LIVESTOCK, RURAL LIVELIHOODS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS IN THE EASTERN CAPE: CASE STUDIES OF CHRIS HANI, ALFRED NZO AND AMATHOLE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITIES

by

CHRISTOPHER PHIRI

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DECLARATION

I declare that “Livestock, rural livelihoods and rural development interventions in the Eastern Cape Province: Case studies in Chris Hani, Alfred Nzo and Amathole District Municipalities” is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Christopher Phiri May 2009

Signature...........................................

Supervisor: Professor Gary Minkley University of Fort Hare South Africa
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks be to the Holly one who gave me all the blessings, knowledge and wisdom to write this thesis. He said, “You who are far away, hear what I have done; you who are near acknowledge my power!” (Isaiah 33 v 13).

I would like to thank people and institutions that gave support to this study. Second I wish to extend my debt of gratitude to the chiefs, headmen and the rural people of all the villages I visited in Chris Hani, Amathole and Alfred Nzo District Municipalities who allowed me to live and work in their communities and for their willingness to share their livelihood experiences with me. Special thanks to the Department of Agriculture at local municipal level who facilitated my entrance into the communities and for providing important information relevant to the study. I also wish to thank Mr. Mpisi and Zukiswa for assisting me during the survey locating the villages and for assisting in my fieldwork. My sincere thanks are extended to GTZ/Ruliv for allowing me to evaluate their intervention in wool production in two local municipalities. I express my sincere gratitude to Mellon Foundation and Govani Mbeki Research and Development Centre for providing financial support for this study. My sincere gratitude to Professor G. Minkley, under whose supervision this study was undertaken. Also special thanks to Doctor A. Ainslie for his valuable comments and encouragement. I would also like to thank the moral support from staff and researchers at Fort Hare Institute for Social and Economic Research for providing an enabling environment for the research. Lastly I’m grateful to my father David Phiri, my wife Maria and sons, Desire and Blessing. I dedicate this thesis to my late mother Elizabeth Phiri.
ABSTRACT
Livestock, rural livelihoods and rural development interventions in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa: Case studies in Chris Hani, Amathole and Alfred Nzo District Municipalities

This study explores how livestock in rural communities were accessed, used as livelihoods portfolios and how off-farm activities and portfolios such as social grants, support from family members and employment assisted the rural poor to build their asset base. Empirical data was collected from 26 villages in the three districts.

In particular the study examines firstly, the nature of rural poverty in these villages in the three districts and how households with and without livestock (cattle, sheep, goats, dogs, pigs, cats, ducks, horses and donkeys) used livestock local knowledge to sustain a living. Secondly it explores how the local government and related rural development agencies, intervened in livestock production and the thesis highlights the problematic nature of these interventions, and the implications this has for the form and nature of livestock ownership and use in relation to rural livelihoods.

Arising from this, the thesis thirdly explores Ruliv's through concrete case studies, the challenges, constraints and implications of a pre-dominant top-down approach to rural development. Contrary to this approach, the study illustrates, through the Rhoxeni case study, the potential effectiveness of a ‘bottom-up’ actor oriented approach to rural development.

Fourthly, the study explores how local government initiatives intervened in the development of a rural livestock project in Alfred Nzo District Municipality through the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme Goat Project. Here
the concerns of ‘commercialisation’ of livestock production are explored and the thesis points to the implications that the exclusion of social and cultural meanings of livestock have for assumed paths of commercialisation and its associations with development.

Fifthly the study explores the potentiality of emerging black commercial farmers who had acquired large areas of agricultural land through local government interventions (Land Redistribution Agricultural Development) but who lacked further support and capacity to transform themselves into commercial farmers. The thesis concludes that their livestock and crop farming activities remained more subsistence and livelihood based, than any transition to expected technical market oriented commercial farming.

Overall, the thesis argues that while local government planning for rural development prioritised commercial agriculture as the basis of rural development and the key mechanism of rural poverty alleviation in developmental policies (PGDP, IDP, LED), rural poverty has actually been deepening. In this context, the study argues that the value of livestock to the rural poor lies ‘outside’ of its assumed economic value and is more firmly and determinedly located in its social meanings and values, despite these significant levels of material poverty. This has major implications for understanding livelihoods, engaging livestock agency, defining farming and what it means to be a ‘farmer’ and engaging with prevalent understandings and practices directed at rural development.
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ACRONOMYS

AAF and AF  first class wool
ADM  Amathole District Municipality
ADRI  Agricultural Development and Rural Institute
NAMC  Agricultural Marketing Council
ARC-RFI  Agricultural rural council and Forage Institute
ASGISA  Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
ATGR  Agrarian Transformation and Green Revolution
BKB  Wool Broker
BCFA  Black Commercial Farmers Association
BRC  Border Rural committee
CASP  Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
CBDP  Community Based Development Planning Project
CBOs  Community Based Organisations.
CBPWP  Community Based Public Works Programme
CHDM  Chris Hani District Municipality
CGC  Contract Growing Co-operatives
CLRA  Communal Lands Right Act 2004
CMW  Cape Mohair Wool
DBSA  Development Bank of southern Africa
DEAT  Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism
DFID  Department for International development
DGRV  German Co-operative and Raiffeisen Confederation
DLA  Department of Land Affairs
DoA  Department of Agriculture
EBCFA  Emerging Black Commercial Farmers Association
EC  Eastern Cape
ECDC  Eastern Cape Development Corporation
ECPSDP  Eastern Cape Provincial Spatial Development Plan
ECSECC  Eastern Cape Social and Economic Consultative Council
ECCFU  Eastern Cape Commercial Farmers Union
ESTA  Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 62 of 1997
FAO  Food and Agricultural Organisation
FC  Financial Capital
FMECDBG  Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) of Germany
Ha  Hectare
HSRC  Human Science and Research Council
IDP  Integrated Development Plan
IGR  Inter Governmental Relations
IKS  Indigenous Knowledge Systems
ISDP  Integrated Sustainable Development Plan
ISRDS  Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy
ISRDP  Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme
KWT King Williams Town
KZN KwaZulu Natal
LRAD Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
LED Local Economic Development
MEC Municipal executive council
MFP Massive Food Programme
NCFU National Commercial Farmers Union
NC Natural Capital
NCFU National Commercial Farmers Union
NEC Native Economic Commission.
NGOs Non-government organisations
NWGA National Wool Growers Association
OTP Office of the Premier’s
PC Physical Capital
PGDP Provincial Growth and Development Plan
PE Port Elizabeth
PLAAS Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies
RDP Reconstruction and development programme
RRP Rural Restructuring Policy
RSA Republic of South Africa
SANBU South Africa New Business Unity
SC Social Capital
SDF Spatial Development Framework
SLA sustainable livelihoods approach
SLF Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SMMES Small micro and medium enterprises
TB Tuberculosis
TLC Tribal Land Council
Tracor Transkei Corporation
TRC Transitional Rural Councils
WGA Wool Growers Association
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The former Transkei and Ciskei have continued to be places where rural people carry on with their lives and social and cultural practices as best they can. For the rural people of Chris Hani, Amathole and Alfred Nzo District Municipalities, (and more specifically in Sakhisizwe, Intsika Yethu, Engcobo, Emalahleni, Amahlati and Mbashe Local Municipalities) livestock was, and still is one of the central means by which they ‘manage to survive’ socially, economically and politically. The free grazing land, the water resources on the commons, the economic resources, the state-subsidized dipping and inoculation programmes, and the household labour available to them, plus ‘traditional practices’, provide key bases of livelihoods for the majority of rural people, and livestock is centrally integrated into these various livelihoods in equally varying ways.

Just as importantly, every resource (livestock, land, water) that the households have, has a local and particular meaning to them. They use them differently in spite of local government and other institutions’ initiatives to bring development, alleviate poverty and improve livelihoods (Chambers and Conway, 1998 p. 16; Murray, 2001 p. 112; Sen, 1988 p. 86). It is the combination of the role and importance of livestock, and their local and particular significance that this thesis is focused on, to investigate.

Recent political transformation in South Africa has laid the basis for significant socio-economic change (Ntsebeza, 2007 p. 5). In an attempt by the national, provincial, district and local governments to address the inequalities of the past, different approaches to poverty alleviation, improvement of rural livelihoods and rural development have been launched. These include the various aspects of
land reform, the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP), food security gardens, Massive Food Production Programme (MFPP), livestock projects and the promotion of emerging black commercial farmers (Kariuki, 2004 p. 40; Lahiff, 2005 p. 12; Ntesebeza, 2007 p. 20).

Underpinning these initiatives in the Eastern Cape, it is argued that the key to rural poverty eradication lies in the rapid transformation of the agricultural sector. The PGDP was designed to capture the 10 year vision of sustainable growth and human development in the Province (PGDP, 2006 p. 14). To do this, the PGDP set out a vision with quantified and sequenced targets in the areas of economic growth, employment creation, poverty eradication and income redistribution for the 10 year period 2004-2014 (PGDP, p. 15). Centrally related to these visions, though, was the often largely assumed need for a programme to centrally increase the number of black commercial farmers, to create what was seen as a viable commercial agricultural sector (PGDP, p. 15).

This thesis reveals the complexities, dynamics and differences in poverty constraints, vulnerability, capability and capacity of the rural people, with or without livestock, and of those rural people with livestock who did or did not receive any form of assistance from government. The study first argues that the degree of poverty and vulnerability of the rural poor in the Eastern Cape, and their ability to develop and sustain a living, depend on their available resources such as livestock. Livestock constituted their base, and their local knowledge on rearing livestock assisted them in sustaining a living. Managing livelihoods through livestock meant more than just economic gain.

The way in which cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys, horses, cats, dogs, pigs, chickens and geese are cared for and utilized differed from one household to another. The livelihood patterns of rural livestock farmers in the study areas were to a large extent embedded in people’s perception of their poverty -for example, how they differed from their neighbours, and how local knowledge
could assist them to build on the asset base they had, to create a sustainable living. Sustainable livelihood approaches emphasize the need to promote solutions to poverty that are economically and environmentally sustainable, and that recognize the importance of enhancing the asset base of the poor (Chambers and Conway, 1998 p. 92). The issue of sustainable poverty alleviation livestock projects in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape is still far from complete, as this thesis reveals in chapters six and seven. Secondly, the study argues that rural development (livestock projects) from government or NGO interventions failed to alleviate poverty because of a predominant ‘top-down’ approach. As a basic premise, the thesis asserts that, unless development is “from the bottom”, involving all the village members in decision-making and applying local knowledge, interventions will not work (Gudeman, 2001 p. 80; Long, 2001 p.123). Local knowledge is fundamental to the development of rural livestock projects in the Eastern Cape, taking into consideration the social, economic and political notions embedded in rural livestock.

The Eastern Cape Province is one of the poorest provinces in South Africa (PGDP, 2006 p. 40). Here the majority of the poor live in rural areas and depend on their natural resources to survive (see map in Annexure B). The climatic conditions of low rainfall and dry spells have not been favourable for crop farming and government efforts to revitalise crop farming through ‘Massive Food Programmes’, as a food security measure have not been a success. The strategy of most district and local municipalities in the study areas prioritised agricultural rural livestock farming in their ‘Integrated Development Plans’ (Intsika Yethu Local Municipality IDP, 2006/7). However, there is little said about how the prioritisation of rural livestock farming as a method could actually improve rural livelihoods and reduce poverty. On the other hand, local knowledge of how the rural farmers manage their livestock and make communal rules and

1 The PGDP’s strategic plan is to set feasible programmes and a fiscal framework designed to expedite achievement of the national goal of "a better life for all" and the Province’s then vision of an "Eastern Cape devoid of the imbalances and inequities of the past, with integrated and balanced development".
regulations for livestock production in a village, in collaboration with the state’s interventions in its development agenda, yielded results. This has been illustrated in one case study of Rhoxeni village in Nkonkobe Local Municipality.

I have included the Rhoxeni case study in chapter eight, to highlight the importance of including local knowledge in livestock projects, where outside intervention comes as a second priority, as compared to the Ruliv intervention where outside intervention (top-down, technical, market-oriented approach) came first in an effort to promote rural people’s livelihoods (see chapter five). The outcome of the study is supported by Bundy’s (1972) argument on peasant farmers, that through transforming subsistence farming they competed on the commercial market. However, in the 19th century the peasant farmers were not supported as they are today. An adapted form of the traditional subsistence methods provided for hundreds of thousands of Africans a preferable alternative to wage labour on white colonists’ terms. A smaller group of African farmers made considerable adaptations, departing entirely from the traditional agricultural economy, and competed most effectively with white farmers (Bundy, 1972, Cousins, 2006; Peires, 1998). Can the same be said for today? The thesis will explore these questions in more detail below.

In an attempt by the national, provincial, district and local governments to address the inequalities of the past, different approaches to poverty alleviation, rural livelihoods and rural development have been put in place. Whether the new discourse and approaches have had an impact on the livelihoods of the rural poor, or have led the rural poor to resort to what Bundy (1972) argued for, “a transition back to a rural farmer and his/her relationship with the resources that surround him/her”, is a point of interest in the study. One area in which the greatest socio-economic disparities in South Africa are discernable is in the

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2 In short, it is tenable to speak of the creation of an African peasantry in South Africa during the nineteenth century, a peasant taken to be a rural cultivator enjoying access to a specific portion of land, the fruits of which he could dispose of as if he owned the land; and who, by the use of family labour sought to satisfy the needs of the family (Bundy, 1972).
agricultural sector and in rural development in general. Through the medium of a case study of the Eastern Cape Province, the obstacles and opportunities facing the rural poor critically need to be assessed so that rural development planning and implementation can be critically engaged and examined ‘from the inside’.

The development policies in post apartheid South Africa, such as Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), the Local Economic Development framework, Provincial Growth and Development Plan (PGDP) and Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA), provide a mandate that all District and Local Municipalities in the Eastern Cape should be geared up for poverty alleviation strategies focusing on the resources the rural poor have, such as livestock and land (Cousins, 2006).

In an attempt to halve poverty by 2014\(^3\), continuous monitoring and evaluation of how the rural poor were sustaining their living through the resources surrounding them, and how they were supported by the local government, was critical. This was the vision of the Provincial, District and Local governments. In this regard, the Chris Hani, Amathole and Alfred Nzo District Municipalities, in collaboration with the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, highlighted the need for a survey on rural poverty and rural livelihoods, focusing on agriculture as a strategy for alleviating rural poverty (Alfred Nzo District Municipality IDP, 2005/6; Amathole District Municipality IDP, 2005/6; Chris Hani District Municipality IDP 2005/6).

Research papers on the history of the Eastern Cape (EC), its rural economy and service delivery have been written by anthropologists, historians, and consultants such as Ainslie (2002a;2002b; 2005); Bank and Minkley (2005); Bank (2002),

\(^3\) One of the aims of PGDP is growth and poverty reduction targets that form a set of feasible and affordable programmes underpinned by broad-based consensus on the human development path to be followed by the Province: To maintain an economic growth rate of between 5% and 8% per annum; to halve the unemployment rate by 2014; to reduce by between 60% and 80% the number of households living below the poverty line by 2014; and to reduce by between 60% and 80% the proportion of people suffering from hunger by 2014 (PGDP, 2006).
Beinart (1982); Bundy (1972); Cousins (2005); De Wet (2000); Du Toit (2006); Haines and Robino, 2004; Peires (1988); Wotshela (2002); Lahiff (2005), Ntsebeza (2007); Perret and Kirsten (2002); and others. However, the extent to which the work reveals the dynamics and complexities of rural livelihoods and how they are supported by different organisations in a post apartheid South Africa, needs to be tapped into a localised and comparative sense moving from one local municipality or village to another. This study was conducted extensively in three districts, seven local municipalities and twenty five villages. The extent of the research covered the variations identified in terms of local government and institutional support given to livestock farmers in different local municipalities. Some villages and households did not receive any support at all. In an effort to analyze the degree, complexity and dynamism of poverty and livelihoods of the households in the Eastern Cape receiving any form of support from NGOs or local government, compared to those not getting any form of support, 26 villages, households and municipalities were included in the study.

Murray (2001) argues that it is perhaps helpful to distinguish between the methodologies to livelihoods approaches, varying in principle but closely linked in practice. We need to understand changes over time and this requires analysis of the historical context, inference of the broad trends of change, and critical investigation of the institutional framework through which relations between macro and micro-levels are worked out over time. It also requires empirical investigation at household level, which may be undertaken through a combination of methods. The objectives of this approach are to identify ‘household’ or family trajectories of living, accumulation of resources and impoverishment and particular structural matrices of vulnerability. In this regard, the study traces the historical legacy of apartheid and how it impacted on and impoverished the poor, and how the present rural poverty scenarios were shaped by the past and are shaped by the present, including government intervention.

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4 Eastern Cape Provincial Growth and Development Programme 2006.
We have to understand diversity at a particular time. The objective is to open up questions about the proportional importance of different economic activities, and, above all, about significant relationships between them (Murray, 2002). The creation of safety nets in the rural areas (on farm and off farm) is understood in the study in the context of livestock, livelihoods and the use of social grants at household level to manage vulnerability. This constitutes an analysis of the effects of past policies, which were often haphazardly reproduced under different political regimes, and commitment to changing ‘mind-sets’ amongst government officials, planners, donors, and NGOs to rural livelihoods\(^5\); also the development of specific rationale for intervention at various levels; and procedures for monitoring and evaluation (Carney and Murray, 2002; Murray, 2002 p.46).

The study adopts the livelihood framework as the main theoretical approach to highlight the extent to which the rural poor in the Eastern Cape are sustaining their living through the resources they have (livestock) and the role of government intervention in livestock projects. On the other hand, Long’s (2001) ‘actor-oriented’ approach to development is adopted to debate the experience and means of development interventions for the rural people, (explained particularly from chapters 5 to 8). Each chapter addresses specific issues related to rural poverty, livestock issues, and livestock farming in the Eastern Cape. Case studies of households and livestock projects are highlighted. The research was conducted primarily from January 2005 to June 2007 in the rural Eastern Cape. Livelihoods, access to resources and well-being ranking refers to building a socio-economic profile of households in a community. It is based on the recognition of inequalities and differences in terms of access to resources which households in every community have. These differences are important because they influence the behaviour, coping strategies, and views of people socially, economically and culturally. This study is based on the assumption that local people have a good sense of the socio-economic status of community

\(^5\) In so far as livelihoods research is directed to the diagnosis of the causes of chronic poverty, the circumstances of poverty and the reasons for poverty should be understood through detailed analysis of social relations in a particular historical context (Murray, 2001).
members. Usually community members, and those from outside, have different interpretations of wealth, well-being, and inequality. Thus, local views are important for developing a deeper insight into livelihood portfolios, vulnerability, well-being and inequality in a community (Chileshe, 2005 p.32-33). In this study, livelihood portfolios taking into account livestock, vulnerability and well-being give an insight into wealth and resource differences and inequalities of households, and thus into the main ‘actors’ at the receiving ends of poverty and rural development.

Chapter one outlines the problem statement, situational analysis of the Eastern Cape Province and the summary of each chapter. Chapter two highlights the methodology used to conduct the study and the meta-theory behind the study. The study was conducted using the triangulation approach and phenomenology as the meta-theory. Chapter three outlines the location of the study area as province (Eastern Cape), the District Municipalities and the Local Municipalities where the research was conducted. It also outlines the socio economic analysis of the Districts and Local Municipalities and their demography.

Chapter four highlights the way the notion of development is understood and the point of departure of the thesis is Gudeman’s (2001) economy as domain of value, and how and in what ways the rural poor value their resources socially, economically and politically. It also outlines how the rural poor determine to use the resources and determine their priorities while managing vulnerability. Long’s (2001) actor-oriented approach and Sen’s (1998) livelihoods framework form part of the debate as I briefly elaborate below. Delusion, disappointment and failures have been the steady companions of development (Gardner and Lewis, 1996).

While development theories assume that local cultures and peasant traditionalism are obstacles to development, Long’s ‘actor-oriented’ approach has consistently found that far from being irrational, people in poor rural areas are open to change if they perceive it to be in their interest (Long, 2001). They often
know far better than development planners how to strategize to get the best from difficult circumstances, yet top-down approaches to development rarely, if ever, pay heed to local knowledge. Indeed, local culture is generally ignored by planners, or treated as a constraint, and this is a grave failing (Gardner and Lewis, 1996 p. 15).

Development planners often assume that those on the ‘receiving ends’ of development plans comprise a homogenous group or entity (Gardner and Lewis, 1996 p 15). However, they tend to overlook the complexities of the rural set up (as in the study areas). They are not the same and cannot easily be explained through development theory because of the socio-economic, cultural and political environment that forms rural development and rural livelihoods in local and historic contexts (Chambers and Conway, 1998). This has been identified in rural areas of the Eastern Cape where the development interventions in rural agriculture, such as livestock production and crop production, have been limited because of what we can call ‘cargoed’ development strategies (Long 2001 p. 98). These are explored in more detail below.

Chapter five explores the history of development of rural agriculture, particularly livestock farming in the former Bantustans, including the Eastern Cape former Ciskei and Transkei6, and how the rural poor were marginalised through the laws and Acts in place that promoted capitalism to the disadvantage of black rural farmers (Ainslie, 2005; Bundy, 1972; De Wet, 1988; Kariuki, 2004; Kepe, 2002; Lahiff, 2005; Ntsebeza, 2007, Van Averbeke, 2002). Racial capitalism developed in South Africa and the resulting kind of segregated labour force was created. This had fundamental effects on the independence and cohesion of indigenous societies. Subsistence and small scale peasant agricultural production could not survive the demands for labour (Lahiff, 2005 p. 19). The imposition of tax upon local populations was one of the clearest examples of a coercive mechanism to

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extract labour, because for one to pay tax, one had to have money, and the easiest way to get cash was to work on the mines\(^7\). The system entrenched all able-bodied men from their homesteads and led to the decline in subsistence and peasant agriculture which ultimately led to the deepening of poverty (Cousins; 2002; Lahiff, 2005, Ntsebeza, 2007).

Attempts by the state over several decades to intervene in the rural sector were driven by different, sometimes incompatible and even contradictory, political impulses. Official concerns about environmental degradation and the inability of the reserves to support the vast numbers of economically “superfluous” (black) residents and their livestock precipitated the implementation of Betterment Planning (Ntsebeza, 2007 p. 7). A central element of Betterment Planning was the reduction of livestock numbers in the rural areas; however, bitter opposition by rural people meant that this component had to be abandoned (Ainslie, 2005; De Wet, 1997).

However, rural households had to rely on crops, livestock and a wide variety of natural resources for food security. In a democratic South Africa, despite lack of convincing evidence that agriculture-led growth in the Eastern Cape’s rural economy has the strength to drive economic reform in rural areas; economic policies continue to prioritise it (Ntsebeza, 2007). The South African government has proclaimed rural agricultural development a priority through land reform and livestock projects. However, despite government’s efforts, economic life for the average person living in the former Ciskei and Transkei has not improved since the birth of democracy, in fact, it has got worse (Bank and Minkley, 2005; Lahiff, 2005; Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007, Ntsebeza, 2007). A greater percentage of people who want to be economically active cannot secure employment, and rural poverty is deepening in the midst of ‘well structured’ policies.

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\(^7\) Mosse (2004) in his argument, cultivating development, argued that development is not like a disease, diagnosed by a doctor and medication prescribed of how many capsules per day can be taken to eradicate a problem.
Chapter six outlines case studies and an overview of how the rural people sustained their living built and created coping strategies and developed a range of livelihood activities related to land and livestock. Issues considered include sources of income, household management, employment opportunities, ability of households to fight poverty, and the availability of income and resources such as livestock and land. The forms of livelihood between one household and another varied in all the villages of the six local municipalities where the research was conducted, although the rural households had livestock and land as their main natural resource (base). This made the rural people think ‘beyond’ or perhaps more accurately ‘before’ simply accumulating livestock, rather using it as a means of survival. Some households got a little support from relatives in the form of income, or from social grants8. The chapter concludes with a summary on the use of local knowledge by the rural poor in managing vulnerability through livestock. It points to the complex ways in which livestock forms a key component of livelihoods, but more in terms of managing this vulnerability and in terms of ‘social satisfaction’, than in terms of actual income generation.

Chapter seven outlines the case study of ‘Rural Livelihoods’ (Ruliv’s) institution’s intervention into wool production, while assisting rural farmers in Mbashe and Emalahleni Local Municipalities. It shows how rural farmers developed livelihood portfolios through wool-growing. The chapter highlights the challenges associated with the intervention, and shows how wool-growing was more complex and dynamic in the livelihoods of the rural farmers then a simple determination of whether they were supported or not supported by Ruliv. Thus, while wool farmers had equipment and facilities to shear and sort wool, unlike in the past where farmers had to sell unsorted wool, actual interventions beyond were limited. Thus, it is argued these interventions produced uneven, mixed and ambiguous results, which are explored in more detail. The chapter also outlines

8 I conducted interviews in September 2005 for six months from the time wool shearing began until the end.
the policy and on the ground challenges that a more technical, commercialised, market oriented intervention entails as a method of promoting rural wool farming.

In an attempt to highlight the material livelihoods of wool farmers in Mbashe and Emalahleni Local Municipality, chapter eight explores the material livelihoods of households in the villages where GTZ/Ruliv intervened in promoting wool production and was thus concerned with locating wool production in the broader frames of rural livelihoods. Understanding livelihoods, as has been argued, entails adopting a wide and nuanced approach that includes looking at broader measures of well-being, which recognise entitlements, empowerment, vulnerability and self-respect, and which also attempts to take account of pro-poor developments, while also looking at capability, equity and sustainability.

The national and local government developed the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme and identified rural nodes where poverty alleviation projects could be implemented (Lekogtla report, 2002). In chapter nine a case study of a goat project developed by the national government, together with the Alfred Nzo District Municipality, is highlighted. It explores how the project was funded to commercialise indigenous goat production and how it was managed and how it ‘benefited or did not benefit’ the communities. Further the chapter highlights the challenges in the project and why it was not sustainable while it followed the particular ‘trajectory’ of poverty alleviation and development. The exclusion of the rural poor’s knowledge and participation in making decisions was one element that made it unsustainable. Local government continued to consider the local rural poor as poor, ignorant and ‘backward’ people who did not know what they wanted and with no local sense about development\(^9\).

Chapter ten highlights a case study of emerging black commercial farmers who were practising mixed farming, growing crops and keeping animals on an

\(^9\) Long (2001) argued that through local knowledge, capacities and capabilities the poor had, they could develop livelihoods portfolios that are socially, economically and politically embedded.
apparently large scale. These farmers utilised their own resources to purchase the farms through the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) and the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP). In one exceptional case of land claim, a female farmer claimed her ancestors’ land and was granted it. However, the agricultural activities on the farms were not significantly ‘commercialised’, because, according to the farmers, ‘they lacked support’. They did not have basic infrastructure for commercial agriculture such as dams, roads, electricity, buildings and fenced land. The Department of Agriculture (DoA) and Local Municipalities failed to support them despite the workshops and training sessions they organised. The only positive development was that white commercial farmers met with black commercial farmers to discuss the promotion of agriculture, but it did not go beyond that. The emerging black commercial farmers did not have an established market besides the network with local rural people, where they sold maize and livestock. This attempt at larger scale black commercial farming is critically examined and interrogated, and the complex issues beyond a simple ‘lack of support’ explanatory scenario investigated.

Chapter eleven, though, outlines the significance of both large and small stock for the rural ‘Xhosa people’, that goes beyond economic value. Livestock such as cattle, sheep, goats and chickens have a social and cultural significance to the Xhosa people in rural areas and on commercial farms. In terms of the death and funerals of different members of a household, different numbers of livestock (sheep and cattle) were slaughtered depending on the role and position of the deceased in the family. Cattle have an important cultural significance for bringing the spirit of the dead back home, as a form of wealth, and for agricultural purposes. Sheep proved to have dual purposes, as will be elaborated in chapter five. The fact that rural people live in rural areas with or without enough

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10 Ukuhapa bringing the spirit home is very important in the livelihoods of the rural people. Such dynamisms are not found within the developmental approaches to rural livelihoods and when implementing rural projects. In fact it is even discouraged for communities to spare livestock for that so that they can become successful livestock farmers.
land and livestock, even if they ploughed the land or not they called themselves farmers. Such notions will be discussed in the chapter. Chapter twelve concludes with highlights and debates of important and critical issues that emerge in the study on rural development and rural livelihoods pattern.

Conclusion
Thus the study attempts to explore the dynamics and complexities of the rural livelihoods of the poor in the Eastern Cape Province. It also outlines how livelihood frameworks most usefully can be deployed to investigate and understand processes of differentiation, accumulation and impoverishment. Underlying these frameworks are the circumstances of rural poverty and the reasons for rural poverty which have to be understood, hence the thesis proceeds, through detailed local analyses of social and economic relations, in order to illustrate in close detail the contexts that surround the rural people of the Eastern Cape more generally.
CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

Triangulation research methodology was used to conduct research. Triangulation is a plan of action that combines methods from different paradigms and methodologies. It is one of the best ways of enhancing validity and reliability in qualitative research (Babbie and Mouton, 2003 p. 275). In this research phenomenology as meta-theory was applied to explain and understand the dynamics and complexities of human nature as they build their livelihoods portfolios. Structured interviews, focus group interviews, observation, images, ethnography, random, snowball and stratified sampling techniques were used to effectively conduct the research. Multivariate data analysis techniques, ethnography and use of tables were other techniques used in collecting, coding, analysing and interpreting data.

The thesis draws on a broad phenomenological approach. The aim is understanding people. People are conceived, not primarily as biological organisms, but firstly and foremost as conscious, self-directing, symbolic human beings. It emphasizes the ‘dis-analogy’ between social and natural phenomena, that all human beings are engaged in the process of making sense of their life worlds (Babbie and Mouton, 2003). We continuously interpret, create and give meaning to, define, justify and rationalize our actions. The fact that people are continuously constructing, developing and changing the everyday interpretations of their world(s), should be taken into account in any conception of social science research (Babbie and Mouton, 2003).
The world of everyday life is interpreted to refer to the inter-subject world which all human beings share. It existed long before, was experienced and interpreted by others, and is now given to our experience and interpretation. The world’s everyday life is the object of our actions and interactions. The fundamental anxiety itself is merely a correlation of existence as human beings within the paramount reality of daily life, and therefore the hopes and fears and their correlated satisfactions and disappointments are grounded upon and are only possible within the world of working (Babbie and Mouton, 2003 p.102).

Phenomenology is particularly interested in how social life is constructed by those who participate in it and it makes two points. It regards people as creative interpreters of events, who through their actions and interpretations do not passively obey a set of social rules, nor do they slot into an external social structure, nor do they simply respond to their internal physiological drives. People become agents who view and interpret their experiences and who actively create an order to their existence. Good phenomenological research involves a detailed description of the experience that is being investigated (Babbie and Mouton, 2003 p.103).

Close and extensive fieldwork and observation, as well as forms of social interaction were used to observe the scenarios of sheep wool-shearing, social rituals and farming processes. Much of the research is based on direct observation, rather than relying on second-hand data. It is grounded in empirical research involving direct contact with relevant people and places. It provides data relatively rich in depth and detail. It deals with intricate realities (Denscombe, 2005). Ethnographic forms of research, then, aspire to explanations which focus on processes and relationships that lie behind the surface events. Potentially, it puts things in context rather than abstracting specific aspects in isolation. There is an element of contrast and comparison built into ethnographic research in the way the distinct ‘culture’ or events being studied differ in particular local contexts. Actors’ perceptions of events are well
dealt with. However, there is a tension within the realms of ethnography stemming from its concerns with naturalism and reflexivity. Another technique used to understand how social networks manifested in the communities, was focus group interviews.

Focus groups are generally regarded as a useful way of exploring attitudes on non-sensitive, non-controversial topics. They can excite contributions from interviewees who might otherwise be reluctant to contribute to the discussion. Through their relatively informal interchanges, focus groups can lead to insights that might not otherwise have come to light through the one to one conventional interview. Focus groups, however, make recording of discussions difficult as speakers interrupt each other in the conversation (Denscombe, 2005 p. 169). Some focus group interviews were applied, for example, to interview rural wool farmers in a more ‘joint intervention group’ setting in the study areas. Focus group interviews were used to understand how for example, Wool Growers Associations were functioning and how that linked to their livelihoods, social networks and support. In other words they also gave perspectives on functioning networks around interventions.

Participant observation also uses the researcher’s self as the main instrument of research and therefore requires little by way of technical/statistical support. It stands a better chance of retaining the naturalness of the setting, than other social research methods. It provides a good platform for gaining rich insights into social processes and is suited to dealing with complex realities. Participant observation offers holistic explanations incorporating the relationships between various factors (Denscombe, 2005 p. 208). Images or photographs lead to analysis and reproduction alongside more conventional text-based research. Visual images provide primary source data. You can make records of events, people and cultures through photographs. Field observations were an important method that allowed me, as a researcher, to have a feeling for the ‘reality on the ground’. I managed to observe the conditions of the grazing land, how farmers
shore wool, pressed bales, ploughed the land using cattle, and practised rituals and cultural ceremonies associated with the ‘values’ of livestock in certain villages, amongst others.

Visual records in the form of photographs of the land, households and livestock were also taken (community and livestock). The photographs were an important source of information as they recorded in time and space what households spoke of in different parts of the study areas, and were able to show the state of the grazing land and settlement patterns, cultural events and types of livestock. I had the opportunity of taking photographs of some individual rural household farmers, their rural activities, wool shearing, their livestock, shearing sheds, grazing land and village set-ups. Photographs provided an important check list in the study for how livelihoods patterns were unfolding with rural interventions from various stakeholders.

How to achieve a better understanding of the links and the tensions between different levels of analysis, namely the micro-level of the household, the meso-level of institutional intervention through local government at district and local municipalities, development agencies or regional markets, and the macro-level of national policymaking, needs a critical analysis of a given area. In the light both of prevalent neo-liberal policy prescriptions and of the reality of diversified rural livelihoods across a number of conventionally discrete economic sectors, is how policies are to be devised in practice. This will have an effective impact upon the disparate livelihoods of the rural poor.

It is perhaps helpful to distinguish between the following approaches, separate in principle but closely linked in practice. We need to understand change over time (the retrospective approach). This requires analysis of the historical context, inference of the broad trends of change, and critical investigation of the institutional framework through which relations between macro- and meso- and micro-levels are worked out over time.
It also requires empirical investigation at the household level. This may be undertaken through a combination of methods: longitudinal comparison of household livelihoods, either in a strict sense or in a loose sense, with careful attention to the difficulties that arise out of the fact that a household observed in the mid-1990s cannot be treated as the ‘same’ household as might have been observed in the mid-1970s through the pressures of donor funding for their research, and of the need to influence policy and action (the prospective approach). This should include analyses of the effects of past policies, which are often haphazardly reproduced under different political regimes; a commitment to changing ‘mind-sets’ amongst government officials, planners, donors, NGOs, etc.; the development of specific rationales for intervention at various levels; and procedures for monitoring and evaluation. The objectives of the prospective approach are better co-ordination of planning and implementation across sectoral boundaries; and building alternative conceptual frameworks for facilitating opportunities for improving livelihoods (Haines and Robino, 2004).

Livelihoods research, by its nature, is essentially carried out at the micro-level: that of ‘households’ and ‘communities’. It involves empirical investigation of combinations of modes of livelihood and, above all, of the relationships between them. It also involves pushing to the limit of their potential various methods of understanding changes that have taken place over time. For research into changing livelihoods to be illuminating and useful, however, it is essential to define the structural, historical and institutional elements of what may for convenience be called its macro and micro context. The micro-regional studies (District and Local Municipalities) were prepared using a variety of secondary sources, namely census, village studies, and project reports conducted in the Eastern Cape homelands. The study focuses on grasping the dynamics of social, political, economic and environmental change, rather than providing merely an historical snapshot.
More quantitative approaches were also utilized, however, in order to attempt to layer the more thickly described ethnographic with the statistical and factual. Household surveys formed the major data sets of the research at field level. The research used a broad range of quantitative and qualitative, formal and informal, closed and open ended instruments, in order to give a comprehensive triangulated and in-depth insight. Whilst this approach runs the risk of criticism that it is not founded on extensive quantification, it was felt that the findings are likely to be more sensitive to the complex field realities. Typically, in selected villages, approximately 10-20 households per village were selected. Information on household composition, assets, skills and capabilities, income opportunities, household budgets, and change through time was collected.

It is a common failing of social research, that households are treated as ‘black boxes’. The head of the household provides the information, and a gender-blind formulaic version of the household is analysed to provide information, the interpretation of which is shaped solely by exogenous assumptions of human behaviour. Longer-term changes in livelihoods, natural resources and project impacts upon livelihoods will be discussed, where different members of the households were interviewed to understand the complexities of rural livelihoods in the midst of local government intervention. The research process involved the key stakeholders at district and local levels. It varied under different local conditions but involved the following main elements.

The design and format of household survey questionnaires and intra-household interviews checklists were prepared after the pilot study. The research covered many villages in different parts of the former Ciskei and Transkei. The areas chosen for the research were typically rural within the local municipalities, characterized by rural dwellings and hamlets (areas in the periphery) with compromised service delivery and lacking resources. Here most of the people seemingly relied on livestock and other natural resources for their livelihoods. The areas were chosen because some rural areas received support or
intervention from different development organisations in livestock production while others received nothing at all. The differences in forms of livelihood, especially in different villages of different municipalities, contributed to the selection of a wide variety of households and villages. The managers of the Department of Agriculture were also consulted in identifying the rural villages that the study included, according to their knowledge of which villages had received some form of support or intervention from government and development organisations.

I started this research at the beginning of 2004 under a Mellon Foundation grant. I collected secondary data from historical and contemporary documents. Thereafter a row of consultations with specialists from, the Department of Agriculture, Agriculture Rural Development Institute (ADRI), the National Wool Growers Association (NWGA), District and Local Municipalities and other Institutions, such as GTZ/Ruliv, took place. They cooperated very well with me, giving me guidance, assistance and access to the documents that I needed for the study. The managers of the DOA assisted in arranging Extension officers to accompany me to the villages for interviews. The selection of the Department of Agriculture and Municipal officials was done through snowballing and stratification. Two officials from the department of Agriculture per municipality were interviewed. In some cases, at least three were interviewed depending on their availability.

I conducted a pilot study in Chatha village. The aim was to probe the questionnaire in Chatha village of Amahlati Local municipality in the former Ciskei. According to Mouton (2003) pre-testing or (pilot study) is crucial to avoid ambiguity and errors in the questions to be asked and the answers expected. In this regard, 40 households were interviewed in Chatha. These were selected randomly. On the day of the visit, some members of the community who received kam kam (pensions) were unable to be present as they were collecting their social grants. However, this did not much affect the interviews as some
households were willing to be interviewed while on their way to the payment point.

Also, independently I collected data with the assistance of Mpisi and Zukiswa who helped during interviews. I could not have come up with this thesis if it was not for the rural people’s hospitality, allowing me into their communities for a period of more than three months. They were willing to give information, even to sensitive questions. Collection of data started in January 2005 where a pre-survey was done in Chatha village. After probing the research tool, research was then conducted in Chris Hani, Alfred Nzo and Amathole District Municipalities, from February to December 2005. In the course of collecting data, data analysis was concurrently analysed and interpreted.

From January 2005 to June 2007, collection of data, data analysis, data interpretation and chapter writing continued. The research design included household and village case study approaches. I used municipal, Wool Growers Association, village and household individual case studies to identify similarities and differences in so far as livestock production forms of livelihoods and cultural significance of livestock in different parts of the study areas within the district municipalities were concerned. In these municipalities, different villages were visited and at least 40 households per municipality were interviewed. In each municipality the number of households visited per village differed. The differences were caused by the availability of members of households on the days of the visit and the numbers of people in any given livestock development project. In certain villages there were more households who wanted to be interviewed than the sample chosen. The sample size of 40 represents, on average, a tenth of each village, though some villages had more households.
The research was conducted in the rural Eastern Cape where livelihoods, access to resources and well-being ranking refers to building a socio-economic profile of households in a community. It is based on the recognition that there are inequalities and differences in terms of access to resources for households in every community. These differences are important because they influence the behaviour, coping strategies, and views of people socially, economically and culturally. It is based on the assumption that local people have a good sense of the socio-economic status of community members. Usually community members and those from outside have a different interpretation of wealth, well-being, and inequality. Thus, local views are important for developing a deeper insight into livelihoods portfolios, vulnerability, well-being and inequality in a community (Chileshe, 2005 p.32-33). In this study, livelihoods portfolios through the lens of livestock, vulnerability and well-being gives an insight of wealth/resource differences and inequalities of households.

Primary data was gathered from households in different villages. At least 4 Local Municipalities in Chris Hani District Municipality were chosen taking into consideration that those were the municipalities that had villages that were part of the former Ciskei and Transkei (Intsika Yethu, Sakhisizwe, Engcobo and Emalahleni), also 3 Local Municipalities of Amathole District Municipality (Mbashe, Amahlati and Nkonkobe) and one Local Municipality in Alfred Nzo District Municipality (Umzimvubu). The number of villages included in each Local Municipality was; Intsika Yethu (5), Sakhisizwe (3), Engcobo (2), Emalahleni (5), Amahlati (1), Nkonkobe (1), Umzimvubu (1) and Mbashe (6). Local Municipalities comprised 24 villages. The broadness of the study allowed room for comparison of the form of livelihoods of each household under different social, economic and cultural conditions. Due to differences noticed during the pre-survey, there was no uniformity in livestock production in each village of either the former Ciskei or Transkei. In each village I interviewed households based on a random sampling technique as mentioned earlier. This enabled me to meet a variety of households with different numbers of livestock and family sizes, who viewed
livestock differently, kept livestock for different reasons, and varied their forms of livelihood and surviving strategies and their reception of government support.

A life history approach was also layered into the thesis, adding complex personal narratives of experience, in order to give substance to the observational and the survey data. These ‘fuller length’ accounts of one person’s life serve as illustrative and representative social biographies (Mouton, 2002). In my study areas, the spatial ‘layout’ re-villagisation experience of the poor in the past government through Betterment planning, how they started to have livestock, their working experience, the forced migration to work in mines and farms, the purchase of livestock from their income, inheritance of livestock, peasant farming, disposition of land, forced removal from their land, how they lost or re-accumulated livestock, and their new experience of today’s livelihood trends, are all good examples of aspects highlighted in a life history.

These were comparatively integrated and related to the more quantitative side, reflected in the use of a univariate analysis which summarized data making it manageable while maintaining as much of the original data as possible. This included tables, averages and percentages. Univariate analysis was used to analyse livestock numbers and livestock ownership, household heads, income from selling livestock, profits from wool and percentage of the population and livestock. Grouped data was produced through the combination of attributes of a variable (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Mouton, 2002; Mouton, 2001). Structured interviews were conducted with the Department of Agriculture extension officers. Interviews with Agriculture managers were very important to get the outline of what the government has done and were doing in supporting the farmers in livestock farming. At the same time, a more ‘life history’ approach, using unstructured and open-ended ‘conversational analysis’, was utilised in an attempt to gather more qualitative life histories of members of households. Both approaches are visible in the thesis.
The rural farmers were able to narrate their experiences regarding livestock, both during the apartheid era and in the post apartheid South Africa. Individual interviews gave an understanding of how the individual households live, and how they got involved in livestock farming, or other social and economic activities linked to livestock, and other forms of survival outside livestock.

Qualitative research attempts to view the world through the eyes of the actors themselves in a social context. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) argue that a triangulation approach (combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies) using multiple methods as a plan of action, help to raise researchers above the personal biases that stem from single methodologies. By combining methods, one aims to overcome deficiencies, and collect information about different events in a more extensive and thorough manner. This thesis draws on these processes of triangulation in an integrated and consistent manner, and presents a more ‘complete’ picture of the struggles for development around livelihoods and stock farming for transforming people's lives.
CHAPTER III

RESEARCH LOCATION

Introduction

The research was conducted in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The Eastern Cape is one of nine provinces in South Africa, located in the south-eastern part of the country, along the Indian Ocean seaboard (Figure 1). The area was a site of prolonged struggle between native people, principally Xhosa-speakers, and European colonists, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which saw the defeat and subjugation of the African chieftaincies and the loss of the majority of territory to white settlers (Lahiff, 2005). In the twentieth century, the Eastern Cape was divided territorially into zones of ‘white’ occupation, which formed part of the Republic of South Africa, and the native reserves, ‘Bantustans of former Transkei and Ciskei’, which for a time achieved the dubious status of independent republics.

The separation of people along racial lines, as in the rest of South Africa, was accompanied by massive forced removals of African, Indian and Coloured people, widespread dispossession of land and other property, and severe curtailment of social, economic and political rights (Bundy, 1972 p. 273; Kingwill, 2000 p. 11; Lahiff, 2003 p. 5). The result was one of the most unequal societies in the world, with a relatively small white minority enjoying high standards of living and the great majority of the black population consigned to a life of extreme exploitation and poverty\textsuperscript{11}.

\textsuperscript{11} The poor resorted to sustaining a living through what they harvested and working in mines to earn income. Life became different and tough for the rural poor.
Lack of basic services remained central to the lives of the majority of the population of the Eastern Cape. The deep rural areas of the former Ciskei and, more especially, the former Transkei, have presented enormous challenges to the land claim, land restitution and land redistribution reform policies introduced by the state since 1994 (Kingwill, 2000 p. 213; Van Averbeke, 2002 p. 9; Monde, 2002 p.43).

The majority of the poor are still located in the former Ciskei and Transkei, and poverty is particularly pronounced among black, rural and female-headed households (Lahiff, 2003). Approximately 10 million hectares (ha) of land (59% of the province) was in the hands of 6,500 white commercial farmers, employing approximately 70,000 farm workers (Lahiff, 2003 p.19). According to Lahiff (2003) this land is still used (in descending order of importance) for sheep, beef cattle, mixed farming, dairy cattle and vegetable production. The area that was to become the Ciskei, on the other hand, was first demarcated as a ‘native reserve’ within the British-controlled Cape Colony in late 1870s, and the
Transkeian Territories were incorporated into the Colony between 1875 and 1900.

After a century of border changes and homeland consolidation, the Ciskei grew to an area of approximately 800,000 ha and the Transkei to approximately 4,280,000 ha (Ainslie, 2002b). In the 1970s the South African Development Trust (SADT) bought several large blocks of farms in the Eastern Cape from their white owners. The immediate motive was the consolidation of the Ciskei and Transkei in preparation for their independence (Beinart, 1998). It was however a continuation of the policy of setting aside reserved land for blacks which had begun in the Eastern Cape during the middle of the nineteenth century, finding concrete expression in the Location Acts, the Glen Grey Act of 1894 and the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 (Beinart, 1998; Bundy, 1972; Kingwill, 2000; Van Averbeke, 2004 p.1-12). The reserved land had poor climatic conditions and poor soils that made viable farming practically impossible.

**Climatic conditions, soil types and rainfall patterns**

The Eastern Cape is located in a semi-arid region. The former Transkei and Ciskei experience long dry spells with rainfall of only between 450 to 700mm per year in most areas (Van Averbeke, 2000 p. 30). The amount of rainfall differs in accordance with how close an area is to the ocean. Villages in Mbashe Local Municipality receive enough rainfall to grow crops and for veld management. However, not much agricultural activity is engaged in due to many contributing factors. Villages inland in other local municipalities have less rainfall, which restricts them to livestock farming and less crop farming as the soils are less fertile and less productive (Van Averbeke, 2000). During frequent drought spells the communities’ socio-economic activities are disturbed as livestock die and they are reliant on off-farm activities. It is important to identify how the physical and natural set-up of the study areas also influenced the livelihood of the rural poor in the different districts. This will be considered at various points in the study.
Baseline information on the District and Local Municipalities in the study areas:

The following section provides a series of snapshots of the key District and Local Municipalities in the study and essentially provides some baseline information drawn from the Integrated Development Plans and related information, especially via Statistics South Africa. The sections appear somewhat repetitive but they provide important base information for the thesis as a whole. It might also be worth noting that their similarities also reflect the actual content and nature of IDPs and the huge assumptions that underpin them.

Chris Hani District Municipality (CHDM)

(CHDM) was created in 2000 after the new demarcation. It encompasses areas of the former homelands and the former Republic of South Africa (see Annexure B for the map). The Chris Hani area is characterised by a complex land use pattern, which can be broadly defined into arable land, protected areas, commercial land and general residential areas (Chris Hani District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). Agricultural land usage accounts for the greater share of the productive land use distribution, especially in rural areas and smaller towns with limited industrial activity. The CHDM covers an area of 37 111 square kilometers (Chris Hani District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). The headquarters of the District Municipality are located in Queenstown, in Lukhanji Local Municipality, the geographic industrial centre of the district. The district is named in honour of Chris Hani (the freedom fighter who was born in the Intsika Yethu Local Municipality in Cofimvaba). Eight local municipalities comprise the District Municipality.

Furthermore, the CHDM represents an amalgamation of formerly separated administrative entities, namely parts of the former Republic of South Africa, the former Ciskeian districts of Hewu and Ntabathamba and four magisterial districts
of the former Transkei\textsuperscript{12}. The settlement and land use patterns in these two former homeland areas is distinctly different from the former white commercial area (Chris Hani District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). Settlement in the former Ciskei and Transkei is predominantly of the dispersed traditional rural village settlement type where ‘subsistence’ farming practices (pastoral and dryland cultivation) are the dominant forms of land use activity, apart from the residential function of the areas (CHDM Spatial Development Framework, 2004). The total population residing in Chris Hani District Municipality is approximately 810 330 (Statistics South Africa, 2001 survey). The economic sectors found within the Chris Hani District Municipality are as follows: forestry and mining (minerals, clay and coal). Agri-processing includes, (irrigation schemes), food canning, organic farming & produce, commercial and subsistence livestock farming\textsuperscript{13}. Despite what looks like a prosperous district from a socio-economic point of view, wealth is not fairly distributed. The overall unemployment rate is about 22\% and 43\% of the population live in poverty (Chris Hani District Municipality IDP, 2006/7).

Promoting agriculture remains the core economic activity of the Chris Hani District Municipality’s mandate in its strategy to alleviate poverty. The focus areas are the revitalization of the irrigation schemes, upgrading of livestock, fodder production, fruit and vegetable gardens and dairy farming. The intention is to promote food security and ensure that the community looks at alternative methods of farming which would increase their production levels, whether they are subsistence or commercial farmers. It is of particular interest to this study to find how the rural poor sustained their living through livestock production in the district.

Of the total population of the Chris Hani District, 71.4 \% of the population resides in rural areas. Just more than half of the Chris Hani District Municipal population is female dominated (53.76\%), which is in line with national 2001 statistics (Chris

\textsuperscript{12}Chris Hani District Municipality IDP, 2005/2006.
Hani District Municipality, IDP, 2005/6). Household incomes are fairly low because of lack of employment and dependence on social grants. This reflects low levels of affordability and a low revenue base for most of the municipalities. The majority of the residents in Chris Hani have limited resources to sustain their living. In all Local Municipalities the numbers of residents who have no formal income outweigh those in other category of incomes (ECSECC, 2001). In CHDM there are eight Local Municipalities. However, four were selected for this study (Intsika Yethu, Sakhisizwe, Engcobo and Emalahleni) based on the fact that they were former Transkei and Ciskei areas as I mentioned in chapter two (see Table 1).

Household incomes are fairly low in the district reflecting low levels of affordability and a low revenue base for most of the municipalities (ECSECC, 2001). The majority (33%) of the residents in Chris Hani record ‘no income’. In all municipalities the numbers of residents who have no income outweigh those with incomes. The production of agricultural goods has been selected as the number one priority in the district, due to the rural nature of the area and the availability of agricultural land. It is believed that the involvement of the District and Local municipalities, in conjunction with the Department of Agriculture and Social Development, in promoting homestead production and the resuscitation of existing agricultural production projects, will reduce unemployment through the sale of livestock and vegetables, and reduce malnutrition by supplying poor households with their own food supply (see figure 2).

The lack of capacity of the district to produce large numbers of livestock and crops to supply both the local market and external market is due to the following factors: Under-production of the large former homeland schemes, and lack of agricultural skills and agricultural background due to large numbers of urban people being dumped in rural areas. This resulted in tracts of land being left unutilised by their owners as they looked for employment in the farms and mines. Population growth has resulted in too little land being left for the community to
produce food in excess of their own consumption, and lack of agricultural infrastructure such as fencing and dip tanks.

Table 1: Local Municipalities’ Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Area in km</th>
<th>Wards</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Councillors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EC 131: Inxuba Yethemba</td>
<td>11 594</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 132: Tsolwana</td>
<td>6 024</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 133: Inkwanca</td>
<td>3 583</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 134: Lukhanji</td>
<td>4 259</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 135: Intsika Yethu</td>
<td>3 613</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 136: Emalahleni</td>
<td>3 238</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 137: Engcobo</td>
<td>2 258</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 138: Sakhisizwe</td>
<td>2 256</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECDMA 13: Mountain Zebra Park</td>
<td>286</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC 13: Chris Hani DM</td>
<td>37 111</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Economic sectoral breakdown of Chris Hani District Municipality
Lack of fencing in particular leads to poor veld and livestock management because of overgrazing, lack of maintenance of dipping tanks and dipping programmes leads to the spread of livestock communicable diseases such as sheep scab, which reduces the value of the wool. Lack of access to financial resources and training in financial management to emerging farmers, hinder them to become potential farmers.

Vandalism of existing agricultural infrastructure has led many agricultural development projects to decline in productivity due to lack of proper management in agricultural, financial and institutional problems within the management structures. Overstocking has led to a decrease of edible grasses (decrease or species) and the increase in unpalatable grass that promotes the production of malnourished and stunted livestock. There is a lack of livestock sales and of water sources for livestock in former homeland areas. An increase in stock theft has meant that some farmers cannot continue livestock production in some Local Municipalities such as Intsika Yethu. These dynamics manifest also in the study areas as will be discussed in chapters, five to ten.

**Intsika Yethu Local Municipality**

Intsika Yethu Local Municipality is 4 226ha in size and is situated in the southern region of the former Transkei in the Eastern Cape Province. It falls within the Chris Hani District Municipality. Intsika Yethu Local Municipality has two distinctive towns, namely Cofimvaba and Tsomo, and the rural components are made up of 213 villages (see figure 3). These villages were formerly part of the Cala, Engcobo, Idutywa, Lady-Frere and Nqamakwe areas. Intsika Yethu Local Municipality has a total population of 228 589, consisting of 44 161 households with the average household size of 5 members (Municipal Demarcation Board, 2000).
Intsika Yethu Local Municipality is rural in character with 98.10% of the population residing in rural areas and thus with only 1.89% in the urban areas of Cofimvaba and Tsomo (Intsika Yethu Local Municipality IDP, 2005/6). This large influx of the rural poor indicates the high degree of poverty in the municipality and the urgent need to alleviate poverty in the rural areas as this is where the majority of the population lives. The gender ratio indicates that 55.08% are females, whilst 44.92% are males, largely determined by migrant labour. Young men also tend to migrate to urban areas more than women, although this differed in various areas. Agriculture is defined as the backbone of the municipality’s economy.

![Map of Intsika Yethu Local Municipality](image)

**Figure 3: Intsika Yethu Local Municipality 2004-2005**

Despite the potential of the wards, the integrated development plan of Intsika Yethu Local Municipality seems to be a ‘shopping list’ of what the municipality could do to improve the livelihood of the rural poor. The capacity and capability of the municipality to deliver is questionable. The municipality thus has had
challenges in fulfilling its mandate of supporting the rural farmers to sustain a living through agriculture. This was exacerbated by the fact that the Department of Agriculture does its own planning apart from the municipal IDP review and planning\textsuperscript{14}. Such developmental approaches have caused disintegration in forms of support of the rural people. There was no reliability on what was planned and what was implemented. The municipalities planned very well through consultants, but lacked the capacity for implementing as they lacked human capital and funding. The end result, as will be shown in the study, has been increased poverty, limited safety nets for rural livelihoods and equally unlimited capabilities for using the natural resources such as livestock, large or small. In addition, differences in the availability of natural resources per region or area, such as livestock, land, forestry or water, were of varying importance to the communities that had them.

