a bit, so we can see the sheep, if they go in the road, it will be okay for me.

HERMAN: Yes, it's true.

CO-RESEARCHER: It is a bit slow, Mr. Herman, because if I cut the trees, then I must take out the Katbos underneath it.

HERMAN: All the roots.

CO-RESEARCHER: Those trees must come out. So people passing in the road can see them. This house is old, but there is people here. You can see some places, the people do not remove the Katbos, they leave it there.

HERMAN: It looks terrible.

CO-RESEARCHER: That is the trouble.

HERMAN: Animals cannot eat it, it is only weed.

CO-RESEARCHER: We do not want that. We clean up so people can see, this man here, they take good care of the land. We do not have a tractor, but when people come to the farm and see the trees, they will ask, who put this here? No, Joba did that.

HERMAN: Joba, I am very happy.

CO-RESEARCHER: Me too, sir.

HERMAN: Great Joba. Thank you, Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: Thank you very much, Mr. Herman.

1.15.1.4 Access to land

Of the two of us, Joba is the practical hands-on farmer. He can mend a fence and build a shed with a set of pliers, wire and scraps of corrugated iron. He has taught me everything I know about sheep farming. Our relationship is one of mutual respect, albeit traditional. Joba refers to me as 'baas', no matter how many times I ask him not to.

When speaking to Joba about the land, he relates stories of their moving and working various pieces of land for White farmers. Joba's memory reaches back to his father's and grandfather's childhoods in Leeudoringstad, our neighbouring town, 80 kilometres away. He speaks of his extended family,

which now lives in the township. His father later moved to our area, where he worked in the local co-operative as a storeman. In those days, they lived on my uncle's farm and after the co-operative closed, they started working for my uncle on his farm. Joba was born on that farm in 1983. As a child in the local farm school, Joba joined his mother at our farmhouse in the afternoons, where he played and later worked in the garden.

Joba owns a piece of land in the township, where he built himself a house. If I ask him about his feelings regarding owning farmland, he becomes vague, other than saying he thinks it is a 'good plan'. He prefers working with me, he says. I was wondering, why he was too cautious to imagine this possibility – was he simply that disempowered? I was wondering, if he did not have a desire to offer his children the stability land offers.

How could I assist him in acquiring his own farmland? Joba has considerable skill and knowledge in sheep farming. He has expressed a desire to build feedlots and rear sheep like that. I imagine trying to give him a sizeable portion of our land. My answer to myself is that I would find it difficult transferring a section of our farm into his name. I tend to ascribe my holding onto our land as a matter of conservatism and sentiment. Yet, when I scrutinise my reasons rationally, I come to the preliminary understanding that aside from wanting to retain access to this land for my children, I am also being pragmatic: Our land is only 280 hectares in size. In our area, a farm can be no smaller than 1 200 hectares to ensure the livelihood of its inhabitants. At this stage, my wife and I have occupations outside of farming that sustain us, whereas Joba is completely dependent on the farm's current income. To divide the land further will result in even smaller farming units, unable to sustain either of our families. In this vein, the Surveyor-General in South Africa does not allow for further subdivision of a farm of our size, as with economies of scale that are necessary in agriculture, subdivision of such a small piece of land would render it completely economically unviable. To exemplify it in another industry, dividing a factory in half does not create two economically viable halves. It just renders the factory dysfunctional.

1.15.1.5 External issues

The South African land issue is also embedded with external issues, unrelated to the restitution of land to the landless people. I deal with this contextual issue in detail in Chapter 5. Allow me to refer to two aspects by way of introduction. In our immediate vicinity, local government officials sell mining rights to foreign nationals without following the prescribed procedure. After the officials receive a fee for the mining licence, the land is mined and rendered useless for farming purposes. Another debilitating aspect of being disempowered as Joba is, is the jealousy of his contemporaries, even his own family. He relates how he cannot tell his mother that I gave him a bakkie as this will result in his siblings descending on him with their very real financial woes. He will not be able to stand up to their demands and will simply be pulled back to their levels of impoverishment. Joba also has to hide the fact that we transferred the chicken business into his name for similar reasons. When friends ask him, why he works so hard for the 'baas', he cannot say he is the owner of the business. Joba concludes that jealousy, which results from a community's poverty and interdependence, mostly drives the reality of ubuntu out of communities. I investigate Joba's understanding of ubuntu further in Chapter 4.

1.15.1.6 Non traditionalists

Joba's and my relationship follows a marginalised narrative that differs from the norm, where the farm labourer is the fully dependent one. Instead, I would be at a loss without his skills. As an individual, his contributions to our farm are uniquely irreplaceable.

I obtained my B.Div at The University of the Western Cape. There, as the Chairperson of the Theological Student Council, I came to understand Liberation and Contextual Theology. When I returned home at night, it was to an informal settlement, where I shared a wood and plastic shack with a Xhosa family. This experience and academic understanding of the South African racial landscape disrupted my profile as a conservative White land-owning male. In my experience, the Dutch Reformed church is limited in its theology

to serve the interests of only one language and racial group, the Afrikaners. I cannot call that my spiritual home any longer. Joba's God consciousness is informed by his Tswana worldview, where the ancestors mediate and inform and yet, he stands ambivalent to most of his traditions. We are therefore both non-traditionalists with an eclectic array of thoughts and beliefs. We find common ground in our exploration of human dignity and love for the land.

1.15.1.7 Forward

Joba's opportunities to earn are limited to his manual labour. I have had a privileged childhood and education. History, my training and spirituality requires that I assist in Joba's empowerment. My wife and I have, therefore, given him access to the land and ownership of the broiler poultry enterprise. Having learnt the necessary skills with us during the three-year development period, when we were co-owners, he has a very good knowledge of the whole production cycle from the 1-day-old chicks to marketing the fully-grown chickens in the township. Recently, we have expanded our share scheme to include the Merino business. I will research the role of share schemes in the last chapter.

1.16 Preliminary understanding

If our focus could be on our shared humanity and interconnectedness, we could possibly discover that sharing the resources becomes easy. So, for instance Theletsane (2012:266) found that the Sotho word for *ubuntu* is *botho*, the Afrikaans word is *broederskap* and the English word *brotherhood.*

In this study, my co-researcher and I will keep our focus local and the relationship centred to create localised approaches to local problems related to the land.

CHAPTER 2: THE LAND BECAME PEOPLE

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 Fictional research writing

I will employ fictional writing to assist me in describing a history of land ownership in this geographical context – the southern North West Province. Even though some of the characters are strongly based on actual people, who created the history of this place, I ascribe words and meaning of which I am the creator, to their lives.

The purpose of this fiction is to re-create a plausible sequence of events that could create a deeper understanding of the meaning I ascribe to this place. These events will allow me to call upon characters and places far and near. I will piece together a story that is only hinted at in a myriad of memories that will hopefully bring nuances and a non dominant slumbering story to the fore. Fictional writing brings integrity to this research in as far as it exposes my preferred interpretation of the story of land ownership in our region. My preferred interpretation naturally underlies and feeds into my research. I am aware that my choice of characters, sequence of events and even imagination is not neutral. Rather, these are choices I make to create a meaning I want to establish. If I remain aware of my hand in this history, the texture that fiction brings to the research is helpful. I base this statement on the research discussed below before I proceed to present my fiction.

2.1.2 Fiction in qualitative research

Fiction in terms of this qualitative research is helpful as it not only has the ability to show up my vested interests and preferred outcomes, but also enables me as author to view the text as reader. This allows me, in the words of Rowland (1991:98), to '*engage critically with it with other readers'*. Furthermore, the critical distance between author and text gives me a perspective on the characters, which disengages me in order not to identify with any of the characters too closely, but rather find myself in each of their minds.

Pendery (2015:339) quoted Carr as saying that, '*The belief in a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian is a preposterous fallacy*.' I work with the understanding that these variants of history bring us into the realm of historical experience, where narrow definitions of truth make way for fluidity and uncertainty. This is fertile soil for deception and/or creativity, depending on the responsibility and transparency of my engagement with the text, reader and self.

Experiments and stories have the inter-subjectivity between enquirer, actor/s and audience in common. Focusing on organisational writing, Rhodes and Brown (2005:471) pointed to the literary genres that have been incorporated into fictional writing:

- Children's literature (e.g., Greenwood 2000), poetry (e.g., Weick 1995);
- Television cartoons (e.g., Rhodes 2001b, 2002), science fiction (e.g., Parker et al. 1999);
- Plays (Feldman 2003) and popular music (e.g., Clegg & Hardy 1996; Rhodes 2004).

Of these items, literary novels have been the most commonly used. This is also the genre I have chosen in this chapter − a short story to open up dialogue.

2.1.3 Writing responsibly

As author and researcher, I therefore enjoy the opportunity to imagine the inner dialogue of my protagonist William Anderson. Does this amount to mere fictionalisation or is this a valid method of research writing? Coulter and Smith (2009:587) emphasised that 'knowledge is constructed through transactions among researchers, participants, evidence and the social context'. Positivism claims that single truths can be discovered through objective methods that are refuted by narrative research. Narrative research aims to co-construct subjective experiences and meanings. This construction can be referred to as a craft. Coulter also uses the terms reworking and rendering.

Rhodes and Brown (2005:477) made the point that one embraces falsehood, when one fails to recognise the fictional characteristics of research. This does not imply

that a researcher falsifies empirical data. Rather, it points to the fact that as researcher, one admits to constructing the narrative of research. Indeed, to write a text and claim that it is 'true' or 'factual' can be seen as a particular practice of power, a power that claims that the researcher has the ability to unequivocally access and represent reality.

If one accepts that all narrative is created, what would the difference be between fictional and scientific narratives? Does it only lie in the declaration of the writer? Richardson and St Pierre (2005:961) described this as the 'authorial claim for the text'. This claim as to whether one's work is science or fiction carries responsibilities and risks. Genre expectations play a vital role here. If a reader expects to see veritable facts and rather discovers that the narrative is pure fiction, the narrative may be discarded as untrustworthy. Similarly, if the author declares that the work is semi-fiction, it is important to state, what is fiction and what is fact. It is indeed a risky exercise to leave it up to the reader to decide, what can be trusted as fact and what not.

Rhodes and Brown (2005:469) conferred that fictional writing emphasises issues of responsibility and ethics. In fact, an acknowledgement of the fictionality of research does not mean 'anything goes'; to the contrary, it emphasises the responsibilities of the author/researcher. If research can no longer be regarded as an unproblematic representation of the social world, the authors ask the question: '*If the writing of research can be regarded as a fictional activity, what are the implications of this insight for the responsibilities of authors*?' Researchers cannot remain invulnerable, but have to introduce themselves into the text, accepting that research has the power to create realities and position people in those realities.

Language does not simply describe reality, it creates reality and, therefore, it would be irresponsible to hold that research represents reality. Language is therefore always an unresolved problem. Rhodes and Brown (2005:475) declared that using fiction can lead to the dismantling of the distinction between fact and fiction. On the same page, they continued to say that fiction also asks that we come to terms with the '*made-up aspects of social writing as well as the writer's role in this creation'*.

This does not mean that the writer may create anything he likes, rather that he should not claim the ability to represent the truth in his writings and should take responsibility for the power of language in creating realities.

2.1.4 Reflexivity

It is not possible to write yourself out of a text. The illusion that you can do that would give the writer licence to impose his personality on the text. Reflective and self-reflective writing is a way of taking responsibility for your power in creating realities as science. Rhodes and Brown (2005:479) preferred Derrida's undecidability – a conscious decision to choose one way of writing research above another, without knowing the outcome. Ethical writing owes its existence to this choice.

Watson (2011:396) referred to Rhodes and Brown (2005:479), where the latter stated that declaring one's work as fiction or semi-fiction is an ethical position, showing openly that 'textuality, aesthetics and constructedness' is present in the text. This transparency is often absent in so-called conventional scientific work as the latter often masks the narrative.

Reflexivity is not always enough though. Rhodes and Brown (2005:484) stated that 'Ethnographic work in particular is not just an investigation of the 'other', but a search for a uniquely personal "voice"' and that it is essential that the researcher realises that they are taking on 'multiple sets of responsibilities to varied constituencies', on the same page. This can be done by either giving an account of how matters are or writing with a clearly articulated political agenda. Finally, again on the same page, Rhodes and Brown asserted that as researchers, we do not simply account for reality, but write to persuade.

On the following page, the said authors made it clear that they realised that fiction and narrative are not the guarantors of responsibility; instead, '*fiction may be used either for didactic or deceitful purposes or, alternatively, might just result in the production of amateurish stories'*.

2.1.5 Preliminary understanding

How do I address the very real possibilities of self-deceit and false claims in my fictional narrative that follows in this chapter, but also through the narrative of this thesis?

Wade's study (2011:52) is helpful in this regard. When asked how they confronted this issue, they pointed to their exercise in reflective methodology. This refers not only to self-reflexivity, where one's own position and prejudices are clarified. It refers to the use of other methods of enquiry applied to the same narrative as the one that your fiction writing is dealing with. I would, for instance, refer to the work of historians in the next chapter, when I deal with the history and legislation pertaining to land ownership in South Africa and specifically our area. This reading and interpretation of texts alongside each other ensures that my fictional writing does not amount to mere fiction-making.

When writing fiction, one has to follow a story line, more so than when reporting on factual findings. For this reason, I do my fictional writing only in this chapter and continue with my narrative research in the other chapters. I trust this makes it easier for the reader to reflect between genres.

Wade (2011:54) made the point that fiction is not a detour: '*Story possesses the power to transport the audience into a relationship with the participant, into human connection and care*'. In my fiction writing, my reader comes to see my biases and the limitations of my self-understanding. Without this approach, Joba's circumstances and challenges as co-researcher would remain a mystery. Fictional writing, therefore, is essential in bringing understanding to the emotionally charged fields of land ownership and *ubuntu*.

My fictional writing that follows, draws strongly from historical facts, although I fill in the spaces and write to persuade my reader of my viewpoint. Fictional writing that follows the contours of historical writing, is called semi-fictional writing. The question as to the relationship between fiction and history then surfaces. Is not all historical writing in essence semi-fictional in the sense that it pegs itself to actual occurrences; yet, it approaches it from a subjective interpretive angle? My response to this

question is affirmative. Indeed, if we leave the illusion of positivism behind, there can be no other way of looking at historical writing as a narrative not devoid of at least some elements of fiction. If one accepts that fiction and historical writing lie on a continuum with semi-fiction somewhere in between, it becomes clear that the author cannot leave his reader to guess at his intentions and interests.

In an effort to be transparent, I offer this ethical account of my fictional writing.

2.2 Ethical Account

In line with the research discussed, I now wish to state that:

- I will limit my fictional writing to '2.4 The Land Changes Hands'.
- This fictional writing is semi-fictional as it is based on historical accounts of the lives of Broadbent and Anderson, although I do craft the protagonists' thoughts and motivations to suit my storyline.
- My imagination was stimulated to tentatively piece these events together as we are exposed to much uncertainty on the one hand, and forceful dominant narratives on the other, to explain the history of this part of the world. Besides some stories being told of chiefs having 'sold' land, the stories generally fall into one of two categories: The colonists either arrived to find the land void of any inhabitants or they took the land by force.
- I am aware that I am trying to persuade my reader to accept my rendition of events by creating a narrative that suits my self-understanding. I hold that any research does just this. Fictional research is hopefully honest in this endeavour.
- My intention is indeed to show and persuade my reader that my forebears were not soldiers acting as agents of a colonising power. Instead, they broke away and fled the colony to create a stable life free from colonial influence. In doing so, they became settlers or colonisers themselves. This point is crucial

to the understanding of my thesis. I admit to having become a coloniser and I take responsibility for that. Yet, I say this as an African, not a European agent.

- Placing myself in this narrative, I set myself vulnerable to the scrutiny and criticism of my reader.

- I risk this vulnerability as it places the reader in my mind as it were, drawing texture and accountability to the foreground. This gives the reader a better understanding not only of my intentions, perspectives and prejudices, but also of the milieu Joba and I find ourselves in.

- In the first instance, I do this research for myself because this is how I create meaning in the South African landscape of 2017. I write this thesis for my children, who will one day soon want to know, what choices I made to live responsibly here in Africa. I do research with Joba because I want us to collaborate in creating a shared meaning of the land, so our children and wives can be enthusiastic about our future. Finally, I embark on this narrative as I do not see myself handing the land over to Joba. I want to co-create a way of passing the land on to my descendants, while taking responsibility for my history.

2.3 The land and us

In this section, I place myself and my family on the land in discussion. I write it in the first person as a rendition of my subjective perception of my relationship with this land.

My sister and I referred to my grandfather as Grandfather Farm (‘Oupa Plaas’ in our mother tongue). This was done, so we could distinguish between our two grandfathers – the one, who farms and the other, my father’s father, who worked at Camden Power Station in Mpumalanga as a fitter and turner. I did not like the environment, in which our fitter and turner grandfather worked. The town, in which they lived, was heavily polluted and my grandfather had to leave home to work at the Power station workshops. Heavy industry has dampened my spirit ever since.

Grandfather Farm's life was much more appealing. He lived on the land he worked. Travelling from one end of the farm to the other would be like having a conversation with a loved one. There would be intense looking and discussing of the land. The land even more than the animals was a living entity. The ground or soil was a point of discussion – how it reacted to the draught or the rain, how deep or shallow it was in places, how fresh or tired it was.

To this day, the land shows the shaping hand of our ancestors – a sheep kraal, a dam, the house, fences and the trees. There are fruit trees, Bluegum trees, shady trees and maybe most importantly, protected wild trees. Then there is the graveyard. The family graveyard is on our land. Family members from near and far wish to be buried there and are buried there, under the big old Camel thorn tree. The landscape and the meaning we create around it make life seem to be whole and not broken into pieces.

My grandmother infused the house with her presence. She hardly ever saw the need for leaving the house and its immediate surroundings. She assisted directly in feeding the family by preserving and bottling fruit, and farming with chickens for meat and eggs. We ate the sheep that ate the grass that was fed by the land. So, to my mind, we were taking the land in not only with our eyes and through our noses, but into our fibre, when we ate *pap* or lamb or drank milk from our cows. This was not on limited occasions. We have been digesting this piece of land since 1860. This relationship is built on an intimacy alluded to by the Eucharist. Since childhood, I experienced the sacred as diverse manifestations of the land. What else are we, but the land walking? Are we not the land with a self-reflective faculty? How fascinating then the opportunity to reflect on the land itself and our relationship to the land.

My relationship with the land is enshrined in the Constitution, and before that, in a Trust my grandfather created, where I was the beneficiary, and before that, in the sheer will and colonialism of my forebears.

How did it come that my family are land owners in Africa then? Our land is in the North West Province of South Africa, halfway between Ottosdal and Wolmaransstad. This countryside was inhabited by the Tswana and before them the San people. The San was one of the first nations of South Africa. I have always been curious to know,

who lived on our land before us. How did it become our land? There are no written records that attest to the transaction, if any, between my ancestors and the previous owners or occupiers of this land. I have heard many stories though, told by the White land owners. These stories would have it that the land was empty of people. The *Difaquane* dispersed the inhabitants of this land as they fled to the Highlands of Lesotho and present-day Botswana. The White land owners would recall that the land was theirs for the taking, when they crossed the Vaal River some 60 kilometres away. They settled here on the banks of the Maquassi rivulet. I would have had more peace with this rendition of history, if the landless people corroborated these events. Tragically, and maybe tellingly, the landless people are quiet, when I asked them, how it came about that they do not own any land here and whether they ever owned land here. These stories were blown away by the wind, scorched to dust by this unforgiving sun.

2.4 The Land Changes Hands

Under this subheading, I answer the question, how we came to own this land. I answer this question by crafting the following semi-fictional narrative, loosely based on Webster's (2003) *The Illustrated at the Fireside: True Southern African Stories*. I do not change any historically accounted occurrences to suit my narrative; yet, I do interpret events to persuade my reader as stated in the 'ethical account' above. I do this by writing in the voice of the Reverend Broadbent.

2.4.1 Into Africa

Staring out the window of my London semi-detached home, it struck me just how miserable I was − a Scottish minister of religion in London. Where was my life going from here? Was God going to save William Anderson from these English stiff-upper-lip theologians? A month later, I was on my way to South Africa and 8 months later, I saw Table Mountain for the first time. To my dismay, the English in Cape Town were more English than the Londoners. Clearly, I was not called to serve this town's folk, so I received permission to travel north into the wilderness. Was it God's will? How was I to know? Let me tell my story and you be the judge.

I will never forget that morning, when I steered my ox-wagon out of Cape Town. Behind me was the known world and ahead lay adventure and purpose and what I believed to be no-man's land.

The trip north was perilous. The first hundred miles or so, I was threatened and attacked on various occasions. These attackers were usually hungry and dangerous criminals escaping arrest by the British, lying in wait for slow traffic like myself. My ox-wagon was laden with food and water, enough to last me for a few weeks. I also had with me clothes, toiletries, pots and pans, bedding and two rifles with ammunition for a year's hunting. My ox-wagon was like a shopping basket to these wild men, stocked with everything their hearts desired. Yet, there was no going back for me. I did not come all this way to return to a life of mediocrity and failure under British rule.

I trekked further north along this route than any other missionary had done before me. I reached Griquatown almost a year later, in 1798. This town was the last outpost. My dream was first to establish a mission here and later to cross the river Vaal. I was allowed to stay, I would only learn later, because there was a plan to kill me and take my wagon and oxen, once my guards dropped. Through the grace of God, the chief took a liking to me, and therefore, I was safe to start my mission station.

2.4.2 Missionary becomes farmer

My greatest challenge was to get trekking people to stay for long enough for me to build a congregation. The only thing they had in common here was a shared hatred for the British. Other than that, they trekked with their animals in search of water and pasture. The landscape was barren and not ideal for farming as I knew it. Yet, with nothing to lose, I planted some maize seeds on Christmas evening and forgot about them. I felt as if I was daring God to make something grow here, and duly forgot about the seeds I had sown. Much to my surprise, the little green shoots did appear. They grew into strong green plants, and when winter came, I had a small maize harvest! In a sense, this made of me the first true settler or colonist outside the Cape Colony. The upshot of my harvest was quite miraculous. Much as I failed in the past to get the herders to stay and build a congregation with me, the evidence of a

harvest convinced them. In the years to come, my congregation grew as the pastoralists became agriculturists. The chief was pleased that the young men could stay at home to farm, strengthen the defences and grow the population, so he gave me a big piece of land. This is how a missionary Scotsman, who had fled London and the Cape Colony not only spread the word of God, but also planted a church in Griquatown with the blessing of the Chief. He was also inculturated with the Griquas and he also converted by becoming a land owner and agriculturist.

2.4.3 Trans Vaal

My dream of taking the Gospel across the Vaal became reality in an unexpected manner and with far-reaching consequences. The Reverend Broadbent from the Wesleyan Society was commissioned to trek to Pietermaritzburg in 1820, when he fell from his wagon. This waylaid his trip. He was desperately ill in his tent, when the well-known Dr Emsley stuck his head through the tent opening. He nursed Rev Broadbent back to health and told him about my successes. The Doctor relayed to the Reverend how my planting a church was founded on my agricultural successes and how that kept me from travelling further north. Rev Broadbent interpreted this as a call of God and instead of returning to the Cape, he continued his trek to Griquatown. We met and fired up by a zealous gratitude for his life and mission, he crossed the Harts and the Vaal. Here, he encountered great hostility as he entered a battle zone. The Ba-Klokwe tribe was led by the warrior Queen Mantatisi. It was a strong and fierce tribe, and they pillaged all the tribes they could find. Rev Broadbent and his wife came across a young boy, a Barolong Bechuana, named Liratsagae. He was the only member of his clan to have survived a brutal Ba-Klokwe attack. The Broadbents took him in and raised him to become the first Black typographer in the Transvaal.

Yet, the Reverend and his wife were not safe and could not sleep in one place for more than one night. Their servants, who were Korannas and had an understanding of the local languages, were so frightened that they took their possessions and fled. Word reached Sifonello, the Chief of the Barolong that there was a wandering White couple with a Black boy of his tribe on his land. He had them called to come and see him. Rev Broadbent spoke of the power of agriculture and explained its benefits to a chief, telling him that his young men would not leave, but stay to work the land.

Sifonello had heard how the Griqua had grown in numbers and strength, how they enjoyed food security, health and strength in numbers due to the planting of seeds. He also wanted to end the fleeing, trekking and hunger, and invited Rev Broadbent to build a mission station on the banks of the Makquassi rivulet. This rivulet was named by the San after the spearmint herb that grows on the banks. The San were here before anyone else. They were hunter gatherers and followed the game away from this region, when the stronger tribes moved down from the Great Lakes.

2.4.4 Bridges

Rev Broadbent settled here and their son Lewis was born on 1 July 1823. He was the first White child to be born north of the Vaal. The Reverend stayed true to his word to assist the Barolong in settling. Together with his colleague, Rev Hodgson, they were the first to grow wheat, maize, beans, melon, pumpkins, beetroot and onions without irrigation north of the Vaal. Maize is the staple diet for this region to this day.

This is how I brought the word of God to this part of the world: We preached and imparted our knowledge not only about reading and writing, but about agriculture to the indigenous people. Not only were we missionaries, but also pioneers, who brought with us stability and prosperity. Was it the will of God? You be the judge after you read what followed.

We built bridges indeed. Griquatown and Rev Broadbent's mission station became an inspiration to many. The Barolong and other tribes were keen to learn from us. They were empowered in various ways by the shift from being herders and cattlemen to agriculturists. We had tremendous challenges though: This was a semi-arid region, not ideal to the growing of crops. Drought was always a threat to the crops. Wild animals and livestock alike could destroy a patch of maize in one careless night and hungry travellers and feuding tribes would do as much damage to crops. This often meant that indigenous farmers would return to us, asking for assistance in seed or food itself.

2.4.5 Voortrekkers

In our footsteps followed a trickle of pioneers from the Cape Colony. This trickle soon became a steady stream, and the Broadbent Mission became the portal to the land north of the Vaal on the Western side of South Africa, all the way up to the Highveld. These pioneers or Voortrekkers would arrive with more maize and seed, ready to farm as agriculturists. They often did not have much livestock, and this was due to three reasons: The Voortrekkers were too poor to afford livestock. Most of the pioneers had saved and then sold everything they had in order to purchase a wagon, oxen, food and seed. Second, the livestock they may have had at the onset of the journey would have been eaten either by themselves, wild animals or raiding tribes and individuals by the time they reached the Vaal. Third, many pioneers would have no livestock aside from the oxen as the animals would slow them down and attract the attention from predators and hungry people on the arduous route from the Cape. Livestock was a real security threat as goat or cattle were quick protein to feuding tribesmen. Seed, on the contrary, was useless unless you had the land to plant it on, had settled there and were equipped with the necessary skills.

2.4.6 Non military invasion

Yet, the Voortrekkers needed protein on their journey to the north and would face starvation, if they had no meat to eat. They could hardly eat their oxen as they were needed to pull the wagons across an entire country. This meant that the Voortrekkers had to kill buck and other game on their journey as a source of protein. The biggest problem they faced was a lack of ammunition.

Generally speaking, the Voortrekkers were always short of ammunition. Each wagon would have at least one rifle. I had seen some wagons, where each man had a rifle, amounting to three or maybe four rifles between them, but that did not mean that they had the ammunition to fire those long barrels. A bullet was scarcer than water, which meant that game often had to be trapped as a bullet had one of two purposes: Self defence or hunting.

I am making this point to show that the Voortrekkers were not a campaign of invading soldiers. These were families, who left the safety of the Cape Colony because they were not successful in securing the right contacts and lucrative

occupations. It was mainly a lack of opportunity and a dim future under British rule that drove them to cross boundaries into the wilderness. When they crossed the Vaal, they obviously could not offer a show of force. These men, women and children had to negotiate their way into the interior as they lacked the fire power of the Empire they left behind.

The mission station's success with agriculture assisted the Voortrekkers in an unexpected way in their negotiations for acceptance and land. Even though the indigenous people experienced the stability that came with planting crops, they also faced the risk of drought and loss of harvests through inclement weather and raids. On the whole, poverty and hunger seemed to increase rather than decrease as the population and demand for food around our missions outgrew the supply of food on this marginal agricultural land. During dry seasons and raids, the indigenous farmers turned to us for seed and assistance. We simply could not feed everyone.

Given this context, it made good sense to grant an enthusiastic farmer access to your land. Did the tribal chiefs and elders plan on handing over their land to these pioneers? Probably not. They only gave access to their land to ensure food security for themselves and their tribes. This meant that the Voortrekkers could plant and harvest, keeping enough for themselves and their now growing numbers of livestock. The remainder of the harvest, which was also the bulk of it, would go to the chiefs and elders for distribution among their people.

How did it come then that the Voortrekkers ended up with the land and the indigenous people working for them? To my mind, the answer lies in human nature. The Voortrekkers wanted to own the land to farm as they saw fit, without the limitations of handing over all their profit to a chief with ever-increasing demands. Mostly, the Voortrekkers had to work the land without enthusiastic and committed labour. This was not due to laziness on the Tswana's side. Remember, they were the land owners. Why would a land owner spend their days slaving in the sun to help 'tenants' with the work? The agreements were simple: The Voortrekker works the land and the Tswana receives food as payment. Naturally, the Voortrekkers became resentful and wanted to own the fruit of their own labour, all of it.

2.4.7 Colonisers

What had started off as a peaceful and mutually beneficial process turned into a struggle for the land itself. I will end my story with a case in point − the Van Wyk trek of 1850.

The Van Wyks set foot on African soil in 1679. In 1850, they passed through the Broadbent Mission station. Johannes and his brother Gerhardus were good men, but they were not missionaries. They were looking to build a future for themselves – a very human trait. As a start, they were happy to plant and hand most of the harvest to the local chief, who was a Griekwa, called Lukas in our language. When drought struck in 1859, there was a food shortage. Chief Lukas demanded his portion. The brothers withheld their bit for the coming year and took the rest to his kraal. Lukas laughed at the small amount of maize, which would not be enough to feed his people for four months. He wanted more and raided the Van Wyk brothers' stores, taking all their maize and seed. Now Chief Lukas had enough food for six months and could plant for the next season. He was not dependent on the Voortrekkers any longer. The Van Wyks begged, borrowed and even stole food from their neighbours. After six months, when the Chief's food had run out and the fields were not prepared for planting, his brother and nephew knocked on the Van Wyk's door. They would work for food. The brothers took them in on one condition: The land the Van Wyk's worked would be theirs. The indigenous Barolong and Griekwa had no choice but to abide. They had lost their appetite for the nomadic life. The deal was sealed with traditional maize beer. Chief Lukas did all he could to nullify the agreement, but his family sided with the Van Wyks. The Voortrekkers represented the future and development. The Chief disputed the borders of the Van Wyk's farm for years, and thus, the farm became known as Strydpoort.

2.4.8 Afrikaners

This is how I, as a missionary from Scotland, leaving on an adventure to spread the Word of God, was instrumental in settling Europeans in South Africa. These Europeans or Voortrekkers rooted so deeply in this land that they lost all contact with, and desire to return to, Europe. Their identities shifted from being settlers to referring to themselves as people of Africa or Afrikaners. Many generations later, they would still live on this land. The Afrikaners spread to own most of the

agricultural land in South Africa to the exclusion of their fellow Black South Africans. By itself, this phenomenon would become problematic and yet, it was worsened by a policy named Apartheid, which legislated discrimination based on the colour of your skin. This policy entrenched discrimination in land ownership, where Black South Africans were not allowed to own agricultural land. This history will be researched and discussed in the following chapter. Here ends my story. I pray that the inhabitants of this beautifully wild and fertile land will create ways of sharing.

2.5 Where are we now?

The VanWyks are my ancestors on my maternal side and Strydpoort is our farm. Currently, I am the custodian of this land for my children, the seventh generation of my family. This is how we came to be not just on this land, but of this land.

2.5.1 Joba Makwakwa co-reseacher

Does this story exclude my co-worker on the land, Joba Makwakwa? Is it therefore my land and not his because the title deed is registered in my name? Let us look at his story. Joba's surname is not a Tswana surname. His biological father left before Joba's birth and when his mother married Tembolinke Makwakwa, the latter adopted Joba. The Makwakwas migrated from Zambia before Tembolinke's grandfather's time. Timbolinke worked at the local farmer's co-operation called Senwes. It is here that a distant family member of ours offered him a job on his farm. Timbolinke did not hesitate in accepting the offer as he preferred farm life. Joba was born on this neighbouring farm and this is where Timbolinke met Ana, Joba's mother. Ana is the daughter of Betty, who was also born on this neighbouring farm, as was Betty's mother. Joba's lineage as far back as four generations on his maternal side meant that they were occupants of land in this area. This is where it becomes interesting. They were occupants and we were owners. Before the relatively recent Extension of Security of Tenure Act no.62 of 1997, it meant that we had rights to the land and they did not. I will discuss legislation on the land in the next chapter. In an effort to enrich the reader's understanding of Joba's life, I would like to show how this insecure position affected the lives of his family.

2.5.2 Schoolboy

We came to know Joba as a young schoolboy. Ana (his mother) worked in my grandmother's kitchen and Joba attended school on my uncle's farm, a few hundred metres away. After school, he would walk over and have lunch with his mother. When my distant cousin, who had employed Joba's father, died without children or a partner, the farm was sold on auction. The Makwakwas had to pack up and move out before the day of the auction. These families had lived on this land and occupied it as far back as our collective memories can stretch. They had built houses here and kept animals as a source of income and food. The auctioneer simply asked them to be gone. They moved to the local township, where they built corrugated iron houses in the informal settlement. This, in Joba's words, 'was the most terrible day in our memory. The land is our mother. How can anyone say you are not allowed to be with your mother?'

Regrettably, and yet understandably, given the historical context as related in this chapter, the work relationships on farms used to be and still are paternalistic, creating and perpetuating dependence on the land owner as provider. I will refer to this again in the next chapter, when I discuss legislation. The outfall is that when Tembolinke and his dependants arrived in the township with all their worldly belongings on the tractor and trailer, they were completely reliant on the goodwill of the equally poor people around them. They had no work and there was no state grant or pension. Where they had seen themselves as farmers and labourers, they had suddenly become marginalised in an informal settlement. It took Tembolinke more than a year to find employment – again on a farm in the area as general labourer. When Joba came of age, the farmer employed him too. Joba married and two of his three children, Hilda and Moses, were born on that farm.

2.5.3 Back from England

My wife, children and I moved to Strydpoort in 2009, after we had lived in the United Kingdom for some time. I clearly recall walking under that grey English sky, pining for Africa. It was a similar feeling to when I walked on the campus of the University of the Western Cape as a theology student, hearing people speaking Tswana in a Xhosa context. I missed my people, the Tswanas, Afrikaners and South African English with their recognisable accents. We returned to South Africa to settle on our

family farm. Having spent my childhood in Johannesburg, visiting my grandparents on this family farm once a month, this was a dream come true. Yet, I did not have the experience nor the skills required to farm. Even if I had, our land is too small to do anything, but practice subsistence farming. The feeling that had steered me back into Africa, propelling me into a life on an isolated farm, far from my sources of income, can only be described as nostalgia. Műller (2015:2) mentioned that the word nostalgia has its roots in two Greek words: *Nostos,* meaning 'a return home or homeward' and *algia,* which denotes 'grief or painful longing'. On the same page, Műller referred to the interesting origins of the word. Johannes Hofer (1688) coined the term as being something to describe an illness, which displaced people suffered. Műller argued that it was not so much an individual illness as a cultural longing for a time that has passed. He quoted Boym (2007:8) by saying that we long for '*the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams*'. This describes the feeling that drove me back from the UK into Africa's bosom. Both my wife and I have histories in the developmental world, mine less sophisticated than hers. I lived in an informal settlement and she worked with a Catholic Welfare Development on the Cape Flats. This meant that we did not re-enter South Africa naively.

I think it is this sense of sobriety about our roles in the South African context that finds an echo in Műller's understanding of Boym's distinction between restorative and reflective nostalgia. I will refer to this distinction again as Műller did in relation to *ubuntu* in Chapter 4. Currently, I would like to describe restorative nostalgia in terms of my grandmother's farm kitchen, and to a great extent our entire farm house. *Ouma* San lived between the farm and Johannesburg, after my grandfather's passing. She would be on the farm for a few months every year and spend the rest of the time with us in Johannesburg. This lifestyle meant that not only did she preserve fruit, but also the house's interior and character. To this day, it feels as if one walks into the 1950s, when you enter the house with its coal stove, a sideboard and pictures of previous generations. This house is a haven for my restorative nostalgia; here, I manage to preserve and even restore those moments of the past I hold dear. It gives me a place to live these slower rhythms of my childhood. It also serves as a looking glass past the *Trellidor* security bars into the reality outside the house. I am therefore not under the illusion that commercial farming moves at the

pace of an ox and handheld plough any longer. The harsh reality of agriculture and the relationships that undergird it call me into a critical engagement with my heritage, education and the responsibilities it laid at my 19th century farmhouse door. This is as I understand Műller (2015:2) on reflective nostalgia, seeking 'harmony with the paradoxes of human longing and belonging'. This harmony is not found, it is created.

2.5.4 Co-creators

Little did I know that Joba would become my co-creator of this harmony. In fact, without him, I would not have seen the need to write a thesis on the subject. On a day like any other, I heard a voice calling from the gate. It was 2010, and we were busy settling into our first winter on the farm. I was in my home office, running an online showroom for my clock business, when I looked up to see it was a young man calling. I walked out to greet him with reluctance as old acquaintances would usually ask for support of one or other kind. These greetings would be encounters of dependence and need, with my visitor describing his hardships, expecting relief from me. I so wished that it could also develop into a relationship of equals. As I walked closer, I recognised Joba. It was good to see him as a healthy adult man. His only question to me was, whether I was alright. He looked around the farm and realised that I was working without any assistance. Again, he asked, whether I was ok. I said, 'Yes, thank you, I think so,' not really understanding, where the question came from or what it was leading to. He visited us again a few months later, in summer. 'Do you not want to farm?' he asked me. 'Because I can show you how,' he said. I liked the idea. He did not want to stay on the farm though. Joba wanted to live independently in town and travel to work daily. He also would not work weekends. These were all signs that experience had taught him that as a labourer, he had to set boundaries. I saw the possibility of an empowering relationship developing for both of us.

We agreed on a salary and Joba started working with me. Our relationship grew as we uprooted *Katbos* and *Khakibos,* planted a vegetable garden and mended fences. It was only, when I purchased a flock of sheep that I realised how little I knew of farming. Even catching a sheep was a skill I had to acquire and am still only starting to master. Catherine started with broiler chickens, rearing them from 1-day old to 6 weeks, when they would be ready to be sold. Joba had a ready market in the township and the opportunity presented itself to make Joba a partner. At first, he

earned commission on each chicken he sold, then we shared the profit, and today he owns the business. The market and our intentions were the architects of this process: We set out creating ways for him to be an equal partner in what we hoped would become a mainline of income for us. Yet, we soon discovered that the profit margins on chicken are so slight, that profit sharing was symbolically healthy, but financially it did not add up. So, we transferred the business to him. This shift in business has its benefits, but also its difficulties. It did not only empower Joba financially; one can also see how he has gained confidence and grew self-esteem, when he negotiates with corporate suppliers. He really is his own man, flourishing as an entrepreneur. The difficulty is that we have not been able to create a sustainable income on the farm yet. The result is that we are not yet a showcase of an economically viable agricultural enterprise. We are still an experiment, drawing questions and warnings and doom's day prophecies from other farmers. The healthy sense of integration and *ubuntu* we co-create is ample encouragement, though. We work towards financial stability and growth for us all on a daily basis.