The decentralization approach to development is a challenge, in an attempt to cater for the formerly disadvantaged, while promoting economic growth at the same time. The agricultural problems in one local municipality may differ from that of another, but the approach used by the given municipality determined the level of efficiency of that municipality to meet its mandate. There are assumptions, as strategised by the PGDP and local government at all levels, that by 2014 poverty would be halved and issues affecting the livelihoods of the rural poor, whose lives it is assumed should depend on livestock production and crop farming, would have changed for the better, providing efficiency in support of local farmers and service delivery has also improved.

Since 1994 various changes in developmental approaches have had certain impacts on the rural livelihoods of the rural poor in the study areas. While services have been provided socially, economically and politically, at the same time support of rural livestock farmers by the local government and rural

\textsuperscript{14} After making an appointment with the manager of the Department of Agriculture, I had two meetings with him analyzing the agricultural sector in the municipality and how his department coordinated with the municipality in planning for local economic development 'agriculture sector'.
dependence on agriculture have both declined, as is evident in most of the former Bantustan areas (Lahiff, 2003 p. 34). The faith in sustaining a living through the base (natural resources) has been maintained but increasingly needs to be critically assessed. The villages chosen for the study in Intsika Yethu Local Municipality are Isikobeni, Makwababa, Nobokwe, Xume and Ngqongqora, taking into consideration the economic and agricultural potential of a given ward (see figure 3).

**Sakhisizwe Local Municipality**

The Sakhisizwe Local Municipality was formed following the amalgamation of several established municipalities after the municipal demarcation process in 2000 (see figure 4). Sakhisizwe Local Municipality operates a plenary executive system and is subdivided into six (6) wards with the bulk of the population residing in the extensively rural wards (1, 2, 4 and 5). Wards 3 and 6 encompass the two urban centres of Cala and Elliot towns, respectively. The municipality also has commercial farms of emerging black farmers and white commercial farmers (Sakhisizwe LM IDP, 2005/6). The research was conducted in Mamfengwini, Upper Lufutha, and Upper Mnxe together with eight emerging black commercial farms.

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15The rural areas and the emerging commercial farmers were my targets. I managed to choose the villages randomly with some influence from the municipal agricultural managers.
The thesis highlights the dynamics and challenges facing the emerging farmers and how they network with the rural poor involved in livestock and crop farming within the municipality. The land use pattern of the study area is characterised by agriculture in the form of crop farming (maize) and stock farming (cattle and sheep), forestry, natural veld, urban and rural residential areas. The demographic data of Sakhisizwe Municipality indicates that the population is predominantly African, of which more than half (56%) of the population are children. The success of agriculture is varied within the farming industry (cattle, sheep, deciduous fruit, vegetables and forestry). The area is characterised by high levels of unemployment (89%), and has an estimated combined illiteracy rate of 40.1% (Sakhisizwe IDP, 2005/6). One of the priorities of the municipality is to facilitate and monitor the provision of agricultural activities and support the emerging farmers in collaboration with the DOA. One priority of the local poverty alleviation strategy is to empower the poor in livestock production (Sakhisizwe IDP, 2005/6 p.11).

The paradigm shift in local government from a regulatory institution to a development-oriented institution provides a basis for the appropriate
understanding of the inherent elements of each District and Local Municipality and how development is taking place. In an attempt to address socio economic challenges that underpin rural development and affect rural livelihoods of the poor involved in livestock production, different economic policies have been put in place. The municipality is faced with critical issues that are affecting rural farmers, such as lack of fencing, dipping tanks for livestock and dams, non-existence of organisational offices to guide small and emerging farmers in villages, and increased support to emerging farmers with skills and financial supply (Sakhisizwe IDP, 2005/6).

This is common also in other villages. Non-existence of agricultural colleges to stimulate interest in agriculture, insufficient stock pens for auction purposes and non-existence of shearing sheds are other challenges. Despite the municipality’s strategies of initiating the preparation of multi-sectoral, comprehensive, viable poverty alleviation programmes, linking with Local Economic Development (LED) by introducing fencing of available land or commonage, stock pens and shearing sheds, other challenges still remain, and will be explored in the local case studies.

**Engcobo Local Municipality**

Engcobo is a category B municipality, established on 5 December 2005 in terms of Provincial Proclamation Act 80 of 2000. It is an amalgamation of the former town of Engcobo and its surrounding rural areas (see figure, 5). The municipality is located in the eastern part of Queenstown and is one of the poorest municipalities, with 95% of the areas being rural with 15 wards and 322 villages. It covers an area of 22 587 808ha of land and is part of the former Transkei area (Engcobo Local Municipality IDP, 2005/6). Research was conducted in Zadungeni, 20kms North East of Engcobo town and Isikobeni village North West of Engcobo town. The rural poor have many challenges in their livelihoods.

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16 Engcobo LM comprises villages of the former Transkei’s rural areas and there are a lot of differences between one village and another in so far as livestock production is concerned.
There are approximately 149,000 people and 31,000 households in the municipality, according to the census of 2001. Some 23,779 households live in the rural areas and 7,221 households live on commercial farms and in Engcobo town. About 55% of the population is comprised of females in the economically active age group. Only 13% of the population was aged over 65 years.

**Emalahleni Local Municipality**

Emalahleni Local Municipality is made up of the former RSA magisterial districts, which are administered by the Stormberg Regional Services Council (see figure 6). These areas include the commercial farming districts of Dordrecht and Indwe (Emalahleni Local Municipality IDP, 2006/7). It also comprises the former Transkei area of Tembuland with its seats at Qamata, Lady Frere, Glen Adelaide, Mbizane, Magashu and Mtyantya. The municipality is located to the South East of Queenstown and has 26% of the population uneducated and unemployed. There is poor community service, poor access to services and lack of a land use management system. Agriculture is the backbone of the economy of the municipality and is dominated by livestock production in the rural and commercial farms (Emalahleni Local Municipality IDP, 2006/7). In 2001 the municipality had
a population of 115,936. Some 25,822 households and 10,931 households live in rural areas. Most of the population lives in rural areas. The municipality is 3,840km square in extent and has 200 settlements and 14 wards. Of the population 50% fall within the 15-16 age group with 6 to 9 people in a household. The area has dry spells and has unfenced grazing land, most of which has been over-grazed in the rural areas (Spatial Development Initiative Emalahleni Municipality, 2004). I conducted the research in Cumakala, Izingqolweni or Zingqolweni, Ntsinga and Machubeni villages (see figure 6).\footnote{Emalahleni LM is a municipality with various economic activities. It encompasses commercial farms, mining areas, tourist resort areas and agriculture. The most important economic activity is agriculture, mostly livestock production. However, crop farming is practised in some rural areas.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure6.png}
\caption{Emalahleni Local Municipality}
\end{figure}

\textbf{Amathole District Municipality}

The Amathole District Municipality stretches along the coastline of the south-eastern part of the Eastern Cape Province and includes parts of the former Ciskei and Transkei as well as the former Cape Provincial Administration areas (see annexure B for the map). The district is mountainous in the northern and
north-western parts, sloping towards the coast in the east and south-west. The district contains 25.9% of the Eastern Cape’s total population (Amathole District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). The Amathole District Municipality has a total population of approximately 1.7 million people, with an average population density of 63.5 people per square km (Amathole District Municipality, 2006/7). This varies widely across the Local Municipalities, from 167 people per square kilometer in the urban centre of Buffalo City to six people per square kilometer in the rural areas. The population of the district is predominantly African (92.5%). The majority of the district’s African population is found in the former rural Transkei and Ciskei areas (Amathole District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). There are 8 Local Municipalities in the Amathole District with more people living in Buffalo City Local Municipality.

In spite of the high potential of agricultural production, particularly in livestock, agriculture contributed only 3% to the economy of the Amathole District Municipality in 2005/6 (Amathole District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). Many Local Municipalities continue to import agricultural products from outside the Eastern Cape boundaries, despite this potential. This is probably explained by low levels of development, extremely high levels of poverty, and poor infrastructural development. Emerging farmers have limited access to resources necessary for production. Again, agriculture continues to contribute far less than might be expected to formal employment opportunities and to gross geographic production, particularly in local municipalities within the former Ciskei and Transkei homelands, as opposed to those in the former Cape Provincial Administration (Amathole District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). The following Local Municipalities form part of the study: Mbashe, Amahlati and Nkonkobe.

**Mbashe Local Municipality**

The municipality is located in the north eastern part of the Amathole District Municipality’s area of jurisdiction. About 66% of Amathole’s people live in poverty. Within the Amathole District Municipality, the highest proportion of
people living in poverty are found in Mbashe (82%), Ngqushwa (79%), Mnquma (75.3%) and Amahlathi (72.7%). In Mbashe, different agricultural projects are in place and this includes wool production. The municipality, other institutions and the Department of Agriculture are assisting by trying to promote wool farmers. The study was conducted in the rural villages of Upper and Lower Nqadu, Upper and Lower Dadambe, Matolweni, Bolotwa and Maxhama (see figure, 7). The choice of the villages in Mbashe was influenced by the aim of looking into how state-NGO support of wool farmers has impacted on the livelihoods of the local people involved in wool farming. The villages received support from GTZ/Ruliv and the Department of Agriculture (see figure 7).

Figure 7: Mbashe Local Municipality

Amahlati Local Municipality
Amahlati Local Municipality is comprised of 20 wards and is characterised by a range of settlement patterns and associated land uses, including formal urban

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18 My choice of Mbashe LM was to compare the institutional support from interested stakeholders and the local government, on rural farmers involved in livestock production, with the support given to the rural farmers in Emalahleni LM.
areas, formal and informal rural settlement areas and extensive privately owned farm land. The municipality had a population of 139,035 in 2005 (Amahlati Local Municipality IDP, 2005/6). More specifically over 50% of the population was younger than 20 years and this indicated a youthful age profile. Some 17% of the economically active population within the municipality are employed, while 83% are therefore unemployed in a formal sense. Local Economic Development around a manufacturing sector has been identified as one of the significant potentials, specifically where local timber is being processed for other markets (Amahlati Local Municipality IDP, 2005/6).

The municipal objectives are in line with the national targets for development as set by the government: to reduce poverty by half by 2014, provide the skills required by the economy, increase food security through agricultural development by 15%, promote sustainable agricultural programmes, and to increase benefits by small business in forestry and services delivery (Amahlati IDP, 2006/7 p. 40). I conducted research in Chatha village’s three sub-villages of Skafu, Ndlela and Nyanga (see figure 8). These villages were selected because they benefited from the land restitution and land claim programmes. Hence, it was interesting to find out if, after land claim and land restitution, there was any change in the livelihoods of the rural households, and how they were sustaining their livelihoods from livestock and any other economic activities.

The Amahlati Local Municipal area has a resident population whose main challenges are countering the effects of endemic poverty and under-development. This translates, for government and development, into a need to focus great efforts on the expansion of Local Economic Development in the area. Poverty relief and food security are also seen as important areas within this cluster, as a strategic focus on the support of local enterprise development (figure 8). Amahlati municipal area has numerous rural local areas where significant backlogs continue to exist in the provision of basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity and solid waste disposal (Amahlati Local Municipality IDP, 2006/7).
Nkonkobe Local Municipality

Nkonkobe Local Municipality is a product of the amalgamation of Alice, Fort Beaufort, Hogsback, Seymour, Victoria East, Mpofu and Middledrift. It is the second largest Local Municipality (LM) covering 3 725 square km in the Amathole District Municipality. Nkonkobe Local Municipality has a population of 160 311 people with 20% living on farms and 61% in villages in the rural areas. Some 19% live in the urban settlements of Alice and Fort Beaufort (see figure 9). The economy of the municipality continues to be heavily reliant on the public sector in terms of job creation (Nkonkobe Local Municipality IDP, 2005/6).

The agricultural sector has always been hailed as an area of potential, but Nkonkobe continues to register an average performance with massive levels of poverty. Statistically this means that 92 274 people in the municipality regularly go to bed without anything to eat (Nkonkobe Local Municipality IDP, 2006/7). Agriculture is currently an underdeveloped sector, contributing only 17% to district Gross Domestic Product. The municipality is rural in nature, and agriculture represents the economic potential in the municipality with wool
growing becoming viable in certain villages. Rhoxeni village, in which I conducted research, is located in ward 20, North West of Alice. I selected Rhoxeni village so as to investigate how their wool-growing project differed from other villages in the Eastern Cape Province, and as a point of comparison.

**Figure 9: Nkonkobe Local Municipality**

**Alfred Nzo District Municipality**

On the other hand, Alfred Nzo District Municipality is the poorest district, compared to the other district municipalities in the Eastern Cape Province. Alfred Nzo District Municipality had a population of 550,401, with 174,338 for Umzimkhulu Local Municipality (now under KwaZulu Natal (KZN) since 2006 due to new demarcations of municipalities). The other 376,063 of the population fall under Umzimvubu Local Municipality respectively (see figure 10). The population has 55% female and 45% male (Alfred Nzo District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). Population densities indicate that Umzimvubu is more densely populated than Umzimkhulu. The largest population of the poor is concentrated in Umzimvubu. Alfred Nzo District Municipality is made up of three previous towns, Mount Frere, Mount Ayliff and two townships, Maluti and Ibis as well as the four former Transitional Rural Councils. These areas now form part of the
two local municipalities. Umzimkhulu and Umzimvubu Local Municipalities in total, have 881 rural villages. According to the Eastern Cape Provincial Spatial Development Plan the district has a population density of 69 persons per square kilometer (Alfred Nzo District Municipality IDP 2005-2006). Some 46% of the population is still dependent and below the age of 15, whereas 48% fall between the ages of 15 and 65. Only 6% of the population is over the age of 65.

![Figure 10: Alfred Nzo Municipality](image)

**Umzimvubu Local Municipality**

The municipality is located in the central part of Alfred Nzo District Municipality and it is more rural, with 80% of its population living in rural areas. I conducted research at Mount Ayliff where the Umzimvubu goat project is operational, and visited nearby villages to interview a few households. The majority, (56%) of the population in the rural areas own livestock and arable land (Alfred Nzo District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). The predominant type of livestock is goats rather than sheep and this determined my focus in the thesis, of exploring the dynamics of the ‘goat project’ in rural development in Alfred Nzo District Municipality where Umzimvubu Local Municipality is located. As rural Local Municipalities do not
have diversified economies to provide enough employment opportunities, ISRDP projects have been implemented to play a pivotal role in uplifting the livelihood of rural people in the municipality, as well as in contributing to the commercialised economic development of the area (Alfred Nzo District Municipality, IDP 2005/6). The findings of how goats gave meaning to the life of the rural poor in Alfred Nzo will be discussed in chapter six. Overall however, in the municipality, vast tracts of land are currently lying fallow. Soil types and climatic conditions are suitable for cattle and goat farming, the cultivation of cut-flowers, sorghum, maize, oil and protein crops, lucerne, potatoes, cabbage, tomatoes, citrus and tropical fruits, nuts, pineapples and chicory\(^\text{19}\). But, as elsewhere, the identified potentials represent Local and District Municipalities’ IDP wish lists, rather than actual farming and production realities.

**Conclusion**

The chapter highlighted the socio economic status of the Eastern Cape Province in brief as one of the poor Provinces in South Africa and the situational analysis of the socio-economic scenario of each District and Local Municipality. The socio-economic situation in the rural areas where the poor are located is worsening in the midst of attempts by the national and local government to improve the situation and address the inequalities of the past through PGDP, IDPs, ASGISA and other developmental policies. The following chapter analyses the theoretical framework, rural developmental debates and the approaches used in the thesis to highlight the degree of poverty, livelihoods of the poor, and the concept adopted by this thesis.

\(^{19}\) Alfred Nzo District Municipality IDP2005-2006
CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF POVERTY, LIVELIHOODS AND THE RURAL ECONOMY

Introduction

The early twenty-first century has seen a distinct widening of scholarly activity and debate. Haines and Wood (2004) argue that this can be, in part, interpreted as a reflection of a sense of epochal changes, but more fundamentally, it has been sparked by a heightened reflexivity among development theorists and practitioners. There is less certainty as to the terrains as well as the boundaries of development. A key trend emerging in the social sciences is the increased competition between rational choice and institutional perspectives. Nevertheless, `even before the old consensus has been decently buried, the pretender to its throne is already grabbing at the crown in a palace revolution (Haines and Wood, 2004)

In the 1970s and 1980s there was probably more of a division between mainstream development and `alternative' forms of development. More recently the boundaries have become blurred as mainstream development thinking has incorporated various aspects of alternative development such as equity, gender, sustainability and participation, though these emphases have often been diluted in practice. At present, issues such as ecological sustainability, unequal social relations in the fields of gender, race, or ethnicity; multiculturalism, participation and democracy, good governance and institutional development, social capital, empowerment, human or people-centred development, decentralisation and local-regional development, are all part of the contemporary mainstream development discourse. Many of these words appear today as `key words' for the `development industry', constituting the lexicon of mainstream development
discourses. These words are being adopted as the key issues of the, at least rhetorically, new development consensus. This has been interpreted by many authors and institutions as a paradigm shift in development theory and policy. Yet, while all these are laudable notions embodying value-sensitive goals, the issue about the depth of the consensus established around them is complex. As it will be argued, 'new concepts' and areas of emphasis are often mere "addons" to what is, by and large, the same policy agenda, with new generations of reforms simply being appended to what are regarded essentially as the correct foundations (Ocampo 2001, 4).

This shift in the development discourse has also reflected in policy documents concerned with development in South Africa. In other words, South Africa's development agenda in general, and that of the Eastern Cape in particular, have been incorporating these key words with special emphasis since the dawn of the new democratic dispensation. In particular, in examining the literature in the broad field of economic development in the Eastern Cape in the period 1980 to 2003, one notes a relatively close relationship between the academic fraternity and policy discourses that tended to address poverty and to develop rural areas. This is particularly so with groups of academics and related research agencies in the Eastern Cape, but there are also key inputs from other centres in South Africa, and important, though less clustered, productions and contributions from international academic and consultant circles in addressing the inequalities of the past while attempting to alleviate poverty(Haines and Wood, 2004).

Being able to identify vulnerable and impoverished groups of households and to link their poverty to their place within the larger infrastructure of spatially extended kin networks is important, but it is only part of the story (Chambers and Conway, 1998; Du Toit, 2006). Another important element of the story needs to be an understanding of the economic context that creates these forms of vulnerability in the first place. In recent research, a growing body of theoretical and empirical research has identified the possibility that there may be important structural aspects to poverty that undermine the ability of the poorest and most
marginalised to escape from it unaided (Du Toit, 2006 p. 4). The dominant way in which these issues have been framed is with reference to the notion of a second economy, the notion that the persistence of poverty for many in the Eastern Cape is explained by the fact that they are excluded from the first world economy and subsist in an underdeveloped, informal economy, existing alongside, but disconnected from, the economic mainstream (Du Toit, 2006).²⁰

However, it is paramount to notice the differences in degrees of poverty, and how the communities identify those who are poorer than they are, by looking at the resources they have. While this is an important advance, some scholars have warned that there is a risk of sliding back into the economic dualism that characterised liberal economic thinking during the 1970s where there was a successful mainstream and a problematic periphery, coupled with a failure to see how the two were intimately connected. To avoid this danger it is important to understand in detail the actual structural insertion of poor people into the broader economy (Du Toit, 2006). One of the broader economies in the rural Eastern Cape is agriculture (livestock and crop farming).

Agrarian activities continue to constitute a vital and often under-estimated component of livelihood activities (Lahiff, 2005). At the same time, they are increasingly marginalised and undermined by other dynamics. To develop a range of livelihood activities need abilities and capabilities of an individual or a household. The ability of individuals and households to combine a wide ranging portfolio of livelihood activities and kinds of resources is complex and dynamic (Chambers and Conway 1998; DFID, 1999; Du Toit, 2006; Farnworth; 2005; Sen, 1988).

At a micro level, this chapter outlines the theoretical framework that underpins rural poverty and rural livelihoods so as to answer the questions of how the rural

²⁰ Development planning is not in principle confined to a particular type of political or economic system; it is embraced by regimes and economic systems from the whole spectrum (see Minogue, 1988).
poor are living within the Eastern Cape. Healey and Killick (2000) pointed out that poverty is a multifaceted state of deprivation and it cannot be divorced from its social context. Those identified as poor differ appreciably according to the definition used\textsuperscript{21}. Poverty affects various socio-economic groups, and policy measures are likely to affect these groups differently. In the rural areas for example, we can differentiate between those who have or do not have land or livestock; those who participate in cash crop farming, those who produce surplus and those who work for others, such as herders. In terms of monetary poverty, the receiving of social grants and child support grants have different implications on the livelihoods and poverty discourse of the poor, depending on circumstances, or the nature of individual and household livelihoods. Another aspect to consider is the permanence or seasonality of poverty in rural areas where the rural poor derive income from animal sales and the sale of animal by-products like wool, during winter\textsuperscript{22}. In the thesis the definition of poverty goes beyond the monetary definition.

The definition of rural poverty, and theories that explain it, are deeply rooted in strongly held research traditions and political values, reinforced by encompassing social, political and economic institutions that have a stake in the issue. Thus, a purely objective explanation of poverty is displaced by a proliferation of socially defined issues and concerns from radical, liberal and conservative perspectives. Explaining poverty remains a lucrative field for academics and policy makers, and as a consequence the range of explanations have proliferated (Bradshaw, 2006).

The study argues that rural poverty is seen as a human condition where people are unable to achieve essential functions in life. This in turn is due to lack of access to, and control over, commodities they require and the socio-economic

\textsuperscript{21} It is an essential pre-condition to undertake a strong analysis at the regional or national level of the political economy of change: key socio-economic trends, social relations and inequality that determine many opportunities for different social classes.

situation they find themselves in. This is enforced by the economic and political policies in place, and the accessibility to the resources surrounding them. In spite of efforts in policy making and implementation to eradicate rural poverty through projects and creation of employment, poverty is still deepening in rural South Africa and in the Eastern Cape in particular. Poverty reduction can be seen as a process through which people progressively gain control over commodities related to survival, well-being and empowerment. Due to poverty, the rural poor look for pathways to sustain a living, leading to some migrating to other rural towns, villages, cities and mines in search of employment. While this could be a solution to the livelihoods of the poor, it causes a break in social relations and often further exacerbates existing levels and dynamics of poverty locally.

I point out and argue in this thesis that some of the causes of rural poverty in the study areas were ‘long-standing and structural’. The rural people were disadvantaged through class, racial and gender inequalities, not because an individual did not have the capacity, but because the policies available and the political set-up were difficult to break through. This causative poverty meant a lot to the livelihoods of the rural poor, in particular men who had to leave their rural homes to work in the mines and factories to raise income to pay hut tax and tax on livestock. In addition, they had to meet the living expenses of the family, and women had to become the ‘household producers’ and day by day livelihood providers.

However, in a democratic South Africa, during the 13 years of democracy, efforts have been made to break away from this poverty by changing policies and implementing developmental programmes (Ntsebeza, 2007 p. 33). In the midst of all the challenges, inequalities, new policies, new developmental programmes

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23 The complexity of poverty definitions led me to define rural poverty in the Eastern Cape as the inability of rural households to meet their basic needs socially, culturally, politically and economically. With such concepts it would be interesting to find out how the rural poor in the study areas define poverty for themselves.
and strategies, and the presence of the ‘first and second economy’, rural poverty persists and is in fact deepening, so that the rural poor continue to rely on old and new portfolios for sustaining their livelihoods. They have different ways of using the resources they have, through their capabilities. These will be explored in the thesis.

Of course, some rural poor people are being supported by different developmental institutions and initiatives with ambiguous results. The social, cultural, political and economical environment surrounding the rural people in the Eastern Cape and their livelihoods may not be the same as the theories of development at a macro scale debate. From 1990 to 2000, sustainable livelihoods, good governance, decentralization, social protection and poverty eradication were the developmental approaches that emerged (Bradshaw, 2006). However, the outcomes led to frustrations, and generated mixed results.

**Sustainable Livelihood Approach**
DFID (2000) has argued that the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) is characterised as an improved way of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities of development, that will better meet the needs of the poor, both at project and policy level. For them, livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with, and recover from, stresses and shocks, and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base. They suggest a measure of sustainable livelihoods which encompasses a number of environmentally and socially sustainable livelihoods activities that provide a living (Ellis, 2000).

Hence, following this approach, incorporating the principle of sustainable livelihoods includes a responsive and participatory principle: ‘Thus, poor people themselves must be key actors participating in their development being capacitated. For them micro-level must inform the development of policy, and
macro-level structures and processes must support people in partnership with both the public and the private sector\textsuperscript{24}. Sustainability encompasses the economic, institutional, social and environmental aspects. Overall, a dynamic principle, which recognises the dynamic nature of livelihood strategies and enables them to, respond flexibly, and develop long-term commitments is seen as key in the DFID approach. However, in the study areas mixed responses to rural development and support of the rural poor was prevalent as shall be highlighted in chapter seven.

Ellis (2000) argued that livelihoods analysis emerged from the responsiveness to neo-liberalism demonstrated by the livelihood strategies of African peasant societies. Indeed developing an understanding of the livelihood strategies of the poor is seen as key to supporting such strategies in order to alleviate poverty. This growing body of work, influenced by Ellis, amongst others, considers the diversification strategies of rural households in developing countries. He argues that such households depend on a portfolio of income sources and activities. Poverty reduction strategies should therefore promote the opportunities of the poor to diversify such activities through reform for good governance, to create a facilitating and enabling environment (Ellis, 1999; 2000). Furthermore Sen's (1997) concept of capabilities\textsuperscript{25} has proved a useful structure to develop our understanding of micro business household behaviour. Using the notion of capabilities\textsuperscript{26} has focused our attention on two points of transformation in formulating and implementing choice in the transformation of endowments into capabilities, and then from capabilities into functionings, where functionings in turn provide well being (Farnworth, 2004 p. 16; Oughton and Wheelock, 2003).

\textsuperscript{24} Townsend (2001) argues that there is a great deal of talk about participation, listening to the poor and partnership and the donor organisations are often committed to the goals in principle but the practice usually falls short of these.
\textsuperscript{25} Capabilities provide the opportunities for the achievement of well being. In order to clarify the possible links between household endowments and individual flourishing, Oughton and Wheelock propose to explore the institutional dimensions that embed individuals in the wider social relations of household; gender and economy (see Oughton and Wheelock, 2003).
\textsuperscript{26} Farnworth 2004 p.115 argued that capabilities in question should be pursued for each and every person, treating each person as an end and none as a mere tool to the ends.
Capital assets are also influenced by-and in turn influence-policies, institutions and processes. Located in the household and community interface are the five important types of capital that make up the livelihood assets portfolio between the households and communities (Farnworth, 2004). Human capital comprises human skills, knowledge, good health and ability to labour. Social capital includes social resources, people’s networks and connectedness (Sen, 1998). Natural capital includes natural resources, and physical capital includes buildings and roads, and finally there is financial capital, which essentially entails the money surplus. Shocks and stresses are seasonal things that may befall a community, such as civil war, stock market collapse, livestock diseases and drought. Such stresses destroy the asset base of the community or household leading to deepened poverty and increase in the necessity of a household to find new strategies of coping with stress (DFID, 2000). Community and household assets and resources (livestock and land) build up a household livelihood portfolio that differs from one place to another and between some villages and communities such as the former homelands and the former white areas, as the study will show. The dynamics and complexities of how the rural poor use these assets in the study areas are critical to the study as it outlines the importance of local knowledge.

It can be convincingly argued that the approach applied in the apartheid era promoted rural poverty, as it discriminated between races, and disadvantaged black rural people. The decentralization of local government in the Eastern Cape Province and at local level since 1994 has been poverty-alleviation oriented, although implementation, accountability, and lack of capacity of municipalities made little or no impact, besides seemingly producing generic policy frameworks and development plans. The decentralization process combined poverty-alleviation strategies with an attempt to shift rural communities away from subsistence-oriented agriculture to more market-oriented development options.  

27 Bank, 2002 Beyond red and school: gender, tradition and identity in the rural area EC Rhodes University.
However the outcome of this Euro-centred approach had its own results as will be outlined in chapter nine.

Overall, the forces that have shaped the growth of South Africa’s agriculture over the last century have had little positive effect on the transition of agriculture in the more traditional household subsistence economies of the former Ciskei and Transkei homelands in the Eastern Cape. The new approaches to rural development in SA, including the introduction of sustainable rural development encompassed in the PGDP, ISRDP, IDP and LED policies, have had little or no impact on poverty alleviation, and other NGO aid interventions are also questionable. Mosse (2004 p. 22) argued that long before they meet the livelihood needs of poor people, aid projects satisfy the political needs of the West and the local national state. Projects convey the donor’s organisational identity and its favoured policy ideas. Such notions are highlighted in chapter five in the discussion of the wool intervention programme by GTZ/Ruliv, in the goat project and around emerging black commercial farmers.28

However, what is common is that these approaches have drawn on a sustainable livelihoods framework and this needs a bit more elaboration. In this study I argue that there are linkages between current thinking on access to resources and the Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) framework advanced by Chambers and Conway (1998); Murray, (2001); Sen (1988) and DFID (2000). The principles of Sustainable Livelihood Approach inform current thinking on access to resources. It is important to note that the SL approach and its core principles is essentially a change in emphasis rather than a new paradigm. As argued by Long (2001) the importance of being holistic and of working in partnerships alone is nothing new, but the combined principles do provide a new perspective of viewing development and management of vulnerability.

28 Mosse, 2004 argued that participatory and poverty-focused development involves a reversal of dominant technocratic green revolution ideas and practices.
The vulnerability context describes the trends, shocks and seasonality over which people have limited or no control, but which nevertheless affect people's livelihoods and the wider availability of assets (Du Toit, 2006, Murray, 2001). These factors are important because they have a direct impact on people's asset status and the options that are open to them. The vulnerability context draws attention to the complex of influences that are out of local control yet directly or indirectly responsible for many of the hardships faced by the poor (Du Toit, 2006, Murray, 2001). How the external and internal forces in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape shaped, affected and impacted on the rural livelihoods of the poor was critical in my study.

I argue in the study that the principles of sustainable development, as declared to be a mandate for the local government in the East Cape and in the District and Local municipalities where the study was conducted, in an attempt to alleviate poverty, are debatable and unpromising because of many factors hindering rural development and the strategies already in place. The sustainability of development policies which are in place is questionable to the extent that Sen’s (1997) and Chambers and Conway’s (1998) sustainable livelihoods principles, such as people-centeredness and the involvement of the poor in decision-making are not taken into consideration. Chapters six to ten highlight the livelihood portfolios of the rural households and the challenges and failures of local government and NGO livestock intervention strategies to alleviate rural poverty. The livelihood portfolio-needs [social, economic, cultural and spiritual] were not addressed at all in an integrated manner by neither the District nor Local Municipalities, leaving the rural households to determine their own livelihoods, using local knowledge and the resources available, such as livestock. The chapters (six to ten) clearly illustrate the latter through case studies.

In the context of rural livelihoods, Ashley (2000) raises some questions that are debatable in so far as poverty, livestock and livelihoods are concerned in the rural areas. He argues that how livestock development effectively contributed to
the livelihoods of the poor, differed from one society, household or community to another. The experience of rural livestock development initiatives by different institutions is another point of departure that is critical.

Overall, livestock projects have tended to marginalize the poor due to a lack of policy focus on the poor themselves. The projects that have specifically targeted the poor in many regions and countries have had a limited effect, and are unsustainable in the absence of support, because a pro-poor policy conflicts with the wider policy of livestock commercialisation (Ashley, 2000). Some of the effects of the policies implemented in the past and present still aggravate rural poverty. Rural poverty is not simply about a lack of income, but it involves a number of different dimensions that can be fully or partially present (Ever ratt and Zulu, 2001; Nel and Hill, 1996). Effective response to poverty must be rooted in the experience and needs of the poor themselves, and as far as possible be driven by these groups to give practical content to the ideal of empowerment, not simply be driven by ideal notions of modernization and development, led by apparent ‘rational market choice’ and not by local knowledge and dynamics and meanings.

Dohnam (1999 p. 36) argued that what is distinctive about humans is not simply that they depend on symbols but that they in a sense create themselves through symbolically formed action in the world. Culture moulds and creates humanity in the active voice (Mitchell, 2002). This thesis will highlight how culture moulds the livelihoods of the rural poor in the Eastern Cape and how the rural poor utilise their livestock for their socio-cultural life. Long (2001) argued that the concept of culture indicates that various cultural elements are used and recombined in social practice. Individual identities are determined, or at least strongly affected, by norms, collective representations, social class, ideology, or social status. In this approach, these structures are internalized by individuals, affecting how these individuals think, act and interact.
Ainslie (2005) argued that people who are ‘native to a culture’ also construct, modify and utilise partial and ‘objectified’ maps of their social universe, but these have the advantage of being grounded in life-long socialization and practice. Furthermore, Long (2001) maintains that rituals and other cultural activities have a practical logic for the native agents which can never be fully understood or ‘captured’ by the objectifying observer in his or her abstract models, diagrams or numbers. These constructed representations are a significant obstacle to the attempts to understand, interpret and communicate the cultural practices of his or her informants (Ainslie, 2005 p. 250).

How rural livestock farmers sustain a living, make decisions to slaughter, sell or buy livestock, cultivate crops, practise rituals, or receive government intervention, is explored in this light. While having an extremely vulnerable economic or material base, the rural people have moments of social and cultural agency to overcome situations. Agency is the ability to define one’s goals and act upon them. However, as will be outlined in chapter six, the degree of agency differed from one household to another. Agency can take the form of decision-making, of bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance as well as the process of reflection and analysis that the rural poor undertake (Farnworth, 2004; Long, 2001). The rural people in the study areas show a significant degree of livestock agency when faced with drought, practising rituals or funeral ceremonies, practising market-oriented livestock and wool production or social networking.

Whilst the concept of sustainable livelihoods is valuable in advancing our understanding of the complexity and embedded nature of the rural people’s lives, the sustainable livelihoods framework is also too simplistic. It does not attend to these contexts of local knowledge agency and developments from the ‘bottom up’ adequately (Batterbury and Fernando, 2004). However, I argue that a combination of Sustainable Livelihoods framework with other approaches to rural development, such as development from below (actor-oriented) and in taking
account of culture and agency, can offer a stronger discourse of understanding rural livelihoods and rural development.

The study explains that it is imperative to recognise everyday issues as ethical issues, because rural livestock farmers are like actors connected in one way or another under an ethical obligation to enhance the effectiveness of their capabilities. The aim is to get a picture of what actually matters to rural livestock farmers and how they create quality relationships in the world in which they live with the resources that surround them, and how they are affected by local government intervention in livestock production for economic gain, with the aim of alleviating poverty.

**Financial capital within the livelihood framework**

In the study it is also important to understand how the micro level economies (Eastern Cape rural economy) influence the livelihoods of the people working with the available resources, and the meanings they attach to them. In the thesis it is argued that while the external ‘market-economy’ has an influence on how the rural people perceive their livelihoods in the market economy and how they develop their own mechanism of trade, we need to go further than this. In this regard, Gudeman’s model of economy as domain of value (where he explained how the rural economy of the people of South America was based on their social networking) and maintenance of the base in conjunction with the market economy and livelihoods, has been debated in this thesis and modified so as to understand the complexities of the rural economy of the people of the Eastern Cape.

Gudeman (2001) stated that economic development applies to industrial life as well as local situations, because comparable processes in securing and managing valued things are found anywhere. However, economy which revolves around making, holding, using, sharing, exchanging, and accumulating valued objects and services, includes more than what standard market theory suggests.
Gudeman (2001 p. 46) argued that economy consists of two realms, namely community and the market. Both facets make up the economy, for humans are motivated by social fulfilment, curiosity and the pleasure of mastery, as well as instrumental purpose, competition and the accumulation of gains. He maintained that economy is usually defined as consisting of goods and services transacted in markets, and he is skeptical of these ‘essentialist theories in economics’. Rather, for him material action may be constructed through religious, social or other non-economic practices, from which they cannot be separated, as argued in the sustainable livelihood framework. Economic practices and relationships are constituted within the two realms of market and community, and the four value domains (base, social relationships, trade and accumulation) make up the base (Gudeman, 2001). Gudeman explains how the social networks and relations’ influence on the economy at micro level does not exclude the influence of the major economy, and can explain the dynamics of the rural livelihoods as in the case of the rural Eastern Cape. The rural poor make decisions and assumptions on how they would sustain a living, considering all the factors mentioned above. He argued that the salience of these domains and realms varies across societies. Historically the terrain is contested and changed, but economic practices are always placed in a value context.

In the neoclassical world the economy consists of two institutions: households and businesses. Households own labour and raw materials which they sell in markets. Firms purchase the resources and transform them into products and services for sale to households. This approach, he argues, is too simplistic and problematic. Rather, he argues that different value arenas make up the economy. One value domain, the base or foundation, consists of a community’s shared interests, which include lasting resources such as livestock, land and water, manufactured goods, and intellectual resources such as knowledge, technology, laws, social practices, skills and customs. The base comprises

cultural agreements and beliefs that provide a structure for all the domains (Gudeman, 2001 p. 44). These locally defined values embodied in goods, services and ideologies, express identity in the community. They are ‘un-priced’, heterogeneous and often sorted into incommensurate spheres (Gudeman, 2001 p. 7-8, 44-45)\(^{30}\). The research adopts Gudeman’s paradigm of the economy as a domain of value and attempts to apply it to various case studies.

Under capitalism, money pervades the accumulation domain. The trade realm portrays individuals and groups as separate actors who undertake short term interactions and exchanges to achieve both material ends and gain. An example is a speculator-buyer who buys wool in bulk from a rural wool farmer coincidentally, uncoordinatedly and without networks, and he disappears. He may appear the next wool season but does not know who sold wool to him last season. In this market realm, self interest of the unit, whether individually or as a family, or as a corporation is a primary motive. However, this market realm draws on community, for it relies on socially constituted units and relationships, even if unacknowledged (Gudeman, 2001 p. 180). The two realms of market and community complement one another, conjoin and are not separated in acts, institutions or sectors. No trade or market system exists without the support of communal agreements, such as shared languages, mutual ways of interacting and implicit understanding of buying and selling of livestock, for example. Communities, also, are inside markets and accumulation domains creating dialectic between community and market. This is a point of departure on livelihoods of the rural poor in the Eastern Cape. Gudeman further defined communities as small intimate assemblies and imagined groupings.

Communities may be bound by similarities and represented by a single person who assumes political and economic powers, such as a chief or headman or prominent individual. In the case of the rural areas in the former Transkei and

\(^{30}\) Gudeman’s paradigm of the economy as domain of value, arguing for the base and trade happening at community level, is the theory adopted by this study to debate social and economic scenarios specific for the study areas.
Ciskei, where the research was conducted, communities are viewed differently by their members and their boundaries are as much putative as real. Most communities are continually fashioned in a changing system, but they rarely define a total life because individuals usually belong to many different communities that are contextual, and stretch in various ways across different time and space dynamism\textsuperscript{31}.

‘Neoclassical economics’ primarily focuses on one value domain, the market, which is modelled as a separate sphere, making up the whole of the economy in which all goods are priced. However, in rural areas goods are not price-tagged and no interest is charged on them. These are rather determined by the community’s social and economical environments and by patriarchy households’ capabilities and capacities. Village members who are livestock farmers sell and exchange livestock to each other, determining their prices and value. The goods are easily distributed internally, and no interest is charged, following community values and relations, on goods ‘traded on credit’ or on trust, or on need. Bags of maize, beans and cow dung are sold on communal mutual understanding. This type of ‘trade’ or system of exchange has not been fully conceptualized.

In a capitalist society, money pervades this domain of accumulation. In the neoclassical economy, demand and supply are supposedly the major factors that determine price and capital markets, but in the rural areas it is the social and cultural understandings between families or communities that is determinant. In an effort to highlight the form of trade the rural farmers in the villages of Chris Hani, Alfred Nzo and Amathole District Municipalities used, the study developed a micro model, illustrating how socially and economically the rural poor create networks and trade, and are linked to development interventions from the local government (see figure, 11).

\textsuperscript{31} Based on the interviews I conducted during the wool seasons of 2005 and 2006, the farmers expressed the fact that they lacked market information as to when the price was high or low. They ended up sending their wool regardless of whatever price it fetched. Such lack of information disadvantaged the rural farmers.
The model illustrates how the rural economy, in terms of trade or exchange of natural resources such as crops, livestock and wool, occurred in the study areas. Long (2001) argued that individuals in rural areas can formulate (or draw upon pre-existing) representations that serve to challenge dominant discourses and economic policies of the state and international agencies. They do this by practising their everyday life, where these daily experiences draw upon values and social practices which have ‘escaped’ from being fully colonised by the idea of the market and the skills of the protagonists. Relatedly, Gudeman (2001) argued that trade or exchange takes place between members of the society or village through social relationships. This can extend to other villages or small

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32 I developed the model of Gudeman’s economy as domain of value so that it can explain what I am arguing for in the study, in terms of rural trade embedded in social relationships and at the same time allied to the commercial market.
towns through a network of communities exchanging or selling sheep, cattle, horses and goats for circumcision purposes, and vegetables and maize. Sometimes those from other villages come looking for goods such as livestock and crops. However, in terms of wool, because it cannot be sold or exchanged internally within the community, as it needs to be processed into a finished product (cash product) on the wool market; other stakeholders had to be included in the trade, such as speculators and the market in Port Elizabeth\textsuperscript{33}. This introduces a new and different market dynamic model, which creates tension between community and market. These dynamics are explained in chapter five below.

To Gudeman (2001 p. 98), trade may be unbalanced when assessed by a chosen metric, and the gain of one actor could be another's loss. The process of value creation is fundamentally the same in the community and market realms. In one it yields remainders, leftovers, extras or surplus and in the other it yields profits. Both remainders and profit are created by innovations or new combinations of products and services that expand the value system. Innovations, by making new connections between means and ends, create knowledge-in-practice or technology in one realm and strengthen the base, and in the other they expand capital\textsuperscript{34}. In the thesis, the possibilities of these dynamics are explained further.

Thus, livelihood, vulnerability and survival strategies of the rural people in the modern Eastern Cape economy are entangled in both the market and community realms based on the resources surrounding them. This thesis, then, seeks to integrate the sustainable rural livelihoods framework and economy as domain of value, and to explain the realities of how the rural poor are utilizing and

\textsuperscript{33}Gudeman's model needed some modification to suit the rural areas of the Eastern Cape where I did the research although it is his terminology of the capital market intertwined with economy as domain of value.

exchanging their resources with the support of interested partners, such as the local government, to sustain a living and alleviate poverty.

In the aftermath of the first democratic elections (1994) and in the context of wide debate surrounding development policies, there was a flurry of official documents generated at provincial level, focusing on the specific development of the Eastern Cape. These documents translated what was being discussed in international and local academic debate. Of particular relevance is the 1997 to 2001 Development Strategy for the Eastern Cape (ECPG 1997). This development strategy took its ‘cue’ from Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) and the accompanying Spatial Development Framework and industrial policy. Primarily it was a technical document and it was implicitly informed by the neo-classical economic theory that shaped the GEAR strategy and accompanying state discourses on economic liberalisation and tariff reductions. The main thrust was the interpreting and application of GEAR and the National Spatial Development Framework (Haines and Robino, 2004).

Although the 1997 Development Strategy saw the creation of the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) approach as the vanguard of macro-level development initiatives in the province, it did not anticipate the looming debate regarding the SDIs and Industrial Development Zones (IDZs). Also, one is struck by the lack of interaction and engagement by the respective drafters of the Development Strategy and the mass of contracted research (in the late 1996 and in 1997) generated by the developers of the proposed Coega IDZ. There was surprisingly little direct academic debate on this document; rather, the emphasis was on the implementation of the new national developmental policy which was predicated on the GEAR strategy and the accompanying National Spatial Developmental Framework which ushered in the SDIs approach, and an accompanying emphasis on export-orientated Industrial Zones (quasi-Export Processing Zones for some critics). There were, of course, important provincial and local inputs into SDI and IDZ ventures, especially in regard to the Coega IDZ
venture, but overall there was a lack of integration between local, provincial and national developmental interventions (Haines and Robino, 2004). Furthermore, critics pointed out that there were also substantive anomalies regarding development planning within the larger metropolitan centres. At times the provincial development planning institutions were by-passed by national agencies.

Development projects often fail because of the exclusion of the so-called beneficiaries. This might involve a range of factors, such as local ecological conditions, the availability of particular resources and physical and climatic conditions (Bryceson, 2002). The success of all projects depends upon whether or not they are socially and culturally appropriate, yet it is ironically these factors which tend to be least considered (Escobar, 2000; Farnworth, 2004; Ferguson, 1991; Gardner and Lewis, 1996 p. 67; Leeson, 1988; Leeson and Minogue, 1988, Long, 2001; Laite, 1988; Townsend, 2000). As mentioned earlier, in the South African context, during the apartheid period, the rural development projects and programmes were segregative, not involving the poor. They were top-down, and very few social or cultural considerations were in place in policies of rural development that included the way the rural poor lived. This thesis seeks to evaluate whether these scenarios have changed since 1994. In order to begin to answer this, we need to also consider the tricky question of ‘development’ further.

Livelihoods and the notion of development
Chambers and Conway (1998) attacked the biased preconceptions of development planners, most of whom have only a very ‘shaky’ understanding of rural livelihoods in developing countries. The neglect of local solutions and knowledge, they argue, meant that development policies and projects can never succeed, for they do not understand the hidden nature of rural poverty. The only solution for them and others is to put the poor first. Chambers and Conway (1998) also raise important and interesting questions about the inter-relationship
of different forms of local knowledge. They suggest that, top-down planning means that not enough is known about the culture or conditions of an area or ‘target group’, before a project is embarked upon.

Relatedly, Long (2001) argued that a people-centered approach focuses on what matters to people. It is holistic, and identifies constraints and opportunities regardless of the sector, geographical space or level at which they occur. Scholars such as Sen (1997); Ellis (2000); Chambers and Conway (1998) in their livelihoods framework, Cammack, (1999); Escobar (2000); Ferguson (1991); Gardner and Lewis (1996 p.14); Gudeman (2001); Turton (1988); Laite (1988); Long (2001); Mosse (2004); Pieterse (2001) in their developmental debates, have all debated and criticized the top-down approach to development. Hence Long (2001) developed his people-centered approach to development, responding to development theories that visualized development in terms of a progressive movement towards technologically more complex and integrated forms of modern society, based on universalized assumptions about modernity that was historically ‘western’.

Development ‘from the west’ assumes that local cultures, and what is called ‘peasant traditionalism’, are obstacles to development. What Long calls an ‘actor-oriented approach’ has consistently found that, far from being irrational, people in poor rural areas are open to change if they perceive it to be in their interest. They often know far better than development planners how to strategize to get the best from difficult circumstances, yet modernization strategies rarely, if ever, pay heed to local knowledge. Indeed local culture is generally ignored by planners, or treated as a constraint (Gardner and Lewis, 1996 p. 15).

Development also ignores the political implications of growth on the micro level. Premised on the notion of trickle down, it assumes that once economic growth has been attained, the whole population will reap rewards. The above debates reflect the assumptions of the National and Provincial government stance to rural
development in South Africa. Disastrously for the poorest in the rural areas, ‘modernisation theory’ does not distinguish between different groups within societies, either because it assumes these to be homogenous (the mass poor) or because it believes that eventually the receiving end of development plans are, however, composed of increased and distributed resources and interests (Gardner and Lewis, 1996 p 15, Pieterse, and Van Donk 2001 p. 73). The complexities of the rural set up in the study areas cannot easily be explained through this ‘modernisation theory’ which often underpins development because of the socio-economic, cultural and political environments that form rural development and rural livelihoods. However, Long argued that only by throwing the net wide are we able to examine the consequences of specific interventions for the already existing autonomous or endogenous modes of development and organisation (Long 2001 p. 41). In this respect it is crucial to explore the relevant operational or management units and the patterns of resource allocation, exchange and communication that interconnect the rural poor in the Eastern Cape.

These ‘interested parties’ include the government, NGOs, and community organisations. For example, in the study areas, NGOs facilitated livestock farming to a certain extent, but, while the shared interests of the community are potentially changed materially, the cultural agreements and beliefs remained the same, as well as the locally defined values. Social relationships and social networks are placed in tension in this regard. In the study areas, I found that land was administered by the chief, and, also the community at times, while some communities formed Wool Growers Associations and some did not. Although not all community members were involved in the wool associations, they still remained part of the community and they sold wool individually. The differing dynamics of social relationships mediate the transfers of materials and services, and expressed new and changing relationships. In essence then, it is not the cultivated development initiatives that bring development in any given area but a combination of factors that include what the rural poor have, the
dynamics, differences, resources available to the people, the complexities; and
the internal and external support within a locale and space (Mosse, 2004).

Long (2001 p. 9) argued that, although for certain periods particular theories or
images of society may be considered more credible than others, due to support
they receive from scholars and academic institutions, the winds of change are
always round the corner, and new paradigms and approaches surface as locally
embedded research is conducted. What is meant by development can be
defined in various ways. However, in this thesis it is defined as; “Processes of
social and economic change which have been precipitated by material, political
and social growth and/or specific policies and plans, whether at the level of the
state, donor agencies or ‘indigenous’ social processes and relations. These can
have either positive or negative effects on the people who experience them.
Development is a series of events and actions, as well as a particular
development discourse and their ideological constructs. It is also
assumed in the
thesis that these particular discourses and ideological constructs are inherently
problematic. Indeed, some aspects of development can be actively destructive
and disempowering (Gardner and Lewis, 1996 p. 21). Rather than promoting
development per se, the study is interested in challenging the social and political
relations between poverty, livelihoods and development.

One of the most common criticisms of development planning is that it is done in a
top-down manner. As has already been pointed out, plans are made by distant
officials who have little idea what the conditions, capabilities, capacities or needs
are in the area or communities that have been earmarked for development
interventions (Long 2001). Imposing such plans on people, rather than allowing
them to participate in the decision-making process is critical in influencing the
form and nature of the development that does occur. It is argued, interventions
are doomed to failure for development can only ever be sustainable if it is from
the grassroots. Criticisms are thus aimed not at development per se but at the
way in which it is carried out. Changes in policy and practice, it is optimistically
assumed, mean that development projects are increasingly successful in helping the poor, but this is questionable in many respects (Gardner and Lewis, 1996 p. 13). Within the post-apartheid South Africa, rural development has had conflicting planning processes, programmes and failures. It is claimed in theory that it is people-centered, people first ‘Batho Pele principle’, yet the implementation of the planning is top-down and increasingly the poor and marginalized are excluded from development and decision making. The examples of such projects and processes are highlighted in chapters seven and eight where interventions in rural livestock projects are discussed.

In the field of development we need also to get behind the myths, models, and poses of development policy and institutions, as well as the reifications of local culture and knowledge, to uncover the particulars of people’s lived-in worlds. That is, we need to document the ways in which people steer, or muddle their way, through difficult scenarios, turning bad into less bad circumstances (Gardner and Lewis, 1996 p. 14). Gardner and Lewis’ (1996) ideas are supported by Long’s actor-oriented approach.

**Actor oriented and ‘bottom up’ approaches to development**

Actor-oriented concepts aim to find room for a multiplicity of rationalities, desires, capacities and practices, including various ideas, sentiments and ways of acting for shaping social, cultural, and technical resource components of the poor (Long, 2001 p. 15). Mosse (2004) in his argument around ‘cultivating development’ argued that development is not like a disease, diagnosed by a doctor and medication prescribed of how many capsules per day to be taken to eradicate it. Rather development should be people-centered, driven by the people according to their capabilities and capacities and then supported by institutions of development and the state. Whether or not the local government and NGO interventions in rural livestock and crop production in the Eastern Cape are ‘people-centered’ is what this thesis explores in many respects.
Likewise, Long (2001) argued that agricultural development is many sided, complex and often contradictory in nature. It involves different sets of social forces originating from international, national, provincial, regional and local arenas. The interplay of these various forces generates specific forms, directions and rhythms of agricultural change. Heterogeneity is thus a structural feature of agrarian development. It does not emerge casually nor can it easily be engineered. Rather it must be seen as the outcome of processes that are designed and realised from below in a diversity of local settings. This development of diverse forms of local knowledge, which result from detailed and socially mediated translation of local resources, constraints and conditions into action, is fundamental to the production and reproduction of the heterogeneity. Externally designed and planned interventions that work with tested and standardised solutions are simply unable to build upon local knowledge and experience. In the end they possess very little mastery over the highly diverse local situations (Long, 2001 p. 40). It is in this sense and with this approach to development that this thesis seeks to argue for a ‘bottom up’ approach to rural development.

Changes in rural development approaches reflect the recognition of the growing complexity and diversity of this reality and the acknowledgment of the restrictions and possibilities of its implications. On the other hand, rural societies are showing increased structural changes. At present, rural development is understood as a process of betterment of rural population welfare, while recognising the contribution of rural areas to the welfare of the whole society, both rural and urban (Haines and Robino, 2004).

The ‘new rurality’ approach recognises that in rural spaces diverse activities (e.g., agriculture, mineral, handicrafts, commerce and services) and diverse social actors (e.g., state, producer organisations, farmers, native population, rural and urban communities, NGOs, etc.) are involved. The structural changes recognised in the new rurality are indexed by the growth of non-farm activities as
important sources of rural income. The backbone of new rurality is the territorial character of rural development, and holds sustainable development as a basic policy goal. The new rurality approach proposes the territorial nature of rural development, in opposition to the sectoral (farm) character sustained by the traditional approaches. This would constitute an adequate way to interpret the poly-functional features of rural spaces, defined by its relationships with urban centres, and therefore assessed on a scale that would take heed of its substantive share of urban/rural interactions. The dilemma within new rurality is not whether rural development should be based on agriculture or not. Rather, the central problem lies in how to accomplish an optimal appropriation of rural non-farm activities in agriculture for peasant development, and how agriculture can strengthen rural non-farm activities (Cloke, Marsden and Mooney, 2005).

In attention to conflicts between policy guidelines and the efficacy of their implementation, it is expected that further advances of new rurality will depend on the study of bottom-up approaches for rural development. This will include the study of current rural institutions, its evolution, the impact of market failures in the permanence of inefficient institutions, the process of adaptation to new and better institutions, the consequences of current forms of property rights and transaction costs in reinforcing contracts, as well as the analysis of local community arrangements that could ensure the sustainable use of natural resources. The strategic goal of rural development incorporates the solution to the institutional design of organisations in charge of implementing policies, and the understanding of the economic institutions of rural societies. The failed reaction of the peasantry to some economic incentives is explained under this approach as constituting the missing markets, land, risk insurance and credit-bound rationality, lack of infrastructure, property rights, and transaction costs. For the question of rural development in the Eastern Cape, the PGDP proposes a multi-pronged effort to stimulate and integrate rural development, and tackle mass poverty in the old Transkei and Ciskei areas, through a more overt market-orientated approach than did previous development schemes and strategies in
the province (Haines and Robino, 2004). Although scholars such as Rooij (2004) criticised bottom up approach as a regional development approach that leaves things to chance. He argued that leaving things to chance is politically risky and hence, top-down can be said to be more certain in its outcomes, notwithstanding its failures. However, this study argues that decisions and power should be as close to the bottom as possible, coming from within a region rather than being imposed from outside. Self-directed and self-generated economic growth and development will occur with greater success than a potentially risky project imposed from above.

In respect of existing scholastic work on agribusiness, agricultural and rural development, there is a rich vein of case studies and sub-regional studies (by de Wet 1995; de Wet 1994; McAllister 2001; Kepe 2001; Fraser 1991). There are also suggestive studies of issues such as rural land reform (van Averbeke, 1995), cattle farming and culture (Ainslie 1998; 2003), the means of identifying sustainable farming units and prospective commercial and viable subsistence farming and sustainable use of natural resources. These are some of the aspects to be reflected in this thesis.

**Conclusion**

In summing up, the chapter concludes that, depending on the circumstances, particular actors and organisations may be strategically spurred on by specific interventions, while others may find their interests, strategies and livelihoods impeded or completely blocked. It is important therefore to explore the effects of particular project interventions, not only on target groups and other defined stakeholders, but also more broadly on actors, livelihoods and institutions. One must also identify the patterns of interaction and accommodation that take place between different groups of actors, and analyse the ways in which their particular histories, collective memories and time space conceptions, local knowledge, resources, capabilities, capacities, assets, institutional support and development shape the reception of development, and how they manage vulnerability and
livelihoods portfolios. The following chapter highlights the historical perspectives of rural agriculture in South Africa in brief, and that of the Eastern Cape.
CHAPTER V

AN OVERVIEW OF RURAL AGRICULTURE IN THE EASTERN CAPE

Introduction
This chapter explores the history behind land and livestock in South Africa in general and the Eastern Cape Province in particular. It is a selective focus on what transpired in the Eastern Cape’s former Transkei and Ciskei, highlighting how the past governments influenced the deepening of rural poverty by giving marginal land to the rural people and creating migrant labour. I then highlight the influence of apartheid policies in disadvantaging the rural poor in the Eastern Cape in particular, and the debates on land reform and agriculture-related policy implemented in post-apartheid South Africa and in the Eastern Cape.

The deepening of rural poverty and the failure of local government intervention in livestock projects is of concern in the study. The present developmental initiatives in rural agriculture have had both positive and negative impacts on rural land and livestock production, which influences the way the rural livestock owners cope and manage vulnerability and their livelihoods. In this chapter I highlight how livestock maintained a socio-economic value from the colonial era in South Africa, despite the then government’s rural development plans that at various times and levels assumed to transform these relationships.

In the colonial and subsequent segregative and apartheid eras land issues were planned in an unequal and discriminating way and resources such as land and livestock for the rural communities were dispossessed and marginalised. In this regard the communities had to develop strategies and livelihood portfolios using local knowledge to sustain a living, despite the deepening poverty.
Overview of the livelihoods of the rural subsistence farmers:

Since the colonial era peasant farmers in South Africa lived by utilizing local knowledge, but later had their livelihoods interfered with by the apartheid government through, rural development policies (Bundy, 1972 p. 369-388). Bundy (1972) argued that the trend of the rural people in former Bantustan areas was a transition from herders and hunters to peasant farmers and tax payers. Successful peasant market-oriented farmers emerged. The transition reflected how the pre-colonial and colonial eras shaped the livelihoods of the rural poor, influenced by government policies in place at the time. I emphasize in the study that the historic trend is critical in explaining how the past affected the present poverty scenario of the rural poor, the poverty trend, and the forms of livelihood, capacity, capabilities and creativeness, in order to sustain a living through the available resources.

In the Eastern Cape, the cattle-killing of 1857, as a form of local knowledge, saw an acceleration of the integration of traditional societies into the colonial economy and society. It proved to be the ‘final blow’ in the colonization and dispossession of ‘the Xhosa’ (Bundy, 1972). Tens of thousands of Xhosa-speaking South Africans, in response to the Messianic exhortation of prophets among them, sacrificed their means of subsistence in an ill-fated attempt to reverse, at a stroke, the process of their domination against the colonizers (Bundy, 1972; Bradford, 2000; Bradford, 1996; Peires, 1998). While it is not appropriate to explore the complex debates surrounding the ‘cattle killing’, it does emphasize the importance of cattle, and it is necessary to track this significance a little more, in order to draw out its complex system of social value, historically.

According to Van Averbeke (2000 p.1-7), 2 000 years ago Nguni-speaking people, who were pastoralists and agriculturalists, arrived from the north, bringing with them a totally new way of life (farming) into the hunting grounds of the aboriginal people usually known as the San (Van Averbeke, 2000). Black people in South Africa belonged to the group of ‘Bantu-speaking tribes’. The Nguni moved southwards into the Eastern Cape, where they took over land occupied by the San
(hunters and gatherers) and the Khoi Khoi (pastoral people), and assimilated these groups by way of trade and inter-marriage. The Nguni people were subdivided into two large groups, the northern-Nguni (Zulu-speaking people) and the southern-Nguni (Xhosa-speaking people).

The southern-Nguni included the Mpondo, Pondo-mise, Thembu and Xhosa tribes. Of the south-Nguni tribes, the Xhosa settled furthest south and were most influenced by interactions with the Khoi (Peires, 1998). By 1686 Xhosa-speaking people had settled as far south as the Buffalo River. By 1736 all land northeast of the Keiskamma River was in the hands of Xhosa tribes. Control over the central Eastern Cape by Xhosa and mixed Xhosa-Khoi tribes, such as the Gqunuqwebe, was well established by 1780 (Ashford, 1991; Peires, 1987). Xhosa people subsisted by practising a mixed farming system, which was based mainly on the rearing of dairy cattle, but also involved cultivation on a limited scale. Hunting and gathering supplemented farming. Both hunting and handling of cattle were male domains, and cultivation was essentially the responsibility of women (Peires, 1987).

Crops and vegetables were produced from small fields or gardens, and soil fertility was managed using shifting cultivation. Today shifting cultivation is no more, because of the shortage of land, but the rural people have to sustain a living through other means, influenced by government policies. Xhosa women used a digging stick (ikuba), consisting of a flattened piece of hard wood, to loosen the topsoil when planting and removing weeds (Peires, 1987). During the nineteenth century the digging stick was replaced by a hand-hoe with a metal blade (Peires, 1987). Children protected the crops from birds and animals and herdsmen had to keep cattle out of the fields during the growing seasons, because there was free grazing\textsuperscript{35}. After crops were harvested, fields were re-incorporated into the rangeland until it was time to plant again. However, according to Bundy (1972)

\textsuperscript{35} Donham (1991) highlighted the way in which the Maale rural people in Ethiopia managed their subsistence agriculture. This is similar to what the Xhosa used to divide labour among members of a family.
from the 1850s to 1870, the annexation of the Ciskei and the extension of control over large areas of the Transkei brought increasing numbers of people into inescapable relations with traders, magistrates, and employers. But the tribesmen did not succumb ‘en masse’ to these forces. The same forces which pressed some into bondage enabled others to escape. Land expropriation during the wars was accompanied by grants to Mfengu and other loyalists and the large influx of traders into the Ciskei and Transkei was also an index of the increased sales of animal and agricultural products by Africans (Bundy, 1972; Peires, 1987).

African peasants displayed a tenacious preference for a life that drew subsistence from a family plot rather than from wage labour at low levels of remuneration. White farmers, in the period before mineral discoveries, sought for their part to ensure an increased labour supply. They did so either by levying taxes and fees and enacting laws to compel and control the labour flow, or by establishing quasi-feudal relations. This latter recourse best fulfilled the needs of white farmers who themselves were only shallowly involved in market production. In many instances, it gave ‘absentee’ landlords a rent income and blunted the severity of laws and taxes. The policies and laws led to severe reliance on forms of labour tenancy and the inability of rural farmers to rely on their resources such as livestock (Bundy, 1972). Simultaneously, however, the competing needs of old and new employers of African labour, the gradual commercialization of agriculture, and the intensification of white political authority, greatly increased the pressure on the peasantry.36

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36 Real wages were kept permanently low in mines and on farms, and as their increase was no longer to be an equilibrating factor on the labour market, political mechanisms became of crucial importance in closing gaps between supply and demand. There ensued not only an attempt to coerce more labour, but also an attempt to decrease the level of African competition in the produce and land markets. The early twentieth century saw a substantial rise in the social cost of peasant participation in the produce market, and a correlatively increasing reliance by peasants upon migrant labour for a cash income (Bundy, 1972).
Grain harvests were stored in the cattle kraal in bell-shaped pits covered with flat stones and sealed with cow dung. The Xhosa did not use kraal manure to fertilise their fields. The settlement pattern consisted of a dispersed distribution of single homesteads ‘umzi’, preferably situated on a slope about three to four hundred metres above the river as a source of water. Distances that ranged from a few hundred metres to kilometres separated homesteads from each other. A typical homestead was occupied by a senior male, his wife or wives and their unmarried children. Homesteads were of a permanent nature. Livestock production was the basis of both Trekboer and Xhosa livelihoods, and depended on control over rangeland. Later, Xhosa groups started competing for land because of the population increase in the concentrated areas. The squeezing of increasing numbers of African people onto a limited area of land was brought by the Land Act of 1913 and other similar legislation. With respect to penning practices, households that kept cattle, sheep and goats had cattle and goats in one kraal and sheep separately, whereas some had cattle and sheep in the same kraal. These early colonial settlers were a major disruption to the traditional way of life that began in a gradual, but far reaching, revolution in the political, economic and social system of the peoples of southern Africa (Bundy, 1972; Van Averbeke, 2000 p.12).

The major settlement wave occurred during the nineteenth century when European settlers, predominantly from Britain, but also Germany, France, the Netherlands and other European countries came to lay down their roots in South Africa and in the Eastern Cape (Van Averbeke, 2000 p.13). The arrival of the European settlers, coupled with the general expansion of the earlier Dutch and British settlers at the Cape of Good Hope into the hinterland of the subcontinent, sparked off a series of skirmishes, battles and wars. The Eastern Cape experienced a number of “frontier” wars, or “wars of dispossession” that left the region devastated and the indigenous people under the political and economic control of the white settlers (Van Averbeke, 2002). In essence, this affected

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37 Different strategies were used to destabilize the rural people of the Eastern Cape through new policies and governance.
their livelihood patterns, and the rural households had to rely on their local knowledge and the resources they had for survival, despite the fact that some worked in the mines. The separation of people along racial lines, as in the rest of South Africa, was accompanied by massive forced removals of African, Indian and Coloured people, widespread dispossession of land and other property, and severe curtailment of social, economic and political rights. The way in which capitalism developed in South Africa, and the kind of labour force that was created, had fundamental effects on the independence and cohesion of indigenous societies.

Bundy (1972 p: 371) argued that it is tenable to speak of the creation of an African peasantry in South Africa during the nineteenth century. A peasant taken to be a rural cultivator enjoyed access to a specific portion of land, the fruits of which they could dispose of as if they owned the land. By the use of family labour, they could satisfy the consumption needs of their families, meeting the demands arising from their involvement in a wider economic system (Bundy, 1972 p. 173). The most important aspect was the rural farmers’ attention to the relationship between the cultivator and the land farmed, their crops, cattle, ploughs, and pastures, and to the relationship between the cultivators and the holders of economic and political power outside their own social stratum. However, a critical feature of the transition of rural farmers from farmer pastoralists to peasants was the simultaneous emergence of a reservoir of cheap and largely migrant workers, where peasants were proletarianised almost as soon as they emerged as an identifiable element in the political economy (Bundy, 1972; Peires, 1986).

However, after the initial shock of collision between colonists and farmer-pastoralists, the latter adapted considerably, and in areas of greatest contact a peasantry emerged which sought in part to meet its requirements through participation in the produce market. At first, such participation was favoured by imperial and colonial authorities, by missionaries and settlers. The peasants
provided a buffer against hostile tribes, and economic activity was profitably advanced (Bundy, 1972 p: 371; Ntsebeza, 2001a; Ntsebeza, 2001b). African peasants displayed a tenacious preference for a life that drew subsistence from a family plot rather than from wage labour at low levels of remuneration. White farmers, in the period before mineral discoveries, sought for their part to ensure an increased labour supply. They did so either by levying taxes and fees and enacting laws to compel and control the labour flow, or by establishing quasi-feudal relations. This latter recourse best fulfilled the needs of white farmers who themselves were only shallowly involved in market production. In many instances, it gave ‘absentee’ landlords a rent income and blunted the severity of laws and taxes. The policies and laws led to severe reliance on forms of labour tenancy and the inability of rural farmers to rely on their resources such as livestock (Bundy, 1972). Simultaneously, however, the competing needs of old and new employers of African labour, the gradual commercialization of agriculture, and the intensification of white political authority, greatly increased the pressure on the peasantry.

The racial allocation of land in South Africa provided a physical framework within which various agricultural and developmental strategies have had to be pursued. The 1913 Land Act entrenched the racial allocation of land. Agriculture in the Eastern Cape differentiated between the supported white commercial farmers and the former peasant ‘subsistence’ farmers and rural locations in the former Ciskei and Transkei (Classeens, 2005; Ntsebeza, 2007). Such activities and subsequent planning, restructuring of the reserves, and later Bantustans,

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38 Real wages were kept permanently low in mines and on farms, and as their increase was no longer to be an equilibrating factor on the labour market, ‘political mechanisms became of crucial importance in closing gaps between supply and demand. There ensued not only an attempt to coerce more labour, but also an attempt to decrease the level of African competition in the produce and land markets. The early twentieth century saw a substantial rise in the social cost of peasant participation in the produce market, and a correlative increasing reliance by peasants upon migrant labour for a cash income (Bundy, 1972).

increased poverty and changed the environment in which the community lived, and determined how they generated their livelihoods.

**Betterment Planning**

Colonial regimes promoted and involved themselves in the exploitation of South Africa’s economic resources, but they also sought to maintain order and exercise control over rural people’s conduct (De Wet, 2000, Yawitch, 1981). In doing so, they tried to incorporate customary systems of law and authority into the apparatus of colonial administration, as well as to reorganize traditional polities according to western conceptions of administrative stability and efficiency (Berry, 1999 p.8-9).

This approach brought the introduction of the betterment policy in the former Bantustan areas of South Africa. The direct origins of betterment schemes are not easy to trace. The one-man, one-plot, can be traced back to the Glen Grey Act of 1894, which provided for surveyed allotments and individual tenure. Crais (2000) argued that the Grey Act’s village system reaffirmed and expanded the dependence of the homestead on the colonial economy and reduced the control that rural South Africans had over their lives. The appointment of white magistrates and black headmen, and the conversion of the political office into salaried positions represented a radical departure in the organization of political life (Yawitch, 1981).

Under the Glen Grey Act the colonial state intervened directly, and for the first time, into the very structure of chieftainship and undermined the social and material bases of authority and power. Chiefs now had far less control over the economic activities of commoners (Crais, 2000). ‘Headmanship’ became an appointed position and the headmen controlled the allocation of land and continued to do so through to the end of the century. Under Betterment, the control of grazing land and the settlement pattern changed the pattern of life of the community members. Their resources such as livestock were reduced,
affecting their livelihood portfolios which depended on the resources available. The rural livestock farmers were dependent on their local knowledge of how they conducted their lives through what they had, though the policies tightened the situation of free grazing, selling of livestock, the numbers to be kept and land-rights. Districts, resident magistrates, chief commissioners and governors became the authorities, while cases were heard by the chief, the appointed counsellors and the Resident Magistrate (Peires, 1987, Van Averbeke, 2000).

According to Crais, (2000) under betterment, grazing camps were fenced with a four-camp system for each village. Such development initiatives by the past government changed the livelihoods of the rural poor who depended on their livestock, and poverty deepened. Rotational grazing and rotational resting of one camp every four years for a whole year, was strictly enforced with the aid of rangers who fined those who transgressed. Such top-down approaches to rural development disadvantaged the poor and led to revolts as people were not included in decision making re culling of livestock and reduction of livestock numbers. Despite the rural people’s rebellion against the system, throughout the period, it was widely enforced, and grazing management took place in the 1960s.  

Stock culling took place and arable land was also fenced and reissued to ‘registered landowners’, those with certificates of occupation or permission to occupy. This occurred when landowners who owned a span of oxen as well as ploughing implements (mostly those who already had bigger fields) were allocated 7 morgen plots. Those with lesser spans and fewer implements were allocated 3 and 1/2 morgen plots; and widows and those with no implements were allocated 1 morgen plots (Roodt, 2003). In a number of cases people lost land in

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41 Culling followed a practice of first old stock, then cattle with specific colours. The cattle carrying capacity of Peuleni was set at 500 units and this meant that rather limited culling needed to be effected.
terms of betterment, and finally people were moved into the more concentrated residential settlements.\footnote{42 See TS Ndlou, ‘Progress in the Midst of Adversity: A Case of Two Betterment Areas in the Ciskei’, Wits University Hons, 1991, ch3.}

Betterment had been effectively implemented by the 1970s (and earlier in some cases). In one case study in the former Ciskei in 1948, the headman and village council, together with the newly appointed agricultural officer, intervened, allocated and implemented the various components of the plan (Peires, 1987). Many aspects were questioned and opposed. One man, for example, who opposed betterment and stock culling at the headman’s or magistrate’s meeting, was told that if he did not agree, they would arrange for him and his entire household to be removed to those areas that were also opposed to stock culling.\footnote{43 Ibid, p62.} This showed the cruelty and forced actions from the past government that the rural people had to endure. Betterment in this phase also served to increasingly stratify the location between 3 to 7 morgen arable plot-holders and the rest. Prominent in this group, it was reported, were the headman, his councillors, teachers, clerks, interpreters, as well as a group of ‘traditional farmers’ (Crais, 2000). This led to further opposition to betterment, from the majority of poorer inhabitants, and betterment remained an uneasy ‘forced acceptance’ through the 1950s. It is important to note that some chiefs were attracted by what they were offered by the apartheid government.

After the Second World War, betterment planning in the Ciskei shifted from stock-culling and land conservation to population resettlement and dispossession on a much more significant scale. Under the notion of rehabilitation and settlement plans, forced villagisation, further internal differentiation and the dispossession, demarcation and re-allocation of arable lots from previous arable ‘garden plots’, betterment intervention made its mark (De Wet, 2000; De Wet, 1997). The decline of the reserves, overgrazing, erosion and denudation of the land was an inevitable consequence of the undermining of its economic base,
and the limitation of access to land was mentioned by the 1932 Native Economic Commission. In 1936 the Land Act was passed by the secretary for Native Affairs where the plan for reclamation and rehabilitation of the reserve areas was laid (De Wet, 2000; Roodt, 1991). A provision for a detailed survey of each location prior to its reclamation was undertaken. A key feature of this document was the emphasis placed on stock limitation as a means of rehabilitating the reserves. The crux of the whole matter, it argued, lay in the limitation of the number of stock carried by the native population in the native areas. The reserves were overstocked and in consequence the land was overgrazed, leading to soil degradation. This kind of view was based on the belief that the reason for the situation was primarily a technical one and was chiefly due to bad farming on the part of the peasant or African (De Wet, 2000; Roodt, 1991).

The bad farming concept along with statements about the innate laziness of African men, their desire of only accumulate cattle without practising crop rotation were put forward as the prime reasons for the disastrous situation in reserve agriculture. It was because of this that the division of the land, the limitation of stock and anti-erosion measures were seen as the ultimate solution to the problem. In actual sense the motive of the then government was in fact to deepen poverty, not to promote rural agriculture. The communities were then left with no option but for the men to go and work in towns while the women had to till the land and take care of livestock. The end result was deepened poverty, as neither the money nor the cultivated land could support the families fully in their livelihoods (Yawitch, 1981). Once Betterment had been implemented and an area proclaimed, then stock limitation could be implemented and measures designed to limit the ploughing of land. The issue of stock limitation and culling were initially the most contentious aspects of betterment. To the officials, implementing Betterment in the reserves was necessary because of overstocking. They assumed that the quality of the stock was poor and continued to deteriorate as long as there was no adequate control over breeding.
According to Yawitch (1981) the government declared that the poor quality of stock rendered them liable to diseases. Such assumptions were incorrect.

Apart from the culling of cattle, it was the demarcation of arable land into blocks, and the accompanying centralisation of residential areas that drew the most vociferous protest (De Wet, 1992). This had a really big effect on the homelands and the livelihoods of the rural poor. Betterment represented a fundamental attack on the settlement pattern of rural people in the homelands and brought controlled dipping, dosing and selling of livestock. This was not done for the betterment of the communities. Instead, it disadvantaged them. Although it is not explicitly stated, the effect of land division was to make sure that those who could get the least off the land would continue to be forced to depend on waged labour as their only means of survival (De Wet, 2000; Du Toit, 2006). Depending on migrant labour made the rural poor leave farming and become, increasingly, dependent rural-based workers. Poverty persisted and there was no option but to include what people had as resources to sustain a living. They had to use livestock as a buffer against their vulnerability, rather than as a source of value.

Despite these policies and laws, during the pre-colonial, colonial and post 1994 eras, the rural poor depended on the presence of ample grazing resources in the region to sustain their herds of livestock. They engaged in systems of seasonal transhumance and of maintaining cattle posts away from settlements. Economically, they were agro-pastoralists and were cattle and goat keepers and hoe-culturalists, cultivating maize, millet, sorghum and tobacco. They depended on their livestock, particularly cattle, for their protein intake, in the form of milk, and less frequently meat (Ainslie, 2002a). It is important to understand the significance the rural population places on the owning of stock. Cattle are a

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44 Transhumance is the transfer of livestock from one grazing ground to another with the changing seasons.
46 Hoe-culturalists are subsistence farmers who depend on hoes as their main input for crop farming.
form of wealth and a means of accumulating capital. They were also a means of exchange and the medium in which lobola was paid. Today the meaning of having cattle and other livestock has diversified and has been multiplied depending on the local knowledge, capacities and capabilities of an individual household. In traditional societies, access to women through ownership of large herds of cattle, meant power (Ainslie, 2002c, Kepe, 2002).

Cattle also provided the means for the ideological control of women by men. Cattle were also a means of gaining political clientage. The richer could lend cattle to the poorer families\(^{47}\). The politics of ownership of resources by the husband (the women having access only when the husband died, through inheritance), showed the uniqueness of cultural values from livestock as social capital, understood by the communities themselves. Local knowledge of how to sustain socio-economic livelihoods and create and maintain the base ‘livestock’ can be identified in the rural areas of this study.

However, through the 20\(^{th}\) century this livestock base has been diminished and eroded in various ways. For example, in Transkei by the end of the 1920s, 100 African demonstrators had been trained and sent into the reserves to show the benefit of new implements, rotational fallowing and stock improvement through castrating bulls (Ainslie, 2002a). In the former Ciskei, the Department of Agriculture launched a breeding scheme in 1949, allowing stock owners to purchase improved sires of specific breeds (Brown Swiss). Most of these programmes were flawed, and historical records of livestock numbers indicated that the per capita numbers of cattle, sheep and goats fell by almost two thirds between 1924 and 1974, at the same time as the human population grew exponentially.

\(^{47}\) Ainslie, (2002) The Historical context of cattle ownership. PLAAS. University of the Western Cape.
The ownership of livestock was not equally distributed and appeared to have become increasingly concentrated and unequal over time. In the 1970s the number of stock sales in the Transkei had decreased and the off-take of cattle was lower than in the late 1960s (Ainslie, 2002c). A good example is in Lusikisiki, a traditionally active district in terms of stock sales: In 1980/81, the company operating sales of cattle through auctions in the Transkei recorded 4,768 cattle sold, with only 8 of the 32 sale pens throughout the Transkei recording sales in excess of 100 head of cattle in a year (Ainslie, 2002a). The reduction of sales of cattle and other livestock also indicated, to some extent, how the communities or rural livestock owners did not want to destroy their livestock, and particularly cattle, as selling them was not a necessity but a government enforced agenda. In this regard, no clear information exists that clarify the stance of the apartheid government in terms of the acquisition and limitations of sheep.

Besides enforcing the dipping of cattle, the government imposed control on livestock production in many other ways. Movement of stock was severely restricted, such that a family in need of conducting rituals had to struggle to get a beast, if in their home village there was no household willing to sell. Rural people with cattle were only allowed to buy one heifer for every two cattle sold at a government-organised stock sale. This was the result of discrimination and rural development policies that were not to benefit rural livestock owners but to impoverish them through the planned policies. The focus of the government was on cattle and goats more than any other livestock (Ainslie, 2005; Bediako, Siyengo, and Masika, 2005; Davids, 2004; Evelethe and Hergreaves, 2004; Eveleth and Mngxitama 2004; Festus, 2004; Greenberg, 2004; Lahiff, 2004; McAllister, 2004; Monde, 2002; Rist, 2004; Williams, 2001; Wotshela, 2004). There is little or no information related to other livestock such as sheep, pigs and chickens that the rural poor had, nor what these livestock meant to the rural people in their livelihood, socially, economically, culturally, traditionally and politically.
In the thesis (and as pointed out in chapter two) I agree with Berry (1999) that rural development programmes in Africa rarely work the way they are supposed to. This has been supported by Long (2001), Mosse (2004), Donham (1991) that actually many of the development initiatives are flawed. They are mostly ‘top-down’ and do not consider people’s decisions and local knowledge, or whether the rural people want the projects or not. The projects’ strategies and how they are to unfold is prescribed by the planners. In actual fact they look down upon people’s capabilities and capacities, and what they perceive of their poverty, tradition, culture and development. For example, Kirsten (2005) argued that rural people in the Eastern Cape should move away from practising traditional methods of goat production and get involved in commercialised, market oriented goat production. Traditional knowledge is taken as backwardness and a barrier to development. Such notions continue to affect rural development in a democratic South Africa.

However, both the Ciskei and the Transkei as ‘independent’ homelands also went through a period of rural development that was supposedly driven by the concern for real development, rather than simply by apartheid and racial policy and practice. Many failures of rural development policy in Africa are attributed to members of the state, politicians and civil servants who are more concerned with staying in office than promoting economic development. Poor performance of rural development policy in South Africa was a logical consequence of either the rationality of a particular class of actors or the structure of particular institutions. Both interpretations tend to ignore the interplay between individual action and institutional structure, and both imply that rural development programmes have definitive consequences which can be clearly labelled successes or failures (Berry 1999). The objectives of a project or programme are neither simply achieved nor simply accommodated without ‘resistances’, and the effects on rural

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48 Daily Dispatch of 15/02/91 The wasted years of takeover of farms in Ciskei.
economic performance are often contradictory (Berry, 1999 p. 40; Perret, and Kirsten, 2002 p. 21).

The Ciskei government policy initiative was meant to improve the living standards of the mass population by stimulating rural agricultural production and making the process of their development self sustaining\(^{49}\). In fact, with the homelands, there came a period when the majority of the rural people had to use their livestock as a source of managing vulnerability, together with income from migrant labour. For example, in Peddie, according to Ainslie (2002), the forced removals and resettlements that accompanied the creation and consolidation of the Ciskei Bantustan forced thousands of families to re-establish their homes as best they could in the already overcrowded and impoverished reserve areas.

The Transkeian Agricultural Corporation (TRACOR) was established in 1981 to assist the Department of Agriculture and Forestry in developing the agricultural potential of Transkei. Its mission was to act as an agent to promote agricultural and rural development, to increase production, create jobs and raise productivity, thus improving the standard of living of the people in the rural areas of Transkei\(^{50}\). In actual fact nothing materialised and these planning policies and programmes were on paper only. Many were never implemented, at least for the majority of rural people. In 1989 it was proclaimed that improvement of livestock was the first priority of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry as it had failed to achieve this since 1976 (Daily Dispatch, 25/10/91). It was argued that this trend demanded greatly improved methods of livestock farming.

The rural development strategies and policies implemented by the apartheid government, and subsequently by the Bantustan governments, as mentioned earlier in the thesis, were not people-centred or ‘actor oriented’. The implementation was forced and done in a manner that made rural people’s

\(^{49}\) Eastern Cape Agriculture 04/10/91 Gqozo calls for a boost for Ciskei rural agriculture.

\(^{50}\) Daily Dispatch 25/10/91 Tracor committed to improving quality of life in rural Transkei.
livelihoods more difficult. The rural farmers could not freely utilise their resources, such as livestock, to sustain a living, but had to dance to the policies in force (Ferguson, 1992; Long, 2001; Potts, 2000). The programmes set by homeland governments did not give the community room to decide what to do, or what they wanted, nor to participate, or get trained and capacitated in livestock production. Poverty alleviation was not on the agenda of rural development. The study argues that this caused the rural poor to ‘drown in poverty’. The rural poor had to use their resources, such as livestock, to survive, for social network, for trade and to develop livelihood portfolios, apart from income from migrant labour. The changes in rural development planning and initiatives in the post apartheid South Africa are yet to be realised and to move beyond these realities, as will be reflected in chapters five to eight.

In summary, land dispossession was a key feature of racism under colonial rule and apartheid in South Africa. More than 3.5 million people were forcibly removed during the period 1960 to 1983 alone, through homeland consolidation, removals from “black spots” and the Group Areas Act (Act no 41 of 1950). Land dispossession was central to the creation of mass poverty and South Africa’s landscape of “separate development”. Forced removals and the associated alienation of land rights during the colonial and apartheid eras were at the heart of the repressive regime that the national liberation movement sought to overthrow. One result of massive dispossession was the concentration of poverty in South Africa’s rural areas, where about 70% of the population lives below the poverty line (Kariuki, 2004). The prospect of democracy in the 1990s raised expectations that the dispossessed would be able to return to their land, but the terms on which the political transition was negotiated constrained how that could happen.

Since 1994 the South African state has implemented a range of policy reforms aimed at the socio-economic development of rural areas, including the former ‘homelands’ (Lahiff, 2005, Ntsebeza, 2007, Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007).
reforms include sectoral policies in areas such as housing, forestry, water and land, as well as institutional reforms in the area of local government. The state has also begun a process of decentralizing responsibility for service delivery, to new local government institutions, including district and local municipalities (Kariuki, 2004). These institutions were expected to develop Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) with the aim of coordinating government programmes and services. Rural households rely on crops, livestock and a wide variety of natural resources for food security. Rural development (RD) has taken a growing place in political discourses from 1994 onwards, and has been promoted or implemented through various policies, legislation and programmes. These have often been conceived and managed centrally, at the national and/or provincial levels. In spite of the government’s willingness to appoint local municipalities as the key providers and promoters of development in rural areas, these policy streams, such as land reform, have long been developed separately, and have remained separate and isolated from one another.

**Land reform, land redistribution and land restitution**

After the 1994 elections, the new South African government embarked on an ambitious land reform programme through land restitution, land redistribution and land tenure reform. According to Ntsebeza (2007 p. 2) ten years of democracy in South Africa have seen some impressive achievements in addressing the debilitating legacy of apartheid. Economic growth has occurred, inflation has been partially controlled and the provision of infrastructure and social services has taken place. However, despite these achievements, there is compelling evidence that structural poverty, a key apartheid legacy, is deepening. The study attempts to unveil the dynamics and complexities of poverty and local government interventions in the rural Eastern Cape. Over half of South Africa’s population lives in poverty, inclusive of the rural people (Ntsebeza, 2007).

The pace of land reform delivery is slow, and this is disturbing, given that one of the key challenges facing the post-1994 South African state was how to reverse
the racial inequalities in land distribution, resulting from colonial conquest (Ntsebeza, 2007 p.3). While there is a large scale white-dominated commercial farming sector on the one hand and an impoverished rural ‘subsistence’ sector in the former Bantustans on the other, the two systems cannot be viewed in isolation (Cousins, 2002; Lahiff, 2005; Ntsebeza, 2007 p.4). President Thabo Mbeki articulated the version of the dualism of the two economies. According to him, and some analysts, South Africa is a country with two economies; the developed core that is well connected to the international economy, and a periphery of informal urban settlements and rural areas. The latter are characterised by weak local economies, seasonal work, self employment and hunger. However, as Ntsebeza (2007) and others argued, there is only one land question, and one economy, and it is a complex one that encompasses the problem of how land is accessed and used. The land question cannot be resolved in isolation, but is intimately linked to the wider political economy. A fundamental issue facing policy makers in contemporary South Africa is the role of land in poverty eradication or alleviation (Ntsebeza, 2007 p. 6). The question of how many people want land for agricultural purposes has not been satisfactorily answered at all levels.

Ntsebeza and Hall (2007) identified that in the Xhalanga magisterial district in the Eastern Cape, some people opted for land-based livelihoods instead of jobs. There is evidence of a path of migrant workers choosing to return to the rural areas to pursue land-based livelihoods, even with limited resources available in their rural areas such as arable and grazing land, and livestock. Such arguments highlight the importance of developing the base and of using local knowledge to sustain their livelihoods, rather than waiting for income from work. Ntsebeza and Hall (2007) further argue that more research needs to be conducted to determine the nature of the demand for land and the resources connected to it. The main challenge in resolving the land question is the dissonance between land and agricultural policy and the implications of land reform on the lives of the rural
poor, such as emerging Black commercial farmers, in the study, who needed it as property for grazing and for growing crops.

What land reform is for, who should benefit, and how it should be pursued, are often treated as technical economic questions, but at its heart the land question is political (Cousins, 2002; Lahiff, 2005; Ntsebeza, 2007). It is about identity and citizenship as well as production and livelihoods and can be resolved only through political processes. The politics of the land question may be understood through the relations between key participants in the debates: the landless, the farmers, agri-businesses, NGOs, political parties and trade unions (Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007). Bernstein (2007) argued that land reform is understood as the redistribution of property rights in agricultural land, for example to the emerging black commercial farmers in the study through LRAD. Much debate on redistributive land reform today hinges on inherited views of the virtues of different forms of agricultural production and their effects on the productivity of land and labour in farming and on livelihoods (Bernstein, 2007 p. 28; Chimowu, 2002; Moyo, 2007 p. 60). Such debates can be conducted through narrower policy-centred discourses, or in a more expansive sense of redistributive land reform, as a political project and subject of contest.

State farms were identified as one of the first sources of land that could be redistributed to landless people (Didiza, 1997). In theory there were 431 598 hectares of land that could have been made available for agriculture in the Eastern Cape, but none of this land is under ‘effective use’. Grootboom and Westaway (2004) reported that ‘Vulamasango singene’ (‘open the doors’) was a campaign that was conducted by 50 Middledrift villages, the Border Rural Committee (BRC), the Eastern Cape NGO Coalition and the Eastern Cape Provincial Council of Churches, for land restitution and land reclamation. Organised demonstrations and campaigns on land restitution took place in Tsomo, Cofimvaba, Magwa, King Williams Town (KWT), Middledrift and Chatha. The idea behind this was to get back the land that was taken from them during
the apartheid era. In Chatha an integrated development process, funded through a settled restitution claim, had a major impact on poverty eradication and economic development in the village, as the community members got employment in irrigation projects (Van Averbeke, and Silwana, 2000).

According to Walker (2007), land reform continues to be linked to identity and citizenship. Economically and socially the importance of land is more difficult to compute. It is less of a priority than jobs for most South Africans, yet significant, in the absence of jobs, in contributing to multiple livelihood strategies of the poor (Walker, 2007 p. 140). Walker further argued that land distribution can make a contribution to economic development at both household and societal levels, but this is not assured, and one certainly cannot assume that it is a cure for the deeply entrenched problems of poverty, inequality and social dislocation. Limited state capacity is not a temporary aberration, but an institutional reality limited to the fabric of state operations. This is arguably going to persist into the foreseeable future if not attended to.

Redistributing land to the poor and the marginalized cannot in itself generate significantly enhanced incomes, livelihoods or even a stronger sense of social well-being, nor can it guarantee social stability to the broader society. It is out of the community’s capabilities and capacities to utilise such resources as land and livestock, using local knowledge, so that it can manage vulnerability and livelihoods (Walker, 2007). Walker (2007 p. 146) also argued that it is important that the debate on women’s land rights in total should not be understood in terms of women-headed households only, or as a policy choice between individual or household land rights of women. Rather, women’s land rights should be recognised.

Walker (2007) argued that promoting a class of African large-scale commercial farmers should not be the primary focus in the land reform programme. Land reform for agricultural development had as one of its aims, to build a class of
black commercial farmers, in an attempt to de-racialise the agricultural sector, and also to achieve more comprehensive agrarian reform in rural South Africa (Kariuki, 2004: 4). Whether this is a reality in the study of emerging Black commercial farmers is a question to be answered in the thesis. Despite calls for a radical restructuring of social relations in the countryside, the constitutional negotiations on the protection of property rights and on the economy more broadly, ensured that land reform would be pursued within the framework of a market-led land reform model. This defined the policy framework South Africa adopted with respect to its land question. These negotiated transitional arrangements were finally endorsed and reflected in the 1996 Constitution which put the land reform framework in place (Jacobs, Lahiff and Hall 2003).

The notion of a land transfer and delivery has had the effect of disengaging the programme from a broader framework of agrarian transformation. The subsequent effect has been that community beneficiaries were unable to engage in viable agricultural ventures. It was envisaged that developing a class of black farmers would generate a positive linkage effect in rural economies. It was stated that “increased agricultural production and employment would strengthen linkages between farm and off-farm income-generating activities (Andrew, Ainslie and Shackleton, 2003; Eveleth and Mngxitama, 2003; Ntsebeza, 2007, Wotshela, 2004)51. However, as the thesis attempts to show, the assumed

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51 In all, several laws affecting tenure have been passed. The most significant are the Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act, the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (Act No 67 of 1997), the Communal Property Association Act, the Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act, 31 of 1996, the Communal Property Associations Act, 28 of 1996, the Communal Lands Right Act 2004 and many more. The Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act was a holding mechanism that prevented violation of existing interests in land until new long-term legislation was in place. The Communal Property Associations Act provided a legal means through which groups of people wanting to hold land jointly could organize tenure (Kariuki, 2004; Roodt, 2004). On the other hand, the Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 62 of 1997 (ESTA) addressed the relationship between occupiers and owners, as well as the circumstances under which evictions could take place, and the procedures to be followed. The Act was underpinned by the following principles: The law that prevented arbitrary and unfair evictions; the existing rights of ownership to be recognized and protected; and people who lived on land belonging to other people to be guaranteed basic human rights. In essence, this law promoted long-term security on the land where people live at the moment. None of these laws, however, dealt with the complex system of administering tenure in the former homelands, and state-owned land that was the result of a
emergence and dynamism of a new class of black commercial farmers leading an agricultural transformation and fuelling rural development is questionable and problematic.

According to Cousins (2007b) the government has carried out extensive and intensive work to elaborate an Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP). The objective was to achieve integrated and sustainable development in rural areas by 2010\textsuperscript{52}. However, four years before 2010, poverty is still persistent in the rural areas and is in fact deepening. Breslin, Delius and Madrid (1997) argued that poverty and malnutrition are major problems in South Africa, especially among black people in rural areas. The poorest are heavily dependent on social pensions, remittances, low wages, and part time jobs and to a very small extent, household agriculture. Despite what Breslin, Delius and Madrid maintained, the thesis will elaborate deeper the dynamics involved in rural livelihoods.

Rural development was one of the cornerstones of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as it focused on service delivery such as water provision, electricity, and infrastructure development with elements of development of rural agriculture (Geyer and Du Plessis, 1994). The democratic post-apartheid government has decentralised economic policies at municipal level and many strategies have been put in place in the Integrated Development Plans of District and Local Municipalities\textsuperscript{53}. Despite lack of convincing evidence that agriculture-led growth in South Africa’s rural economies has the strength to drive economic reform in rural areas, the South African government has proclaimed rural agricultural development a priority. Thus, while according to Lahiff (2005) studies from the former homeland areas over the past twenty years suggest that between fifty and sixty percent of households enjoy some access to

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\item myriad of inconsistent laws, proclamations, regulations and procedures (Cousins, 2007b; Ortmann and Machethe, 2003).
\item Development update, 2001; Geyer and Du Plessis (1994).
\item Nggangweni and Hendricks, 2003 Promoting income and employment growth in rural areas through smaller holder agriculture.
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arable land, generally the size of the land was of less than two hectares per household. Thus, rather than a secure and defined rural base for agricultural development, it is rather landlessness, vulnerability, unemployment, lack of basic services and poverty which remain central to the lives of much of the rural population (Lahiff, 2005 p. 39). Bank and Minkley (2005) argued that the signs of the deepening poverty are visible everywhere. People were promised, post 1994, land redistribution by the national and local government, livestock improvement and provision of services by the government. However, they have noticed little positive change in the livelihood opportunities in rural areas to a position that describes the rural areas as that of a ‘sophisticated urbanism’. ‘The rural’, in essence, is less equitable with agriculture and with rural development programmes and this puts a major tension into the relationship between government policy and meaningful rural development initiatives. The shift from agrarian lifestyle has affected many people (Bank and Minkley, 2005 p. 3).

The post apartheid government’s vision for rural development is captured in its Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) with the aim of delivering the promise of a better life for all poor rural people through local government 54. One example of an ISRDP project is the goat project in Umzimvubu Local Municipality in Alfred Nzo DM which started in 2005. The outcome of the project will be highlighted in chapter 6. It is probably fair to say that government policy, certainly at provincial level, has not yet been clearly articulated at the present time. Certainly no overarching strategies and programmes for livestock development in the communal sector are yet in evidence, despite the improvement of specific Nguni cattle and Dohne Merino rams in the Eastern Cape Province (Ainslie, 2002a. p113; Kepe, 2002 p.100). It is important to note that the policies in place still leave a lot to be desired for livestock owners in rural areas.

The apparent lack of clarity in terms of provincial policy continues to frustrate livestock owners in the communal areas as they are not certain what the government’s plan is for goats, sheep, cattle, pigs and other smaller stock (David, 2004). The policy documents of most departments involved in development or anti-poverty activities, acknowledge that poverty is multi-faceted and that responses to it need to be broad based. The failure to integrate planning or delivery, however, has impacted on many development and anti-poverty programmes in the Eastern Cape, which became increasingly complex in an attempt to provide a multi-faceted service (Lahiff, 2005). Such failure has had negative impacts on rural poverty.55

Despite an emphasis on popular participation and decentralisation within official policy, rural people’s influence on policy processes that affect them, remains a challenge. The priorities of local government continue to be set largely by higher level institutions (provincial and national), with limited reference to specific local needs. For example, the Eastern Cape’s PGDP stated as one of its aims, the development of commercialised rural agriculture for export purposes (Provincial Growth and Development Plan, 2006). An example of such a programme is the Massive Food Programme which has been implemented unevenly and without a rural person’s opinion as to whether they really needed to grow crops on larger scales, where there was no market to sell the product.

In the Daily Dispatch of 22 November 2005 it was stated that agriculture is one of the fastest growing economic activities in the Eastern Cape, as well as one of the most important issues facing the Eastern Cape government in terms of food, security, poverty eradication and new opportunities, especially in the former homelands (Transkei and Ciskei). Mufamadi the then Minister of Agriculture (2004) cited in Bank and Minkley (2005 p.4), stated that “subsistence agriculture was harmful for development, where the former was associated with

unsustainable farming practices in rural areas; it was wasteful and constituted a barrier to development”. The former Eastern Cape MEC for agriculture, Mamase, echoed the same sentiment and criticized subsistence agriculture for compromising the economy of the Eastern Cape. He argued that every rural farmer had to take the commercial route. This was even expressed in the Provincial Growth and Development Plan of the province (PGDP), as mentioned earlier. This study highlights the complexities of commercialising rural agriculture, in chapter eight.

The MEC for Agriculture blamed the poor for the poor state of the rural areas. The PGDP was made to promote technical commercialization of agriculture, through which rural areas were taken as occupying ‘wasted land’ unless they could commercialise subsistence farming. The MEC’s assumption lacked a deep understanding of subsistence farming, and how the rural poor could promote farming using local knowledge, and contribute to the economy of the province, and to food security, as is the case with other countries in Southern Africa. The Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) has defended the communal land use system, but says that there has been far too little recognition of the social and economic values of resources locked up in the communal system. These values play a critical role in multiple rural livelihood strategies.

The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) was announced by President Mbeki in February 2001, during the State of the Nation Address. Since then the ISRDS has been transformed into a programme, the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) with the aim of providing services to the rural people in terms of houses, water, electricity, infrastructure and economic projects (Mbeki, 2001). In this study, it is argued that significant investment in rural areas between 1994 and the present, proved not to have had the envisaged impact in alleviating the endemic poverty or strengthening local institutions. It appeared that the range and quality of development and anti-poverty programmes in existence were appropriate, but
the impact of these programmes was weakened by poor coordination, accountability, involvement of the beneficiaries in decision making, how the programme should work and integration, to provide an integrated basket of services that matched local priorities. In response to this, the aim of this programme (ISRDS) was therefore to conduct a sustained campaign against rural poverty and underdevelopment, bringing in the resources of all three spheres of government (National, Provincial and District) in a coordinated manner (Mbeki, 2001 p.80). The ISRDS and ISRDP have been debated in chapter nine where the Umzimbvubu goat project an ISRDP anchor project was analysed.

Despite the best efforts by government, economic life for the average person living in the former Ciskei and Transkei has not improved since independence; in fact it has got worse (Lahiff, 2002 p. 14). A greater percentage of people who want to be economically active cannot secure employment, and rural people are poorer than they were ten years ago (Lahiff, 2002 p. 15; Nstebeza, 2007 p. 104). The challenge is to secure a massive redistribution of resources into the former Ciskei and Transkei. The promotion of small scale livestock farming and the effective use of agriculture were considered vital in addressing poverty and hunger in the Eastern Cape. This has been known for a long time. However, poverty continues to deepen in the former homelands and rural agriculture has not developed of late. Scoones and Wolmer (2003 p. 11) argued that it is widely recognised that small-scale agriculture is not viable and that rural dwellers are not interested in proper productive and efficient farming. They argued that the poor cannot effectively participate as small-holders in a liberalized, market-oriented rural economy because they lack skills, capacities and resources to do so and they cannot compete. Such statements, it is argued, are too superficial and generalized.

One of the central weaknesses of conventional economic theories of innovation is that they are unable to illuminate how the process of social development within
different local contexts unfolds. Gudeman (2001) argued that innovation is always a fundamentally local process that occurs when shared know-how is applied to new materials and contexts, often as it passes from person to person. Gudeman expressed reciprocity as a means of regenerating the disconnected in a society. Bank and Minkley (2005 p. 6) advocated the need for a more detailed understanding for change from below, using local knowledge. The top-down approach being used, or lack of motivation and coordination of the rural poor, has contributed to the deepening of rural poverty\(^56\). According to Long (2001 p.128) the ‘cargoed’ approach to development does not benefit the communities at all until development is actor-oriented, focusing on the way the rural people use their resources such as cattle, and determine how development should unfold.

Ainslie (2002c) argued that the value of cattle was determined partly by their importance in religious observances, most of which involve cultural supplication to the spirits of ancestors\(^57\). Cattle were sacrificial objects among the Venda, Xhosa and the Zulu in South Africa, and quantity was of more importance than quality\(^58\). It was observed that livestock are frequently shared, lent, borrowed, given as gifts, and slaughtered for a range of ceremonies and occasions (Kepe, 2002). This is similar to how households in the study areas managed their livelihoods, as the study highlights in chapter six. Activities such as these are often seen as ‘unproductive’ by development practitioners, but in practice are highly valued for their ability to secure social capital, which can play an important role in future livelihood security, especially for those who are vulnerable. They also contribute to households’ overall sense of ‘well being’, and the ability to be seen as a respected part of society.

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\(^{56}\) Eastern Cape agriculture 2/12/98 Small scale farming solution to poverty.

\(^{57}\) Culture in anthropology is defined as the integrated system of socially acquired values, beliefs and rules of conduct which delimit the range of accepted behaviours in any given society. Cultural differences distinguish societies from each other.

\(^{58}\) Ainslie, (2002) The historical context of cattle ownership. PLAAS, the University of the Western Cape.
Gudeman (2001) and Chambers and Conway (1998) argued that livelihood portfolios are dependent on the resources of the rural farmers, and how they use them. Livestock play the role of a ‘springboard’ to livelihood diversification, by providing investment funds which are frequently not available from any other source (Ainslie, 2002a, Kepe, 2002). Events such as weddings, funerals and sickness in the family have sometimes compelled poor families to sell their last remaining animals. It is important to note that by virtue of practising these non-profitable social activities, a family obtains spiritual and moral satisfaction, rather than a loss. Lack of livestock is a major constraint in livelihoods, as it provides both a store of wealth and an insurance against risk, in addition to being a source of nutrition and cash. The study clearly indicates the complexity of not having livestock and what this means to the rural poor, in chapters six, seven and eight.

Horses are an important source of transport, a source of meat and are of increasing importance for cultivation. In addition to this they are symbols of social status and are used for sport in some communities (Kepe, 2002 p. 70). These significant values of livestock and many more, indicate the significance of livestock in the study areas.

According to Kepe (2002) livestock was historically a key element of the pre-colonial political economies, and the livelihoods of African people in Southern Africa. Today, investment in livestock continues to be a surprisingly vibrant and often preferred livelihood option for many rural people. While most rural people throughout South Africa keep at least some type of micro-livestock, including pigs, chickens, ducks, geese, turkeys, pigeons and rabbits, these micro-livestock constitute a frequently overlooked component of the rural household economy (Ainslie, 2005). Most attention has been focused on cattle in the former reserves along the eastern seaboard of Ciskei and Transkei. Both between and within these reserve areas, differences are known to exist with regard to animal husbandry practices, including the types of animals kept. It is particularly the values of livestock as a store of wealth that observers underestimate. This safety-net function of livestock is particularly important for households with only a
few animals, or none at all. There is no evidence that suggests an overall decline in the importance of livestock to rural people. Instead people have engaged in different ways, using local knowledge, capacity and capabilities, to sustain a living in the midst of poverty, while the local government is failing in its attempt to alleviate poverty.

Overall, cattle and other livestock make a substantial contribution to communal livelihoods. According to Ainslie (2004), none of the government programmes have succeeded thus far to provide even a small percentage of the impoverished rural people, with the means to enter the market economy in a sustained sense. The top-down interventions have not enabled or facilitated transition to more commercially driven developments, or even to increase the reliability on local government support and interventions from NGOs.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion the history of land administration and the provision of the past policies, before and during the apartheid era, had a significant negative impact on the livelihoods of the poor, as they failed to cope. They had to rely on migrant labour for income and survival. However, they also had to rely on their resources such as livestock to meet their basic needs, although the existing policies restricted the numbers of cattle, goats and other animals. Poverty became widespread in the rural Eastern Cape, and this continues to the present time. Development initiatives, such as livestock production, have proved a failure during apartheid, and this appears to be continuing today, despite huge amounts of funding of livestock projects. The policies implemented and the livestock projects launched by the local government in the Eastern Cape (as summarized in the literature) did not benefit the rural poor, as their local knowledge and the dynamics and complexities of the rural set up of households, villages and local municipalities, were not taken into consideration.

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According to Kepe (2002 p.120), the importance of livestock on rural people has been well-documented for most of the 20th century. Cattle in particular have been seen to have a special place in the social and economic life of rural people. This could be due to the multi-purpose role of cattle in the livelihoods of rural people, including their value in consumption, draught power, and the provision of raw materials, savings, cash, rituals and social status. The study states that while all this was arguably true for the larger part of the 20th century, social and bio-physical changes in many parts of the continent encouraged a review of these earlier perceptions. It would be misleading to dismiss the role of all types of livestock as unimportant in today’s rural South Africa, more so in the Eastern Cape Province where agriculture (livestock) is declared to be the backbone of its economy. As Todaro (2004) indicated, it is always important to review the well-being of an individual or community after a given period of time. The following chapter outlines the form of poverty and livelihoods of the rural livestock farmers in the Eastern Cape in different villages. It is important to identify the complexities and dynamics of local rural livelihoods and the use of social networks and local knowledge embedded in livestock, in order to build a more nuanced view, in the light of the historic and contemporary dynamics highlighted here. The following chapter highlights the livelihood patterns in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape.

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60 Based on the research findings I collected in 24 villages for six months in 2005. Staying with the members of households and attending their wool shearing sessions and rituals will outline and situate the role of all livestock a household has in the study areas, and the meanings of them. This will include cultural, social and economic significance.
CHAPTER VI

LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN THE RURAL EASTERN CAPE

Introduction
This chapter serves as an introduction to the municipal, village and household case studies conducted in the specified areas of the Eastern Cape. It presents the characteristics and analyses of livelihood strategies of households in 24 villages. The community characteristics and livelihood components from the livestock and rural livelihoods analysis checklist were used as a guide to map out and analyse the characteristics and livelihoods of households in the study sites. I gave particular attention to social structure, location, history, and infrastructure and livelihood activities of households associated with livestock and off-farm resources associated with a household livelihood portfolio. This was done in order to describe and analyse community assets and the vulnerability context in which the villages exist. The description of the characteristics of the communities is not meant to stand on its own. It is a starting point for understanding the role of livestock and rural livelihoods. On this basis, I provide further analysis of individual household case studies to understand how characteristics of poverty and livelihoods in the context of social and economic well-being of households in the case study communities influence the nature of their vulnerability.

The chapter elaborates on the nature of poverty in the villages where the research was conducted. As poverty is a broad term, this chapter will focus on how the rural people sustained their living, built and created coping strategies, and developed a range of livelihood activities related to land and livestock, and other sources of income. Issues to be considered include sources of income, household management, employment opportunities, capabilities of households in
fighting poverty, and availability of income and resources, such as livestock and land. The forms of livelihood between one household and another in different villages have been highlighted in general, and as case studies. The chapter concludes with a definition of poverty determined by the poor themselves, looking at the resources they have.

Understanding poverty and vulnerability requires an understanding of rural people’s socio-economic networks and the power relationships within which they are caught (Lahiff, 2005). We need to look further than the extent to which a household is endowed with a particular resource, to the larger social relationships within which this endowment is used in particular livelihood strategies (Bank and Minkley; 2005, Lahiff, 2005). The extent to which such resources are used depends on a whole host of other factors, including the nature of a household, local economic context, access to markets, social relations, culture, state support and physical conditions of an area.

**Livelihood strategies**
The focus of this section is to describe and analyse livelihood activities and production systems of households. Being able to identify vulnerable and impoverished groups of households and to link their rural poverty to their place within the larger infrastructure of spatially extended kin networks is important, but it is only part of the story. Another important element of the story needs to be an understanding of the economic context that creates these forms of vulnerability in the first place (Chileshe, 2005; Du Toit, 2006 p iv)\(^6\).

The majority of the rural poor started living in the twenty-four villages, where they are located today, during the twentieth century when most of the villages prior to

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\(^6\)In recent research in South Africa, a growing body of theoretical and empirical research has identified the possibility that there may be important structural aspects of poverty that undermine the ability of the poorest and most marginalised to escape from it aided or unaided. The dominant way in which these issues have been framed is with reference to the notion of a ‘second economy’, - the notion that the persistence of poverty for many in the rural Eastern Cape is explained by the fact that they are excluded from the mainstream economy (see Du Toit, 2006)
and after Betterment planning were settled. Those that acquired land from 1980 to the 1990s were those who went to work in the mines and towns while young. After retirement or retrenchment they had to return home and build their own (Umzi). In that regard, acquiring land and building the ‘umzi’ was a crucial strategy of building the ‘base for coping’ strategies. Most of the households had to buy livestock while they were working, while some inherited livestock. It was an important natural resource to have in managing vulnerability. Despite droughts, investing in livestock would enable a man to be identified socially and economically within the community.