The prevailing sense is that our focus has shifted from the land to the people, who grow from her, our providing mother. In the next chapter, I will explore how the relationship between the land and her people has been legislated through the centuries in South Africa.

2.6 Preliminary understanding

In this chapter, I employed semi-fictional research writing. My aim was to persuade the reader that this marginalised perspective on colonalisation brings texture and understanding to the context I find myself in.

I do not claim that this is the only version of the colonalisation narrative, but I do assert that it is a rendition that current White land owners use to make sense of their place in Africa. In taking responsibility for this narrative, I admit to be less than neutral about it. In fact, it is a narrative that has the stamp of my personal voice. I am invested in this narrative as it creates complexity. It does not reach for the dominant narratives of land having been taken by force or trickery on the one hand or, on the other hand, land that was devoid of people calling it home.

CHAPTER 3: RELATIONSHIP BY LAW

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to demonstrate how legislation regulates our relationship to each other and The Land. Before democracy, we allowed legislation around our relationship with The Land to segregate us; now, after democracy, we sit by as politicians use our damaged relationship with The Land and each other to further muddy agendas. At the centre of these manipulations is our lack of a relationship with each other. The land owners and landless people are brothers and sisters of the same Mother, namely The Land; yet, we have become in-laws.

First, I will explore and discuss the various acts of law that had regulated land access, ownership and land tenure since 1894. From the outset, it is evident that the consecutive administrations created laws regulating our relationship to The Land along racial lines. The insult embedded in such laws is that one race, one sibling, is less qualified than another to have access to our Mother, to land and therefore to resources. This does not only dehumanise people, but also impoverishes them directly and indirectly. Legislation such as the Glen Grey Act of 1894 aimed at limiting Black South Africans' participation in the economy to manual labour. Joba's Grade 7 is all he was told he would need to drive tractors and tend to animals.

Hereafter, I will discuss legislation enacted since our democratic dispensation to reform our racially eschewed land access, ownership and tenure realities. Not much success has been achieved in this process. Many acts, plans, papers and programmes have been tabled by as many politicians and bureaucrats without notable transformation.

I will use the proper noun 'The Land', wherever it is appropriate to refer to our Mother. Mostly, this is not possible as we endeavour possessing her, legislating and tearing at her. In these instances, I refer simply to the land.

3.2. Dispossession

3.2.1 The Glen Grey Act 1894

Act 25 of 1894 is generally seen as the first discriminatory legislation to regulate not only the ownership and tenure of land in South Africa, but the lives of Black South Africans in general.

The Act was promulgated to control the Glen Grey District in the area of the current Queenstown, Eastern Cape, at first. The idea was to later proclaim it to regulate other areas of the Cape and Transkei too, as the latter was integrated into the Cape in the same year. Cecil John Rhodes referred to this Act as the 'Bill of Africa' during parliamentary debates, showing how it can be used for the districts north of the Limpopo, later known as Rhodesia.

The Glen Act regulated land tenure, labour extraction and administration and representation. Each head of a Black family would be allocated no more than four morgen or ten thousand square metres. This allocation of land envisioned the end of communal landholding, which was customary among South Africa's tribes before colonalisation. The land allocated would be small and entrepreneurs would not be allowed to acquire more land. Each head of a Black household would have one piece of four morgen and no more. The land could descend, but only by primogeniture. In other words, only the firstborn had the right of succession. This would ensure that younger children would be available as labour to White farmers. The Glen Grey allotment holders were removed from the Cape Parliament's voters' roll. Local councils with limited tax and administration scope were put in place instead. Thompson and Nicholls (1992:58) regarded the main thrust of the Glen Grey Act as:

> *An attempt to accomplish the economic integration of the Black people in the role of labourers or, at best, as very small producers, while moving towards a separate system of pseudo-representation (nominated local councils) at least at grass roots level.*

Cecil John Rhodes, as Prime Minister of the Cape and Director of the British South African Company, inaugurated the Glen Grey Act (1894:1-14). As Prime Minister, he had to keep the vote of the Bondsmen, who clearly and continually asked for more labour in the Cape. As minerals were discovered, the need for produce increased. This shortage of labour was experienced in both Cape agriculture and the Reef's mining activities. As Director, he had to stay aligned with the expansionist ideals of the British Government. Suggestions had been made that Rhodes enacted the Glen Grey Act to ensure labour for the neighbouring Indwe Coal Company. There is no evidence to support this claim, and it seems, as if he really was only concerned about the vote of the Bondmasters and expansion of the Colony. In fact, his eyes were set on the then Bechuanaland. He passed the Act quickly, rushing it through in order to catch the opposition off balance. He stifled Black opposition in the Cape by assuring the Colonial Office that allotment holders would not be allowed to sell their land to White buyers. Parliament saw an extraordinary event on 6 August 1894, when the Act was rammed through in an all-night session. Heavy criticism came from opposition members like John X Merriman, James Rose Innes, JW Sauer, HT Tamplin, W Hay and JC Molteno. Criticism was directed at Rhodes' person, his pretensions as 'a friend of the natives', whilst reducing them as labour to White farmers. Bouch (1993:2) supported this view on the intentions of the Act: '*This law was passed in the Cape Colony to limit the rights of Black people in the Glen Grey Area of the Eastern Cape to own no more than four morgen of land in freehold*.'

Nonetheless, the enactment of the Glen Grey Act went ahead, as did the proclamation of the Act to other areas, in the latter cases without having to pass through Parliament. This meant that the cornerstone of government-sanctioned racial discrimination was laid. It is interesting that this first discriminative move was not the Mixed Marriages Act or another field of racial bias. Racial discrimination took root first and foremost in access to land. Today, over 122 years later, after the official demise of apartheid and two decades of democracy, this cornerstone of racism still stands. This Act did not stand by itself; rather, it was only the gateway for other legislation to follow.

3.2.2 1913 Natives Land Act

> *All it took was the stroke of a pen. The day after the 1913 Land Act was passed, thousands of Black families were made landless in the country of their birth. More than a century later, South Africa is still dealing with its effects. Those who argue that the past should be buried, should look at the present situation to realise the damage that the Land Act did to this country's landless majority*.
>
> The *Cape Times* editorial 28 Feb 2014 as quoted by Walker (2014:655).

There are divergent views on the significance of the 'Natives Land Act of 1913'. At the 'Land divided' conference of March 2013, academics wrote and discussed papers to mark the centenary of this Act. The four themes discussed were: The Legacy of the Natives Land Act; Land Reform and Agrarian Policy in South Africa; The Multiple Meanings of land; and Ecological Issues.

Beinart and Delius (2014:667-688) looked at the significance of the Act and reframed it considerably. They pointed to the fact that dispossessions occurred before the Act was promulgated; in fact, they happened ever since colonalisation. To their minds, this Act was not as decisive in the history of land dispossession in South Africa as commonly believed. According to their interpretation of the Act, it did not dislodge Black farmers as much as it regulated the terms, under which they could remain. These terms were all pointed at ensuring that independent Black farmers would now become labour on White-owned farms. They also held that land tenure differed in the respective provinces, making the Act virtually ineffective in the Cape, where it contradicted the Act of the Cape. 'In many ways, the Land Act of 1913 was a holding operation and a statement of intent about segregation on the land' (Beinart & Delius 2014:668). I would contend, though, that the Act had a significant, immediate and detrimental impact on the healthy trend of Black South Africans purchasing land in the Transvaal as reported by Feinberg (2006:122): '...Transvaal Africans bought 286 farms between 1905 and 1912, and another 113 farms between 1 January 1913 and 19 June 1913'.

The results of the Act were devastating for Black farmers. Hall (2014:1) heralded the Act as the cornerstone of segregation, the Group Areas Act, forced removals, the pass system and migrant labour. It announced the onset of a new political era of discrimination based on race. The Act made a list of all Black reserves that had been established throughout South Africa, covering 10 million morgen or just over 7% of South Africa's surface. It then proceeded to make it unlawful for a Black person to acquire or lease land outside of these reserves, unless it was from another Black African. Whites were also not allowed to purchase land from Black people. Black people were served notices to leave the land and refusal to do so was punishable with six months' imprisonment or a fine of 100 British pounds. Section 6 and 7 aimed at forcing Black South Africans to become labourers by limiting the opportunity for sharecroppers to remain on White-owned farms. The Act also established the Natives Land Commission, which added, on paper only, 8.5 million morgen in 1916. This additional land was not added to the 10 million because of objections by White land owners. The South African Native National Congress and Sol Plaatjes' unsuccessful opposition and petitions to King George V are well documented. Sol Plaatjes' main argument was that the natives of South Africa, as British subjects, were being mistreated and requested protection from King George V himself. Plaatjes went so far as appealing to the British sentiment by referring to the suffering animals that were driven from their pastures as a result of this Act. Yet, the British King and Parliament did not take heed, even after they were petitioned again in 1913. Plaatjes was not the only Black African to protest against the Act. In fact, no evidence can be found of any Black leader supporting the Act. They used the media and every possible meeting to voice their dissatisfaction, relate their people's stories of hardship and suffering; and to emphasise that there simply was not enough land to make segregation a viable option. Yet, the Act stood as law.

Hall discussed three legacies left by this Act. Firstly she dealt with 'a displaced legacy of urban poverty and inequality' (2014:7). Poverty in both the urban and rural areas is a result of cheap migrant labour and labour reserves. The capital gained from driving people off the land and into reserves has now been growing in industry and stock exchanges. This complicates the land issue. It is not just about returning the land any longer. The second legacy is 'a social and spiritual legacy of division,

alienation and invisibility' (2014:9). People's histories have been erased; their stories are absent from town centres, even after efforts of restitution. This leaves relationships torn and unrestored. The third legacy is one of political and legal dualism in governance. Acts such as the Traditional Leadership Framework Governance Act 41 of 2003, recognising traditional leaders and providing for the establishment of 'traditional councils' made up of state-appointed leaders, together with a minority number of elected members, the Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004 and the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, all remain in place. These Acts deny people access to democratic principles afforded to citizens, who live outside of these chieftains. It seems as if the chiefs are only gaining in influence as they are the ones to own the land and their 'subjects' remain landless.

Hopeless as the situation may seem, and will get worse, the deeper we move into this chapter, I am keeping myself to sketching the nature and effect of legislation governing our relationship to the land along racial lines. I am therefore thickening the story, problematising the issue of Land Reform and not endeavouring to reach solutions. In fact, will I be true to my paradigm of social-constructionist curiosity, if I seek answers in any of the chapters of this thesis?

3.2.3 The Natives (Urban Areas) Act (No. 21) of 1923

This Act gave local or municipal governments the right to relocate Black South Africans into so-called locations or segregated townships. The rationale was that although all Black South Africans were allocated land in the reserves or Bantustans as they were later known, labour was needed for the mining industry. This labour had to be cheap and therefore close to the economic centres.

The land to be occupied by Black South Africans was divided into urban and rural areas, and the rest was White South Africa. Van Wyk (2013:91-105) followed the development of this legislation meticulously in her article, **'**The Legacy of the 1913 Black Land Act for spatial planning'. The rural areas consisted of the:

1. South African Development Trust;
2. Self-governing territories; and
3. The TBVC states, namely Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

The urban areas were planned and created by the Native Affairs Department as promulgated by Act 21 of 1923. The Black (Urban areas) Consolidation Act 25 of 1945 set out the establishment of the townships. Van Wyk (2014:91) observed that the Land Act of 1913 created a landscape of segregation, where townships are on the outskirts of towns, and settlements in rural areas are isolated from development. The Natives Act 21 of 1923 continued, where the Natives Land Act had left off, segregating people and dispossessing them.

3.2.4 1936 Native Trust and Land Act (No. 18)

This Act, referred to as the sister Act of the 1913 Natives Land Act, intended to increase the land available to Black South Africans from 7.13% to 13.6% of the total land surface of South Africa. This target was never reached. The Act also established the South African Native Trust, which had to purchase all reserves not yet owned by the state and administer this land. Black South Africans could now be removed from land outside of the reserves; in other words, their property would be expropriated. This effectively introduced the system of labour tenancy that tied Black farm workers to specific farms. The Group Areas Act (no.41) of 1950 and the continued economic, social and political marginalisation of Black South Africans gained momentum with this Act as its foundation.

3.3 Land Reform in Post-apartheid South Africa

3.3.1 Introduction

I will now describe and discuss the land reform and land restitution policies and legislation since 1994, when the political control passed from the National Party to the National Unity government in 1994. As in our pre-democracy period, our relationship to the land was governed by legislation. Pienaar (2014:1) introduced her analysis of the latest legislation pertaining to land with the words: '*One of the outstanding characteristics of South African land control is that there has always been some kind of official state interference*'. At the outset, I have to declare that this process of control and transformation is in my opinion a litany of failures. The urgency for land reformation and restitution and the frustration of 22 years of missing targets are what led me to embark on this research project. Working through the

efforts of government to reform land ownership and tenure is necessary, yet painful. In her article, 'SA land policy is as clear as mud' (*Mail & Guardian* 15 October 2015), Lynley Donnelly stated that farmers and farm workers will face an uncertain future, until government gives clarity on how it intends dealing with commercial farms. My thesis is that farmers should take the initiative in this reformative process. Waiting on government to devise a one-solution-fits-all answer will be their and their workers' downfall.

In1994, 86% of farmland and 68% of all of South African soil were in the hands of the White population. Note that these popular figures are not verified or researched, and we have not had a land audit. One could ask, for instance, if the erstwhile Bantustans, which were transferred to the post-1994 Democratic ANC-led government, are accounted for in this 14% of land that is not White-owned. Our Constitution contains the imperative of Land Reform. Section 25 (5) of the Constitution requires government to take 'reasonable legislative and other measures' to 'foster conditions' that enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis'. Section 25 also describes the restrictions in the process of land reform by protecting property rights generally (25(1)) and limiting expropriation to conditions of public interest, not arbitrarily and not without compensation (25 (2.3)).

Government's first target was to have 30% of farmland transferred from White hands to Black hands within the first five years of democracy. This date was later moved to 2014 − 20 years into our democratic dispensation. The policy framework to reach these goals is three-pronged as contained in the 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy:

- Returning land to and compensate the people, who were forcibly removed;
- Redistribute land to people, who suffered discrimination;
- Improve land tenure security for farm workers and other vulnerable people.

3.3.2. Land restitution

The nature of this process is different to other African countries such as Ethiopia, where the government first transferred all land to itself and then allocated it to the citizens. Here in South Africa, the process is demand driven. This entails that people

have to identify the land they wish to have restored and then claim it from the government. The land is therefore not claimed from the current title holder directly, but from government.

South Africa's Land Restitution Programme is enacted in law by 'The Restitution of Land Rights Act (No. 22) of 1994'. Section 2 of the Act states that 'a person, community or part of a community dispossessed of a right in land after 19 June 1913, as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices', could bring a claim to a regional land claims commission. The remedies available for claimants are:

- The return of land lost;
- Financial compensation; or
- A grant of alternate land.

All claims had to be filed by 31 December 1998 and all cases resolved by 2008. Boudreaux (2010:16) stated that by 2009, 80 000 claims had been filed, of which only 4 296 were still outstanding. The cut-off date of 19 June 1913 came under heavy criticism as colonial dispossession of land, especially in KwaZulu-Natal had occurred ever since 1838.

If a claim is successful, government has to either determine the compensation to be awarded to settle the claim or negotiate a settlement price for the land, if the claimant wants the land back. To date, government has stuck to a willing buyer/willing seller model. This model has been questioned by those critical of the process. Professor Ruth Hall of the Institue of Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) stated that government simply does not have the funds to buy all land back from farmers or current land owners (*Mail & Guardian* 2015). Professor Hall and Antjie Krog (*Bookslive* 2015) lobby for a sacrifice from commercial farmers. This would entail the farmers transferring the land without compensation to claimants. This would indeed be a liberating gesture, albeit disastrous for food security and the personal lives of the current farmers, who had often used their life's savings to buy the farms.

I am in agreement with Boudreaux that the restitution programme is a qualified success. The Department of Land Affairs reported that it had restored two million hectares of land, benefitting 1.4 million people of 289 937 households. Most of these cases were solved via compensation paid out to urban claims. The failed claims and claims not concluded are predominantly rural claims. This again attests to the complexity of rural land claims, where land is both an emotional asset as well as a productive economic unit.

3.3.3 Land redistribution

This programme is not linked to a time limit as it endeavours to revise land holding patterns in South Africa by enabling non-White citizens through a grant system to acquire White-owned land. The legal basis for redistribution of land is the 'The Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Act (No. 126) of 1993' and enabling regulations. Here, the target had also not been met by 2014, when 30% of agricultural land in South Africa had to be transferred from White farmers to Black farmers.

> *By June 2009, 6.7%, or 5.5 million hectares, had in fact been distributed at a cost of approximately $800 million. This 30% figure was based on suggestions by a group of land reform experts convened by the World Bank in the early 1990s. It is not clear, whether this is either an appropriate or meaningful figure towards which a major government policy should aim, nor is it clear, which land is subject to the 30% target – all agricultural land (including state-owned land) or only White-owned agricultural land'* (Boudreaux 2010:16).

Here, as in the case of Land Restitution, government relies on the willing buyer/willing seller strategy to transform the distribution of land. Qualified applicants receive grants to purchase land in rural areas for agricultural purposes. Beneficiaries, after having registered a business entity, have to supply a business plan, which the Ministry of Rural Development and Land Reform may amend, reject or accept.

Government support for this programme has come in two forms. The first programme, which ran from 1997-2000 is known as the Settlement and Land

Acquisition Grant or SLAG. This grant was R16 000 to poor households earning less than R1 500 per month. The grant would have been used to purchase land for subsistence purposes. This programme was criticised for not supporting beneficiaries after the purchase of the land. Bearing in mind that these beneficiaries were poor, they needed support in terms of funds and equipment to start and sustain farming activities. This support was not forthcoming and these farmers rarely qualified for credit. Furthermore, government was often slow in the buying process, losing many opportunities to conclude purchases. Consequently, many of the SLAG beneficiaries – who often did not have farming experience or skills, nor access to extra funds for equipment, lifestock or seeds, could not start to farm or continue to farm sustainably.

In 2001, SLAG was replaced by LRAD or Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development. The intention of this programme was to assist individuals, not households, to become commercial farmers. The grants are bigger at R100 000 and the individuals have to contribute funds, equipment, property and/or labour of their own. The condition that beneficiaries had to be poor was scrapped; yet, they had to be under privileged. Criticism brought against LRAD centred around government's shift from supporting poor people to enabling successful middle-class commercial farmers. The project of restructuring the agricultural sector by creating and enabling subsistence farmers had been abandoned.

Hall (2009:30) was not in favour of the complex, asymmetrical partnerships that are formed between under privileged people and White business. Although it is one of the advantages of LRAD that the grants may be used not just to purchase land, but also to enter into partnerships, aimed at securing sustainable business opportunities, Hall pointed to the fact that it does not redistribute land.

Still, I would add, these partnerships tend to offer access to the market and skills, which would otherwise be out of reach.

Regrettably, government's land redistribution programme is not a resounding success. The *Daily Dispatch Online* reported on a reply filed on 1 September 2009

by the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Mr Gugile Nkwinti, to a question in Parliament. He stated that the department had purchased 2 864 farms, of which 29% of the LRAD projects had failed and a further 22% were declining. These failures point to the urgent need for civil society and specifically White farmers to plough energy and creativity into the land redistribution programme for the sake of food security and restorative justice.

3.3.4 Tenure

The objective of the tenure reform programme is to clarify and strengthen tenure rights of farm workers living on privately-owned White farms as lessees and people living in former homelands. 'The Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act (No. 31) of 1996' forms the legal basis of this programme and as such, tenure security is a constitutional requirement. This act was supplemented by the passing of 'The Extension of Security of Tenure Act (No. 62) of 1997 and The Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act (No. 3) of 1996.'

The aim is to protect people living in rural areas, especially farm workers and their family members, from arbitrary evictions. One of the strategies of 'The Extension of Security of Tenure Act' to protect farm workers is that it enables farm workers, who had been leasing farm land from White owners, to change their tenancy rights to freehold (CDE, 2008:19). A case in point is the recent (judgement delivered on 14 July 2016) Constitutional Court case of *MC Denneboom Service Station cc and another vs. Molefe Ian Phayane*. Farm worker Klaase was evicted and a charge laid against him for absconding. Even though he found employment on a neighbouring farm, and his wife Elsie Klaase was served an eviction order with him, she was found to be an occupier in her own right under 'The Extension of Security of Tenure Act' or ESTA. The result is that Ms Klaase's eviction as ordered by the Clanwilliam Magistrate's Court is illegal.

'The Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act (No. 3) of 1996' assists workers in becoming owners of the land they work. These are specifically workers, who receive access to the land they work in exchange for their labour.

These Acts offered a time-limited period for labourers and labour tenants to file for full ownership. If successful, they could purchase the land with government grants. 20 000 claims were received by the closing date of March 2001. Few of these claims had been resolved, and the negative outfall of the programme is predictable: Instead of increasing security, it has created more insecurity. Farmers are hiring fewer workers and are mechanising their processes. This increases unemployment. Many farm workers have been evicted in an effort by the farmers to create more certainty as to the futures of their investments in the land. Wegerif (2005:7) held that more than two million Black South Africans were evicted from farmland between 1994 and 2004. It seems as if the law has created pre-emptory evictions.

3.3.5 Institutional changes

In 2009, the former Department of Land and Agriculture underwent a change and was split into two separate units, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and the Department of Fisheries, Agriculture and Forestry. For our purposes, it is noteworthy that government acknowledges the inseparability of rural development and land reform.

3.3.6 Rural Development and Land Reform Strategic Plan

A 'Rural Development and Land Reform Strategic Plan' for the period 2010-2013 was drafted, which has three pillars; namely, land reform, agrarian development and development in rural areas. Concerning land reform, two options were considered: the nationalisation of all land or retaining freehold. Freehold would be retained under certain conditions. This Strategic Plan provided for the Comprehensive Rural Development Plan.

3.3.7 Green Paper on Land Reform 2011

On 24 December 2010, a new Draft Tenure Security Policy and Draft Tenure Security Bill was published for comment. This was done prior to and in preparation of the Green Paper on Land Reform 2011, which provides for a new single 4-tier system (2011:6). This refers to:

- State and public land: Leasehold;
- Privately owned land: Freehold, with limited extent;

- Land owned by foreigners: Freehold, but precarious tenure, with obligations and conditions to comply with;
- Communally owned land: Communal tenure, with institutionalised use rights.

Essentially, the Green Paper emphasises that land is a national asset and that the land tenure system has to be reviewed. It also affirms that the land issue is fundamental to the resolution of race, gender and class contradictions.

Section 5 of the Green Paper sees the challenges and weaknesses facing Land Reform as:

1. The land acquisition strategy;
2. A fragmented beneficiary system;
3. Beneficiary selection for land redistribution;
4. Land administration and governance, especially in communal areas;
5. Meeting the 30% redistribution target;
6. Declining agricultural contribution to GDP;
7. Rural unemployment;
8. Problematic restitution model and support system.

The following principles underlie the Green Paper, as set out by Pienaar (2014:2):

- De-racialising the rural economy;
- Democratic and equitable land allocation and use across race, gender and class;
- A sustained production discipline for food security.

The Green Paper provides for a Land Management Commission, a Land Valuer General and a Land Rights Management Board and Committees.

3.3.8 National Development Plan

The ‘National Development Plan’ does not deal in any depth with Land Reform. The reason is that Land Reform is only one aspect in the translation of political emancipation into economic and social well-being. Yet, the importance of this plan

cannot be underestimated with regard to Land Reform as the plan is intimately linked to land.

The NDP, as it is known, was published by the Planning Commission in the Office of the State President on 15 August 2012. The aim of the NDP is to eradicate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. Pienaar (2014:667-8) stated that as in the past, adjustments to previous legislation and the creation of new initiatives should be expected. Yet, she pointed to five problematic aspects of the NDP and Green Paper 2011:

1. A land audit has to be done before more can be said about tenure.
2. Communal Land is still excluded from any discussions on Land Reform. This is untenable as communal land comprises a huge portion of agricultural land.
3. Ideas have not been embedded in a framework that can lead to implementation. New structures and roles have to be co-ordinated with current ones.
4. The Green Paper is too vague as it leaves everyone with a sense of insecurity. For example, what measures or formulae will be used?
5. The eight challenges as foreseen by the Green Paper are only partially addressed. Rural unemployment, a falling contribution to the GDP by agriculture and a problematic land restitution programme with failing or no support, is not mentioned at all.

3.3.9 Preliminary understanding

In my opinion, government has shown a willingness and urgency to fulfil its role as planner, strategist and administrator with these two initiatives, the Green Paper 2011 and the NDP 2030. Their agendas might be self-serving, but the same can be said of land owners and the landless people alike. These two initiatives are indeed complex and overlapping, in need of a still bigger picture perspective to co-ordinate all efforts; a land audit is desperately needed: How much land do White land owners occupy; how big is communal land; and how many hectares do institutions like the state and churches own?

Has the time not come for us, the people in love with The Land, to talk directly to each other? Allow me to point to two ministerial initiatives to elucidate my preliminary understanding. As recently as April 2016, Rural Development and Land Reform Minister Gugile Nkwinti and his deputies, Mcebisi Skwatsha and Candith Dlamini-Mashego, outlined some of the Land Reform strategies government has in place, when they responded to questions on their 2016/7 R10 142 billion budget. Some of these are the 'Regulation of Agricultural Land Holdings Bill', which, if passed, would limit total hectarage to 1 000 hectares for small-scale commercial farmers, 2 500 for medium-scale and 5 000 for large-scale commercial farmers. This Bill has been heavily criticised as it does not take rainfall, soil and broader climatic challenges into account. The hectarage required, for example, by a medium-scale Karoo sheep farmer is much higher than that required by a medium-scale Winelands wine farm.

Talking about the 50/50 programme announced in 2014, funded by the National Empowerment Fund, the minister was hopeful that it would amount to skills transfer. Government will not simply transfer land to Black farmers. Rather, government will purchase 50% of a White commercial farmer's land and rent it to the Black farmer, who would have the option of purchasing the land after 5 years. In this 5-year period and beyond, the White farmer is supposed to mentor the Black farmer alongside inputs from universities and other Agri-specialists to ensure that the new farmer does not fail as was the case too often in the past. Linked to this support system would be 44 Agri Parks around the country, which will supply equipment and portions of land to small-scale Black farmers. The first 50/50 project was launched on 20 August 2016 in Greytown on the 514ha Westcliffe Farm, which is a 270ha sugar cane, 140ha timber and a 10ha irrigated cabbage operation. I have to add here that as good as it may sound on paper to share agricultural land down the middle; the books on these endeavours will hardly balance. Any business cut in half does not make for two successful businesses. Rather, the outcome is mostly two failed ventures, especially in agriculture as the economy of scale does not allow for the halving of production, whilst maintaining profitability. As well intended as the limit on hectareage and 50/50 initiatives are, we who work and love The Land can see how they do not liberate, but limit us. We know that we will not be able to feed ourselves with these bureaucratic limitations in place.

Still, I would advocate for the support of government by civil society. We cannot sit back and criticise from an armchair position, hoping for the best. Lahiff (2006:23) remarked that:

> *[T]here is no evidence to suggest that land reform has led to improved efficiency, job creation or economic growth. Some gains have undoubtedly been made, but these remain largely at the symbolic level. Where real material advances have occurred, these can generally be attributed to the involvement of third parties, either individual mentors, agribusiness corporations, NGOs or eco-tourism investors.*

To date, government's best efforts to adhere to the letter and spirit of the White Paper 1997, Sec 2.1; namely, a more equitable distribution of land, poverty alleviation, rural economic development and increased tenure security have regrettably failed. A recent admonishment is found in the judgement of the Constitutional Court on 28 July 2016 in the matter between the *Land Access Movement and others vs. The Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces and others*. The court ordered that all land claims after 2008 had to be put on hold. The 'Restitution of Land Rights Amendment Act' — which reopened the window for claims, was found to have been rushed through Parliament just before the 2014 elections. The public was not given a reasonable chance to respond to this re-opening of claims and, therefore, the court found that all claims had to be put on hold. Justice Mbuyiseli Madlanga found that the National Council of Provinces' timeline was inherently unreasonable. The court ordered that new claims could be processed only after those made before the original closing date of 31 December 1998 had been finalised.

I agree wholeheartedly with Boudreaux (2010:18), when she stated that '*In the real world, using the rather blunt tool of government policies to reach a goal that is as amorphous as "social justice" is exceptionally difficult*'. I do not see a generalised top-down template to restoration bearing the desired fruit. We will remain relations by law, tearing at The Land, until we take the initiative ourselves.

CHAPTER 4: *UBUNTU*

4.1 Introduction

In order to explore how *ubuntu* may contribute to the debate around land reform, I will look at the various perspectives on this phenomenon.

4.2 Joba's Understanding

When I asked Joba what he understands by *ubuntu*, I sensed great hesitation on his part to discuss the subject. I let it be. My thoughts reeled at his unwillingness to discuss this central tenant of my thesis. It was only after we had started working again that he looked at me and said: 'One whispers that word'. 'Which word, Joba?' I asked. '*Ubuntu*', he said carefully, ensuring that nobody overheard us. 'Ok', I said, 'but why so?' Joba looked around and started speaking more freely: 'It is a word that is very expensive with great consequences. It really means that if I live according to *ubuntu* with you, that I do not only open my door, when you knock. *Ubuntu* requires of me to take my front door off its hinges. I cannot refuse you any request you may make. I have to give, until you say 'enough'. So, you see, I cannot live like that. I just cannot give to everyone until they say 'enough'. How do I know this person I am giving to will ever say 'enough'? Therefore, I cannot walk the streets, saying I am a man of *ubuntu* because, if someone says 'thank you, I have need and I will visit you', that person can clean me out. The only person I trust enough to care for in an *ubuntu* way is my mother, and she will not expect it of me'. 'So, Joba', I asked, stunned by the intensity of his interpretation of *ubuntu*, 'do many Tswana people have this interpretation of *ubuntu*?' He replied that most people only understand *ubuntu* like he does, when they are benefitting from it. 'When you ask the same of them, they are either busy or away on business, until somebody else helps you', he says.

To my mind, this interpretation of only being able to apply *ubuntu* to those nearest and dearest to you, to those you trust deeply, explains why *ubuntu* is so difficult to detect in modern society. How could you, with such an interpretation, entrust all of your energy and possessions to a person unknown to you?

4.3 Approaches to the Study of *Ubuntu*

In order to further orientate myself in this chapter, I came across a book review by Metz. He looked at two publications of Praeg in 2014 under the Thinking Africa Project at Rhodes University. In his review, Metz (2014:447-448) described the scholarly field of *ubuntu* in a way that really does elucidate the varying approaches.

4.3.1 Traditionalist approach

This approach articulates a view that *ubuntu* is a fixed concept and suggests that it can be applied to current debates without change. Mogobe Ramose is one such a thinker. Bewaji (2003:378-414) discussed Ramose's book *African Philosophy through ubuntu*, published in 2001 (I did not manage to find the book itself). Ramose described *ubuntu* as the process of becoming a person; this process is inherent to every African's personhood. The intriguing aspect hereof is that he mentioned the living dead as well. This includes the yet-to-be-born and the dead, who survived their bodies, also referred to as the ancestors. Ramose held that *ubuntu* and its entire cosmology is inherently African and as such, one of the essential responses to colonialism and post-colonialism. He stated that Africans' enslavement continues through ideas such as democracy and capitalism. I find it difficult to accept that *ubuntu* is a characteristic unique to Africans. Not being a victim of colonialism or a traditionalist in terms of my view on *Ubuntu,* I am disqualified from pronouncing a personal view on the Professor's argument. In fact, if *ubuntu* can bring the subjugation of Africans to an end, I will support his view.

In 'But Hans Kelsen was not born in Africa: a reply to Thaddeus Metz' (2007:347-355), Ramose criticised Metz for seeking a comprehensive basic norm, which underpins African ethics as 'unAfrican'. Ramose defended and attacked with the vigour of someone, who has a claim to the essence of *ubuntu* and a disregard for outsiders. I feel more comfortable with a revisionist approach on the grounds that I cannot defend positivist claims to absolute truth.

4.3.2 Revisionist approach

Scholars of this approach hold that some aspects of traditional *ubuntu* are not attractive and, therefore, would isolate and develop the more attractive dimensions

of *ubuntu*. Metz included himself here as well as Shutte. As mentioned, I will take this position in my understanding and application of *ubuntu*.

4.3.3 Abolishment approach and the narrative of return

Other authors such as Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013), rejected *ubuntu* altogether. They regarded it as inappropriate for urban, industrialised and multicultural societies.

On p.189, they remarked that *ubuntu* is used in an attempt to restore the dignity and identity of the African person. They described *ubuntu* as a 'narrative of return', much like other narratives of return used by proponents like Kwame Nkrumah, Leopold Senghor, Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda. Gade (2011:304-305) observed two characteristics of this phenomenon. First, that *'they are discussed in the context of social transformation, where political leaders, academics and others attempt to identify past values that they believe should inspire politics in general and the future of society*'. Second, the use of these narratives seems to divide history into three phases. The first is the pre-colonial epoch, characterised by order and harmony. The second phase is a period of turmoil, where the colonists plundered resources and cultures, and imposed foreign and individualistic values on the indigenous cultures. The third phase starts, when the years of struggle against the oppressor successfully end in political and cultural freedom. In this post colonial epoch, Africans attempt to restore the pre-colonial golden age by returning to traditional values. This project of the return to pre-colonial or traditional values is not new to *ubuntu* or regrettably, successful. Matolino and Kwindlingwi (2013:289) named a few such value systems and their proponents:

> *ujamaa (Nyerere 1968), consciencism (Nkrumah 1964), Negritude (Senghor 1964), humanism (Kaunda 1966), Mobutuism (Callaghy 1980), nyayo (Arap Moi 1986).*

These pursuits have generally been framed as African socialism. The African continent shows this second set of scars (after colonialism), where the pursuit of socialism has led to diminished political freedom and oppression by one-party states and dictatorships. The leadership and intelligentsia go as far as prescribing, what a true African acts and thinks like. A lack of economic growth, low educational

standards and poor health services are known to ensue from these failed theories that do not take current economic realities into account. The very people, who deserve empowerment, are seen to lead pained and impoverished lives.

These failed attempts at a narrative of return leave no space for other interpretations of the African narrative. African values that do not adhere to the return narrative are not researched or regarded. Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013:199) named three problems with this approach: Africans are not encouraged to develop individual thoughts in pursuit of an idealised African mode of being; African lives are homogenised; African life appears to be traditionalist for the sake of being traditionalist as it limits itself to this narrative of return with the exclusion of current dynamics, which could renew the African vision.

At this point, I would like to refer beyond our continent to the United Kingdom to show similar tendencies in the Brexit movement. Pabst (2016:1) remarked how a combination of traditionalists and socialists won the victory for patriotism in garnering a populist and majority vote to leave the EU. This was done in favour of a traditional and settled way of life and in rejection of multi-culturalism. Similar sounds and movements are coming from other EU countries such as Austria, Italy and France. Trump's victory in the United Stated also shows that the consensus around a liberal world order is breaking down. It is not my intention to embark on a comparative analysis of this global movement. Neither am I suggesting that this overlap in narrative explains the swing towards patriotism. Rather, instead of creating a further illusion that this narrative of return to a former Utopia is an African problem, I want to assure my reader that I am aware that this is a global phenomenon.

4.3.4 Restorative and reflective nostalgia

In his article, 'Exploring "nostalgia" and "imagination" for *ubuntu*-research: A postfoundational perspective', Műller (2015:1) reflected on nostalgia as the 'atmosphere, within which the concepts of *ubuntu* find breathing space'. The two types of nostalgia go a long way in explaining the complexities in interpretation of *ubuntu* and assisted me greatly in differentiating between traditionalist and revisionist *ubuntu*. I will firstly look at Műller's understanding of *ubuntu* and then proceed to his

distinction between restorative and reflective nostalgia. Finally, I will discuss the importance of imagination in the interplay and disctinction between the two types of *ubuntu*. I exclude the abolishment approach from the discussion.

In describing nostalgia, Műller (2015:2) started by referring to the Greek roots of nostalgia, which are *nostos*, 'a return home or homeward' and *algia,* 'which is pain or painful longing'. He quoted the work of Svetlana Boym (2007:9), where she writes that 'nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy'. Műller remarked that the home, which one longs for nostalgically, does not exist. Discussing the modern origins of the word, it appears that Johannes Hofer in 1688 identified nostalgia as a curable disease. The victims were the many displaced people of the 17th century. It was in the words of Műller, a symptom of an age. People were longing not just for a place, but a time, a slower time, when life was different. Recalling Ramose's (2007:347-355) traditionalist argument for the application of *ubuntu* to our times, I also see the link as Műller does between nostalgia and a yearning for the harmonious pre-colonial times, when *ubuntu* was said to be the prevailing ethos.

Here, the distinction between the two kinds of nostalgia becomes helpful in affirming that we do not have to choose for the abolishment approach of thinkers like Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013). *Ubuntu* and nostalgia can be different to a narrative of return.

Műller (2015:2) showed how Boym (2007:13) pointed out that restorative nostalgia stresses home or *nostos* and 'attempts a trans-historical reconstruction of the lost home'. Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, stresses *algia* or the longing itself 'and delays the homecoming'.

4.3.4.1 Restorative nostalgia

On the same page, Muller stated that: 'Restorative nostalgia tends to confuse itself with truth and tradition'. Restorative nostalgia has much in common with traditionalist *ubuntu* as both rely on a 'single transhistorical plot' (2015:2), and claim to represent a clear tradition and a reachable ideal. Selective memory and essentialist thinking are the roots of this phenomenon to the author's mind. The battle between good and

evil is formulated by ‘scapegoating the mythical enemy’, a phrase he quoted as used by Boym. Such an oversimplification has the result that ambivalence, the complexity of history, the variety of contradictory evidence and the specificity of circumstances in new contexts are erased.

Müller’s impression was that even Desmond Tutu, in his book *God is not a Christian* (2013), works with restorative nostalgia to fuel a traditionalist view on *ubuntu*. This is especially clear, where he juxtaposed the West’s individualism with Africa’s hospitality.

If we were researching *ubuntu* to simply long for it and describe it as a historical occurrence, the distinction may have been superfluous. Yet, this understanding of restorative nostalgia serves to explain the rationale behind traditionalist *Ubuntu,* and inspires one to search and create revised interpretations of *ubuntu*.

4.3.4.2 Reflective nostalgia

Reflective nostalgia tries to be more in harmony with the paradoxes of human longing and belonging. With restorative nostalgia, *ubuntu* needs to be protected as the absolute truth, whilst with reflective nostalgia, *ubuntu* needs to be problematised and called into doubt in terms of its usability and effect on modern communities. It remains in the realm of nostalgia and, therefore, is not questioned in totality and disregarded; but the reflective restorative nostalgia is dependent on two plots: The return to the origins, and the plot of conspiracy. Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, does not work with a single plot. It rather explores different ways of being in many places at once, and imagines different contexts and times. It is more open for details and is not carried away by symbols.

4.3.4.3 Imagination

To re-tell the story of *ubuntu,* or to converge horizons as Müller (2015:3) put it quoting Kearney, one has to implement imagination. Whether one refers to *ubuntu* of the past or present, it remains attractive to speak in absolute terms, as if we can base our arguments on facts. Yet, the understanding brought by restorative and reflective nostalgia is a directive to imagine the spaces and voices in between fact

and perception. The preferred narrative Joba and I are creating for our local context will only be satisfactory, if we manage to hear these voices. Müller referred here to Moletsane's use of the 'story of the lion'. We need to imagine the lion's story as our own, lest we only end up with the hunter's story. This also ties in with the value of fictional research writing, as discussed earlier. The intrigue lies in the understanding that all of us are both lion and hunter. In other words, both land owners and the disenfranchised landless people have stories to tell, where they acted as predator and prey. It is therefore not about determining, who is right and wrong. Using our imagination, reflective nostalgia and revisionist *ubuntu* can be the sign posts towards a dispensation of compassion and homecoming into a welcoming place.

4.4 Connotations

Added to these three approaches to *ubuntu* are academics, who explore what the word *ubuntu* connotes to different people. One of the questions they would ask, according to Metz (2014:448), is 'how might a discourse about *ubuntu* be harnessed to achieve a certain goal?' This question assists in focusing on the connotations of *ubuntu*.

Translated, the word *ubuntu* simply means 'collection of people' or 'humaneness'. This word is used in various parts of South, East and Central Africa in the local languages. In Tanzania, the Zukuma tribe uses the word *Bantu;* in Namibia, the Herero use *Avandu*; and in central Africa, it is *Ngumtu*, *Kubuntu* and *Edubuntu*. The Swahili people in East Africa use *Watu.* Quoting Newenham-Kahindi (2007, 2009), Taylor (2014:331) confirmed that 'all of these words imply togetherness or people as being together'.

In Sesotho, people would say *Batho,* this is also the SeTwsana word Joba uses. The word *Batho* can often be heard as an exclamation of astonishment, translated as 'people'! in our part of the world, the Sotho/Tswana adage '*Motho ke motho kabatho babang*' means 'A person is a person through other people' or 'I am because we are'. In the Nguni languages, the same term is expressed as '*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu'.* Metz (2010:272) pointed out that the claim is descriptive in as far as it describes human interdependence. He continued to say that the phrase is also

normative. Identity and humaneness can be of a higher or lesser quality, and naturally, we are encouraged to be fully human.

There are two aspects to this human quality, according to Metz. Firstly it is relational. One becomes a person only in your relationship with others. There is no other way. If one is selfish or deceptive, one lacks *Batho*. Entering deeper into relations with others, giving of oneself is the only way to greater humanity. These relationships with others are further qualified by the second aspect, described by Metz (2010:275) as communalism. The relationships that make us more human are not individualised engagements of respect for personal freedom and cordiality. Rather, one becomes human by entering community life or a life of harmony. On p. 276, Metz referred to his earlier work of 2007, where he explored *ubuntu* and found that harmony refers both to solidarity and identity with the group.

It is especially Metz's reference to Shutte (2001:29), where the latter referred to the importance of the extended family, which has my attention. Shutte said that:

> *The extended family is probably the most common, and also the most fundamental expression of the African idea of community. The importance of this idea for ethics is that the family is something that is valued for its own sake*.

I am interested in this idea of the extended family as the first community of engagement because it confirms Joba's perspective. *Ubuntu* relates in the first instance to those closest to you.

4.5 Critique of *Ubuntu*

4.5.1 Apartheid and *ubuntu*

The post-apartheid era needed a value system that not only showed apartheid up for the crime against humanity, which it is, but also guides us into a new identity. Emeritus Archbishop Tutu's 'rainbow nation' and his work on reconciliation and

forgiveness were demonstrations of *ubuntu* as an operative value system. Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013:199) made the point that *ubuntu* has received all the attention it has to re-order society. They explained how *ubuntu* was seen as the basis for the Moral Regeneration Movement of 2002, mending social fractions. The then Minister for Welfare and Population Development, Geraldine Fraser Moleketi, announced in February of 1997 that *ubuntu* would be one of the principles guiding social welfare in future. Naturally, the term also made for an appealing commercial brand name. After 1994, *ubuntu* really became a term of outstanding visibility.

4.5.2 *Ubuntu* still alive

The authors' criticism of *ubuntu* is clearly not to argue against Africanness, but to show that revivalism is indeed frought with problems. Questions difficult to answer, for instance, are whether there is consensus about the pre-colonial African state of being. Is it possible to reach back there from a modern multicultural society? Are the elitist proponents of *ubuntu* transparent about the political system they are importing with this notion that *ubuntu* is the ideal African state? If so, why does it so often clash with democracy and service delivery and dissenting views? What comes first – the ethic or the metaphysics? In other words, are African people endowed with a unique ability to express *ubuntu* or is the ethic of *ubuntu*, once lived, the essential ingredient of becoming an African? Both of these last questions can only deliver vague and unsatisfactory answers. It is doubtful that African people are uniquely gifted in altruism and similarly, it is doubtful, whether anyone can accept that to be an African, the qualifiying trait would be *ubuntu*.

It does seem as if *ubuntu* ideally finds expression and flourishes in small, tight-knit, undifferentiated and relatively undeveloped communities. Even better so, if such a community consists of blood relations. *Ubuntu* does not seem to find expression in multicultural, modern societies. Where, the authors ask, have the masses' needs been answered sufficiently by an *ubuntu* ethic?

The authors concluded that *ubuntu* has indeed come to an end − not the ethic of *ubuntu,* but the example, where governments do more than paying lip service to the idea, and communities live according to a very specific set of altruistic principles.

I am convinced by the authors' arguments. *Ubuntu* has come to an end other than in the corridors of academia and a new elite seeking confidence in a unique identity. Yet, I sense that *ubuntu* is not dead, least of all forgotten. I therefore still regard myself as a revisionist and will hold that *ubuntu* requires communalism to grow. I will take an in-depth look at the current South African context in Chapter 6. At this stage, I want to venture by saying that I am of the opinion that agricultural land dwellers live in such communities, not without its complexities, though. Joba's interpretation of *ubuntu*, as taking your front door off its hinges; an act, which he could only do for his mother, illustrates the conditions necessary for *ubuntu*. Can we express *ubuntu* cross-racially too, in other words, where the relations are not founded on blood and are complex (employer and employee) and multi cultural?

Applying my revisionist viewpoint to our context, I turn to Taylor's four approaches to understanding *ubuntu* in search of a business ethic helpful. I am attracted by a business ethic in as far as it mirrors my search for *ubuntu*'s role in land reformation. In my opinion, land reformation will only be viable and sustainable, if we keep business and business ethics in mind. More so, I concur and will follow his choice for a deontological approach in line with Metz 'Toward an African moral theory' (2007a). Herewith briefly the four approaches he identified.

4.5.3 Taylor's four approaches to understanding *ubuntu*

- A deontological approach seeks a rules-based theory of right action, by which to define *ubuntu* behaviour;
- A consequentialist approach determines, which behaviours that could be described as resembling *Ubuntu,* minimise harm or maximise good for the community and the individual;
- A virtue ethics approach would define, what kind of people we should be in order to be *ubuntu*-like in our behaviour;
- The fourth approach was mentioned by Mkhize (2006:174) as 'connectedness to and on-going fellowship with the ancestors' and by Ramose (2010:300) as a community comprising 'the living, the dead and the yet-to-be-born.'

4.5.3.1 Right action

I now set out to explain *ubuntu* as a principle of right action or an action-guiding principle in terms of relationships. I choose this approach as a strategy in finding ways of suggesting how *ubuntu* can possibly inform the land crisis in South Africa. Taylor on p. 332 articulated it as such:

> *The need to develop a principle of right action arises because I believe that we require a foundation, a set of rules, from which to determine ethical business behaviour. The problem that we face is that numerous authors write about ubuntu, but do not treat it as a principle of right action.*

It seems as if most descriptions of *ubuntu* can be categorised under the virtue ethics approach. Whilst this approach is helpful in understanding, what the essence of *ubuntu* is, it does not assist in the application of *ubuntu*. West (2014:57) suggested that ambiguities surrounding *ubuntu* frustrate efforts to apply it. To quote Taylor (2014:332) on Tutu: 'Desmond Tutu (1999: pp.34–35) stated that '*Ubuntu* … speaks of the very essence of being human'. On the same page, Taylor referred to Matolino and Kwindingwi, where they noted that: '*Ubuntu* rests on some core values such as humaneness, caring, sharing, respect and compassion'. Definitions like these are useful in as much as they describe, what virtues people will exhibit, who live by the rules of *ubuntu*. Yet, the question remains, what these rules would be.

Before Taylor embarked on developing the principle of right action, he surveyed three possible interpretations or connotations of the *ubuntu* principle.
First, he considered the King Report on Governance for South Africa (2009:23). Here, *ubuntu* is defined as follows:

> *Simply put, ubuntu means humaneness and the philosophy of ubuntu includes mutual support and respect, interdependence, unity, collective work and responsibility. It involves a common purpose in all human endeavours and is based on service to humanity.*

The problem with this definition of *ubuntu* is yet again that although it provides a good description of the attributes associated with *ubuntu*, it does not provide guidelines as to the application of *ubuntu*. Or does it? Does not mutual support, for instance, speak for itself? Taylor did not think so and continued with his search, when he looked at *ubuntu* and 'dignity' next.

Second, he embarked on perusing many texts of law and referred to Kant quite often with a sense of frustration. According to Taylor, Kant regarded human worth as absolute as humans are rational beings. South African jurisprudence makes a similar point and therefore places an obligation or responsibility or duty on the individual to act in accordance with *ubuntu*. Taylor remained unsure of the content of these duties as he quoted Metz (2007a:236), who remarked that African morality seems to place greater emphasis on individuals to help their fellow human beings than Western morality does. Taylor believed that this action guiding principle inherent in *ubuntu* will not be found in Kantian philosophy.

Taylor concluded, in the third instance, that Metz's definition was the most coherent and logical thus far and he quoted Metz (2007a:336-338) on page 336:

> *An action is right just insofar as it promotes shared identity among people, grounded on good-will; an act is wrong to the extent that it fails to do so and tends to encourage the opposites of division and ill-will'. One has a relationship of good-will insofar as one: Wishes another person well (conation); believes that another person is worthy of help (cognition); aims to help another person (intention); acts so as to help another person (volition); acts for the other's sake (motivation); and, finally, feels good upon the knowledge that another person has benefitted and feels bad upon learning she has been harmed (affection).*

Taylor had four points of contention with Metz. First, he disagreed that good will is shown and lived, when someone is perceived to be worthy of it. He held that merit cannot be a measure and I agree with that. All humans have to be seen as worthy of good will. I find it interesting, though, that Metz seemed to describe the status quo of

Ubuntu, when he stated that it is lived only, if someone is perceived to be worthy. Taylor, on the other hand, was working on an idealistic definition. Second, Taylor was of the opinion that the very term 'good will' as a measure of a person was too ambiguous and should not be inherent to a definition of *ubuntu*. Third, 'shared identity' can at best be interpreted as a shared humanity. If not, then *ubuntu* is too easily applied as a sectarian value. This brings me back to Joba's perception of *Ubuntu,* described at the beginning of the chapter. He held that *ubuntu* can only be lived towards and with those that are most intimately trusted − like his mother. The result is that unknown neighbours, as one would find in multi-cultural and modern urbanised societies, are clearly excluded as they are not members of his intimate circle. I have empathy with Joba on this point because of his understanding of *ubuntu* as giving until the other says 'enough'. Again, I think Taylor was working towards an idealised definition of *ubuntu* and not a status quo understanding thereof. I do think his train of thought in creating a working principle for business justifies his idealised view, though. Taylor's final objection was that Metz did not refer to the individual at all. He conceded that *ubuntu* has a group focus, but holds that groups consist of individuals and that the principle of *ubuntu* has to apply to them in the first instance.

4.5.3.2 Principle of *ubuntu*.

Finally, in formulating a principle of right action, Taylor (2014:338) started out by referring to his earlier search in 2011, when he started formulating the idea of right action. This definition was: '*An action is right insofar as it promotes cohesiveness and mutual respect amongst people*'.

He then included the word 'respect', which he wants to avoid now. He now regards *ubuntu* as:

> *An action is right insofar as it promotes cohesion and reciprocal value amongst people. An action is wrong insofar as it damages relationships and devalues any individual or group*.

He articulated the negative too, not only as the opposite of the positive, but as an elaboration of the idea that relationship is central to *ubuntu*. He posed the interesting

question, whether it is possible to develop an *ubuntu* principle of right action. Ramose (2007) was of the opinion that it is impossible and inappropriate. His reason was simply that dogmatism and absolutism are irreconcilable with African ethics (2007:351). Taylor's defence was that he and Metz were searching to formulate a principle for business ethics from the vague meaning ascribed to *ubuntu*. To my mind, *ubuntu* should be both, namely a fluid description of African values as lived experience as well as a guiding principle for commerce.

Taylor (2014:30) suggested the following steps in the application of *ubuntu*:

- Step one: Analyse the situation;
- Step two: Determine the parties involved;
- Step three: Test each action or transaction against the four components of *ubuntu*, i.e.:
  (1) Does the action promote cohesion amongst the parties?
  (2) Does the action promote or acknowledge reciprocal value between the parties?
  (3) Does the action damage relationships with the various parties?
  (4) Does the action devalue any of the parties?

How can these steps assist in determining *ubuntu*'s contribution to land reform? What would constitute right action in these conditions?

4.6 Applying *Ubuntu* to the Challenges of South African Land Reform

4.6.1 My position

My position on *ubuntu* is consequently as follows.

- I am a revisionist, who will endeavour to build on those aspects of *Ubuntu,* which to my mind, can serve to assist in South Africa's land reform, starting with the agricultural land I own and work with my co-worker, Joba. I will not

follow the traditionalist approach, on the one hand, and on the other, I do not reject *ubuntu* completely;

- My revisionist approach enables me to take the second step, which is deontological − seeking a rules-based theory of right action, by which to define *ubuntu* behaviour;
- I have searched through the different connotations of *ubuntu* and settled with Taylor's definition:

  An action is right insofar as it promotes cohesion and reciprocal value amongst people. An action is wrong insofar as it damages relationships and devalues any individual or group.

The application of this definition has to be tested against my co-researcher's understanding of *ubuntu*. Joba is conscious of the cost of *ubuntu* and therefore limits its application to people he can trust completely. I will refer to this, when I apply the definition. I will follow the three steps as suggested above, namely to analyse the situation, determine the parties involved and then test each action or transaction against the four components of *ubuntu*.

4.6.1.1 The question

The Western practice of ownership, generally speaking, is an individualistic model. The individual acquires property justly, if they did not harm others in the process. Metz (2010:277) made the point that *ubuntu* prescribes the distribution of property in terms of communal relationships. Individual choices made in consumer markets are not esteemed. As a result, economic inequality, which is not conducive to community cohesion and harmony, is hardly tolerated. To my mind, this perspective on *ubuntu* and property clearly poses a question to land reform in South Africa: Can agricultural land access and ownership be reformed by implementing *ubuntu* as 'right action' to bring equality and with that harmony without harm? I would like this question to guide the three steps of Taylor above to qualify the model Joba and I propose.

4.6.2 Application

4.6.2.1 Analyse the situation and determine the parties involved

Here, I remind myself of Müller's (2004:300) 7-step interpretation of postfoundationalism, which I want to follow in analysing the situation. I will show how experiences of our two families and our connectedness to and with each other and the land resulted in all of us being empowered. I will embroider on the first four aspects, namely to describe the context; listen to the experiences and describe them; interpret our experiences and develop them with co-researchers; and describe our experiences as they are informed by traditions of interpretation.

The context is a farm, to which I hold the title deed in the semi-arid region of the North West Province of South Africa. Land here is suitable for mixed farming, including crops of maize and sunflower, and cattle, sheep and chickens. To farm sustainably, a farming unit should be no less than 1 500 hectares. Our farm is only 250 hectares. It is highly exceptional to find a farmer, who has come from outside the area to farm here. The reason is simply that the conditions are not attractive as rainfall is low, irrigation is impractical due to the lack of water, winters are very cold and summers are very hot. The local farmers will simply build on the successes of their fathers and forebears, using tractors and implements for many years past their expected life spans. New equipment is a rare sight.

Socio-politically, the North West is one of South Africa's poorer provinces. The racial relations on the farms are traditional with a sharp divide between the White farm owners and the Black farm labourers. Racial integration is not evident, except maybe in the administrative capital, Mafikeng, and the university town, Potchefstroom.

Joba and I started out with him arriving at the farm gate, asking for employment. He brought many skills and I contributed the land and infrastructure. Today, five years later, he owns the broiler chicken business, which is one of the two farming operations on our land. The other operation is the Wool Merino sheep business. I am transferring this operation to Joba by marking every newly born lamb as his.

How did Joba become the owner of the broiler chicken business? Catherine, my wife, played a pivotal role here as the broiler chicken business was her brain-child. We would reflect on our experiences and develop the business further in collaboration with each other and in accordance with what the land and other resources could provide.

Catherinehad the idea of starting a broiler chicken business on the farm, when we lived there on a full-time basis. I interviewed her about her motivation to start it and to hear what Joba's role was. She said she was looking to start a business on the farm that could make a profit, which would cover our monthly household expenses. She had spoken to her cousin in the Midlands of KZN. He supplied thousands of chickens to a wholesaler every month. She intended starting small and asked Joba, if he could assist her. Our farming activities were limited at this stage, so he had ample time on his hands. Joba responded that he would be keen to learn as he had no idea of farming chickens. Catherine started asking around and soon found a supplier of day-old chickens. The local Co-op supplied the water and food feeders.

Catherine related how she and Joba shared the net profit on a 60/40 basis. She would stand in for the costs involved in purchasing the chicks and food. Joba would find buyers in the local township. The model worked well as they learnt to navigate all the ups and downs of rearing chicks from 1-day old to maturity in just over a month. After optimising the cycle to the best of their ability, she remembered how it dawned on her that she would not reach her goal of making any net, shared profit in the foreseeable future. Catherine, with a history in development work, realised she had an opportunity to open doorways for Joba to become an independent entrepreneur with his own sustainable business. Recognising that he clearly had all it took to run his own business, she transferred all her shares to him. She witnessed as Joba's chicken orders grew from 200 to 800. Catherine approached a few of the big chicken companies in an effort to negotiate a deal for Joba as supplier. These companies informed her that currently, the regrettable influx of grey chicken parts from the USA had put all their new contracts on hold.

She said the best part of the story remains Joba's deserved success and her sense of having facilitated a young family's financial independence.

Joba's concern that *ubuntu* requires so much, that only those, who one can trust completely are deserving of this right action, comes to mind. I would indeed not be able to act in accordance with *ubuntu* towards everyone. Put simply, Joba is the only person I can trust both with our livestock and my ancestral home. I am satisfied that our relationship can bear the extreme demands of *ubuntu*. Most importantly, I desire to co-create a reality with Joba, where our relationship is paramount in discovering our shared humanity in terms of aspirations and fears. I am still convinced that *ubuntu* as right action is the appropriate directive for Joba and me to co-create this shared reality.

4.6.2.2 Test the action against the four components of ubuntu

4.6.2.2.1 Does the action promote cohesion between the parties?

Catherine and I had to move to the city in 2015. The farm could not carry our financial needs, which motivated us to be closer to our small businesses' core clientele, who call Gauteng their home. We stay at the farm once a month and most holidays. I entrusted everything to Joba. I farm the sheep remotely now, with Joba and his family staying on the farm. He runs his broiler chicken business and manages the sheep and other affairs all by himself without supervision. The farm has not looked this good since 1975, when my grandfather was healthy and farming full-time. Joba, a model farmer, is the envy of farm workers on neighbouring farms and is winning the trust of the White land owners in the area. The cohesion between our families has undoubtedly grown to a bond, where we regard each other as one family; custodians of our shared farm, Strydpoort.

4.6.2.2.2 Does the action promote or acknowledge reciprocal value between the parties?

Yes, it does. Joba's success as a farmer has brought financial value to his life. This financial well-being contributes to his family's growth and stability in a time, when farm labourers' services are terminated. He and his wife Elizabeth decided to have a

third child. This little girl runs and plays with her siblings on the farm in a new way. Little children born of the labourers are usually taught to stay away from the farm owner's house, possessions and dogs. This separation between 'ours' and 'theirs' does not exist, we are a community. She never sees her dad being supervised by an employer and therefore, to my mind, has the freedom and joy of a child liberated from a long history of servanthood.

4.6.2.2.3 Does the action damage relationships with the various parties?

Clearly, none of our relationships are damaged.

4.6.2.2.4 Does the action devalue any of the parties?

To the contrary, this community values all parties as irreplaceably members.

4.6.2.3 Can agricultural land access and ownership be reformed by implementing *ubuntu* as 'right action' to bring equality and with that harmony without harm?

Reflecting on this guiding question, I would answer affirmatively.

Three points need to be kept in mind though:
First: *Ubuntu* in a context of communalism as found on farms can bring relative equality, increasing harmony without harming anyone. Communalism is the key word here.

Second: What constitutes right action can be determined by applying Taylor's measures. Yet, it does require a dialectic process with the context as there clearly is not one right action that fits all situations. In our case, the title deed remains in my name and Joba has the majority shares in the agricultural business.

This brings me to the third point. Joba and I are not a textbook case of equality. There remains room for improvement as my education and privileged background give me more options and a better chance at adapting to a changing, urbanising world.

4.7 Preliminary understanding

In this chapter, I managed to place myself within a revisionist approach to *ubuntu*. I do not make the traditionalist's narrative return to an absolute standpoint on *ubuntu* and neither do I conclude that *ubuntu* is dead. I rather filter *ubuntu* from a social constructionist view to make the most of what this surviving value can teach us about transformation. I chose a definition of 'right action', where *ubuntu* becomes a guiding principle for actions that promote cohesion in relationships, reciprocal value, and do no harm. Applying this guiding principle to our shareholding scheme on the farm, I conclude that *ubuntu* does serve land reform on our farm, where Joba is the owner of the agricultural business, whilst I own the land. I reached this preliminary understanding by describing the context and experiences before I interpreted our current narrative.

My response to the question, whether agricultural land access and ownership can be reformed by implementing *ubuntu* as 'right action' to bring equality and with that harmony without harm, therefore, is affirmative.

Looking forward, my research question is not fully answered though: How can we relate *ubuntu* to South African land reform from a practical-theological point of view? I have answered in the affirmative that *ubuntu* does contribute to land reform on our farm. Even here, it has its limitations, though, as I remain in the privileged position as land owner. The seventh step in Müller's interpretation of postfoundationalism requires that I develop alternative interpretations that point beyond my farm. Applying *ubuntu* to the greater region and South Africa as a value to change the landscape does not follow without further work. I aim, therefore, to research the current South African political landscape, which has intensified dramatically in the last month. This context will serve as foundation for a reflection on religious and spiritual aspects that could assist in applying *ubuntu* as guiding principle. I will also have to thicken our experience through interdisciplinary investigation before hopefully finding a foothold for *ubuntu* in the wider South African context.

CHAPTER 5: THE PLOT THICKENS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will attempt to show how it has come that *ubuntu* can possibly be perceived as a competing narrative to land. In thickening the narrative, and using amongst other disciplines, investigative journalism, postfoundational practical theology will guide the way in elaborating on this tension between land and *ubuntu*.

The narrative around land reform and restitution is more complex than what our share model on the farm suggests. I have chosen to focus on current affairs to thicken the opposing narratives of land and *ubuntu* as the sixth step in Müller's 7-step movement of practical theological enquiry.

Two binary opposites are crystallising: 'Radical Economic Transformation' targeting 'White Monopoly Capital' and on the other hand, 'State Capture'. Those, who converge under the banner of 'Radical Economic Transformation', are demanding land appropriation without compensation. The other side, who accuses the state of being captured by a 'predatory elite', is in no mood to surrender wealth. They suspect and at times, can prove a hidden narrative of corruption and self-enrichment behind the dominant narrative of 'Radical Economic Transformation'. Before we embark on an investigation of the current political discourse, I will demonstrate its place within the landscape of postfoundational practical theology.

5.2 Postfoundational Practical Theology

5.2.1 Introduction

The competing narratives of this thesis require a methodology, which appeals to praxis and does not claim universal validity. A foundational approach, claiming 'multiversal validity' (Müller 2011:3), will not bear the burden of a localised political discourse. The discourse at issue here is everything but rational, and flourishes in a maze of illusions and shifting allegiances. The narratives change so rapidly that

much of what I will report later in this chapter may be proven or disproven before an external examiner sets her eyes on my work. One example is the President's postponing of the signing of the FICA bill. Subsequent to my writing about it, he had signed it, but the Bill had not been promulgated yet in Parliament at the instruction of the Finance Minister. A few weeks later, it did pass as law. Yet, I chose to report so closely on the political discourse as it is in these moments that we create our reality. This is the nature of social constructionism. In context, it is the language of the leaders of the ruling party and their followers that create the reality of the agriculturist, the land owner, the author of this thesis and the person yearning for access to land. This reality contains the fiercely opposing narratives of land and *ubuntu*. As Müller stated on the same page: Postfoundationalism acknowledges contextually the crucial epistemic role of interpreted experience and paves the way for interdisciplinary conversation'. These interdisciplinary conversations are relevant and required to make sense of a plot that is thickened.

5.2.1.1 Foundational approach

Foundationalism heralds from a period described as modernity. Modernity sets a clear distinction between object and subject. The researcher could approach the object of their study objectively. Empirically proven facts (scientific positivism) could then be established. These truths would then be the foundations, on which other theories and applications would be constructed. This paradigm cannot tolerate a multiversion reality as it tends to paint in broad brush strokes, creating timeless scenes. It does not invite conversation as it holds the final truth. This final or first truth is the foundation that this approach is built on. In its bloom, though, in the nineteenth and early to middle twentieth centuries, this epistemological paradigm followed on the Enlightenment and it liberated researchers from both superstition and the authoritarianism of the church that restricted knowledge. Van Huyssteen (1989:8) stated that knowledge could now at last be neutral and controllable.

5.2.1.2 Non foundationalism

This epistemological approach is no less problematic. It falls into relativity, rendering any inter-disciplinary and even most other dialogues meaningless. As a product of extreme post-modernity, it denies the possibility of shared meanings. Each

interpretation, therefore, is disabled from transcending its own language and other symbols. Conversation is only the appreciation of another's interpretation with no possibility of transformative dialogue.

5.2.2 What is postfoundational practical theology?

A postfoundational approach positions itself between foundationalism and nonfoundationalism. Müller, in his 2005 article, 'A postfoundationalist, HIV-positive practical theology' set the pace in answering this question. He started off on p.73 by placing postfoundationalism in the discipline of practical theology. He stated that practical theology is always 'guided by the moment of praxis (always local, embodied and situated)'. I re-iterate that this is my reasoning for taking the risk of reporting close-up on the fluctuating and unpredictable political discourse of the first half of 2017. This is my moment of praxis. I am 'socially and contextually embedded' (Van Huyssteen 2006:10). This is the first movement of postfoundational practical theology – taking the context seriously as mentioned by Van Huyssteen at the Lez Eyzies Symposium in May 2004. Müller (2006:418) stated that contextualtiy is of utmost importance to the postfoundational approach.

The second step is to take the discussion away from my discipline and learn from other sciences, in this case political science and journalism. This interdisciplinary conversation between practical theology and other science, sharing rational resources is assisted by the third step, which is transversal rationality. In other words, expressing insights from varying vantage points, allowing for different languages to interplay and not dominate.

Müller (2005:77) then stated his minimum requirements for practical theology as 'locally contextual, socially constructed, directed by tradition, exploring interdisciplinary meaning and pointing beyond the local'. Social constructionism deserves a mention here.

Although Van Huyssteen did not refer to social constructionism in as many words, Müller (2005:80) was clear that:

> *The idea of socially constructed interpretations and meaning is clearly part of the postfoundationalist approach.*
> Van Huyssteen (Gifford Lecture 1:12-13) wrote*: "…we relate to our world epistemically only through the mediation of interpreted experience, and in this sense, it may be said that our diverse theologies, and also the sciences, offer alternative interpretations of our experience (cf. Rolston 1987:1-8).*

We create meaning therefore not in isolation but socially. This interpretation does happen in a dome, where interpreters share a context, but again, the interpretation follows discourses and not solely individualised subjective viewpoints. This practical theological narrative approach enables the practical theologian to partake in the development of the story. Müller therefore creates an approach, which is not only a paradigm story, but also a method story. He shapes this method into 7 steps as the postfoundational practical theological approach, summarised schematically on p. 82 and engaged with throughout this thesis:

> ***The context and interpreted experience***
> 1. *A specific context is described.*
> 2. *In-context experiences are listened to and described.*
> 3. *Interpretations of experiences are made, described and developed in collaboration with "co-researchers".*
>
> ***Traditions of interpretation***
> 4. *A description of experiences as it is continually informed by traditions of interpretation.*
>
> ***God's presence***
> 5. *A reflection on, as it is understood and experienced in a specific situation, God's presence.*
>
> ***Thickened through interdisciplinary investigation***
> 6. *A description of experience, thickened through interdisciplinary investigation.*

***Point beyond the local community**.*

***7.** The development of alternative interpretations that point beyond the local community.*

Let us proceed to the current interdisciplinary dialogue that is problematising and thickening my interpretation of the opposing narratives of land and *ubuntu* as seen through the lens of journalism.[6]

5.3 State Capture

How does one practice *ubuntu* in order to remain committed to transforming a racialised economy and land ownership, when it requires one to surrender land and wealth to an economy captured by a predatory elite?

5.3.1 Introduction to State Capture

Coleman, in his *Daily Maverick* article dated 21 April 2017, titled 'Do we have to chose between a predatory elite and White Monopoly Capital?' refers to the 2010 Cosatu discussion document, which described the emerging 'phenomenon of a predatory Black elite'. Cosatu expressed concern that if not stopped, we were heading to 'a predator state, where a powerful, corrupt and demagogic elite of political hyenas use the state to get rich'.

Coleman (Strategies Co-ordinator in the Cosatu Secretariat) understood and described this elite so poignantly that I cannot paraphrase or improve on it. I quote him.

[6] The investigative and other journalists involved in exposing state capture and other networks of corruption are the heroes of the Zuma-era. More than the opposition parties these women and men mobilised civil society to defend the South African constitution. See for example the Scorpio's and Amabhungane's #guptamails which preceded other disciplines' research into corruption. Yet this is by no means the only interdisciplinary references in this thesis. Aside from the contributions in the appendices by other co-researchers, I want to point the reader to a few examples of other disciplines integrated in this thesis: Agrarian studies p.4; Applied Human Sciences p.74; Finance and Business management p.104, 107; Law, p102; Philosophy p. 66, 67, 69; Political Science p.68, 90, 100; Public Protector p.91; South African Council of Churches p.97; State Capacity Research Project with various academics contributing p.96.

> *Then in 2016/ 2017, widespread reports suggested that a predatory elite had indeed established itself, to an alarming degree, in the ruling party and government, and threatened to control key institutions of the South African state, corruptly using its proximity, through the ruling party, the Cabinet or through leading state officials, to gain access to state procurement, state owned enterprises, local and provincial government. Further, that it has abused this access to either directly steal from the democratic state or to semi-legally, but illegitimately accumulate economic power through building parasitic enterprises, which leverage their access to people in power through unfair or corrupt means*.

5.3.2 Report on State Capture

The Public Protector's Office was established by the Public Protector Act 23 of 1994. Hereby, the President shall appoint a Public Protector in accordance with section 193 of the Constitution. The Public Protector:

> *…has the power, as regulated by national legislation, to investigate any conduct in state affairs, or in the public administration in any sphere of government, that is alleged or suspected to be improper or to have resulted in any impropriety or prejudice, to report on that conduct and to take appropriate remedial action, in order to strengthen and support constitutional democracy in the Republic.*

At the centre of State Capture in South Africa is the Gupta family, who resides in Saxonwold, Johannesburg. An influential family, whose undue influence over the President became known to the public, when they were allowed to land a commercial chartered airplane at Waterkloof Military Base in March 2013. The illegal landing was organised between an individual in the Indian Embassy and individuals locally. Mataboge (*Mail & Guardian* 2013) reported that President Zuma did not attend the wedding and denied any influence or knowledge pertaining to the breach of security. The Guptas chartered the airplane to transport wedding guests to South Africa from India.

Eventually, an investigation by the Public Protector was triggered by two complaints lodged on 18 March 2016. The first complaint was registered by Father S Mayebe on

behalf of the Dominican Order of Southern Africa. The second complaint was brought by Mr Mmusi Maimane as leader of the Democratic Alliance and Opposition in Parliament.

Summarised, they requested that the then Public Protector, Advocate Madonsela, investigate the Gupta family and the extent of their undue influence in the affairs of state. Revelations by the former Deputy Minister of Finance, Mcebisi Jonas, former MP, Vytjie Mentor and Themba Maseko, former head of the Government Communication and Information Systems, that they had been offered Cabinet positions by the Gupta family in return for business deals, led to the lodging of the complaint. This was reported widely, amongst others, by Marianne Thamm of the *Daily Maverick* in her article, '*State Capture: Thuli's final quest for the truth – investigating the Gupta's political influence*', on 8 July 2016.

The heading to the report (2016 no.6) encapsulates the allegations that led to the investigation as:

> *…the alleged improper and unethical conduct by the President and other state functionaries relating to the alleged improper relationships and involvement of the Gupta family in the removal and appointment of ministers and directors of state owned enterprises, resulting in the improper and possibly corrupt award of state contracts and benefits to the Gupta family's businesses.*

The investigation was conducted in terms of section 182 of the Constitution and sections 6 and 7 of the Public Protector Act. It was released on 2 November 2016. Gauteng Judge President Dunstan Mlambo, sitting in the North Gauteng High Court, ordered the Public Protector to release the Report on State Capture after President Zuma and two cabinet ministers abandoned attempts to interdict the release of the report.

5.3.3 Findings of the report

- The then Deputy Finance Minister, Mcebisi Jonas, claimed that the Guptas had offered him the post of Minister of Finance before Minister Nene's services were terminated. There is no evidence that the President as head of the executive made any effort to have the claims investigated;

- Jonas discussed that he was being offered the then Minister of Finance's position with Mr Gordhan; that the Guptas stated they had made R6 billion from the state and wanted to increase it to R8 billion. They also said that they would report ministers, who refused to take their orders;
- Eskom's then CEO Brain Molefe is friends with members of the Gupta family. He sees no problem in the Guptas entering into business relations with the state.
- President Zuma and ANC Secretary-general, Gwede Mantashe, took interest in the appointment of parastatal board members, Eskom and Transnet;
- President Zuma made it very difficult for Minister Barbara Hogan to perform her duties and later terminated her services;
- Cooperative Governance Minister, Des van Rooyen, was at the Gupta's Saxonwold house the night before he was appointed Finance Minister on 9 December 2015;
- Ajay Gupta said Treasury was a stumbling block and that he needed to get rid of its Director-General, Lungisa Fuzile, and other key officials;
- The conduct of the Eskom board was at one point solely to the benefit of Tegeta, a Gupta-controlled company, which is a violation of the Public Finance Management Act;
- From 2 August 2015 to 22 March 2016, Molefe called Ajay Gupta a total of 44 times and he called Molefe 14 times.

Lekabe (*Citizen*, 2 November 2016).

In her remedial action, Advocate Madonsela recommended that President Zuma establish a judicial inquiry to probe allegations of improper conduct and undue influence exerted by the controversial Gupta family over him. In an effort to ensure that the enquiry would be independent, she ordered that the commission has to be headed by a judge solely selected by the Chief Justice, Mogoeng Mogoeng.

Professor De Vos noted that:

> *In terms of the remedial action imposed by the Public Protector, the President would still appoint the commission of inquiry in terms of section 84(2)(f).*

> *However, this power would be exercised under "dictation" as it would be exercised on the instructions of (and in the manner prescribed by) the Public Protector* (*Daily Maverick,* 26 November 2016).

Instead of allowing the remedial action to take its course within the prescribed 30 days, the President announced shortly thereafter that he would be taking the remedial action as suggested by the Public Protector on review, reported by Penny in her article, '*Presidency: Zuma to challenge State Capture report'*, on 23 December 2016. Public Protector, Busisiwe Mkhwebane, confirmed in February 2017 that her office has sought legal advice to oppose President Jacob Zuma's application to set the report aside. This matter is pending.

5.3.4 Evidence of State Capture

I do not intend proving the Gupta's guilt in this chapter. Yet, to indicate the substance of allegations against them, I refer to an article in the *Mail & Guardian* of 8 December 2016. Research was done by journalists Brummer, Comlie and Cole of Amabhungane, The Centre of Investigative Journalism and reported in an article named, '*Guptas "Laundered" kickback millions − here's the evidence*.' The article follows money trails and concludes that the kickbacks and money laundering provides evidence to the claim at the centre of the 'State Capture' narrative that the 'Guptas squeeze kickbacks from companies doing business with the state by using their political connections and officials they have deployed or bought'. Papers have been filed in the High Court in Johannesburg in this regard.

On the same day, Mr Sole relates the story of Prasa in 'Zuma's treasonous alliance with the Guptas'. In 2012, Prasa CEO Mr Montana wrote a formal letter to his board chairperson. The letter related repeated lobbying efforts by the Guptas on behalf of China South Rail (CSR) to get control of the R51 billion tender for new passenger trains. The letter as quoted in the aforesaid article read:

> *I had taken issue with the representative of the Gupta family over what I considered to be attempts on their part to 'extort' money from [the bidders]... I must also add that the Guptas have presented a plan that I and other people*

have been allocated shares within CSR, the plan which I rejected contemptuously in the presence of our minister.

In other words: We have here a written allegation of an attempt to bribe in the presence of then Minister of Transport, Ben Martins. The Hawks were not called in to investigate, and charges were not laid in terms of the Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act. The only probable reason could have been that President Zuma's son Duduzane was present in all meetings and as business partner of the Guptas, was a potential beneficiary to the alleged bribe attempt. Everyone in the room knew that the Guptas enjoyed the President's support and protection.

Mr Sole concluded that the President is actively involved in the centre of State Capture. He pointed at the Gupta's brazenness, which results from them identifying Mr Zuma as the ideal accomplice in the capture of the South African state. Mr Zuma portrays three essential characteristics: An appetite for wealth and power, political influence and legal vulnerability.

On 22 April 2017, Susan Comrie reported on another Eskom deal favouring the Guptas in her article in the *Daily Maverick*, 'amaBhungane: R10bn in 15 days – another massive Eskom boost for the Guptas on yet another transaction involving the Gupta/Zuma alliance'. In August 2016, Matshela Koko of Eskom handed the Gupta-Zuma-owned Tegeta Exploration and Resources a R7-billion coal contract without a tender. He ignored warnings from National Treasury that such a contract could be irregular. 12.8% of Tegeta is owned by President Zuma's son Duduzane. Various members of the Gupta family still own 36% of the company, while Gupta associate Salim Essa owns 21.5% and just over 20% is owned by two off-shore companies in the UAE, whose members are unknown.

The South African public has become accustomed to these partnership deals. I could list handfuls of them. Yet, I mention this specific one as it was brought to light recently and secondly, it illustrates the reckless and unethical nature of this Gupta/Zuma partnership. This is evident in the fact that two units of the Komati power station that will receive the coal, was mothballed or closed two months after the signing of the contract. The entire plant will cease production in 2019. As a

result, Eskom will have to buy Tegeta out of the contract or add transport costs to a nearby power station. As further proof that the Guptas benefit from their relationship with Eskom, Tegeta received an unprecedented advance payment of R659 558 079 from Eskom. Treasury and the Report on State Capture have questioned this 'loan'. The matter is pending.