Women were less worried about acquiring land, building the ‘umzi’ and having livestock, because they knew that one day they would be married, and as part of the culture, they were not supposed to acquire such assets. However, there have been attempts in different villages to allocate land to married and unmarried women with children, through local government initiative programmes and through the ‘Communal Land Rights Act’ CLRA. In an attempt to highlight the dynamics and complexities of the histories of how the households were built, and the differences in each village, a few case studies have been selected, to expose the individual meaning of land and livestock, and livelihood survival strategies of the rural poor in the Eastern Cape62.

In one Esikobeni village, 39% of the households interviewed started living in the village between 1930 and 1940, before Betterment, and were dispersed around fields and ‘kraals’. 44% started living in Esikobeni between 1950 and late 1960s. Only 10% started living in Esikobeni in the 1980s and 7% after 1992. The clustered village was then formed during the betterment period in the 1970s and most of the residents were born in Esikobeni. When forced removals took place

62 I had to spend a week in one village before I could move to another as I selected the households randomly. Sometimes I had to consider those involved in wool growing, as association members or non-members, to interview, to find the complexities related to having livestock, or not having livestock, and being members of wool growers associations and being supported by the Department of Agriculture or NGOs. These dynamics gave me an insight into the differences in livelihoods associated with livestock, and those getting paid social grants.
they were victims as well. The farmers kept livestock way back, even before betterment. About 53% of the households interviewed inherited livestock from their parents and the other 47% bought them when they were working in the mines. Some women used to work as teachers and nurses in the former Transkei and Ciskei. Even though women used to work, whether married or not, they were not supposed to buy livestock.

There were two female-headed households in Esikobeni who inherited livestock when their husbands passed away. One household used social grant money to buy livestock after several months of saving. This showed the importance of saving, according to this household. The common difficulty that the households encountered was (izifo) the death of livestock due to drought and diseases. During the apartheid era they received less support, so far as livestock was concerned. They were compelled to dip and dose the cattle, and were allowed to keep a maximum of 10 cattle. The number of cattle allowed during the apartheid era per household was the same as in the other villages of Sakhisizwe Local Municipality but slightly different with those allowed in Chatha. These were differences at village level. Rotational grazing was imperative. The outcome of the political set-up that restricted rural people to having limited access to land through Betterment, also limited the access of the rural people to other resources, leading to increased poverty and vulnerability and causing the poor to rely on migrant labour, resulting in less agricultural activity and less livestock production.

Agrarian activities continue to constitute a vital and often under-estimated component of livelihood activities. At the same time they are becoming

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63 It took me four months to visit the households in the different villages and find out how they sustained their living in different households with different numbers of livestock and family members. I had to get permission from the chiefs whom I had to talk to through the Department of Agriculture extension officials, who knew them. The chief or headman had to inform the community of my presence. The best they wanted was for me to take their problems to the respected authorities at provincial level.

64 The limited numbers of sheep continue even to the present day as farmers cannot afford to buy more.
increasingly marginalised and undermined by other dynamics. In all villages of the six local municipalities where the research was conducted, the rural poor have livestock and land as their main natural resource base. After looking through their survival strategies I found that minimal support for many households was coming from relatives in the form of income, or from the family itself. Rather, social grants from government were critical to many households. The social grants, however, were not received by every household, since some households did not have elderly people who could receive old age grants, or children who could receive child support grants. Case studies per village have been outlined (see below). These differences in household set up are crucial to determine household differences.

The study revealed much data that allowed a deeper understanding of the ways in which poor people managed their vulnerability, and how they strategised to reduce the impact of shocks and stresses through their livestock, to ward off poverty in the midst of institutional and local government socio-economic transformation of the rural Eastern Cape. Managing social capital was one important part of these activities, but before engaging with social capital, it is necessary to look in some detail at some items on a broader base of imperatives and aims. These seemed to influence individual and household choices regarding livestock, social grants, land, and either having none or some of the natural, economic, human, financial or social capital. Successful households were often able to use one resource or activity to increase their gains from another. Pluri-activity was present in most households. Successful ‘pluri-active’ households were distinguished, not only by having a wide range of activities and resources such as livestock, but also by having considerable skills in using them. The ability to cooperate, coordinate and plough the land, and to negotiate

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65 Information from interviews I conducted for a week in September 2005 when wool farmers were busy shearing sheep.
66 Developing a range of livelihood activities needs abilities and capabilities of an individual or a household. The ability of individuals and households to combine a wide range or portfolio of livelihood activities and kinds of resources is critical in each household (Du Toit, 2006).
internally, was present both in ‘well-to-do’ households and in highly impoverished households that were successfully managing to reduce their vulnerability.

**Family sizes and social set-up**

Households interviewed in most of the villages had four members or more, inclusive of the husband, wife, sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters. The members counted were those living in a household, and not those working in other parts of the country. Not a single household had in-laws living with the main family. The majority of the children were grand-daughters and sons who lived with the grandparents, as the fathers or mothers who worked had migrated to nearby townships, or more distant towns, seeking ways to sustain a living. It was unlikely that the young married mothers and fathers would leave their children and return home to support their parents. Instead, their parents depended on the old age grants or child support grants, or the selling of sheep or vegetables, to cope with the rural hardships.

Each household had to develop a mechanism of coping in whatever situation they found themselves. As argued by Du Toit (2006), understanding linkages and relationships between different kinds of activities and the nature of the social relationships between people required probing into painful histories, or exploring difficult conflicts within or between households. The husbands in most cases were in charge of all the livestock, except chickens and pigs. However, in the case of a female-headed household, the widow inherited land and livestock a year after the death of the husband. She made sure that the children attended school and were well fed, the sick taken to hospital, and the boys who had reached circumcision age were taken for legal circumcision. On the other hand, she had to make sure livestock for all rituals and cultural events were bought or made available. In Upper Mnxe there were two case studies of female-headed
households who inherited livestock from their forefathers because the family had no sons within the household\(^{67}\).

In the midst of coping with livelihood strategies, a household in a community could decide to let the eldest daughter inherit the father’s livestock and homestead if the family did not have a son. This was a unique internal arrangement, but supported by the chief and the community. This happened in villages in Sakhisizwe Local Municipality, while in other villages, households did not agree to practise this, even though the chief had authorized it. Such dynamics were important, and highlighted how local knowledge within the community assisted in understanding how inheritance practices differed between villages. This also indicated how the social well-being of households remained embedded in livestock with chieftaincy and chiefs not involved in regulating the numbers of livestock a household had or how households administered their livelihoods, except arable land.

Chiefs’ chieftaincy, power, roles and responsibilities have been limited due to structural changes that have taken place in the former Ciskei and Transkei. Chiefs’ powers have been limited although through Contralesa they are being recognised as rural power houses. Their power now remains strong in land administration, however with the coming up of Communal Land Right Act CLRA, most chiefs are no longer at ease, as they fear losing their power of administering land (Kessel and Oomen, 1997; Classeens, 2005, Cousins and Classeen, 2006; Oomen, 2005; Mathis, 2007). The Act allows rural households, including women, to have title deeds. The impact of the Act however is yet to be felt on the livelihoods of the rural people as they become legal owners of land. In the villages where the research was conducted, even before the implementation of CLRA, some chiefs were already giving land to women to improve their livelihoods. This is contrary to the Act, and also the critiques of chiefs as

\(^{67}\) Xhosa culture seems flexible in accepting any type of livestock to be slaughtered for different cultural ceremonies. This of course varies between villages, tribes and cultures.
patriarchal administrators. As argued by Classeen (2005) disadvantaged women acquiring land through chiefs, was not uniform in the study, and remains an uneven, and often deeply exclusionary and unequal gender process. Theoretically women now have the same land rights as men, married or unmarried. However, this was not uniform in all villages as some villages still practised what Classeen has identified as forms of gendered exclusion, and this affected the rural livelihoods of women heads of households. This study, however, did not focus much on chieftaincy and the politics of land, as its main focus was more on the social impact of livestock and livelihoods for ordinary people. In this regard grazing land was not part of the conflict about land or the politics of chieftaincy, as it remained in the commonage where those with livestock grazed freely. Chieftaincy from this perspective did not impact much on the livelihoods of the rural people. However, there was one village where the chief intervened in the ‘grazing land politics’. This occurred if a livestock owner grazed his stock in prohibited land, delineated by imaginary boundaries, not fences. Here, the livestock owner had to pay the chief ‘R20’, and if this continued, he had to pay with cattle. This affected negatively the livelihoods of the members of the household.

Livelihoods are complex and dynamic where such cultural trends take place. Gender issues are, for example, critical, as in the case where the eldest daughter inherited her father’s wealth. I point out that the gendered livestock (pigs and chickens) in this scenario were not recognized as belonging to a woman because they now belonged to the eldest daughter as the owner of all livestock. This means that the importance of social relations was powerfully shaped by the nature of the local social relations within which it was used. Clan, village, household and kin networks were all important. The fact that the daughter inherited land and livestock, however, did not mean that when the daughter died

68 Having been in Mamfengwini village in June 2005 for one week I had the opportunity to attend an inheritance ritual. Members of the community gathered and all supported the family that was going through the inheritance procedures. Social networks were strengthened through the ritual process and livestock was slaughtered.
a bull was to be slaughtered, as she was the head of the household. Obviously a cow would be used, since in that regard, no compromise was made. The community was involved in deciding the fate of such a case. However, in the midst of the dynamics of livelihoods, gender issues were being considered at household level, with some households showing the changes in culture being experienced at household level, and not at community level. About 5% of the households considered livestock as the property of both the husband and wife\textsuperscript{69}. Joint ownership and the policy and stata prescriptions to address gender have begun to introduce new socio-cultural issues and challenges at household and village level.

This implies that gradually traditional ethics were being adapted and drafted to suit the socio-economic and political environment a household found itself in. Members of the community who were gender-sensitive were middle aged households who practised joint ownership of livestock. This signified that culture was not easy to modify if it had been learnt and had become part of an individual’s life for a long time. Other debates from the case studies showed that some old women (wives), on their own, did not challenge their husbands in issues of culture.

This has also been challenged in developmental programmes, as women members of rural projects did not take decisions at meetings because the meetings were male-dominated, and the issue of culture silenced the women. I looked at the social set-up where women positively knew their role and that of the men. Such social relationships built togetherness and happiness because the women did not complain of not being given a chance to speak or take decisions. They knew they could speak at home when they gave their husbands advice before making decisions. What was interesting was that, given the opportunity to work in a project, they could do very well in a project (wool and vegetables), and

\textsuperscript{69} It was the 24\textsuperscript{th} of May 2005 when I arrived at the Gqeba family and the husband and wife in their late forties were having breakfast of ‘isonka samanzi’ home-baked bread. They allowed me to interview them while they were eating.
when they inherited wealth. Of the inherited land and livestock, the women had to farm, grow maize and vegetables (either in the garden or in the field), hire labour, herd livestock and shear wool to boost the livelihoods coping strategies of this so called ‘second economy’\textsuperscript{70}.

It is far from conclusive that a large-scale process of ‘modernisation’ would have helped very much. Rather, careful attention is needed to the ways in which informal activities can be empowered and made more effective, looking at what the poor had and how they administered these in their livelihoods. The households interviewed have been growing crops in the gardens they were given during betterment planning. They grew maize, pumpkins, beans, potatoes and other vegetables. In Zadungeni village in Engcobo Local Municipality, 80% of the households interviewed ploughed, using cattle. This yielded from one to fifteen bags of maize. Twenty families got 1-3 bags of beans, for consumption. However, there were 3 families who harvested 14 bags, 115 bags and 32 bags of maize respectively. This was the highest number of bags that local household subsistence farmers in their local economy could produce, and this enabled them to sell or supply to other community members. They could exchange, barter or use cash in those transactions. The most significant aspect of this activity, though, was that the highest producers gained status within the community. Daughters of those who could not grow crops dreamt of marrying the sons of such prosperous farmers\textsuperscript{71}. However, most of the prosperous farmers did not have extended families or sons who were still young. These farmers developed power and community reciprocity. They had the ability to employ others and sometimes gained more resources, such as livestock, in exchange. Even those who could not plough, but had land, were old pensioners with a herd of livestock who called themselves ‘farmers’. Such definitions of a farmer were found

\textsuperscript{70} As argued by Du Toit (2006) one important area in the discourse of the second economy is to cast doubt on the notion that the second economy should be seen as a problematic realm, defined by its lack of connection from the ‘first economy’. Some of the formulations around Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) seem particularly unfortunate. The findings in the research highlighted the vitality of a mixed economy of the first and second economies in wool production.

\textsuperscript{71} Interview with a young wool farmer Thandazile.
wanting and debateable because being a farmer goes beyond merely having resources. The following case studies can try to define a farmer.

**Managing vulnerability through farming activities**

Mr. Zinyubile is the farmer who produced 115 bags of maize in the 2005/6 growing season. He grew maize both in the field and in the garden (two different pieces of land). He also harvested 200 pockets of potatoes. He sold maize at R80 a bag and potatoes at R25 a pocket. Mr. Zinyubile also harvested 10 bags of beans which he sold for R5 a cup, or R30 a gallon. On the other hand, Mr. Yalezo harvested 32 bags of maize, although he used to get 100 bags of maize and 800 pockets of potatoes in the past, but the growing season in 2005/6 was not favourable. He got 228 pockets of potatoes which were sold at R20 a pocket and 3 bags of beans were kept for consumption. Selling of crops and other agricultural products was not for profiteering but to raise money for monthly groceries and school fees. ‘Human capital’ concerns, in terms of the household, often received priority in households before it could entertain the decision to sell livestock.

However, more generally outside of these particular examples, most of the fields were not being used, as people lacked financial resources, human capital and input. Rural farmers used their own resources to cultivate the land, and kept livestock for wool. In this village (Zadungeni) no household benefited from the government’s Massive Food Production Programme, although some of the villages in Engcobo had started the programme. The programme had challenges despite having given the vegetable and poultry co-operatives training and input from the World Vision Organisation. The project did not meet its prescribed goals because not all the required resources were in place. The farmers were not trained; they used their old methods of farming. No irrigation

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72 In November 2005 I found it difficult to obtain an extension officer from the Department of Agriculture Engcobo Local Municipality to accompany me to Zadungeni as the officials were so disorganized and unwilling to assist. I had to let them phone the chairperson of Zadungeni Wool Growers Association and the headman, for permission for me to have access into the village, and to interview the farmers.
schemes were in place and they waited for the rain to come, but the region was known for receiving little or no rainfall.

At least 99% of the households interviewed did not buy any livestock in 2004/5. This clearly indicated that buying livestock was not an urgent need or a daily process. It happened when there was the rare opportunity to increase the herd, or for necessary rituals. The households used cattle for ploughing their gardens or, in some villages, even their fields. Cattle were slaughtered for funerals, or when there was a graduation ceremony or a marriage. However, this depended on how strong a household’s livelihood portfolio and base was, otherwise sheep were used for such rituals. About 33% of the households interviewed sold their livestock, especially sheep, on these occasions. The selling price was normally between R2000 and R3000 per cow and R450 and R700 for sheep. However, this varied from one household to another and according to the need to sell.

Cattle were kept for ‘future wealth’ in some households, but some households wanted to get involved in breeding cattle for sale. The numbers of cattle per household were very low, except in one case of Mr. Xubu, in Upper Dadambe in Mbashe Local Municipality, who had 100 cattle and 800 sheep. Mr. Xubu could be termed a commercial farmer in the rural area, or a ‘rich’ subsistence farmer, because of the numbers of livestock he had. According to Mr Xubu, however, he is a poor man. He did not convert his livestock into monetary terms but had enough for selling, and his sheep produced enough wool for him. The meaning attached to livestock, and how they were used in managing vulnerability and economic development, remains complex as shown in different case studies.

73 Based on the interviews, selling and buying of livestock is done after thorough consultation of the owner and the wife, but not with his brothers.
74 I stayed four days in Upper Dadambe observing how Mr Xubu and other rural livestock farmers herd their livestock to the field when the children were at school. He would ride his horse and spend the whole day in the grazing land, fearing people would steal his livestock if they got lost. Lambs were left at home as they could not walk long distances. The kids then took over the role of herding in the afternoon. When bringing the cattle home he had to stand at the sheep kraal to count them manually, and then did the same at the cattle kraal.
Sheep were kept for meat, wool, selling, and for rituals (imicimbi). However, use of sheep for imicimbi varied from one household to another. Two households said they did not sell or shear their sheep, but kept them for wealth accumulation (\textit{nje})\textsuperscript{75}. Goats were rarely kept for selling. On rare occasions families would sell when they had ‘too many livestock’, like the Manona family who had 50 goats and sold 4 at R700, R300, R250, or R200, dependent on the size of the goats. On the other hand, goats were a precious stock kept for rituals and for ‘spiritual’ well being.

The market price was not established, so anyone could determine the price by mutual agreement and discussion, and influenced by status, need and relationships. The main reason for keeping goats was for circumcision purposes. Chickens were kept for meat and eggs, and were not sold in many villages. A household could decide to give the eggs freely to a neighbour who was in need and had nothing to eat. Most of the rural livestock owners lost their pigs during the outbreak of swine fever (2005/6). The farmers tried to sell prohibited, infected pigs’ meat to other members of the society or village so that they could at least get some income, instead of burning or burying the infected meat. However, this was quickly controlled by the Department of Agriculture Veterinary services. The selling of pig’s meat was done in portions, or the whole pig was sold at R350-R600. A portion of pig’s meat cost R20 per piece. Meat was not weighed, but cut into pieces, by mere visual judgement. It was then sold for cash or exchanged, depending on what the owner wanted, or the relationship between the traders\textsuperscript{76}. The quality of meat was not considered in the selling. Social relationships were much more important.

\textsuperscript{75} Keeping livestock for (wealth only) and watching them grow, lead to debates on how such households were sustaining their living. I had the opportunity of visiting households that had no livestock at all, and those that had. Those without understood that they were poorer than those with livestock and had to look to them for support. It took me weeks to comprehend these dynamics and social understandings.

\textsuperscript{76} It was in June 2005 before the outbreak of swine fever in Chatha village where I interviewed three sisters living together. They had slaughtered a pig for sale to raise money for the youngest sister who was going to start Matric at Pandulwazi High School.
More than 80% of the households interviewed had livestock like goats, sheep and a few cattle. The rural farmers were not satisfied with the number of livestock they had, because, to them, large numbers of livestock gave them much greater resources for their forms of livelihood. This ranged from income, food, and fuel to that of transport. It further gave them security, wealth, social satisfaction through cultural rituals, funerals, and weddings, and a sense of well-being, also of belonging, cultural identity and social standing. These notions determined the quality of life of households, even where local government support was minimal or material poverty high.

The forms of support given by the Department of Agriculture (DOA) at local level were uneven, and often limited and marginal. The contradictory functions of the DOA were noticed in all local municipalities where interviews were held. For example, in Intsika Yethu Local Municipality, the agricultural programmes were supposed to be implemented by the DOA, with the support of the local municipality. However, this was not the case. The DOA was only invited to the review of the IDP in a given financial year, but they did their own planning, separately. According to the Intsika Yethu Local Municipality IDP (2005/6), agriculture was supposed to be the backbone of the municipality, with varied agricultural activities per ward, according to the ward’s agricultural potential. However, where the interviews were conducted in wards 21 and 22, livestock production was supposedly predominant, but this was not the case. Other wards were identified as good for crop farming and vegetable growing, but such activities were also not being carried out.

According to the Local Economic Development framework and the Integrated Development Plan of Intsika Yethu Local Municipality, rural livestock farming was supposed to be sustainable and to be promoted, to alleviate poverty and create jobs. The statement was too generalised however, because in the wards where the research was conducted, ‘farmers’ organised themselves into Wool Growers Associations, for example, without any support from the municipality. They
initiated WGA themselves, incorporating other nearby villages. It was only in one village, Isikobeni, that a vegetable garden was supported by the Department of Agriculture. However, not all households were involved in the vegetable project\textsuperscript{77}. In effect, overall agricultural support from the DOA was extremely limited.

![Image of vegetable farmers in Isikobeni village](2005/09/01)

**Figure 12: Vegetable farmers of Isikobeni village (Iliso Lethu Co-operative)**

Figure 12 shows some of the members of Iliso Lethu vegetable co-operative. All members were retired mine workers, nurses or teachers who thought they could improve their livelihood portfolio through vegetable growing, despite the difficult conditions of dry spells and no water in Isikobeni village. They believed that they could produce vegetables for consumption and for sale. These farmers had livestock, and received support from the Department of Agriculture. The farmers

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\textsuperscript{77} In the afternoon of the first of September 2005, the manager of the DOA at Intiska Yethu Local Municipality gave me an extension officer to accompany me into Isikobeni village where I met the vegetable co-operative members working in the garden. Some of them had to be called to come so that I could interview them.
were supplied with seed, fencing materials and fertilisers, but they lacked other inputs, such as the source of water. They used wheelbarrows to fetch water from the river two kilometres away, and sometimes they used a cart drawn by donkeys with 100 litre containers to fetch water. However, the project was not progressing well. The vegetables lacked nutrients and did not have enough water (see Annexure B). Such hardships in the midst of wanting to improve household livelihoods indicate the differences in how rural people developed livelihood portfolios.

**Networking and social relationships through livestock**

Out of all the villages I visited and the households interviewed, 28% of the households interviewed employed ‘herders and shepherds’ to herd their livestock. The salary for a ‘herd man’ varied from one household to another, usually between R100 and R200 a month. In other villages the amount for employing a herder was between R200 and R300 per month. However, the salary was not determined by the labour laws or the number of livestock a household had, but by negotiation and mutual agreement between the herder and the livestock owner. What they considered was how vulnerable the person was, and his need.

The amount was non-taxable and it showed how some poor households helped each other because they had livestock. The job was not advertised in the newspaper but through the existing social networks. Some rural livestock owners preferred employing someone outside their village to avoid quarrels with members of the community if, for example, the livestock were lost. There were debates in other case studies, where local herders tended to get so relaxed that they ended up not herding cattle but leaving the stock alone in the veld while they went drinking alcohol. This brought problems (social conflicts) between the

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78 I had the opportunity to interview the farmers as I spent a week in the village in September 2005. I had to observe the vegetable farmers walking long distances to fetch water, using a wheelbarrow. The extension officer from the department of agriculture accompanied me to Isikobeni village in Intsika Yethu. The rural farmers in the village had less livestock.
livestock owner and the herder. There was a case of MaMpondolo who employed a neighbour, but every month the herder reported the death of a sheep. It was discovered that he (the herder) was forcing them to eat plastics. This destroyed the social relationship between the two households.\footnote{I did have time to interview the herder but he gave a different version of the story why he left the job. He said they used to pay him late or sometimes he was not paid, hence they quarreled.}

The employment or selection of the herder did not include academic qualifications, but was done on social understanding looking at the level of poverty and need of a neighbour. The majority (72\%) of the households herded their own livestock, however. The husbands, sons, or grandsons, and in certain circumstances, the wives herded livestock depending on the household set-up.\footnote{I did not find employed female herders though women (wives) from some households could herd livestock.} These were households that could not afford to pay a herder, or did not see the need to do so.

Maintenance of the kraal was done by the families themselves. Some 28\% of the households interviewed, fed sheep and cattle with lucerne bought at R45 a bale.\footnote{Based on the findings, feeding was optional to many livestock owners although in actual terms it was necessary. It was optional because some of the rural farmers could not afford it.} Feeding was also done, using maize grown in the fields. Feeding of livestock depended on a household’s capability and capacity to buy feeds and livestock medications. This was done after calculations had been made to see if a household would have enough money for the month. The majority of the households (72\%) did not feed livestock, not because they did not want to, but because they lacked enough resources to keep their livestock healthy. Budgeting was done sparingly, holding on to the little they had for future emergency issues. To the majority it was not a necessity to feed livestock, but they had to benefit from them. The households that fed livestock spent about R1000-R5000 a year depending on the resources (cash) they had, and not on the number of livestock they had.
Other households planned their expenditure because their base was strong, but those without a large number of livestock did not dream of feeding them. Some could feed when the Department of Agriculture had brought bales of lucerne during a drought year. When the DOA brought lucerne for livestock feeding, some households complained that they preferred parcels of sugar and maize meal rather than lucerne. This showed how vulnerable some households were, that they thought of their immediate food, rather than looking after livestock though livestock still meant more than material goods to them.

One household (the Dhlamini) fed pigs with finisher maize mash and pig growth finisher feed\textsuperscript{82}. The piggery project was affected by the outbreak of swine fever, leading to a loss. 28% of the households bought animal medications for dosage, injections, wounds and dipping. They spent on average from R100-R500 a year on feeding livestock and livestock medication. The majority, though, depended on the animals’ strength and resistance to disease. Those involved in wool, sold their wool directly to stakeholders who came with their bakkies (speculators). This was because there was no organised Wool Growers Association in certain villages, such as Esikobeni, and there was little support, if any, from the Department of Agriculture Extension services. Such differences clearly indicate the differences in the potential of a household to use its resources socially, politically and economically.

In the study areas, labour was divided: Household labour, done by the wife, included cooking, and fetching water, and sometimes caring for the children or grandchildren, while the men herded the livestock and ploughed the land. However, ploughing the land depended on the household resources\textsuperscript{83}. Some

\textsuperscript{82} I managed to interview the family before the outbreak of swine fever in 2005. The woman was happy having the pigs ‘hagu’ but four months later, after the outbreak, I revisited her and she had nothing left. Disappointed as she was, she waited for her compensation from government DOA. Socially and spiritually she was down, with the culling of pigs.

\textsuperscript{83} Donham (1999) outlined how the Maale rural people of Ethiopia divided labour among a family. The children herded livestock, the wife did housework and the husband worked in the fields. When the crops were ripened the women went to scare birds away. Different cultures in different tribes also differed in division of labour.
households could afford to pay cash to, or exchange goods with those who worked for them. For example, the headman of Upper Lufutha (Headman Nomzamo) paid people who repaired his kraal, between R450 and R800. At the same time, one worker was paid 3 goats for the maintenance of the headman’s kraal, made of stones. This showed that the community still practised an exchange barter system, using livestock. One goat was valued at R400 so this showed that the man was paid R1 200 for the work, if equated in monetary terms. In actual terms, though, there was no equation done when it came to converting social relations into monetary value. All was done in the name of social relations that were more important in their lives. In this case study, the headman was able to pay those who worked for him because his base was strong as he received a monthly salary of R2 500 for being a headman.

In Upper Lufutha as compared to other villages, 70% of the households interviewed spent up to R300 per year on feeding their livestock in times of drought and up to R400 for vaccinations, dosing and dipping. A public dip was available for cattle, but for sheep each household had to buy its own dip. In the case of the headman, he spent R500 on vaccinations and dosage such as Ecomoctin, Valbazen, Wormol Terramycin and injections. Not much money was used in taking care of goats, horses, dogs or cats. If these animals got ill or had a disease, they just died. This showed the importance of the different livestock a household owned.

Certain villages such as Zadungeni did not have a single household that created informal employment for others, including herders and shepherds. This was because households could not afford to do so. All the herding was done by the husbands, children, grandsons or the widowed mothers. This meant that in prioritising livelihood strategies, there was no capacity to build community networks at this level. Maintenance of the kraal was done by the husbands or

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84 Based on the findings, not many households can afford to pay R800 to a herder like the headman in Lufutha village. This is because he can afford it, not because of negotiations.
sons of the household. In the case of a widow, she could ask the neighbour’s husband or sons to maintain the kraal, but there were exceptional cases because it is not her job, according to tradition. Social networks and social relationships were strengthened by building a kraal. A well-built kraal would give satisfaction, and the owner of the kraal would pay the builder in cash, or whatever equivalent he wanted, for the work done.

**Cash transfers, vulnerability and livelihood strategies**

The households in different villages showed degrees of differentiation in terms of monthly budgets and what they bought. Their purchases depended on their sources of income. In a few cases, interviews elicited detailed information about how grants and other finances were spent per household. In some case studies, informant’s reports were more general because no records were kept, and food was bought on a day to day basis. Only 50% of the households interviewed received *kam kam* (social grants); the other half (50%) struggled to make ends meet as they did not have livestock or social grants.

The most challenged households had to look for employment from their neighbours and sold firewood to other community members to make a living. Some communities, because of ‘ubuntu’ (social relationships), donated gallons of maize and beans when they had surplus, to those they perceived to be more vulnerable. Up to 16% of the households received child support grants for either one or more children. The R180 received meant a lot to the family as, to some, this was the only form of acquiring support without supplementing from livestock. Buying groceries for R180 a month sustained some households as they bought only the basics and excluded luxury goods. The basics included ‘samp’, maize meal, cooking oil, flour, rice and washing soap. However, the payments of child support grants have brought social problems, as the youth and other household

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85 Livelihoods portfolios could go beyond income to social satisfaction (see Chambers and Conway, 1998, Ellis, 2000, Sen, 1989).
members have gone on a ‘spree’; encouraging teenagers to fall pregnant so that they could get the R180 as a ‘coping strategy’.86

Very few families received unemployment insurance fund payments or support from family members in other parts of the country. The social network with urban families has been reduced, and those in the rural areas have had increasingly to look at what they have, to sustain a living. Household expenditure was determined by a household’s ability to obtain cash or income from selling natural resources or having employment, especially if they had no livestock. Help from relatives was minimal. Most of the households spent between R100 and R2 000 a month, depending on what they could afford. The ability to utilise the natural resources, such as land and livestock, resulted in some households having some cash to spend on food and other household necessities. Household expenditure in the study differed greatly from one household to another, because of the assets each household had, including livestock.

The people of Upper and Lower Nqadu, Upper and Lower Dadambe and Matolweni spent more income on livestock and food than in other areas. Other costs included health, transport, education and a small amount on electricity.87 24% of the households spent up to R200 a month on food. This cash could have been from social grants or the sale of livestock, self employment, or wool. Some 26% spent between R201 and R400, while 24% spent between R401 and R600, and 14% between R601 and R800. Only 12% spent above R801 a month and this included those working, and one household which owned 858 sheep, 100 cattle and 23 goats (Xubu household). For livestock’s vaccination, dip and dosage, 43% of the households spent between R1 and R200 per annum, 17%

86 This was the sentiment I got from the elderly members I interviewed, who observed what other family members were doing, or had discussed this. One female-headed household confirmed that they had to encourage the abandoned child to look after herself by having a baby so as to get the child grant.
87 Based on the research findings, annual or monthly expenditure is not budgeted or recorded. All households spend only when there is a need. They are not worried about monthly budgeting or calculating how much should be spent in each category.
between R201 and R400, 12% between R401 and R600, 2% between R601 and R800 with 26% spending above R801.

Expectedly, those with large numbers of stock spent more than others. However, this was not conclusive because some households spent less although they had a large number of livestock. It depended on the household’s planning strategies and priorities. Households with children attending school also spent their incomes differently. Those who had more sheep and earnings from work spent more income on education than those with fewer livestock and no jobs, because they could afford to send their children to better schools and to boarding schools. In this case 67% of the households spent between R1 and R200 per annum, 10% spent between R201 and R400, 2% between R401 and R600, 7% between R601 and R800 while 14% spent above R801 per annum for a child, either at a University or college.

Those who spent above R801 on education in a month, spent up to R15 000 in a year. Households did not spend much on electricity because they used firewood, paraffin and cow dung. The majority of households used electricity for lighting and those that were working used electricity for cooking as well. Some 62% used between R1 and R20, 2% spent between R21 and R40, 24% used between R41 and R60 in a month, 10% used between R81 and R100 while 2% used above R101 for electricity. For transport to town to buy groceries or to see the doctor, or for children’s transport to school, each household spent varying amounts in a month. At least, 21% of the households spent between R1 and R20, 45% spent between R21 and R40, 5% between R41 and R60, 5% between R61 and R80, 7% between R81 and R100 while 17% spent above R101.

Those who spent above R101 travelled to work, and had vehicles that they maintained and bought fuel for. Most telephones used were cell phones, but not

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88 I discovered that most of the households spend income on primary and secondary education rather than tertiary. Very few households could afford to send their children to tertiary institutions.
much money was used to buy airtime, by most of the households. For telephones, 54% spent between R1 and R20, 12% spent between R21 and R40, 10% between R41 and R60, 2% between R61 and R80, 10% between R81 and R100 and 12% above R101. With regard to drinking and smoking, a large number of households had members who were not involved in drinking alcohol or smoking (86%), while 14% drank and spent between R150 and R500 per month on alcohol and smoking. Where the money came from for drinking, no one knew. The household could suffer from hunger while the husbands were on a drinking spree. The wives did not know how much was kept for beverages, or whether the husband got it on credit, or where, when and how the money was paid back. No household interviewed had wives or any females involved in drinking. Some drank the African beer ‘Umqomboti’ brewed in the villages, and shared this socially.

These dynamics at village and household level indicated that household and community livelihoods were determined by many factors that surrounded a household economically, socially, politically and traditionally. While livelihoods were shaped and managed at household and village level, external support also shaped the communities’ livelihood portfolios in different ways. Besides the stated introduction of the Massive Food Production Programme (growing crops on a larger scale), the communities were not yet fully involved in the programme, since most of them were old and were not capable of intensive ploughing.

No youth programmes were in place to motivate the youth in livestock and crop farming. The youth argued that if capacitated they could turn around the development of rural areas. Avoiding the participation of the youth in rural development has seen rural poverty deepening and forcing the youth to migrate to towns with the hope of getting jobs. Otherwise they resorted to stealing

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89 Based on the case studies, culture and gender (patriarchal) systems still dominate the rural set up.
90 I had the opportunity to meet in October, during the shearing season, a few youths in Zadungeni who had joined the elderly people as shearers. In Upper Dadambe village I met with the youth who represented their parents on the focus group meeting I had with the community.
livestock to get quick money. This affected the lives of many households as they lost their livestock as the base, through theft. Livestock also disappeared because there was no herder, or they may also have been killed by vehicles on the road. Drought, disease, animal deaths and restrictions by the former government, were limitations that existed in the time of Chief Matanzima, and some of these conditions still persist.

There have been variances in terms of rural livelihoods associated with livestock and off-farm activities per village and household. The variances were determined by household dynamics and complexities. Local knowledge played an important role in how the communities determined their livelihood portfolios socially, politically, economically and culturally with or without support from local government. There has been strong social networking in collective life within rural areas, rather than the capitalist mode of production where every household has to look after itself, as shown in the areas in the study.

Many economists and anthropologists wrote of the significance of cattle (socially, economically and politically) to different communities in various parts of the continent, inclusive of South Africa. This includes authors such as Ainslie (2002a, 2002b, 2002b, 2005); Cousins (1999); De Wet (1981); Ferguson (1992); Kepe (2002); Lahiff (2005); McAllister (1997); Monde (2003); Peires (1998) and others. Cattle in their capacity both as producers of material goods and as symbols of cultural value, can be harnessed by social agents in at least two significant ways, both as economic currency for purposes of accumulation, and as potent symbols of wealth (Ainslie, 2005). Cattle featured strongly in domestic, social and economic relations, helping to define the shifting sands of conjugal, gender and generational relations91. There has been no decrease over time in

91 At the same time, livestock can be, and often is, paraded as a symbol of cultural difference, allowing people to espouse their particular cultural identity and to celebrate their way of life in the face of global economic and cultural influences emanating mostly from the dominant Euro-North American Metropolitan centres. For example, cows are sacred animals in China and India that may not be slaughtered for meat, or sold. They are a spiritual symbol for worship (see Ainslie, 2005).
the need for cattle, but cattle were kept in increasing numbers for social reasons. The number of livestock owned remained an important indication of status, and this militated against stock reduction\textsuperscript{92}. According to the Eastern Cape Agriview magazine, cattle numbers increased by 1,3\% from August 2003 to May 2004. I maintain that in the study areas the numbers per household of cattle has decreased, but that does not rule out the need for having cattle in each household, even those households where cattle were not needed for economic value, but for social and traditional values. The situation differed from one case study to another in terms of cattle holdings. The use of cattle in managing vulnerability was not strong overall as cattle were accumulated as future social wealth. Nearly every household in the villages where the study was conducted had at least one cow (see table 2).

As stated earlier, 89\% of the households interviewed in all villages acquired cattle when they were working in ‘Egoli’ and in the mines. 11\% inherited from their fathers or husbands. Those that bought them during the apartheid era had mostly sold them again, because of limitations from the imposed policies, such as Betterment planning. Some cattle had died and households had to buy twice or thrice to restore the base (cattle).

\textsuperscript{92} Based on primary interviews I had with heads of households in different villages. I had to spend months in Chris Hani, Amathole and Alfred Nzo district municipalities.
Table 2: Village case study on cattle holdings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Type of livestock</th>
<th>Percentage of ownership</th>
<th>Range of numbers per household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zadungeni</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatha</td>
<td></td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>1-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esikobeni</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>1-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Dadambe</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>1-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumakala</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>1-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izingqolweni</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>1-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nobokwe</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xume</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>1-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngqongqora</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>1-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntsinga</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>1-58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were very few households that bought cattle post 1994, because that was the time the majority of men were retrenched and only a few thought of turning their cash into cattle. During the study, only 5% of the households interviewed had bought cattle during 2004. This reflected that cattle were not easily sold or exchanged like any other livestock. During droughts cattle were not sold. The owners preferred to see them dying or enduring until the next season. The buying of cattle by households had nothing to do with commercialisation of cattle, but was to own them for prestige. However, increasingly fewer households were able to even keep cattle and other livestock for prestige or other uses as each case study illustrates. The aim of the case studies below is to outline differences in livelihood strategies, and what livestock meant to different households.

**Case studies**

Mr. Jekwa is a 55 year old head of household involved in a variety of farming activities for his livelihood and had this to say. “I started with 2 cattle when I was
staying with my father. In due course they all died because of persistent droughts. In 1988 I bought one cow, but when they increased to two, I sold them because I thought of starting a Spaza shop, and I bought a car. I ventured into the shop business and today I still have the shop, but it is not the same as having livestock. It is better to have cattle because they are useful when we want to practise rituals, for funeral ceremonies and when one is in need of income. Now if I want to practise rituals I have to buy livestock. This is difficult because sometimes I cannot find them, then I have to travel to nearby villages and sometimes they are costly”. Mr Jekwa lives in Isikobeni village in Intsika Yethu Local Municipality.

Mr. Jekwa’s decision of selling livestock to buy a spaza shop destroyed his base. He thought of getting a quick income, forgetting that livestock had more than economic value and provided also social and cultural satisfaction. However, his decision of how to manage vulnerability was important to his livelihood portfolio.

Mr. Gcelityana, a retired nurse and former policeman in Chatha, was born in 1916. He worked for the apartheid government as a nurse and used his income to buy livestock. He started keeping livestock in 1936. He had 30 cattle, 30 sheep and 3 goats in the 1940s. He bought them while he was working. He got married in 1946 and had his own kraal next to his father’s. Today he has only five cattle because some were stolen. He used to have 4 heifers, 2 oxen, 2 bulls and 2 cows. These were stolen in the forest because of free grazing. He used to sell and eat meat from his cattle. In 2005 he slaughtered two cows, one for a wedding party for his son and one when his pension grant was approved.

93 Cattle were regarded, together with other livestock, as a commodity that could be exchanged, sold, retained or maintained for different purposes in the households (see Ainslie 2002, Ferguson 1992 and Kepe 2002.)
He got milk from his cows when the cows had calves. In the past he used to sell milk to the factory. At the factory they used to test the milk with a machine to check that it was not sour. If sour, they would pay R2 a litre. He did not employ anyone to herd his cattle because his grandsons did that. Cattle were taken to the dip twice a month, although it took him 6 months before the livestock was dosed because the Extension Officers did not come with the dip. Cattle were slaughtered for celebrations and funerals, especially for ancestors. He was responsible for authorising which livestock was to be slaughtered for different livelihood purposes. The grandsons did the slaughtering.

It is important to note that those who used to work bought livestock as their first asset knowing its importance in their whole livelihood, despite earning an income. They made sure the number of livestock increased, to create the base. According to Mr Gcelityana, there used to be cattle-sale pens, but they are no longer there. It is important to note that a household could slaughter a cow costing R2500, to celebrate a social grant of R920 while it is just a regular grant, such as other people were getting. This showed the importance of ‘social satisfaction’ expressed through livestock, rather than groceries or money.

Ms. Mtyhalela, an old woman, said in her interview “We have 10 cattle, 1 sheep, 2 goats, 2 dogs, 3 ducks and 10 chickens. In 2004 we sold 2 goats at R1000 each because they were dying. Of my 10 cattle we sold 2 calves. We do get milk but we do not sell the milk. We sell wool from my one and only sheep when the buyers come (speculators). I sell manure at R5 a wheelbarrow to those with gardens and we use some in my own garden in summer when we grow cabbages, pumpkins, beans, carrots and potatoes. My husband inherited his father’s livestock when he passed away. This was possible because my mother-

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94 Mr Gcelityana was one of the old members of Chatha who were involved in the uprising against Betterment practices, as he was one of the educated ones. He was a policeman before he became a nurse, until the time of his retirement. The person who assisted me with the interviews was his niece.
in-law died first. We started keeping livestock in 1995. We had 20 cattle, 30 chickens and 6 ducks. I have forgotten some of the livestock”.

“I do not remember any restrictions or by-laws imposed on livestock during the apartheid era. Today’s government is providing dipping and dosing. In so far as ownership of livestock is concerned, (uTata) my husband is responsible for the large stock and mine are chickens only, according to our custom. When we get milk we consume it”.

Getting one litre of milk from a cow and consuming it meant that the family did not turn this into monetary value (‘money fetishism’), but consumed it. An Item such as wool was sold to speculators. We need to take note that a household in the area of Chatha village where farmers were not involved in wool growing, could get wool from just one sheep, and sell it while other households with many sheep were not involved in shearing wool (it was not a necessity to them). Getting a few rand from one sheep meant a lot more to such a household, than to a household with 800 sheep.

Though she needed more, she was not worried. At least the sheep produced something for her. There were some households with many sheep who did not even shear the wool, but they had other livelihood strategies. In noticing that her safety-net, besides a child support grant and support from her in-laws, was not enough, she turned to selling manure for R5 a wheelbarrow. This unique livelihood strategy illustrated that R5 may be nothing to other people, but for her it meant a lot. It could buy a head of cabbage. This case study also highlighted the social networks and social relationships between in-laws, which were very hard to find in many of the other case studies.
The Mbangathi household of two, husband and wife, both in their early 90s, assisted each other in answering my questions.\footnote{The Mbangathi family was located in Nyanga village in Chatha where they had a piece of arable land and the commons ‘grazing land’. In terms of resources, the household did not think of having either livestock or ploughing the land, but any resource that could assist them to manage vulnerability, such as social grants, was welcome.}

This is what Mr. Mbangathi said, “I do not have any livestock now but in 1960 I used to have. However, they were stolen or lost, and some of them died. I used to have 11 cattle, 6 goats and 20 sheep. I was born in 1914”, (the wife interrupted and said,” I was born in 1918”). Mr. Mbangathi carried on, saying, I now have only 2 dogs for security reasons, and we are now old”.

The dog nearly bit me when I arrived and I knocked but no one responded. Having dogs in the rural areas provided security and was vital for an old couple with very poor eyesight, and without children. The Mbangathi home felt safe because of the presence of the dogs. Although they did not have cattle, they practised rituals and traditional ceremonies like any other household, using sheep as an alternative. They had to buy livestock for rituals, for them to be protected by their ancestors. The arable land and the garden were not cultivated, but remained their only remaining resource. Having elderly people in the family brought uncertainty as to who could take care of the livestock if they were to invest in them.

Not everyone had cattle, so some had to hire them. The payment for the hired cattle was made some months later in whatever form (in kind, cash, or social appreciation). Social relationships were valued more than cash. At least 60% of the households that had cattle got between 5 and 15 litres of milk per day from their cows. However, there have been cases of households getting 20 litres of milk a day when cows were having calves, depending on the number of cows. Cow dung was used for making fire and as manure. The dung was taken freely from the kraals on a mutual understanding in certain villages, but not in all. This emphasised the meaning and the importance of social relationships in rural...
livelihoods. In some villages, households in need of cow dung had to ‘buy’ from the owner of the kraal, giving him/her a token of appreciation in cash or kind, sometimes with vegetables. In certain villages they had to use cow dung carefully as a scarce resource, for cooking. However, where there was a very poor household, well known to the community, that household was given cow dung freely as a source of heat.

Households in the study areas retained cattle as a source of value and status, as opposed to other livestock which was sold for slaughtering in order to sustain a living. No household opted for slaughtering cattle to sell meat, or for selling a live beast to raise money to send a child to school or University. Instead, to raise the funds, they preferred to sell sheep, or pig’s meat if available, (not goats), or vegetables. Alternatively, they waited for a social grant if there was any grant holder (pension or child support grant) in the household. In this regard, one’s wealth sometimes depended on the social networks that one was involved with, or the bulk of commodities that passed through one’s hand, such as cattle and other livestock. Thus in certain households, cattle no longer served as a ‘bank’ for income or for lobola, as lobola was paid in cash at R2 000 to R2 500 - the equivalent value of a cow. Some households accepted live cattle for lobola but only on rare occasions. Households preferred to starve, surviving on only R250 as a monthly income, rather than sell cattle. Ainslie’s (2005) findings of the Peddie rural cattle farmers selling cattle at a commercial market where buyers came from different parts, was not evident in my study areas.

‘Making options’

The use of cattle for ploughing arable land, rather than the gardens, was no longer common, as most of the households were hardly involved in crop farming, but had become involved in the cultivation of maize in the garden. In the garden, hoes, and sometimes ox-drawn ploughs, were used. Households that ploughed the arable land used more than four cattle, mostly bulls, and sometimes hired tractors. Those that had tractors hired them to those without. They assisted
each other more on social grounds than for profiteering. Households without cattle seldom hired cattle to plough, as they even lacked other resources with which to pay. Their livelihoods were more vulnerable than those with cattle and other livestock. Ox-drawn Scotch-carts were used to carry people to hospital, fetch firewood in the forests, or to convey water and harvests from the field, and fertiliser and manure to the field. Those without cattle used horses and donkeys for ploughing, if they had, also for transport and herding livestock$^{96}$.

However, milk from cows was shared among family members. If there was any surplus, it was sold or given to neighbours or those with school children. Social understanding and networks were more important than profiteering. Sharing with other community members meant more ties and social relations which were more important than riches. Cattle skins from slaughtered animals were used as ropes to pull the wagons or for ploughing, or for yokes, and for making beating drums.

Local Economic Development initiatives did not consider such dynamics of rural livelihoods in its planning process. All planning was universalised and generalised. This undermined the importance of local knowledge. What was interesting in the study was the issue of not wanting to sell cattle to acquire income, but retaining them to establish a base. Households rather raised money from the sale of small stock to buy (amayeza) dosage and dip, or to maintain the kraal. Those that had large stock, like Mr Xubu in Upper Dadambe spent more than R5000 in a year, but he would not sell one cow to get that money. He preferred to sell five of his 868 sheep$^{97}$. Mr. Xubu’s household had more livestock to create the base and was able to choose from the resources he had.

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$^{96}$ Assistance and hiring of cattle for ploughing and transport was done on social grounds as highlighted by Long 2001. There is further significance of cattle as shown by the Fulani and Masai people of Kenya, who drew blood from the live cattle as a source of nutrients. Using a bow and arrow, they shot the main vein in the neck and drained the blood. The blood was drunk while it was warm so that they could gain nutrients (Documentary, 2007). The blood was shared among family members with the eldest first. Such management of vulnerability is unique and not found in the study areas.

$^{97}$ It is true that in twenty years the conservative, traditional old people of today will be dead but there will still be old people, and if their structural position has not changed they will continue to
Cattle created and strengthened relationships in the study areas, and unified families during marriages, as in the case of Mr. Xubu, where he paid lobola to the bride’s family. In the study area of Matolweni a polygamist had two wives, and children from two wives. During the marriage of the second wife, the husband had to consult with the elder wife for the needs of the second wife which was not disputed at all by the first wife. The reason for the second wife was the need to increase the internal labour force. Eight live cattle were paid to the bride’s family, and she was given her own arable land and house. The land was apportioned from the land the husband had. However, the kraal of 250 sheep and 70 cattle were at the eldest wife’s house. The wives worked well with each other, created networks and had good relations. 50 goats were kept at the younger wife’s kraal but no reason was given why goats had to be kept at that particular kraal. The family as a whole had daily routine work to do, and woke up early in the morning to cook breakfast of home baked bread and tea, and went to work, some to the fields and some to herd sheep and cattle. In the evening the two wives had to cook according to a duty roster. Such notions of household social welfare were not disputed, though some husbands in certain households became victims of HIV and AIDS as a polygamist who got into a new relationship without knowing the health status of the woman, leading to the infection of the first wife.

**Any cattle left? Human capital, HIV and AIDS.**

The present scenario in the communities and households in the rural areas is threatening, as young people are dying and leaving the elderly ones alone, with their natural resources (livestock) becoming extinct. Alternatively, young men and women increasingly leave the rural areas, tired of the ‘same routine of rural life’, and migrate to neighbouring rural townships or urban areas looking for a better life. They were ‘tired’ of herding cattle, sheep and goats and see more

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support the customs which are in their interests, for which they in turn will be characterised as traditional (Ferguson, 1992 p.164). These cultural practices continue. As highlighted in chapter eight on the cultural values of livestock in the livelihoods of the communities, and households in particular, this section highlights in brief the importance of cattle as a social capital.
opportunity in urban areas. Many became victims of HIV and AIDS, together with some who had left home a long time ago, and are no longer even communicating with their families, or going back home to support them. The cattle they left because they did not want to look after them, now have to be supported by them when they return home, nearing death\textsuperscript{98}. A family has to look for beasts to slaughter on the day of the funeral, to please the spirit. In a case where a household did not have cattle, they have to look for funds to buy one by selling other livestock, or alternatively buy on credit and pay later. These are the complexities and dynamics in the livelihoods of the rural set-up of the Eastern Cape\textsuperscript{99}.

Cattle has become more embedded socially, and less so economically, in the study areas, so much so that no economic development programmes were in place to revitalize the cattle economy by selling on the market and selling ‘inyama’ meat to the butcheries. The households, despite the difficulties of poverty, shocks and stress, showed their unwillingness to part with their cattle and other livestock. However, they slaughtered them for ‘imicimbi’ funeral ceremonies and other rituals. The social, cultural and traditional symbolism of rural livelihoods was much more important than profit-making, commercialization and marketing. The selling of natural resources, such as livestock and crops, was done by some households who had surplus. The communities in the study areas have maintained their social and cultural societies\textsuperscript{100}. Here are a few further case studies to illustrate these dynamics:

\begin{quote}
Mr. Malabile, a husband of two wives and father of five children, had a number of livestock. He had this to say, “I am 50 years old and I am head of a household.”
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{98} In January 2006 I visited a household in Bolotwa where two youngsters (son and daughter) of one household were back from Durban where they had been since they left home after completing matric in 1999, now they were back home, ill and HIV positive.

\textsuperscript{99} As argued by Du Toit 2006, p.125 a crucial point is that social capital is usually mobilised within a context that places a strong cultural emphasis on reciprocity and exchange.

\textsuperscript{100} Based on the research, social relationships are crucial, but creating the base and keeping livestock as a base not in monetary value is valid for all the households, although they exchange livestock for cash when income is needed.
We are 14 in the family with 11 children and I am a polygamist. I am not employed and do not have any other source of income. Yes, we receive child support grants, but the main source of income now is livestock. I do grow crops, but not on a large scale. I have 60 cattle, 500 sheep, 23 goats, 20 chickens and 12 horses. I sell my horses for those in need, also chickens sometimes, and sheep regularly, because I have enough. Cattle I rarely sell. Wool is my other source of income, as I sell through the association. I am responsible for the movement of the tent as it stays at my place. I harvested 100 bags of maize and I sold at R150 a bag but I did not sell all of them since my family is large. On food I spend R500 a month; R50 for electricity, health is free, transport R24, and for education I pay R125 a year. For a cell phone I spent R100. Livestock is where I spend a lot- up to R9800 in a year for ‘amayeza’ and R2500 for cattle. I do not spend anything on goats and horses. My problem is ‘sheep scabs’ and my lambs die in numbers. Stealing is such a problem that I have to spend the whole day in the field, rather than at home. Otherwise my children have to herd them, as I do not employ any one”.

It is critical to highlight that, having a vast number of sheep and cattle meant Mr. Malabile could manage vulnerability, and develop coping strategies. However, he called himself poor, like any other household member of the community. Socially he has developed social networks with neighbours, together with members of the WGA, because of the resources and the respect he receives from the community. Food security in terms of milk, meat and even cash from selling livestock and wool is created by these resources (livestock).

He prioritised buying livestock medication, because he gained a lot from them, and maybe less from the arable land. In terms of social capital, the networks were created. As a polygamist he was respected, but the community were not happy because of the large numbers of livestock he had. The capacity and capability of the Malabile household to cope and manage vulnerability through livestock differed from those that had few livestock. However, they all called
themselves poor. Whether Mr. Malabile could become a commercial farmer and join the ‘first economy’ - by keeping livestock intensively, and increasing wool production with his large flock, or beef production - is a matter for conjecture, as he lacked the expertise and input required by a commercial farmer.

Ms. Msweli, a female head of household, had this to say; “I started living here in 1994 when we decided to have our own house. I was staying with my family in Xolobew when I made this decision. I started having livestock in 1991; I had 3 cattle, 10 sheep, 2 goats, 1 dog and 1 pig. Well, since then the number of my livestock has increased, despite the droughts, diseases, pests and theft. I managed to buy livestock and later they increased. I have no idea what happened in the apartheid system. But what I can say is that people used to get veterinary services, that is, dipping and dosing. Today, also, we get dipping and dosing. I am satisfied with the stock I have because I can look after them. I am the owner of all my livestock\textsuperscript{101}. During drought I buy lucerne and molasses for the livestock.

I normally slaughter when I want meat, and I tell my sons to do so. I make decisions on what is to be slaughtered, and when. I normally sell sheep when there are a lot of rams or lambs, when the sheep look healthy, or when there is a problem. I sell them to the community who may be in need of ‘imisebenzi’ (ritual ceremonies) or for any problem they may be having. The money I get I use to buy vaccinations, dosage and groceries as well. Sometimes, if the money is sufficient, I buy a cow to increase numbers. For ritual and funeral ceremonies it depends on what a household has. For example, I can slaughter cattle or sheep, but others do not have these, hence they can even use chickens, or buy a sheep. My other form of subsistence is a garden where I grow maize, beans, pumpkins, potatoes, cabbages and vegetables. Mostly I get 15 bags of maize, 2 bags of beans. I spend less on electricity, and water and health services are

\textsuperscript{101} Ms Msweli owns all forms of livestock because she inherited it. In certain cases the husband may be responsible for all livestock, if he is not married or his wife has died. He would then look after chickens as well.
free. I spend more on education and transport for school children and food. Life is tough but I make ends meet through livestock”.

This is a case study of a female-headed household involved in selling livestock she inherited. The 148 sheep were not for wool. Sheep were kept as a base for accumulation, slaughter and selling. If wool was shorn by this household, it would have reduced its vulnerability. But, these are differences that one could identify from one household to another. Levels of satisfaction with the numbers of livestock differed between households. Some households, even when they had many, were not satisfied and wanted more. Here the Msweli family was satisfied with the numbers they had, because they could manage them. What is not known is what she meant by “managing”. Is it that she could feed them, herd, dose and dip them regularly, or it is a matter of having a kraal to shelter them and be satisfied with the numbers?