The Narrative of State Capture gains depth.

5.3.4.1 Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI)

This institute is based in Johannesburg and studies the effectiveness of state institutions in the delivery of services and infrastructure. They:

> *Generate high-quality research to better understand the drivers of institutional performance in the public sector, and improve implementation of policies in relevant fields. We work with change agents in the public service to address institutional blockages or weaknesses in their departments (http://pari.org.za/about/).*

The State Capacity Research Project, a subsidiary of PARI, is an inter-disciplinary, inter-university group of academics, who published a report in May 2017 on State Capture with the title 'Betrayal of the promise: How South Africa is being stolen.'

5.3.4.1.1 Objectives

The report, authored by Bhorat et al. (2017:1-72), had two objectives:

1. *Provide a conceptual framework that draws from the literature on the political economy of development, neopatrimonialism in Africa and democratic governance that can help to make sense of what we describe in our first chapter as a 'silent coup'.*
2. *Collate a vast quantity of published and unpublished empirical material on the extensive 'repurposing' of state institutions to redirect rents away from development and into the hands of an increasingly confident power elite that intentionally operates in extra-legal and anti-constitutional ways.*

5.3.4.1.2 Findings

The researchers demonstrated how the President is at the centre of a systemic illegal and unethical rent-seeking political project. The aim of this project is to enrich a few by building a shadow state alongside the constitutional state.

5.3.4.1.3 Recommendations

1. The Gupta-Zuma network that holds the symbiotic relationship between constitutional state and shadow state has to be broken up.

2. A new national economic consensus has to be created. The authors are in favour of Radical Economic Transformation, but not in the illusory form as suggested by government as smoke screen for the looting of state coffers, which was enabled by the capture of Treasury through the appointment of Gigaba.

3. All stakeholders, including those who will replace the current President, will have to commit to the realising off this vision.

5.3.4.1.4 Remarks

I read this report with mixed feelings. Sifting through information on State Capture before the release of this report, I wondered, why it was left to journalists to research State Capture. Where were the academics? Was this a subject outside the concern of academic research? Reading the research, I felt relieved that indeed, I was in good company. It was postfoundational practical theology that enabled me to reach across the boundaries of my discipline and converse with journalism and now academics in fields other than mine.

5.3.4.2 Unburdening report

On 18 May 2017, the South African Council of Churches announced that it had shifted from listening to unburdening in respect of State Capture allegations. They revealed the Unburdening Report. This unburdening consisted of the SACC's practical theological approach of 'See-Judge-Act'.

The SACC saw the following seven trends of inappropriate State control:

1. *Securing control over state wealth, through the capture of state owned companies by chronically weakening their governance and operational structures.*
2. *Securing control over the public service by weeding out skilled professionals.*
3. *Securing access to rent-seeking opportunities by shaking down regulations to their advantage, and to the disadvantage of South Africans.*
4. *Securing control over the country's fiscal sovereignty.*
5. *Securing control over strategic procurement opportunities by intentionally weakening key technical institutions and formal executive processes.*
6. *Securing a loyal intelligence and security apparatus.*
7. *Securing parallel governance and decision-making structures that undermine the executive.*

These findings convinced the SACC that the current government has lost its moral legitimacy and urges the government to mend its ways.

5.3.4.3 Gupta leaks

The third event in this trilogy of reports were the so-called Gupta Leaks, announced in *The Daily Maverick's* editorial of 1 June 2017. Scorpio, the *Daily Maverick's* newly launched investigative unit and amaBhungane, the independent investigative non-profit organisation, started publishing information known as the Gupta Leaks. This information heralds from 100 000 to 200 000 emails and other documents of evidence of State Capture.

The allegations are astounding and uncontested.

5.3.5 Financial Intelligence Centre Amendment (FICA)

Lastly, I would like to mention the dilemma with the President's signing of the FICA Bill. The Financial Intelligence Centre Amendment (FICA) Bill was readopted by Parliament in February and sent to the President to sign into law. Magda Wierzycka of *The Daily Maverick* described on 12 April 2017 the most recent amendment to the Bill as involving politically exposed, prominent or influential people and their families and close associates. The amended Bill requires that such people be monitored

more closely. This clause had been called the ‘Gupta Clause’ in South Africa. The President was slow in signing the Bill at first. South Africa received a 3-month deadline extension. He had 2 months to sign it with only a few weeks remaining before South Africa would be severely punished for reneging on our commitment to the Bill. South Africa would then be rated amongst countries like Syria and North Korea, which are not signatories to the Bill. The Council for the Advancement of the South African Constitution wrote to Mr Zuma in April 2017, warning him that they will take the matter to the Constitutional Court should he not sign it in time. Why was he dragging his feet on such an important and easy-to-fulfil matter? Now that he finally signed it off, the question remains as to why it took him so long to sign it and the Minister of Finance to promulgate the Bill, even after it had been signed.

5.3.6 Downgrade

The ‘State Capture’ narrative anticipated the ensuing midnight events of 30 March 2017. President Zuma moved again, as he did in December 2015 with the termination of the then Finance Minister Nene’s services, to weaken a functioning and respected Finance Ministry. He terminated the services of Finance Minister Gordhan, based on an ill-conceived, badly written and clandestine security report, which claimed that Gordhan was planning to overthrow the current government. This termination and subsequent Cabinet reshuffle, according to the State Capture narrative, does not have South Africa’s best interests at heart. The Finance Minister enjoyed support locally and abroad by labour, business and politicians. He was heralded as a steady hand in troubled waters. In fact, the interest rate was expected to be lowered in the next quarter as a sign of promise. The irrational recalling of Minister Gordhan sent a shockwave through financial markets. The rating agency S&P and, a few days later, Fitch announced that they had downgraded South Africa’s sovereign investment status to sub investment grade. Regrettably, the South African Government had ignored various warnings that a move against Gordhan would trigger this downgrade. The ratings agencies stated that President Zuma’s move will weaken the standards of governance of public finances, herald a change in economic policy, an undermining if not reverse in the progress of governance of state owned enterprises (SOEs) and a green light for the unaffordable nuclear deal between South Africa and Russia.

5.3.7 The expected effects of South Africa's downgrade

A downgrade makes it more expensive for the government to borrow and for businesses to finance their operations and expansions.

Almeida et al. (2014) researched the 'Real effect of sovereign debt downgrades' and published their results in a paper with this title. Their findings are:

> *In the first instance, it raises the cost of new debt issues by the Treasury. Abbott, in their blog titled 'South Africa's sovereign debt downgrade – the effect on the private sector, public sector and ultimately South African citizens' of 13 April 2017 mentioned that 'Fitch was the first ratings agency to include both Rand denominated and external foreign currency denominated debt in the downgrade'. We can expect the Rand to devalue, which will raise the cost of servicing the existing debt that is denominated in foreign currencies. On 30 December 2016, South Africa's gross foreign debt was USD 142 billion.*

Second, corporates such as banks and SOEs such as Eskom have already been downgraded, too. The reason for this is an effect known as 'the sovereign ceiling', whereby corporates' credit ratings cannot exceed the sovereign rating of their domicile country. These businesses cannot grow much as they would find it very difficult to obtain enterprise capital and impossible to enter loan agreements with low interest rates.

Third, credit ratings and sovereign downgrades affect guarantees and these guarantees are needed to back long-term supply and financial contracts. Mergers and acquisitions are often also conditional on these guarantees.

Fourth, the South African economy officially entered a recession after it contracted for the second consecutive quarter in the first three months of 2017. This news was announced on 6 June 2017.

The fallouts of these mutually reinforcing triggers are, in the final instance, unpredictable but catastrophic, especially for developing countries.

5.3.8 Poor will suffer most

Professor Friedman of Wits made a critical observation about the poor in a sub-investment climate in his article, 'The markets can stomach a captured Treasury, but SA's poor will suffer' in the *Mail and Guardian* of 18 April 2017. He showed how every head of state who presided over the South Korean economy had been jailed for corruption; yet, they managed to adhere to fiscal regulations. The same is valid for the last years of the apartheid regime. Insider trading within a network of patronage was allowed alongside a rather stable economy. Prof Friedman made the point that the poor and the disenfranchised will, however, feel the pinch without anyone to protect their interests. When markets and patronage co-exist, the health of an economy should be measured by the living standards of the poor. The last sector the state considers, when it gives the green light to its patronage deals is the politically weak − the poor.

5.3.9 SASSA

It has become everyday practice to coerce government at great cost to fulfil its duties through court orders. This practice indicates that government lacks the leadership and political will to serve the very people, who mandated it to govern according to the Constitution. A point in case, where specifically the frail and poor were concerned, ended in the Constitutional Court in March 2017.

The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) is an agency of the Department of Social Development, charged with the administration of grants. Currently, SASSA pays grants to 17 million of the most vulnerable South African citizens. SASSA awarded a 5-year, R10 billion tender for the administration and distribution of the grants to Cash Paymaster Services in January 2012. The Constitutional Court declared the tender invalid in November 2013 and SASSA was instructed to initiate a new tender process. The current Minister of Social Development, Bathabile Dlamini, dragged her feet, ignored the issue, took bad advice and the DSD ended up without a plan to pay grants after its current contract with CPS had run its extended course. SASSA had a month to come forward with a new plan before payments were due. Both the Minister and the President held that there was no crisis. Yet, there was also no plan. The Minister did not appear at the *Scopa* hearing in Parliament, missed two other parliamentary meetings and misled parliament, when she did appear. At long

last, the Black Sash approached the Constitutional Court for an administrative order to regulate the paying of the grants in the absence of any plan from SASSA.

Justice Froneman was quite upset by the Minister's lack of concern for the poor. Raborife and Chabalala quoted him in *News24* on 17 March 2017 in their article '7 hard-hitting ConCourt quotes on SASSA debacle' as pronouncing that:

> *This court and country as a whole are now confronted with a situation, where the executive arm of government admits that it is not able to fulfil its constitutional and statutory obligations to provide for the social assistance of its people. And, in the deepest, most shaming of ironies, it now seeks to rely on a private corporate entity, with no discernible commitment to transformative empowerment in its own management structures, to get it out of this predicament.*

Katharine Child of *Timeslive* in her article, 'Notable points in the SASSA court case judgement', summarised the five key points of the judgement as follows on 17 March 2017: The court blamed the Minister for the crisis, the Minister and SASSA were liable for costs and the Minister had to say, why she was not personally liable, future grant recipients would be protected as their details would not be passed on, the taxpayer was protected in so far as the contract price remained unchanged and an audit by an external company would determine the progress on who the payer would become.

Mahlakoana added on 19 March 2017 on *IOL* in his article, 'Dlamini speaks about Concourt ruling' that Minister Dlamini was baffled that the Constitutional Court found that she should file an affidavit to show, why she should not be personally liable for costs. Her submission was late and yet, in his Cabinet shuffle, the President did not terminate her services.

I have not seen an adequate explanation for this dismal failure to the grantees. Rather than speculating, I would like to draw the inference that this department shows signs of the same malaise that is evident in other spheres of government. A hidden agenda is followed, one that does not serve the people of this country.

In what many regard as Deputy President, Cyril Ramaphosa's entry to the presidential race, he made reference to the same suspicion in a speech on 23 April 2017. He spoke at the South African Communist Party's Chris Hani Memorial Lecture at the Babs Madlakane Hall in KwaNobuhle, near Uitenhage. Spies, in his article, 'Ramaphosa 'launches' campaign with attack on Zuma, Guptas' of 23 April 2017, quoted him as saying:

> *The allegations that there are private individuals, who exercise **undue influence** over state appointments and procurement decisions should be a matter of great concern to our movement. These practices, where **you have the sense**, that **decisions are being taken elsewhere**, they threaten the integrity of the state, undermine our economic progress, and diminish our ability to change the lives of our people. We know there is an **elephant in the room**, but we do not want to talk about it. (My bold marking).*

Deputy President Ramaphosa, therefore, supports former Public Protector Advocate Madonsela's call for a judicial commission of inquiry into the Gupta family's alleged attempts to capture the state. Again, it is significant that the Deputy President gives credibility to the State Capture narrative.

Most significantly, though, is the plight of the poor. As Andries du Toit, Director: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, UWC confirmed this in his article on 20 February 2017 in *The Conversation,* 'The real risks behind South Africa's social grant payment crisis.'

> *SASSA's inactivity has created the worst possible outcome, not only in the short, but also in the long term. A crisis over grant distribution looms, and the opportunity to provide meaningful financial inclusion has been missed.*

The most vulnerable are now tied up in a network of privately owned, profit driven companies.

5.3.10 Preliminary understanding

I support the 'State Capture' narrative. The President's scant regard for international investors and the damage his actions cause the most vulnerable in our society, are

not the result of absentmindedness. There is method in this apparent nonsensical manner.

In his article, ‘Firing of South Africa’s Finance Minister puts the public purse in Zuma’s hands’ of 31 March 2017, Professor Rossouw of Wits stated:

> *The removal of the minister and his deputy, therefore, makes no logical sense. The inevitable conclusion is that Zuma was hellbent on replacing them with appointments that would allow looting of the national purse. Their replacement with Zuma acolytes places the national purse in his hands.*

When one looks at the newly appointed Finance Minister, Malusi Gigaba, from a ‘State Capture’ point of view, red flags show. He rose quickly through the ranks due to what many would say is a gap of leadership in the ANC and his vehement support of President Zuma. He ascended from head of the ANC Youth League between 1996 and 2004, to Minister of Public Enterprises in 2010 to Minister of Home Affairs in 2014. His track record at these ministries cannot be the motivation for his rapid promotion. SAA’s woes increased under his tenure at Public Enterprises. During his time at Home Affairs, a visa regulation was instituted, whereby travellers without an unabridged birth certificate for travelling children were not allowed into South Africa. 13 246 people were denied entry in this manner, costing the economy R7.51 billion between June 2015 and July 2016, according to James Vos of the DA, interviewed by a staff writer of *Business Tech* on 31 October 2016.

Curiously, as Liesl Peyper of *Fin24* reported on 6 April 2017 in her article, ‘Gigaba's 'suspicious' gifts from Guptas, Russian ambassador’, Mr Gigaba admitted to having received various gifts from the Guptas and that he visits them regularly. His defense is that it does not follow that he is unduly influenced by them.

Cotterill of *The Financial Times* quoted Darias Jonker, Africa Director at Eurasia Group in his article ‘Malusi Gigaba, South Africa’s Finance Minister’ on 7 April as saying that ‘Gigaba is very likely to remove the obstacles put in place by Gordhan against the Guptas’. ‘Zuma wanted full access to the National Treasury without Gordhan, the fiscal gatekeeper’, reiterated February on 10 April in her article, ‘South Africa pays the price of State Capture.’ This includes tender procedures for coal

procurement by Eskom, collaboration between Denel and a Gupta-aligned company and the unaffordable nuclear deal.

What then is President Zuma's strategy? I believe it can be summarised as self-enrichment. This self-enrichment occurs at the behest of the masterminds, the Gupta family. Pityana, convenor of the Save South Africa campaign, suggested (*Daily Maverick* 23 June 2017) that the Guptas are not the masterminds, but only the facilitators of an international 'mafia-style' crime network.

On 31 March 2017, Toyana of *Reuters* quoted the SACP's second Deputy President, Solly Mapaila, in his article, 'S.Africa's SACP warns of looting at Treasury after Zuma axes Finance Minister', where he expressed a view held by many across racial and political affiliations:

> *Quite clearly, South Africans need to take action against the possibility of the looting of the Treasury, which comrade Pravin Gordhan has done an excellent job (in preventing).*

On the same day, the morning after the Cabinet reshuffle, Madia of *News24* quoted Mr Mapaila in his article 'Gigaba will do Guptas' bidding – SACP,' again as saying:

> *The Guptas have almost, now with the removal of [Finance Minister] Pravin Gordhan, ensured that they have unfettered access to the resources at Treasury.*

The significance of Mr Mapaila's words lie therein that he speaks on behalf of one of the ANC's alliance partners. Dissent and a thickening of the State Capture narrative by one of the partners of the ANC, and the Communist party at that, carries more weight than the expected outcry from industrialists.

The 'State Capture' narrative, therefore, is in no doubt that the current regime does not have the interests of the vulnerable and poor at heart. Rather, all decisions are taken to serve an elite connected to President Zuma and one family, the Guptas.

What would the government's narrative be? How do they rationalise their decisions?

5.4 Radical Economic Transformation (RET)

5.4.1 Introduction

Lindsay Dentlinger, an *EWN* reporter, was present in Parliament at President Zuma's response to statements made by MPs during two days of debate, following his State of the Nation Address (Sona). She quoted the President on 16 February 2017 in her article, 'Government is unapologetic for its policy on Radical Economic Transformation', as saying that 'government was not going to apologise for its policy about radical economic transformation'. Rebecca Davis reported President Zuma in her article, 'When did the ANC's radical rhetoric on economy escalate' of 4 April 2017, as saying at the late Chris Hani's memorial service that 'We have decided to focus firmly on radical socio-economic transformation in the remaining term of this government...'

'Radical economic transformation has become the proxy policy battle between factions in the ANC vying for dominance in the run-up to the party's elective conference in December 2017', according to Marrian and Quintal of *The Business Day* on 20 April in their article, 'Time for radical economic change is now'. Motsohi in his *Business Day* article of 22 April 2017 'Zuma's administration is preoccupied with building a thriving patrimonial state', refers to this economic policy as a 'floating shift'.

5.4.2 Development

Let us trace the development of this phrase, which is one of two pillars that holds government's narrative.

The good part of the story of poverty alleviation and social justice starts at the post-apartheid Mandela administration. The late President Mandela's government inherited a legacy with abominable levels of 'radicalised structural poverty, income and wealth inequality, unemployment and a bankrupt state', according to Motsohi on 22 April in his *Business Live* article titled, 'Zuma's administration is preoccupied with building a thriving patrimonial state'. The post-apartheid democratic government responded to these challenges through a comprehensive set of social welfare grants and other benefits, such as rolling out free housing, access to electricity and water,

and many more efforts to address the problems. These are parts of the good story to tell in respect of poverty alleviation and social justice.

The ANC government introduced a number of growth strategies to deal with a failing economy that was burdened by all these demands. The first strategy was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RPD) in 1994. This was followed by Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) in 1996, the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative for SA (AsgiSA) of 2007; the Industrial Policy Action Plan of 2009, as revised; the New Growth Path of 2010; and the National Development Plan of 2012. Whereas the RDP of 1994 was designed to bring stability to the period of transition, GEAR and the ensuing strategies had a central theme. It was a market-led economic policy within the framework of fiscal discipline and macroeconomic stability.

The government did not have the administrative prowess to implement these policies effectively. The question should also be asked, whether the administration kept an eye on their mandate to create jobs for 22 million adults without matric or a formal education at secondary level. In 2010, this still seemed to be Mr Zuma's priority as he endorsed 'appropriate fiscal and monetary policy measures that are actively directed at promoting a larger number of jobs. These should be linked with measures to control inflation and improve efficiency across the economy, including through a more competitive and stable exchange rate', as quoted by Davis (DM 2017).

In 2012 at the ANC Mangaung conference, the ruling party resolved that 'the second phase in our transition from apartheid colonialism to a national democratic society will be characterised by more radical policies and decisive action to effect thorough-going socio-economic and continued democratic transformation', again Davis (DM 2017).

On Sunday 16 April, the Finance Minister's adviser Professor Chris Malikane of Wits wrote an article titled, 'Our chance to complete the revolution', published in the *Sunday Times,* where he made it clear that the nationalisation of the banks, insurance industry, mines and land will be essential to RET. The Minister reportedly reprimanded him. Yet, later that same week, Prof Malikane was photographed in the Finance Minister's company at the International Monetary Fund.

What had changed to make this term so pivotal in the ANC narrative? There are various theories. Some would say that the slow economic transformation begs some radical accelerated input. Others are of the opinion that the Economic Freedom Fighters of Mr Malema took the initiative in focusing on the economy. The ANC-led government is simply attempting to stay in touch with populist rhetoric. The President's insistence on Radical Economic Transformation is, in the opinion of Motsohi (*BD* 22 April 2017) either the result of the ANC's losses at the 2016 polls or due to an urge for self-preservation with the 2019 elections coming up.

An alternative theory would be that the President is trying to detract attention from the Gupta's ever-increasing presence in the economy, assuring his electorate that his intention is purely to empower them. There also is a suspicion that the Gupta's themselves are behind the RET (Radical Economic Transformation) narrative as it dovetails with their attack on financial institutions and the second pillar of the narrative, namely 'White Monopoly Capital'. What is clear, though, is that the Zuma administration was set on building a network for a patrimonial state. All power flows from the leader to the exclusion of the middle class. The result is visible in the failed SOEs and corruption.

5.4.3 Meaning

Interestingly enough, the meaning of RET is unclear. This does not preclude the President, the Finance Minister and even the Deputy President Ramaphosa from using it. Eusebius McKeiser, in his article 'It's radical economic gibberish' (*Daily Maverick*: 21 April 2017), stated his case clearly: 'It is a meaningless phrase intended to impress Mr Zuma's allies into propping him up one last time'. Mr Zuma is experiencing intense pressure from academics, his allies, the citizenry, investors and factions within his party, who believed he would democratise the economy. Fact is he has had almost a decade to do so, but was preoccupied with his own needs. McKeiser likened it to the last scene of a film that should have been cut 30 minutes ago. He holds that the intent of the narrative is more important than the content.

An article written by the Deputy President, 'Radical economic transformation should be about building a more equal society', published in the *Daily Maverick* of 19 April 2017, informed the question as to the content of the phrase.

He stated that fundamentally, RET is about inclusive growth and building a more equal society. One cannot find fault with such an outlook, in my opinion. The Deputy President continued to say that we will have to develop skills, redistribute more land quicker, and leverage industry to build manufacturing plants and create black industrialists. Without naming anyone specifically, he stated that there are people, who want to use this useful narrative to their own advantage. I fear, his call is too late.

In the words of Gavin Hartford (struggle strategist and key player in the Trade Union movement), in the *Daily Maverick* of 24 April, in his article 'This is how the ANC works, the unwritten methodology and practice':

> *The politics of the kleptocracy has traction. Their plan has meaning. It is called radical economic transformation (RET). It sings in the ears of the restless Black middle-class outsiders. It sings in the ears of the mid to senior state functionary and the SOE company officer in a tender committee, and the office of every councillor in every municipality. When you splice it up in anti-colonial and race hate talk, it rings loud in the experience of many millions of poor people, too.*

5.4.4 Preliminary understanding

The term RET could be useful, therefore, if implemented as Deputy President Ramaphosa suggested, namely, creating inclusive growth and a more equal society. Yet, the President and his people created a racialised context for RET with the marginalised majority of Black citizens on one side and the minority of White South Africans, who are fingered as the ones responsible for the mess, on the other side.

5.5 White Monopoly Capital (WMC)

5.5.1 Introduction

In his explanation of the narrative, the Deputy Minister wrote that the ownership of capital has to change hands. He does not elaborate on the point, but given the context of the debate, we know that he refers to the second pillar of the current ANC-led government's narrative; namely, White capital.

Professor Malikane (7 April 2017) introduced his article, ‘Concerning the Current Situation’ with his perspective on ‘White Monopoly Capital’. He said:

> *The cornerstone of the ownership and control of the state by White Monopoly Capital has always been the National Treasury, its associated agencies and the Reserve Bank. The leading officials and political principals have always been appointed by White monopoly capital.*

He continued: ‘As an African, I see White domination everywhere. It is dehumanising’.

I could contest a few unsubstantiated claims about White ownership of capital on the JSE, for instance, but in the main, for the sake of argument, I accept that the Professor feels dehumanised by White ownership and that White South Africans have had the economy serving them to the exclusion of other races for many decades. What concerns me is that nationalisation is presented as the answer to inclusive economic growth. How nationalisation will deliver growth, when the administration is unable to run Eskom, SAA and many other SOEs without major bailouts from tax payers, has not been answered. I am not an economist and will leave it at that.

5.5.2 Development

Again, like the narrative on RET, one wonders how this one started. For the purposes of this chapter, I would like to refer to a Public Relations company that had the Guptas as a client. The company, Bell Pottinger, very publicly severed ties with the Guptas after South Africans started targeting executive Victoria Geoghegan, who was reportedly responsible for the Gupta’s account. The campaign designed to take the focus off the Guptas and their State Capture reportedly coined the phrase ‘WMC’ or ‘White Monopoly Capital’.

In his article ‘Dodgy regime? Unruly protesters? Bell Pottinger can help’, in the *Guardian* of 9 December 2013, Beckett wrote that this PR firm has no ethical problem in taking on repressive regimes and other unsavoury characters, if the money is right. The *Citizen* published, what seemed to be the full report on Bell

Pottinger's relationship with the Guptas on 4 April 2017 as 'READ: Alleged full report of Bell Pottinger's Gupta PR plan'. Skiti and Shoba of the *Sunday Times* in their article, 'White Monopoly Capital', chose distraction in the PR strategy to clear Guptas' of 19 March 2017, pre-empted the release of the alleged report. They wrote a clear article after conducting interviews and securing documents, which revealed that an aggressive strategy to portray the Guptas as victims of White Monopoly Capital was orchestrated by Bell Pottinger.

It may well be then that WMC (White Monopoly Capital) is a catch phrase rehashed by an unscrupulous PR company to protect a predatory family as they devour a State's resources. Yet, as Patel in her article, 'Deconstructing 'White Monopoly Capital' in the *Mail and Guardian* of 27 January stated that not even AfriForum can reasonably argue that White South Africans had not had the best of the economy for the past 100 years. She stated that:

> *Monopoly capital in itself can be traced to the Marxist critique of capital that focuses on corporations controlling vast swaths of the economy.*

Again, as is the case in my opinion with RET, MWC is a phrase and now a narrative that does give us a handle on the current dilemma we are facing. It also refers directly to land access and ownership. The complexity lies therein that the narrative is driven by an executive that has apparently lost its sovereignty to State Capture.

Taking a step back to reflect on WMC: Whether the late President Mandela made decisions that inhibited economic transformation in order to protect White corporate capital or not, the fact is that 'White Monopoly Capital' has not lost much in the new dispensation. Has the time come at last for WMC to share their wealth with the marginalised? Is capital already owned by the Black elite? Who can we trust with this transformation? Is that what we are dealing with right now, or are we witnessing the looting of Treasury by a predatory Black elite?

In his article, 'SA is making a historic mistake' of 25 April 2017, Max du Preez quoted former Venezuelan Cabinet Minister and prominent Harvard economist as saying that creating 'White Monopoly Capital' as the scapegoat, is a fundamental lie and super counterproductive. Instead of talking about the business that can and should

be started, talk is about dividing the business and capital that exist. That is what Zimbabwe and Venezuela did in the 2000s. Today, those economies are on their knees.

5.6 Preliminary understanding

Postfoundational practical theology has served me well in exploring the current crises effecting land reform as investigated by journalists, academics and church leaders, allowing diverging voices to be heard.

What lies beyond ‘State Capture’, ‘Radical Economic Transformation’ and ‘White Monopoly Capital’? How does one remain engaged in transforming a society as a member of a group of people, who are being scapegoated for the failures of the ruling elite of a captured state? Neil Coleman put this question forward in his article, ‘Do we have to choose between a predatory [Black] elite and White Monopoly Capital?’ in *The Daily Maverick* of 21 April 2017. He described the emerging predatory elite (State Capture) as abusing its proximity to state power and threatening to turn democracy into a full-blown kleptocratic state. To him, White Monopoly Capital is the accumulation of wealth on the back of apartheid and colonialism. It extracts resources, exploits the economic vulnerability of the majority, diverts surplus out of the country, and is benefitting a small powerful elite.

He found that the emergence of the kleptocratic elite is the immediate crisis and must be stopped. Hereafter, the chosen medium-term strategy in disrupting and transforming parasitic or monopoly capital should be, according to Coleman, to invest heavily in the productive economy.

I support this view. It satisfies my desire to co-create an economy that is more equal, inclusive and not racialised. It focuses on growth and not ultimately simply dividing the current economy. Yet, this approach is under no illusion that State Capture is the immediate crisis that could subvert any effort at transforming the economy.

In fact, ‘State Capture’ will divert all ‘spoils’ to the predatory elite. Has the paradigm shifted from a state, where the middle class grows and job creation buoys a strengthening economy to a patrimonial state, where the governing elite diverts all

wealth to themselves? How does one come to the point then, where you share the land you work? This land is the very foundation of your income and the root of your sense of belonging.

This is, after all, the current context, which postfoundationalism takes to heart:

I am threatened by the Finance Minister's adviser in his aforesaid paper (2017:7), where he stated:

> ***'Isolate the enemies of the people, who are****:*
>
> ***White monopoly capitalists****; who own and control monopolies in mining, banking and other industries. They also own a disproportionate share of land.*

One of the points on his 'Way forward' is:

> ***Expropriation of all land without compensation*** *to the ownership of the state, and the state uses the rent collected to support expenditure for the well-being of the progressive forces, and for the use of the land in line with the new National Economic Plan.*

The State is captured by a predatory capitalist elite, having had all obstacles to the looting of the Treasury removed. Our recent history, as discussed, had proven that the poor are not a priority to either the President or his holders. 'This is what is meant by State Capture. A selfish accumulation agenda, which has nothing to do with national development' (Coleman 21 April 2017).

It seems as if one's natural response is to become defensive; to fall back on the default 'laager' mentality, limiting the numbers of the group entitled to *ubuntu.* I believe that this chapter showed how *ubuntu* and land are competing narratives in a context, where self-preservation has become a dominant narrative. Two questions remain then:

- What spirituality could enable me to implement *ubuntu* as principle of right action?
- What would *ubuntu* require of me, given the context?

CHAPTER 6: MINDFULNESS

> *Without the discerning capacity of our minds, there would be no knowing of any landscape, inner or outer.* Kabat-Zinn (2015b:1481)

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I intend to respond to the question I asked in Chapter 5: 'What spirituality could enable me to implement *ubuntu* as principle of right action?'

Bearing in mind that 'life is multistoried' as Müller stated in 2011 on p.4 in 'HIV and/or Aids, migrant labour and the experience of God: A practical theological postfoundationalist approach' and my practical theological model is postfoundational, I will direct my enquiry to 'an interpretation of religious practice that rises above the pitfalls that demands a reductionist choice between issues'.

As we have seen, my co-researcher understands *ubuntu* to be limited to a very specific intimate group or community of people. With the plot thickening through State Capture, Radical Economic Transformation and Monopoly White Capital, my neighbours and fellow agricultural land owners are drawing the lines of their group, making it smaller. I observe signs of *ubuntu* amongst them, but similar to my co-researcher, they decide, who is in the group and who is not. This *ubuntu* or as they would say 'brotherhood' excludes me on grounds, which I may regard as arbitrary, but to them are essential for their own survival. So, for instance, we have had five separate attacks on White land owners in the past month in our area. How do I not make a reductionist choice to join the group that offers the most protection and in the process sacrifice my relationship with Joba and his empowerment? How will my spirituality enable me to transcend these pitfalls in order to avoid a reductionist choice?

My understanding of spirituality is best defined by Schneiders (2005) as ‘conscious involvement in the project of life integration through self-transcendence toward the ultimate value one perceives’. I took this understanding of spirituality on board as it takes context and praxis seriously, allowing for a socially constructed engagement with individuals’ efforts to create meaning. As Müller (2011:3) suggested: ‘Instead of generalising, I am able to reflect on embodied people rather than abstract beliefs’.
This approach to spirituality is inclusive on all fronts. It does not limit itself to religion, but includes everyone, who is concerned about integration through self-transcendence as the aim is ‘the ultimate value one perceives’. Note that this ‘ultimate value’ is that which ‘one perceives’, not an authoritarian foundationalist approach. It leaves room for a postfoundationalist interpretation of ‘ultimate value’. ‘Integration’ again refers to taking all of one’s life into account, not only private self-development or salvation.

I chose mindfulness as spirituality for a few reasons:

1. It is the spirituality I practice.
2. It shows positive results in research in terms of transforming human consciousness and even the architecture of the brain.
3. It is inclusive as it enables and fosters one’s religion and/or other spiritualities of choice.

I will start out by illustrating how mindfulness as the current and most researched strategy for developing one’s mind is woven into my personal narrative. Hereafter, I will explore the definitions of mindfulness used in the West. Before concluding with my working definition of mindfulness, I will trace the relationship between mindfulness, compassion and *ubuntu* in my narrative.

The purpose for developing one’s mind in the argument of my thesis is to prepare, open and train one’s mind for *ubuntu* in dealing with the struggle for land reform. In previous chapters, I have elaborated on the need for land restitution and our inadequate endeavours at achieving it since democracy. I came to the preliminary understanding that *ubuntu* is ‘right action’. I proceeded to show in interdisciplinary

dialogue that this right action is almost out of reach in a context, where land owners are targeted to divert attention from a captured state's dereliction of its mandate. Clearly, one has to be both practical to come to an equitable distribution of land and call on one's best self to look beyond one's fears and short-term self-centred interests. The debate has to shift from 'what can I get from this', to 'how can I contribute to the long-term welfare and stability of rural people and an entire nation in terms of restitution, personal and communal growth, and food stability.

6.2 Subjectivity

Again, I have to place myself in this argument for mindfulness. Another writer may suggest prayer or land invasions as the given approach to grasp *ubuntu.*

Mindfulness runs like a silver thread through my conscious life as far back as memory serves me. As a child, I certainly did not have the vocabulary to name this awareness. I clearly recall the day, I went for a walk on the farm past the Bluegum tree forest. I must have been six years of age. There were doves on the forest floor and a light rustle of a breeze passing through the leaves. It was typically hot and dry. The forest, maybe I should call it a plantation, was and still is today a refuge from the sun. There was a moment, just one fleeting moment, where life right there and then managed to find its way past the rushing carriages of my train of thought. This experience of the immediacy and interconnectedness of life enveloped me; it stunned me. It was all so utterly beautiful. It was all but a fleeting moment, and my train of thought was rattling again. I wished I could show this to everyone I hold dear; I wanted life to be like this always. I took a few steps and promised myself to seek this quiet all-seeing-moment (I think that was my description of it) wherever I go, for the rest of my days.

I did not know how to re-create that moment authentically, much as I tried. Sometimes, I had to go slower, observing, standing aside, one step back, retreating. Other times, I sensed this clarifying unity, when fully immersed in action. I could not re-create these moments. I had to wait for them. As a teenager, I coined this state of mind 'the greater consciousness'.

At university, I met a Franciscan monk. Albert lived a life of poverty and simplicity in the streets. It seemed as if he had access to this holy space more readily than anyone I knew. I think his life inspired me to switch courses from Law to Theology. However, I did not find a handle on my flow of consciousness in theology either. The closest theology could bring me to understand these moments was reading the mystics: Their experiences of the *Unitive Way*; of returning to reason after a mystical moment without the ability to relate, what it was they had experienced, simply because reason cannot grasp the wonder.

Another moment that stands paramount in my memory was during an afternoon visit to Stellenbosch's informal settlement. The 1994 elections had just passed and I was visiting Mzwandile Ketse. We met as Peace monitors during the elections. I remember standing there on the hill, between corrugated iron and plastic shacks, hearing children's voices, noticing the blue sky, the sun on my face. My defences dropped and time itself invited me into a space, where there was no rushing, no movement. In a moment of stillness, I had that rare sense of immediacy and intimacy with all that is and was and − may I say − will be. When my faculties started rushing again, I had made the decision: I will build a house here with my friend, Mzwandile, and we will live here. It so happened. Those months in that informal settlement opened my heart as never before.

Later, after completion of my studies, I stayed with the monks of the Community of Jerusalem in Paris and Vezelay and the desert monks of the Coptic Church in Wadi Natrun Sahara. They showed me how we can train our minds to be still in expectation of these rare moments. I have found it very helpful to have more than the occasional chance access to the present moment. One can work at it through practicing mindfulness. I still treasure those lucid moments of 'greater consciousness', but do not seek them at all costs every time.

It has become important for me to follow my consciousness to compassion. In this vein, I started the #Flagit mindfulness group on www.insighttimer.com, which is at the time of writing, the biggest South African group on Insighttimer. Here, we meditate in solidarity for the turbulent changes South Africa experiences currently. The tagline is 'first consciousness, then the choice for compassion'.

It is not all work though. I participated in Afrikaburn 2016. This art festival has an ethos of gifting, which distinguishes it from other art and music festivals. Our camp, Artvark, assisted other campers in erecting their tents. This gift required many hours of work, a generator and pneumatic drill freely gifted. Other camps offered free hot showers, food, coffee or anything one can imagine. It was 10 days of *ubuntu* in action and mindfulness, not least when dancing. I clearly recall dancing during sunrise, elated and shoulder to shoulder with a hundred or more kindred spirits from all corners of the globe, immersed in the moment.

Finally, I decided to write this thesis in an effort to contribute to the debate on land reform from my perspective. I hope to show how mindfulness prepares me for the challenging shift of consciousness from being self-centred to being a person, who seeks ways to live *ubuntu*.

6.3 What is Mindfulness

6.3.1 Introduction

In the last 20 years, mindfulness has been receiving increased attention from the Western scientific community. Originally a Buddhist contemplative tradition, mindfulness is investigated, practised and taught as a way of dealing with physical and mental challenges. Yet, mindfulness is infinitely more than a technique to development one's mind in order to deal with everything life throws at us. It is a way of being that enriches our consciousness.

Before I embark on fully discussing mindfulness, I would like to give my reader a brief experience of mindfulness. After all, it is an experiential phenomenon: *Please shift your attention to your feet in your shoes – slowly move your awareness to your heels, the bridges of your feet, your toes. Can you feel each of your toes? What is the temperature in your shoes like?* There we go, you have just experienced an element of mindfulness.

In the late 1970s, Kabat-Zinn (1982:33-47) successfully created his Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction programme (MBSR). He designed this programme to assist

his patients in controlling and transcending chronic pain. Mindfulness has since been incorporated as an evidence-based strategy in various therapies such as Mindfulness-based narrative therapy; Mindfulness-based cognitive therapy and Dialectical Behavioural Therapy or DBT. The latter was devised by Dr MM Linehan, a psychiatrist and sufferer of Borderline Personality Disorder. People suffering of this most complex of personality disorders had, until then, no other option, but to rely on medication with varied, but generally poor results. This personality disorder was virtually untreatable, until psychiatry employed mindfulness.

These and other Mindfulness-Based Interventions (MBIs) have been proven to reduce stress levels in healthy subjects (Chiesa & Serretti 2009:593-600) and psychological symptoms of cancer patients (Shennan et al. 2011:681-697). The brain structure and architecture even seem to be enhanced to facilitate greater self-compassion and executive functions (Chiesa & Sennan 2011:441-453). Quantitative scientific methods and expectations have led to a myriad of testing scales and probes. We have, for instance, 10 mindfulness scales to indicate the level of mindfulness a subject has reached. A variety of headsets are also available on the open market, which meditators can use to evaluate the success of their endeavours. Western science has indeed operationalised mindfulness. Let us look at the operating definitions of mindfulness in the West and its synergy with the long tradition of Buddhist understanding.

6.3.2 Definitions

6.3.2.1 Mindfulness in Western psychology

The first specialised definition in the West was most likely that of Langer and Newman in 1979, as quoted by Grossman (2015:17):

> *(1) The ability to view both objects and situation from multiple perspectives;*
> *(2) The ability to shift perspectives, depending upon context.*

The seminal work of Jon Kabit-Zinn, *Full Catastrophe Living*, first published in 1990, forms the current cornerstone of Western psychology and even how Western Buddhist practice understands mindfulness.

In the introduction to the second edition, written in 2013 (accessed via Kindle with no page numbers), he reiterated his now standard definition of mindfulness:

> *The awareness that arises by paying attention on purpose, in the present moment, and non-judgementally*.

Mikulas (2015:398-399) stated that mindfulness is ultimately awareness and would go along with Kabat-Zinn's definition with one caveat. Mindfulness, he said, is '*the active maximising of the breadth and clarity of awareness*'. He warned that awareness is not concentration. Concentration is trained focus on one object, which calms the mind and may lead to awareness, which is observing the content of the mind. Awareness of the content of one's mind is pivotal to changing one's mind.

Ciesa (2013:257) brought the distinction between concentration and awareness to a head, when he placed meditation techniques on a continuum between two poles. The one pole is represented by practices that are concerned with the development of concentration, which involves focused attention on a given object such as sensation, an image or a mantra, while excluding potential sources of distractions. On the other hand, other meditation practices are mainly concerned with the development of an open monitoring of the whole sensory and cognitive/affective fields and include a meta-awareness or observation of the ongoing contents of thought.

Criticism on this linear model states that all meditation practices have the settling of concentration or attention on the breath as starting point. This keeps the mind from wandering and being distracted by narrative and ruminative suggestions. Only once this anchor is established, does the meditator allow broader consciousness to play a role. I will say more about the attitudes that establish a healthy practice later in this chapter.

Chiesa (2013:258) concluded that:

> *According to classical literature, mindfulness concerns a lucid awareness of what is occurring within the phenomenological field, and meditation plays a key role in the development of mindfulness. In particular, for the correct development of mindfulness, both concentrative and open monitoring skills should be developed with the main aim of keeping the mind anchored to*

present a moment's experience and perceiving an experience in its stark form free from one's own projections and misunderstandings.

A very important distinction here is that meditation fosters mindfulness. Mindfulness is therefore not limited to meditation, but rather refers to a state of consciousness developed by meditation.

Purser (2015:680) remarked that mindfulness has become synonymous with 'being in the present moment'. He criticised this notion and subsequently referred to Kabat-Zinn's teaching of mindfulness as therapeutic mindfulness. He conceded that therapeutic mindfulness cannot accommodate the bigger questions of suffering, but warned that this understanding is indeed very shallow. The two deeper layers of suffering that point to the temporality of all experience, including 'the present moment', fall by the wayside. Kabat-Zinn instructed his patients and popular culture to elevate the present moment as an absolute, adoring its beauty and accepting it as an all encompassing experience. This does assist people in dealing with chronic pain, anxiety and other such conditions, but Purser would like to see closer adherence to classic Buddhist teaching. He stated the 'the present moment' is a myth. Rather than paying attention to life as it is happening, he pointed to the imperative of asking 'what is happening?' Purser warned (2015:683) that Dahui and Dakuin of Japan castigated these methods for leading to 'meditation sickness', where meditators become attached to a dull stillness or blissful state with no concern for the suffering of the world and its deeper causes. Later, I deal with the question, whether mindfulness as practised in the West should not follow traditional Buddhism more closely, and I find it should not. Yet, I do have understanding for Purser's concern that a self-absorbed, insular mindfulness should perhaps be seen for what it is – a therapeutic intervention. This intervention may lead to a greater understanding and compassion for other's suffering, but not necessarily. This observation is of importance for my argument as I aim to create more than an intervention for ailments, but instead create a link between mindfulness and *ubuntu*. Ironically, I can foresee a day, when the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) will classify a mindset lacking in mindfulness and compassion as dysfunctional. Presently, this is not the case, though.

Kabat-Zinn ended off Chapter 1 (2013: accessed via Kindle), summarising the essence of mindfulness as ‘knowing what you are doing, while you are doing it’. He described this knowing as a non-conceptual knowing, as awareness itself. In Chapter 2, he continued to describe awareness as ‘paying attention to things as they are; not changing anything’.

Bishop et al. (2004:234) offered the following definition that elaborates on Kabat-Zinn’s by describing the quality of the awareness:

> *A process of regulating attention in order to bring a quality of non-elaborative awareness to current experience, and a quality of relating to one’s experience within an orientation of curiosity, experiential openness and acceptance.*

Can it then be said that mindfulness is a single trait quality, namely present-focused attention? Joseph Goldstein, featured in an interview with Fisher (2016), is one of the best known teachers of *Vipassana* meditation in the West. *Vipassana* means ‘to see things as they are’ and is regarded as the form of meditation, which was practised by the Buddha himself and the basis of all disciplines of meditation. It is also the predominant Buddhist meditation practice in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. In an interview as recent as August 2016, remarking on the inwardness of meditation, Goldstein pointed to a dialectical aspect of mindfulness, which is essential to my understanding and practice thereof. This understanding of mindfulness is a cornerstone to my argument that mindfulness prepares and practises our minds for ‘right action’ or *ubuntu*. Goldstein said that we do not often enough make the connection between our awareness of our own process, the difficulties we face in that and the developing of a compassionate and open attitude to others. On being asked, if he thought that mindfulness needed some fine-tuning, he affirmed that it did. He said that there are so many understandings of mindfulness and yet, the one aspect that seems to be lacking is a sense of ethics. Mindfulness is more than just a neutral awareness. Rather, it is a more precise awareness of the present moment without greed, delusion or aversion. According to Goldstein, mindfulness is therefore not just about being present, but also how we are present. Kabat-Zinn affirmed this

(2015a:133), when he said that even scaffolding requires a solid foundation and that the foundation of mindfulness is indeed ethics.

The question then arises, whether mindfulness can stand and be understood separately from other Buddhist teachings. In other words, if it is not just about a neutral awareness of the present moment, but also a specific way of paying attention as described above, should one not incorporate more teachings from the foundational understandings of Buddhism? Is not mindfulness intrinsically Buddhist?

One measure is to establish, whether contemporary westernised mindfulness alleviates suffering as traditional mindfulness sets out to do. This measure is problematic as it assumes that contemporary mindfulness and traditional Buddhist mindfulness have the alleviation of suffering in common. Monteiro et al. (2015:11) found that traditional mindfulness aims at 'understanding and uprooting the fundamental causes of suffering', while contemporary mindfulness aims for 'relief (if not always freedom) from symptoms and attitudes that result in distress'. Thus addressing, for example, anxiety as contemporary mindfulness interventions do, cannot be compared to a complex cosmological understanding of *karma,* where liberation of existential pain caused by creation, change or attachment is ritualised by traditional mindfulness practice.

Rather than measuring and comparing contemporary mindfulness to traditional mindfulness, I support the notion that mindfulness is universal and secular. Kabat-Zinn (2013: accessed via Kindle) emphasised this point. In other words, although mindfulness was developed within Buddhism, it is not dependent on Buddhism. Some practitioners of mindfulness-based interventions may want to stay true to Buddhist principles, but Buddhism does not own contemplative practices. Cullen (2011:109) stated that mindfulness gives 'access to insight and deep levels of mind *without* religion'. The line I will hold in this discussion of mindfulness is that contemporary secular mindfulness is at least a version of traditional mindfulness and possibly even a phenomenon that has grown to be completely independent of Buddhism.

Hartelius (2015:1272) strode ahead in this question, on whether mindfulness can be defined and practised independently from its Buddhist heritage. He made a

distinction between Neo-traditional mindfulness and Cognitive Behavioural mindfulness, which referred to most, if not all psychodynamic applications of mindfulness. To his mind, Neo-traditional (NT) mindfulness refers to mindfulness that may or may not be in relationship to its Buddhist heritage. He argued that both forms of mindfulness have similar qualities and benefits. The difference lies therein that these two forms refer to states of consciousness that are not alike. The NT mindfulness of Kabat-Zinn describes a state of consciousness, where everything is observed without being caught up in it. CB (cognitive behavioural) mindfulness does not refer to a different state of consciousness, which alters the context of experience, but rather a process with deliberate intentions like acceptance and committed action. I find this distinction helpful in as far as it relativises the importance of the immediacy of relationship with Buddhist heritage in terms of NT mindfulness. This sets us free to develop an operational definition for the purposes of this thesis that is not reliant on the approval of the Buddhist monastic tradition. On the other hand, Hartelius' distinction between NT and CB mindfulness does not convince me. Kabat-Zinn, for instance, always referred to the qualities or intentions that enable mindfulness as a state of consciousness. When Hartelius argued that only CB mindfulness emphasises these intentions, he disregarded its articulation in NT mindfulness. If CB and NT mindfulness do refer to two states of consciousness, it is not proven by this argument.

Criticism of contemporary mindfulness that I do take on board is that of Goldstein above and others like Thanissaro (2012:14-16). These critics of contemporary mindfulness argued that 'right mindfulness' in normative Buddhism is not just about attention, but also about doing what is right and compassionate; discerning between what is wholesome and what is not. If one argues that mindfulness can transform minds to become receptive to *ubuntu,* it is essential to include the ethical imperative of this contemplative practice, when defining it. By doing this, I allow for a dialectic relationship with the Buddhist heritage of mindfulness.

6.3.3 Attitudes and ethics

Two aspects of mindfulness mentioned on several occasions above beg exploration, before I can formulate a working definition of mindfulness – attitudes underlying mindfulness and the ethics of mindfulness.

6.3.3.1 Attitudes

I will start this discussion of the attitudinal foundations and commitments as described by Kabat-Zinn in Chapter 2 of *Full Catastrophe Living*, revised and published in 2013. I only had access to the Kindle version without page numbers.

Meditation does foster mindfulness − but not magically. The attitude with which one approaches and undertakes the practice of meditation will determine the outcome thereof.

6.3.3.1.1 Non-judging

‘Mindfulness is cultivated by paying close attention to your moment-to-moment experience, while, as best you can, not getting caught up in your ideas and opinions, likes and dislikes’ (Kabat-Zinn 2013: accessed via Kindle).

As we do this, it soon becomes clear that we are constantly judging thoughts, inner and external stimuli as good, bad or neutral. The problem with this automated judgement is that we cannot see the lenses, through which we look at reality in its many and varied dimensions. Our reactions to stimuli are prejudice driven, keeping us from seeing clearly and with insight, what it is we are responding to, or at least, taking a step back and becoming aware of our lenses or prejudices. Once one sees the lens, through which one perceives, mindfulness becomes a possibility. Kabat-Zinn compared this automated reaction to a yo-yo running up and down the string of our thoughts. It is tiring and senseless.

Mindfulness does not require that we stop judging. All one has to do is become aware of oneself judging; be an observer to your judging without judging the fact that you are judging. So, in meditation, one would realise that one is judging, observe it and one’s reactions thereto and return to focusing on one’s breath.

6.3.3.1.2 Patience

> '*Patience is a form of wisdom. It demonstrates that we understand and accept the fact that sometimes, things must unfold in their own time.'* (Kabat-Zinn 2013: accessed via Kindle).

Patience is an attitude that gives one space to grow and change moment by moment, all in good time. It opens one up to the moment, especially, if things are not going the way one wished they had gone. Instead of becoming agitated, rushing to the future or the past to change uncomfortable feelings, patience enables one to remain mindfully present.

Kabat-Zinn used the metaphor of a child forcing open a chrysalis. As adults, we know that patience will allow the butterfly to emerge, when the time is right. Similarly, moments open and the mind perceives independent of wishful or forceful techniques.

6.3.3.1.3 Beginner's mind

The present moment will remain invisible, until we see it as if for the first time. This is the 'beginner's mind'.

The 'beginner's mind' liberates one from expectations and preconceived ideas. It really is not as if one has lived this moment before; yet, feelings of inadequacy or expertise can dull one from experiencing the present moment as unique and singular. It follows that being mindful of the illusion of a recurring photocopied moment is the opposite of opening up a fresh understanding and response to life. The latter only becomes possible, when one realises to what extent one's thoughts veil reality. Again, I am not arguing that objectivity is possible or that one's thoughts are wholly distinguishable from perceived reality. Rather, I am suggesting with Kabat-Zinn that self-awareness and a reflective mindful stance enable one to have insight into one's contribution to and perception of reality.

6.3.3.1.4 Trust

In practicing meditation and mindfulness, one sets out to know oneself better and to become one's true self more fully. This self-knowledge is only possible, when one starts trusting oneself, venturing away from deep neurological paths of

defensiveness and judgement. The adventure of entering the unknown territory of the present moment is now possible.

6.3.3.1.5 Non-striving

Meditation has no goal. This is unusual as any action or non-action one is involved in, is goal driven. Meditation and mindfulness is simply a state of being aware of the present moment. One could construe that as a goal, but maybe only as a goal in itself. Another example is that I sit to sit; not to rest or demonstrate or resist. I just sit to sit.

As soon as one adds a goal to meditation practice or mindfulness, the underlying message is that the present moment is not good enough. This becomes clear in goals such as, 'I want to be mindful in order to be more relaxed, less anxious and a better human being'. Mindfulness practice holds that goal setting disregards the richness of the present moment; that one does not enter it fully and strains to arrive at the next moment. An attitude of non-striving, on the other hand, slows time down. It is easier now to inhabit the moment.

Paradoxically, Kabat-Zinn (2013: accessed via Kindle) stated that:

> *The best way to achieve your goals is to back off from striving for results and instead to start focusing carefully on seeing and accepting things as they are, moment by moment. With patience and regular practice, movement toward your goals will take place by itself. This movement becomes an unfolding that you are inviting to happen within you.*

6.3.3.1.6 Acceptance

'Acceptance means seeing things as they actually are in the present' (Kabat-Zinn 2013: accessed via Kindle).

If one does not accept 'things as they are', one uses energy to try and make it as one wants it to be. There is a time and a place for that, but only after one accepts that it is not as one wishes it to be, but rather that it is as it is.

In the same chapter, Kabat-Zinn said that an intentional cultivation of acceptance creates the preconditions for healing. It does not mean that one resigns to the *status*

quo. Rather, acceptance sets the stage for appropriate action that leads to change. The reason for this is that in accepting 'things as they are', one establishes a fair assessment instead of allowing prejudice, fear and anger to distort the picture.

Meditation and mindfulness require that one is receptive to whatever one senses in the moment. The narrative is one of 'things are like this' and not 'things should be like that'.

6.3.3.1.7 Letting go

Kabat-Zinn (2013: accessed via Kindle) related a story to illustrate the concept of 'letting go'. The story gives instructions on how to catch a monkey. Hunters will cut a hole in a coconut that is big enough for a monkey to put its hand through. Two holes are then drilled into the other end and a wire secures the coconut through the holes to a nearby tree. Lastly, the hunters would place a banana in the coconut. The monkey would arrive, see the banana inside and grab hold of it. It is impossible to pull his hand out of the hole with the banana inside his fist. If he lets go of the banana, he will be free. Most monkeys simply do not do this.

Mindfulness and meditation require one to let go of thoughts, which elevate certain experiences and thoughts. Similar to non-judgement, one tends to hold on to a variety of these thoughts, either because one finds the memory pleasant and wants to repeat it, or unpleasant and wants to avoid it. Clinging to thoughts, sensations and memories and ruminating about them, precludes one from being available to life as it happens moment by moment.

Another perspective on the foundations of mindfulness is given by Pepping et al. (2014:392). Pepping referred to the five facets used to conceptualise and measure mindfulness as found in the work of Baer et al. (2008:329-342). These are:

1. Observing – Noticing and attending to internal and external processes such as thoughts and sensations.
2. Describing these sensations.
3. Non-judging of these internal processes.
4. Acting with awareness refers to paying attention to the present moment.

5. Non-reactivity refers to allowing thoughts and emotions to enter and leave awareness without engaging with them.

These measures correlate with Kabat-Zinn's description and crystallise the foundational attitudes into measurables.

This brings the discussion on the attitudes conducive to mindfulness to an end. It does not take much of a stretch of the imagination to see how all of these foundational attitudes contribute to creating a mindset that can venture into 'right action' or *ubuntu*.

6.3.3.1.8 Commitment, self discipline and intentionality

To become mindful or 'regain consciousness' as it were, even with the best attitudes in place, is hard work. Commitment to the practice takes self-discipline and the intention to stay with the basics as set out above.

The results are measurable in some instances: Bibeau et al. (2016:259) referred to the study of Weng et al., where the latter examined the effect of compassion meditation training on the brain and behaviour of beginner meditators. The study found that after two weeks of 30 minute meditations, the neural patterns associated with altruistic behaviour and empathy were significantly activated.

Kang et al. (2015:1069) found that discussions changed students' attitudes towards themselves in terms of loving kindness. Yet, attitudes of loving kindness or compassion towards others needed meditation practice to change positively.

Bartels-Velthuis et al. (2016:809-818) developed a mindfulness-based compassionate living program or MBCL. Their definition of compassion does not distinguish between compassion and self-compassion: 'Self-compassion is the capacity to be sensitive to pain and suffering of ourselves and others, accompanied by the commitment to alleviate it' (2016:809). This definition is in accordance with the understanding that compassion follows on self-compassion and is as such inextricably linked. The participants were psychiatric outpatients and showed increased self-compassion correlating to increased mindfulness.

In a study to determine why mindfulness reduces stress, Taren et al. (2013) used MRI scans during an 8-week mindfulness course. What they found affirms the argument that mindfulness changes the brain's structure; some would say the brain's architecture. In discussing the study in *The Scientific American*, titled *What Does Mindfulness Meditation Do to Your Brain?* (2014), Ireland put it succinctly, when he stated that 'the brain's fight or flight centre, the *amygdala*, shrinks. This primal region of the brain is associated with emotion and fear, and triggers initial stress response. Second, the pre-frontal cortex, which is associated with higher brain functions such as integrating and regulating complex emotions, becomes thicker. Third, connections between the *amygdala* and other regions of the brain become weaker as connections between areas associated with attention and concentration become stronger. The brain's primal responses are therefore superseded, mitigated and regulated by more thoughtful processes. It is noteworthy that the meditators were not in meditation, when scanned, which suggests that the changes are long lasting, if not permanent.

6.3.3.2 Ethics

The West, and especially clinicians, neglect the ethical dimensions of mindfulness. The reason, in my opinion, is that mindfulness is applied as a 'self-help tool' or clinical intervention. Traditional Buddhism regards a delimited approach, where mindfulness is not linked to ethics, as questionable. In my experience and current argument, awareness is indeed lacking without a compassionate intent. Grossman (2015:17) wrote that:

> *Mindfulness, within the broader, contextualised Buddhist framework, also constitutes an embodied ethical act, process and practice.*

In this regard, Greenberg and Mitra (2015:74) would like to see a clear distinction made between mindfulness and right mindfulness. The latter is the classical Buddhist description of mindfulness practised in the 'correct traditional way' with a clear intent on alleviating suffering for all. At the very least, they would like to see an ethical framework for mindfulness as they shared Monteiro's (2015) concern that mindfulness used in combat, for example, is a result of an ethical void surrounding mindfulness in the West.

The ethics of mindfulness are qualities of mind and heart such as ‘non-harming, generosity, gratitude, forbearance, forgiveness, kindness, compassion, empathic joy and equanimity’ (Kabat-Zinn 2013: accessed via Kindle). These qualities flow from the seven attitudinal foundations as described by the same author. I will discuss the quality of compassion as it forms an essential link in my working definition of mindfulness within the context of the argument that mindfulness can prepare a mind on *ubuntu*.

6.3.4 Compassion

6.3.4.1 Empathy and compassion

Generally, empathy refers to a cognitive understanding of another person’s situation or an emotive feeling, as if one is in the shoes of the other person. Some definitions require both affective and cognitive aspects. An example here is Decety and Jackson as referred to by Bibeau et al. (2016: 256). The former presented empathy as:

> *An inductive process, resulting from the interaction of two elements: Mirror neurons activation, allowing an internal representation of the other person’s affect in the form of a feeling or felt sense, and cognitive processes, allowing perspective-taking, self-consciousness, and emotional regulation.*

The one aspect in definitions of empathy that distinguishes it from compassion is the desire to act on this cognitive or emotive recognition. Both empathy and compassion require awareness, but only compassion seems to flow to action, or at least the need to alleviate the suffering. On the same page, Bibeau et al. (2016: 256) pointed to the definition of Gilbert:

> *...compassion involves being open to the suffering of self and others, in a non-defensive and nonjudgmental way. Compassion also involves a desire to relieve suffering.*

6.3.4.2 Compassion as second step

Mindfulness training or meditation enables one to take an active role in one's mental development. What we have seen so far is that mindfulness is the practice of paying attention. Yet, this neutral stance is just the first step. Very few experienced mindfulness practitioners and teachers stop there. The next step is the question, where we direct our mindfulness, once our awareness becomes focused. This is not saying there is a goal to mindfulness, but rather filling or directing one's awareness with intention. Thupten Jingpa, the official translator of the Dalai Lama, published *A fearless heart: How the courage to be compassionate can transform our lives* in 2015. He recently started offering a course at Stanford, named Compassion Cultivation Training. In this book, he dealt with compassion, which some would say is the second generation mindfulness-based interventions movement. In his interview with Shonin et al. (2016:280), he referred to this second step as an organic process of deepening experience. Referring back to my earlier discussion of mindfulness being in a dialectical relationship to Buddhism, where Buddhism does not own the term or practice, Jingpa was in agreement. Yet, he was critical of approaches, where mindfulness is secularised and also claimed to be the essence of Buddhist teaching. I will steer clear of this confusion by emphasising that mindfulness and the second step of compassion as explored by myself are not Buddhism in its entirety, even though I draw from its rich traditions. Rather than stripping Buddhism down to mindfulness, claiming that I have distilled the essence of a tradition, I want to illustrate that mindfulness is more than a technique appropriated by Western psychotherapy. The second step of compassion embroiders a deep reaching re-alignment and development of one's mental landscape.

6.4 Preliminary understanding

Staying true to my chosen methodologies of narrative enquiry from an ethnographical point of view and post-foundationalism, I will not endeavour to prove how mindfulness and compassion lead to *ubuntu* for all; rather, I will indicate through my narrative how it brought me to *ubuntu* and land reform in my context.

Earlier in the chapter, I declared my subjective journey with mindfulness. There, I accompanied my reader through my journey of consciousness. I started with a personal and self-referencing realisation and ended, where I am maturing into a place of compassion. Allow me to return to my narrative to elucidate the link between mindfulness, compassion and *ubuntu*.

My decision to build an informal house or shack in Kayamandi, Stellenbosch's township, and live there with Mzwandile, was a shift from apathy to compassion and the threshold of *ubuntu*. That moment of mindfulness, standing on that hill in Zone O as that section is named, changed my life. I was paying attention to the moment, briefly escaping my analysing and calculating mind, and I grasped that our worlds were inextricably intertwined. How could I then return to my insular student townhouse in the affluent centre of town? Why would I do it, if not driven by fear? My pre-frontal cortex made the decision as my *amygdala* was slumbering, to put it in neuro-biological language. The breakthrough was tangible. I felt, as if I was released from chains. I lived in Africa, in the New South Africa, celebrating our new-found freedom almost daily. There were many days and nights overshadowed by poverty. I witnessed violence and entire blocks of houses burning down as a result of one carelessly handled candle. There were many heartbreaking stories and also countless beautiful ones. Like the day, Buysile, our neighbour, and I walked with fingers interlinked as is the tradition amongst men, when you are friends. We walked from Kayamandi to Devon Valley Hotel, crossing vineyards, chatting and laughing all the way. The people of that township put me in a furnace of transformation by simply being human in a vulnerable, yet strong way.

I completed my B.Divinitas at UWC in that year and started my first job. I worked as co-ordinator to A Religious Response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, founded by Archbishop Tutu. The Healing of Memories workshop under Fr Michael Lapsley was one of our projects. We assisted people in accessing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. We witnessed lots of trauma and some healing.

These examples sketch a picture of the extent, to which my middle-class suburban life was diverted by compassion. I trained as a spiritual director in Wales and sought as much exposure to mindfulness and meditation practices as possible.

I continued practising mindfulness and compassion. Were my days with the people of Kayamandi my first experience of *ubuntu?* Definitely yes, but not my last. My relationship with Joba again took me past my barriers of a clearly defined and closed identity. Mindfulness and compassion, I found, is the spirituality that enables me to allow the transforming work of *ubuntu* on our farm. Given the context, where all our neighbours are church-attending farmers and my background as a theologian, one would have thought that Christianity would be my spirituality of choice. Regrettably, in all my searching, I have not heard a sermon in the Dutch Reformed Church of the North West Province that addresses the issue of land reformation in any way. The congregants are indeed battered from all sides, yet the church's choice is to leave that talk for the 'braaivleis vuur'. No leadership or comfort is given other than generalised 'the Lord will not forsake' us themes. I would like to hear talk of 'right action', of compassion for labourers, who are as forsaken by history and leadership as the farmers are. Instead, those subjects are never touched upon. Elders and church councils ensure that ministers are elected, who 'sing from the same hymn book'. The theology practised is one of a dualistic understanding of the church's mission, namely care for the souls of Christians and then separately from that, one cares for the other, the poor. The two shall never meet.

Postfoundationalism as methodology, and mindfulness and compassion have enabled me to look at the question of land access and ownership. Joba has become a person to me and not a mere labourer, who wants what I have. Our working relationship and shared love of the land took hold of my fibre, wanting to deconstruct my identity and transform me into a consciously connected and interdependent human being 'doing the right thing'. Is that *ubuntu*? I believe so. Will I have come this close to another person's desires for himself and his people without mindfulness and compassion? I do not think so. At best, I suspect, I would have done charity at arm's length. In my experience, mindfulness and compassion brought me to the threshold of *ubuntu.* At this stage, I can affirm the words of Mikulas (2011:7), when he declared that mindfulness can reduce suffering, even increase happiness; yet, it '*is part of a broader, more interconnected transpersonal awakening'.*

Finally, I will attempt to formulate my working definition of mindfulness. After exploring the current definitions of mindfulness and relating the transformative

agency of the practice in my life, I would describe mindfulness as *an awareness created by paying attention to the present moment, without judgment, with a compassionate intent.*

This spirituality of mindfulness, I find, enables me to integrate the challenges of a thickened plot as described in the previous chapter with the imperative of *ubuntu* as right action. It allows me to transcend my limitations of self-interest and defensiveness toward the ultimate value I perceive in this context, which is human dignity for Joba and me.

I suggest that living mindfully can develop other land owners' consciousness to create practical ways of giving their landless co-workers access to land and secure tenure. In the next chapter, my enquiry will explore more interdisciplinary conversations in order to investigate how our model can find wider application.

CHAPTER 7: THIS LAND IS YOUR LAND

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will report back on my research into Műller's (2005: 82) 7th step: 'The development of alternative interpretations that point beyond the local community.'

The background to this step deserves some explaining. Műller (2005:74) mentioned that practical theology as enlightened by the postfoundationalist ideas of Shrag and Van Huyssteen, 'should be developed out of a very specific and concrete moment of praxis'. Postfoundationalist practical theology does not only include the local context, but is an understanding that 'can only develop within and from the local context'. This understanding of practical theology is an important departure from theology, where the hermeneutical circle only includes or considers the context. As mentioned previously in this thesis, the result of the latter is a theology that never integrates the context in a transformative way. 'Love for thy neighbour' is preached in a generalising way, as Műller explained about *REC Focus. Commission for Human Relations. HIV and AIDS* on page 76. The narrative approach ensures the move from theory to praxis and back to theory again, demonstrating that knowledge is socially constructed.

Once the paramount importance of local wisdom as point of departure is understood, and the fact that the intellectual work of the theologian is contextualised, one can move through the remaining steps of Műller's understanding of practical theology and arrive at the 7th step. This 7th and last step, the development of alternative interpretations that point beyond the local community, is Műller's interpretation of Van Huyssteen's words (1997:4):

> *A postfoundationalist notion of rationality in theological reflection claims to point creatively beyond the confines of the local community, group or culture towards a plausible form of interdisciplinary conversation.*

Let us proceed then to investigate narratives similar to Joba's and mine that function beyond our reach.

7.2 Joint Ventures

Our narrative on Strydpoort can be interpreted as a share scheme. There are many farm share schemes operative in South Africa. Share schemes are a particular kind of joint venture.

'Joint ventures (JVs) are an increasingly common feature of the process of land and agrarian reform in South Africa', according to David Mayson (2003). Joint ventures typically involve Black people, who will be receiving a government subsidy and White commercial farmers, corporate or sectors of government, who engage in joint agricultural production and other agrarian activities. These joint ventures generally empower land reform beneficiaries by giving access to land and capital, and securing the expertise of White commercial farmers.

> *The prevalence of JVs in South Africa is a result of the state's market-assisted approach to land reform, a model championed by the World Bank. Under this approach, government provides grants to landless people, who have to buy land in the normal land market (*Mayson 2003:1).

Mayson listed five types of joint ventures on page 3:

1. *Contract or outgrower schemes.*
2. *Share-equity schemes.*
3. *Municipal commonage schemes.*
4. *Share-produce or sharecropping schemes.*
5. *Company-supported schemes*.

7.2.1 Farm Equity Share Schemes (FESS).

Estimates are that there are just over a hundred registered Farm Equity Share Schemes in operation. I could not establish the amount of unregistered and informal

share schemes. Share schemes are, therefore, a known and plausible strategy in serving the purpose of deracialising the rural land economy by restoring ownership to farm workers. Also known as Farmworker Equity Sharing Schemes (FWES) (Knight et al. 2004:19), these schemes were started in the early 1990s, when it was seen as the least disruptive strategy of land redistribution: Changing the ownership structure rather than dividing the land into uneconomical parts. In fact, government funded these schemes, whereby the state bought shares of farming enterprises on behalf of farm labour, or financed labour to purchase shares. These schemes are officially referred to as Farm Equity Share Schemes. The White Paper on South African Land Policy describes equity schemes as 'A partnership with the private sector, which represents a well-balanced mix of farming systems, flourishing agricultural sector and secure tenure for all stakeholders'. The Policy Framework for the Recapitalisation and Development Program of Rural Development and Land Reform (2011) noted the key elements of these equity schemes on page 9:

- *Financing models based on the shareholding components;*
- *Secure land tenure, especially ownership and leasing agreements;*
- *Management development;*
- *Beneficiation; and*
- *Off-take agreements and market development.*

The benefits of these schemes were obvious as farm labour received land via their shares; they enjoyed greater income and skills transfer continued uninterrupted. Regrettably, due to mismanagement and opportunism, these schemes are open to abuse. Some shareholders received negligibly small shares, which only embedded the land owners' position. Desperate and less than honest land owners would, for instance, be in need of a capital injection, which the commercial banks or Land Bank may not want to grant. A share scheme could then be the easiest accessible and cheapest vehicle to receive funds from government. In return, the land owner would issue shares that did not threaten his control, made no substantial difference to land tenure, income security and the de-racialisation of the rural economy. One such a case in point reported by Greenberg (2009) was the Levubu cluster of farms in the Soutpansberg area of the Limpopo Province. Here, land ownership and production

was separated as is usual in share schemes. The end of this scheme was the farmer's bankruptcy, losing all the funds he managed on behalf of the workers, transferred by government. Mayson (2003:12) reported that an unnamed Deputy Director of the Department of Land Affairs estimated that only 5% of share schemes are initiated by farmers, who are committed to transformation and thus motivated by concerns beyond purely economical ones. The vast majority of schemes in this official's opinion are designed to re-capitalise an ailing agricultural enterprise on the back of transformation.

The other side of the story, which seems to be overlooked by government and some critics of the equity share schemes is that:

> *Problems arise because equity often accounts for a small share of the capital invested by these empowerment projects, and investments tend to be in long-term crops with high establishment costs and low initial returns. When compounded by adverse market conditions, large losses made during the early years reduce equity to near-zero or even negative levels* (Gray, Lyne, & Ferrer 2004:11).

As a result, the state placed a moratorium on this initiative in 2009. It was lifted in 2011 by Mr Nkwinti, the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform. Yet, these Farm Equity Share Schemes have been neglected ever since.

Mayson suggested a helpful list of criteria to assess Farm Equity Share Schemes. Does the scheme:

- *Provide independent land tenure security?*
- *Provide independent access to capital?*
- *Develop the business acumen and management capacity of participants?*
- *Provide immediate benefits to participants?*
- *Promote gender equality by ensuring women derive independent benefits?*

- *Change power relations between the parties, and particularly, whether there is a relationship between the level of organisation among participants and the power relations that result?*

Finally, the types of JVs are assessed in relation to the aims of the state's land reform programme, namely, whether they deal effectively with:

- *The injustices of racially-based land dispossession of the past;*
- *The need for a more equitable distribution of land ownership;*
- *The need for land reform to reduce poverty and contribute to economic growth;*
- *Security of tenure for all (DLA 1997:7).*

Mayson (2003:16) concluded that indeed, share equity schemes were the best investment a farm worker could make, if they received a grant. Yet, this is also the model most vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. The reason for this is that once government has invested the money, no subsequent monitoring occurs. The result is that very few, if any, of the above criteria are met as farm workers recede into disempowered relationships with their dominant partners, the land owners.

In my interview with Johann Magerman (See Appendix), struggle stalwart and community leader, it became clear that he utilises a tradition of interpretation that is suspicious of share schemes. He wrote:

> *All actions initiated by previously advantaged people (read White land owners) are viewed with extreme suspicion by under privileged people. Their motives are questioned as it is seemingly being driven by guilt, self-preservation or a combination of the two. If, in Herman's case, the issue is about transferring real economic power into the hands of his landless brother, the question will always be, what is in it for Herman?*

Ubuntu, I would argue, makes the difference between a share scheme that is designed to serve selfish economical purposes of self-preservation at the cost of

human dignity and a share scheme, where equity serves equality and harmony without causing harm. I endeavour to articulate this in my response to Johann's question above, 'What is in it for Herman?'

> *The right thing to do or 'right action' is to share Strydpoort and other required resources with Joba to enable him to become an independent and successful farmer. Is not the 'right thing' to share all our resources? Doing the 'right thing' brings its own reward. It brings congruence to my life, some integrity and a sense of well-being. I wrote this thesis to explore what the 'right thing' might be. I can foresee that one logical outcome may be my transferring the farm into Joba's name and in this lies another shadow. I can afford to do this. I have had the opportunity to develop other skills to fend for my family. Most farmers I know will be without a job, without an income, if they lose their land and with that their life's savings. They cannot sign their farms over to a trusted friend and colleague as I can. In that sense, I can share the farm because I have other resources, which I depend on to make a living and those resources I am less willing to sign over.*

Taking the vulnerabilities of share schemes into account, but also the positive attributes of sharing resources with disenfranchised co-workers, it seems that the model is alive and well, finding wider application outside our narrative on Strydpoort. It is also clear that *ubuntu* is an appropriate approach to create narratives that have a wider intent than financial gain for the land owner. *Ubuntu* is a definite signpost in this regard, when interpreted as my co-researcher Joba does – taking the front door off the hinges.

In evaluating our share scheme on Strydpoort, we seem to be meeting all of Mayson's criteria except his security of tenure and actual equity in the land. We have decided to formalise Joba's tenure and sign a lease agreement to be included in the Appendix of this thesis.

The share scheme may be the first step in greater sharing, where a land owner like me finds and creates ways of trust that enables one to transcend one's fears. Whether a share scheme is the final culmination of a working agreement between a land owner and the co-workers or a doorway to more, I propose it as a narrative

worth considering in the debate on land reform. In the next section of this chapter, I will report on a share scheme that has developed more than expected - a museum and music festivals.

7.2.1.1 Solms

The story of Solms-Delta is similar to ours; yet, with substantial differences as a pointer to the wider application of our narrative.

On 9 September 2016, Professor Mark Solms delivered a talk at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, which I attended. At this forum, he related the story of his farm and the share scheme he developed there with his co-workers.

Professor Solms was born in Lűderitz, Namibia. He holds the chair of Neuropsychology at the University of Cape Town and Groote Schuur Hospital.

In 2001, on his return to his ancestral land, the Solms-Delta farm in the Franschhoek Valley, he found a complex situation existed. He had seven families working and staying on his neglected farm. Many of these people had been working this land for six generations − like his ancestors had. With the best intentions in mind, he wanted to transform his relationship with these families from an authoritarian model to one of partnership. To his frustration, it was not all that easy. The labour force did not trust him. Through centuries, a certain modus operandi had taken root. The farmowner would be as strict and authoritarian as possible and the labourers would fulfil the role of serfs, completing the feudal model.

To change this feudal model, Professor Solms decided to draw from his experience as a clinician. He asked the questions to determine, when the ailment set in, and what it was. The Professor's approach is an interesting combination of qualitative and quantitative research. He would, for instance, refer to a diagnosis of the problem, but also call on the expertise of historians and archaeologists to assist him and his co-workers in telling the story of Solms-Delta. Today, the wine estate has two museums, which 'prove' (Professor's word) the story of the farm: *Museum van de Caab* and *Music van de Caab*.

Professor Solms is an equal partner with his co-workers. It was indeed a long road of recovery with many setbacks. He admits to having been over-enthusiastic and

impatient at times and at other times, he had excuses for not wanting to engage in the process of transformation. Understandably, he returned from abroad with his family to build his children's future, which entailed empowering them as the 7th generation of custodians. His plan was not to hand over their inheritance. What does his share scheme entail then?

The Solms-Delta website (https://www.solms-delta.co.za/our-story/) summarises the growth of the partnership:

> *In 2007, the workers and residents of Solms-Delta acquired a 33.3% interest in the business of Solms-Delta, which interest was, with the support of the National Empowerment Fund and the national department of Rural Development and Land Reform, increased in 2016 to 45%. Solms-Delta continues to pioneer change in the agricultural sector, and now is one of the farms, spearheading national government's 50/50 Strengthening the Relative Rights of Workers program.*

The Delta Trust also serves the developmental interests of the wider Franschhoek community. Cook (2014) quoted Solms as saying: '*The Delta Trust facilitates and supports local efforts of this kind and in this way, contributes to nation-building. It is active in the areas of sports, education, culture, heritage and social upliftment'*. In 2010, Solms and Astor received the Inyathelo Award for Community Philanthropy in recognition of the equity and profit-sharing initiative, which improved the quality of life of their farmworkers.

Professor Solms expressed his methodology in three stages:

1. Face the facts.
2. The situation is untenable and change is imperative.
3. Think small.

Professor Solms' model differs from ours in two ways:

1. With the assistance of his neighbour, the social entrepreneur and philanthropist Richard Castor, they bought a third neighbouring farm (Deltameer) and established the *Wijn de Caab Trust*. This trust benefits their

200 co-workers in as much as the workers have a 33-45% share of the land, equal to that of Solms and Castor. This model has its benefits as Professor Solms and Mr Castor remain owners on their land; yet, they are equal partners with their co-workers due to the increase in land. The strongest point in favour of this model, though, is that their co-workers now own land. Criticism against such a model would be that the workers do not have title deeds of property they own. Rather, they are shareholders, where 200 people plus the two benefactors own the land via a trust. Furthermore, Professor Solms did not return his co-workers' land, but was in the privileged position to purchase more land and share that with them. Solms and Castor as individuals have virtually equal shares to 200 people. Joba and I are not in a position to buy a second farm.

2. Second, the *De Caab Trust* was established with the assistance of government funding. On Strydpoort, Joba and I have thus far preferred to steer clear of funding and rather to develop a smaller, organically grown model, which to our minds will be more sustainable. According to our narrative, our profits enable our acquiring more livestock and hopefully before long more land.