Zandisile Ngqonqora of ward 22 said, “I have 7 cattle, 120 sheep, 3 chickens, 1 horse, 1 pig and 4 dogs. My cattle are for milk and selling. Sometimes I use them for ploughing, but these days I hire a tractor\(^{102}\). My sheep are mainly for wool, though sometimes I sell and slaughter. I do not have goats and my 3 chickens are for meat and eggs. The horse I use for transport and when looking for my lost stock. Pigs are for meat as well, and when there are many I sell some. Now they are no longer there because of swine fever. Dogs are for security and no one can come here without permission. In the past year, 2004, I did not buy any livestock. The milk from cows is for consumption. I get meat from sheep, pigs and cattle. Cow dung we use in the garden and for making a fire to supplement our electricity. I do pay someone to herd my livestock. I contract my neighbour, who does not have livestock or any other source of income, to herd my livestock, for which I pay R300 a month. I attend to the maintenance of the kraal. I hire my neighbour, not because I am rich, but

\(^{102}\) Based on the findings, the hiring of a tractor by a farmer for ploughing has two meanings; either he can afford to do so to increase production or he has to sacrifice by selling a beast to be able to hire the tractor. The aim is to sustain a living.
because I see that he is poorer than I am, because he does not have livestock or any source of income”. “In doing so I receive assistance so that my livestock are not stolen from the grazing land. The herder takes livestock to the field in the morning, and comes back in the evening. Before he goes we make sure he has a cup of tea with us (social relationships between the employer and employee). I do not feed my stock regularly but I do buy dosage and dip for sheep and cattle. Sometimes I feed sheep during a drought. We have a common dip for cattle but ticks are so numerous, even after dipping, that I have to dip them alone. I spend R500 on dip and pesticides, especially for ‘sheep scabs’ that destroys the wool. The problem is, after dipping, the sheep mix again with those untreated in the grazing land and so I cannot totally eradicate sheep scabs. I do not have any other source of income apart from my sheep and other livestock. No one can live in the rural areas today, relying on crop farming, because it is uncertain, but with livestock you have a choice. With income from livestock, I am able to pay school fees, buy groceries for R600 a month, ‘amayeza’, ‘umbani’ and pay for health issues”.

This was a case study of a household that could employ someone to herd livestock and spent a significant amount on livestock disease control and dosage. With money from sheep they could meet some of their basic needs. The choice of selling sheep as meat was minimal as they were kept for wool. There was much emphasis on wool production. In this case study, for the death of a daughter or son a different amount of livestock was slaughtered. Such local initiatives are culturally embedded.

I interviewed Mr. Nyakomtsha. He had this to say. “I have 19 cattle, 400 sheep and 10 goats. As for chickens, I do not know how many there are because there are many. I have two horses that I use for riding and when searching for lost sheep. Pigs are less than 10 but I do not know the exact number now. I also

103 Based on the case study, those with horses are satisfied and find their farming, or looking for livestock, easier than those without horses. Having no horses is not much of a problem to them
have 14 geese. I sell sheep at R500 each and at the moment I have 110 lambs which, if I want to sell, I can sell at R300. I do not get milk from either goats or cows. Skins of sheep and cattle I sell for R20. Sheep provide me with meat, and cow dung I use as manure and for cooking, and sometimes for polishing the floor. I pay a neighbour R400 a month for herding my livestock, but the maintenance of the kraal and the fence I do myself\textsuperscript{104}. I do not feed my cattle or sheep. I buy dip for my sheep, but the cattle I take to the community dip. My other source of income is my wife’s pension. I am still working. This income, together with that from livestock, we use for our daily needs, food, grocery, transport, education, electricity and telephone.

I was born here and I started living in the trust land in 1960. I acquired my own livestock in 1967; I bought 10 sheep and 2 cattle. In the 1960s there was a problem of culling of cattle and we were told to pay tax for every animal we had. We were given dip and dosage and if anyone was found with livestock that had not been dipped, he was fined or taken to court. Today the only support as far as livestock is concerned, is dip and dosage- nothing more. I do get wool from my sheep but it is still not enough. I need to introduce the Dohne Merino rams into the stock. Some introduced the Dohne Merino rams but the rams died. Maybe they could not adapt\textsuperscript{105}. I have six members in my family, that is: my wife, four daughters and one grandson. All livestock belongs to me except (hagu) pigs and chickens. During drought I buy lucerne and supplements for sheep, but for cattle I do not do anything, I just leave them. If they survive, fine, if not, wel,l they die. I slaughter when I need meat and I am the one who decides which sheep to slaughter. I sell when someone wants to buy or when I have a problem myself. For a funeral of an elderly person, I slaughter cattle, even for a son or daughter.

\textsuperscript{104} Based on the case study, a household decides to employ someone not because he is rich or he is also occupied, but because of either age or disability, or because he is working, or to help the neighbour sustain a living.

\textsuperscript{105} Based on the findings, the Dohne Merino rams are distributed into the villages by the Departments of Agriculture in each municipality. Some DOA give to each wool farmer while others consider those who are organized, as WGAs.
above 30 years. For those below 30 years we use 7-10 sheep. Some people say it is waste to slaughter so many sheep for a funeral, but they do not know that for us, as Xhosa people, our culture is more important than profit. We know that the spirit of the dead will protect us. He is dead in flesh but is alive in spirit. I have been selling for the past 9 years and getting about R2000 a year because my wool was not of good quality. I would also like to have the Nguni type of cattle introduced into my stock for improvement of the breed. I know the University of Fort Hare has an Nguni farm, and are helping other people.”

Having large numbers of sheep gave the household a good turnover from the sales. This indicated the importance of having sheep. However, the community, including the household of the Nyakomtsha, did not take into consideration the environmental degradation caused by having large numbers of stock. No one was responsible for veld fires or over-grazing; although in other villages (Upper Nqadu and Matolweni) there was a communal agreement from the chief not to graze certain parts of the grazing land, even if unfenced. If livestock was found grazing in that area, the owner had to pay a fine of R20 per beast. Such local knowledge from the community was worth far more than imposed rules and regulations on environmental conservation. On another note, the interest of a household in improving cattle breeding by introducing the Nguni breed indicated how a household chose to set aside the cultural significance of cattle for economic reasons, like fattening cattle for sale. This meant that a family could, if it had enough resources at household level, spend money on feeding livestock and paying someone to maintain the kraal. However, this did not mean that the person was not poor. Husbands tended not to know the number of chickens because they did not belong to them. However, when a wife wanted to slaughter, he had to be informed and was given a big piece of meat (dynamics of culture and livelihood) and his plate was served first. This piece of meat showed respect to the head of the household. Very few households had wives with working husbands. In this case study, although the husband worked, he considered his livestock important. Those who were not members of the Wool Growers Association struggled to get the Dohne Merino rams, as the DoA said
non-wool members were not organized and the department preferred working with organised rural farmers.

**Conclusion**

The immediate needs of households to sustain their livelihoods led them to be creative, manage vulnerability using local knowledge, and use their capacities and capabilities to build livelihood portfolios. The study argues that ignoring the realities, in the rural areas, of how the rural poor survive and adopt coping livelihood strategies through livestock and other resources, is doing an injustice to the traditional knowledge that people have used to manage poverty, their livestock and livelihoods. How rural people use social capital, such as social grants, and the role they play in decision-making on strategies and activities that affect their prospects, depends on each household’s resources. They are responsible for how they get into and out of poverty, and how they build livelihood portfolios from livestock, despite deepening poverty. Looking into particular ways in which off-farm and on-farm resources are used, could provide an opportunity to understand the various ways of managing vulnerability despite local governments’ intervention in livestock production.

Therefore, individuals or households determine their livelihoods through their capacity to manage vulnerability, through their capabilities of ‘having and using’ or ‘not having resources’. Thus, the natural, financial, social and physical capital at their disposal is mediated through local knowledge and practice. The case studies illustrate that rural people, in the midst of poverty and local government support of rural development, determine their livelihood portfolios according to more than ‘need’, and this becomes even more apparent and local when support is ‘top-down’.

It is important to note that rural people continue to use their knowledge of how to sustain their living, using resources that surround them, despite the introduction of broad, unclear and top-down policies, such as the Provincial Growth and
Development Plans designed by the Eastern Cape Province, the promotion of Massive Food Programmes and other Local Economic Development programmes and policies. The study argues that social capital, micro economic, and the associated notion of cultural capital, are seen as essential building blocks for entrepreneurial activity. Social and cultural capital provide the institutions, practices and subsidised resources with a range of activities between the state and the market, as well as within the dynamics of the markets to help underwrite appropriate economic activity. Rural livelihoods have proved to be influenced by the household’s well-being and social networks within and outside the village, but with fewer relations with urban networks where urban relatives were no longer involved in supporting the rural members.

In the presence of the top-down institutional support, household livelihoods varied to some extent between those households that had land and livestock, and who grew crops on the arable land and in the gardens, as compared to those who had arable land but did not plough the land and sometimes had no livestock but were dependent on social grants. Institutional interventions had mixed results as the planners did not take into consideration the demography of the rural areas where most of the people were above 60 years and could not be viably involved in economic activities. The following chapter outlines institutional support around wool production and rural livelihoods in Chris Hani and Amathole District Municipalities.
CHAPTER VII

RULIV’S INTERVENTION IN RURAL WOOL FARMING IN MBASHE AND EMALAHLENI LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES

Introduction
From the dynamic and complex livelihood perspective of managing vulnerability through livestock and other resources explained in the previous chapter, this chapter highlights the technical interventions of Ruliv, in collaboration with local government, in rural wool production. The forces that have shaped the growth of South Africa’s agriculture over the last century have had little positive effect over the transition to more capitalist forms of agriculture, or on the more traditional and household subsistence economies of the former Ciskei and Transkei homelands in the Eastern Cape (Lahiff, 2005). The new approaches to rural development in the Eastern Cape include the introduction of sustainable rural development encompassed in the PGDP, ISRDP, IDP and LED policies (Bank, 2002). The implementation of Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programmes (ISRDP) that encompass crops and livestock (wool) projects, and their meaning and implementation for transforming the livelihoods of rural people in the Eastern Cape, have had mixed meanings for the livelihoods of the wool farmers, as will be elaborated in this chapter.

The chapter outlines institutional support given to wool farmers in the rural areas by Ruliv in the villages of Mbashe and Emalahleni Local Municipalities. As such, the chapter is partly concerned with revealing the form and nature of support for rural development by examining case studies of Mbashe and Emalahleni Local Municipalities. I reveal the dynamics and causes of uneven support of rural
farmers in the villages that benefited from the wool project\textsuperscript{106}. In this regard it will be important to explore how sheep became an important livestock to the rural poor of the Eastern Cape.

**Broader context of sheep farming**

Sheep farming was well established in the western and southwestern Cape during the 1830s. In 1820, settlers played an important role in this extension and development of Merino flocks (Grwambi, 2005). In 1834 the Great Trek started and the Voortrekkers took their sheep flocks northwards with them. Within a few years the Merino had spread to all parts of the country (Provincial Department of Agriculture, 2006 p. 36). From 1891 considerable numbers of Merinos of the American Vermont type were brought to South Africa. However, it was found that the Australian Merino, the Wanganella and Peppin types, were best suited to improve flocks (Grwambi, 2005). Large numbers of this breed were imported\textsuperscript{107}.

With all the different types of sheep forming the basis, the South African breeders have succeeded in developing typical Merinos on a par with the best in the world. Merinos have developed in the course of more than 200 years, forming the backbone of South Africa’s Agricultural Industry\textsuperscript{108}. However, the sheep found in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape today are not purely of the Merino type, such that the Department of Agriculture is attempting to re-introduce Dohne Merino rams to improve the breed. This raises the question of the origin of the so-called indigenous sheep. Local government and NGO (GTZ/Ruliv) interventions in improving wool quality and breed is an indication that such sheep are not Merinos.

\textsuperscript{106} I had the opportunity of spending two months, from January 2007 in the two municipalities, liaising with the wool farmers, members of the Wool Growers Association, and non-members. It was interesting to note that those who did not benefit from Ruliv intervention included even those who had more than 200 sheep, and members, with some having five sheep.

\textsuperscript{107} Based on the findings, the Dohne Merino sheep are still scarce in the rural Eastern Cape though efforts of introducing the rams are on the way.

The Promotion of Rural Livelihoods Programme was established as a logical progression or extension of the Community Based Development Planning (CBDP) (Project promotion of rural livelihoods programme LED seminar, 2002).

The Community Based Development Planning Project (CBDP), based on the Policy Research, Planning and Strategy Development branch in the Office of the Premier, started in 1997 as a joint initiative between government, civil society institutions and local community groups. It was established to test and institutionalize suitable participatory methods and instruments for community participation in development planning and policy implementation in the Eastern Cape Province.

The Programme was supported by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), on the basis of a government-to-government agreement between South Africa and Germany. GTZ is a German parastatal, commissioned by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) of Germany, to implement Germany's contribution to development projects of partner institutions (GTZ/Ruliv, 2001). GTZ is known for providing technical assistance in development planning and management, professional expertise, organizational development, capacity building and project implementation to partnerships. However, the chapter will highlight how the project was implemented, and how, later, GTZ pulled out of the programme of supporting rural farmers in the Eastern Cape through the Rural Livelihoods Programme.

109 In the Eastern Cape a wide variety of development programmes have been in place in the past 12 years of democracy, but the question that may be asked is, to what extent have such efforts been effective?

110 The information was extracted from GTZ/Ruliv (2003).

111 The interview I had with one of Ruliv's technical staff in February 2007 revealed that they did not agree with how GTZ wanted the programme to unfold. It had its own agenda and strategies to implement the project. It wanted to implement the project in the way rural development takes place in Germany, not how local people perceived wool production.
The major objectives of the Ruliv programme were to improve the sustainable rural livelihoods for disadvantaged communities in the Eastern Cape Province, to organise and empower poor low-income farm and non-farm community groups, and to sustainably utilise and manage resources (GTZ/Ruliv, 2003). The other objective was to create opportunities for the generation of income and employment, based on farming and natural resource management and thus to generate commercialisation of local wool production where the market was the key. The rural wool farmers were supposed to be well versed in market trends and 'price fluctuation' on the market, and to have wool records and weekly reports of how the market was performing. The farmers were supposed to be technically well versed about the market. However, such dreams and strategies remained in the pipeline and did not materialize, as will be discussed in this chapter.

Communal wool growers in the Mbashe Local Municipality (focusing on the Willowvale area) and Emalahleni Local Municipality were supported in the sustainable expansion of the production, processing and marketing of wool (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). In order to actively support the potential for wool growing and value-adding to wool, a local grant fund was established for the promotion of related activities (GTZ/Ruliv, 2004). The local grant fund was made available as part of GTZ’s contribution to the programme, and intended to benefit communal farmers (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001).

The areas were also identified according to the nature of the agricultural activity in which Ruliv could intervene, centered around disadvantaged sheep and wool farmers in rural areas of Mbashe and Emalahleni Local Municipalities (Mbashe LED report, 2002). These two local municipalities in the former Transkei were identified as having a higher potential for wool production than any other form of livestock production, although other agricultural possibilities were identified in
Mbashe, such as the potential for fruit and vegetable and maize farming, forestry, and irrigation farming (Mbashe Local Municipality IDP, 2005/6). Emalahleni Local Municipality was classified as an agricultural Municipality focusing on wool production (Emalahleni Local Municipality IDP, 2005/6). Ruliv chose to support wool growing in these two areas because of the already existing volume of sheep holding. This was where sheep production in some form was practised by most of the rural people in the villages of the two local municipalities (Mbashe LED report, 2002). Ruliv aimed to encourage and improve wool production within a wider context of an integrated livestock production approach. Despite the listing of a range of possible and necessarily important interventions, Ruliv decided to focus on the ‘shearing tent concept’ as the major vehicle through which interventions could be defined, targeted, managed, and evaluated as part of an integrated approach (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001).

The shearing tent project was built around forming wool growers associations in Mbashe and Emalahleni Local Municipalities. Ruliv purchased two shearing tents for Mbashe and Emalahleni Local Municipalities, with all the necessary facilities for shearing and sorting wool. The National Wool Growers Association (NWGA) was contracted by Ruliv to assist in the management of the pilot phase, where support was intended to be given to the wool producers whenever needed (Wool production report Mbashe, 2003). The wool producers were expected to forward their support needs to the NWGA, such as the need for training, management issues, linkages, and access to inputs. During the whole process the extension officers were also meant to play an important role in facilitating the services. The accountability of the officers was questionable as well. The associated genetic improvement programme, through the provision of rams, set out to have a visible impact on sheep and on the quality of wool, within a few years. It was planned to further supply all associations with appropriate quality rams.
The rural villages that benefited from the tent were; Cumakala, Ntsinga and Izingqolweni in Emalahleni Local Municipality. However, this study included other villages such as, Thandanani and Mboniswa which did not benefit from the tent, but were supposed to identify any similarities and differences in terms of wool production. These villages also had formed Wool Growers Associations. In Mbashe the villages that benefited from the tent were Upper and Lower Nqadu, Upper and Lower Dadambe, Matolweni, Weza and Mnandi. The research included other villages that did not use the tent, as a basis of comparison, including Maxhama and Bolotwa.

Ruliv suggested that in order to improve the quality and quantity of wool per sheep a total of 120 rams, through a ram-bartering system under the National Wool Growers Association (NWGA), had to be introduced, and a further 109 rams had to be purchased by private farmers in a range of localities. Factors identified, which prevented households and farmers from farming the way they wanted, included shortage of farming equipment, financial constraints and lack of experience and expertise. Other concerns included the need to remove speculators, the need to develop infrastructure, and the lack of key capacities and skills, ranging from management and business to marketing, leadership and planning, communication and implementation skills. Despite the listing of a range of possible and necessary interventions, Ruliv appears to have concentrated on the introduction of shearing sheds as the major vehicle through which interventions could be defined, targeted, managed, and evaluated as part of an integrated approach which would lead most directly and speedily to creating a market, improving quality and thus commercialising local wool production.

Another purpose of the tent was not only to shear the sheep, but also to be a collaborative vehicle for training and assistance in wool grading, classing and packing to industrial standards for marketing through the commercial auction system. This was therefore seen as a vehicle for better prices (Ruliv, 2003). The
related process of genetic improvement (the ram project) was thus also seen as having the potential to link to this initiative, as it would improve the quality of wool. Through the process, the broader aim was to encourage wider and better wool production that would both affect overall income and livelihoods for as many households as possible, as they become involved. This would also encourage greater economic opportunity towards greater commercialization of individual successful farmers.

Thus, Ruliv introduced the shearing shed with the following terms and conditions: In order to access the available funds, wool growers in the Willowvale, Mbashe and Emalahleni Local Municipal areas were supposed to have an established Wool Growers Association affiliated to the Provincial and National Wool Growers Association; Clear elaborated terms of reference for the association, with an elaborated code of conduct, elected office bearers (chairperson, secretary and treasurer), a membership list, (available and updated regularly), together with the number of sheep per member, and minutes of all meetings of the association were supposed to be properly kept for scrutiny by members (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). A steering committee was established to oversee the correct use of funds according to criteria set (both in terms of pre-conditions). Members for the steering committee were nominated from the following institutions, which were to forward an elected individual to participate on the steering committee: These included the Eastern Cape Provincial branch chairperson, the Mbashe/Emalahleni Wool Growers Association representatives, Department of Agriculture (Local or Regional staff) and RULIV Management Team and GTZ Adviser (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). The whole process was technical, rule bound, already planned, literate, and directive, all top-down, cultivated and imposed on the wool associations to implement. Whether or not this was a successful planning procedure is what the chapter outlines.
Requests for funds were to be made in writing and forwarded to the steering committee at least one week before the meeting. Funds could be used for the development of infrastructure for wool production, for dipping tanks, shearing sheds, camp fencing and sorting tables. Alternatives for conventional infrastructure were also considered, such as fences and appropriate technology, provision of an improved “gene pool of rams” and other materials such as, ear tags and dipping chemicals. Exposure trips to successful examples of fellow farmers in the Province and beyond were supposed to be arranged (The concept of the shearing tents draft paper, 2002). Such technical arrangements were not easily understood by the illiterate rural sheep farmer.

Through the collaboration of GTZ/Ruliv with NWGA, the Ikwezi Woolgrowers Association (IWA) was established. GTZ/Ruliv facilitated the development of the guiding document of the Association. GTZ/Ruliv quickly realised that the non-availability of proper shearing sheds, sheep management skills, shearing skills and the treatment of sheep diseases, were all key to the successful implementation of a wool production programme (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). GTZ/Ruliv also linked the project to service providers that sell medication for treating sheep diseases\(^\text{112}\). GTZ/Ruliv then piloted the use of the shearing tents during shearing season. The tent was ordered from East London and came with all the necessary shearing equipment. It was managed by the Wool Associations, assisted by the NWGA.

In 2002, the Emalahleni Local Municipality (ELM) also requested GTZ/Ruliv to facilitate the process. The two parties agreed that the process would be in three phases: (1) assessment and support of the institutional capacity to drive the strategy once developed, (2) appointment of service providers to assess progress made on the implementation of the plan developed during the first phase as well as the state of the operational environment in terms of strengths,

\(^{112}\) Whether such technically planned processes materialised is outlined in the chapter.
weaknesses, opportunities and threats\textsuperscript{113}. While still in a process of strategy development the municipality would (3) then select agricultural projects that were simple, impacting on a greater number of individuals, easy to replicate, as well as self-financing (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001).

There was one tent for each Local Municipality and each tent was supposed to be transported in vans or bakkies or on a trailer pulled by a tractor and moved from one village to another\textsuperscript{114}. The idea was to have this shearing tent service run as a business, and/or have the association of wool producers running and managing the service themselves (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). The association of local wool producers was expected to organise the transportation of the tents and to develop a work plan for the utilisation of the shearing tents. Ruliv’s local facilitator, in consultation with the Associations of wool producers, selected Cumakala village in Emalahleni to launch the project (Promotion of rural livelihoods programme LED seminar, 2002). It was anticipated that if successful, (again, as indicated above) it would lead to Ruliv assisting all local wool associations in the mobilisation of resources to purchase more tents\textsuperscript{115}. This was a huge task which needed more than theoretical planning.

In the joint initiative of NWGA and ECDC, a shearing tent committee was constituted in each of the two Local Municipalities. Each committee consisted of 12 representatives of local Wool Growers Associations or communities and each was headed by an elected chairman. The committee was supposed to be responsible for the management of the tent until the tent was paid off (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). It was part of the concept that the money for the purchase of the tents, via (ECDC) funding,

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{113} Ruliv’s 2004 meeting with municipal officials at Emalahleni Local Municipality
\item\textsuperscript{114} Such planning did not take into consideration the real situation of transport, nor how the rural villages were linked to each by access roads badly in need of repair.
\item\textsuperscript{115} National Wool Growers Association 2006.
\end{itemize}
was supposed to be paid back completely to ECDC through a standard structure related to a percentage of the wool price. In the long term the NWGA was supposed to decide if the involved communities showed enough commitment and development, then a proper shearing shed would be provided, and the tent would be taken to other areas. The envisaged time frame to pay the tent off was four years (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). Whether or not this was achievable is what the chapter unveils.

The Wool Growers Association as the main beneficiaries of the tent were supposed to: own the tent from the very beginning and be responsible for the whole management and maintenance process; make sure that the tent was moved around among the villages; ensure that the books were kept in order and that the process kept to schedule; pay back the financing costs of the tent through a levy of 70 cents per kg of wool being processed through the tents, (deducted by the broker and submitted to a bank account) and make sure that neighbouring associations would become involved, and have access to the tent and shearing opportunities (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). A smaller levy from their wool production was expected to be deducted and forwarded to the bank account to cover the cost of the tent (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). This meant that the model was meant to work on the idea that the more farmers who were involved and the more sheep shorn through the tents, the quicker the tent would be paid off. This proved not to be a reality as farmers were affected by the fluctuations (lower prices) on the wool market.

During the whole process the extension officers were also meant to play an important role. Together with NWGA and the local facilitators of Ruliv, they were to supervise and advise the community, and assist the community in managing the tent to cover the area. This meant that in close cooperation with all relevant stakeholders and neighbouring Wool Growers Associations and communities,
they would assist the Association in setting up a shearing schedule for the area (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). Doing so, every willing community would then get the chance to take part in the process (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). However, this was not an easy process. They would also assist the Wool Growers Association in keeping their books, and supervise that the tent was in the agreed places in time to provide access for the next shearing association. This was to avoid potential conflicts with other associations\textsuperscript{116}. As will be shown in the following paragraphs this was not easily practicable. The associated genetic improvement programme, through the provision of rams, was set to have a visible impact on sheep and on the quality of wool within a few years. It was planned to further supply the associations with appropriate quality rams. The idea was to swap one quality ram for two of low quality. At the same time, the remaining indigenous rams would be castrated to prevent them from reproduction. Furthermore, this system would help to reduce stock density in the overgrazed fields (Contract between Ruliv and NWGA regarding the Shearing Tents, 2001). Such theoretical understandings of rural communities’ functionings, and their dynamics and complexities, often resulted in top-down approaches to rural development and to failure.

A related process entailed the participation of Wool Brokers and envisaged a more structured relationship through the brokers, with the wool auction market, via better quality, and grading of wool, and thus via the shed initiative. The broker\textsuperscript{117} would also deduct a certain amount from the value of the wool processed through the tents, and would forward the money to a bank account, administered by GTZ/Ruliv (Wool production report Mbashe, 2003). Such top-down approaches, artificially introducing ‘markets from the outside’ via expertise do not work in a generalized, mapped approach, of ‘one size fits all’. Each local space has its own specifics that need to be taken into consideration. In terms of

\textsuperscript{116} Such technical agreements were superficial and unrealistic. 
\textsuperscript{117} The controversial role of brokers will be highlighted in the next sections.
the actual project, interventions around the shearing tents entailed a technical process; the delivery of equipment constituted by a complete set of a tent, shears, sorting table, pressing machine and storage fences. The study moves from a general descriptive account of the actual ‘technical’ processes, through to a more evaluative assessment, looking more in-depth at the actual experience, understanding, capability and vulnerability related to wool production and to the interventions ‘from below’.

Ruliv’s interventions in Wool Production in Emalahleni Local Municipality
As expected and planned for, there were a range of institutions involved, including GTZ/Ruliv, the Local Municipalities (LED), Department of Agriculture at provincial, district and local level, the Eastern Cape Development Corporation (as funder), representatives from the National Wool Growers Association and Wool Brokers, in addition to the local Wool Growers Associations and related communities at village level (Wool production report Mbashe, 2003). There were 68 Wool Growers Associations in Emalahleni and of these only three villages used the tent. Of these villages, Cumakala has one WGA, Ntsinga has two WGAs and Izingqolweni has one WGA.

In other words, only 3 WGAs have used the tent in Emalahleni since 2002. In 2001 and 2002 wool seasons, Cumakala Wool Growers Association used the tent. In 2003 no village or association used it as neither the municipality nor a stipulated village had funds to transport the tent. In 2004 Ntsinga WGA used the tent and in 2005 Zingqolweni WGA used it. It is reported and argued that this limited mobility was partly because of the terrain in the municipality. The area is mountainous and the villages are far apart, and it was suggested that transporting the heavy tent was not possible, or possibly farmers did not have the financial means to access and move the tent around\textsuperscript{118} (interviewed wool farmers).

\textsuperscript{118} I arrived in Ntsinga village a day later, after I had made an appointment with the wool farmers. I could not get there sooner as I was occupied interviewing other wool farmers in Thandanani
Each village had one or two Wool Growers Associations with 20 to 60 members, but the numbers in other villages were declining because members had ‘lost motivation’. In the bigger picture, in the Emalahleni Local Municipality there were only 8 fixed shearing sheds and the rest of the associations used any buildings that were made available, such as rondavels\textsuperscript{119}. It is important to note, though, that the introduction of fixed shearing sheds led certain Wool Growers Associations to leave the shearing tent initiative (Cumakala). In the case of Cumakala the villagers formed the WGA when they were mobilised and those willing to join, did so, and benefited from the tent. The other villages included Zingqolweni, Ntsinga, Thandanani Wool Growers Association in Boomplaas, Boniswa, and Cumakala. Cumakala, Ntsinga and Zingqolweni had access to Ruliv’s shearing tent.

According to the wool farmers interviewed, Ruliv’s wool production programme, implemented around the provision of the shearing sheds and related infrastructure for development of wool production, clearly had an impact on the three villages in Emalahleni Local Municipality. The provision of the shearing tent changed the life-style of wool farmers who used it. They became much more organised and they had access to equipment, skills and facilities to shear and sort wool, unlike in the past, when farmers had to sell unsorted wool to BKB who then employed people to sort the wool. The related sorting costs were then borne by the farmers. The amount of wool produced also improved in terms of quantity. With the classification of wool, it was sold and sorted in its type (for example, AF, AAF, XOL1, BCF). The quality of a few sheep of those, with or without Dohne Merino rams, improved, as the introduced rams mixed with other sheep while grazing. The farmers were also ‘trained to some extent’ by the DoA on how to shear wool, and on sheep management. Shifting to village level case study, the following picture emerges.

\textsuperscript{119} Some households I visited in February 2006 in Boniswa village were dedicated wool farmers who motivated themselves to grow wool. They used rondavels as they did not benefit from the tent in Emalahleni. They also used rondavels in Bolotwa and Maxhama.
Cumakala, Ntsinga and Zingqolweni WGAs

Cumakala village was the first to benefit from the tent in 2001 and in 2002, because “there was no other village that came to collect the tent in the years they used the tent” from the Local Municipality. However, in these years the Association did not pay the agreed purchase price (of 70c per kg) and as a result, the tent, together with a fixed shearing shed built by the Chris Hani District Municipality, was taken over by the Lady Frere Wool Growers Association as the main body. In 2003, as indicated, the tent was ‘inactive’. In 2004 Ntsinga Wool Growers Association used the tent and in 2005 Zingqolweni Wool Growers Association used it (Interviews with farmers, 2005).

The mobile shearing tent, though, as recalled by the participants, initiated a process and practice that improved and assisted the local wool growers, at least initially. The listed improvements included: availability of ample space (infrastructure), provision of required equipment and tables for shearing, sorting and pressing bales, facilitation of the selling of improved quality wool (as wool growers had the opportunity to sort wool into classified groups using the standard tables) and an environment conducive to wool shearing and sorting. Wool farmers using the tent moved from the traditional selling of wool in bulk to speculators, to participating through a broker in the wool market. A significant number of wool growers also indicated that they had an increase in profits, at least initially, as shown in Cumakala\textsuperscript{120}. The number of members of WGAs who benefited from the tent increased. It is important to indicate that the increase was temporary as fluctuation of numbers was experienced in many WGAs due to various factors.

\textbf{Ruliv intervention in wool production in Mbashe Local Municipality}

According to the members of Ikwezi Wool Growers Association, in Mbashe Local Municipality, the shearing tent was introduced in the villages of Upper and Lower Dadambe, Upper and Lower Nqadu, Matolweni and Mnandi in 2002. At the

\textsuperscript{120}Wool farmers in Cumakala village.
same time the relevant associations visited villages where wool production was taking place in Alice. Each of the specified villages had a Wool Growers Association, and each association had around 50 members (or more). The tent was allocated to an umbrella body (as planned), with one of the members being given responsibility for the movement of the tent from one Wool Growers Association to the next of the associations affiliated to the umbrella body. The use of the tent depended on a first come, first served basis of ‘who asked for it first in a given wool season’. Nearly every wool association used the tent every season because the members of each association had transport and the associations were able to move the tent accordingly. Basically, the tent became the only shearing environment available in the seven villages, and its mobility has meant that it has been subjected to considerable wear and tear. Ruliv also funded the roofing material of a fixed shearing shed in Nqadu. However, this fixed shed has not yet been completed and the Local Municipality has not assisted in anyway, including the DoA.

Farmers interviewed in the specified localities of Mbashe confirmed that they were benefiting from the tent. They suggested that its introduction was a ‘turning point’ from the old system where they used to shear wool in their houses and sell unclassified wool at a cheaper price to speculators. The wool was dirty, unclassified and they used to get minimum profits. However, for example, the Ikwezi Wool Growers Association explained that the introduction of the tent was the “benchmark to their success in wool growing”. There were also other contributing factors to their success, such as the introduction of rams by the NWGA where an exchange of traditional rams with the Dohne Merino took place.

The shearing tent, as ‘a benchmark to successes, facilitated training on how to shear wool, clean, sort it and press bales. The tent also provided enough space and a clean environment to work in\textsuperscript{121}. The associations were also introduced to the market brokers BKB and CMW and this allowed them to introduce and keep

\textsuperscript{121} The tent was well kept at the home of one member of the WGA.
records. Their profits improved, but the most important thing was the organisation of the groups of wool farmers into associations\textsuperscript{122}. It was also of importance, according to the farmers interviewed, that no ownership agreement was entered into for paying back the 70 cents per kg for every sheep shorn, allocated to the purchase of the tent in Mbashe. Importantly, the Mbashe example also enables us to examine the issue of the quality of the wool produced, and thus to begin to link quantity, quality and the influences of the wool pricing and market systems.

\textbf{Market Analysis of Wool Production}

In terms of wool records, it is important to note that records were incomplete in some wool seasons for certain WGAs because of one of two variables; that the WGA was not organised to sell wool through brokers by then, or the WGA sold wool through a CMW broker, whose records were not complete. In the villages of Emalahleni Local Municipality (Ntsinga, Boniswa, Thandanani and Zingqolweni) and in Mbashe Local Municipality (Upper and Lower Dadambe, Upper Bolotwa, Maxhama, Upper and Lower Nqadu, Mnandi, and Matolweni), the amount of kilogrammes each wool farmer - and even each WGA - got before and after using the tent varied each season because of the number of sheep shorn, the number of members of the wool association who brought their sheep to be shorn, and the resigning, rejoining, or joining of new members into an association. For WGAs that did not benefit from the tent, the situation was not much different. The total numbers of kilogrammes varied from 2002 to 2005. Depending on the number of wool members and sheep shorn, they ranged between 1 906 and 7 545 kilogrammes. However, the returns did not reflect the amount of kilogrammes sold at the market, because of the related variations in the quality of wool and the fluctuations on the market, both nationally and internationally.

\textsuperscript{122} In March 2006 I spent a week observing how the WGA sheared wool and classified it inside the tent.
Between the 2003 and the 2005 wool seasons, the average amount of kilogrammes per Wool Growers Association in Emalahleni LM ranged from 60-80kg. The net profit per farmer ranged from R200-R400 per wool season, with exceptional cases of individual farmers producing over 500kgs, but actual prices and profits, related to quality as well, were only around R2 000. At the same time, there were participating farmers with few sheep, producing as little as 5kg and earning approximately R20. These figures provide a useful sense of the dynamics at play in wool production at these local levels. This indicated that better returns were not subject to having large flocks of sheep or having large volumes of wool, but the quality of wool determined the returns.

According to wool farmers interviewed, the number of wool farmers in some Wool Growers Associations (Zingqolweni) has increased since 2003 and for some (Ntsinga) it remained constant. The numbers varied between 28 and 59 members. It is important to know that there were various factors that attracted or discouraged wool farmers to join. Issues of ‘on-going’ participation were influenced by a range of factors; from actual prices and income received, through to death and diseases of sheep, or the member. Overall, though, the size of sheep-holding was not large and there are many more small farmers than larger ones. The numbers of sheep also did not tally with the number of members in an association. Some wool associations had fewer members but had the largest number of sheep, or ‘vice versa’. Some wool farmers had more than 400 sheep (up to 868), while others had only 2 to 5 sheep.

As shown in Table 3, in 2002 Cumakala WGA had 37 members and a total of 1950 sheep. The association produced 4 037kgs of wool and this generated a profit of R42 372.98. In 2003 the number of wool growers or members increased to 56, after the introduction of the shearing tent and people responded to the perceived benefits of being a member. The number of sheep increased to 2 794

123 It was interesting, from interviews, to note that some farmers wanted to join, others did not; they wanted to find out first what other wool farmers would get before deciding. Yet others were in one season and out the next.
and the kilogrammes of wool produced increased to 7 545kgs, the number of bales also increased to 40, from 26. However, profits decreased in comparison to that of 2002, dropping from R 42 373 to R35 548. This seems to have been primarily caused by price fluctuation on the market, but there were also suggestions of declining quality in the wool\textsuperscript{124}. From the outcome one can understand that getting better returns went beyond the tent.

(WGA case study)

Table 3: Cumakala Wool Growers Association

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>WGA</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>No of sheep</th>
<th>Wool in Kgs</th>
<th>No of bales</th>
<th>Total Proceeds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002/3</td>
<td>Cumakala</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>4037</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>R42372.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003/4</td>
<td>Cumakala</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2794</td>
<td>7545</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>R35547.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004/5</td>
<td>Cumakala</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2774</td>
<td>6345,5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>R31355.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/6</td>
<td>Cumakala</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>4051</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>R14966.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Wool records

In 2004, according to the participants (the farmers), as a consequence of the lower incomes, the number of wool farmers decreased to 51 because some members had lost faith in the association as the profits decreased. The number of sheep decreased slightly and production dropped by more than a 1 000kgs, the number of bales dropped to 37. The net returns was also less, down to R31 355. In 2005, when the association shifted to a fixed shearing shed, the number of wool growers dropped alarmingly to 22 (less than half of the 2003 participants) and consequently the number of sheep decreased to 1897. The total weight of wool produced dropped to 4 051kgs and the number of bales produced dropped to 26. Total return declined to R14 966. As it stands currently, the total number of sheep in Cumakala in 2006 was 6 102. The number of sheep belonging to those who were not members of the Wool

\textsuperscript{124} Based on the interviews and wool records, CMW as a broker did not offer clear wool records per farm than BKB
Growers Association was 4 205. The WGA produced 26 bales and they got a net profit of R14 996.10. Each farmer got around R400, and some above R1000.

Case study Ikwezi Wool Growers Association

Table 4: Upper Dadambe WGA 2003/2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of bales</th>
<th>description</th>
<th>price</th>
<th>Net mass kg</th>
<th>Net profit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Binned wool</td>
<td>617.9</td>
<td>R1729.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>CF</td>
<td>R6.10</td>
<td>1172.7</td>
<td>R3734.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BF</td>
<td>R7.20</td>
<td>1274.4</td>
<td>R5713.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ikwezi as a ‘main board’ of all individual WGAs in Mbashe composing of (Upper and Lower Dadambe, Upper and Lower Nqadu, Matolweni and Mnandi) had better returns when they started using the tent, as they got organised into associations. Binned wool of low quality produced was 617.9kg and the remaining wool was class CF, 2 346kgs. AF, AAF, CF, CX and CM made up some of the best wool on the market where the prices ranged from R5.35c to R10 (see Table 4). Ikwezi Wool Growers Association did not sell first class wool that is AF or AAF, in the 2004/5 season. Their highest class of wool was BF, sold at R7.00 a kilogramme. The quality of wool was mostly determined by the quality of sheep, what it was fed on, its genetic type and the shearing environment.

Table 5 provides some comparative details within Mbashe Local Municipality between the associations, although the information is incomplete because the brokers used, such as CMW, were the only place where records were kept and they had incomplete records. It should be noted that the amount of profit received by Nqadu WGA between 2004 and 2006 shows a decrease in earnings, even though the amount of wool produced varied considerably. Of importance too, is that in 2004 approximately 2 100 kgs of wool produced generated over R16 000 net income, while significantly higher production levels in 2006 generated considerably less income, which each household used differently.
### Table 5: Sales Ikwezi Wool Growers Association

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wool Growers Association</th>
<th>Total Net Kg</th>
<th>Total proceeds</th>
<th>No of bales</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Aveg sheep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nqadu 2004</td>
<td>2126.5</td>
<td>R16286.75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nqadu 2005</td>
<td>1447.5</td>
<td>R12 496.19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nqadu 2006</td>
<td>3173.8</td>
<td>R12 105.55</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3140</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Dadambe 2005</td>
<td>1585.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koluzulu 2005</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>R11136.64</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a broader context, another Wool Growers Association, at Kolozulu, that did not use the tent, sold some of their wool (grade BM) at R14.50 and had a better turnover than Ikwezi. Out of 12 bales, Koluzulu got R13 791 while Ikwezi WGA got R6 375 out of 13 bales, despite using the tent and roughly got the same volume. This indicates that the type of wool sold by Koluzulu was of better quality than that of Upper and Lower Nqadu and Dadambe. However, the dynamics of quality of wool makes it debatable whether or not the tent really facilitated the improvement of wool quality or the grading or classification of wool. Such dynamics were even noticed in Emalahleni where Cumakala produced and sold wool and got better returns as other villages that did not use the tent (wool farmers’ records). For example, Mceula village’s Rebbelskloof WGA, Thandanani and Boniswa WGAs generated net profits between R16 079 and R40 000 out of 28 to 32 members, with a total of between 1732 and 2 012 sheep producing 3 078kgs to 6 078kgs in the 2005/6 wool.\(^\text{125}\)

\(^{125}\) Information from the wool farmers in Maxhama.
Bolotwa Wool Growers Association was another association that did not use the tent but, on the other hand, has been functional since the 1970s and has a fixed shearing shed, although it is old. They did not have equipment for shearing. Out of necessity and constraint, they pressed bales using human power; because they ‘could not afford to hire a presser’. Some youths in the village were trained to do shearing and sorting. They have heard of the tent, but never had access to it. Bolotwa WGA had more than three participating villages that used the old fixed shed; those further away used their homes for shearing (see figure 13). The group has been selling their wool to BKB since 2000, but were deciding to change to CMW, because they felt they were ‘not getting what they deserved’ from BKB. In 2002 they had 2 514 sheep that produced 3 717, 9kg and returns of R19 825, 43. This amount was more or less the same as acquired by associations that benefited from the tent. An example is Mr Mlondleni, who in 2003/4 sold 3 bales of wool and only got R350.
The Association (figure 14) did not send their wool to BKB (in 2005) because it was said to have been affected by ‘sheep scab’ and was of poor quality, so there was an expectation that they would ‘get nothing’ for it. Some members kept their wool, while others sold to speculators. At the time of the interview, the Association had 30 bales ready for the market, but they had not sent them because they did not have transport. There were also constant shortages of dosing, dipping, fencing of grazing land and inoculation, identified.

### Table 6: Bolotwa’s wool records

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bolotwa WGA 2002</th>
<th>Total Kg</th>
<th>Total net proceeds</th>
<th>Aveg Total Kg</th>
<th>Aveg Total Proceeds</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Aveg sheep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wool growers 31</td>
<td>3717,9</td>
<td>R19 825.43</td>
<td>119.8</td>
<td>R639</td>
<td>2514</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Broader perspective of wool marketing**

As a general trend, the introduction of the shearing tent was initially seen as positive and had positive participation and production implications. The farmers

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126 When I arrived in March the husband ‘chairperson’ of the wool growers association was not present so Mrs. Magoswana had to call some other women, her neighbours, so that I could interview them as they were also part of the WGA.
had an increase in the amount of wool sold and the profits made. However, participation, production and profits have declined dramatically. Clearly, market prices are important in determining this, but there are a range of factors that need to be considered. Certainly, on the face of things, this does not provide a very positive and sustainable picture, however in essence the farmers are “getting income to feed them selves, though not enough”\textsuperscript{127}. Price fluctuations on the wool market were significant determinants here, but so too was the actual quality of the wool. Thus, while the shearing tent and its role has enabled a better process of sorting and grading of wool produced, and of enabling a more formal entry into the wool market, it has not necessarily impacted on the quality of wool, nor on profitability, resulting in growing negative local perceptions of the value and utility of these processes.

The tables have shown the percentages of net profits, number of sheep shorn, kilogrammes produced, number of bales and the type (quality) of wool sold in recent wool growing seasons, for the villages belonging to associations where the tent was used, and villages where it was not used, so that a comparison has been made in relation to wool production and marketing. More generally, though, in these areas the majority of individual farmers had small numbers of sheep, and this had consequences for wool production in a whole range of ways. Essentially it translates into fairly low levels of production, with the majority of participants producing fewer than 100 kgs, and consequently earning under R300. The basis of this comparison continues through various levels of income. Notably, no-one earned over R400 from wool production in 2005 except one individual farmer in Upper Dadambe, who had 868 sheep and received above R2000.

From the available statistics, there were no major distinctions between those associations with access to the tent interventions, and those without. In terms of wool quality though, it is useful to look at the grades of the different associations.

\textsuperscript{127} Interviews with officials at the Department of Agriculture and Emalahleni Local Municipality.
This is necessary, as it points to the very low quality, and to a critical source of tension in relation to active participation in the processes of producing, sorting, grading and trading wool through more formal market relationships, namely the brokers and the wool auction.

According to wool records from all WGAs that benefited from the tent, the number of kgs of each wool type sold by each Wool Growers Association varied from one year to the next. For example, for Bolotwa WGA in 2003, 90% of the farmers sold CF, BKS and BP, while 30% also sold CXC and LOX. 10% of them also sold CM, XW and SDY. In 2004 at Thandanani WGA, all members sold wool of types CBP, BKS1, CF and BF. 90% sold DF and LOX3. In Ntsinga in 2004 96% of the members sold wool of types, CF, DF, XF, AH, CM, BNKS, BKS1, CBP and BKS2 while 60% of them also sold BR, XXL, CXC and XX. Zingqolweni in 2004, 100% of the members of the association sold wool of type BKS1 only. However, 99% also sold CBP and DF. Another 50% also sold CF, BKS2, C&C and LOX3. In Maxhama in 2005 all members of the association sold wool of type CF, BKS, BF, DF, DF, BP and LOX. 50% of them sold C&C type as well. In Upper Dadambe 100% of the members sold AF, BXS, RM, XB, BP and LOXT. 90% of them also sold RM. Nqadu WGA in 2006 100% of the members sold wool types, BM, BP, BKS, LOX, XB and AF, while 80% of them also sold DM, CM, BBm, TDR, DF, AAf, RAM, C&C and LOX2. Overall, every wool farmer sold more than one type of wool.

AAF and AF are the best quality wool. Very few wool farmers sold wool of this quality in Emalahleni and Mbashe. The majority sold wool of type XOL1 and XOL2 (low quality) and of lower middle quality. In terms of wool prices, the clean price was hardly ever reached by rural farmers; the prices achieved consistently were below half the clean prices (see Table 6 below Ikwezi Wool Growers

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128 This information was analysed from the wool records of all WGAs, whether they benefited from the tent, or not.
As shown in table 6 below are the grades, pricing and volumes produced in Ikwezi Woolgrowers Association.

As shown in table 7, quality and prices for wool correspond, and primarily commercial farmers were consistently able to get the highest prices. However, the Ikwezi Wool Growers Association sold much of their wool at between R6 and R8 per kg for types BBM, BKS, CF, BF and RAM. It is useful here to consider the wider comparative contexts of sheep production and the quality, value and prices achieved. Monetary returns from wool production per animal unit depended on yield per animal, the fineness of the fibre and the absence of contaminants in the fleece. All of these factors tend to be problematic in the small holder sector. The average wool production per sheep in the smallholder sector was about 1.5 kg, but the potential ranged between 3 and 4 kg per animal. As has been shown, much of the wool produced by smallholders was sold to travelling speculators, who paid on average R100 per fleece, but payments as little as R0.30 to R0.50c were not uncommon.

Wool prices had been declining, but at R31.35c a kilogramme for commercial farmers, no small scale rural farmer could reach that price, primarily because of low quality. The price range for the small scale rural farmers who used the tent was between R2 and R12. The Association recognised a number of challenges: no shearing shed, no shearing equipment, dry grazing land and only the very recent introduction of rams - although it had started benefiting a few. According to the farmers, the number of sheep that most of the members had could have produced better incomes, but incomes and profits were low. While in part this is attributed to many factors affecting good wool production, including sheep scabs and diseases, others tended to blame brokers and to argue that the wool market and the prices paid were prejudiced against small producers and former homeland Black wool producers.
As a consequence, members of the Wool Growers Association were moving away from the associations. They were again selling their wool to speculators where they ‘got paid on the spot’ and did not need to sort and grade the wool as it was bought ‘on assumption of low quality’. Such associations, in 2005/6 wool season did not come together as members to sort and sell their wool to BKB, because they were told the wool had a lot of scabs and was of poor quality. Some sold to speculators while others did not, and held on to their wool. However, this was not the case in associations like Upper Dadambe and Nqadu,
where the tent was used. These associations sold their wool in the same season.

### Table 8 Wool Sale Record 2005

Highest prices achieved on the BKB auction were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Desc.</th>
<th>AWEX Type</th>
<th>Mic</th>
<th>Yield</th>
<th>NKT</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B M King</td>
<td>Tarkastad</td>
<td>AFH</td>
<td>MWF5E.77</td>
<td>18.5µ</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3220c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botterfontein Estates</td>
<td>Cathcart</td>
<td>AH</td>
<td>MWF4E.81</td>
<td>18.3µ</td>
<td>74.4%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3220c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin Farms</td>
<td>Grahamstown</td>
<td>BFH</td>
<td>MWF4E.72</td>
<td>17.2µ</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3195c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winterberg Farms CC</td>
<td>Tarkastad</td>
<td>AFFY</td>
<td>MF4E.80</td>
<td>18.4µ</td>
<td>71.5%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3115c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C J F Greyling</td>
<td>Wakkerstroom</td>
<td>BF</td>
<td>MF5S.77</td>
<td>18.2µ</td>
<td>66.8%</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2995c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F R Le Roux</td>
<td>Chrisiesmeer</td>
<td>CMH</td>
<td>MLF5S.40</td>
<td>18.5µ</td>
<td>73.6%</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2640c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C J F Greyling</td>
<td>Wakkerstroom</td>
<td>CF</td>
<td>MF5S.53</td>
<td>18.6µ</td>
<td>66.8%</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2450c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G J Janse v Rensburg</td>
<td>Ermelo</td>
<td>BH</td>
<td>MF5S.70</td>
<td>19.4µ</td>
<td>69.2%</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2400c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J J Streicher</td>
<td>Heidelberg</td>
<td>CH</td>
<td>MWF5E.84</td>
<td>18.1µ</td>
<td>68.3%</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2605c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H Muller</td>
<td>Hersfeld</td>
<td>BH</td>
<td>MWF5E.77</td>
<td>19.0µ</td>
<td>67.7%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2570c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koningplas Boardory</td>
<td>Moorreesburg</td>
<td>AM</td>
<td>MF5E.101</td>
<td>19.8µ</td>
<td>71.1%</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2560c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J J Streicher</td>
<td>Heidelberg</td>
<td>YDS</td>
<td>MLF5E.40</td>
<td>18.1µ</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2455c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BKB would like to congratulate the above clients on their achievements.

The sixth sale will be held on 05 October 2005. ±7,500 bales will be on offer.

The table 8 above shows that only individual commercial farmers got highest prices. Smaller scale rural farmers were struggling because of poor wool quality, attributed to the type of sheep they had, lack of correct dosing cycles, inadequate control of sheep scabs, limited feed, poor pasture and overgrazed land (with limited rotational grazing). However, some farmers in Ikwezi Wool Growers Association managed to produce quality wool. The introduction of rams was seen to have had direct benefits, and the shearing environments generated by the shearing tents were conducive to producing cleaner and better graded wool. Having a shearing tent did not improve the quality, but led to cleaner wool and thus farmers had less possibility of mixing their wool.

From the scattered, inconsistent statistics available in Mbashe, together with the survey and interviews conducted in all areas, it can be concluded that there has been some improvement in wool production processes in all study areas. The overall number of participants and the link between sheep holdings and wool production has increased as wool farmers joined the associations. The overall
volume of kilogrammes produced in associations has risen in quantity, if not in quality. The ability to sort, grade and market the wool has improved, although the inability to control prices, determined in much wider market and auction terms, by brokers and by quality, has generated significant frustrations and has generated unhappiness and caused the questioning of honesty and value in participation.

**The market blues**

While wool quality has improved, particularly where new rams have been introduced, this has been limited, fragmented and differentiated, not only between areas, but also internally in associations. Net profits from wool production have fluctuated, but have generally declined over the last few years. This has led to major disappointments and even withdrawal and withholding of wool from the market. The market remains one that is viewed with cynicism and is also seen as racialised and prejudiced against ‘Transkei sheep and wool’. The connections between different objectives and different role players have been limited. The tent and Ruliv’s intervention has facilitated a better internal process of grading and baling of wool according to existing classifications. This means that the farmers have a better self-regulated sense of the quality and value of their wool production, and are getting more familiar with the various grades and their market values.

However, the nature of production remains constrained by primarily small scale, multi-purpose (meat, wool, social and cultural meanings) and vulnerable livelihoods. Access to the ‘commons’ and grazing access issues and extended environmental management limitations; natural feeding constraints, and problematic husbandry issues all further contributed to readily identified problems – the lack of ‘decent’ breeding rams, uncontrolled livestock diseases, no dipping access and widely prevalent sheep scab. This led to the high rate of poor quality wool even from the bigger producers, and the prices were still low. Evaluating the larger impact of the Ruliv intervention, and particularly the impact of the
shearing tent on wool production and, by extension, on both its income and its livelihoods impacts, is difficult for both municipalities that seemingly, at first site, benefited from the tents.

These difficulties include the limited time-scale and duration of the interventions, where, in some cases, the introduction of the tent was only in operation for a year or two. There were limited differences between the years when the farmers did not use the tent and those when they did use it. The intervention was also affected by fluctuation of wool prices on the market. Thus ‘outside market influences’ where also felt locally and dramatically, where the recent decline in wool prices has had a major negative effect on income possibilities and on ongoing participation of wool farmers in the WGA, and also internally influenced various institutional, organisational and logistical constraints and ‘failures’.

The lack of detailed and adequate longitudinal and particular participant information on their sales and deductions also affected the rural wool farmers, in not providing documentary and ‘factual knowing’ whether their livelihoods had changed through using the tent in the specified areas, in any given year. For example, in the case of the associations selling their wool through Cape Mohair Wool (CMW), the information provided did not show records for each farmer, making it difficult to know how many kgs each farmer got per type, which type was produced and the returns of each farmer per wool type, or the gross and net returns as shown by records from BKB wool brokers.

Although the wool farmers were organised into associations, some members felt that they “need not be members of the wool growers because they were getting less for their wool”. Funds were deducted for joining ‘umbuto’ ‘membership’, for using the tent, and for transport and medication, and ‘prices had been very low’. These perspectives of unhappiness and of seeking explanations remain, despite the fact that the brokers and the NWGA, amongst others, have pointed to the depressed and downward trends in the national wool market. It is interesting to
note that the 2006/7 wool market improved dramatically, such that in September 2006 the wool price was 25% higher than in 2005, whilst over the same period in 2005, it depreciated by 19% against the US dollar. The highest prices have gone up to R54 per kg, and new buyers have entered the market such, as China and UK, demanding more than in the past. This could have interesting implications for changing relationships and perceptions of the market in the future.

**Wool production within the province**

If the production and sales value of wool produced by districts in the Eastern Cape is examined, it will be seen that the difference between commercial and small scale production is very large. Yields for the commercial sector averaged over 60% and average prices were around R20 per kg in 2004/5. In contrast, the area designated Transkei/ Ciskei average yields were below 50% and average prices were around R7, 50 per kg. The situational analysis of wool prices and marketing indicates, then, that the trend of wool prices since 2003 has been declining, and that there are further internal differentiations between commercial and small scale wool producers. In effect, for many of the producers in the study areas, prices on the market were even lower. Thus, in the Mbashe case studies, the average price was R3.50 and in Emalahleni it was R2.20. More generally, monetary returns from wool production per animal unit depends on the yield per animal, the fineness of the fibre and the absence of contaminants in the fleece, as well as the existing market prices and the relationships local producers have to the market.

Lambing in the study areas was also characterised by poor reproduction rates. The lambing ratio was very low, located at around 50% as opposed to the comparable 75% achieved in nearby commercial flocks. The weaning ratio was also much lower, around 30% as against 60% in the commercial sector). Finally, there are also high lamb mortality rates (of around 30%) in these areas. This mortality rate can be read as a sign of severe stress in relation to environmental,
nutritional and health situations, and, particularly in these cases, in relation to inadequate control of diseases.\textsuperscript{129} All of this affects both the quality and quantity of stock growth and production.