We also have much in common with Professor Solms. Even though he is a wine farmer in the Boland, far from us in the North West Province, he too felt that he had to face the facts and that change was imperative. He tended to concentrate on relationships as first priority and slowly won the trust of his co-workers as he was grappling with his own preconceived ideas of transformative action. This model is not perfect as can be seen above. Yet, it shows restorative effort and to my mind, does qualify as 'right action'.

Professor Solms did not consciously use *ubuntu* as his guiding principle, but his actions do follow the prescribes of my and Joba's understanding of *ubuntu*. Interestingly enough, the Professor's point of departure seems to be very similar to mine. He said as recorded by GIBS Business School (2016) and published on Youtube.com, *'If you face the facts, you get your mind back; you can then find solutions*'. This sounds very much like the mindfulness I employ to focus on the right

action of *ubuntu*. As an internationally renowned psychoanalyst, he decided that he had to face the horrors of the past in order to move forward.

The Solms-Delta model is, therefore, an example of a share scheme that has much in common with ours. Like us, Professor Solms took the initiative to face the facts, change the relationship by working on trust and started restoring equality and harmony. He kept his model relatively small, working with local wisdom and local narratives. The Solms-Delta project is a resounding success. I hold that it serves as an alternative interpretation to the current discourse on land reformation, which centres on the failures of the current market-related model. It is also an alternative interpretation of a share scheme to ours as it entails the acquisition of another farm and the establishment of a trust, where three farms are farmed jointly.

7.2.1.2 Understanding

De Kock (see Appendix), agricultural economist and chartered account, made a telling contribution in his conversation with me. He stated that the perspectives on land and *ubuntu* alike differ between the Black and White sectors of South African society. This confirms, what earlier research in this study showed: 'The perception exists that under privileged groups have a stronger focus on the political aspects of land reform, while most economically empowered groups focus more on the economical challenges of land reform'. When it comes to *Ubuntu,* he remarked that 'the healthier the group is, the better quality of life would be. The concept of ubuntu was developed by indigenous African societies and is not a concept that is easily translated or understood by Western societies'. He concluded his ideas about *ubuntu* by noticing that the diverse groups' interests make consensus difficult:

> *It seems that the difficulty to reach a mutual understanding lies in the different focus points from the role players involved. It could be argued that the inability of key role players in the land reform debate to internalise the philosophy of ubuntu is making a consensus among role players very difficult.*

De Kock claimed that what makes one group strong may make another group weak. In other words, land reform may benefit under privileged groups, whilst weakening economically developed groups. This seemingly places *ubuntu* at odds with land reform. De Kock referred to two factors that could create 'mutual understanding':

Value and discussion. He remarked that the parties should seek to understand, which arrangements would create value for all concerned. Discussion or dialogue is crucial to this value creating narrative.

I submit that share schemes are uniquely positioned to foster dialogue. From the inception to everyday production, the parties have to talk to each other to ensure that the desired value outcome is created. These dialogues may be tough, but the reward lies in mutual empowerment and understanding. Both Strydpoort and Solms serve as examples.

Share models can therefore be successful beyond the local community of Strydpoort.

7.3 A Manifestation of the 7th Step

How are the successes of joint ventures and share schemes a manifestation of the 7th step? A satisfying response to this question comes from the words of Műller (2004:304):

> *Allow all the different stories of the research to develop into a new story of understanding that point beyond the local community, not in an effort to generalise, but to deconstruct negative discourses*.

Let us look at the elements of this statement.

7.3.1 Negative discourses

Does a successful joint venture, a share scheme that creates harmony and restores human dignity by keeping a steady focus on relationships, serve as a deconstruction of negative discourses? I would argue, completely so. In *Daniels v. Scribante and Another*, the Constitutional Court held that an indispensable pivot to the right to security of tenure is the right to human dignity. ‘There can be no true security of tenure under conditions devoid of human dignity’, quoted by Professor Pierre De Vos on 18 May 2017.

7.3.2 New story

Am I presenting a new story in this 7th-step? As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the narrative of our working relationship on Strydpoort can be categorised as a joint venture and, more specifically, as a share scheme or farmworkers share scheme. We cannot claim to be unique. This narrative has been legislated, tried and tested with some success and many failures. I used the example of Solms-Delta to point to a scheme that is bigger and more illustrious than ours. Professor Solms is in the Cape Winelands, welcoming many tourists to his project. People taste wine, listen to music produced by the farmworkers and study the origins of Solms-Delta's people in their museum. It is a showcase of land reform. Still, our Strydpoort narrative is new to us as South Africans and locally, as North West farmers.

Essentially, the new story grows from the shared valued created between the parties.

7.3.3 A plausible interdisciplinary conversation

At the outset, I referred to the 7-steps being Műller's interpretation of Van Huyssteen's view on postfoundationalism and practical theology. The significance of the 7th step lies, to my mind, in the second half of the quote of Van Huyssteen's (1997:4) words: '...beyond the confines of the local community, group or culture towards a plausible form of interdisciplinary conversation'.

7.3.4 Transversality and the 7th step

Van Huyssteen (1999:135) utilised the mathematical term of transversality seen in the work of Schrag (1992), which referred to the point of intersection between one line and other lines or systems of lines. Van Huyssteen regarded transversality as a link between dimensions. On page 136, Van Huyssteen remarked that transversality is essential to postfoundationalism as it reveals the shared resources of human rationality. Van Huyssteen's rationale for creating the postfoundational epistemology was his desire to set theology on an equal footing as legitimate conversation partner with other scientific disciplines. His view was that theology and other sciences share the same strategies to interpret realities. He spoke of an 'epistemological levelling' (Van Huyssteen1997:271), which merges the horizon between science and other disciplines. Interdisciplinary conversation in a transversal space between theology

and other disciplines is the culmination of Van Huyssteen's view. This lies at the heart of the 7th step.

7.3.5 Significance for the Strydpoort share scheme

Had it not been for Van Huyssteen's postfoundational view of practical theology and Műller's interpretation thereof into the 7 steps, I would not have been able to co-create and describe a transformative narrative. I would have been locked into a theological discourse on land reform. I would have been allowed to point at other disciplines like far-off constellations, but equal and close-up engagement would not have been allowed from the epistemology of practical theology. In the final instance, I would not have been able to converse as an equal, using a narrative of transformation that would involve other scientific disciplines such as agriculture and political science.

7.4 Preliminary understanding

The share scheme model for access to agricultural land I have developed in this thesis has been enabled by my understanding of *ubuntu* as 'right action' to bring equality and with that harmony without harm. This understanding of *ubuntu* is limited to communities of trust. My co-researcher made it clear that *ubuntu* requires of us to take our front doors off the hinges and that this is only viable in a relationship of trust. The foreigner or seasonal worker will therefore remain excluded from our understanding and practice of *ubuntu* until a relationship of trust is established.

Second, I suggest mindfulness as an exercise to prepare the mind on the daunting demands of *ubuntu.* Mindfulness fosters awareness and may be practised simply as an exercise, as spirituality or as a preparation of consciousness on a religion of choice.

These two gateways to land reform enable my co-researcher and me to transform our relationship with each other and the land. It may assist other agriculturists in our position to create similar narratives that suit their contexts better. It is a fact, as I have reported in this chapter, that we are we not the only ones engaged in a process

of sharing resources in order to redress the land ownership and access imbalances of the past.

In the final instance, our shared value narratives would ideally resound the refrain ‘this land is your land, this land is my land’. These words are the lyrics to one of the United States of America’s most famous folk songs, ‘This land is your land,’ written by the American folk singer, Woody Guthrie in 1940. As with most folk songs, words and verses change, depending on the performer of the song. The Wikipedia article (2017), ‘This Land is your Land’, refers to Klein (1980), where he stated that the original version included these words:

> *Was a high wall there that tried to stop me,*
> *A sign was painted said: Private Property,*
> *But on the back side it did not say nothing —*
> *This land was made for you and me.*

These words were written in the context of great income inequalities that existed then as well as the Great Depression. Guthrie did not record this verse in 1944; had he done so, it could possibly have led to his imprisonment.

I do not intend investigating the law of property in this thesis. Yet, I am interested in this shift in focus, to the land being your land in the first place, as much as it is mine in the second place; that it was made for you and me. Guthrie was, by account of his daughter, a man with no money, spending many a night in prison. As then, it is the landless people now, whose calls to share the land, point the way forward.

CHAPTER 8: REFLECTIONS

8.1 Questions, aim and objectives

Reflecting on this study, I am of the opinion that I answered my research question and secondary questions to the best of my ability as a subjective participatory narrative researcher.

Furthermore, I am cautiously satisfied that I stayed true to my aim of investigating how *ubuntu* may reframe the debate around land reform. I believe that I stayed on course by keeping the various objectives I set myself, as mentioned in the introduction, in mind.

8.2 Doubts

I do wonder about my conscious decisions for this epistemology and method, limiting the scope to agricultural land, to our farm; using ethnography and autobiographical material; fictional research writing and current affairs. Did my co-researcher and I manage to hear, articulate and practise an alternative narrative with a preferred outcome?

I think we succeeded in co-creating an alternative narrative with a preferred outcome. We will not manage, though, to subvert the dominant narrative that White South Africans stole the land; that the only remedy is that we return all land. A new, all-embracing dominant narrative of *ubuntu* may see the light only, once the majority of economically developed agriculturists take responsibility for land reform.

8.2.1 Scope

I was able to limit my scope to agricultural land. Including urban residential and business properties would have shifted the study to address other questions and challenges. This limiting scope opened the possibility to study my personal context and create a practical theological study, which offers some pointers to a hopeful future.

8.2.2 Autobiographical content and current affairs

Many a time, I questioned the autobiographical information I included. I asked myself, whether it strengthened an academic study. My defence would be that my epistemology and methodology allowed me to do this. Did I use this permission accurately though and to what purpose? My response is that the dominant narrative dehumanises me and that I had to create an alternative perspective of myself in order to participate in the conversation. The dominant narrative renders me powerless to make any contribution other than surrendering efforts at active participation. The current affairs, which I used to thicken the story, limit my role to that of a criminal and scapegoat. It prescribes the only remedy as my admitting culpability and handing over the spoils of my crime. I would either have to leave the soil of my birth or remain to suffer abuse.

My purpose for incorporating autobiographical content was to counter-balance the dehumanising refrain: ‘Whites stole our land’. I imagined that my unique contribution of self-preservation and agent of transformative justice (land owner and postfoundational practical theologian) could possibly shift the focus to the people, who share the land and a preferred outcome. Studying a generalised story would have been as fruitless as repeating a racist refrain. Focusing on my and Joba’s story is my contribution to humanising the landscape.

8.2.3 More participants

Much as I tried, my neighbouring White land owners would not participate in this study. There is a general sense that the democratic processes have failed all of us. They are not interested in partaking in any efforts that seem to disempower them further or even disown them. Yet, I hope to have created a narrative that brings some dignity to White agricultural land owners and restores their active citizenry.

8.2.4 Personal

On a personal level, amidst my best efforts to co-create an alternative narrative, I do not sense that the dominant narrative will change to humanise White agricultural land owners. In fact, I only see it increasing in its one-dimensional severity as the government fails the poorest. The best I can hope for is that an alternative

interpretation will survive and enrich those, who are willing to listen and co-create a new reality.

8.2.5 Joba

I made a conscious effort for Joba not to become a mere recipient of a White man's efforts to deal with his guilt. We kept our focus on dealing with the practicalities of farming; a field, where he is my superior in skills and experience. Since 2015, I visit the farm once a month for three days. The rest of the time, Joba farms independently, while I work in Johannesburg.

Still, the limitations of doing research with an employee are evident. I have no doubt that he would have been more articulate had we shared the same language and race, equally empowered. I imagine that Joba would have told me as friend, for instance, that he would have liked to live in my house and have the title deeds in his drawer. As it is now, he remains very diplomatic and focused on our common course.

I also endeavoured not to speak on Joba's behalf. The days are long past where an under privileged Joba wants me, a privileged employer, to speak on his behalf. That would only be regarded as patronising.

Yet I would have preferred to make him more audible, more visible. Much as I tried, I could not find an authentic way of doing this. I settled with this final version of the thesis.

Having said that, Joba does not represent the average farm labourer or for that matter, person. He is a gifted human being. The neighbouring farms' workers distrust him as he enjoys more reward and responsibility than five of these men together. He is seen counselling with me and advising me in a manner unknown in our context. The unique relationship between Joba and me enabled this study. Yet, this singularity complicates its general application.

8.2 Accomplishments

Joba earns a decent income, of which 70% is self-generated through his business acumen and access to land. This has made him confident and visibly happy. Moreover this research was a process culminating in Joba's secured tenure in the form of a lease agreement which appears in the Appendices. This is a major accomplishment for him.

Strydpoort portion 8, the land we share, is loved and tendered to in a manner that pleases all who live here. Paramount is the fact that we share it. Allowing *ubuntu* to direct and shape efforts is creating beneficial outcomes for everyone concerned. Joba's children enjoy the convenience of the bus routes that pass through our farm. This still remains the prerogative of the White children, with his children the only exception due to the fact that they stay on this farm. On the other hand, a crack in the dam wall fixed on the day it appears, or a buck freed from a snare, only occur because the general mood on our farm is one of caring beyond our immediate survival.

Dare I say that our sharing of Strydpoort sets an example to our neighbours? It is early days yet. The local tradition of interpretation remains one of distrust in inter-racial partnerships. Our forebears learnt that it was a perilous way and regrettably, very little in the administration of our continent, country, province or town creates interracial trust. We do not get much encouragement from outside. This motivates Joba and me to work and love this land for ourselves and our children's future. Strydpoort portion 8 may become a story of *ubuntu* – harmony and human dignity. We hope so.

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APPENDIX A

A 1 - INFORMATION LETTER

INFORMATION LETTER FOR PHD RESEARCH PARTNERS

AND

INTERDISCIPLINARY CONVERSATION PARTNERS

Land and *ubuntu* as competing narratives in rural South Africa: A practical theological perspective

Researcher: Herman Holtzhausen

Contact details: 0832525239. herman@narrativetherapy.co.za

I am doing research for a PhD degree in the Faculty of Practical Theology at the University of Pretoria. The purpose of this research is to listen to Joba Makwakwa who works with me on Strydpoort. I want to investigate the ways in which he and I can share the work and resources of Strydpoort in order for him to gain access to land and be empowered as a farmer.

I will ask one or two people other than Joba to talk to me about their perspectives on the land question.

Participants will not be paid for their participation.

Your name will appear in the thesis as well as the information regarding our discussions unless you indicate that you wish to remain anonymous or want me to omit certain parts of our conversations. All information will be retained for 10 years.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time.

Please contact me if you have any questions.

A 2 - CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH PARTNERS AND INTERDISCIPLINARY CONVERSATION PARTNERS.

I have read the information letter and I am satisfied that I know what this research about.

I know that:

1. My participation in this study is voluntary.
2. I can withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences.
3. All the data of our conversations will be retained in the study, including recordings.
4. I will receive no payment or compensation for participating in the study.
5. My name will appear in the study.

Name of participant Joba Makwakwa... .....

Signature of participant.... Joba .....

Date 5 June 2017

A 3 - CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH PARTNERS AND INTERDISCIPLINARY CONVERSATION PARTNERS

I have read the information letter and I am satisfied that I know what this research is about.

I know that:

1. My participation in this study is voluntary.

2. I can withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences.

3. All the data of our conversations will be retained in the study, including recordings.

4. I will receive no payment or compensation for participating in the study.

5. My name will appear in the study.

Name of participant.....Mauritz de Kock.....

Signature of participant..... .....

Date…….....9 July 2017.....

A 4 - CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH PARTNERS AND INTERDISCIPLINARY CONVERSATION PARTNERS

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Denkleiers • Leading Minds • Dikgopolo tša Dihlalefi

CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH PARTNERS AND INTERDISCIPLINARY CONVERSATION PARTNERS

I have read the information letter and I am satisfied that I know what this research is about.

I know that:

1. My participation in this study is voluntary.
2. I can withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences.
3. All the data of our conversations will be retained in the study, including recordings.
4. I will receive no payment or compensation for participating in the study.
5. My name will appear in the study.

Name of participant..... JOHANN MAGERMAN .....

Signature of participant.....

Date 28.06.2017 .....

A 5 - CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH PARTNERS AND INTERDISCIPLINARY CONVERSATION PARTNERS

I have read the information letter and I am satisfied that I know what this research is about.

I know that:

1. My participation in this study is voluntary.
2. I can withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences.
3. All the data of our conversations will be retained In the study, including recordings.
4. I will receive no payment or compensation for participating in the study.
5. My name will appear in the study

Name of participant Catherine Smetherham

Signature of participant

Date 28/June 2017

APPENDIX B

B 1 ORIGINAL INTERVIEWS IN AFRIKAANS Joba Makwakwa

Interview 1

HERMAN: Daar record hy.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: Okay Joba, hoekom ons hierdie recording doen, ek sal later vir jou net ‘n brief gee, wat jy net moet teken.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: Sodat jy wys dat jy verstaan wat maak ek.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: Wat gaan aan, hoekom record ons nou. Ek is by die University van Pretoria, Tswane, doen ek navorsing. Ek kyk watse planne kan ons maak.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja baas Herman.

HERMAN: Om die land issue, die land reformation te help regmaak. Op ‘n ander manier moet ek sê, ons weet hoe dit werk in ons land is meeste van die boere is wit.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Ons het gehoop dat na demokrasie, dinge gaan verander. Sodat jy meer swart boere kry. Sodat ek ‘n buurman het wat ‘n swart boer is. Solank as wat meeste van die boere wit is, is daar ongelykheid. Dit is ongesond. Maar hoe gaan ons daai ding draai? Hoe maak ons dit reg? Dat jy meer swart boere kry. Daar is allerhande mense wat allerhande planne het. Die Government probeer, maar dit werk nie eintlik nie. Ek sien nou hierdie ouens oppad Wolmaranstad toe, daar waar daai hoenderhokke was?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja?

HERMAN: Daar is nou lande daar. Daai is een van die programme waar ‘n local government, jy kan vir hulle gaan vra, gee vir my grond om te boer.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dieselfde mense?

HERMAN: Hulle vra vir die Munisipaliteit. Hulle sê die probleem van hom is dis gewone mense wat connections het in die munisipaliteit wat die grond kry.

Dit sal grond wees van die dorp wat ‘n swartman of swartvrou kan sê, kyk ek kan boer, maar ek het nie grond nie. Help my plan maak laat ek hier kan boer. Dan help hulle jou.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: As daar grond is, baie keer het hulle geld om grond te koop, die munisipaliteit. Dit is een van die maniere. Ek en jy weet hoe werk hy. Hy het al 2 keer hoerderhokke gehad, verkoop hulle die hoenders dan is daar nie meer geld nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, jy is reg.

HERMAN: Daar is allerhande probleme met die ding van om die grond waarop jy kan boer in ons land, in ons almal se hande te sit, nie net die witmense nie. Ek sê toe vir my Professor, ek en Joba werk saam. Maar ons werk op ‘n manier. Ons soek maniere sodat Joba ook soos ‘n boer kan werk. Dat jy ook daai vryheid kan hê, en jy word ‘n boer.

Ek sê ook by wat ek skryf, maar is nie asof ek nou genoeg grond het wat ons kan in die middel kan sny en sê helfte is Joba, helfte is my, dit is North-West. Die plaas is klein. Ons probeer wat hier is te deel. En ek hoop ons kry manier sodat, ons is nou op die vlak, ons gaan nou praat wat ons doen. Ek soek dan maniere. Hoe hierdie manier werk is, jy soek dit saam met my. Dit is hoekom ek en jy saam praat. Dit is nie net ek en my planne nie. Hulle sê in Engels, ons is co-researchers.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: Jy soek saam met my.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: Jy hoor die woord “research”? Jy “search”, jy soek, maar jy soek weer oor. Wat mis ons hier?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: Kom ons kyk weer. Kom ons vra ander vrae. Dit help nie net ons sê nee, hier is die antwoord, daai antwoord werk nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ons moet hom anders weer soek.

HERMAN: Dit is hoekom ek sê, vir my is jy die regte mense om te praat om te soek na die goed.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit?

HERMAN: Want wie moet ek nou anders help? Met Bebe hier langsaan, ek ken hom net. Hy is ‘n grootman, hy stap daar. Jy en ek, ons werk saam hier. Jy is die regte man, ons kom ‘n lang pad. Dit is hoekom ek record Joba. Ek moet dan hierdie wat ons gaan praat, sê ‘n half-uur na ‘n uur, moet ek later skryf. Ek moet gaan luister en elke woord skryf.

Dan sit ek hom agter in die boek wat ek skryf. Hier het ek en Joba geskryf. Ek suig nie uit my duim nie, ek sê Joba sê, maar Joba sê nie, hy is nie eers hier nie. Hulle kan hoor hier is jou stem, daar het ek geskry. Jy gaan ook kan sien. Is hierdie wat ek gesê het? Nee dit is waar. Ek wat Joba is het hierdie gesê.

Ek gaan nie dinge skryf oor jou wat nie waar is nie. Want jy kan dit ook lees.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: As ek dan kom met goed wat ek sê, ons planne, kan jy ook weer later sê, as dit amper klaar is. Okay, ek laaik van daai plan, maar ek dink daai plan van jou Herman, ons moet bietjie diekant toe gaan. Net soos wat ons doen met die skaapkos.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is so baas Herman.

HERMAN: Is dit reg Joba?

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is reg baas Herman.

HERMAN: Waaroor ons moet praat is twee goed. Aan die eenkant kan ons hoor, wie is jy? Ek het nou al geskryf wie is ek. Maar ons wil hoor wie is jy, waar kom jy vandaan? Onthou ons het al daaroor gepraat?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ons het daaroor gepraat, ja, baas Herman.

HERMAN: Ons moet daai kry en dan moet ons, miskien drie goed. Die ander een ons moet praat Ubuntu. Daai ding van wat is ‘n mense as hy Ubuntu verstaan en dan die derde ding, wat doen ek en jy nou al saam?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Is dit reg so?

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: Kom ons begin. Ons begin met jou.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: Jou naam is Joba Makwakwa.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, dit is Joba Mosimane Gape Makwakwa.

HERMAN: Wat beteken seën, nê?

CO-RESEARCHER: Kan ek vir jou sê, as jy die eerste seun gekry het, as jy die tweede een weer kry, dit kom weer ‘n seun. Dit is hoekom hulle sê Mosimane Gape. Gape is tweede keer.

HERMAN: Is jy Mosimane Gape?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek is Mosimane Gape.

HERMAN: O ek sien, okay.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek het my boetie, toe kom ek agter by my boetie, toe agter by my toe kom twee sussies. Die laaste sussie, hulle het hom nie gesê Mosimane Gape nie.

HERMAN: Ek sien. Om te sê sy is weer ‘n meisie nie?

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee, hulle het nie gesê nie. Hulle het net gesê by my Mosimane Gape.

HERMAN: Hoeveel kinders is julle Joba?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ons was net 4.

HERMAN: Twee seuns, twee meisies.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Jy is gebore hier agter by Carel, by oom Gerrie. Dit is nou die plaas agter ons.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Lukaskraal. Jy is gebore daar. Is al 4 van julle gebore daar?

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee, die laaste een is gebore by, nee almal van ons, as ek mooi onthou. Die 2 meisiekinders, hulle was nog klein. As ek mooi onthou, die groot ene, hy was omtrent 10, die laaste een was omtrent 5 of 4 toe agterna my ma en my pa gaan Wolmaranstad toe.

HERMAN: Dit was nou toe Karel oorlede is?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, baas Karel was nog by die plaas, maar daai tyd, die lewe was swaar vir hom. Dit is hoekom hy die mense laat hulle ander pad gaan kyk, hoe kan hulle maak.

HERMAN: Ja, hy het gesukkel. Hy het toe maar alles verloor.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Jy het vir my gesê Joba dat, kyk Makwakwa is nie eintlik ‘n Tswana van nie? Of is hy?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, soos ek by my ouma gehoor het. Sy sê daai van is eintlik Zulu. Jy kan hom skryf Motswana, maar jy kan hom hoor as jy hom praat Makwakwa. My ouma het vir my gesê haar pa was Zulu.

HERMAN: Dit is nou jou ouma Liesbet?

CO-RESEARCHER: Bettie.

HERMAN: Bettie, dit is reg.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ou Bettie se pa, ja. Maar sy ouma sy was Motswana. Sy van was Tswana. Mahini.

HERMAN: Dit was ou Bettie se ma. En jou ma?

CO-RESEARCHER: My ma se van?

HERMAN: Ja.

CO-RESEARCHER: My ma het my ouma se van gevat.

HERMAN: Jy het jou ma se van?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek het my ma se van.

HERMAN: Ek sien, is dit gewoonweg so by Tswana of is dit anders? Vat jy nie altyd soos met die witmense jou pa se van nie?

CO-RESEARCHER: Daai was ‘n groot ding. Ons het gepraat toe sê jy vir my, jy het ‘n stiefpa. Die ding wat ek vir jou gaan sê, jy gaan nie glo nie. Daai ding was ‘n man, hy was so. Die pa wat my ma, hy bly saam met hom, is nie my pa nie, Simon. Ek het so grootgeword baas Herman, dan weet ek is my pa.

HERMAN: Ek sien.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is hoekom ek laaik nie daai woord van stief nie. Ek laaik nie daai nie.

HERMAN: Dit is ‘n harde woord daai.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, want daai pa het vir my vêr gevat baas Herman. My ma ook, bietjie gesorg. Dit was bietjie swaar. Daai ding, hy is by my gedagte baas Herman. Ek het daai tyd gesien, toe ek klein was, hoe swaar is daai ding. Ek het nie geweet oor hierdie ding agterna hy sal bietjie anders wees.

HERMAN: Jy het ‘n baie goeie pa. Timbolientjie ken ek, dit is sy Tswana naam nê?

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is sy Tswana naam.

HERMAN: Hy is ook die enigste swartman wat ek ken van hier met ‘n baard.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit?

HERMAN: Onthou jy? Hy het altyd ‘n baard gehad.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, en nou nog baas Herman.

HERMAN: Is dit?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, maar nou hy skeer hom net so bietjie. Nie heeltemal nie maar hy maak hom net laat hy. Maar hy word nie soos daai tyd as hy bietjie jonk is nie. So groot? Nee, nou hy kom.

HERMAN: Ek verstaan Joba. Ek bedoel, hierso by ons, het jy, as ek reg onthou, hoe het jy? Jy en jou ma het partykeer, is dit jou ouma en jou ma wat vir my ouma gehelp het by die kombuis?

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit was baas Herman. Altyd as die miesies gekom het saam met die ouma, baas Karel het altyd my ouma hierso gestuur het, of hy stuur hulle altwee, want my ouma het nie by baas Karel gewerk nie. Seker met daai tyd, ek weet nie, seker ek was bietjie klein. Maar het ou Bettie geken.

HERMAN: En jou ma se naam Joba? Net laat ons haar ook net op rekord het?

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is Lena.

HERMAN: Hulle het gekom dan het jy, jy was op die skool 500 meter weg. Dan het jy naskool hiernatoe gekom. In die oggende het jy saam met hulle gestap.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, as hulle werk toe kom. Dan gaan ek skool toe.

HERMAN: As jy skool toe gaan. Klaar met skool dan kom jy hierso.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dan kom ek hier by die plaas.

HERMAN: Dan maak jy tuin nat of wat.

CO-RESEARCHER: Die miesies het vir my gewys hoe ek moet werk by die tuin. As ek reg onthou, die eerste keer as ek hier kom, daar is ‘n drein hiervoor by die huis. Ek het eers daai gras daar gesny met die skêr. Daai drein wat ek daai tyd bietjie uitgebreek het.

HERMAN: O ja.

CO-RESEARCHER: Agterna ek daai dinges bietjie gebou en gepleister daar.

HERMAN: Hierdie was mos ‘n groentetuin. Daai water het my oupa ook gebruik. Hier waar die kar staan was groente.

CO-RESEARCHER: O dit was groente.

HERMAN: Ja, nog in my oupa se tyd.

CO-RESEARCHER: O, ek sien.

HERMAN: Okay Joba. Toe jy nou klaar is met skool, toe gaan werk jy by Karel of nie?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, eintlik by baas Karel, ek het af en toe, my pa het vir my die werk geleer. Laat ek plaawerk ken. Baas Karel ook, hy het nie gelike, die seuns moet by die stad bly nie. As die skool toe is hulle moet gaan werk. Ook by die tuin by die plaas. As die miesies het nie gekom nie, want die miesies was by Randburg. As sy gekom het, ek onthou mooi, hy stuur vir ons, ons moet gaan help. Daai tyd was mos pappie se tyd.

HERMAN: Dit is reg.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit was my pappie se tyd. Ons het hom net vinnig bietjie kom help. Laat daai groot gras daar agter. Ons moet hom net bietjie sny met die sekel. Agterna baas Karel sê vir ons, nee man, daai gras as hy so is ek sal die trekker bietjie stuur, laat hy daai gras bietjie gaan sny met daai groot bush cutter.

HERMAN: Toe het jy getrou toe jy nog by Karel was? Jy is toe weg by hom na Tinus van Wyk toe.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, maar toe ek weg is by baas Karel, toe daai tyd ek was nog by die skool. Maar die tyd as my ma hulle gaan by Wolmaranstad baas Herman. My pa kry toe weer werk by die Koöperasie, maar hulle het die meel gemaak. Daai ding hulle het hom af en toe gemaak. Nou en dan hulle werk nie, toe was ek by die skool by Ottosdal. Ek het die lewe gekyk by die huis toe sien ek maar die lewe is nie lekker nie. Hy is lekker baas Herman, maar hier en daar ons het moeilikheid. Want as ek by die Vrydag gekom het, as ek moet Sondag teruggaan, dan my pa moet hier en daar bietjie loop. Die geld leen laat ek teruggaan. Ek vra vir myself, as my pa hierdie geld gaan bietjie leen, ek bly by die mense, hoe gaan ek die kos koop as my pa die geld moet leen. By die huis ook. Die lewe gaan mos swaar wees. Dit is hoekom agterna toe dink ek vir myself, ek was klein baas Herman. Toe dink ek vir myself, nee, ek los die skool. Ek het net 1 week by die huis gebly. Die 1ste

werk wat ek gedoen het, as ek by die skool uitkom, ek het die mielies opgetel. Ek was 17 daai tyd.

HERMAN: By die Koöperasie?

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee by ‘n ander plaas daar agter by [inaudible 17:38]. Hierdie 3. Jaar wat ek daar gewerk het, ons het nie elke dag gewerk nie, ons het net 3 maande gewerk of 4 maande dan is die werk op. Weer volgende jaar, ons werk weer 3 of 4 maande, dan is dit weer op. My pa was toe nog in Wolmaranstad. Die lewe het toe begin swaar word vir hom. Toe sien hy nee hy moet weer die werk gaan soek.

Joba as hy daai geld gekry het van die dag wat hy gewerk het, darem hy bring iets by die huis. Daai bietjie sorg vir ons net vir so 2 weke of 3 weke. Toe besluit hy, hy gaan werk by Tinus van Wyk gaan soek. My pa kry toe werk daar. Ek was nog daar by [inaudible 18:38]. Toe raak die werk weer klaar toe gaan ek huis toe. Weer volgende jaar. Seker was dit nou die laaste jaar, toe gaan werk ek weer daar.

Seker was dit die laaste jaar, toe gaan werk ek weer daar.

Ek kyk vir myself en sê nee man as ek hierso kom, daar is nie mense by die huis nie. Daai huis sluit ek toe. My ma is nie daar, my boetie is nie daar. Hoe moet ek nou maak. Ek sien toe vir myself. Jy ken die lewe. Die tyd wat ek daar is, toe kry ek Liesbet. Ek het hom hier en daar bietjie gevat om by die lokasie, maar toe sien ek agterna baas Herman, ons word bietjie groot. Toe sien ek vir myself nee lyk my Hilda is nou by die pad.

Wat kan ek maak hierso? Ek moet die regte werk gaan soek nou. Laat ek nie elke keer as die man klaar is dan my pa moet hier en daar bietjie vir my help. Ek het hulle gehelp, maar by die plaaslewe, hy lyk nie soos die lokasie se lewe nie. Die lokasie se lewe is bietjie swaar. En by die ander plaas ook, die lewe is ‘n bietjie swaar, toe sien ek vir myself. My pa het ‘n jaar gemaak daai kant. Toe gaan ek weer, ek vat Liesbet. Hilda was klaar by die lewe. Toe gaan ons daar.

Ons het gegaan met die fiets met daai tyd. Weet ek nie daai plek, hy is omtrent so 30km om tot daar te gaan. Ons het met die fiets daar gegaan. Hoe kan ons nou maak? Toe gaan ons by my pa. Ons kry my pa daar, toe die eerste Maandag, toe hy hierdie werk weer begin my Tinus van Wyk, toe

ek het hierdie werk weer gewerk. Vir 3 of 4 maande. Agterna my pa sê toe vir my, nee man, jy kan nie weer lokasie toe gaan nie, ek sal saam met Tinus van Wyk praat. Laat hy vir jou die werk gee. Toe my pa het daai ding gedoen.

HERMAN: Ek sien. Toe het jy daar saam met hom gewerk en toe is julle uiteindelik weg by Tinus van Wyk.

CO-RESEARCHER: Wie? Ek? Baas Herman.

HERMAN: Jy en jou pa nê?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja ons was altwee daar. Ons was 3, saam met my boetie ook. Hy was daar.

HERMAN: Hulle het nog daar gewerk toe het jy al geloop.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Toe het jy hier kom werk.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, toe was hulle nog daar. Daai kant ek het lank gewerk. Omtrent so 8 jaar. Die tyd as Tinus van Wyk, my pa was omtrent so 17 of 18 jaar daar gewerk.

HERMAN: Tinus het eintlik maar vir jou pa en almal wat daar gewerk het gesê hy wil nie meer mense op die plaas hê nie. Toe moes jou pa weer lokasie toe.

CO-RESEARCHER: My pa hulle is nou by die lokasie ook.

HERMAN: Maar daar is nie nou werk daar nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Daar is nie nou werk nie.

HERMAN: Jou pa is ook al oud.

CO-RESEARCHER: Hy is omtrent 1954.

HERMAN: 54 gebore?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Ek sien. Dan is ons nou hier Joba, toe het jy, ek onthou jy het hier gekom en een keer vir my gesê, wat het jy vir my gesê? Is ek reg? Toe verstaan ek eers nie. Wat beteken ‘is jy reg’? Toe boer ek glad nie. Toe sê jy vir my, maar nee, ons kan boer. Toe sê ek vir jou, gee my 2 maande, laat ek net kyk. Toe sê ons, kom ons werk saam. En hoe dit toe gegaan het vir my is, jy het eintlik vir my gewys van skaapboerdery. Ek like skape, maar ek ken hulle nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Daai werk baas Herman, as jy net 1 keer die ding gebruik om te spuit of om te dose, om die siekte te sien en jy keer daai siekte. Dis is makliker. Of jy gaan by die Koöperasie, dan sê ek vir daai mense, nee my skaap maak so. Hulle het die boek, hulle kyk daai siekte by die boek. Dan sê hulle vir my, daai skaap hy lyk so, jy moet hom dose of bietjie spuit. Maar ons het glad nie daai ding gedoen nie. Ons het net die Multivax en die dose gedoen. As die skaap ‘n bietjie siek is.

HERMAN: Ons het min skape verloor eintlik.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Goed Joba, toe het ons begin met skape en hoenders. Dit is wat ons het op die plaas. Jy sê toe nee, jy wil by die dorp bly. Jy het ‘n huis daar, jy kom werk in die dag. Toe Kath na ‘n ruk gesê, en ek, nee jy moet die hoenderboerdery vat. Want daar is nie genoeg geld vir 3 mense, nie eers vir 2 mense nie, dit is eintlik net vir 1 mens, en jy doen die werk. Jy het die besigheid.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, ek het die besigheid baas Herman.

HERMAN: Jy vat so 500 hoenders elke maand. Hulle is groot oor 6 weke, dan het jy nou customers by die lokasie. Hulle bel jou of jy gaan na hulle toe. Ek gee vir jou basic salary en dan het jy die hoenders. Ons het die skape. Toe het ons nou eers gesê goed jy kry, as ‘n skaap, jy kry vir hom R1 400,00 dan gee ek vir jou R 200,00 ‘n skaap. Enige skaap.

Toe het ons vroeër, nie lank terug nie, gesê okay met hierdie jaar se lammers vat jy al daai ooitjies, 34 of so.

CO-RESEARCHER: Hulle is nie al die ooitjies nie. Die rammetjies is meer as die ooitjies. Ek het hulle bietjie getel. Lyk my die ooitjies is 18, die rammetjies is 21.

HERMAN: Elke jaar het ons so 30 daar rond, lammers. Nou is die plan Joba dat ons maak daai ooie groot en jy besluit dan wil jy hulle verkoop, wil jy hulle slag, wil jy teël met hulle laat hulle meer word.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja baas Herman, ek wil net bietjie kyk baas Herman. Ek wil kyk as hulle so 3 maande.

Interview 2

HERMAN: Daar gaan hy. Eintlik ek gaan nou vandag so ou Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee dit is reg baas Herman. Dit is reg.

HERMAN: Hoe het hy laas gewerk? So? Wag ek hou hom so.

CO-RESEARCHER: Jy het hom so...

HERMAN: Het ek hom so gesit?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja jy het hom so gesit baas Herman.

HERMAN: Joba, okay nou praat ons weer met die mikrofoon. Tussendeur wat ons werk. Want ek gaan nou weer weg vir ‘n maand, wat te lank is vir my. Okay ons praat nou oor die skape. Dit is eers die hoenders, nou praat ons oor die volgende ding, die skape. Kom ons praat gou die plan.

Die plan is dat jy verkoop 2 skape ‘n maand. Daai is dan, sê nou maar, R2 800,00. Dan is daar nog ‘n stukkie geld oor wat ek jou skuld. Ek het gedink, miskien kom ons sê net om mee te begin. Ek betaal jou daai geld cash.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is reg.

HERMAN: Ek het gedink vir Februarie moet ek jou sommer van die kontant nou gee. Van die skape wat jy klaar verkoop het.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit?

HERMAN: Die geld hou jy dan terug. Kyk, dit is klaar skape wat jy verkoop het. Anders vat ek die geld Johannesburg toe dan betaal ek jou weer by die bank. Kom ek los liewer van die geld hier.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek hoor jou.

HERMAN: Dan begin ons klaar met daai plan.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek hoor jou.

HERMAN: O, ‘n ander ding. Daar het nog ‘n lam gekom gisteraand. Kan jy glo? Klein lammetjie, ek het nie gekyk of dit ‘n ram of ‘n ooi is nie. Maar die nageboorte het daar gelê.

CO-RESEARCHER: So, die lam leef?

HERMAN: Ja.

CO-RESEARCHER: Mooi lam.

HERMAN: Seker vroeg by die oggend. Maar Joba, toe dink ek net gou ‘n ander ding wat ons nie gister oor gepraat het nie. Hoe jy kan voor kom, is jy

koop die ooit wat lammers binne het. Sien jy, nou koop jy net ‘n ooi, maar ek en jy weet daai ooi dra.

CO-RESEARCHER: Baas Herman, ek het gister vir myself daai ding gevra.

HERMAN: Moet ek jou meer vra vir daai ooi?

CO-RESEARCHER: Asseblief.

HERMAN: Ons kan praat daaroor. Verstaan jy, dan wen jy. Want nou kry jy klaar ‘n ooi.

CO-RESEARCHER: Met lam.

HERMAN: In die winter dan kom daai lam, dit is jou lam.

CO-RESEARCHER: Baas Herman, daai ding ek het vir baas Herman mos gister daar by die kraal gevra. Vir daai skape hulle dra. So ons moet die kos vir daai skape kry.

HERMAN: Dit is reg. Maar die plan is dat ek jou help waar ek kan. Waar dit my help, is ek hoef nie elke maand jou salaris te betaal nie. Daai help my

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit baas Herman?

HERMAN: Omdat jy dan die skape verkoop, wat ons nie wil hê nie en jy van daai geld.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit baas Herman?

HERMAN: Maar as ek af en toe moet kos koop net om te start, sê net vir die eerste jaar of wat, dan doen ons dit, dit help jou dan. Sodat hierdie lammers sê nou maar kos het. Ten minste koop ek nie skaapkos en ek moet salaris betaal nie. Ek koop dan net skaapkos.

CO-RESEARCHER: Jy koop net skaapkos.

HERMAN: Ja, nie altyd nie, maar wanneer jy dit nodig het. Sê nou maar daai lammers is daar, en jy sien, ons sien ook nou ons kry nie baie skape verkoop nou nie. Wat ek probeer sê is, ons gaan altyd moet praat met mekaar. As jy sien jy verkoop net 1 skaap hierdie maand, dan gaan ek nie vir jou sê, “well bad luck”, jy kry net 1 skaap se geld nie. Jy sê vir my, daar is net 1 skaap verkoop dan haak ek jou vir jou ’n salaris.

CO-RESEARCHER: Baas Herman, ek verstaan jou baie goed.

HERMAN: Daai ding moet ons in die kontrak sit. Want anders gaan ons mekaar nie help nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Hier en daar nie verstaan nie.

HERMAN: Ja, nou is dit vat. Ek betaal jou nie ‘n salaris nie, jy verkoop skaap, nou verkoop jy nie ‘n skaap nie, ek weet mos jy probeer. Dit kan gebeur. Jy het goed gedoen, jy het 4 skape verkoop, 2 lammers 2 ooie nou. Dit sal seker so gaan, maar as dit nie so gaan nie dan maak ons die kontrak sodat ek help jou.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek hoor jou.

HERMAN: Koop met die kos, dis wat ek sê.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis baie goed so baas Herman.

HERMAN: Dan kan jy solank, as ek jy is, koop ek eerste daai mooi ooi. Wat die mooi ramme bring. Wat ons moet maak Joba, is as jy kan, ek weet nie jy kan nie vir my ‘n foto stuur met MMS nie, nê?

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee baas Herman.

HERMAN: Dan moet ons laat jy ‘n foto neem, as jy ‘n skaap koop, as jy kan, dit is net goed vir my kop, verstaan jy? Ek het nou gewoond geraak aan die skape. Dit is maar net goed, as jy ‘n skaap verkoop. Hier kom ‘n man en hulle koop ‘n skaap, neem net ‘n foto van sy kop.

CO-RESEARCHER: Baas Herman, nou die dag ek het daai ding gedink.

HERMAN: Laat ek hom net sien. O, daai een is weg. Ek weet jy tel reg, maar vir my is dit maar die gesigte ook. O, daai skaap is weg.

CO-RESEARCHER: Baas Herman, ek hoor jou.

HERMAN: As jy skaap vir jouself koop, daai mooi ooi. Ek sien daar, sy kyk gister vir my, skoon gesig.

CO-RESEARCHER: Die ander jy het hulle gesien, hulle is bietjie mooi.

HERMAN: Dan weet ek okay Joba het daai een gekoop. Anders moet ons hulle begin merk.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek hoor jou baas Herman.

HERMAN: Maar eintlik wil ons tog hê, jy het al die skape gekoop. Ons hoef hulle nie te merk nie, jy is net vir “meantime” as ek ‘n foto het dan weet ek, as ek hier op my eie is, daai is Joba. Ek dink dit is al wat daar is.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek hoor jou baas Herman. Soos baas Herman sê by die kos, baas Herman jy kan vir my, as ek nie daarso bietjie reggekom het nie, as ek sê vir jou en jy sien, nee. Baas Herman, seker by my dit sal bietjie goed wees. Maar ek weet daai ding moet betaal word, soos baas Herman sê. Ek

hoor jou. By die ander kant soos ek vir baas Herman gesê het, met die groot skape. Ek het daai ding, my kop het gister geloop baas Herman, dan vra ek vir myself daai.

Die ding wat ek vir baas Herman wil sê, hierdie lammers van hierdie jaar, my kop het vir my gesê ek moet hulle almal verkoop.

HERMAN: Is dit? Waarvan 18 het ek vir jou gegee. Jy wil hulle ook verkoop?

CO-RESEARCHER: Saam met die rammetjies baas Herman.

HERMAN: Almal?

CO-RESEARCHER: My kop het vir my gesê almal.

HERMAN: Hoekom? Sodat jy die grotes kan koop?

CO-RESEARCHER: Laat ek die grote kan bietjie koop. Ek het daai ding self gister gedink. Hierdie ding ek moet hom so bietjie werk. Laat ek daar kan inkom. Elke maand, soos ons gepraat het, baas Herman, jy kan daai geld trek. Maar moet ek net bietjie probeer daai rammetjies en daai ooitjies. Die ding wat ek vra vir myself, nou hulle is bietjie kleiner. Die mense hulle kan kom hierso, dan weeg ek hulle, dan maak hulle omtrent so 30 of 35, dan loop hulle omtrent R 950,00.

Dan vra ek vir myself daai ding ook. As ek hulle so kan verkoop. Maar definitief, soos ek sê vir baas Herman, as ek die skaap verkoop, jy moet daai geld sien en ek moet vir jou, laat jy kan sien hoeveel skape ek het verkoop. Die skape wat oorgebly het, hulle is hoeveel. Jy moet die getal weet. So weet ek nie hoe, ek is reg daarvoor of wat dink baas Herman daarvoor nie?

HERMAN: Nee, dit is reg Joba. Ons werk al klaar so. Jy verkoop, ek weet nie altyd jy verkoop nie, maar dan kom ek terug dan sê jy vir my jy het soveel verkoop, daar is die geld. Nou is daar soveel oor. Wat ons nou moet doen, ek gaan nou maar eers afsit dan.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja seker.

HERMAN: Ek gaan nou daai kontrak skryf, ek het weer die sleutel van die posbus hier gelos.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, want laasmaand ek het nie eintlik deur die dag by die dorp gegaan nie.

HERMAN: Nee, dit is reg Joba, ek het hom gaan leeg maak vandag. Maar

ek bedoel maar, miskien partykeer moet ek en jy vir mekaar iets pos, dan kan ek van daar af pos hiernatoe. Dan weet jy, jy het die sleutel.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is goed so baas Herman.

HERMAN: Dit is nie nodig nou nie. Ek is weer hier. Okay, Joba, dan praat ons weer op die ding as ons nou wil oor ‘n maand. As ons die kontrak het.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is reg baas Herman.

HERMAN: Die rede hoekom ons dit doen, ek sê maar net laastens. Twee redes, die een rede is sodat ons van die skape ‘n besigheid maak. Nou sien ek die skape een keer ‘n maand en jy werk altyd aan die skape. Dit maak sin dat die skape joune word. Want jy pas hulle op. Ons het nog nie een skaap verloor nie. Wat my help is dat die skape betaal dan jou salaris. Sodat jy ook heeltemal weer vir jou heeltemal loskom. Dat jy dan by my grond huur en jy boer vir jouself.

CO-RESEARCHER: Eintlik ons moet net daar bietjie regmaak baas Herman. Seker dit is iets wat ek verstaan nie of seker hierso rond. Sien jy hierdie skape, nou ek dink hulle is 103.

HERMAN: 105 met daai tweetjies.

CO-RESEARCHER: 105 ja. Die ding wat ek wil verstaan baas Herman. Ek gaan seker begin betaal, ek betaal. Maar weet ons nie wanneer die ding kom by die einde nie. Want jy weet, ons gaan weer ander lammers kry. So weet ek nie weer ek gaan vir baas Herman daarso. Iemand moet net bietjie mooi verstaan baas Herman, laat ek nie iets agterlos nie. Jy is nie hier nie. Daai is die ding wat ek net bietjie wil weet.

Soos baas Herman, jy het gister vir my gesê, ek het nog nie, ‘n maand ek het 2 skape by jou gekoop. Dit ander is nog joune. Hulle is nog nie by my nie, hulle is nog joune. Maar as ek koop, dan weet ek, nee ek het omtrent so 2. Volgende keer ek het 2, darem hulle is nou bietjie 4. Wil het net daarso bietjie weet baas, hoe werk ek en jy? Nou weet ek nie of baas Herman verstaan nie?

HERMAN: Hoe bedoel jy waarmee? Wat nog myne is.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, hulle gaan weer die ramme vang. Daai lam is nog by jou kamp. Ek wil net hierdie ding bietjie weet.

HERMAN: Jy het nog nie daai ooi gekoop nie. As jy daai ooi gekoop het dan

is daai lam joune. Wat dit goed maak, is dit gee vir jou ook ‘n langer tyd om die ooie te koop wat jy wil hê.

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee baas Herman, my hart is nou, ek is nou by die pad.

HERMAN: Is dit.

CO-RESEARCHER: Baas Herman, ek is nou reg.

HERMAN: Dan kan ons ook later, as ons sien daai ou ram raak nou oud, daai ram kan jy verkoop seker vir R7 000,00 ek weet nie. Miskien ‘n bietjie minder. Jy gaan hom nie meer verkoop as ‘n stoetram nie, maar hy het baie vleis. As hy vir ‘n jaar nie gewerk het of so nie. En ons wil hom verkoop, dan ...

CO-RESEARCHER: Maar by die ander kant weet ek nie, ek is reg. Laat ek sommer klaar baas Herman vra. Jy het daai groot ram gesien. As hy by die skape kom, hy is, as hy saam met die skape geloop het dan word hy. Ek het nou die dag vir my gevra, daai ram word nie oud nie.

HERMAN: Ons moet maar kyk na sy tande, maar ek dink hy word oud.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek dink hy word oud baas Herman.

HERMAN: Hy het seker nog ‘n jaar, 2 jaar oor.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit? Laat hy saam met die skape kan loop.

HERMAN: Ja.

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee, dit is reg so baas Herman.

HERMAN: Ja.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek het vir myself gevra, laat ek jou sommer klaar vra. Seker sy tyd is klaar. Jy het nou die dag vir my gesê jy kan saam met hierdie mense van BKB praat, laat hulle net daai ram bietjie kom kyk. Dan kyk hulle vir jou die ander en dan koop jy seker so 2 ramme. Laat ons klaar die bloed bietjie anderste maak. Dan weet ons seker hierdie jaar, dit is die laaste. As daai mense sê nee ons sal hulle al 3 kan vat, dan gee ek vir jou 2 ramme, die nuwe ramme. Seker so dit sal bietjie goed wees. Dan weet ons, ons gaan nie die ooie verander nie. Daai ramme hulle kom met die vars bloed. Weet ek nie, maar jy sê seker hulle kan so 2 jaar nog werk, ons kan hulle nog bietjie los.

HERMAN: Ek dink so. Nee reg Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is reg baas Herman.

Interview 3

HERMAN: Goed Joba, jy sê toe oor wat jy dink nou om met die lammers te doen.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek het so gedink, agter so 3 of 4 maande, ek wil kyk die sterker lammers, wil ek hulle net kyk, hoeveel is hulle. Ook jy het gesien by die skape, dit is anders. Hulle kom nie mooi nie. Jy kan nie sê daai lammers gaan jy hou om vir die ramme te gee nie. Jy gaan weer daai moeilikheid kry.

HERMAN: Ons moet kyk, want ek het ook met Jaco gepraat. Hulle dink die Dormer, as jy daai skaap by ons skape sit, dan kry jy mooi lammers. Hulle groei vinnig. Ek dink ons moet ons jongste ram hou en die 2 grotes verkoop en 1 ander ram kry van buite af. Wat van die eie bloed kom maak hierdie lammers ook klein.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: Ek het dit al gehoor. Maar ons kyk hoe gaan dit, ek stem met jou saam. Joba, goed, sê vir my, as ons nou kyk na jou besigheid, die hoenders. Die skape begin nou maar. Hoe gaan dit met die besigheid?

CO-RESEARCHER: Hy word hier en daar bietjie swaar. As die kuikens dood gaan, daar kom die moeilikheid in.

HERMAN: Soos nou, 16, 12, 14 elke dag.

CO-RESEARCHER: Elke dag.

HERMAN: Uit 500.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Gelukkig gaan hulle dood as hulle klein is, jy het nog nie baie geld vir sy kos gegee nie, maar steeds.

CO-RESEARCHER: Steeds, seker as jy 100 verloor het, dit is te veel. Daai kuikens vrek omtrent so by 2 of 3 weke, dan het hy al klaar 2 sakke gevreet.

HERMAN: Hoeveel kos die kuiken jou, vir een?

CO-RESEARCHER: Omtrent hy is R 5.27.

HERMAN: Daar verloor jy, 100, verloor jy R 500,00 sonder hulle kos. Hulle kos is seker so R 300,00 vir 2 sakke. Jy praat van R 800,00 wat jy eintlik verloor in ‘n maand. Die wat oorbly verkoop ‘n ou vir R 60,00, maar dit is nie alles wins nie, want hulle eet ‘n paar sakke. Ek hoor nou die dag ‘n ou sê, hierdie ou wat so groot boer met die hoenders, hy maak tussen 20 en 40 sent

wins op ‘n hoender. Dit is al. Hy het duisende elke maand. Hy het 3 van daai groot skure. Op jou manier maak jy meer, maar jy het baie minder hoenders. Daai skure kos so R 2 000 000,00 ‘n skuur. Dit is nie iets wat ons kan doen nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee, ons kan nie daai ding doen nie.

HERMAN: Die hoenders is half, maar, dit is ekstra. Die bakkie het ek jou mee gehelp. Jy het vir my afbetaal. Jy kan nie ‘n bakkie koop met die hoenders se geld nie, met 500 hoenders nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee, jy kan nie. Die ding wat ek ook gesien het is baas Herman, ek gaan by 4 jaar, as ek mooi onthou. Die ding wat by my kop is, ek vra vir myself altyd, ek sien daai bakkie is ‘n goeie bakkie baas Herman. Hy kan die besigheid van my groter maak. As hy al die werk doen, hy gaan maak maar agterna, 5 of 6 jaar, hy gaan sê ek is moeg. By daai geld baas Herman, seker ek het niks daar gespaar. Hoe gaan ek daar maak? Dit is hoekom ek nou die dag vir jou gesê het, ek soek ‘n pad.

HERMAN: Die pad beteken wat? ‘n Pad waar jy meer geld maak?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Ek het nou al gedink daar is 2 maniere. Die een manier soos wat jy sê, kry varke, bly by wat jy doen. Jy is eintlik jou eie baas. Ek is hier 1 keer ‘n maand. Maar met die hoenders maak jy soos wat jy goeddink. Jy doen dit beter as wat ek dit kan doen. Die skape, jy pas hulle op. Jy sorg, jy bel my as daar moeilikheid is. Jy is vry om te sê, ek gaan varke kry. Kom ek kyk of daai die pad is. Hoe dit in my kop werk is, ons soek maniere om jou sterk te maak. Op jou eie voete, die beste vir my gaan wees as jy grond kry.

CO-RESEARCHER: Rerig?

HERMAN: Ja, as jy my buurman kan wees. En nie net ek nie, ek dink ander boere gaan ook bly wees. Jy is ‘n man wat hulle leer ken het, hulle kan sien jy is nie hier om ‘n lokasie te begin hier op die plaas nie, hy is hier om te boer.

CO-RESEARCHER: Om te boer, ja.

HERMAN: Sy hart is ‘n boer. Sy hande is ‘n boer. Hierdie man is ‘n boer. En ons kan hom trust. Ek bedoel een van die redes hoekom jy nie hier wou bly op die plaas nie, jy het gesê jy wil nie hê al die mense moet by jou kom kuier nie. Dan bring jy moeilikheid dalk hiernatoe. Nou bly jy op die plaas, as

ek nie hier is nie. Jy wil nie aan jou huis bou nie. Jy sê jy wil klein bly by die rondawel, sodat mense jou nie pla nie.

En sê nou gaan hierdie man vooruit, ons wil ook van daai geld hê. Die mense trust jou.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is.

HERMAN: Daai is ‘n plan waarna ons altyd, nie net in jou agterkop moet hou nie, maar ‘n ou moet kyk. Dit is deel van wat ek nou skryf. Ek kyk wat is die maniere wat die Government, hulle het duisende, miljoene rande Joba, vir hierdie ding.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit?

HERMAN: Waarvan baie gemors is, baie het weg geraak, maar baie ook daarvan gebruik hulle om plase te koop vir mense.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: Meeste van daai plase werk nie. As hulle hom vir daai mense gegee het dan is meeste van daai plase werk nie. As hulle hom vir daai mense gegee het dan sê daai mense, maar ek het nie ‘n trekker nie, ek het nie geld vir ‘n boorgat vir pype nie, wat moet ek doen met ‘n stuk grond? Ek is mos nie ‘n boer nie. Dit is so goed ek bly in die lokasie, maar dit is erger want ek is ver weg van werk af.

CO-RESEARCHER: Sien jy?

HERMAN: Die van die moeilikheid is dat die mense wat hieroor skryf en wat ek ook sien is, as die Government jou help om grond te koop, dan moet hulle ook vir jou geld help kry, al leen jy hom by die bank om te sê, ek moet darem 100 skape hê. Ek moet darem vir ‘n paar maande kos hê of vir ‘n jaar totdat ek kan hoenders verkoop. Ons weet hoeveel kos hierdie hoenders. Honderde rande elke maand vir kos.

Nou maak jy ‘n paar rand wins. Die boere hier wat goed doen, die hele land, is die groot boere. Het ‘n paar plase.

CO-RESEARCHER: Jy is reg.

HERMAN: Pieter sê vir my agter, 1 000 hektaar is ‘n bietjie te min.

CO-RESEARCHER: 1000?

HERMAN: 1000, hy sê jy sukkel met ‘n 1000.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit baas Herman?

HERMAN: My oupa se stukkie plaas hier is 300. Jy sien die moeilikheid. My oupa kon hier boer, hy het eenkant gehad, hy het nie ‘n bakkie gehad nie. Die kar was die bakkie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit?

HERMAN: Ja, die Open Ranger. Maar hy het nie eens die Open Range gebruik nie, hy het met die fiets gery as daar moeilikheid was. Dan maak hulle reg daar met die tools. As hulle baie tools nodig het, dan kom haal hy hom, die kar se kattebak is die groot toolbox.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: Trekkers, uiteindelik van sy lewe het hy gehad, 1 Ford, 2 Fiat’s. My oupa is dood ‘n arm man. Hy het niks verloor nie, maar hy kon nie groter gaan nie. Die huis waarin ek en jy nou sit, het my oupa se pa gebou.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit baas Herman?

HERMAN: Dit is net die prentjie net om vir jou te sê, dit is nie net nou so nie, maar dit is nog altyd so. Klein plaas. My oupa se ding was, my oupa was mos vir lank siek gewees. Hy het kanker by sy maag gehad. Dit het hom gepla, maar hy het toe ook gesê, kyk, ek het net 1 dogter. As ek ‘n seun gehad het moes ek ‘n ander plan maak.

Ek hoef nie hier ‘n plaas te maak vir ‘n seun nie, my dogter gaan trek eendag. Nietemin, ons sit met hierdie 300 morg. Die een plan is dan, ek en jy moet kyk as ek hierdie ding klaar geskryf het, waar moet ek. Ek wil jou nie verloor nie, maar ek wil ook sê as jy ‘n boer word met jou eie grond en jy het genoeg geld gekry om daai boerdery te kan laat werk, dit is number 1. Dit is eerste prys.

Vir my dink ek ons werk daarnatoe. Maar waar ons nou is, ek praat nou baie. Ek gaan nou stop. Dit is die een plan. Jy gaan aan met die boerdery. Jy maak hom groter. Jy raak sterk. Jy vergeet van daai ding dat jy vir ‘n ander man werk eintlik. Die tweede plan is dat jy dalk doen wat ek doen. Wat is dit? Ek wil boer hier, dit is wat ek altyd wou doen. Ek het nie ‘n trekker nie. Ek kan, miskien nie nou meer nie, maar toe my besigheid sterk was kon ek gesê het right, ek leen geld by die bank vir ‘n trekker.

Maar met die hoeveelheid oes wat jy hier kan maak, gaan ek daai trekker nie kan terugbetaal nie. Dit is mos nie net ‘n trekker nie, dit is ‘n planter en ‘n

ploeg en ‘n wa en die saad. Dan hoop jy dit gaan goed daai jaar. Hoeveel droogte jare het ons nou al gehad. Die mense maak toe, hulle loop.

CO-RESEARCHER: Hulle loop, jy is reg.

HERMAN: Sê nou, maar dit gaan goed, dan sou ek kon, maar ek kon nie so, ek werk by die stad en die plaas kos my. Die elektrisiteit is R 3 000,00 ‘n maand. Die skape kos my eintlik, jy weet self. Die honde kos my. Hoe ek dit reg kry is ek maak geld by die stad. ‘n Manier wat jy ook kan doen, het ek al gedink. Sê nou maar jy bly steeds hier, jy gaan aan met die boerdery, maar jy kry ‘n werk by die Koöperasie, by Bamboes.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: Ek weet nie. Dan kry jy eintlik dubbel geld. Jy kry by my geld, jy kry by jou hoenders geld en by jou skape geld en dalk by jou varke en jy werk by die Koöperasie.

CO-RESEARCHER: En ek werk by die Koöperasie.

HERMAN: 5 kilometer weg. Gerhard het so begin werk. Hy het mos met die kunsmis mense, jare. Hy was lankal getroud. Hy het al, al sy kinders gehad, toe werk hy nog. Hy verkoop kunsmis, maar hy is ook op die plaas.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: Vir die geld. Hy het die grond, maar waar is die geld. Hy maak die geld by die dorp.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien baas Herman.

HERMAN: Jy moet daaraan dink Joba. Ek sê net vir jou.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek hoor jou baie goed baas Herman. Hy is oraait. Maar wil ek net vir baas Herman so bietjie sê. Die skape hulle is, die hoenders hulle is, die varke hulle is. Elke oggend ek gaan werk toe. Ek vra vir myself baas Herman, soos ek nou werk baas Herman. By die Koöperasie of by die ander man gaan werk. Dit gaan nie lyk of ek werk by hierdie plaas nie.

HERMAN: Dit gaan nie lyk soos nou nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Sien jy. Ek gaan die skape bietjie vroeg oopmaak. Dan voer ek die varke bietjie vroeg, die hoenders. Deur die dag ek is nie hier nie.

HERMAN: Kan jy nie lunch, soos hierdie is nou naby, sê nou maar, dan kom jy huistoe.

CO-RESEARCHER: Kan ek so maak, seker so 13:00 dan kom ek huistoe,

maar ek moet daar ry. Om by die plaas te kom. Daai ding weer hy kos vir my. Die skape ook of die vark of die hoenders. As ek nie daai moeilikheid gaan sien, as ek hulle bietjie oopgemaak het, as ek terugkom 13:00, as ek daai groot moeilikheid kom sien. Sien jy daai ding baas Herman? Hy gaan vir my, so sê ek nie ek wil nie ander werk te kry nie, maar daai ding hy is by my kop.

HERMAN: Ja, dit is so.

CO-RESEARCHER: Hy is by my kop.

HERMAN: Ons kyk, ons gaan goed aan. Ek dink nie ons hoef iets te verander nie. Maar ons moet maar net oop bly vir al die planne.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja baas Herman.

HERMAN: En kyk wat is die beste planne.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ons moet net bietjie kyk. Soos ek vir jou gesê het, seker soos met die varke ook. Ek soek eers ‘n plan baas Herman om te seker by die ander mense te hoor waar verkoop hulle die varke. Hulle sê hierso by Wolmaranstad, nee hulle vat net die varke verniet. Jy weet as jy die regte varke soek, baas Herman jy gaan paar sente betaal. Om daai varke te kry. Jy weet vir jouself, seker jy gaan 1 of 2 kry saam met die bul. Ek weet, die varke vat nie so bietjie lank nie.

Want ek het bietjie lank gewerk met die varke, maar sy dinges ek het hom nou bietjie verloor. Ek het hom bietjie vergeet. Die varke vat omtrent 112 dae voor hy kan kleintjies vat. By die eerste dag, dis net die bul begin dinges. Jy moet klaar by die almanak bietjie dinges. Dan weet jy, daai bul by die 5de toe begin hy. Om te groot te maak baas Herman is nie moeilikheid nie maar as jy die kleintjies gaan kry. Jy moet bietjie stil staan.

Jy moet hulle mooi grootmaak. As hulle vendusie toe gaan dan weet jy daai varke is bietjie mooit. Laat hulle vir jou mooi kan betaal. Jy moet die regte varke kry.

HERMAN: Ek hoor jou Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: Die regte varke. As jy by Bamboes staan, daai huisie hierso, weet ek nie of jy hulle gesien het nie. Daai groot varke, as jy kan daai varke kry dan is jy reg.

HERMAN: Dan gaan jy vorentoe.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, maar jy kry net seker 2 van dinges, jy kry nie die bul hier nie. Jy kry die bul weer by ander plek. As jy so bietjie gekry het, nee seker jy kan so 3 jaar 4 jaar sonder die bul. Jy gebruik net daai bul en daai 2 wat jy gekoop het. Jy verkoop net die kleintjies. As jy sien hulle raak bietjie oud, dan jy weet vir jouself, ek het darem genoeg geld gemaak. Jy ruil hulle. Hulle het nie groot werk nie.

Die groot werk is eintlik die wat? Die varke eintlik, jy kan hulle nie eintlik spuit nie, seker as jy wil, jy kan hulle bietjie spuit. As jy nie wil nie jy kan hulle net grootmaak en verkoop.

HERMAN: Joba en dan, ek dink, ons gaan eers daar eindig in die boerdery. Dan moet ons net laastens nou praat oor die ding van wat ek en jy al baie oor gepraat het, wat ek begin verstaan by jou. Oor Ubuntu. By Tswana is ek nou reg is dit Umuntu, nê?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Maar Umuntu wys eintlik na mens. Dit is nie wat hy doen. Party mense is Umuntu, ander mense is nie Umuntu nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee.

HERMAN: Wat is die verskil tussen daai twee mense?

CO-RESEARCHER: Daar is nie verskil eintlik daarso baas Herman. As jy praat Umuntu, jy praat met 1 persoon. As jy praat Ubanto, jy praat met baie mense.

HERMAN: Ek sien.

CO-RESEARCHER: Daai ding is nie net ‘n woord wat jy kan sê vir jouself, nee ek praat net daai woord. Daai woord, eintlik hy is gemaak, eintlik die man wat daai woord gepraat of gesê, hy, kan ek vir jou sê, hy respect as hy daai ding praat.

HERMAN: Ek sien.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja. Eintlik altyd as jy praat, jy kan nie sê ek het daai man gesien. Jy het ‘n naam. Ek moet sê ek het Herman gesien. Dit wys vir jou daar, jy “respect”. Jy praat nie meer ek het daai man gesien nie. Wat is daai man?

HERMAN: Wat is sy naam?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja. As jy praat die naam die mense verstaan, nee, jy

praat met Joba.

HERMAN: Aartbiskop Tutu, Desmond Tutu, jy weet hy kom van Klerksdorp af?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Kyk hy het mos nou die woord so gebruik dat ons almal die woord al gehoor het van Umtu Nguntu Nkabanto.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Wat beteken daai?

CO-RESEARCHER: Umuntu.

HERMAN: Umtu Nguntu Nkabanto beteken Umuntu.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, eintlik daai ding soos ek hoor baas Herman, daai ding jy kan hom met drie dinge praat. Umuntu, Ubantu, soos baas Herman nou gesê het. Baas Herman, daai ding, soos ek sê vir jou, daai ding eintlik jy moet “respect”, as jy praat daai woord.

HERMAN: Wat ek ook onthou jy al vir my gesê het, wat by my bly, Joba. Jy moet nou sê of ek jou reg onthou. Wat ek onthou is dat jy gesê het daai woord van Umuntu, jy kan nie uitgaan by die straat en daai woord sê nie. Want dit beteken eintlik soos ek onthou jy gesê het, jy maak eintlik jou deur oop. Jy haal amper jou deur af. Almal kan inkom, soos jou ma by jou kom bly en jy kan vir niks nee sê nie. Hulle kan suiker, kos, alles is almal sin. Jy kan nie daai woord hard praat nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee, jy kan nie.

HERMAN: Want jy gaan eindig met niks. Hoe ek jou altyd sien as ek jou reg verstaan, dit is amper ‘n woord wat jy saggies praat. Jy gebruik amper nie die woord nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Eintlik hy baas Herman, hy is nie sleg daai woord nie, maar Motswana, by ons, kan ek nie sê, soos ek het vir jou gesê. Kyk daai man, Motswana, as ek daai woord gaan gebruik, wat sê ek as ek daai woorde praat? Kyk daai man. Ek sê [inaudible 22:13], daai woorde hy is nie reg nie.

HERMAN: Kyk daai mens.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja. As ek sê as jy alleen is, ek sê kyk daai man, ek sê [inaudible], as julle ‘n paar is, ek sê kyk hierdie mense, [inaudible].

HERMAN: Ek hoor.

CO-RESEARCHER: Daai B A T.

HERMAN: Mense of meer mense.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Net ‘n laaste vraag Joba, hieroor, dan is ons klaar. As jy nou kan sê hy is ‘n slegte man. Is hy steeds Umuntu?

CO-RESEARCHER: Hy steeds? Maar jy kan hom nie sê nie.

HERMAN: Wanneer verloor jy daai? Hoe ek Umuntu verstaan is dit is ‘n manier om ‘n mens te wees. Wat van jou ‘n mens maak. Ek wil amper sê ‘n goeie mens maak. ‘n Mens wat met ander mense deel. Dit is hoe ek nou dink ek en jy saam werk. Ek trust jou met my goed, dan word my goed jou goed. Dan deel ons die goed. Dit is nie meer my goed, jou goed nie. Dit is wat die ander boere hier ook sien. Hulle kan nie vir my ‘n storie vertel nie, want hulle sien Joba, dit is ook Joba se goed. Daai is ‘n manier van saamwerk en saamwees

CO-RESEARCHER: Jy het hom nou gevan baas Herman as jy so sê.

HERMAN: Is dit?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, ons altwee is by daai ding. Ons kan sê daai twee manne [inaudible]. Ons is 2 by daai ding. Dit is hoekom ek vir jou gesê het, jy het daai ding nou gevang.

HERMAN: Ek sien.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ons is nou 2 daar. As jy net alleen is by daai ding, ons kan nie sê Batu, ons moet sê 1. Jy is net alleen mos.

HERMAN: Ek sien ja.

CO-RESEARCHER: Maar soos eintlik daai woorde hulle het hom geskryf. Jy kan hom hoor hy is eintlik nie Tswana nie. Ek weet nie wat dit is nie, maar is nie Tswana nie. Want Tswana as ons sê daai woorde, hulle het hom geskryf. Jy kan hom hoor hy is eintlik nie Tswana nie. Ek weet nie wat dit is nie, maar is nie Tswana nie. Want Tswana as ons sê Ubuntu, [inaudible], in Tswana ons moet sê Batu. Ons sê Batu. Ons sê nie Buntu nie. Ek weet nie baas Herman, jy het gesien by PSL, by die sokker. Dit is ‘n ander team, sy naam is Sundowns.

HERMAN: Ja.

CO-RESEARCHER: Jy moet daai woorde kyk voor by daai manne, voor by

hulle T-shirt geskryf. Ubuntu.

HERMAN: O, sê hulle hom daar?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, jy moet net daarso bietjie kyk.

HERMAN: Ek sal.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, jy moet net daarso bietjie kyk. Lyk my hierdie groot man van hulle, hy is ‘n goeie man, Patrice Motsepe. Lyk my hy is ‘n goeie man. Ek weet nie, hier en daar ek gehoor hy het die kinders by die skool gehelp.

HERMAN: Dis reg, hy is hier van Rustenburg.

CO-RESEARCHER: Sien jy daai ding baas Herman. Hulle praat met daai woorde. Met daai woord, Ubuntu.

HERMAN: Ek sien.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis die man wat die mense kan help. Kan ek vir jou sê, daai man hy oppas. Daai woord jy moet hom “respect”.

HERMAN: Ek sien.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is hoekom daai man het daai woord by die t-shirt van daai mense daar geskryf. Hy wys dis ‘n mens. Jy moet net daai ding bietjie kyk baas.

HERMAN: Ek sal. Sundowners, hulle help mekaar. maar Patrice Motsepe help hullp ook.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: En so help hulle weer vir hom.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Want hy kan nou sê, ek het ‘n sokker team. Dit is my manne wat daar speel. Hulle speel vir hom?

CO-RESEARCHER: Hulle speel vir hom?

HERMAN: Maar hy werk ook vir hulle.

CO-RESEARCHER: Sien jy, dit is hoekom lyk my daai woord daar gebruik om te sê Ubuntu.

HERMAN: Ek sien. Joba, baie dankie. Dit het nou gehelp.

CO-RESEARCHER: Baas Herman, hy het klomp paaie. Ek weet by julle ook daai ding hy is. Ek sien baie mense, hulle sê ons, ons het baie dinge. Ek sê vir die mense altyd. Ek sê nee man, ons, as ons die ding wil doen, daai ding

ons sukkel om daai ding te doen. Maar seker as jy kan een van die witmense kan kry dan sê vir hom ek het moeilikheid soos hierdie een hierso. Help vir my. Daai ding baas Herman, jy gaan hom regkry. Dit is hoekom nou, baas Herman, ek sê vir jou ek doen die besigheid saam met jou. Is nie ek of is nie jy nie.

Daai ding hy's saam. Dit is hoekom ek sê vir jou, die mense wat onder by die grond is en die mense wat bo is, daai mense hulle sien al hierdie dinge. Hulle kan vir jou sê, waar het daai ding begin. As jy die regte mense het dan hulle gaan vir jou wys en waar jy die moeilikheid gemaak het. Hulle gaan vir jou wys. As iets jou pla by jou hart, daai mense sê vir jou wat gebeur het. Die Here ook, Hy sien. Hieride man het moeilikheid.

Jy sien mos die dag, kan ek vir jou sê, vandag dit is so, môre dit is so. As jy moeilikheid het, die moeilikheid jy kan gaan slaap dan verstaan jy nie vir jouself nie. Maar môre as jy opstaan, jy het die plan van daai ding gekry. Jy moet nie haastig wees nie, net stadig.

HERMAN: Dankie Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee goed baas Herman.

Interview 4

HERMAN: Joba, ek wil sê dat ek hierdie ook record. Dat wat ek dink kan help ook, as ons nou klaar is met hierdie "study". Dat ons vir mense kan wys, ons werk saam. Hier is Ubuntu as jy wil. Dit gaan beter met my, dit gaan beter met jou.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is.

HERMAN: Maar ons wil hê dit moet nog beter met jou gaan.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is.

HERMAN: Dan kan 'n mense dalk die boek vat. Ek moet kyk met wie moet ek praat. En ons gaan na hulle toe en ons sê vir hulle, hoe gaan die Government vir Joba help. Kyk hier is 'n man, als oor hom geskryf in hierdie boek. Hierdie PHD, dit is wat hulle hierdie graad noem.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek sien.

HERMAN: Hy is 'n co-researcher. Hy het saam met my gewerk, hy het saam met my gesoek en weer gesoek en vrae gevra.

CO-RESEARCHER: O, ek sien.

HERMAN: Hier is die boek. Hierdie man, Joba, wil grond hê. Julle is sy Government, hoe gaan julle ons kan help. Dit is wat ek hoop. Dat ons die ding kan vat, en sê kyk, ons kan so vêr gaan, maar ons kan nie verder gaan nie. Hierdie man het nou grond nodig. Watse plan kan ons maak. Dit is wat ek hoop kan gebeur Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek hoop daai ding baas Herman, ook so.

HERMAN: Want as jy kan grond kry by jou naam, dink net. Ek bedoel, jy sal die enigste swart boer hier wees, tussen Ottosdal en Wolmaranstad.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is so.

HERMAN: Dit sal net jy wees, en die mense het swart boere nodig.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is baas Herman.

HERMAN: Kom ons hoop dit is waarheen dit gaan.

CO-RESEARCHER: Hierdie ding baas Herman, hy het baie mense se gedagte bietjie gaan omdraai. Hy gaan hulle koppe bietjie regmaak. Hoekom het daai twee manne hierdie ding gekies.

HERMAN: Dit is vir my ‘n baie goeie ding dat die buurman by jou kom hoenders koop. Hy kyk ook. Wie is hierdie man Joba. Hoekom is hy so anders. Is hy ooit anders. Is my mense nie ook goeie mense nie. Gee ek hulle miskien nie genoeg kans nie. Wat ook al.

CO-RESEARCHER: Jy is reg.

HERMAN: Mense se koppe, ons hoop, draai. As ons hierdie ding klaar het, dan wil ek sê stap ons na hulle toe volgende jaar, municipality toe. Ons sien julle gee vir mense grond hier teen die dorp, hoe kan Joba ook grond kry?

CO-RESEARCHER: Jy is reg baas Herman.

HERMAN: Wat is die requirements, vertel ons. Laat ons vir Joba daar kry.

CO-RESEARCHER: Kom ons hoop soos baas Herman sê, hierdie ding ons gaan hom kry.

HERMAN: Ons kry hom.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is reg baas Herman.

Interview 5

HERMAN: Okay, Joba, hierdie is nou 5 Junie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: Dis nou die laaste recording wat ons maak.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: Aan die einde van die maand, moet ek nou die thesis insit.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: So ek gaan net gou recap wat ons gedoen het.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: Wat ek hier geskryf het Joba, is hoe ek en jy besluit het om saam te werk, op die plaas, dat ons vir jou die hoenderbesigheid gegee het. Jy het saam met ons geleer en jy het op jou eie aangegaan. Baie goed. Met hoeveel hoenders het jy begin?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ons het begin met omtrent 100.

HERMAN: 100 nê? En hoeveel het jy nou?

CO-RESEARCHER: Omtrent so, ander maand ek vat 8, ander maand ek vat 6.

HERMAN: 6 Bokse?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, 6 bokse.

HERMAN: Dit is 600 kuikens. So jy het gegroei van 100 tot by 600.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Ek het jou niks ekstra geld gegee nie. Ek betaal vir jou vooruit die kuikens, maar ek bedoel, jy betaal vir die kos. Daai het ons stadig oorgegee aan jou. Aan die begin het ons nog kos gekoop, toe koop jy jou eie kos.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: En hoe lank is dit nou al? 3 Jaar?

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee, hy gaan nie nou by 4 jaar nie?

HERMAN: Ja, dis reg. En nou is dit al so dat ek betaal vir die hoenders, jy betaal my terug. In daai maand betaal jy my terug. Jy skuld my niks.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is so.

HERMAN: Die bakkie het jy betaal.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, baas Herman.