Very few farmers were involved in feeding with sheep tubes, lucerne, maize and pellets. The majority relied on natural grazing, with all the attendant implications of largely unregulated and communal overgrazing, particularly in key periods. The better the quality of grazing and the less the possible sources of wool contamination in the veld, the easier it is to produce good quality wool\textsuperscript{130}. In the rural areas no one was responsible for the grazing land, even the WGAs were not directly and actively concerned with issues of the grazing land. The perennial problems of fencing, environmental degradation, and rotational grazing remain largely unresolved and, for the most part, ignored.

Some of the problems identified were that certain members (often the larger producers, but also those with social and political capital) dominated and used the associations and the tent ‘for their own benefit’. Shearing and wool sorting equipment was not sufficient in the small scale farming sector for every WGAS. The shearing shed has made a selective difference here for participants, but this has not had significant impact. Despite the shearing shed interventions, many small-scale farmers lacked the necessary knowledge of sorting, classing, packaging, and being able to participate, or even identify the marketing channels and marketing opportunities for wool.

Buyers of wool were seen to be biased against wool produced by small-scale farmers. The reason for this was because this wool was seen to be “well known for contamination by foreign materials”. Partly, these perceptions were also

\textsuperscript{129} These figures are based on the survey and on interviews conducted. They form rough percentages, rather than complete accurate measures. These estimates, though, are supported in commentaries, and particularly in personal sets of information; and more broadly by Van Ayerbeke and Silwana, 2006. Agricultural Production Systems in the Eastern Cape.

\textsuperscript{130} Gwrambi, 2004 wool growing in Peddie district.
fuelled by a related sense and experience that the wool was frequently poorly classed and packed. Lack of co-operation between small-scale farmers to market more wool together, to improve marketing skills and exchange knowledge, and lack of transport infrastructure were other challenges to be faced. Lack of necessary infrastructure caused small-scale farmers to get lower prices for their wool because of the high transport costs from rural areas.

It is also critical to evaluate the role played by the ‘participating institutions and stake-holders’ mentioned above, and how this has impacted on wool growing in the rural areas where Ruliv intervened. This includes an assessment of both Emalahleni and Mbashe Local Municipalities as both identified broadly similar processes. According to Agricultural Officials interviewed, the Emalahleni Local Municipality has hardly got involved in issues related to wool production, except through the Department of Agriculture. However, one example, that of the mobility of the tent, may illustrate the nature of a problematic relationship between local government and wool production, in relation to these interventions.

The tent was not rotated from one village to the other “because the municipality either delayed or did not transport the tent, and this affected many villagers” such as those at Mboniswa and other villages with two Wool Growers Associations but no shearing shed\(^\text{131}\). There is one village however, at Maqashu, where a fixed shed was built by the Chris Hani District Municipality for the community. However, the building of the shed was done without consultation with the local people or with the Department of Agriculture at local level. This has led to the shed lying idle and unutilised since its building in 2002, as the community of Maqashu was no longer shearing wool and did not have a WGA\(^\text{132}\). The shed was even built long after the wool farmers in the village had ceased their farming operations. This indicates lack of coordination and proper planning on the part of

\(^{131}\) Wool Framers Ntsinga and Izingqolweni WGAs.

\(^{132}\) Extension officer Emalahleni Local Municipality.
the local government. The permanent shed’s cost of R750 000 could have been used to buy 5 shearing mobile tents at a cost of R50 000 each.\textsuperscript{133}

The Department of Agriculture has been involved, together with officials from the NWGA, in training farmers how to shear wool, clean wool and sort it into different types, and press bales.\textsuperscript{134} However, the association members and the local communities challenge the support from the DOA, and argued “that it normally came late and sometimes extension officers did not visit the farmers for more than six months, to advise them.\textsuperscript{135} In Mbashe Local Municipality the situation is the same, that the “municipality is no longer fulfilling its mandate as it promised”.

The Extension Officers in Willovale and Idutywa offices argued that they were not delivering because of lack of funds. Transport to visit the rural areas was scarce, and they did not attend to wool farmers who were not organised.\textsuperscript{136} This is a critical issue in terms of rural development, if just a few wool farmers were selectively enjoying the benefits from the DOA. According to wool farmers in both local municipalities, Ruliv’s local facilitators heard about them but have not worked with them in any way (\textit{sivile ngeRuliv esinike intente} we heard about \textit{Ruliv, those who gave us the tent}. ECDC worked with Ruliv in the purchasing of the tents but is no longer involved in wool production.\textsuperscript{137} GTZ withdrew from the programme because they disagreed with Ruliv on the way rural development technically was supposed to follow. They wanted to implement it as it was done in the rural areas of Germany, a ‘developed country’.

The National Wool Growers Association (NWGA), together with the DOA, has been involved in training the farmers in different activities of wool production.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[133] I visited the ghost shed 5km from Macubeni village accompanied by the agricultural extension officer.
\item[134] Agricultural extension officers Emalahleni and the NWGA officer.
\item[135] Members of the community interviewed, complained that they did not even know their extension officers.
\item[136] I had to use my own transport for the extension officer to visit the wool farmers while I interviewed them.
\item[137] Ruliv documents 2005.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
This has instituted some change in organising the farmers and capacitating them. However, wool quality of the trained wool farmers is still below the standard that could earn them better returns. The wool still reaches the market and is declared 'mixed up and poorly graded'. While there has been an improvement, and farmers have acquired some relevant skills, there is still room for improvement and questions about actual training content and quality remain.

**Reflection on livelihood patterns in the study areas**

Ruliv was fully involved in facilitating wool farming in the study areas by providing a shearing tent and cooperating with interested partners to support wool farmers. However, various arrangements have been effected and failed to achieve the expected goals. The tent has been relatively immobile, rather than mobile; associations were not purchasing and ‘owning’ the tent. Association membership was declining, others in the community have not gained access to the tent; the NWGA and DoA interventions and training have not been facilitated, co-ordinated or regularly available as planned; and the relationships between the farmers and the brokers has deteriorated to a point of distrust and ‘rejection’. Wool Brokers (BKB and CMW) have been ‘helping’ the farmers in facilitating the selling of wool. However, wool farmers lacked confidence in the brokers, because they did not understand the dynamics of the market, why prices fell, and when the farmers needed to send their wool to the markets.

In fact, brokers were viewed with suspicion and there was a fairly prevalent attitude, as elaborated above, that brokers looked after their own interests, were ‘cheating’ the farmers and retained a prejudice (as did the market) against ‘Transkei wool’. Genetic improvement by introducing rams was part of Ruliv’s intervention together with the DOA. The agreement of the exchange, however, was a challenge to wool farmers, as they complained of some rams dying after the ‘11 days window period’ which the DoA gave as a refundable period in case

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138 Cape Wool Mohair.
139 LED manager Mbashe Local Municipality
of deaths. This has been a challenge that the farmers felt they lost. However, some have benefited and saw a change. The only disadvantage was for those who were not members. They were not given the new rams and retained indigenous rams. The critical issue that was overlooked, was that sheep of a wool farmer with Dohne Merino rams grazed together with ‘indigenous’ rams, tending to negate the objective of introducing rams. It is difficult to separate sheep in such a communal grazing environment, unless every wool farmer had improved his sheep or they had agreed to determine how they wanted to get involved in wool production, rather than the ‘top-down’ approach to rural development. Ruliv, the brokers, the extension officers and the rules and regulations associated with the tents, the training and attempts to improve quality, as well as the creation of brokers as market intermediaries, are all indications of ‘top-down’, technical and skilled outside intervention where knowledge, expertise, capacity and resources lie outside the communities themselves.

In terms of the goals and objectives set by Ruliv, it is clear that not all of the activities and actions have been achieved. The planned and proposed use of the tent during off-season for funerals and other traditional and related social activities did not happen in any village studied. Logistical, financial and practical reasons were blamed for the shortage of transport. Village people did not have the money to pay for the tent and sometimes there were no funerals taking place within the village where the tent was operational. Perhaps the failure to ‘own’ the tent and engage in its primary objectives was also important in the explanation. Integrating rural development, livelihoods and sustainability go beyond creating sound policy to implementation and practice with the beneficiaries aboard (Murray, 2002).

The chapter shows how rural farmers could add wool to their livelihood portfolios through wool-growing. The chapter highlights the challenges associated with the intervention, and shows how wool-growing was more complex and dynamic in
the livelihoods of the rural farmers, whether, supported or not supported by Ruliv. Wool farmers had equipment or facilities to shear and sort wool, unlike in the past where farmers had to sell unsorted wool. However, these interventions produced mixed and ambiguous results.

The economy, as domain of value model, illustrated and explained in chapter 4, has been discussed here. The communities in the villages of Emalahleni and Mbashe Local Municipalities, at different levels, used the given ‘support’ to build their safety net, and they managed vulnerability, created social networks, used local knowledge and competed on the capital wool market. However, the support from Ruliv was not sustainable because not all households in a village benefited from it, and not all areas of concern were addressed by the support. The support was fragmented and the interested stakeholders (Ruliv, DOA and Local Municipalities) were not fully involved from the planning phase up to the implementation phase.

Many of the planned strategies did not materialise because of the approach used. It was not people-centred, ‘actor-oriented’, although in Ruliv’s planning on paper it was supposed to be people-centred. More significantly, though, the intervention reflects a tension between a ‘top-down’ technical approach, and a market driven approach to development, through wool production. Identified as ‘to benefit twice’, the reality has been much more haphazard, constrained and limited. Mosse (2004 p. 22) argued that long before they meet the livelihood needs of poor people, aid projects satisfy the political needs of the West and local state. Projects convey the donor’s organisational identity and its favoured policy ideas. Such notions were highlighted in the chapter. Thus the Germany-South Africa relations, created through rural development in the Eastern Cape, ‘helping those who cannot help themselves’.
Conclusion

As outlined in chapter four, development planners often assume that the receiving ends of development plans are homogenous (Gardner and Lewis, 1996 p 15). However, they tend to overlook that the complexities of rural set-up, as in the study areas, are not the same and cannot easily be explained through development theory because of the socio-economic, cultural and political environment that forms rural development and rural livelihoods in local and historic contexts. Ferguson (1998 p.8-9), argued that rural development does not usually achieve its objectives. By any criteria, successful projects have been the exception rather than the rule. Rural development projects are scattered liberally across the African continent and beyond, and, in nearly every case, these projects seem, on inspection, to be planned, implemented and justified in very nearly the same way (Ferguson, 1998).

Long (2001), argued that when the ‘imported intervention strategies’ failed or did not achieve what they expected because the Institution’s approach was not ‘actor-oriented’, they end up abandoning the projects and moving to other places. This was the case with GTZ, the Germany donor, who departed from the rural livelihoods programme of promoting wool production when they found out that the community and other government officials did not want to implement the project the way they wanted to. Development initiatives in wool production are still far from alleviating rural poverty, because of yearly shifting of the goal posts and strategies. Development can no longer be a movement in history but an activated, integrated, sustainable social programme, driven by the poor themselves, with external support, as the case study of Rhoxeni will illustrate in the following chapter.\(^{140}\)

\(^{140}\) ‘Development’ in this context means ‘the process of transition or transformation towards a modern, capitalist, industrial economy (capitalist development) or the development of the forces of production’. The second definition defines development as the quality of life and standard of living and refers to the reduction or amelioration of poverty and material wants (Ferguson, 1992 p. 15).
The market initiative to commercialise wool through the use of the tents in these areas did not materialise in sustainably improving wool quality and returns, as there were a lot of factors that the intervention did not address and take into consideration. Overall, through a joint venture between local government and Ruliv organisations, wool farmers were assisted with the shearing tents, but, the intervention was flawed. It was constrained in its ability to alleviate poverty and to change local smaller scale rural wool production into a more commercialised and sustainable market-led process. The following chapter explores these issues in more detail.
CHAPTER VIII

WOOL PRODUCTION, RURAL LIVELIHOODS, THE MARKET AND THE COMMUNITY

Introduction
In chapter seven the study outlined how a joint venture between local government and Ruliv organisations attempted to assist and ‘commercialise’ local small scale ‘communal’ wool farmers through the ‘shearing tents’ intervention, and how the intervention was constrained in its ability to alleviate poverty and to change local smaller scale rural wool production into a more commercialised and sustainable market led processes. This section of the study is concerned with locating wool production in the broader frames of rural livelihoods in the Emalahleni and Mbashe Local Municipalities. In order to investigate rural livelihoods, a largely material livelihoods survey was conducted and a series of in-depth interviews undertaken together with a series of observational visits. Understanding livelihoods, as has been argued, entails adopting a wide and nuanced approach that includes looking at broader measures of well-being, which recognise entitlements, vulnerability, empowerment and self-respect, and which also attempts to take account of pro-poor developments, while also looking at capability, equity and sustainability (Sen, 1981).

Livelihood analysis, then, suggests that, in order to address sustained poverty reduction, as in the case here of wool production that leads towards better possibilities, there is the need to critically account for and assess whether there is improved access for the poor to a balanced set of assets, and to ‘entitlements’, functionings, and capabilities that relate to these entitlements, or whether there is
increased productivity of assets that they hold, and reduced vulnerability to shocks and the wider spaces of vulnerability.

Complementary components of this assessment include also looking at whether wool production could improve services, infrastructure and governance to expand and build human and social capital, increase the social capital of disadvantaged and marginalized groups, reduce vulnerability to seasonal and other variation and shocks, enhance ‘self-respect’ and expand income opportunities. Linked together, capability, equity and sustainability present a framework or paradigm for development thinking which is both normative and practical. Many livelihoods are also less singular or predetermined as in the case study (Sen, 1998). In the case of the study areas, some people improvised livelihoods with degrees of desperation. What they did was largely determined by the social, economic and ecological environment in which they found themselves. In this regard the case studies which follow indicate the nature of livelihood strategies in rural areas of Mbashe and Emalahleni Local Municipalities.

In addition, this chapter seeks, through this detail, to assess the extent to which the construction of a new local formal wool market, together with improved productivity was able to reduce poverty, enhance livelihood capabilities, strengthen a livelihood option and reduce vulnerability. In the concluding section, a different case study, based on ‘community’ (as defined by Gudeman) is presented, and the conclusion seeks to compare the ‘market-led’ approach of Ruliv to the ‘community led’ development of Rhoxeni village in Nkonkobe Local Municipality.

**Coping strategies**

As elaborated in chapter five, wool-growing has increasingly become the ‘mixed economy’ of the rural poor in the Eastern Cape, as it was practised at subsistence level and was sold at a commercial level by different households in different villages. The shearing and sorting of wool was done at the shearing
sheds in winter, where each wool grower paid R2 per sheep to the association. This was to pay the youth employed to do the shearing. The payment and employment of the youth was not uniform in all villages where I conducted the research. It depended on how organised a village was in terms of social networks, power, reciprocity, the willingness of the youth to join livestock projects and the nature and scope of employment and economic activity. The youths were trained by the Department of Agriculture how to shear and press bales\(^{141}\). In some cases, they were not trained at all.

A case study of Zadungeni Wool Growers Association and Nobokwe (WGA) were good examples of villages that employed youths for shearing, and allowed households who were not members of the Wool Growers Association to bring their sheep for shearing (see annexure B for photographs). Such a ‘village set-up’, understanding and social network played a crucial role in how the community organised themselves, and managed vulnerability through cooperative or individual household activities. However, because of a lack of external support, not all households joined the Wool Growers Associations because non-members wanted to see first ‘amahluk)(change)’ the returns members got before they would join\(^{142}\). Du Toit (2006 p. v), argued that reduction in poverty requires attention to the structural conditions that interfered with, or impeded, communal understanding and connections at village or municipal level. In Rhoxeni village in the Nkonkobe Local Municipality the community became united so that every household that had sheep was automatically obliged to be a member of the Wool Growers Association. This worked for them and brought a significant change in their wool production. The chapter explores this case study more fully.

\(^{141}\) I had to spend several weeks in June 2005 observing and interviewing the wool farmers. In most villages the youth were not interested in joining wool growers associations. This was attributed to insufficient space in the building, and lack of motivation from the elderly people.

\(^{142}\) I had to interview non-members who had livestock to find their reason for not joining the Wool Growers Association. Some were not interested. They preferred selling wool to speculators while maintaining their sheep, though they were full of sheep scabs.
Material Livelihoods strategies in Mbashe Local Municipality

According to households interviewed, within the villages of Lower and Upper Dadambe, Lower and Upper Nqadu and Matolweni 40 households were interviewed to explore income and material issues of livelihoods. The age of the interviewees ranged between 26 and 70 years of age; 2% were below the age of 30; and 10% were between 30 and 40 years of age, and predominantly female. 24% were aged between 41 and 50; 29% between 51 and 60; and 36% above 61 years of age. This indicates a profile of predominantly older-aged households, which has implications for connecting livelihoods, productivity and capacities for changing agricultural practices in wool production. In addition, while 74% of the households are male headed households, with 26% female headed households, males predominated in the older categories, while women did so in the younger categories.\(^\text{143}\)

The number of members in each family varied. 48% of the households had between 1 and 6 members: 40% between 7 and 12; 12% above 12, with the highest being 16 members in one family. Family sizes were therefore large. As further indicated by the interviews, households were composed of a large number of youths, essentially residing with older family members like grandparents, or in single female-headed households. About 50% did not receive any form of education while 38% were educated from standard one to standard nine. 12% received tertiary and professional training. The survey, however, indicated that very few youths were involved in any agricultural activities in these rural areas.

Unemployment was extremely high, with 80% of the households registered as unemployed or ‘retired’. At least 10% of the households were employed in the local area, including school caretaker, agricultural extension officer, and women involved in the Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP) who maintained rural

\(^{143}\) I stayed for three weeks with the households, observing how they started the day and what type of material resources they had, interviewing them and hearing their life experiences.
roads passing through their villages and were paid by the local municipality. Another 10% was self-employed, either selling clothes, constructing rondavels, or undertaking any available work. Growing crops was not practised by every household. Of the 88% who have arable land and gardens, only 50% grew maize in the field and the gardens. The rest used the garden only. 10% of the households have gardens only, and 2% did not have either the garden or arable land. In relation to services, of the 40 households interviewed, 93% used water from the river for cooking, gardening and for their livestock. Though such challenges are known by local government planners, nothing has happened to address this, though it is written in the IDPs. At least 7% had tanks they used for rainwater harvesting. This helps them to have water for home consumption, but they still have to go to the perennial river or well during the dry season. 60% of them had pit latrines (self-constructed), while 40% use the bush system.

In Upper and Lower Nqadu, Upper and Lower Dadambe and Matolweni, 74% of the households receive social grants and 26% did not receive any grants at all. Of the 74% who received grants, some received both an old age pension grant (R840) and child support grant (R180) usually for either one or two children. Of those who received grants, 60% of households received child support grants and 38% received old age grants. Very few households received any form of support from relatives. The other main source of income was selling livestock such as sheep and goats, participation in ‘informal economies’, and self-employment, primarily selling vegetables and maize. A bag of maize is sold for R150. 30% of the households sold maize, while 70% grew for their own consumption. 88% of the households participated in some form of wool growing and selling, often very limited and marginal, either as members of the WGA or not. The 12% who did not have sheep relied on selling chickens and goats if they had any. Cattle were rarely sold or exchanged but were only slaughtered for rituals and for funeral ceremonies. Selling of livestock as a source of income could not be quantified, as selling is not regular, or a recorded practice. Sheep were sold the most, at
between R300 and R650 depending on the purpose of the sale, the size and type. Occasionally households sold horses for around R750.

**Household differences in managing vulnerabilities**

Importantly, however, in some households who did not receive either social grants, or had very limited alternative sources of income, sheep as meat became critical. A sheep was sold for around R350–R400, and it became the primary source of basic income over a few months. Goats were sold for R500 to R700, but on a much more limited scale, as they were kept for imicimbi rituals. Pigs have largely been eliminated from the domestic local economy as a result of the culling for swine fever. Households which used to rely on pigs for basic income have been affected. In particular, female household members and heads have been affected by the pig culling measures. This has generated much local complaint and opposition, as they are still awaiting compensation (each piglet was valued at around R200 and the grown pigs up to R1000 depending on size and type).

The rural people of Upper and Lower Nqadu, Upper and Lower Dadambe and Matolweni, primarily spent their limited incomes on livestock and food, followed by health, transport, education and then services like electricity. 24% spent between R100-R200 in a month; 26% spent between R201 and R400, while 24% spent between R401 and R600, and 14% between R601 and R800. Only 12% of households surveyed, spent above R801 in a month, and in all cases (except one) this entailed generating income from outside the agricultural setting, through formal employment. There was only one successful farming household (earning and able to expand above R801 per month) - with 868 sheep, 100 cattle and 23 goats. This household primarily spent on buying vaccinations and dip for livestock, an amount totalling R9 000 a year, which was generated from selling
livestock and from wool\textsuperscript{144}. In terms of expenditure on farming, including livestock (and vaccination, dip and dosage), 43% of the households spent between R1 and R200; 17% between R201 and R400; 12% between R401 and R600; 2% between R601 and R800; with 26% spending above R801 per annum.

Households with children attending school spend their money differently. In this case 67% of the households spent between R1 and R200, 10% spent between R201 and R400, 2% between R401 and R600, 7% between R601 and R800 while 14% spend above R801. Those spending above R801 can, in exceptional cases, spend up to R15 000 in a year. Households did not spend much on electricity because they used firewood, paraffin and cow dung. Electricity was used primarily for lighting amongst the majority, while the wealthier also used it for cooking. 62% spent between R1 and R20, 2% spent between R21 and R40, 24% spent between R41 and R60 in a month, 10% used between R81 and R100 while 2% used above R101.

For transport to town, primarily to buy groceries, or see the doctor, or for children’s transport to school, the following distinctions apply: 21% of the households spent between R1 and R20, 45% spent between R21 and R40, 5% between R41 and R60, 5% between R61 and R80, 7% between R81 and R100 while 17% above R101. Those who spent above R101 travel to work and had vehicles that they maintained and bought fuel for. Telephones were mostly cell phones: but not much was used for buying airtime by most of the households: 54% spent between R1 and R20, 12% spent between R21 and R40, 10% between R41 and R60, 2% between R61 and R80, 10% between R81 and R100 and 12% above R101.

Very little was spent on leisure. Only 14% ‘drank’ and spent between R150 and R500 in a month. Where the money came from no one knew, as mentioned

\textsuperscript{144} When I entered the kraal for Mr. Xubu it was fantastic to see the whole flock of sheep in their own kraal. The cattle also had their own kraal. He had horses that were tethered outside the kraal. No one could steal them because of the presence of dogs.
earlier. Budgeting for livestock expenditure was not well developed in each household or in the majority of households. There were no records of how livestock farming was taking place. Livestock vaccinations and medications were bought when there was an outbreak and need, and there was no dosing cycle or calendar followed by most of the farmers. They remained primarily dependent on government’s dip and dose for cattle and sheep. There was no expenditure for goats and horses because they were not easily affected by diseases. Of these households, 43% spent between R100 and R300 on vaccinations, 19% spent between R301 and R600, while 38% spent above R601 in a year.

Material Livelihoods strategies in Emalahleni Local Municipality
Within the villages of Cumakala and Izingqolweni, 40 households were interviewed to find out how they sustained their living. 60% of the households were male-headed households, and 5% by the eldest sons. Furthermore 22.5% were female-headed households, while 7.5% was headed by grandparents. Each family had a varied number of family members. For example 52.5% of the households had 1-6 members, 27.5% had 7-10 members and 20% of the households had 11 and above members. Unemployment was high within these villages, with 99% of the population relying on social grants and multiple forms of income, including some form of livestock farming or exchange and other small-scale livelihood sources. Formal employment was practically non-existent in these localities: 1% was involved in building contracts around Lady Frere. The majority of people had been ‘unemployed’, and involved in vulnerable and marginal agricultural and state grant livelihood networks for more than 20 years, except for a few who retired from the mines. Of the 40 households, 40% had tapped water and 60% used water from the dam, well and boreholes. 97.5% of the households did not have toilets and only 2.5% managed to construct their own toilets.

52.5% of the households were paid social grants of R840 per month, meaning that 42.5 % did not receive this amount; while the remaining 5% in the survey
were employed or self-employed. 37.5% of the households received child support grants of R180 per child per month; 10% of the households received disability grants of R190. Some households did not receive any social grants. Some of the households received support from family members working in other towns, such as Gauteng and Cape Town. 55% of households received support from relatives and this support (as distinct from Mbashe, where family support from outside the locality was much lower) varied from one household to another, while 45% did not receive support, in spite of having family members that were working. Of those who received support, 10% received R1 - R200, 19% received R201-R400, while 71% received R401+.

The majority of households were not involved in crop farming on any significant scale and this did not provide a major source of income. Household gardens were unevenly utilised, primarily for subsistence needs, and they formed part of the basic livelihoods in the villages. At least 70% of the households got some form of income from wool production and used it for buying food, sending children to school and for other basic needs. The amount varied from one farmer to another, with a few earning above R1000 per annum but with the majority earning below R500 per annum. The selling of livestock was another source of income, and followed similar trends and patterns to those identified for Mbashe. Those with sheep and goats sold when there was need, at a price of R400-R500 a sheep and R500-R700 per goat. Selling of cattle still occurred, but on a limited scale. Some households were involved in a cooperative garden project, where they grew vegetables for sale, while a group of elderly women was involved in poultry production. Income from these projects was marginal, and primarily served basic subsistence needs.

**Rural household expenditure and ‘budget blues’**

The people of Cumakala and Izingqolweni spent income on food, health, school fees, electricity and transport. For example, 97.5% of the households budgeted for, and prioritised, food as the key concern and necessary basis for expenditure.
Of these, 85% spent between R1-R500, 12% spent between R501-R1000 while 3% spent over R1001 per month. 90% of the households spent income on electricity for lighting and cooking. Of these, 33% used a combination of paraffin, electricity and cow dung, 28% used wood and electricity, 31% used electricity only while 8% used gas and electricity. These households spent R1-R50 a month, while 31% use above R51 and up to R120.

At most, 60% of the households budgeted for transport to Queenstown and around Lady Frere and for transport for school children. Of these 83% spent R1-R50 a month; while 17% spent between R51 and R100. 80% of the households pay school fees for their children at primary, secondary and high schools while 20% did not. 41% spent between R1-R100 in a year, 31.5% spent between R101-R200 while 27.5% spent above R201 up to R1800. 62.5% did not spend any income on health as they got free health facilities, while 37.5% did pay, as they got to special medical doctors in town for specific illnesses. Of those who paid, 31.25% paid between R1-R100 within a given period when someone was ill in the family, and 68.75% paid above R101 up to R1000 depending on the illness, such as TB, and other chronic diseases. Only 10% of the households spent income on telephones such as cell phones or landlines (pre-paid). The amount varied from R12 to R60 a month.

Livestock expenditure was random and unstructured. No specific budgets were set aside for buying vaccinations, dip and doses for livestock. 70% of the households had sheep, and of these 71% had between 1 and 50 sheep, 21% had between 51 and 100, while 8% had above 101 up to 190. 50% had goats and of these, 45% had between 1 and 4 goats, 5% between 6 and 10 while 50% had between 11 and above, up to a 100 per household. 70% of the households had cattle with 53% having between 1 and 5, 18% between 6 and 10 while 29% had 11 and above and up to 30 per household. Only 27.5% of the households had pigs ranging from 1 to 5 while 60% had chickens. For those who had chickens, 33% had between 1 and 5, 25% between 5 and 10 while 42% had
between 11 and up to 23. Very few households (5%) had horses, ranging between 1 and 8. For the majority of people, these livestock were not sources of regular income, but were maintained as absolute sources of livelihood security, and sold especially when a household was in urgent need of funds to solve a problem or send a child to school. The prices for cattle varied between R2000 and R3000, sheep, R400-R600, goats R450-R700 and pigs were sold in portions of meat at R20 without weighing it (no scales, but sold on mutual terms). Chickens were not for sale, but for consumption, and horses were rarely sold, and fetched between R1500 to R2000.

The following brief personal profiles were selected as representative of the range of views offered during the research process. The study has included them here as illustrative of the context of livelihoods in both of the areas. There is no marked difference between the personal accounts and experiences of the livelihood basis, capacities and vulnerabilities in Mbashe and in Emalahleni, (except that people in Emalahleni seemed to receive greater amounts of income from family and relatives living outside the locality). In addition, as a representative sample, they accurately reflect that: the majority of respondents here were older, representing the age profile of the villages and of the household heads, and as the basis of livelihoods.

They reflect the differentiated nature of the prevailing livelihoods (in terms of age, gender, employment), but also that the predominant form of livelihood is marginal, vulnerable, cyclical, and under considerable stress, with an associated high level of dependence on social grants and on marginal forms of agricultural production and exchange. In the majority of cases, people own small numbers of sheep, and the reflections, realities and problems contained in these personal accounts represent the prevailing sense of understanding of sheep and wool production in these areas. The identified relationship (or lack thereof) to the local Wool Growers Associations is also representative, as are their ‘ideas’ about its potential benefit and the need to belong, as well as the reality of exclusion from
it. On the other hand, a few of the profiles show the views on participation, and that sheep farming, despite articulations of ‘benefiting twice’ remains predominantly centred around its exchange value as meat, and operates primarily as a ‘vulnerability bank’ for hard times. Wool appears largely incidental to the majority of sheep owners, and was exchanged for immediate short-term income with speculators.

**Case Studies**

I spent time observing the day to day living of Mr. Libalele and interviewed him as a member of Upper Dadambe WGA on the 4th of February 2006. He had this to say,

“**I am 50 years old and I am head of a household. We are 14 in the family with 11 children and I am a polygamist. I am not employed and do not have any other source of income. Yes, we receive child support grants and the main source of income now is livestock. I do grow crops, but not on a high scale. I have 90 cattle, 658 sheep, 23 goats, 20 chickens and 12 horses. I do sell my horses when there is the demand, chickens sometimes, sheep regularly because I have enough, though people complain that I am finishing the grazing land. Even those without livestock complain. Cattle I rarely sell. Wool is my other source of income as I sell through the association and I am responsible for the movement of the tent as it stays at my place. I harvested 100 bags of maize and I sell at R150 a bag but I do not sell all of them since my family is large. I married my second wife, using cattle. She used to keep my goats, but because we work too much in the field, taking care of the livestock, she ran away. Now I am asking back my 8 cattle. On food I spend R500 a month; R50 for electricity, health is free, transport R24, education I pay R125 a year. For a cell phone I spent R100 but for livestock I spent a lot-up to R9800 in a year for ‘amayeza’. I do not spend anything on goats and horses. My problem is sheep scabs, and my lambs die frequently. Livestock theft is also a problem, such that I have to spend the whole
I interviewed Mr Mbeki of Upper Nqadu and spent a day observing his relation with his livestock on the 11th of February 2006. He had this to say:

“I am 67 years of age. I was born here and I am head of household. I have 6 family members, I am not educated but I am married. Well, I have been unemployed for most of my life and the way I survive is pathetic. I get income from my wife and my grant for old age and from my two grand daughters’ child support grants. This does not mean that I do not get anything from my livestock; instead livestock is my main bank. I also get R400 from my son working in Cape Town. With this amount every month I plan what to buy. I normally buy food, pay school fees, transport and amayeza (livestock medication). I do have land that is arable land, of 2 hectares and a garden for growing maize and vegetables. The arable land I use for growing maize and beans. The growing of crops is very challenging because I do not have resources to plough the land and I am old. I even joined Massive Food Programme but things are not going well because the tractors have been grounded, parts stolen and there is a shortage of rain. There is no money from selling maize. People are no longer buying maize and the market is not there for maize. This has led me to focus on my livestock, especially sheep, where I gain twice by selling wool and selling live sheep. However, I do get 20 bags of maize and sell one bag at R50. Sometimes I manage to hire a tractor to plough my land and I pay R200 per hour. I plough the land but I cannot plant anything because of the shortage of resources. At the moment I am not a member of WGA though I wanted to be, but we were told there are enough members, so we must wait until there was space to join. I sell my wool to speculators and sometimes I get R50 for 20kg of wool unsorted. I do not know how to sort, wash and press bales. I am not benefiting from the ram exchange programme because the department has made it clear to us that the programme will only benefit those who are members of the WGA. I still have the day in the field than at home riding on a horse herding livestock. Otherwise my children have to herd them as I do not employ anyone”.

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low quality sheep and the traditional rams. I have 10 cattle, 48 sheep, 14 goats, 5 chickens and 1 horse for riding. These livestock help me a lot”.

“My source of water is the river, although it is not safe. But we do not have any option, we drink together with our livestock, and other people wash their clothes upstream. It is like that. I have electricity in my home and I use it for cooking and lighting. The way I budget my time everyday is: I wake up early in the morning, get a cup of tea with isonka samanzi (home baked bread) then herd my livestock to the grazing land. I herd them the whole day and come back in the evening. It is tiresome but I try to avoid more losses of livestock through theft. My livestock understand me. If I blow a whistle they know the instructions and when I leave one stock in the field, it has to try to find its way home”. I spend R200 on food, R50 on electricity, R200 on health when I take my family to a doctor, but if it is to the clinic it is free. For transport I spent R24 to go to and from town. I spend R75 on school fees. This is a yearly amount. I spend much money on my livestock, especially sheep and cattle for medication, dip and dosage. The money is not enough. Maybe if I had joined the WGA I would be getting much more from wool. The R40 or R50 I get from wool I use for food. The major challenges I have are animal diseases that cause a lot of deaths, and theft”.

When I visited Mrs Staymeli a female head of household she came from the river where she had gone to fetch water on the 14\textsuperscript{th} of March 2006. She had this to say:

“I am 51 and I am the head of the household and have 3 children. Ya, I am educated a bit because I ended in standard 7. In a month I spend between R501 to R1000. I receive a disability grant of R780. I started living here in 1984 when I was married and I have 1.5 hectares of land. I cultivate maize and grow vegetables in the garden. The vegetables I grow are for consumption. I would like to grow crops but since the death of my husband I cannot grow anything because of lack of manpower and other resources. I only have 8 cattle which
were left by my husband. I sell some at R4 000 depending on the size, or if it is Inkunzi or cow. I normally buy food on credit because I lack income. If I had sheep it could be much better because they increase quickly and one can benefit twice. I do not have a toilet and our source of water is a river. For cooking I use wood and paraffin. I use electricity in this house for lighting. I spend R30 for food, nothing for amanzi, R30 for electricity, R70 for health when I visit the doctor, R25 for transport to town, R20 for education school fees and it is annual, R60 for telephone and R300 for buying amayeza, livestock medication. The income I get is not enough to meet our daily needs as a family. The problems I have are; health problems, lack of food and ‘aiko imali’ to grow crops”.

Mr Mkosana had this to say:

“I was born in 1964 and I am the head of the household and have seven children. I am married but unemployed and my only sources of income are the child support grants of R180 of three children. I use this money to buy food and send the children to school. Yes, I do have land of 1.5 ha that I was given by the chief because I was born here. If someone wants land he has to talk to the neighbour about the land he is interested in, and if they agree with the owner then he has to go to the chief who will send you to the village committee. They will tell the community and if the community agrees then you are given the land. I grow maize, beans and vegetables in the field and garden. I have 15 cattle, 68 sheep, 17 goats, 3 chickens and 3 horses. I use my cattle for ploughing, sheep for slaughtering and for wool and for selling, goats for rituals and horses for riding and for selling to those who need a horse. I sell sheep at R450 to R500 and horses for R1500 to R2000.

I would like to be a member of the WGA but I am not because I first wanted to find out what others were doing, then I could join later. Then, when I wanted to join I was told I had to wait a bit, but this has been very long, and we are missing the benefits of being members, such as training in shearing wool, sorting and washing wool, and ram exchange to improve the quality of wool. Well, I am short
of income because I cannot meet all my needs and the little I get from selling wool through speculators I spend on vaccinations. I do not have water. We get water from the river and I have not yet built a toilet. Electricity ‘ukona’ (it is there) but siya usebenzisa (we use it) for lighting and I use wood for cooking. Every month I spend R500 for food, R50 for electricity, nothing for health, R12 for transport to go to town and another R12 to come back, R100 per year for school fees as I have school children attending high school. For telephone I spend R15. For alcohol I am not clear how much I spend because I sometimes get beer on credit or borrow money. For livestock I spend R400-R500 in a given year for dip, vaccinations and sheep scabs. As I am not a member I got R20 the last season from one bag of unsorted wool. The problems are that I want to be a member of the WGA, and reduce livestock diseases by buying enough vaccinations. I need the Dohne Merino ram for my sheep. The issue of animal theft is a huge problem”.

Mr Mbombi, a retired plumber I interviewed in the early morning of the 10th of May 2006 when he was preparing to go to the field. He had this to say:

“I am Mbombi and I am 66 years old and head of the household and I have 6 children. I did standard 5 and I was employed in Cape Town until I retired and now I am a pensioner. I was once married and now I am divorced. I get an old age grant and child support grant of one of my grand-daughters. In a month I get between R501 and R1000. With R780 and R180 I buy groceries, go to the doctor and meet other basic needs. Yes the money is not enough but with the little you get one has to learn to budget properly and avoid luxury goods and buy the basics that I need in my life. I started living here in 1984 when we were moved during betterment planning. I have arable land where I grow maize and a garden also. However, I grow maize on a small scale because of lack of resources. I do not have enough livestock; I only have 2 sheep and 4 goats. My sheep are for eating and selling if I am pressed by problems, and goats are for rituals. In the past 12 months I have had problems with food shortages, and I resort to exchanging goods for food. I have my own latrine and water we get from the
I use wood for cooking, and for lighting I use electricity. In a month I use R400 for food, R20 for electricity it is enough in a month, R150 for health when I have a member who is ill and needs the doctor’s attention. To go to town to buy groceries I use R25 there and back. For my grand-daughter at crèche I pay R10 in a year, for telephone, when I buy airtime, R15 is enough for a month since I only phone when there is a need. I do not smoke nor drink but for my few stock I spend R100 for amayeza in a year. The problems I face are that of health, poverty and my children end up begging and I get frustrated. My livestock are not well because of diseases”.

Mrs Mondi on the other hand had this to say,

“I am Mondi born in 1945, a widower, and I am the head of the household. I have 2 family members and I reached standard 6. I get money from piece jobs from other people and from growing vegetables. Of course I get an old age grant of R780 but it is not enough. I started living here in 1990 after being married to my late husband. We have a garden but we do not have arable land because we had not yet asked the chief. I do not have cattle. I only have 18 sheep and they assist me meet my needs, or for a livelihood, when I sell. I also sold sheep when my son wanted to get married, to raise money for lobola. People who assist me with food stuff are my neighbours when they see me living without anything. I do have a latrine which was built by my son. I get water from the river for drinking and cooking. We share water with our livestock and people wash in the same stream. I cook with paraffin when electricity is finished. For food I budget every month R300, electricity R20, transport R25, education in a year R50 for school fees, and telephone R60 and livestock R300. I spend a lot on treating sheep scabs and for dip. Well, I cannot say the income I get is enough but I try to cover my problems with the little I get. When I am sick I visit the clinic. It is free I do not pay. I am having a problem with thieves who come at night asking for money. If you do not open they will shoot the door until it is open and kill you. They also wake you up and tell you that they were going to take your livestock. If you want
to you must wake up and follow. It is very threatening especially when you are a woman and alone”.

Mr Matanzima:

“I am Matanzima I am 72 years of age, I stay here in Upper Nqadu, I was born in 1934 and I am the head of the household. We are two in the family and I am widowed and a pensioner. I started living here in 1975 and I have a garden. The main source of income for me is old age grant R780. I buy my food from it. I would like to grow crops but I am now old. I do not have a lot of stock. I only have 6 sheep. With sheep I can slaughter and sell if I have a huge problem to be settled. I sell sheep at R450 sometimes up to R600. Sheep are not difficult to take care of and during drought they can resist. Sometimes I borrow food from neighbours and give them back when I have. They understand my situation. I have a latrine I dug on my own and built, and water I get from the river, that is for all uses. I use firewood and paraffin for cooking and for lighting. If I have money I buy electricity which I normally use for lighting. For food in a month I spend R500 but sometimes I spend less, depending on the availability of the income. For electricity I use R20, if someone is ill I use up to R190, R25 for transport, R30 for education and R45 for telephone. The grant money is not enough for me to buy even vaccinations for my sheep. I wish I had more sheep then I could have a better livelihood as I would be able to sell wool and sheep. At the moment I am not a member of the WGAs. I would like to be a member of the WGA because there are many benefits”.

Livelihood strategies: ‘The way I survive is so pathetic’
Overall, agriculture and selling stock, maize and vegetables are the most common localized livelihood strategies used by households. However, as is indicated, this is uneven, differentiated and seasonal, and a large number of households only participate in these activities on a very marginal basis, if at all. Much more importantly, though, are remittances, pensions and grants that provide the most significant sources of cash income for households. Over half of
the households rely on this as a source of income. Formal employment is rare in these communities. Very few households have a member in formal local employment.

On the other hand, there was a very high dependence on various social grants, not just as a means of addressing welfare in communities, but as a central source of livelihoods and income. Recent studies have argued that rural livelihoods are primarily dependent on various state grants and on labour remittances. Studies have shown that old age pensions are the major source of livelihood and security for entire households in the rural Eastern Cape (Moller and Ferreira, 2003). They argue that the social pension was the most important source of income for the rural black population, and on aggregate, rural black households earned four times more from pensions than from wage earnings.\footnote{See Moller V and Ferreira M, ‘Getting By Benefits of non-contributory pension income for older South African households’, Report, Grahamstown and Cape Town, November 2003.} The study details above confirm that social grants were the basis of income and livelihoods in these areas. The ability to pursue different livelihood strategies was dependent on the basic material, and social, tangible and intangible assets that people possess. Drawing on an economic metaphor, such livelihood resources may be seen as the ‘capital’ base from which different productive streams were derived and from which livelihoods are constructed (Scoones, 2004; Du Toit, 2004).

Apart from social grants and forms of stock farming, other sources of income included some low level crop farming, where residents got bags of maize from gardens, also beans, which they kept for consumption. Only a few had the capacity to sell extra bags of maize and beans. From the gardens those practising gardening got vegetables such as cabbages, potatoes, carrots and spinach, some of which were exchanged locally. As the study indicates, then, many households in these areas have no regular forms of income and engage in very limited household agricultural production, if at all. They effectively scraped a
living together based on dependence on other people in the community. This is a startling indicator of chronic income and asset poverty and it directly impacts on capabilities, as the brief biographical sketches show. The outcome is a situation where very poor households relied on other poor and less poor households. This relationship of reliance on family, and increasingly other neighbouring or village families, in terms of lending money, providing basic foodstuffs and sharing, served to more widely distribute the localized and internal networks of poverty, further limiting various livelihood assets and capabilities. In addition, these relationships of shared poverty are powerfully shaped by gender at the inter-family level, with women primarily seeking and providing help, intensifying gendered burdens of poverty in the villages.

The majority of households in this study were living in poverty and the interviews illustrated that they lacked power and were marginalised. This takes many forms. Most visibly income poverty and asset depletion denies poor people the ability to participate in an increasingly consumer (even services) driven society. They were reduced to dependent and unequal relationships within households and ‘communities’. The state, and more widely (like the market), were largely exclusionary and disempowering. It is apparent that the majority of people, in the various areas surveyed, lack many of the resources and capabilities that they need in order to claim rights and entitlements that theoretically are afforded them in a democratic society. It massively narrows the circle of effective impact of households and their members on their circumstances and their society. Whatever resources and capabilities households had access to; they were used almost exclusively, as illustrated in the survey results, for the basic tasks of household reproduction and individual survival.

What is also apparent from the above personal profiles, is that the existing perceptions of the value of sheep and wool farming have become more important, as a resource to which households have access, and as a potential of ‘well-being’ (or at least a way of ‘improving being’). In many respects sheep were
identified as a major potential source of improved income, expressed primarily for its ‘multiple value’. This made some sheep owners wish to have more sheep, and want to belong to the Wool Growers Association because of its perceived income possibility, and hope of better control of diseases.

Sheep production was assumed as a major source of livelihood security (primarily as potential need and cultural exchange) and as a ‘vulnerability bank’, but this current aspect / source of livelihood was not significantly connected to its real or potential wool value (sale of wool currently is primarily haphazard, unsorted and to speculators for short-term, immediate minor sources of monetary relief). To some extent, then, livelihood ‘wealth’ is seen to depend on sheep, but it can equally be observed from the study that the current interventions have not secured or increased access to sheep and particularly wool assets and that this is both constraining large numbers of poor people’s incomes. While wool farming is potentially productive for these people, the productivity of these assets has not been realised, or changed in any long-term and sustainable sense, or even in an immediate short term sense.

So, what has wool production intervention actually meant, and what possibilities actually exist for improving livelihoods in these areas? In terms of actual interventions, there is a need to distinguish between the association members and those ‘outside’ the associations. This largely had little impact, beyond constituting a language around the potential benefits of wool production exemplified in the positive ‘outside’ views of the associations and their impact on quality and therefore on assumed income potential: “if sheep farming is not going to be well-developed there will be no other source of income” is a common summary statement. There have been no major improvements in income, in farming practices, in capacities, or in changing existing livelihood vulnerabilities, however, for those ‘on the outside’. Those who were not members of the WGA, did not have training and continued not to have the capacities to manage their sheep, shear and sort, and bale their wool. Wool production remains a very
marginal activity and source of livelihood, located in the very narrow interstices of ‘backyard’ shearing and of selling to speculators in the hope of making, on average, R50 to R100 per annum. While this is important, it is insignificant even in local people’s poor livelihoods.

Local government support
The spaces constituted by the practices of wool production through the associations has had little impact on wider levels of co-operation and of community, and of related village community management of wool production, the environment, animal husbandry, or the quality of wool produced. The non-association sheep and wool producers continue to face the long-standing and reproduced problems of the outbreak of sheep scabs and tape-worms which were killing a large number of sheep. They received less assistance (and were actively over-looked and excluded) from the Department of Agriculture interventions in many cases, because they were not members of the associations. Those who were not members of the WGA were not given training and assistance by the Department of Agriculture; and did not received rams to improve their stock, because of being outside of the associations. Theft of livestock such as cattle and sheep, continues to be alarming, particularly in Mbashe area. The police were reluctant to act effectively in this regard and did not have the capacity for regulating this. Overstocking is another issue, where one household has more than 800 sheep and 100 cattle in a clustered communal area, which has affected the grazing land. Grazing land was not fenced and livestock grazed freely, leading to some areas being overgrazed. Members of the WGAs were seen not to be motivating others to join, and in fact were seen to be actively discouraging new members.

Wool Production for actual association members
The shearing shed interventions and the Wool Grower Associations meant that, in terms of livelihoods overall, they have built a sense of associational life, at least inside the villages, but not with any ability to influence the DoA, local
government, or even the NWGA, or the systems of brokerage. While this has meant that members identified emergent relations of local social capital, comments from members confirmed this. Though wool cannot be sold immediately and locally, the formation (and extension) of the Wool Growers Associations did bring members together into a community, providing a social identity, and a sense of belonging to a space of new and improved quality, production and related knowledge and skills of wool production and needs. Members spoke of the ways that, within these associations, ‘ideas were shared and answers given to social problems’. Having sheep and taking part in wool associations also ‘empowered’ both men and women so that they could stand and say (‘simafama’) ‘we are farmers’. Those that were members of the wool growers associations created social networks; they shared problems and helped one another in livestock production, meeting and solving their needs, and providing credit networks and gifts.

Emphasis on wool production from sheep as a potential base for improved rural livelihoods, and the shearing sheds, have demonstrated an improved capacity to shear, sort, grade and bale wool. In extension, this new knowledge and capacity has also emphasized the need for better animal husbandry and control, feeding regimes, veld management and stock controls, such as avoiding re-contamination. In theory and quality practice, then, the associations and the shearing shed interventions contributed to the livelihoods capacities of those shearing wool, over the prevailing practice of primarily keeping sheep as stock and of haphazard practices of ‘backyard shearing’ and selling to speculators. In this context, vulnerabilities of wool production should have decreased. They opened up important crossings in terms of gender and participation. Thus women members said: “As women are involved in wool growing association, we are listened to, our decisions are taken into consideration”, and that “women now felt a part of the association, so these are our issues too.”
However, other aspects have been less positive. There have been contradictory developments and they have also not been able to fundamentally influence income and other aspects of livelihoods. The associations have developed relatively exclusionary membership roles and patterns of behaviour, which have tended to promote processes of differentiation between them and the community. There have also been internal processes of differentiation in the associations, where they have come to be dominated by the larger sheep owners and wool producers, who were also predominantly male members. As observed by the smaller producer members: “those with more sheep ended up getting positions in the committee, compared to a member with just ten sheep”.

They have not been able to secure more stable and improved incomes from wool production, given that prices, payments and thus ‘benefits’ and income have been dependent on systems of brokerage that were viewed with suspicion and which were, in turn, reliant on extremely competitive international and national wool markets, where prices have been unstable, and generally negative and declining. In fact, they have not been able to develop a ‘reading’ or a knowledge or understanding of these markets, and feel cheated, leading to processes of questioning, and shifting relationships with brokers, and of withdrawing from the market, rather than of gaining entry and participation. This has also had a direct impact on understandings and perceptions of income opportunities. Sorting, grading and selling on this market over the last few years have led to falling incomes, even with increased production. Long delays in receiving disappointing payments (between actual shearing, grading and baling, to its sale on the wool auctions, to receiving the ‘wool cheques’) have also meant that a perception has developed that ‘it is not worth it’; it is ‘a mere waste of time and money’; and ‘we are not getting what we deserve’, and the like. The irony then, is that the experience of ‘being in the formal market’ has been negative and has increased vulnerabilities.
Managing vulnerability in comparative terms: looking from Rhoxeni

Vulnerabilities have increased in terms of both immediate access to income in a cash-strapped local economy, and of ‘waiting for nothing’. In addition to this is the sense that combined with these poor incomes and long waits, are the ‘costs’ of the shearing tent, the association, the broker, and those of better animal health, which all add up to nothing more than further expenses with no returns. The wool market, then, together with the ‘skills’ of better farming, better husbandry and better forms of quality control, has simply and increasingly been seen to have increased costs and vulnerabilities for association members. Du Toit (2006 p.42) argues that poverty, hunger, powerlessness and marginality is not the failure of the market and economy, but rather a result of its central and important features. More particularly, he argues “it results, not from the exclusion of people from that market, but from the ways they are included.” He argues further that what defines marginality is not exclusion, or even imperfect inclusion in the economic power relations within which they are caught, but the terms and conditions of incorporation in them. The Rhoxeni, ‘community driven’, ‘local knowledge embedded’ case study illustrates clearly what livelihoods mean to a wool farmer whose working environment is conducive to better wool production, even with all other contributing factors in place.

The Wool Growers Association started as far back as 1979. The previous government helped to build a shearing shed in 1982. To date the association has 28 members and to become a member each sheep owner had to pay R130 joining fee. What is interesting in Rhoxeni is that every household in the village who owned sheep was obliged to be a member and when a farmer did not have any sheep then he/she could resign and rejoin when he/she had again acquired sheep. This has worked well for the Association in controlling sheep scabs such that “sheep scab is history to the community”. It no longer exists. It is important to note that the communities used their own local knowledge of developing rules and regulations of how to manage sheep by making sure every sheep owner became a wool association member, and not by following the technical
approaches from sheep experts, as that would not change the mind set of the sheep owners and community members.

This was a unique village in the whole of the former Transkei and Ciskei, where the community came together, through social understanding of each other and worked together in wool production. Despite low numbers of sheep (278) in total for 28 members and fluctuating prices on the market, they managed to get comparatively much better returns. The Association has also an advantage of having one of the community members a former agricultural extension officer, Mr. Mlumbi, who gave advice voluntarily to the farmers, on how to go forward in wool production, and provided mentorship and advice on the control of sheep diseases.

The community, with the help of other stakeholders, has also managed to build a dip for sheep from their own resources, and also a footbath dip. They also cater for all types of animal diseases. The dip was built in 1997 and dipping is done monthly, on the last Saturday of the month. Every September, when shearing started, communal meetings were held. Dosing was done quarterly and no sheep in the village was left out. The Association bought its own dose as a community and not as individuals, and the dosage and vaccinations were sold locally in the community's co-operative shop which sold agricultural equipment and goods. This was done to ease the situation of the members travelling to Fort Beaufort and Alice looking for agricultural inputs. The community 'owns' high breed Dohne Merino rams and these were 'owned' by the community and not by individuals. No 'indigenous' rams or sheep were found in the community, with strict rules and regulations governing wool production, stipulated by the community themselves. This has completely changed the type of wool produced. The Department of Agriculture assists them, where necessary, with doses for other animals, and on information days the Department assisted farmers and shared ideas with them and facilitated training. This happened because the
DOA knew the village was organised, and it was their 'motto' to help organised farmers.

The community have electric shearing machines, scales, and sorting tables, and have been trained by the Mpofu Training Centre in Bloemfontein how to shear, sort and wash wool. Mostly women have been trained in sorting and washing wool, while men shear and press bales. The youth were involved in shearing and no one was paid for any activity, except a security guard who was paid to look after the bales during the shearing period. One other aspect that differs from other communities is that they have rotational grazing with two camps so far established. This has significantly influenced their quality, productivity and turnovers. The community got support for fencing materials from Dohne Research Institution, who also provided them with rams\textsuperscript{146}. The association said they have enough rams to sell to those in need. They could buy more sheep to increase their numbers, since the numbers had decreased because of theft.

Wool farmers from nearby villages often visited Rhoxeni to get information on how they organised and managed wool production. Some even joined Rhoxeni Wool Growers Association, but this had a negative effect on the ability to control diseases (through spreading and mixing) so this arrangement was terminated. However, they were happy to share information with any farmer willing to learn about wool production. Despite challenges, the community have managed to use the resources available to them, and have funded and invested wisely in order to develop their farming activities. These farmers did not only undertake wool production, but were involved in poultry, gardening, breeding of Nguni cattle and a co-operative shop.

Selling of wool was initially done through BKB, but now they are selling through CMW. However, the relationships with brokers, and the 'inside dynamics' of the wool market were areas of frustration and of potential dispute. The farmers still

\textsuperscript{146} Information from wool farmers in Rhoxeni.
‘did not understand’ how the markets worked or the performance and role of the brokers in the process. Despite this, and perceived low prices for their wool, the Association produced high class wool AAF and AF in most of their sales and generated significant income and profit because of this. See table below. The Association has a problem with water for washing wool; and there has been a lot of theft of sheep, leading to a reduction in numbers, as mentioned earlier. Grazing land is also limited but they have managed to control grazing through socially created environmental management, where grazing boundaries were determined by certain trees, the ‘crossing stream’ and specific landmarks before fencing took place in 2007.

The responsive wool market as well as the strengthening of the rand relative to the closing of wool sales in 2005, contributed to the fact that the first sale of the year 2005/6 experienced downward pressure. Good medium and long wool was 2% lower, while average and inferior qualities were up to 4% cheaper. Competition was erratic, with some buyers not participating at all, while individual buyers supported the market to the extent that 90% of the offering was sold\textsuperscript{147}. Despite positive trends in other textile markets, the wool market remained uncertain, so that no significant price movement was expected in the short term. The 2006/7 wool season started on a higher note. This did not mean rural farmers were going to have better profits. However, the organised Rhoxeni WGA proved that they could compete on the wool market with commercial farmers, by using local knowledge at community level, mobilising themselves to make sure they eradicated all sheep diseases, producing classic wool, getting trained, and by every community household with sheep being involved as a member. Henceforth their sales to the market, as indicated below, show that with few sheep and hundreds of kgs of wool (as compared with those other WGAs in the intervening villages), they could get better returns from classic wool. From 2003 to 2005; they got between 6 and 10 bales of classes AF to BC and had a profit of between R7 362. 53 and R10 348. 55 (see Tables 9 to 11).

\textsuperscript{147} Cape Mohair Wool, Record 2006.
Table 9: Rhoxeni BKB sales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 bales</td>
<td>728.7kgs</td>
<td>6 bales 734.5kgs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF 1 bale</td>
<td>105kgs</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>See table below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF 1 bale</td>
<td>99.9 kgs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 types of BCs</td>
<td>x 8 bales</td>
<td>524.7kgs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net R10</td>
<td>348.55</td>
<td></td>
<td>Net R7362.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: 2003 Rhoxeni Wool Records

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kgs</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Net proceeds</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-40</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>R0-100</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>0-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-80</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>R101-200</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>21-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-120</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>R201-300</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>41+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121+</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>301+</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Quality of wool 2005 and wool value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2005</th>
<th>AAF</th>
<th>AF</th>
<th>CF</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>BF</th>
<th>AFY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KGS</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VALU E R</td>
<td>556.6</td>
<td>2596.8</td>
<td>173.3</td>
<td>152.40</td>
<td>1702.39</td>
<td>956.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From table 12 below, 696.3 kilogrammes were sold in 2006. Rhoxeni’s wool was sold at an average price of R14, 35. That gave the association a return of R12 097, 47. Of these, 367kgs were sold at a higher price of R17.50 per kg followed by the second highest of 111.1kgs, sold at R15.97 per kg. This shows the difference in returns when all factors affecting wool production were taken into consideration (veld management, eradication of sheep scab, use of local knowledge in determining how development should unfold though, support from
local government - as facilitators not decision makers - use of sheep dips and foot dip) if compared to the previous communities where Ruliv intervened in wool production using the top-down approach, and no sheep or foot dips were constructed or available.

The patterns of interaction, socialisation and accommodation of each other brought out the dynamics and complexities in each village and household. The study then argued that it is not the ‘cargoed’, ‘diagnosed’ type of intervention that could bring change in the livelihoods of the people, but how the rural farmers use their knowledge of sheep farming, combined with any other form of support, that could bring poverty alleviation. For example, the study has offered the case study of Rhoxeni village where the community defined what sheep meant to the community, and how they drew up locally embedded communal rules/laws which all sheep farmers agreed upon and implemented themselves. With the help of outside interested partners who supplied them with financial capital and other resources, they achieved their goal of promoting sheep farming and producing better quality wool that got better wool prices on the commercial market.

Rhoxeni became a point of reference for wool farmers in the Eastern Cape. The off-farm sources included wages, remittances from migrants and commuters, and income from informal economic activities and from state welfare grants. However, rural households also relied on crops (maize) to a limited extent, because the majority in the study were no longer ploughing the land. Through case studies in the thesis, livestock became the most utilised resource, easy to look after, requiring less labour than ploughing and with a variety of uses (socially, economically and politically).

As indicated, from an overall poverty and livelihoods perspective, wool production was essentially an ‘add-on’ from having four or five sheep. These were kept mostly for social capital reasons and as ‘poverty banks’ for periods of absolute need, or for when social occasions (such as deaths) require them.
Different forms of vulnerability, poverty trends and income generation and uses have been highlighted in different scenarios and case studies in the chapter, where each household used whatever income it had socially, economically, or in ways determined by its base and livelihood portfolio. For example, individuals earned between R100 and R200 on average, and had little capacity, or even interest in establishing more viable forms of wool production as in the Rhoxeni case.

**Table 12: 2006 Rhoxeni Wool value**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Net Kilogrammes sold</th>
<th>Selling price</th>
<th>Total amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>367.2</td>
<td>17.50</td>
<td>6426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111.1</td>
<td>15.97</td>
<td>1774.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>15.11</td>
<td>921.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>16.49</td>
<td>1187.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>16.49</td>
<td>115.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>359.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>837.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>12.60</td>
<td>907.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>15.97</td>
<td>694.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>90.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>277.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>296.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total kgs 696.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>Average price R14.35</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gross R13 906.29 Net 12 097.47</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Well-being from the Rhoxeni village perspective**

From the Rhoxeni village perspective, the notions of ‘well-being’ and ‘capability’ provide a wider definitional scope for the livelihoods concept. Capabilities indicate ‘what people can do or be, with their entitlements’, a concept which encompasses far more than the material concerns of food intake or income.
Such ideas represent more than the human capital which allows people to do things, but also the intrinsically valued elements of ‘capability’ or ‘well-being’. Chambers (1997) argues that such a well-being approach to poverty and livelihood analysis may allow people themselves to define the criteria which are important, such as forming the community-led Wool Growers Association. This may result in a range of sustainable livelihood outcome criteria, including diverse factors such as self-esteem, security, happiness, stress, vulnerability, power and exclusion, as well as more conventionally measured material concerns. This indicates as well that if rural communities could follow the similar patterns to those of Rhoxeni, with differences and variables depending on the dynamics and complexities a village finds itself in, poverty reduction strategies could succeed.

**Conclusion**

It is important to note that the case of Rhoxeni village has been a point of reference for many villages and households as a wool production success story through local knowledge in the globalised market oriented wool industry. It was people from Rhoxeni village who made a difference, using their own rural organisation, management and ways of wool production that involved local knowledge. The Rhoxeni case, however, does demonstrate that wool production from within local communities can be a relatively viable option, and one that can make differences to the participants’ livelihoods. The strength of the Rhoxeni case rests on the fact that it included all members of the community who owned sheep, and combined a set of mutual relationships between individual and collective ownership, responsibility, management and control. These, together with effective localised and internalised forms of production knowledge and expertise, and ‘external support’, provided the catalysts for the degrees of improved quality and production. The sustainability of the project is promising as the communities have been empowered in all the processes of protecting sheep from sheep scabs, monitoring foot diseases, social understanding, shearing skills and working as a community.
As argued by Cousins and Theron (2002) the reform of South Africa’s inherited agrarian structure is essential for overcoming a legacy of rural poverty and inequality. However, designing and implementing programmes and projects which redress the inequities of the past, while simultaneously creating a sustainable basis for rural livelihoods, is not an easy task. It needs the use of local knowledge of how the communities understand and use their resources. The engagement of NGOs in rural development programmes could be helpful if the NGOs’ approach is actor-oriented\textsuperscript{148}. Development is no longer a movement in history but an activated, integrated, sustainable social programme, driven by the poor themselves, with external support as an ‘option’, as in the case study of Rhoxeni. Although the way Rhoxeni village developed their wool production cannot be universalized or generalised, it can pay dividends if local knowledge and understanding are taking into consideration.

As argued by Haines and Robino (2004) economic growth theorists have fastened on to capital accumulation as the vehicle for growth. More recently, this approach was supplemented by approaches focusing on the ‘externalities’ from human and physical capital. An extension of the endogenous growth theory has reflected on the inclusion of development debates on issues such as the presence and absence of knowledge and functional networks of trust, as crucial in economic performance. Rhoxeni Wool Growers Association approach to wool production proved to social, economic and political institutions in the Eastern Cape that if the rural poor can organise themselves, plan and strategise the way they want development to happen, supported by these institutions, subsistence agriculture could improve and compete on the commercial market.

Drafting economic development plans IDPs, PGDPs and LEDs does not need consultants. With basic local knowledge, wool production can become commercial, with good quality wool and rams developing in the rural areas. It all

\textsuperscript{148} Cousins, B, Cousins, D and Theron, J (2002) Rural livelihoods and small scale agriculture in the western Cape: the MAG experience.
needs community initiative and organisation, then support by the external or government NGOs. In this case study it is imperative to note that chiefs did not play any role in letting Rhoxeni wool farmers come together and become a success, neither were politicians, it was purely social networks and communal understanding of the villagers themselves. Chiefs proved to be of less power in this regard hence, economic development (livestock and growing crops) was more at household and association level. The chiefs could not use their power to motivate people to farm, as in the past, although they were being consulted in the creation of policies that were governing the rural areas by the government. The conversion of the rural poor into viable subsistence farmers and/or into small-scale commercial farmers is a massive long-term exercise in which the socio-cultural and political constraints are strongly embedded in the rural political economy of the Eastern Cape (Haines and Robino, 2004). The following chapter highlights the continued attempts by local government to ‘commercialise’ subsistence agriculture, and alleviate rural poverty through the lens of a ‘goat project’ in Umzimvubu Local Municipality.
CHAPTER IX

LOCAL GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION, GOAT PRODUCTION
AND RURAL LIVELIHOODS

Introduction
In chapter eight the study outlined how rural people in Mbashe and Emalahleni Local Municipalities managed their vulnerability through wool production and how carefully households budgeted for every expense within a given month, looking at the resources each household had, also how social networks assisted in the process. The chapter also showed the importance of an ‘actor oriented’, ‘bottom up’ approach to development as adopted by Rhoxeni village in its wool production. That led to the village’s success with limited local government support. This chapter highlights how local government through its Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme intervened in rural goat production in Alfred Nzo District Municipality. The degree to which the project succeeded or failed to alleviate poverty is debated in the chapter. It therefore focuses on a direct local state intervention. Haines and Robino (2004) argued that the current research on the history of institutionalized development planning and policy in the province needs to be expanded. This will help to better understand what was attempted, what worked and what failed, and how and why the agents and agencies of such ventures and efforts were flawed. As development discourses are generally dominated by neo-classical and rational actor models, there is a need to appreciate the reworking and the partial rediscovery of institutionalised models and approaches, as well as the related debates.

Eradicating rural poverty is one of the most critical challenges facing government. Despite a great deal of work done by government and other sectors between
1994 and 2007, rural poverty is increasing and the impact is considerably lower than expected. The key problem seemed not to be the range or quality of development and anti-poverty programmes in existence, but the failure to co-ordinate their activities and provide an integrated package of services that matched local priorities.

The contribution of government, NGOs and the private sector towards rural development has surfaced in many forms during the different rural development experiences since the 1950s. The South African government's ISRD is characterised by a notable emphasis on intensified stakeholder participation in rural development. The ISRD established certain principles that impact on the level of stakeholder mobilisation for the programme (Kole, 2005).

**Mapping institutional arrangements and development**

Government laterally manages the ISRD through its different spheres, departments, and agencies, with each component having varied managerial responsibilities. The management, co-ordination and implementation responsibilities also shifted from Presidency to the Department of Provincial Local Government (DPLG) due to a change from development to an implementation phase of the strategy thus necessitating a different kind of intervention. During the development of the ISRDs (1999-2001) the office of the Presidency, under the leadership of the Deputy President, is centrally located to co-ordinate new initiatives that require all government departments’ involvement. This was to allow progress without competition amongst departments (Kole, 2005).

The Independent Development Trust (IDT) was appointed as a supporting agent for the ISRD development and implementation phases (Kole, 2005). Due to the cross-cutting responsibilities of the DPLG and the IDT, the two parties signed a memorandum of understanding in 2002, outlining their respective responsibilities. The national and provincial governments departments are responsible for
assisting municipalities with the implementation of ISRDP sector projects. Support was in the form of capacity building as well as financial and technical assistance. Through the inter-departmental committees that exist at both national and provincial level, co-ordination between these departments was expected to exist and be achieved.

**Stakeholder mobilisation**

According to the ISRDP (2000) a wide range of interest groups was to be mobilised around the strategy. These groups were arranged into politicians (leadership), government (operational) and communities as beneficiaries and instigators. These participants were required to ensure that the ISRDP was sustained through the support of the respective communities, the private sector, government and other development partners (Kole, 2005). When ISRDS was developed, the planners relied on statistical information related to poverty levels and economic activity as well as population development, other than the real situation on the ground from the beneficiaries. The principles of the Inter Governmental Relations (IGR) were supposed to be implemented. Whether co-ordination, co-operation and consultation took place in the goat project is what the study highlights.

The ISRDP was designed precisely to fill this gap. It is not a programme with project deliverables, but a mechanism for using and developing institutional planning management and funding mechanisms to focus the three spheres of government (national, provincial and district) in more effective and efficient response to local needs and opportunities, working in partnership with civil society and the private sector in all provinces including the Eastern Cape Provincial, District and Local Government.

Poverty in the Eastern Cape Province is concentrated in the rural areas, such that ‘many of the rural poor are crippled by inadequate infrastructure, their inhabitants endure a very low level of service provision. Their severe economic
marginalisation and exclusion from the first economy is reflected through unemployment rates of around 60% ‘as one simple direct index’ (Alfred Nzo District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). Over the past 13 years, various efforts have been made by the three tiers of government to address the situation in the former homelands. Specific mention can be made of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) pursued by national government, the Provincial Growth Development Plan (PGDP) for the Eastern Cape, and the successive efforts of the District and Local Municipalities to formulate and implement Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) (Alfred Nzo District Municipality IDP, 2006/7). These efforts are acknowledged and broadly commended, though they remain questionable in terms of delivery, implementation and accountability. Thus, often despite the best intentions of government, economic life for the average person living in the former Ciskei and Transkei has not got any better since the birth of democracy; in fact it has got worse. A greater percentage of people who want to be economically active cannot secure employment, and rural people are poorer now than they were in 1994 (Hall, 2005).

Alfred Nzo District Municipality stretches from the Drakensberg Mountains, borders Lesotho in the West, Sisonke District Municipality to the North and O.R. Tambo District Municipality in the East and South. The District has a total surface area of approximately 7734 square kilometres and is sub-divided into Matatiele and Umzimvubu local municipalities. The local municipalities are composed of three former Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) or towns, Mount Frere, Mount Ayliff and Matatiele and Maluti. The district has 881 rural villages. Alfred Nzo District Municipality has a poverty index of 52.6%, which makes it the poorest in the Eastern Cape. Out of a population of 544 107 people, 48% are between the ages of 15 and 65 meaning that they are potentially economically active. Unemployment currently stands at 76% with 50% of the population earning below R 6 000 p.a. The literacy rate stands at 55% with 72% having between Grade 0-Grade 9, 6% having a Matric and only 2% having a Post-Matric education. Income levels remain low largely due to a low skills base.
As mentioned earlier, eradicating rural poverty is one of the most critical challenges facing government. Despite a great deal of work done by government and other sectors between 1994 and 2007, rural poverty is increasing and government impact has been considerably lower than expected. According to the Eastern Cape Local government, the key problem seemed not to be the range or quality of development and anti-poverty programmes in existence, but the failure to co-ordinate their activities and provide an integrated package of services that matched local priorities (PGDP, 2006/7). In assessing these failures, the PGDP, for example, argued that the problem seemed not to be the range or quality of development and anti-poverty programmes in existence, but rather the failure to co-ordinate these ranges of programmes and activities, and provide an integrated package of services that matched local priorities (PGDP, 2006/7). As mentioned earlier in the thesis, the National, Provincial and Local government in the Eastern Cape designed policies and strategies that could promote economic growth and alleviate poverty through the use of natural resources that surrounded the people of Alfred Nzo District Municipality149.

**Livelihoods from an ISRDP node**

One of the natural resources was goats (Lekogtla report, 2005)150. One aspect that the National, Provincial and Local governments in the Eastern Cape came up with, was the strategy of wanting to alleviate poverty through the use of natural resources that surrounded the people of Alfred Nzo District Municipality (Lekogtla report, 2005). Here we look at one such intervention where the natural resource identified was rural indigenous goats, as a possible means of creating sustainable livelihoods.

The ISRDS was one among a number of government-wide instruments and

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149 Lekogtla report 2005 and the Alfred Nzo District Municipality 2005/6 IDP.
150 Du Toit argued (2002) that measurement-based, econometric approaches to chronic poverty are dependent upon mystifying narratives about the nature of poverty and how it can be known. They divert attention away from the underlying structural dimensions of persistent poverty and the understanding that structural poverty in turn requires a theorised engagement with the complexities of social relations, agency, culture and subjectivity.
mechanisms put in place towards the end of the 1990s, aimed, then at improving co-coordination and evaluation within and across the three spheres of government but these also included the Lekgotlas, the President’s coordinating Council, and the Medium Term Strategic Framework (Lekogtla report, 2005). Thus, President Thabo Mbeki introduced the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy when opening parliament on the 9th of February 2001. The vision of the ISRDS was to attain socially cohesive and stable rural communities with viable institutions, sustainable economies and universal access to social amenities, able to attract and retain skilled and knowledgeable people equipped to contribute to growth and development. In order to give the ISRDS profile and substance, anchor projects were identified for ‘fast-tracked’ implementation and the strategy became a programme: ‘The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP)’.

The ISRDP was designed precisely to attempt to fill this gap. It was not a programme with project deliverables, but was rather seen by government as a mechanism for ‘using and developing institutional planning management and funding mechanisms to focus on the three spheres of government in more effective and efficient response to local needs and opportunities, working in partnership with civil society and the private sector’ (Lekogtla report, 2005). The ISRDP and the Urban Renewal Programme grew out of a number of inter-related policy and delivery imperatives. At the centre of these were concerns about: how to maximize public investment in poor areas; defining precisely what government meant by and wanted out of rural development; understanding the need for integrated sets of services rather than stand-alone provision; and placing the local sphere at the forefront of demand-driven development (Lekogtla report, 2005).

The ISRDP then was meant to rely on the existing basket of services provided by all spheres of government, as well as the battery of development and anti-

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poverty programmes supplied through civil society and the private sector. The programmes, their institutional arrangements and deliverables, it is stated, need constantly to be reviewed against local priorities reflected in Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). The ISRDP was also implemented alongside and was seen to be complementary to a series of other government initiatives, including the Inter-governmental Relations Framework (Kole, 2005; PGDP, 2006/7). All form key parts of the overall governance and development strategy of government152.

It is therefore stated by the Eastern Cape Province Local Government that the ISRDP was based on a core set of principles that include all aspects of the programme. The principles listed include:

- The promotion of participatory development in an integrated manner by ensuring that (where appropriate) decision-making involves local communities and all three spheres of government; to promote co-operative governance;
- The promotion of the values of the constitution and principles of ‘Batho Pele’;
- The integration of various governmental rural development initiatives;
- The development of the capacity of local government to effectively implement the ISRDP; to adhere to principles of good corporate governance and the Public Financial Management Act
- To target the rural poor, women, youth and the disabled in particular (Eastern Cape Provincial Local Government, 2006/7; Mbeki, 2001).

In summary, then, the ISRDP is seen as a multifaceted strategy, resting on five pillars that set out the strategic thrust of the programme. Thus integration of activities at local level, co-ordination of the efforts of all spheres of government and other stakeholders, and the promotion of community needs were articulated in a demand-driven manner. Furthermore, partnerships within and across

sectors were supposed to complement available resources, which was seen as the fourth pillar, and sustainability as the driving force and success indicator for all interventions. Diversity in all structures and programmes was seen as the final pillar.

The ISRDP objectives were supposed to be achieved within the 10-year life span of the programme, namely by ‘2010’. The overall objective of the ISRDP was: “Working together with communities and other partners, to alleviate poverty and improve the quality of life in rural areas through improved co-ordination and viable institutions that address social, economic, environmental and governance needs (Eastern Cape Provincial Local Government, 2006). Whether, through the aforementioned ‘fast tracking’ of ISRDP, the objectives of poverty alleviation were achieved in the goat project, is what the chapter highlights.

The impact of ISRDP can be viewed as an attempt at district level to influence the communities to accept development as planned from the National and Provincial government, at district and local levels. How the top-down approach from the office of the President influenced development in the rural Umzimvubu Local Municipality therefore needs to be reviewed, and this chapter examines it in relation to the goat project in the Alfred Nzo District Municipality. In its local programme of alleviating poverty and creating job opportunities, drawing on the ISRDP initiative, the Alfred Nzo District Municipality, as part of its service delivery vision and strategies, invested over R10 million in the Umzimvubu Goat Project in the area of Mt Ayliff. This was the first project of its nature in the Eastern Cape and it aimed at opening commercial markets for indigenous goat meat, particularly with countries such as Saudi Arabia and other Middle East countries (Alfred Nzo District Municipality, 2006/7).

**Development of ‘Umzimvubu Goat’**

‘Umzimvubu goat’, then is the ISRDP Anchor Project of the Alfred Nzo District Municipality. Its development has been the result of collaboration between the Alfred Nzo District Municipality, emerging farmers in the Alfred Nzo region of the
Eastern Cape Province, Scientific Roets (PTY) Ltd Consulting Engineers and Agricultural Project Managers and Trainers, WEZA Social Development Facilitators, the Umzimvubu Local Municipality, the International School of Tanning Technology, Craft Africa, the Co-operative Development Initiative (a collaborative project of the Agricultural Business Chamber and the German Co-operative and Raiffeisen Confederation (DGRV), AgriSETA, the Department of Labour, the Animal Nutrition and Products Institute of the Agricultural Research Council, the Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture, the National Department of Agriculture and the Agricultural and Financial Co-operative Development Directorate (Alfred Nzo District Municipality Local and Economic Development Framework, 2005/6).

According to Kirsten (2005), the national commercialisation of indigenous goats project currently entails the establishment of goat production and processing units at various locations around South Africa. Raw products will be drawn from goats that are owned by currently non-commercialised goat farmers in the regions surrounding each project. The primary markets for the products from these centres are tourism facilities on-site, and marketing activities to national retailers. An opportunity to effect strategic alliances between grass-roots ‘Contract Growing Co-operatives’ at several locations, and a new marketing company, the ‘Kalahari kid corporation’, through the possibility of a “shared brand” was seen as the means of extending the marketing power of the goat projects to include wider national distribution and export sales. A system of vertical integration via “Co-operative Contract Growing” was also meant to assist non-commercialised goat farmers throughout South Africa to supply high quality goat products, whilst encompassing the consumer’s stringent requirements for tractability, quality and consistency of supply (Kirsten, 2005 p. 3). Whether the proposed technical, market driven, universalized, top-down approach was effective is subject to significant debate and hence the close examinations of this particular goat project.
In South Africa, the development of non-commercialised goat farmers and entrepreneurs, and the transformation of the currently fragmented industry into a formal mainstream industry has been, it has been argued, constrained by historical, institutional, market information, and research factors (Kirsten, 2005). The goat resource in the country (mainly owned by non-commercialised farmers) is large enough to ensure a consistent supply of products to the market. Furthermore, several historical perceptions, marketing systems and the institutions that governed the industry in the past and constrained its development, are of little consequence today. Interesting and innovative product development targeted at specific niche markets and based on sound market analysis is the key to commercialisation (Kirsten, 2005).

Kirsten (2005) further argued that infrastructure and institutional arrangements will have to be created to link primary producers to the markets. Throughout this development process strong technology transfer and information provision exercises, it is proposed, should ensure that non-commercialised farmers are kept abreast of developments and are not excluded from participating fully in the new industry. Kirsten finally argued that the social value attached to goats by the Xhosa people, where indigenous goats were primarily utilised for traditional and religious purposes, hindered particularly the possibilities of maximising the commercial potential of the animals. Kirsten’s argument is a very conventional argument that assumes that the economic and technical maximization of indigenous goats are constrained by the social and traditional use attached to goats by the rural people.

According to Kirsten (2005) the quality required by the traditional and religious markets is based mainly on colour patterns and size; larger animals often being preferred, and, depending on the ceremony, male or female goats may be required. In the process of changing the indigenous goat into a consumer product, and in order for the non-commercialised farmer to survive in the modern competitive market, Kirsten argues, he/she needs to be assisted to understand the importance of age, body conformation score, weight, accurate record keeping
and animal identification (Kirsten, 2005). In practical terms, farmers “must be taught how to judge an animal’s weight, must be shown how to use a scale (and must be provided access to a weighing scale on a continuous basis) (weights under 35 kg being preferred), must learn how to tell the age of a goat (goats under one year of age being preferred), be able to judge the body condition score of an animal (body condition scores of 3 or 4 being preferred), must begin an accurate record keeping system for his/her herd, and must apply ear tattoos and ear tags to each of his/her goats. This new knowledge will ensure that the product meets the required product quality specifications” (Kirsten, 2005 p.15).

The copy and paste approach to commercialisation of rural goats

The statements and the overall direction of Kirsten’s arguments formed the core basis of the thinking, orientation and undertaking of the Umzimvubu goat project itself. In other words, a very technical market oriented approach defined and under-scored the direction of the goat project. This can be seen in much of its literature and its documentary evidence ranging from pamphlets, to conception and planning documents. According to Kirsten (2005) the superiority of, or preference for, specific goat breeds is based on the results of the market surveys and knowledge of the goat resource in general. From the surveys it becomes clear that the consumer requires tasty, safe, nutritious products (Kirsten, 2005). This study then explores the complexities and dynamics of the Umzimvubu goat project that was launched by the Alfred Nzo District Municipality to outline the challenges facing the project in its management and involvement of the poor.

The proposal and planning for the Umzimvubu goat project started in 2001 and the construction of the infrastructure was completed in March 2005. The actual operations started in May 2005. The Alfred Nzo District Municipality was responsible for the construction and funding of the project with funds from the National Treasury. The project was located at Mount Ayliff. The administrative staff administered the running of the project by buying goats, treating them,
slaughtering, marketing the meat, operating the restaurant, tanning the skins, organizing the craft work and selling the craft products.

The administration also arranged transport into the rural areas to buy goats and co-ordinate with other crafters outside Mount Ayliff who got their skins from the project after goats were slaughtered and the skins tanned\textsuperscript{153}. The community was mobilized through ward councilors, and workshops were conducted with a team from Alfred Nzo District Municipality on the importance of goat production that went beyond cultural significance, along the lines outlined by Kirsten above (interviews with administration staff Umzimvubu goat project). According to the marketing manager, Fezile, the project aimed at commercialising indigenous goat farming in the area through the facility constructed in Mt. Ayliff. It had a feedlot that accommodated 200 goats, hoping to hold 40 goats a day in the abattoir.

Rural people who were members of a co-operative from Alfred Nzo District Municipality were contracted to supply the facility with 200 goats per week. Processed goat meat products like dry ‘wors’, sausage, cabannossi, and burger patties were supposed to be made available for sale. The project aimed at supplying the local, national and international markets with a combination of these goat products. Leather shoes, belts, cushions and other curios were also produced. The Umzimvubu goat project, then has an operating infrastructure with apartments which included a restaurant, shoe-making room, abattoir, dyeing room, feeding section and a shop (see figure 15) where meat products are sold.

\textsuperscript{153} I had the opportunity of visiting crafters on the complex and interviewed them. I also interviewed those along the road towards Kokstad. They enjoyed their work but lacked skins for their work.
The employed workers in the administration section of the project were unemployed members of the communities who had completed their matric. Some had diplomas in administration from FET colleges. The secretary, clerks, accountant, director and the cleaners were mostly women. In the shop they sold skin products such as women’s handbags, sandals, cushions, winter shoes and belts. The workers earned, on average, between R200-R600 per month. Again while this contributes significantly to livelihoods, it was not enough for a household to live on, and they became part of a bundle of livelihood resources. The community found a market for their products, such as individual business people from Gauteng who came to buy shoes in bulk (see figure 15). However, the members were still struggling to export meat to the Arabic countries as planned at the beginning of the project because of lack of marketing skills and meeting Halaal meat standards.

Figure 15: The products made from goats skins
The restaurant was decorated in goats’ skin, tinted on the premises. In the restaurant, African dishes of goats’ meat, intestines, rice, samp (Umngqusho), pap and other vegetables were served at R10 a plate. Most of the customers were government officials working at Alfred Nzo District Municipality and a small number of tourists who bought lunch at the restaurant. Locals who came to buy goods in the small town were among the customers, but did not buy regularly.

Figure 16: Crafters at work sewing wallets, cushions and sandals

The sewing section (see figure 16) was made up of youths and old members, all from the surrounding rural areas of Mount Ayliff. They have been trained to use their personal machines from home to do craft work making skin products of different types. This section included women and men as shown above (figure, 14). In the feeding section (see figure 17) two young men received goats from the rural areas, examined them with the help of a veterinary officer, and determined which goats were healthy and which ones needed to be treated first, before further feeding and slaughtering. This was all done in a period of weeks.

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154 Umngcushu is a plate made up of crushed maize and beans cooked together (Xhosa staple food).

155 I had the opportunity to have a plate of stiff pap and intestines while I was interviewing the staff.

156 Based on the visit to the site of the project, it was interesting to see how the youth and the old are involved in all forms of work, including craft. They enjoyed their work, though some had not yet achieved the turnover, they had hoped one day they would.
In the dyeing section, when the skins were washed, salt was added to them and then they were dried on a mesh wire for some days before being dyed. Dyeing was done in different colours. After dyeing was completed the skins were dried once more before being sent to different crafters around Alfred Nzo District Municipality. In the meat section, meat was kept in heavily refrigerated cold rooms\textsuperscript{157}. Any sick employee working in the slaughter and cold room had to take days off to avoid infecting the meat. Cold rooms where the meat was stored were tightly monitored and no one was to enter if sick. This was linked to the section where mincemeat, sausages and other types of final products from the meat were processed. The kidneys, livers and lungs were stored together with the meat while the intestines were taken to the restaurant where they were cooked and sold to locals at lunch time. According to the abattoir workers, the goats’ heads were sold to the employees and other people who needed them, at a cheaper price. Goat dung was used in the garden as manure. In summary, skins were received via the abattoir (un-salted) or purchased from regional co-operatives (salted). Skins were then un-salted, tanned, dried, milled, buffed and dyed. Leather was sold to regional crafting co-operatives and other outlets.

\textsuperscript{157} Based on the findings it seems the meat if delivered to other parts of the country or outside the country, the community does not have access to its ‘real meat’ but get some employment and some eat intestines at the restaurant.
Leather was converted into finished leather products as directed by Umzimvubu Goat Marketing Manager. Other craft products were collected from regional co-operatives and marketed at the curio shop on-site, and through formal retail channels.

**Critical Reflections on the goat project**

Overall, though the project has had limited success, its marketing operations, its projected market base and overall volume, production and sales have been ‘disappointing’. On the one hand local people bought leather products from the project rather than buying from Durban or Chinese shops, because products were durable and original. With the skills the employees acquired, they produced ‘fantastic products’ that could be bought by tourists, and even local people, as indicated.

On the other hand, however, very few products found their way beyond the local market. In addition, the local context of marketing goat meat was very limited, given existing levels of poverty and unemployment. So the local market remained very small and was already ‘saturated’ in terms of existing costs and income possibilities. This has been attributed, inside the project, to lack of marketing strategies, such that the project’s activities were not known in other parts of the municipality and the province. There was then the internally identified need to employ qualified personnel to look into issues of marketing and develop an internet website that could facilitate the marketing and advertisement of the products. In doing so, it was claimed, rural livelihoods of the youth and the old would then become sustainable, not seasonal. However, as will be elaborated below, the problems of the goat project are larger and more complex than simply that of technical issues of a lack of skills and qualifications. Rather, it is determined by the particular social relations of goat production. The project has been inserted ‘from above’ by planners to the ‘traditional rural poor’ whose understanding of a goat does not go beyond the social attachments associated
with rural goats - not their skin colour and meat standards as prescribed on the commercial market.

According to the rural goat farmers, the sources of income per household varied from social grants to income from employment and projects not forgetting livestock. The majority of the beneficiaries were the elderly population who got social grants and children under 11 years who received child support grants. Only a few youths and elderly people got income from the ISRDP project, through employment. Some of beneficiaries were rural farmers who sold goats at R700, depending on quality. Other beneficiaries were selected crafters, and the actual staff of the project, including the tanners, project manager, restaurant workers, and abattoir workers and cleaning staff. The crafters who benefited from the project came from different villages such as Zenzele, Umzimvubu, Masakane, Mount Frere, Mount Ayliff, Matatiele, Maluti and Senzokuhle.

The project had 58 workers in total, 15 members per cooperative and according to the marketing manager, 3 300 people benefited from the rural areas by selling goats. Therefore about 3478 people benefited from the project, apart from those who were employed during the construction of the infrastructure. Table 13 shows the number of beneficiaries. However, this is a rather inflated figure, with many of the beneficiaries actually only benefiting in a once off and very haphazard and selective manner.
**Table 13: Umzimvubu Goats Project**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of cooperative</th>
<th>workers (crafters) employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thembelihle</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zenzele</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masakhane</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nosiseko</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senzokuhle</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkanuko</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drankensburg</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural goats sellers</td>
<td>3300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: interviews and project records

The fact that the communities sold their goats to the project also did not mean they suddenly turned their goats into monetary value, as they continued to sell only when there was a real need, or surplus goats, and not because of the demand on the market or the supported attractions of the market. Only spare goats were sold and the best were kept for rituals (an important part of their livelihoods). This had an impact on the production of the Umzimvubu goat project as they could not get enough quality goats every month. The meat was often of a low quality and this also led to crafters lacking skin resources and getting low skin products. The cumulative effect was therefore felt throughout the project.

*Nokubonga Gagamsha a 50 year old head of household had this to say: “I have 8 goats, chickens, 10 sheep and 4 cattle. With iBokwe (goats) we normally spare them for rituals such as circumcision. Now with the introduction of these buyers of the Umzimvubu goat ‘siyatengisa sifumane imali’ (we sell to get money), although the prices are low. What can we do? We need money but you see, we do not negotiate the price. They say our goats ‘zinezifo’ have diseases. They*

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158 Based on the interviews. The communities were able to keep records any progress they were making. These were available for the interview.
have to treat them and they are of low quality. If then they were of low quality why did they start the business in the rural areas? Selling of the goats does not stop us from practising our rituals. The money we get we use to buy groceries, although these guys do not come every month to buy. To some extent they are employing the youth from the community to feed and make goat products and sew.

Sinethemba Ngonyama a 25 year old crafter at the project had this to say:Well before I joined the project I used to do my own craft work at home before we were told by the councillor that there was going to be a project that was going to start. So I joined and every one was told to bring his or her equipment. I brought my sewing equipment including my machinery. Then we had a workshop on how the project was going to run. Teams of crafters were formed from different villages and each team was to benefit from the skins prepared at Mount Ayliff and taken to the crafters in different villages. As crafters we were supposed to get paid monthly an amount of R600 and the products were to be sold to other towns, local towns and Gauteng. The problem is that we were not paid for four months and even today payment is made late. If you do not get the skins and produce then you would not be paid That is difficult for us as we thought we had found employment and I could use the skills I have for a living. Generally the project has brought some viability to Umzimvubu although we are struggling with the market. I have to support my family from that amount which is so little. If we were to sell the products alone and keep the money that would be better. Now we just enrich others as they sell meat and skin products to Gauteng, Durban and probably to Asian countries in future. However mismanagement, accountability and corruption still rock the project and households remain poor”.

MaNtombixolo a female head of household had ten goats and other livestock that included 6 cattle and 14 sheep. When the project was introduced in 2005, she heard through the ward councillor that people who had goats could sell their goats to the project and get money. When the buyers came, she had to decide
which beast to sell. In this regard, she had to keep the healthy looking goats for ‘imicimbi’ and sell those that were of low quality in their eyes. When the buyers came three weeks later she could not sell any more as she reserved her base. This affected the availability of goats for the project leading to less meat and availability of skins of low quality. At one moment MaNtombixolo sold a goat that was affected with an unknown disease, and the buyers said they had to treat it before slaughtering.

**Schematised development**

Development intervention schematised, modelled and implemented on a take it or leave it basis will never bring much change to the safety net of the communities or people, as long as there are outsiders in terms of planning and decision-making, and a project that makes the rural goat producers powerless and essentially ‘selling to get money’, at the receiving end of low prices and of technical determinations of goats of low quality. Fast tracked programmes normally fail because they do not look at or consider different variables before implementation. Long (2001) argued that external factors mean quite different things to different interest groups or individual actors. Planned intervention needs to be an on-going, socially constructed and negotiated process, not simply the execution of an already-specified plan of action with expected outcomes. It is important to focus upon intervention practices as shaped by the interactions among the various participants, rather than on pre-determined, market-led and technical ‘expertise’ outsider intervention models.

The communities in the rural areas where the leather co-operatives were operating did benefit from jobs created, apart from income from selling goats. The workers and the communities bought lunch at the restaurant and socially interacted among themselves as a team, building social relations. The members also gained skills and training on how to dye skins, slaughter, feed goats, make sandals, wallets and belts from skin and how to cook food in the restaurant. The project contributed to a lesser extent to a few peoples’ material needs and
reduced vulnerability, but the average incomes were low (around R300-R400) and thus only formed part of livelihoods for households. But this did not spread very far, given the population and the number of villages in Alfred Nzo District Municipality (858 villages), and the high rate of unemployed working class population.

While unemployment persisted, a few were trained as waiters and waitresses. Rural goat owners were helped with a ‘market’ for selling their goats to the project buyers and this added a livelihood option in material terms. In other words, the project provided a further possibility of ‘selling to get money’ (even if very constrained in terms of low prices, as mentioned earlier) and thus of addressing a need, as Gagamsha said “We need money”. However, this did not rule out ‘selling’ through exchange in the community or in cash with fellow householders who would like to practise ‘imicimbi’ rituals, but had no goats.

On the other hand, the project provided a vulnerable space for crafters. As expressed by Mr. Ngonyama, he was not settled or secured by being employed, and this did not reduce his vulnerability as he was paid late, or not paid at all after three months. He said, “We thought we had found employment”. This indicated how unsustainable and insecure the project was. The project was not in the near future going to employ more people than those already there, as it was not expanding and growing.

‘Losing faith in the R10 million’
There were a lot of challenges, such as; beneficiaries being paid late; goat skins arriving late for crafters and delaying their working process, animal diseases not fully controlled, lack of co-ordination and communication amongst project staff and members, lack of effective, efficient management and lack of clarity on the future of the project, though it was said it was now in the hands of the
community\textsuperscript{159} (information from interviewees). The fact that the beneficiaries (crafters in particular) got paid late made some crafters lose faith in the project and think of other means of survival, like, getting involved in vegetable gardens.

The crafters working in the cooperatives waited for the skins to come from Mount Ayliff had to close for most of the days of the month until the skins were delivered. According to the crafters this was more or less the same as before the project was introduced, ‘poverty, vulnerability and unemployment’. Those with other resources had to resort to other activities, selling vegetables and any other issue until the skins arrived. Such incidences clearly indicate how the ‘fast tracked’ project is yet to be convincing, looking at the objectives and the pillars of ISRDP (job creation, sustainability, community involvement, integration). Goat diseases were a problem to the community and to the project, as much had to be spent treating and feeding them before slaughter.

On the other hand, there was no programme in place that focused on eliminating the disease in the whole district as a sustainable future plan. Everything was immediate and fast tracked, thinking of the commercial market, not the livelihoods of the people per se. This also indicated lack of coordination between district and local municipalities, the project administrators, cooperative members and the communities. This shows that the project did not meet the ISRDP strategies of coordination, communication and integration. The capabilities and capacities of crafters, the goat sellers, and the Alfred Nzo community, were not taken into consideration. The projects that have specifically targeted the poor in many regions and countries have had a limited effect, and are unsustainable in the absence of the rural people’s decisions because a pro-poor policy conflicts with the wider policy of livestock commercialisation. Effective response to poverty must be rooted in the experience and needs of the poor themselves, and as far as possible be driven by these groups to give practical content to the ideal

\textsuperscript{159} In a focus group with crafters while taking their photograph, they expressed different views with regard to how the project was running.
of empowerment, not simply be driven by ideal notions of modernization and development, led by apparent ‘rational market choice’ and not by local knowledge and dynamics and meanings.

Not all municipalities benefited from the ISRDP projects, leaving other rural poor in the Eastern Cape more vulnerable and wanting such support as well. What can be argued for, in other villages in the former Transkei where ISRDP have not yet been implemented, is that, despite monetary gain, rural livelihoods were not complete if socio-cultural satisfaction was absent. In other parts of the rural Eastern Cape where the study was conducted, goats were kept for sale by those who had many (like 50 goats) at between R200-R700 depending on the size and quality of the goats. Here they did not consider what Kirsten (2005) argued for in terms of quality of goats. The market price was not established so that any farmer could determine the price of his/her animal based on social relations. This indicated that rural farmers were still at the margins of the so-called developmental initiatives preached in the PGDP of the Eastern Cape Province.

Despite this ‘market’, the main role of goats remained cultural and social. In Manzimahle for example, goats ranged from 0-20 per household in the villages, with most of the households having 3 to 5 goats. Goats were primarily exchanged or sold for traditional purposes such as imicimbi, circumcision, imbeleko, and some, only if they did not have an alternative, were slaughtered on funeral occasions. Selling was done on a cash basis and thus the informal social market predominated over the goat project’s apparent meat market. If it was a member of a family or a trusted neighbour he/she could pay in instalments. These dynamics prevailed in Alfred Nzo, so that the rural goat farmers cautiously sold only one goat in every six months, or once a year, to the Umzimvubu project. Selling was done out of necessity, not because they had

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160 Based on the study, prices are not only determined by the size and quality of goats but also by the need of either the seller or buyer. However, no goat farmer takes advantage of the farmer in need.
161 Payment by instalment is not done with interest or stipulated dates, but according to the creditor’s capability.
been turned into commercial goat farmers, and certainly not because of the presence of the project and its built-in market.

About 44% of the households interviewed did not have goats and 56% of them had goats ranging from 7-15 per household. In this case one could not sell seven goats and be left with none because there was a ‘demand on the market’. Goats were rarely kept for meat, but were mostly for ritual purposes and for the celebration of the newly born baby in a household. For example 44% of the households interviewed slaughtered sheep, goats, cattle or pigs while the other 30% did not slaughter any goats though they had goats. They bought meat from the butcheries, while maintaining their base. Only 26% of the households interviewed, slaughtered chickens.

‘Culturally embedded goats’ against the market

Despite having goats for production through the project, there has been little transformation in cultural and social meanings attached to goats. This is so in spite of supposed advantages of the market and the project. The internal processes of how the project operated did not favour the ‘sustainable development’ of the project as there are conflicting opinions that after the inauguration of the project, Alfred Nzo District Municipality handed over the project to the community, but the community was not yet financially viable, organised, or capacitated to run on its own a project of such magnitude. Worse still, this occurred before the establishment of a viable national, let alone international, market to sell meat. Resting on the five pillars of ISRDP, the question of integration was lacking, and the community needs were not articulated as they were not selling goats for the prices they wanted but on what was determined by the buyers. Lack of coordination in all spheres led the project to be unsustainable. Incorporating the principle of sustainable livelihoods includes a responsive and participatory principle: ‘thus, poor people themselves

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162 The multiple-purpose of a goat was not realized in other villages in the Eastern Cape as it was in Alfred Nzo, using goat skins to make footwear.
must be key actors participating in their development’ (Ellis, 2000). Sustainability encompasses the economic, institutional, social and environmental aspects. Overall, a dynamic principle, which recognises the dynamic nature of livelihood strategies and is able to respond flexibly and develop long-term commitments, is seen as key.

This study argues that effective policies, institutions and processes are recognised as essential in sustaining livelihoods. They shape poor people’s livelihoods options, policies, institutions and processes, and determine, amongst other things, poor people’s access to various assets such as land and livestock. The benefits poor people are able to derive from different types of capital, the environment for private sector investment, and the extent to which poor people are able to engage in decision making processes are critical in shaping their livelihoods. Sustainable intensification of agriculture can provide sustainable livelihood, given the right combination of technologies, community organisation and external environment. It is important to realise that sustainable smallholder agriculture is a key component, but not the only component, of ending poverty in different environments, such as Umzimvubu.

The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Project has proved to be unsustainable, though some rural individuals benefited directly and indirectly in the rural area of Umzimvubu and Umzimkhulu, particularly those working as crafters, herders, breeders, tanners, administration staff, restaurant workers, and the community that sold goats. The income from selling leather goods, the use of the leather goods, social relations, networks and infrastructure was different from the other rural areas where the study was conducted, where goats were beneficial only at household level and where selling was rarely done but kept for rituals. Overall, the rural poor of Umzimvubu sold goats individually within the society and also practised traditional ceremonies associated with their goats. The selling of goats to the project was done carefully and selectively to maintain the social base of goats, and not for commercial reasons or even for material
livelihood reasons. Rural livelihoods go beyond monetary gain to social and political satisfaction. Social satisfaction forms part of a rural livelihood, though this is not included in the rural developmental interventions by the local government, or even considered in the structure, planning and orientation of the goats project.

The disadvantages the communal people faced have the potential to increase and further entrench the disparity between indigenous and other sectors of society over the coming decades, unless greater effort is made now to redress the ongoing inequalities, not least of which is in respect of the knowledge systems of indigenous communities and specific knowledge (Government legislature, 2005). Such notions of indigenous knowledge embrace Long’s debate on the importance of local knowledge. However, local knowledge was not considered in the implementation of the goat project, leading to the project looking unsustainable (no market, no goats for sale as the communities rarely sold, and lack of promotion and of skins).

From the principles of sustainable development, the study points out that the project has not yet reached a moment of being sustainable. It lacks qualified personnel, the market is not available, and there is no certainty on the availability of goats to buy from rural people as they are reluctant to sell their goats for cash and then have problems during the ritual ceremonies. In effect, the project has not integrated itself into the local social relations of goat production. As mentioned earlier, lack of a constant and regulated market (buyers of meat), poor administration, and lack of accountability and lack of goat skins made the project further unsustainable.

The disintegrated and unsustainable nature of the project cannot improve the livelihoods of the poor or alleviate poverty for the majority of the communities in the Alfred Nzo District Municipality. As Long (2001) argued, the interactions between government or outside agencies involved in implementing particular
development programmes and the so-called recipients cannot be adequately understood through the use of generalised conceptions and rational market expectations of local participation. The study argues that despite the huge complex built at Mount Ayliff, the project failed to address significant aspects that make up the well-being of an individual and local household (the social, traditional, spiritual, networks, relations, capabilities, priorities and capacities) despite the provision of employment and income for a few.

The programme (ISRDP) was made in alignment with Integrated Development Plans of District and Local Municipalities, and viewed these plans as the primary vehicle for mainstreaming and giving effect to the nodal projects made for service delivery. Four years into its launch, the programme has had mixed results. Gains have been made in redirecting budgets towards the nodes; but progress has been uneven, and failure has frequently been a result of poor coordination, which was one of the main problems the programme was meant to address. The reasons for this included confusion about the roles of actors in the various spheres of government, and lack of skills. The programme was premised on the idea that problems or backlogs must be addressed in the spaces where they occur.

**Traditional leaders and the ISRDP**

Kole (2005) argued that the involvement of traditional leaders in the development and implementation of the ISRDP and ISRDS has been a matter of great debate and tensions between government and these leaders. The role of traditional leadership in developmental local government, land administration and rural development specifically are the main elements of this tension. However, in the Umzimvubu goat project there was no tension in terms of the implementation of the project as it was built on a neutral piece of land on the periphery of Mount Ayliff.

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163 Based on the survey, it will be interesting to find out if ISRDP may be applicable as well in other parts of the former Transkei and Ciskei where goats exist in large numbers.

The results of the study indicate that stakeholder mobilisation for the ISRDP in the nodal municipalities has not yet reached its maximum level in terms of the integration of existing rural development projects, resource mobilisation, community participation and communication. A widely disseminated and carefully designed information campaign is essentially needed to ensure transparency and proper knowledge of the Umzimvubu goat project’s objectives and content by all potential beneficiaries. Technical assistance and training should be accessible to rural communities to enable them to identify, prepare and implement their own sub-projects, thereby augmenting their capacity to compete for investment funds.

Both the rural areas and the poverty represent diverse, multi-faceted, complex and dynamic realities, which are often difficult to capture through statistics and other descriptive and measuring devices. This diversity and complexity needs to be accommodative, flexible and responsive in strategic planning. Analyses of rural poverty also need to take rural-urban linkages into account. The project was often characterised by poor co-ordination, poor consultation, weak participation, poor data and planning, weak institutional and regulatory mechanisms, slow delivery, and weak sustainability. It is not surprising that the Umzimvubu goat project would be one of the white elephants of ISRDP anchor nodes.

Rural development is understood to be multi-dimensional, encompassing improved provision of services, enhanced opportunities for income generation and local economic development, improved physical infrastructure, social cohesion and physical security within rural communities, active representation in local political processes, and effective provision for the vulnerable. Rural development in this context is thus much broader than poverty alleviation through social programs and transfers. The concept places emphasis on facilitating change in rural environments to enable poor people to earn more, invest in
themselves and their communities, contribute toward maintenance of the infrastructure that is key to their livelihoods; in short, to identify opportunities and to act on them through local knowledge. A successful strategy will thus make people less poor, rather than more comfortable in their poverty. This emphasis is complemented by specific measures to assist the vulnerable and relieve the burdens of poverty.

Social sustainability is an important dimension of a successful strategy. Rural communities hold a wealth of social capital in the form of extended networks of mutual solidarity, shared beliefs and traditions, and commitments to retain long-standing practices of daily life. Development projects when defined through sound participatory processes can reinforce and sustain social capital. However the goat project did not emphasize the cultural aspects, instead it discouraged these ‘cultural views’ as a backward approach that hinders commercialisation and the reduction of poverty. Conversely, incremental resources brought into rural communities can be divisive and destructive if various groups compete for access through a process that is not generally accepted and understood. One need not idealize the degree of social cohesion within villages. Rural society is not homogeneous, and widespread poverty creates tensions. Growth necessarily brings change, and change can cause conflict because the social dynamics of rural areas present challenges to which there are no easy answers. The participatory process should be designed to be as transparent and broadly inclusive as possible, and at least a portion of benefits should be targeted to particular groups that might otherwise be under-recognized, such as women and young people, if they themselves embrace that emblem of change.

Integration has been a goal of rural development programmes for many decades. Most of these failed to achieve the desired synergy because they failed to design a mechanism for integration. As shown in the Umzimvubu goat project, rural development is difficult to integrate because it cuts across traditional sectors and involves all levels of government. An effective mechanism for integration will
specify what happens at the various levels, who does what, and how the integration will be accomplished. There is a dire need to resuscitate the rural economies and advance the cause of rural areas as potential engines of economic growth that would contribute towards their own development and the broad national development agenda. A strategy to achieve growth must be founded on an understanding of how rural areas grow.

**Conclusion**

When programmes are intended to benefit the poor, or previously disadvantaged people, targeting mechanisms should be simple, explicit, and monitorable. They should, moreover, be based on objective criteria, should foster transparency, and minimise political interference in resource allocation. Identifying clear criteria *ex ante* simplifies the task of designing the system of monitoring to ensure that project resources do reach the poorest communities.

There is little foundation for the assumption that the activities of the goat project led to the improvement of the welfare of the rural population, or their livelihoods socially, politically, or economically. As discussed earlier, the government’s support of the ‘fast tracked’ ISRDP goat project made the municipal target areas like Umzimvubu in Alfred Nzo implement the project. This is a significant example of a project that focused on the seeming resources that the rural poor had to alleviate poverty and sustain a livelihood.

However, the project was more technical; ‘top-down’ market oriented and considered social values of goats as a drawback to ‘commercial goat farming’. The communities of Alfred Nzo were supposed to be ‘educated’ on the importance of commercialisation of goat farming and leave the ‘traditional methods of farming,’ as argued by (Kirsten, 2005). The project has not proved sustainable and integrated, though a number of community members with goats have benefited, albeit marginally, as they could sell their goats to the project. However, it remained a last selective resort, rather than a viable and integrated
meat market. However, the social relations and social networks have not been considered in the development of the project (as part of poverty alleviation), despite the declaration that the project allowed the communities to make decisions and coordinate activities. Despite the fact that goats are not regularly eaten like sheep, villagers sold goats to the project on a selective and narrow basis only, and slaughtered for personal use on a limited scale\textsuperscript{165}. In other municipalities goats were kept more for social and cultural reasons than economic.

The lack of availability of rigorously collected and accurate data meant that the Umzimbvubu goat project was selected on the basis of two dimensions: of infrastructure, and economic potential, but not social cohesion and integration. It is deeply regrettable that this situation has not since changed. There is a massive variety of possible economic activities and interventions that can, and should, be supported; government requires greater sophistication and flexibility in its approach to local economic development. It is obviously critical that accurate economic data is collected; and that this is best done \textit{in situ} at local level, tapping into the knowledge and expertise of local residents, businesspeople, farmers and the like. This must inform the next set of nodes, if their economic growth is to be planned rather than a happy accident. Secondly, greater rigour is needed within government regarding economic development.

The ISRDS was renamed the ISRDP, reflecting the fact that it was not merely a set of ideas but a set of implementable activities. Changing the name for that reason makes sense. But in the push to give the programme visibility, and pick some ‘low hanging fruit’, anchor projects were fast-tracked. Many projects like the goat project bore no relation to the demands set out in local IDPs, but (again) reflected the theoretical deliverables of sector departments and their programmes, which seemingly continued to ‘rain down randomly’ from above, to

\textsuperscript{165} Based on the Xhosa culture, (imicimbi) rituals need to be practised even though they are selling goats to the project. They have to reserve some for rituals.
paraphrase the ISRDS. The Strategy emerged from a process that was driven by Ministers but staffed by development planners and district municipalities, and reflected the trade-offs made between the two.

The (poor) timing of the ISRDP launch suggested that co-ordination within the government was indeed very poor. Ultimately, government must learn to co-ordinate itself. It will have to do so through trial and error. The thrust of the strategic initiative was to build immediately on existing programmes of government that had the possibility of wide impact and replicability, while initiating and developing selected new programmes. The strength and success of the new programme was assumed to be derived from the well-coordinated bottom-up approach in a rural local economic development context underpinned by a well thought-out local institutional base within and outside government. Because of this assumed bottom-up approach and the primary reliance on better coordination of existing programmes, the strategy would be able to deliver results on the ground very quickly. However such planning was only on paper, as reflected in the study of the goat project.

The instruments for more efficient, speedy and accountable rural development, where priorities had been set by rural people were missing in the study areas. To do this well, rural people need good information, increased capacity to evaluate, and access to planning, implementation and monitoring support. To support these efforts, rural people have a right to demand assistance from their government. However the demand is fruitless as no response comes back from the local authorities in the form of delivery at the right time, other than during voting time.

The ISRDS is testament to the capacity of the South African government for self-criticism, which gave rise to it. The ISRDP is the product of debates about what rural development actually means and what delivering it entails by multiple
agencies, sometimes working in tandem, at other times working in parallel or opposing directions.

But it is precisely the ability to manage these creative tensions, and ensure that they inform or flesh out the aspect of the ISRDP, that gave the strategy its robust content. However, the rural areas of our country represent the worst concentrations of poverty. No progress can be made towards a life of human dignity for the people of Umzimvubu Local Municipality as a whole, unless we ensure the development of the municipality.

Nodes were selected on the basis of need, not potential or level of readiness, let alone being ‘ready to fly’. Hence the Umzimvubu goat project was assumed it would benefit the communities by selling meat to international markets, which was theoretical. It is a natural instinct among targeting experts and development planners to assume that the neediest are the most deserving. In absolute terms that may be true, but it is less so when trying to build a new way of governing and implementing, and looking for success stories to build on. Questions can be asked on the future of the project as it has failed to run sustainably. To what extent will power of resource allocation, both between and within national and provincial departments, remain centred at national and provincial level as planners of what is to be implemented below? To what extent will the municipal level be able to influence the budgetary process that will assist efficiently in eradicating rural poverty? Will the essence of the system be one of requests travelling up the system and decisions being transmitted downwards? Will feedback on requests which are passed up the system, fail to flow back down to local committees?