HERMAN: Nou, kom ons kyk gou. Hoe maak ons met die skape nou? Ek

het gesê, ek gee vir jou al die ooie van verlede jaar. Hoeveel was hulle?

CO-RESEARCHER: Omtrent 18 baas Herman.

HERMAN: Ja.

CO-RESEARCHER: Soos jy sien, nou die dag, met daai maand, wat is daai maand? Februarie, toe het hulle begin doodgaan en ons het nie daar gespuit nie.

HERMAN: Wat het hulle gehad?

CO-RESEARCHER: Die bloutong.

HERMAN: Toe het jy ingery dorp toe, jy het kom vra vir Cornelia wat is fout, toe het jou pa gehelp en gesê dit klink soos bloutong. Ek sê toe, ek sien nie ‘n bloutong nie, ek lees toe sê ek nee jou pa is reg, dit is bloutong. Toe het jy die medisyne gaan koop.

CO-RESEARCHER: Nee, ek het gekry, jy het hulle gekry.

HERMAN: Jy is reg, ek het hulle gekry, jy het gespuit.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, ek het gespuit.

HERMAN: En hulle is deur, hulle is reg.

CO-RESEARCHER: Hulle is nou reg.

HERMAN: Dit is nou weer lamtyd. Toe is ons volgende plan nou met die skape dat jy koop die ooie by my.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Die groot ooi ook. Dan koop jy so die besigheid oor. Elke ooi koop jy, daai lam wat daar kom, is jou lam.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: In die week nou, verlede week, het die mense 2 van jou ooie kom koop. Van die klein jong ooitjies, wat ‘n jaar oud is.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg ja.

HERMAN: Toe sê jy nee goed. Hierdie gaan te stadig vir jou.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Die dat jy nou die groot ooi by my gaan koop.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: Jy gaan daai geld van daai jaar oue ooie vat en vir my gee.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, ek gaan vir jou gee.

HERMAN: Vir betaling vir 2 groot ooie. Wat klaar dra. Wat nou gaan lam.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is reg.

HERMAN: Dan kry jy vir 1 skaap se prys kry jy ‘n volwasse ooi en ‘n lam. En so gaan jy vorentoe.

CO-RESEARCHER: Maar daai ding ek het hom so bietjie gedink. Ons het mos so gepraat, hierdie lammers van hierdie jaar is jou lammers. Ek het mos nie die ooie klaar betaal, ek gaan stadig met die ooie. Seker begin volgende jaar, as ons klaar die ramme ingesit het, seker daarso, seker gaan hê 20, ek gaan seker 15 of 10, ons weet nie. Ons sal net daarso bietjie kyk.

HERMAN: Maar as jy ‘n ooi by my gekoop het nou wat dra, dan is daai lam joune.

CO-RESEARCHER: Maar daarso.

HERMAN: Ons moet hom net merk of wat?

CO-RESEARCHER: Nou weet ek nie daar nie. Ek het nie so bietjie gedink nie. Ek het gedink die lammers van hierdie jaar is joune. As die ooie, hulle gaan nou begin lam, die geld gaan mos agterna kom. Daai ooie is klaar gelam. Daai ooi is nog joune baas Herman, hy is nog nie myne nie.

HERMAN: Maar jy het vir my geld gegee vir 2 ooie, so ons moet kyk, die klein ooitjie weeg 40kg, die groot ooi sonder die lam weeg seker 55kg, sy is bietjie swaarder so sy is bietjie duurder as ‘n klein ooi. Maar steeds, dit is ten minste 1 groot ooi wat jy gekoop het. Daai groot ooi, ek het klaar die geld, se lam is joune.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dis reg.

HERMAN: Jy koop haar voordat sy, of al koop jy daai ooi met die lam, dis joune.

CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit, baas Herman?

HERMAN: Ek bedoel, jy betaal nie ekstra vir die lam nie. As jy vir my sê, ek wil met daai geld wat jy vir my gegee het, Saterdag, wil ek daai ooi hê met daai lam, dan is dit joune.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, maar daai ding ons moet hom bietjie saam kyk. Ons moet hom seker die mooie ooie, ons moet hulle eenkant sit, dan kyk ons hoe lyk hulle. Hulle is omtrent so 20 of 25. Want ons het gepraat mos. Die ander ooit wat ons sien, moet ons verkoop.

HERMAN: Na hierdie seisoen. Laat hulle eers lam.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Nee reg Joba, ons kan daaroor praat. Goed, so dit is hoe ons nou werk. Ons het nou vandag kontrak ook geteken dat jy ‘n huurkontrak het met jou naam op wat jy weet niemand kan jou daar jaag nie. Daar is ‘n kontrak. Jy het ook vir my geteken die ander brief wat sê dit is reg, ek kan wat ons praat sit by die thesis. Ek gaan net gou deur die proses. Wat ek gesien het is goed, ons werk oor Ubuntu.

Ek het vir jou gevra, wat is Ubuntu, wat ek baie goed onthou, wat my nuut was wat jy vir my gesê het was dit is soos asof jy jou deur moet afskroef. Dis hoe jy Ubuntu sien, nê?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, dit is.

HERMAN: Jy kan nie vir enige man oor Ubuntu praat nie, want hy gaan vir jou uittrek.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, dit is.

HERMAN: Miskien met jou ma. Iemand wat jy kan trust.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.

HERMAN: Ek en jy trust mekaar eintlik so.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is so.

HERMAN: Ons het al baie gesê, ons werk saam, jy sorg baie mooi vir my goed.

CO-RESEARCHER: Jy is reg.

HERMAN: Ek probeer my beste vir jou. So lyk dit of hierdie ding van Ubuntu vir my en vir jou help om te kan saam werk. Dit is wat ek gesien het. En dit is wat ek skryf. En ek sê ek dink op die manier kan ons meer gelyk leef. Dat jy diere het, jy maak jou eie geld en jy is ‘n boer op jou eie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja, ek sien.

HERMAN: Miskien, ons weet nie, maar ek sê nie ons bure gaan maak wat ons maak nie.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek glo nie.

HERMAN: Glo jy nie Joba?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ek glo nie, maar ons weet nie. Laat ons liewers so sê, ons weet nie.

HERMAN: En ons hoop nê?

CO-RESEARCHER: Ja.
HERMAN: Dat hulle sien hier is ‘n manier dat jy kan saam werk. En dit gaan baie beter op die plaas.

CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is.
HERMAN: Nee dit is al wat ek het om te sê Joba.
CO-RESEARCHER: Is dit? Ja, dit is ‘n bietjie beter as baas Herman soos hierdie ding besluit het. By jou kop gekom het. Laat jy hierdie ding kan doen. Want jy wys baie mense, jy is nie net by hierdie kant nie. Jy is 2 kante. Jy is nie net by een ding nie. Laat die ander mense bietjie kan sien. Hoe hierdie twee manne saam leef. Maar hulle is nie dieselfde nie. As hierdie man die kant vat, die man vat ook hierdie kant. Dis baie goed so baas Herman. Ek hoop my kinders en jou kinders ook, as hulle hierdie ding kan sien, dit sal goed wees.
HERMAN: Dit is Joba. Dit is al hoe ons kan vorentoe gaan eintlik.
CO-RESEARCHER: Soos ek vir jou Saterdag gesê het, daai plaas, jou plaas het vir my. Lyk my daai tyd hy was maar nou kan ek vir myself verstaan waar ek is, hoe loop ek. My gedagte kan nou bietjie werk, ek kan sien. Hy loop soos ek maar die vel is nie soos ek nie. Ek moet hierdie man help. Kan ek nie sien hierdie ding gaan af, of die ding breek of die ooie gaan dood. Dan sit ek net stil en sê ek sal daai man môre seker help. Dan sê ek vir hom van die ooie. As daai ding gebeur het moet ek daai ding optel. As ek bel vir jou laat ek klaar daai ding opgetel het. Dan wys ek dit. Ek het hierdie ding bietjie gesorg.
HERMAN: Ek kan sien jy sorg baie goed op die plaas. Al daai katbos is uit, vêr, ek sien nie katbos nie.
CO-RESEARCHER: Jy sien, as ek net daai kampe bietjie oopmaak, as ons so loop, laat ons die skaap kan sien, as hulle daar by die pad loop, dit sal oraait wees vir my.
HERMAN: Ja, dit is.
CO-RESEARCHER: Dit is bietjie stadig baas Herman, want as ek klaar die bome gesny het moet ek die katbos onder by die bome uithaal.
HERMAN: Al daai wortels.

CO-RESEARCHER: Daai boom moet skoon kom. Laat die mense, as hulle verby gaan by die pad, hulle kan sien. Hierdie huis is ‘n ou huis, maar hulle kan sien dis die mense hier. Jy sien mos orals, party plekke, die mense gaan haal nie die katbos uit nie. Hulle los hulle net.

HERMAN: Dit lyk vreeslik.

CO-RESEARCHER: Daai is die moeilikheid.

HERMAN: Diere kan hom nie eet nie, dit is net vuilgoed.

CO-RESEARCHER: Ons soek nie daai goed nie. Ons maak skoon laat die mense kan sien, hierdie man van hier, hulle sorg die grond van hulle. Ons het nie trekker nie, maar die mense as hulle gaan by die plaas, as hulle sien daai boom, hulle vra vir hulleself, wie het hierdie goed hier ingejaag? Nee, Joba het hulle daar gesleep.

HERMAN: Joba, ek is baie gelukkig.

CO-RESEARCHER: En ek self baas.

HERMAN: Wonderlik Joba. Dankie Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: Baie dankie baas Herman.

B 2 INTERVIEWS WITH INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH PARTNERS:

B 2.1 CATHERINE SMETHERHAM - FUNDRAISING CONSULTANT

Interview 1

HERMAN: So, Catherine, I'm interviewing you now to just recall how the chicken business started, and from there, the process of it now being Joba's business.

CO-RESEARCHER: Okay.

HERMAN: Nicolaas, we're busy with a recorded interview, so you cannot play with the ball here now, but you can listen-in. So, was the Broiler Chicken business your idea?

CO-RESEARCHER: If I remember correctly, I think it was, yes.

HERMAN: You can be informal, if you like, so how did you come across the idea? Did somebody tell you that you can make money out of chicken?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, my cousin in Natal, who lives on a farm there and has a big chicken business. He said, "You can make money out of live chickens." So, I thought, because we were living on a farm, it would be a good domestic income for me, as the mother, housewife, you know, living on the farm, while your husband does the bigger business stuff. That you could just do something to turn enough to cover a significant amount of household expenses. Maybe food, electricity, telephone, or something like that.

HERMAN: A bit like my Ouma, she did it like that?

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, exactly like your Ouma.

HERMAN: How did you start the business then? Did you go to the Co-Op or where did you get the chickens? Where did you get the ideas from?

CO-RESEARCHER: Do you want to check that it's recording, and that you can hear it?

HERMAN: And when did Joba start helping you?

CO-RESEARCHER: Before we did the whole thing.

Interview 2

HERMAN: Okay, Catherine, so how did you start the business?

CO-RESEARCHER: I think I mentioned that I spoke to my cousin in Natal, who had a big chicken business. He said you could make money out of selling live chickens to the townships. Then I phoned around for a supplier and eventually found one through talking to one of my children's friend's mums actually, who worked for a big chicken company. She told me that I could buy day-old chicks from her or their company, and she also helped me and gave me lots of ideas and stuff of how to look after them, rear them, how to keep them warm, what they needed (food-wise) and all of that.

HERMAN: Okay, and you then got the chickens. Where did Joba come into the story?

CO-RESEARCHER: Well, Joba was working for us at the time, so I asked him, if he knew anything about growing chickens. He said he did not, but he was prepared to learn. He spoke to somebody he knew in the township, who had done some chickens, and then we actually just learnt together, I think. The arrangement in the beginning was that he would get a certain portion of each chicken and I would get the other portion, so he was now linked to the market. He was our link to the township to where people brought the chickens and he would get a percentage. I think, I've forgotten, R10.00 or something, per chicken and we would get R12.00 per chicken. Or maybe it was an even split.

HERMAN: So that was the amount of profit in that, wasn't it? It was like R25.00.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, I think it was R25.00 for a chicken.

HERMAN: And the chicken had cost, well it was sold it for R40.00 at that stage.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, so we did a profit-sharing thing and we learnt together how to do it. Whenever we came across a sick chicken, he would take the photograph, send it to me and I would send it to my contact and then we'd work out what was wrong with it. Yes, we learnt together for a long time.

HERMAN: And the chicken coops, I mean we did not buy chicken coops, Joba made them.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, we adapted the buildings we had, into chicken coops.

HERMAN: Yes, with thick Black plastic to cover the open sides and role it up, when it becomes hot in the day time.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: So, Catherine, when did you or how did you realise that this model wasn't working?

CO-RESEARCHER: I think my plan was that we would make something like about R10 000 a month, to cover household expenses. The problem was that we couldn't grow the market big enough. Once you start growing… Yes, the market in the township I think where we lived, in that rural area, was limited. So, we couldn't really expand our systems. Looking at it, it made more sense for one person to be getting all the profit from it and for it to be a significant profit, rather than us trying to split it. I suppose I had other ways of making more money and I was aware that Joba did not have, so for him it made sense to take over the whole business. He was linked to the market. He was the one, who did the work with the chickens, so in handing it over to him, he could make enough money for his household. Whereas we couldn't make enough or our household.

HERMAN: Yes, and then we sold him the bakkie because he used the Nissan 1400 bakkie to drive to town with the chickens and back.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: But we offered the bakkie to him at a discounted price, less than its market value, and he also paid us for that bakkie from the money he made with the chickens.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: Before he got to the end of his down-payments, we said it's enough, it's fine. You've paid a substantial amount, so he could pay for the bakkie and he still received and still receives to this day his salary, which is above the minimum monthly salary. Then on top of that, he started making around R2.000 a month on the chickens, and when you handed it over to him, what happened? As I remember, we gave him all the equipment.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: All the water and food-feeders. He used our barns without renting it. He does pay us a bit towards electricity, but now he makes… Last month he made, because now a chicken is R60.00 and costs have also gone up.

CO-RESEARCHER: And he has expanded the numbers significantly.

HERMAN: Yes, we were on 200 then, and he then moved up later to 500, and this month he's on 800. So, on the 800 we pay for the chickens in advance. It's an electronic transfer, and from there they deliver to town and he buys the food nowadays. So, he has the cost and then he reimburses us the purchase price of those chickens, but he pays for all the food.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: How much does he make now, do you think?

CO-RESEARCHER: Well, I think we were turning R18 000, when we still had it, turning. Profit…?

HERMAN: Net-profit was about R4 000 or what.

CO-RESEARCHER: I think R4 000 for us and about R3 000 for him, so I think it was R7 000 net profit in those days. I think now, I think he must be making between R10 000 to R15 000 for himself.

HERMAN: Yes.

CO-RESEARCHER: I think he must be turning close to R30 000 plus. So, if you take that, plus the salary he gets for being the farm manager, sheep herder that he does.

HERMAN: It would be close to about R20 000.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes.

HERMAN: Okay, obviously the contribution of the profit of his chicken business is substantial. He's doing a very good job, but okay, he's on about R15 000 now.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, and I think he's become, I think probably the best supplier of live chickens in Wolmaransstad. He definitely does the biggest number. He's got the widest network of hawkers and he does it all by himself.

HERMAN: Yes, and even my cousin, Gerhard, would come to him and buy chickens from him, so when it's 10 and more, he gives them a discount, but if Gerhard has a shortfall on his side, to deliver his contracts, he buys from Joba.

CO-RESEARCHER: I think perhaps the most significant thing is, if it wasn't for the big problem we've got on imported chickens from Brazil right now, and with the fact that the big chicken companies, like Supreme, are not expanding their businesses. If it wasn't for that, Joba will be the most ideal candidate for a company like Supreme, to invest in.

HERMAN: Yes.

CO-RESEARCHER: And to use Enterprise Development Money to get an emerging farmer, like Joba, and to setup chicken houses for him and let him farm on a huge scale. He could be supplying them with 2 to 3 million chickens every 8-weeks.

HERMAN: And you phoned, who was it?

CO-RESEARCHER: I've phoned several times. I phoned to find out if the market has changed, if they are investing in emerging farmers yet? Are they looking for new businesses? Are they investing in new outlets? They've all just said to me, "No, unfortunately because of the situation with the chickens politically, the flood of Brazilian chickens coming into the country – they're not expanding." In fact, some of their biggest farmers are folding.

HERMAN: Yes, because they're making losses on their chickens, on a monthly basis.

CO-RESEARCHER: Yes, so the point I think is Joba is an emerging farmer, growing and growing, and learning and acquiring knowledge. I think the knowledge he's acquired in the last 7 years has put him on a completely different level to his family, his fellow workers, and if it was a different economy and a different political situation, he would have been able to be a highly successful chicken farmer right now.

HERMAN: Yes, and then just to interpret. I think that's part of the interpretation of the situation. That we are more than satisfied with the way this has gone. I feel also that we have put that land to the best possible use. With your knowledge of, as you say, enterprise development. We've looked at those possibilities to give him the opportunity to move his business to a different level. But I think on a personal level, I feel relieved that he has an independent income from us. An income three-times what we can afford to give him, on top of what we give him. I see the way he maintains his vehicle.

He can afford the basics, new tyres, a good service, his children look good, they've got a third child, he's got a house in town. So, all of that has liberated me from a sense of guilt or with our having to move from the farm, because we couldn't make a living there and I think to ask him to find other employment. He could stay on. Our garden at the farm, the whole area around the farmhouse, the fences and everything is in better condition than it's been since my grandfather was there, which was in 1978. The graveyard is clean, so Joba is doing all of that for us, and he's an independent entrepreneur.

CO-RESEARCHER: I think, just in line with that, in a way what the farm is now for these two families, is that it's a shared resource. So, we can go back and visit the farm as a holiday place, as a home that is your ancestral home, it's been in your family for generations and generations. Joba can run his business from there. You could say it's at a subsidised cost, but the fact is, if we sold him that land, he wouldn't have the money to maintain it, as he can do now, or as we can do with his help now. So, if he owned that farm and the windmill broke or the electric pump broke, or there was a fire or the house needed to be repainted. He does not have those resources to maintain the farm. We maintain the farm with the resources we earn from… Earning, living in the city, so what I'm saying is, if one was to have handed it over to him in its entirety. Say we left the country and we said, "Joba, here's the farm." We put it in his name and we left. He would have to leave that farm eventually because he cannot… There wouldn't be enough resources in what he's doing to maintain it.

HERMAN: Can I just ask you lastly. This Enterprise Development – could he buy the farm with money obtained like that and not pay the money back? Is it like a grant or is it like a loan?

CO-RESEARCHER: It can be a grant, but the companies are making… But it can also be a loan, so commercial, big companies are opting to make it a loan rather, and obviously because they get their money back then. So, they would rather loan money to an emerging farmer than give him money and they've also burnt their fingers in simply just giving people money to start farms and own farms because there hasn't been a sense of accountability and ownership, and paying. It's been a sense of 'somebody else is paying this for

me – it does not matter, if it works or it does not work.'

HERMAN: So, how would he be able to own a farm?

CO-RESEARCHER: He would have to go with a business plan to the bank that showed he could… Well, to own a farm or to run a business on a farm, to get capital to farm – he would have to go to a bank or a financing institution and show them a business plan that they believed in and he would have to have credit. He would have to have surety, so then theoretically the surety he would have to have would be that he owns the farm. So, in order to own the farm, he would have to have money to buy the farm. Or he would have to be given the farm by the Government.

HERMAN: Okay, but are there not schemes, where corporates give guys like these grants to buy a farm, if they show that they are skilled with a good track record of farming?

CO-RESEARCHER: All the arrangements that I've come across have been loans and not grants.

HERMAN: Okay.

CO-RESEARCHER: The only ones that I know that give the farms away are Government Schemes.

HERMAN: Thank you very much.

B 2.2 MAURITZ DE KOCK – AGRICULTURAL PROFESSIONAL

What is your professional and personal interest in the 'Land Issue'?

I am an agricultural professional, who during the last 25 years, has held various positions in the agricultural sector. I am currently combining my agricultural economics and charter accountant qualifications as a director of an agricultural consulting firm, Afrilogic.

My interest in land restitution models started in the 90's, when I was part of a team in the Department of Agriculture, as well as in a private consulting firm that developed funding models for empowerment transactions.

Currently, Afrilogic is supporting Harmony Gold, Goldfields and Sybanye Gold in various initiatives to empower rural communities through agricultural projects.

What is the 'Land Issue' to your mind?

Following centuries of colonial domination and decades of apartheid rule, democratic South Africa set out to redistribute rights in land to remedy past racial injustice and lay the basis for rural development. The ANC policymakers focused strongly on the role that land reform can play in the development of rural community. Land reform in my mind has two main objectives, namely:

- The restitution of an unfair land distribution because of historical policies; and
- The development of the rural economy of South Africa.

The Land Act of 1913 formalised the segregation of land ownership in South Africa. This Act was the result of earlier conversations that were formalised in the Cape Commission on Native Laws (1883) and the Glen Grey Commission (1893). The Land Act of 1913 clearly indicated the importance that land ownership had for the White minority and has entranced the idea that the only way for a group to control the economy, that group needs to control the ownership of land. The Land Act of 1913 effectively prohibited Africans from buying or hiring 93% of land in South Africa. The Native and Land Trust Act of 1936 increased the percentage of land that could

be owned by Black people to 13.5%. It is fair to say that Land Reform in South Africa has strong political, historical and economic significance.

The need for a land reform is addressed in the Freedom Charter and was part of the conversations during the CODEC negotiations. Very few South Africans do not acknowledge the need for land reform in South Africa.

Land reform is anchored around three key pillars: Restitution, redistribution and tenure reform, and since 1994, some accomplishments on all three of these reform areas were made. However, the general perception is that land reform has not lived up to the expectations of historically oppressed South Africans as it has not:

- Resulted in Blacks owning a larger share of the land at the anticipated pace;
- Contributed significantly to job creation, poverty reduction and rural development;
- Changed the dualistic nature of the agricultural sector.

The comments above give a background to why I think that a successful land reform programme is imperative for the economic transformation to be inclusive and complete. The perception exists that previously disadvantaged groups have a stronger focus on the political aspects of land reform, while most economically empowered groups focus more on the economical challenges of land reform.

What is your understanding of *ubuntu* and do you think it has a role to play in the 'Land Issue'?

For me, the concept of *ubuntu* has to do with how individuals and society see themselves. The concept of ubuntu was developed by societies that believe that "I am because I am part of a group". The healthier the group is, the better quality of life would be. The concept of ubuntu was developed by indigenous African societies and it is not a concept that is easily translated or understood by Western societies.

The contrast would be a philosophy that believes that society is strong, because individuals are strong.

If the above understanding of *ubuntu* is correct then the groups to the land reform debate will have significant different focus points, when they are discussing these issues. It seems that the difficulty to reach a mutual understanding lies in the different focus points from the role players involved. It could be argued that the inability of key role players in the land reform debate to internalise the philosophy of *ubuntu* are making a consensus among role players very difficult.

What strategies have you noticed land owners, agriculturists and labourers implement to overcome the problems of the 'Land Issue'?

I was personally involved in efforts from private land owners to develop schemes to sell part of their farms to farm workers in the Eastern Cape during the late 90s. My consulting firm is currently helping two listed mining companies to develop models for land redistribution.

I am also involved in discussions with the Landbank, AgriSA and the managers of the Agri Fund of the Royal Bafokeng to find suitable land redistribution models and projects.

All the big diversified agricultural businesses like Senwes, Afgri and many others have initiatives and projects to support new farmers.

What is the government's strategy in the 'Land Issue' in your experience?

Section 25 of the Constitution of 1996 obliges the state to "take reasonable legislative and other measures…to foster conditions, which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis."

The RDP was unambiguous as to the superiority of small-scale farming, making subtle, but clear references to two economic precepts, namely the 'inverse farm-size productivity relationship' and the 'improved local multiplier argument'. The RDP also indicated that land reform would have three main components: Redistribution, through which people would seek assistance to acquire land for farming and/or

settlement; restitution, involving the restoration of land or the provision of alternative compensation to the victims of forced removals; and tenure reform, to improve the tenure security of the population of the ex-Bantustans and 'Coloured reserves', as well as of farm dwellers and workers on commercial farms. How these programmes would operate was set out in a 1997 White Paper on Land Policy (DLA 1997).

Each of the three branches of land reform – land restitution, land redistribution and tenure reform – can count some accomplishments since 1994.

The establishment of an "integrated and inclusive rural economy" has been identified by the National Planning Commission (NPC) as one of the key goals. In real terms, more than R69 billion (measured in 2013 Rands) has been spent by the state on land reform transactions since 1994. Thus far, the exact extent of the resulting transfer of land is not known due to limitations in data, specifically on the extent of land transferred to beneficiaries by the state and the land acquired by Black people through normal market transactions. What is known is that the extent of land transfer falls far short of the 30% of the White-owned farm land target, and have made little contribution to poverty reduction, job creation, food security or rural development.

What effect do you foresee will the narratives of 'State Capture' and 'Radical Economic Transformation' have on the 'Land Issue'?

A clear need for a change in resource allocation is made in my opening comments. The how is unclear. The efforts of government in the past to redistribute land is not perceived as effective.

Can you foresee the effects of South Africa's investment downgrade on the 'Land Issue' if any?

The increase in the interest bill of South Africa will reduce the money that government will have available for social programmes. South African's sovereign rating can also have a negative impact on the borrowing cost of private institutions. If the lending cost to private firms increases, the surplus available to the private sector including farmers to support land distribution, will also decrease. I think that most economists expect the cost of capital to increase in all spheres of the economy. The

investment downgrade can therefore have significant negative consequences for land reform in South Africa.

Do you have any suggestions for Joba and me to ensure that our model is sustainable and even replicable?

I think that it is imperative that expectations on both sides are managed. The ability to have open discussions, despite how difficult these discussions might be, will go a long way to manage expectation of parties involved. The ability of parties to search for value for all parties involved will help parties to understand and discuss all the issues. I do think that the agreements reached should be formalised as far as possible.

What in your opinion is the best way forward to resolve the 'Land Issue'?

The biggest concern for me in the land debate is the expectation gap that exists between role players. White people find it difficult to relate to the emotional connotation that Black people have to the land issue. For many Black people, economic transformation and empowerment cannot happen, if Black people are excluded form land ownership. An ANC policy document from 1994 states the following:

> *Land is the most basic need for rural dwellers. Apartheid policies pushed millions of Black South Africans into overcrowded and impoverished reserves, homelands and townships. In addition, capital intensive agricultural policies led to the large-scale eviction of farm dwellers from their land and homes…Only a tiny minority of Black people can afford land on the free market* (ANC 1994: 19).

The expectation gap regarding the profitability of farming and the supply chain realities of the economy is highlighted through an extract from the NDP document that states the following:

Yet, the NDP is quite clear: Land reform has to start with the (re)creation of a comprehensive farmer support programme, whose main aim is to ensure that new entrants into agriculture can farm profitably at whatever scale they decide. It is clear that the systematic withdrawal of farmer support from White farmers and the failure to put in place farmer support for new (Black) farmers over the past two decades favours larger farmers. The lack of farmer support has also compounded the ill-effects of South Africa's distorted rural space, while the little farmer support that exists is not aimed at addressing the legacy of 'Betterment' nor of the Marketing Act, and has left the countryside bereft of food processing and trading enterprises, so that it is little wonder that the contribution of Black farmers to agricultural output remains small and that within commercial farming, the largest farmers produce an increasingly large proportion of total output.

It seems from this extract that policymakers believe that small-holder farmers can create enough value to sustain at least their immediate families. When one analyses the profitability of primary agricultural production, it becomes clear that the margins realised are constantly decreasing, when expressed on a per ha basis. It is therefore apparent that farmers need to increase operations to maintain a specific income level.

White people, on the other hand, focus on economical issues, when discussing land reform and especially the risk of a land grab. While most White people acknowledge the need for a land transformation process, they want the process to be well defined with clear goals and time lines. After the completion of this process, the free market should be allowed to allocate agricultural resources and farmers should be left alone to produce food for the nation.

I think it is fair to say that all parties are frustrated with the slow pace of land reform and especially with the inability of the current government to develop and support Black farmers. The Chief Executive Officer of the Land Bank, TP Nchocho, summarised, what needs to be done to get failed land reform projects back on track,

while expanding the reach of the land reform. “We need to make more land available for land reform. But surely, we need to fix what is available now”.

In a document titled, “Agriparks – An Answer to Small Farmer Development” by Agri SA, the authors note the discontent by the South African on the slow pace of land reform, when they write that “the Land reform may have originally been aimed at social justice and reconciliation; however, there is a growing discontent amongst beneficiaries that the programme has not resulted in sustaining the socio-economic empowerment they had hoped for”.

It feels that the country has not reached any sort of consensus on an acceptable model for land reform. In my opinion, the most important discussion should be on how previously disadvantaged groups are accommodated in the formal economy. I think that most analysts would agree that a radical economic transformation programme would work best in a growing economic environment. The current impasse on the land reform programme prevents current investors from making investments that will allow the agricultural sector to grow. People entering agriculture generally over-estimate the profitability of the sector and soon become despondent, when they realise how difficult it is to earn acceptable profits form primary production.

To summarise, I think that a sector that requires highly skilled management to succeed in production, also needs a high level of discussion to succeed in the transformation programmes.

B 2.3 JOHANN MAGERMAN – STRUGGLE ACTIVIST

Introduction

I have been asked to write a response to the article, "Ubuntu and the Quest for Land Reform in South Africa", as published in Verbum et Ecclesia (Holtzhausen, 2015). As I understand it, this response does not necessarily have to be an academic or theological critique, but should rather be a reflection on the text. In the paragraphs that follow, I hope to provide exactly that. Before commenting on the issues, I shall provide a brief sketch of myself and my relationship with the author of the quoted article.

I was born 1970 in Elsies River on the Cape Flats. My parents both hailed from the Northern Cape. My mother was born in Brandvlei, a few hundred kilometres north of Calvinia. At the end of the 1950s, the whole family moved to Vasco in the Goodwood district. The area that they settled in was declared White and in the early 1960s, they were relocated to the Coloured township of Bishop Lavis. Here, she attended the local high school, John Ramsay Secondary until standard eight (grade 10). She then started working at one of the clothing factory shops as a seamstress. She worked at Symington's for a number of years, before changing careers in the early 1980s and became an Early Childhood Development educator.

My father was born and raised in Komaggas in the Northern Cape. He was raised by an abusive step father and was forced out of school in Standard Five (grade seven) to tend to the family's livestock. After a few years of doing this, he decided to come to Cape Town and had several low-key jobs before finally landing a position as messenger at Trust Bank. He would eventually spend the next thirty years at the bank, before he was medically boarded in 2007. My father and mother met in Bishop Lavis and they were married in 1968, when it was discovered that my mother was pregnant. They would eventually have five children, including a still-born baby in 1973. The rest of the children were all brothers.

Apart from working for the bank, my father was a very religious man and in the early 1970s qualified as an Evangelist. In 1978, he was sent by the church to Macassar, a

small semi-rural town, a few kilometers outside Somerset West. The family settled there and three of us married local women and settled in the township.

Growing up in apartheid South Africa, the issue of the land and land reform was seen as something of a secondary goal that will eventually be realised after liberation has been achieved. The immediate goal was the dismantling of the apartheid system and as a young fifteen-year old, I committed myself to the struggle for liberation. I was recruited into AZAPO, the Azanian Peoples Congress, the dominant ideological momevement at the time in Macassar. AZAPO mostly consisted of young people, who were students at UWC. During my time at AZAPO, I was given a solid theoretical understanding of our struggle and was exposed to many books and thinkers. Most of these centred on issues of identity and to this day, I identify myself as a Black South African and reject with utter contempt the term Coloured.

In 1987, I was recruited into the African National Congress, which at the time was still banned. I did not join Umkhonto We Sizwe, although several of my closest friends did. My elder brother became an MK operative and he spent several weeks in Victor Verster prison, now the Drakenstein Correctional Facility. A defining moment in my life was when two of my closest comrades, Coline Williams and Robbie Waterwitch were killed, when they attempted to blow up the Athlone Magistrate Court building. This was seen as the beginning of the final push and mass demonstrations swept the entire country. Six months later, the liberation movements were unbanned and Nelson Mandela and others released.

In the late 1980s, I became part of the Inter Church Youth, a UDF affiliated organisation that mobilised young people to join the struggle. We rallied young people, who were committed Christians to act against oppression and injustices. In 1989, we worked full-time in a theater group and traversed the entire Western Cape with our plays and poetry. We workshopped our ideas and thoughts on the struggle, including economic emancipation and land reform. It was these experiences that would influence me to study theology full-time and I enrolled at the UWC in the early 1990s. Although I am Reformed (I am a proud member of the Calvin Protestant Church), I joined the Anglican Student Federation and later became the Vice President of the South African Christian Students. I was also the President of the

Theological Student Society at UWC at one point. (Coincidentally, it was during my stint at ASF, that I met Herman's wife, Catherine).

After completing my undergraduate studies, I worked at the Agency for Refugee Education, Skills Training and Advocacy (ARESTA). I then worked briefly for the South African Council of Churches in the Western Cape, for Mediation and Training Practice and then for Mohlaleng Strategy and Investment Consultants. Whilst working for MTP, we assisted the community of Elandskloof, a small town outside Citrusdal, who was one of the first groups of people to have won a land claim. In the mid-2000s, I joined the dynamic team of You and Your Money. In 2008, I became the Director, until the organisation was forced to close i's doors in 2015 due to lack of funding. It was during this time, that I was stationed in Upington for a period of two years. In 2009, I became a non-executive member of the National Debt Mediation Association until 2014. At the same time, I was Chairperson of the Board of Trustees of ARESTA for the period 1998-2016.

Relationship with the author

I met Herman, when we were both undergraduate students at UWC. It was during the transition phase of our democracy during the time of Codesa. At the time, Herman was something of an anomaly at the Theological Faculty and indeed the entire campus. Herman was one of two full-time White students at the time. Somehow, the two of us became friends having serviced on the Theological Student Council. Due to apartheid spatial planning, my contact with White people was very limited and often confined to hierarchical dimensions with me at the lower end. My contact with Afrikaners in particular was restricted to the Security Police, who would often drop by for a "chat" and who would harass us at all hours of the day. So, when we met Herman, it was with a great deal of suspicion that we viewed him. Herman's credibility was substantially raised, when he moved from the relative comfort of Stellenbosch to the township of Kayamandi, where he shared a shack with a friend. We were also part of the Religious Response to the Truth Commission during the mid-1990s.

As friends, we often visited each other's homes and had the privilege of meeting his mother before her death. He invited me to their family farm and I had indeed visited

the farm on numerous occasions. The last time I visited was after viewing the body of Nelson Mandela lying in state at the Union Buildings. On the way back, we thought it appropriate to stop at Strydpoort and recount our experiences.

In my years of friendship with Herman and having seen him actively engaged with his farm and his immediate environment, I have no doubt in my mind that Herman's intention as noted in his paper is deeply sincere and borne out of an ethic of doing the right thing. And doing the right thing, when it comes to land and land reform issues is often fraught with difficulties. On the one hand, all actions initiated by previously advantaged people (read White land owners) are viewed with extreme suspicion by previously disadvantaged people. Their motives are questioned as it is seemingly being driven by guilt, self preservation or a combination of the two. If in Herman's case, the issue is about transferring real economic power into the hands of his landless brother, the question will always be, what is in it for Herman?

On the other hand, previously disadvantaged people, who struggle for genuine land reform have always fought for not merely the right to own land, but also the right to having access to material resources in order to effectively work the land. Many believe that government sponsored land reform programmes have set them up for failure as they have not been endowed with sufficient support to make a success of their endeavours.

Having worked and lived in the Northern Cape, I had the opportunity to meet with many emerging farmers. These (usually) small-scale farmers organised themselves into cooperatives and are (mostly) depending on government support, especially in the foundational phase of their businesses. The majority of these farmers are too small to ever make their farms commercially viable, so instead, they often live from hand to mouth. Further, they cannot relinquish their present places of employment and therefore their farming activities have become something of a part-time job and/or a secondary source of income. This does not mean that they do not share a close affinity to the land that they working. On the contrary, they feel deeply connected to the earth and have extreme pride in owning a piece of the earth.

At the heart of the issue with emerging farmers and other players like Joba, is the struggle for dignity and self-respect. Their plea is often one of access to land and

they do not regard this demand as a hand-out. These demands are targeted at the government as relations with local White farmers are often fraught with animosity and acrimony. The reasons for these tense relationships are many and varied. Not least as a consequence of apartheid.

Another issue is the frequent use of the term "land reform". The dominant discourse being espoused by the Zuma-led ANC government is that of radical economic transformation. The assumption is that this also extends to issues of land. Hence, populist rhetoric refers to expropriation with or without compensation. This obviously sets off panic in most people in SA, and not only among farmers, but for the majority of moderate middle-class or aspiring middle-class people. Conversely, this sets in motion a whole lot of expectations among working class and landless people. Government therefore has the unenviable task of balancing the need to protect property owners' rights and managing the expectations of the people they claim to represent.

Therefore, constantly referring to land reform could be construed as a cosmetic attempt to change the status quo, when it comes to agrarian relations. Especially since these relationships display a specific racial and class construction. There is nothing radical or transformative in utilising the term reform, even though the praxis may suggest otherwise.

On Ubuntu

In order to fully understand and appreciate the concept of Ubuntu that has been practised for millennia in African culture, it is important to briefly reflect on Western philosophy, especially as expressed in the Cartesian maxim of Cogito Ergo Sum - I think therefore I am. This phrase dominated reasoning and studies ever since it was penned during the Enlightenment. This phrase centres on the individual as it describes thinking individuals as the centre of being and self awareness. No wonder self-obsession or narcissism proliferates in our society. It prides itself in individual achievement as the only attribute for achieving success. This finds expression in popular expressions such as "I have made it on my own".

By contrast, Ubuntu turns this concept on its head. It proudly states that because you are, I am. It celebrates the fact that people are connected. In theological speak, we

call this connectedness, covenant. We are all children of the covenant - "Verbondskinders".

It says that our individual success can only happen because there are others, who support me. Who shares my journey? Who prays with me as I navigate this journey called life? It emphasises the fact that indeed, we belong together.

These rifts can only be overcome through meaningful dialogue among affected parties. It is indeed helpful for Herman to propose this type of engagement as opposed to the one-size fits all approach as propagated by government. Whereas it is government's duty to propose solutions that are fairly standardised and equitable, they do not normally cater to the more creative proposals. The reasons are fairly obvious: Government claims that they do not have the requisite resources to deal with the different solutions efficiently.

APPENDIX C

LEASE AGREEMENT

Lease agreement between

Herman Holtzhausen ID 6512265065084

And

Joba Makwakwa ID 8309236947088

The above parties, Herman and Joba, agree to the following lease, which intends to give Joba security of tenure:

1. Joba leases the ‘rondawel’ as temporary residence (not replacing his permanent residence in town), when he works on the farm for him, his wife and three children, born of this relationship.
2. Joba leases the outbuildings for his chicken and sheep enterprises.
3. Joba leases grazing of Strydpoort portion 8 around the main house.
4. Joba’s lease is not exclusive to Herman’s use of the outbuildings and grazing as they utilise these jointly.
5. This lease agreement is renewable on an annual basis, when the lease amount will be determined.

Signed: Herman Holtzhausen Joba Makwakwa