As mentioned earlier in the study, Long (2001 p. 11) and Mosse (2004) argued that all forms of external intervention necessarily enter the existing worlds of the individuals and social groups, and in this way they are mediated and transformed by the same actors and structures. The extent to which large scale and remote
social forces can alter the life chances and behaviour of individuals, can only be
done through shaping, directly or indirectly, the everyday life experiences and
perceptions of individuals and groups concerned. A more dynamic approach to
the understanding of social change is therefore needed, which stresses the
interplay and mutual determination of internal and external factors and
relationships and which recognises the central role played by human action and
consciousness. Long (2001 p.14) argued that in the field of development, we
need also to get behind the myths, models, and poses of development policy and
institutions, as well as the reifications of local culture and knowledge, to uncover
the particulars of people’s ‘lived-in’ worlds. Here the ‘lived-in’ world of goats did
not connect with the commercial basis of the project itself. The gap between
policy and practice remained.

We need to document the ways in which people steer, or muddle their ways,
through difficult scenarios, turning bad into less bad circumstances rather than
imposing development as a diagnosis that could cure poverty through promotion
of capitalist commercial markets. The next chapter explores the dynamics of
commercialization of agriculture on ‘emerging black commercial farmers’. It is
crucial to notice the links and contradictions that unfold.
CHAPTER X

EMERGING BLACK COMMERCIAL FARMERS?

“We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people. That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality. The land shall be shared among those who work it. Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger. The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers. All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose.”

Freedom Charter, 26 June 1955

Introduction

This chapter outlines the emergence of black commercial farmers in post apartheid South Africa through a case study located in Sakhisizwe Local Municipality. The emerging black commercial farmers got their farms during the government’s post 1994 land reform, land restitution and land redistribution programme. According to the Sakhisizwe Local Municipality IDP (2005/6) Integrated Development Planning (IDP) is one of the key tools for local government to cope with its new developmental role. In terms of the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 (Chapter 5 Section 24), all municipalities are required to develop Integrated Development Plans. The development of IDPs is a legislative requirement which accords the IDP, a legal status that supersedes all other plans and is meant to guide development at local level. A key component of the Sakhisizwe Local Municipality IDP is its focus on its assumption that the new emerging commercial farmers would form the cornerstone of integrated development in the municipality.

The Integrated Development Plan is a mechanism for the Local Municipality to manage its own affairs as well as the basis for support to the population in its
area. The participation of communities in the development of the IDP and in municipal affairs is a constitutional requirement within a municipal or local government sphere. The Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 defines a municipality as comprising the political leadership, administrative apparatus and the local community and as such, local communities must be at the forefront of the local government planning initiatives (Sakhisizwe Local Municipality IDP, 2005/6). Community participation in terms of the IDP is seen as the means to form a renewed social contract between the municipality and community. Whether such theoretical planning was real, is what the chapter highlights. The IDP planning process then, is meant to be, and is, typically claimed as a “consultative, analytical and strategic approach to decision-making on issues related to municipal development” (Sakhisizwe Local Municipality IDP, 2005/6). Whether the community was actively consulted during the review of the IDP is debatable, however municipalities tend to use the ‘prioritisation’ process determined by ‘directorates within the municipality’ who determined which activities or programmes to consider in any given financial year, rather than what the communities opted for ‘if any consultation’ had actually taken place in the first place.

Agriculture remains identifiable (almost routinely and rhetorically) as the single most important land use element and economic growth generator for the largest portion of the population in the former Transkei. It is argued by most local government and its IDPs, that it should therefore be supported by means of the provision of appropriate infrastructure, policy and initiative while the basic guidelines of poverty alleviation are located around the crucial role of local government in meeting basic needs of the poor. This would create opportunities for all to sustain themselves through productive activity, establishing a social security system and other safety nets such as agriculture, to protect the poor and other disadvantaged groups, empower the poor and encourage the participation of marginalised groups (Sakhisizwe Local Municipality IDP, 2005/6).
The PGDP as the economic binding document

The Eastern Cape Provincial Government and Development Plan (PGDP) (2006) and its social partners prepared a Provincial Growth and Development Plan (PGDP) in 2004 to guide the development of the Province over the next ten years (2004-2014). Ultimately, the PGDP set out a provincial vision, targets and programmes aimed at economic growth, employment creation, poverty eradication and income redistribution. It also targets a rapid improvement in the quality of life for the poorest people of the Province. As a whole, the PGDP captures, and claims, firstly, a ten year vision of sustainable growth and human development in the Province. Secondly, a strategic plan, a set of feasible programmes and a fiscal framework designed to expedite achievement of the national goal of "a better life for all" and the province's vision of an "Eastern Cape devoid of the imbalances and inequities of the past, with integrated and balanced development". Thirdly: growth and poverty reduction targets that form a set of feasible and affordable programmes underpinned by broad-based consensus on the human development strategy followed by the Province. Fourthly: the identification and development of programmes to address the short-term needs and crisis of the province, as well as community-based human and income poverty reduction initiatives.

It then argues that this will provide a framework for the development of more realistic and feasible Integrated Development Plans, guide the planning and development of Provincial government programmes, and reinforce provincial priorities and targets that must inform budgeting and fiscal planning for the future. In essence, the PGDP itself argues that the analysis of constraints and opportunities show that the PGDP needs to deal with “the high levels of poverty and unemployment and their spread across the province, and the inequalities between different parts of the province”. As such, it proposes a framework with 6 strategic objectives, divided into three key objectives and three foundation objectives. The three objectives are: (1) Systematic poverty eradication through integrated and multi-dimensional approaches to pro-poor programming. (2) Bring
transformation of the agrarian economy and add strength to household food security. (3) Consolidate development and diversification of manufacturing and tourism (PGDP, 2006/7). The key objective was transformation of the agrarian economy with commercialisation of rural agriculture as the 'motor' for development.

The Provincial Growth and Development Plan (PGDP) identified ‘six planks’ (public sector transformation, agrarian transformation, manufacturing diversification, infrastructure development, environment and tourism, and economic growth and employment creation) for provincial growth and development. It argues further that through its pillars the PGDP’s Green Revolution Strategy (a sustained social and institutional mobilisation and organisation for sustainable accelerated agricultural growth and development) was to be done through municipal strategic, Integrated Development and Local Economic Development Plans (PGDP, 2006/7).

In essence, however, it was assumed that the commercial sector would be the leading agents in transforming the agricultural sector and in providing for local growth and development. In this case, emerging commercial farmers were expected to produce for export and national commercial markets. The commercial farmers were expected to become viable, intensive farmers. However, the PGDP can easily be criticised for its lack of ambition and vision, for reproducing old dualistic frameworks for development and for failing to connect food production and rural development (Bank and Minkley, 2005).

**The broader definition of a commercial farmer**

On the other hand, contrary to the suggestion of promoting small scale farming, Titi (2004) holds that the Eastern Cape farmers need to stop their traditional farming methods and move towards commercial farming to ensure high productivity and improved quality.\(^{166}\) How rural people could turn into

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166 18/07/98 Farmers asked to up red meat production.
commercial farmers was debatable. Burger (1992) cited in Grwambi (2004), defined a commercial farmer as ‘One who produces sufficient agricultural products for the market so as to earn profit from the farm, and sufficient to ensure an acceptable standard of living for his family and himself. He further divided commercial farmers into three categories, namely, intensive, extensive and semi-extensive. The intensive commercial farmers are mainly involved in horticultural products for export markets. Intensive commercial farmers also include products that are largely destined for the export market where quality, taste and appearance are of particular importance. Extensive and semi-extensive commercial farming include farming on large scale pieces of land with high production. Such characteristics of commercial farming cannot be easily associated with subsistence farmers in the Eastern Cape or with the emerging black commercial farmers in the study.

Nicholson (1989) cited in Grwambi (2004), found that commercial farmers were most characterized by larger agricultural holdings. They own more capital items, such as farming implements, buildings and structures necessary for their farm operation, and employ more full-time and temporary labour. They grow cash crops for financial gain and display greater sophistication in methods of making payments. Commercial farmers also display more activity, restlessness, perseverance and persistence in their farming (Agri review, 2004). Whether rural subsistence agriculture and emerging black farmers in the former Ciskei and Transkei can be commercialized, is a question whose answer we all await. Whether rural agriculture goes beyond subsistence at household level is critical, because commercial agriculture plays a major role in economic growth [capital-market economy] (Delgado, 1995).

**The notion of wasted land**
Older discourses of ‘wasted land’ have re-emerged in current debates about land reform in South Africa, in a context where renewed pressure is being placed on the state to demonstrate that the post-apartheid land reform and restitution
programmes are delivering significant results. It has been argued that by restoring land and providing new economic development to the rural areas, poverty alleviation would take place (Bank and Minkley, 2005). The former minister of agriculture Mufamadi and the former MEC of agriculture in the Eastern Cape, stressed also that communal farmers were wasteful, unsustainable and a barrier to development. Communal areas were presented as an environmental threat and unless they became commercial and market oriented, they were a drawback. The fore-mentioned minister and MEC argued that commercial farming was a vital cog in the wheel of growth-orientated development and the communal people have to establish themselves as emerging commercial farmers (Bank and Minkley, 2005 p. 6). Such notions were then presented in the Local Economic Development Framework, the PGDP and IDPs of District and Local Municipalities.

In line with recent policy directives from National and Provincial government, the District Municipality emerged as the centre of planning and co-ordination between the three spheres of government. To give effect to this, National and Provincial departments and public entities committed themselves to accelerating the establishment of infrastructure, to enable social and economic activity in the identified priority sectors in the Chris Hani District Municipality (Growth and Development summit report, 2006). The Municipalities in the Province, in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture, Department of Economic Affairs, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), Department of Land Affairs (DLA) and Office of the Premier (OTP) through Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative in South Africa (ASGISA) committed themselves to making available R150m towards Agrarian Transformation and the Green Revolution over a period of three years, in order to improve the sustainability of the Massive Food Programme and commercial agriculture in all Local Municipalities, and to transform agriculture towards commercialization, more generally (Growth and Development summit report, 2006).
The Department of Agriculture, through its socio-economic development initiatives, is committed to reducing poverty in South Africa, broadening access to agriculture, and increasing productivity and profitability within the agriculture sector (Growth and Development summit report, 2006). The Strategic Plan for South African Agriculture, adopted in 2001, consists of three core objectives: equitable access and participation, global competitiveness and profitability and sustainable resource management (Agriculture and land Affairs, 2007). South Africa’s agricultural marketing has undergone transformation since 1994 with the introduction of the Marketing of Agricultural Products Act, 1996 (Act 47 of 1996). This Act has changed agricultural marketing policy and practice dramatically to ensure that it occurs in a free environment. The deregulation process was aimed at ensuring that farmers and agribusinesses position themselves as players in the globally competitive market environment (Agriculture and land Affairs, 2007).

Subsequent to the setting up of the National Agricultural Marketing Council (NAMC) in 1997, the directorate of Marketing in the Department of Agriculture was established in 2002 to work closely with the NAMC on agricultural marketing matters. The purpose of the directorate is to develop, promote and facilitate the implementation of programmes and measures aimed at supporting equitable access to competitive and profitable agricultural markets on a sustainable basis (National Department of Agriculture, 2006). This broad mandate is seen to be achieved through the administering of market-access measures in the form of trade (import and exports), facilitating fair, open, efficient and competitive domestic markets, and liaising with other government departments and relevant parties to enhance the efficiency of the agricultural marketing value chains (National Department of Agriculture, 2006).

The focus has been on working with National Farmers Unions and emerging farmers to mobilize the increased participation of emerging farmers into commodity groups. Together with the co-operative development initiative, the directorate has initiated a programme for incorporating mentorship and linking
emerging farmers/agribusinesses in nodal areas with established businesses (National Department of Agriculture, 2006). The framework then, was the department’s response to improving equitable access to, and participation in, agricultural opportunities, de-racialising land and enterprise ownership, and unlocking the full entrepreneurial potential in the sector. It has to manifest itself at local level. Hence this case study examines, through one detailed example, whether this occurs in reality. It is easier to give lip service than implement what is planned. The Department of Agriculture then created Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD).

The LRAD was designed to provide grants to black South African citizens to access land specifically for agricultural purposes. The major means of achieving this was a new redistribution programme aimed at establishing a class of black commercial farmers. The new policy, (LRAD) was originally designed for people with capital to invest, preferably those with agricultural diplomas. Applicants could make a contribution to the cost of the land of between R5,000 and R400,000 and, depending on the level of this contribution, would be eligible for a matching grant of between R20,000 and R100 000, on a sliding scale (Department of Land Affairs, 2000; Hall, 2004).

As mentioned above, the objectives of the (LRAD) included: helping previously disadvantaged people in rural areas to improve their living standard by enabling them to run their own large or small farms, effectively broadening the opportunities available to young people who live in rural areas, and stimulating agricultural production which will be to the benefit of the entire country. The applicant had to identify the land he/she wished to buy. If the applicant could afford to make a bigger input to buy a larger piece of land, the proportional size of the grant in relation to his/her input would be smaller than that provided to help the less well-off person. Project finance support was to be provided only for agricultural activities having the required level of institutional and technical support. According to the farmers, not many of them received the grant; instead
they had to use their own resources for the larger portion to purchase the farms, not equipment.

However, the findings in this chapter outline the challenges and complexities of the attempt to promote emerging black commercial farmers in a local context. The Department of Agriculture introduced the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) “to provide post-settlement support to the targeted beneficiaries of land reform and to other producers who had acquired land through private means, like emerging black commercial farmers who were engaged in value-adding enterprises, domestically or for export”. The programme aimed at benefiting the hungry, the subsistence and household food producers, farmers and agricultural macro-systems within the consumer environment (National Department of Agriculture, 2006).

More broadly, according to Hall (2004) land reform is one way in which the ‘new’ South Africa set out to redress the injustices of apartheid and, by redistributing land to black South Africans, to transform the structural basis of racial inequality. During the first decade of democracy, land reform has fallen far short of both public expectations and official targets. She argues that a recent shift in land policy, from a focus on the rural poor to ‘emerging’ black commercial farmers, is consistent with changes in macro-economic policy and reflects shifting class alliances. The programme now appears to pursue a limited de-racialisation of the commercial farming areas rather than a process of agrarian restructuring. Most fundamentally, land reform has not yet provided a strategy to overcome agrarian dualism (Hall, 2004; Kariuki, 2004: p. 4).

Thus, despite calls for a radical restructuring of social relations in the countryside, as outlined earlier, the constitutional negotiations on the protection of property rights and on the economy more broadly, ensured that land reform would be pursued within the framework of a market-led land reform model. How this has impacted on the emerging black commercial farmers is critical in the study. Whether the emerging black commercial farmers can be called
‘commercial’ or ‘large scale subsistence farmers’, is a further debate which the chapter also explores.

**Acquiring farms and farming activities**

The farmers acquired the farms in the post-apartheid South Africa and have been farming for the past 10 years. Eight farmers were intensively interviewed and eight farms were visited. However, the information available in terms of hectare coverage, the cost of the farm, crops and animals per farmer has missing parts, as some farmers could not remember the details. The farming activities of the black commercial farmers were not only livestock-centred, but included crop farming as well. As shown in table 10 the black commercial farms have large hectares of land, both grazing and arable. The farmers have more grazing land than arable land in all farms. This indicated that livestock production was predominant in the farms although not all farms had plenty of livestock. The most expensive farm was bought for R345 000 and the least for R75 000. 50% of the farms cost below R200 000 (see Table 14). Of the farmers interviewed, (99%) of the farmers bought the farms from the previous Transkeian government. At least (60%) of the farms had less than 50 hectares of arable land and 75% of the farms had more than 250 hectares of grazing land. About half, (50%) of the farms had in total more than 500 hectares of land (both arable and grazing land).

Thus, the black commercial farmers, although involved in crop farming, their farming activities were more livestock oriented (Table 14). The farm that had the largest piece of land, both grazing and arable was Mtsandeni farm (1037ha) but it was not the most expensive farm. The expensive farm was Clifton farm in Tsomo valley that cost (R345 000) but it had 507ha in total (see table 14). The cost of the farm could have been linked to the size of arable land and the fertility

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167 Based on the findings, the emerging Black commercial farmers bought expensive farms so that they could become commercial, with the support of the government, and of course with their own resources. But the outlook of the situation is that they seem to be operating as middle subsistence farmers because of the shortage of resources to fully become commercial.
of the soil, but this was not clear. Clifton farm had the largest arable land of
120ha\textsuperscript{168}.

### Table 14: Farm Sizes and the Cost at which Farms were bought

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farm name</th>
<th>Farm size</th>
<th>Grazing land</th>
<th>Total farm size (hectares)</th>
<th>Farm cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shunna</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>R260 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imizamo 264</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>R135 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtsandeni</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>1037</td>
<td>R163 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromdale</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>R170 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear view</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>R75 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Tsomo</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>R345 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mqumeni Kloof</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Not provided</td>
<td>No information</td>
<td>Land claim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dibela</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>R300 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: interviews with farmers

#### Labour shortage and finding alternatives

The farmers did not rely on family labour as they hired casual workers from farms. The children of the farmers were studying or working in towns and only came home during holidays. The farmers, like their fellow white commercial farmers, hired rural farmers who assisted to shear wool and harvest crops. The casual workers employed during the farming season were from Cala and Elliot and nearby rural communal areas; they assisted also with weeding, pruning and harvesting crops. On average, the commercial farmers employed one to two permanent workers and ten to twenty casual workers, depending on the amount of work available.

\textsuperscript{168} Based on the interviews, arable land is not fully utilised, as I observed it.
One can question why an emerging commercial farmer such as Mr. Fatso employed only one permanent employee, like communal rural farmers. It was because he lacked resources and was not farming intensively and he did not have mechanisation to boost production. The man employed was a herder who looked after his livestock. The herder rode a horse to keep the livestock within the designated kraal to avoid any lose and theft. Such minimised production activity makes it difficult to define Mr. Fatso as a progressive emerging commercial farmer. According to Mr. Fatso, the rate of theft was more in commercial farms than in the rural areas, because of the vastness of the farms. Most of the livestock thieves, according to the commercial farmers, were from communal areas, and Lesotho.

According to the black commercial farmers in Elliot, they engaged in both crop and livestock farming. Of the farmers interviewed, 98% of the farmers interviewed acquired the farms between 1994 and 2004. The majority bought the farms, while one farmer reclaimed her forefathers’ farm which was taken by the former Transkeian government. Through LRAD, the emerging farmers were assisted by the Department of Land Affairs and the Department of Agriculture, financially, to purchase the farms, though most of the farmers interviewed had their own capital to purchase farms. The aim of purchasing the farms, according to emerging black commercial farmers, was to contribute to the economy of the Eastern Cape and to grow as commercial farmers.

In terms of LRAD support, as mentioned earlier, the farmer was given a varied percent of funds depending on the amount the farmer had. Those who had more funds were given 20% of the purchase price. Those who had less were given an increased percentage (National Department of Agriculture, 2006). In this regard,

\[169\] Land claims and land restitution took place in post 1994 allowing some land to go back to its owners. Those who could, bought for commercial purposes, like the Black emerging farmers in the study

\[170\] Reclaiming land is not any easy task, as it has so many challenges as Verdery (2004) illustrated of the Vlai cu in Romania who struggled to get back their real land during the de-collectivization of land. Here, the commercial farmer struggled to show all the proof that the commercial farm was her forefather’s land
farmers got varied amounts. One farmer did not get any support from LRAD because she got the farm through a land claim. This illustrates that the farmer was given the land as claimed but what she was going to do with the farm was her business. Such lack of support will deepen poverty even more.

Mrs. Fanteni who got the farm by land claim had this to say; “Firstly I went to my grandparents and got enough information on our forefathers’ farm and how they were evicted, their papers such as birth certificate, if there was one, baptism cards if they were going to church, IDs, livestock records, any papers on the land such as permission to occupy (PTOs) or lease agreements, security of tenure and any other document that could assist in lodging the claim. I then had enough papers that were still available, and the history behind the farm; who the first tenants were, and who removed them from the farm and under which law or Act they were removed. I then took the claim to the Department of Land Affair. (By then it was the Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs). I lodged the claim, they verified it by checking all records that I had, and checking if the land really existed by validating with the deeds office that really the claim was valid, my own ID and of some of the family members, the family tree of the Fanteni and so on. I was then given the farm in 1996. I am happy that I got the farm but there is lack of support from the government. I am just staying on my ancestors’ land. I cannot sell it”

Livestock farming and farming support
According to the farmers interviewed, Maize was grown on a medium scale and livestock were kept for both use and for sale, (such as cattle, sheep, goats and chickens). Wool growing was a major livestock economic activity, as well as improvement of cattle breeds. Most of the farmers had cattle of different types ranging in number from 32 to 140 (see table 15). However these numbers were not much different from those in the rural villages. The same with sheep, the numbers ranged from 50 to 460 while in the villages they reached up to 860 per household despite having small pieces of grazing land. Other livestock were not
many in each emerging commercial farm. In terms of the working environment, the farmers worked individually and met for meetings on stipulated dates for feed-back from their representatives.

Table 15: Commercial Farms and Number of Livestock

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farm name</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Chickens</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Geese</th>
<th>Ducks</th>
<th>Turkey</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Donkeys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shunna</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imizamo 264</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtsandeni</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromdale</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear view</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Tsomo valley</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnqumeni Kloof</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debela</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: interviews

They coordinated with white commercial farmers facilitated by the provincial committee of Eastern Cape Commercial Farmers Union’, sharing ideas and discussing future business plans on commercialisation and how the emerging farmers could get into the ‘competent market system’, understand the climatic conditions and geomorphology of the area, and the types of pesticides and fertilisers to be used. However, the level of cooperation tended to remain largely at the level of meetings and sharing ideas together, and the offering of technical support. According to the Department of Agriculture’s Manager for Sakhisizwe Local Municipality, the only institution that really assisted the farmers was the Department of Agriculture which arranged training courses, and facilitated open

171 Grwambi (2004) argued that commercialisation involves mechanization and selling products on the commercial market. The farmers I interviewed for a week in July 2006 lacked inputs such as tractors.
day information workshops, technological and management workshops and meetings within the Local Municipality. However, according to the farmers interviewed, the form of support did not show integration with all the other sectors of government in the municipality and the Eastern Cape Province.

Not even one department claimed to be responsible for the development of the emerging farmers, despite the manager of the DoA’s claims that they were supporting the farmers. Support was so limited that the farmers felt ‘ignorant’ and continued to struggle with making the transition to commercialisation on practically every front. In addition they lacked funding, and appropriate markets for selling their maize and cattle, and for sheep they depended on BKB and CMW brokers who transported their wool to the Port Elizabeth Wool Auction, and they continued to feel ‘distant’ from this. In effect, it became increasingly difficult to draw the line between emerging farmers and small-scale communal rural farmers, despite the differences in land size, in ownership and in terms of potential local production volumes.

In fact, it seems that, apart from wool production, the only other area of viable production was that of milk. Each commercial farmer had his/her own number of litres of milk acquired in a day or week. Emerging black commercial farmers got from 10 to 20 litres of milk per day, depending on the number of cows he/she had (see table 15). One farmer got 50 litres of milk in two days. However, the farmers milked the cows manually. The price of milk varied between R2.50 and R3 a litre. On average, farmers got 40-50 litres of milk per week and therefore earned around R120-R150 per week. There was no designated dairy market for selling milk. Milk was sold haphazardly to nearby towns of Elliot, Cala, Engcobo, Barkly East and the surrounding rural areas. Dairy production was affected by poor management, poor grazing land and lack of rotational grazing within the farms. According to the study, no farmer was involved in feeding. In fact, cattle

172 On the day of the interview I met the Black Commercial Farmers BCM at a workshop where they were brainstorming, together with women, and I had the opportunity to interview ten of them, although the whole group wanted to share information about their farming activities.
generally grazed in the overgrazed, burnt, and eroded fields. However, some farmers who had part of their grazing land fenced, had better grazing land. Such farmers did not employ a herder but drove themselves around the farm to check if the livestock were there\textsuperscript{173}.

**The importance of livestock at farm level**

All the black commercial farmers interviewed kept livestock for sale as live beasts, or as meat, and they also slaughtered for themselves if they so desired. Primarily the emerging farmers slaughtered sheep. The number of sheep slaughtered by the farmers differed from one farmer to another, but the majority spoke of slaughtering at least one sheep per month. Those with fewer sheep slaughtered one sheep in three months. Sheep served the same purpose as for small scale communal rural farmers, that is, for wool, slaughter and for sale on a smaller livelihoods basis. The only market that was well established was the wool market, not the meat market. Cattle, goats and sheep were sold to other rural farmers, but there were no established commercial markets where the farmers could sell their livestock (or even their maize)\textsuperscript{174}.

In terms of wool growing, emerging black commercial farmers got one to eight bales of wool per farmer. 50\% of the farmers got more than 3 bales of wool (see Table 16). Unfortunately I did not have the opportunity to establish the profits made in selling wool, because the records were not available. This, in itself says something about the nature and dynamics of wool production by these farmers. But, based on interviews with the farmers, and in terms of auction prices and comparative quality evaluations, the wool prices and levels of income from the farmers was not much different from that of communal rural farmers. Farmers who had Dohne Merino rams would have earned around R9 per kg to R11 per

\textsuperscript{173} The importance of milk sold to the urban people of Cala and Elliot may be underestimated, but plays an important role in their health system, although this has not yet been researched.

\textsuperscript{174} Based on the interviews I conducted in May when I visited ten farms. Black commercial farmers are struggling to find a well established market and resort to selling to rural people.
kg but some got less than that because of constraints involving indigenous sheep mixing, and mating with the improved breed affecting quality of wool.

Table 16: Livestock Production per Farm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farm Name</th>
<th>Milk</th>
<th>Wool</th>
<th>Cow Dung</th>
<th>Eggs</th>
<th>Meat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shunna</td>
<td>10 litres per day</td>
<td>5 bales / season</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>15 per day</td>
<td>From sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imizamo 264</td>
<td>10 litres per day</td>
<td>1 bale</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>30 per day</td>
<td>1 sheep / month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtandeni</td>
<td>50 litres</td>
<td>8 bales</td>
<td>manure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sheep &amp; Fowls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromdale</td>
<td>10 litres per day</td>
<td>8 bales / season</td>
<td>manure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 sheep a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear view</td>
<td>10 litres per day</td>
<td>1 bale</td>
<td>Fire/manure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 sheep in two months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Tsomo valley</td>
<td>15 litres a day</td>
<td>1 bales</td>
<td>manure</td>
<td>5 per day</td>
<td>Pig, sheep, chickens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnqumeni Kloof</td>
<td>10 litres</td>
<td>2 bales</td>
<td>manure</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 chickens weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dibela</td>
<td>20 litres per day</td>
<td>4 bales</td>
<td>Fire/manure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 sheep in 3 months</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: interviews

On average each bale weighed 25 kg. Depending on the type of wool (AAF, BF, XOL1), farmers got between R225 to R275 per bale. Prices differed from R1 125 for 5 bales, and, R1 800 for 8 bales to R1 375 for 5 bales to R2 200 for 8 bales. This clearly indicated that the quality of wool was still poor, similar to that of ‘rural subsistence communal farmers’. Few farmers were involved in intensive poultry
projects. Most of them got eggs for consumption and sold chickens, both broilers and Inkunku zesiXhosa (Xhosa indigenous chicken), at prices ranging from R25 to R30. Mutton was the most consumed, with each farmer slaughtering primarily for domestic consumption, as indicated above. This differed from how livestock farmers in the communal rural areas decided when to slaughter sheep. Communal rural farmers did not slaughter for consumption more regularly than emerging farmers.

Emerging black commercial farmers also sold live sheep to surrounding rural communal people who were in need, and to the towns of Cala and Elliot for the same reason\textsuperscript{175}. These were episodic and sporadic sales, and certainly did not constitute a regular and established pattern of production and sale. As such they can be considered more as particular, need-induced livelihood strategies, rather than commercially driven and structured exchange processes.

Overall, these farmers were most concerned with their relationship to the various markets. Accessing primarily local ‘markets’ meant that prices varied on the market from R3000-R3500 for cattle, R450 for a sheep and R600 for a goat. Thus, although the farmers received profit from their sales of livestock, they were uneven, depended on circumstances, and not secure or consistent. In response, some of the farmers attempted to improve stock holdings in order to improve quality as a means to try and gain access to more regular markets. In part this was influenced by the advice obtained from white commercial farmers. They introduced the gene improvement programme by introducing ‘bull’ breeds (Brahman) for the improvement of breeds for sale. One farmer introduced a Simmental bull which he bought for R9 120 and another farmer introduced a Cross Limosin breed.\textsuperscript{176} These bulls have improved the quality of their cattle but they have not yet started marketing their cattle because of lack of a suitable

\textsuperscript{175} Gudeman’s model of economy as domain of value is also applicable in these commercial farms where the market is the surrounding rural areas. One would ask where the white commercial farmers sell their products, yet they live in the same area of Elliot.

\textsuperscript{176} Source: I interviewed Mr. Fatso on the 20\textsuperscript{th} of May and he showed me around the farm: the dilapidated kraal and fence, and the other farm where he was involved in crop farming.
market. Some farmers sold their cattle in Elliot where there is an abattoir. Alternatively, the emerging farmers were engaged in local networks of ‘informal exchange’ and trade. Small stock was exchanged for cattle, with their communal rural counterparts on the surrounding communal farms. At other times labour was exchanged with bags of maize.

Gudeman (2001) suggested that the ‘alchemy of money’, ‘creates the fiction that a flattened, comparable world of commercialisation exists. We could add that the alchemy of owning large areas of land also applies in this case. In other words, it appears as if, because of the size of land ownership, the assumption of commercialisation was simply assured. But this was not the case. In fact the dialectics of community and market, is, in fact, more pronounced here than any simple transition from black ‘marginal’ community to commercial market.

**An emerging commercial farmer**

Figure 18 shows the grazing land on Mr. Fatso’s farm he bought from the previous Transkeian government. The land has been overgrazed and degraded because of veld fires. He failed to maintain it because of “challenges that surrounded him”. The grazing land was bare where the vast hectares were not fenced, because the fence had been stolen. The photograph clearly shows the dilapidated old gate, the buildings, the old water tank, dilapidated employee rondavels and degraded roads.
He had no inputs/resources to maintain the farm; on the other hand he had two farms that were socially, rather than economically, embedded. Each of the farms was for his two wives and their siblings, and they were seen as their ‘inheritance’ primarily located in ‘owning the land’ and maintaining a social base of livestock. One of the two farms was meant for crop farming and the other for livestock production. The fact that the farms were socially embedded led Mr. Fatso to not specialise in either crop farming or livestock farming or to prioritise any of the two farms. He tried to balance his wealth between the two farms. The issue of culture, community and its importance was expressed in this incident. The farmer was more worried about his social well being than farming, and of how his resources (the base) would be shared when he died (inheritance), in order to maintain standing in the community, rather than the real commercialisation of agriculture. He did not buy these farms to increase output as white commercial farmers do, but to build a social inheritance and family and community landed base. Creating the base was vital for him. Mr. Fatso’s farm is a concentrated

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177 Based on the farmer’s argument, will the successors increase production or have the knowledge to farm at commercial level?
representation of what was happening on the other farms and of the cultural, social and community connections, and the attitudes prevalent on the so-called ‘emerging farms’ (see figure 18).

These emerging farmers were culturally embedded, rather than production-oriented. Gudeman’s argument that social networks and social relationships were given priority rather than the neo-classical economy is evident in this case study. This does not mean that the emerging farmers were not growing crops or attempting to keep animals commercially. However, more generally, social relationships and social networks were a critical part of an emerging black commercial farmer sector in Sakhisizwe Local Municipality. They meant a lot more than profiteering, or a more market orientated approach which was the model based in the white commercial sector.

This has meant, though, that the state of black commercial farms has deteriorated since the emerging farmers bought them in 1994. They are extensively marked, or scarred with damaged fences, over-grazed land, deforestation, uncontrolled veld fires and degradation. Overall, however, it is also important to note that the emerging commercial farmers were not as vulnerable as the small scale communal rural people. They did not have to wait for, or rely on, social grants to have cash or income, nor did they have to sell livestock to sustain a living. Livestock, as mentioned earlier, were slaughtered for domestic consumption, and not invested in as a safety network. The social relations between the emerging farmers also began to show levels of individualism and competition, rather than reciprocity. They rarely traded through exchange among themselves, as in the communal areas, nor did they have close links with each other in order to share social issues as was often the case with the more impoverished and communal areas.

On the other hand, however, these emerging farmers were also becoming increasingly ‘alienated’ from the surrounding small scale and communal areas.
where they were seen as becoming ‘like white farmers’, and where they were given a status different from the communal community (interview with farmers). This has meant that traditional social networks of connections or belonging, or if you like the ‘community’ aspects, while essential to their continued existence, were simultaneously coming under strain and threat.

The emerging black commercial farmers, as Xhosa people also practised ‘imicimbi’ cultural ceremonies, rituals and circumcisions, as those in the communal rural areas did. They slaughtered cattle for funerals and when calling back the spirit of the dead into the family. They also slaughtered sheep, as many as 10 for an adult member who died on the day of the funeral, and 6 for a son or daughter above 14 years (interviews with commercial farmers).

**Emerging Black Commercial Farmers’ Association (EBCFA)**

The emerging black commercial farmers in Sakhisizwe formed an association under the influence of the ‘Eastern Cape Commercial Farmers Union’ which in turn, fell under the umbrella board of the ‘National Commercial Farmers Union’. Every farmer was supposed to become an affiliate and member of the local Emerging Black Commercial Farmers Association (EBCFA), whether one had one farm or two. A membership fee of R120 was paid annually\(^\text{178}\) (Interviews with farmers).

The association met to discuss the future development of their farming systems and for training, workshops and updates on livestock and crop diseases, marketing of products, and for assistance and support of each other. The committee also sent their grievances and progress reports to the Eastern Cape Commercial Farmers Union (ECCFU). The ECCFU sometimes organised meetings for the EBCFA together with white commercial farmers in the area around Barkly East and Elliot to assist with knowledge on how to farm and explore new markets. The chairperson of EBCFA, Mr. Nelson, collaborated with

\(^{178}\) I had an opportunity to gather this information from a focus group interview with all farmers and they were eager to share information with me
the National Commercial Farmers Union (NCFU) together with the Eastern Cape Commercial Farmers Union (ECCFU) and updated members on their farming activities (but this was not enough to change the state of black commercial farming in Elliot). In actual sense the meetings were largely a ‘talk-shop’ and provided little more than this, and less advice. At the same time, though, they formed an association to try and improve their farming activities, but the problems persisted. This again illustrates this tension between ‘community and community’ and their differing institutional and social realities, as they created internal tensions as expressed in the interviews, essentially between livestock as social entity against livestock as a commodity.

**Local Economic under-Development**

Farmers were faced with massive problems of lack of infrastructure, buildings and well constructed roads linking their farms. According to one farmer interviewed (Mr. Gqoxe), they were also affected by drought and theft. The farms lacked dams, electricity and boreholes. The farmers were still using firewood as a source of energy on a commercial farm. Most of the farms visited were not fenced and lacked financial support from the DoA or any other stakeholders. The Municipality was not facilitating the development of the emerging farmers. Veld fires destroyed their veld uncontrollably, so that the grazing land ended up without any grass for livestock. They lacked money for feeding livestock, and for better quality wool and beef.

The success of the black commercial farmer is a daunting challenge for South Africa. The double challenge for the current government is not only to unlock the historical "structural constraints" within the agrarian economy, but also to “re-orient” the current macro-economic climate to be more sensitive and responsive to all farmers’ needs, even those at small-scale level. It was, and has been, envisaged that developing a class of black farmers would generate a positive

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179 These grievances were raised again when the Deputy President of South Africa Mlambo-Ngcuka visited Elliot on the 15 of September 2005. What is left needs government action in supporting the farming sector as there was agricultural potential in the area.
linkage effect in, and help to deracialise and stimulate local rural economies. In practical terms this is proving to be the other way round. Individual ownership has not easily or simply translated into commercialisation and productively ownership remains largely socially and ‘inheritance’ embedded. Productivity remains geared to immediate reproductive consumption needs, not to accumulation and advancement as understood in conventional capitalist terms. According to Bond (2002), many experts acknowledge that the prior focus on purely market-determined economic development (commercialisation of agriculture), accompanied by appeals for foreign investment by national and local leaders, lead to Local Economic Underdevelopment (LEU). This seems to be supported by this case study.

Mosse (2004) argued that there is a critical view that sees policy as a rationalizing technical discourse concealing hidden purposes of bureaucratic power or dominance; this is often the true political intent of development. Development he argues “is not policy to be implemented but domination to be resisted”. Development projects such as land reform and commercialisation of agriculture need ‘interpretive communities’ even if these are individual, private owners. Indeed, effective agency and power in development requires the strategic generation of a network of actors within different discourses (Mosse, 2004: 9). What this study shows is that the ‘emerging farmers’ have not constituted themselves as a ‘network of actors’ or as an interpretive community. Rather they find themselves caught between the historical legacies of black marginality and its associative dynamics to land as social inheritance, and community, identity, and the white commercial sector with its continuing ‘market’ dynamics of exclusion and self definition.

This has meant that this case study of emerging farmers in Elliot shows that while on the one hand trends towards individualism and a withdrawal from wider rural social networks are occurring, on the other, transitions to a more commercialised and competitive farming sector are limited. Rather, emerging
farmers, caught in between, have tended to become increasingly reliant on, and therefore vulnerable to, expectations of state support and ‘development’, while they have not been able to generate and sustain a more full capitalist transition to provide ownership, labour relations, commercialisation and accumulation. In effect they have become caught in a network of local economic underdevelopment and growing social isolation.

Mosse, (2004) has argued that development interventions are generally not driven by meaningful policy but by exigencies of organisations and the need to maintain relationships of power. Policies such as the PGDP, IDP, ASGISA, CASP which worked well to legitimise and mobilise political support, do not provide a good guide to real practical developmental action, nor can they be easily put into practice. Policy models often cannot shape actual practice in the way they claim to. Claiming the need for commercial agriculture does not simply translate into reality once ownership is affected. Such transitions are more complex, nuanced and localized in many respects and their needs have to be recognised, as do their on-going processes of negotiation, adaptation and transformation of meaning that takes place between specific actors (Long, 2001).

The question was whether the emerging farmers were commercial in nature, as commercialisation as conventionally defined ends with private profiteering, production and individual competition on the market. The literature generally defined commercialisation as a categorical concept used to classify farmers according to the portion of their produce taken to the market, and sometimes also to reflect their stages of individual capitalization and capital economic relations of individual market production and development

180 Based on the interviews, the number of livestock of all farmers did not tally with the amount of grazing land available, if I am to compare with that of rural farmers where one farmer had 858 sheep which was the highest per wool farmer interviewed.
Where to from here?

Having shown the effort, courage and enthusiasm for purchasing the farms, the emerging Black commercial farmers were disappointed with the lack of support from interested institutions such as the local government, Department of Land Affairs, Department of Agriculture and NGOs. Since 1999, when most of the emerging farmers purchased the land, there has been little change shown in terms of production. Most of the farms resemble communal rural areas, with large pieces of grazing and arable land belonging to one individual. In many local municipalities, commercialisation of agriculture was prioritised in the IDPs, Spatial Development Frameworks, and the Provincial Growth and Development Plan. Annual financial budgets were set aside for such developmental projects (Sakhisizwe Local Municipality IDP, 2006/7; Chris Hani District Municipality IDP, 2005/6). However, the emerging black commercial farmers got no support at all, while the budget was underutilised and returned to the treasury.

This has even led to the cutting of budgets in the following financial year, and this further explains the continued and repeated lack of support and efficiency of local government. In particular, farm infrastructure was identified as a key area requiring intervention by the Sakhisizwe Local Municipality and the Chris Hani District Municipality, but where nothing was facilitated. Some had existing small dams, but the dams were too shallow and ran dry very quickly. Irrigation equipment, ‘infrastructure’, markets and funding remained scarce and its development continued to lie ‘only in the hands of the farmers themselves’. There were no ‘links’ with Sakhisizwe Local Municipality except when the municipality consulted with the DoA during the IDP process. The reality was that the municipality was not even facilitating the development of black commercial farmers as emerging farmers

\[\text{The support from the government was very limited, in comparison with how the past government supported white commercial farmers. It is important to note that generally, it is agreed that the white commercial farmers have reached where they are because the previous government policies and laws favoured and supported them until they were fully fledged farmers.}\]

(Kariuki, 2004; Lahiff, 2005).
institution with its own differentiated planning strategies and resources to supposedly support the farmers. This has resulted in an uncoordinated and ‘disintegrated’ approach, to commercialisation in particular. In spite of the introduction of Inter Governmental Relations (IGR), the institutions continue to work ‘in segments’, continuing to negatively affect the development of emerging farmers. Mr. Nelson, despite being the chairperson of EBCFA, and an emerging black commercial farmer, had this to say “If there is any form of support from any interested organisation, including the government, it is welcome”. “We would actually do better than what we are doing now. If the government or any other organisations could support the emerging commercial farmers, maybe we might talk of a fruitful commercial agriculture”.

Long (2001) argued that, ‘cargo types of intervention’, and policy debates, (including policy implementation), are permeated by interface discontinuities and struggles. The fact that there was no attempt to constitute local market, or any co-ordinated market strategies for marketing crops and other livestock products is one clear indication that local planning strategies were limited. It is argued here that they were derived from external planners and ‘copied and pasted’ in the rural Eastern Cape, where the officials themselves were not well versed in the policies or of how the communities could understand them, or make decisions and become involved. The top-down approach of neglect and lack of action and support has persisted, while emerging farmers were willing to participate in decision making for the promotion of commercial agriculture. This was clearly shown when the Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka at her ‘ingcoko’ meeting in October 14, 2006 with farmers, raised the concern of lack of support. She suggested that the emerging commercial farmers needed support from the government at all levels. However, all this went into the Provinces’ deaf ears or into the incapable government officials’ ears, since nothing further materialised182. While the Eastern Cape local government183, ‘plan and talk’

182 Daily Dispatch October 14, 2006, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, the deputy president, lashed out at government employees with illusions of grandeur and said they were alienating themselves
about commercialising rural agriculture by 2014 (as stated in the PGDP for example), the emerging black commercial farmers already in the system with large pieces of land, seem to be forgotten and overlooked.

The current policy shift, geared to create a class of black commercial farmers was a credible initiative, given the demographic imbalances that exist within the agri-sector. However, this new initiative, given its limitations, assumptions and constraints, was bound to throw the initial objectives of the programme into further disarray. It created a class of black commercial farmers “dovetailed” into already existing patterns of social inequality, as exemplified in the dichotomised agricultural sector (small and large-scale farmers), evident in the rural areas. Most importantly, creating a stratum of black commercial farmers, without unlocking the imbalances of power in favour of all within the agri-economy, only perpetuated the existing biased agrarian structures (Nieuwoudt, and Groenewald, 2003).

Emerging Black Commercial farmers: more a mystery than a success

South Africa’s new democracy has made tremendous strides in its first decade, as a host of the ‘year reviews’ have pointed out. But continuing poverty and inequality undermine these gains. We continue to live in one of the most unequal societies on earth. The ‘first economy’ does not automatically benefit those in the ‘second economy’ and that integration will require sustained government intervention, including resource transfers and the transfers of capital. Agrarian reform and the integrated rural development programme are included in the list of from the people. Mlambo-Ngcuka was speaking to the farming community and other stakeholders of the agricultural sector at Elliot in the Chris Hani District Municipality in the Eastern Cape. Mlambo-Ngcuka gave a clear message that government was serious about poverty eradication and promotion of emerging farmers and it is because of this that the government was serious about agriculture. She also lashed out at government employees in municipalities for not fostering good working relationships with the public/emerging farmers.

183 Mlambo-Ngcuka reminded them that they are public servants and not public masters. She further urged the farming community to be more innovative in their trade, thereby ensuring the Eastern Cape as the farming capital of South Africa.
government strategies to meet the growth and development challenges of the second economy.

But are there really two economies and is there a challenge to integrate the two? Poverty and lack of support is caused by the structures of inequality within one economy that is already integrated, but in ways that disadvantaged the majority of emerging black commercial farmers. The solution lies not in building ladders between the lower and the upper storey of the two-tiered house, but rather in rebuilding the house according to a new set of architectural plans. The apparently successful policies pursued within the first economy are the same policies that created structural disadvantages in the second, and this needed to be land reform that benefits people beyond acquiring pieces of land. The problem of rural poverty needs to be conceptualised in terms of an agrarian question of the disempowered which can be resolved only through a wider ranging agrarian reform that must include not only the redistribution of land and the securing of land rights, but also go beyond land questions, and restructure the approach to political economy.

A major weakness of the land reform programme is in relation to post transfer support for people (emerging Black Commercial farmers) on restored or redistributed land. The agricultural support programmes of both the national and provincial departments of agriculture have been poorly aligned to projects of supporting emerging BCF beyond land redistribution through ELRAD and CASP. CASP’s content as a development programme was unclear. The reform component, as shown in the study, has been slow to produce real change in the lives and production of (EBCF). Even if better funded land reform programmes that lead to the acquiring of farms by (EBCF) would not benefit them further because policy frameworks, accountability and support are ill-suited to the goal of promoting commercialisation and BEE.
Arguments for a broad-based land reform and agricultural development ‘from below’ must take account of the larger realities and processes, and show how they can be challenged, and thus how reality can be changed. This is more difficult and challenging than arguing against misrepresentation and bias. The arguments are not only about facts but also about possibilities. These alternative realities as shown in the study on EBCF should be the real focus of the debate.

A reconsideration of the agrarian question in post apartheid South Africa requires us to frame it in terms of contemporary realities of structural poverty. A proactive state can make active use of market mechanisms to target land reform in regions of emerging opportunity where needs are also found. Land reform, as that which benefited the EBCF, could have been effective only if embedded within a broader agrarian reform programme that creates the conditions for processes of accumulation from below. Access to land and resources is necessary but not sufficient without effective access to input, tools and equipments used by commercial farmers, dams, electricity and marketing outlets, infrastructure for irrigation, transport and communication amongst the farmers themselves and government institutions.

Paradigm shifts are required to realise this vision of agrarian reform. The local government needs to recognise its central role in land and agrarian reform and devote sufficient resources to redistribution, restitution, tenure reform, small farm development, emerging Black commercial farmers (EBCF) and rural enterprise promotion. Policy makers need to question their skepticism about the potential for small holder production and their consequent bias in favour of large scale production. Beneficiaries of agrarian reform in processes of policy making, planning and implementation must be involved. To date only lip service has been paid to the notion of rural community participation.

Inadequate capacity for the implementation of land reform is a recurring problem. A concerted effort to strengthen the capacity of EBCF is urgently required.
Capacity building ensures that appropriate policies are in place, providing sufficient resources. There is a need of employment by local government of professionals with adequate skills and experience in order to undertake a wide range of tasks to support EBCF. In house training, streamlining systems and procedures in effectively managing programmes and projects is critical for the success of projects like those of promoting EBCF. Continuous monitoring and evaluation of support programmes have to be promoted, and this is lacking.

**Conclusion**

The ‘livelihoods’ of emerging farmers, and their localities and practices differ among the majority of small-scale rural localities and people. Despite having large pieces of land for both crop and livestock farming, actual production was limited and the farmers continued to face many challenges. Policy and practice did not meet, or was not even clearly defined. The six ‘pillars’ of the PGDP in addressing the immediate needs and crises of the province through transforming agriculture to alleviate poverty, and enabling agrarian transformation and commercialisation, remain empty promises. The ‘one size fits all’ approach to rural development and promotion of agriculture proved to be a failure, at least in terms of promoting the emerging commercial farmers.

Despite all these challenges and limitations, the emerging farmers themselves claimed to be ‘commercial farmers’ and that one day they were going to be like their fellow white commercial farmers. But claims are not realities and their commercialisation seems to be significantly caught between intersecting relations of cultural and historical identity, dependence and constraint. Powerful discourses of the economic efficiency of commercial farming, and the inefficiency of low-input agriculture by the poor, appear to persist within the state bureaucracy. This ideologically driven preference for commercial farming is evident, even among those tasked with implementing land reform, where commercial farming criteria have been deployed in assessing applications for land grants (Hall, 2004). Land reform performs an important symbolic function in
the ‘new’ South Africa as tangible evidence of a nation addressing historical injustice, and as part of a wider process of nation-building. It also has the potential to form the ‘centre piece’ of a programme of rural restructuring: to transform social and economic relations and provide a structural basis for broad-based pro-poor development. However, the current policy approach evidently cannot achieve its own limited targets, let alone restructure the rural economy and overcome the apartheid legacy of dualism in the agrarian structure, through promotion of emerging black commercial farmers who got land but received no further support, as indicated in the study.

The thesis argues that the current direction of land reform is limited in its scale and objectives while it maintains the structure of promoting a new deracialised commercial farming sector. The first reason is the problem of ‘big policy and the shrinking state’, in that land policy bears little relation to the institutions, budgets and political environment in or through which it is to be realised to support the emerging black commercial farmers. Within the market-led paradigm, the state, through LRAD, funded or subsidised the purchase of land and was supposed to further fund the related infrastructure for emerging black commercial farmers, but this was an enormous unfulfilled undertaking. However, while adopting ambitious policies and targets, the farmers have a shrinking state with inadequate institutional and financial resources to continue supporting the emerging black commercial farmers. There is no infrastructural support, let alone continuous support in terms of constituting markets and related capitalization, and no development; despite well structured ‘on paper’ developmental policies.

Transferring land in isolation from wider changes in promoting access to resources and infrastructure has also left beneficiaries with constrained choices: to engage in low input agriculture that they can reasonably finance themselves or to engage in joint ventures with public or private sector partners. While some may aspire to producing for markets near and far, or increasing their scale of operation, most are unable to sustain the risks involved with full-time commercial
farming, unless with substantial support from the state (Andrew, Ainslie and Shackleton, 2003).

While there are successes on the ground, these do not add up to the structural change envisaged in the PGDP, IDP and the ANC’s post-apartheid manifesto of 1994 and the Freedom Charter. Although the PGDP, and its accompanying strategic documents, is the product of a comprehensive policy exercise, in which there has been substantial participation by a range of stakeholders, implementation of the PGDP and policy reflexivity requires in part an appreciation of past experience and certain earlier policy-relevant research. Furthermore, there are some significant shortcomings and omissions that should be acknowledged. The redistribution of land has been limited and increasingly defined as entailing necessary commercial production based on the model established in the white farming sector. While providing crucial resources to some, land reform is proceeding alongside the deepening of capitalist relations of production in some parts of the countryside, while in others, individual land ownership and supposed commercialisation is transferring an ideology of capitalist agriculture, but not its material realities.

Meaningful economic development in the province demands a radical rethinking of production in the various rural spaces, along with the consideration of new ways of freeing up productive forces. Any economic reconstruction in the province, Haines and Wood (2002) suggest, needs to take account of certain prevailing realities, including the operation of extended networks of support beyond land reform, LRAD and CASP. Revenue from the treasury has to be utilised to support Black Commercial Farmers, rather than having ‘left overs’ every financial yea, and funds returning to treasury while Black commercial farmers lack support and are still using firewood for fuel energy, with no dams or electricity. PGDP have proved to be a Provincial Underdevelopment Plan that tends to be generalized and not realistic in practice, as Black commercial farmers become subsistence farmers with large pieces of land. The key question to be
asked is whether the poor can reclaim their land and successfully hold on to it under the present dispensation and climate. The land question remains a clear barometer of the continuing struggle for justice and development in post-apartheid South Africa (Haines and Robino, 2004)

As we approach the end of the first decade of democratic rule, we have the opportunity and the responsibility to review the actual implementation of the South African government's land reform programme. We must ask honestly if it is on track, and where it is going. If the evidence suggests that the direction is correct but its implementation is slow and faulty, then we must urge greater speed and efficiency. If, however, the evidence suggests that the direction itself is inappropriate and that the impacts of the land reform programme are in themselves questionable, then we must urge a fundamental review of the package as a whole. If land reform for, emerging Black commercial farmers and every other beneficiary is going in the wrong direction, then speeding it up can only result in getting to the wrong destination quicker.

Governance requirements for sustainable rural livelihoods include the poor becoming active and involved in managing their own development, active and dispersed network of local service providers (community-based, private sector and local government services managed and co-ordinated effectively and responsively, and institutions held accountable at level above primary local government (for example, district and province), capacity to provide support and supervision, and a strategic planning centre providing holistic and strategic direction around poverty, redistribution, and oversight of development.

The institutional framework for land reform in the Eastern Cape, particularly for emerging Black commercial farmers, has not been particularly favourable to the promotion of sustainable livelihoods and commercial production to date. While claiming to address the promotion of commercialisation, livelihoods, alleviation of poverty and development of rural areas by 2014, the Eastern Cape land reform
programme has struggled to achieve this in practice, for various reasons. Particular programme areas, such as restitution, redistribution and tenure reform, have been developed and implemented largely in isolation from each other and have been poorly integrated into broader processes of rural development. This lack of integration can in turn be related to the lack of a comprehensive rural development strategy at either provincial or national level.

In these contexts, the ownership of these farms has essentially broadened into localised and individual components of relatively secure livelihoods, rather than as the integral component of a commercialised base for rural capital accumulation and agricultural dominant class formation. In other words the transition from livelihoods to private accumulation of wealth has not been affected. As the following chapter argues, these livelihoods remain bound within the social and cultural relations of ‘community and social livestock agency’ rather than in those of the market and livestock as a commodity.
CHAPTER XI

BEYOND ECONOMIC VALUE: LIVESTOCK AS SOCIAL CAPITAL

Introduction

This final chapter outlines the importance of all livestock (cattle, goats, sheep, horses, donkeys, cats, chickens, pigs, ducks, dogs, geese) in defining the form and nature of livelihoods and practices for rural people. Through livestock in particular, people built and defined their livelihood portfolios. Long (2001) has argued that a social arena is discursively constructed and practically delimited by the language use and strategic actions of the various actors. In this thesis, it is argued that the ‘language of livestock’ and the ‘livestock action strategies’ that people made, and continue to make, are central in defining livelihoods, enabling meaning and ‘capacities’ and managing vulnerability.

As actors, ‘the rural poor’, operated with beliefs about ‘livestock agency’; that is, they expressed notions about relevant acting units and the kinds of knowledge, ability and capability they had in relation to livestock primarily, and ultimately ‘vis a vis’ other social entities. Hence, social perceptions, values and classifications must be analysed in relation to interlocking experiences and social practices of an individual, household or community in relation to their livestock meanings. I outlined in chapters four and five how individuals, households and/or communities defined their livelihoods from livestock, how they made choices about what to slaughter, when to slaughter, what to exchange and whether to be a member of the wool association. In other words, they could manage vulnerability and cope with stress and shocks in particular ways.

The concept of cultural livestock repertoires, then, points to the ways in which various cultural elements, such as values, types and fragments of discourses,
organisational ideas, symbols and ritualised procedures were used and recombined in social practice, consciously impacting on the rural poor’s livelihoods assets. As indicated in chapters (four to seven), the practice of rituals was an important element, and a household could not live without practising these. It meant using the cash or income available for food, to buy a beast, or for exchanging with other important animals, in order to get a goat or cow or bull for a ceremony. Food became of secondary importance. Households then, were more concerned with maintaining this ‘social base’ made up of assets such as goats and cattle and even sheep, than with finding material and economic ways for these assets to be productively used.

Assets, as is often asserted, combine in a multitude of different ways to generate positive livelihood outcomes (DFID, 2000). The rural poor with assets such as livestock, tended to have a greater range of social options, and an ability to switch between multiple strategies, to secure their livelihoods at this socially secure level. Poverty analyses have shown that people’s ability to escape from poverty is critically dependent upon their access to assets and how they use the assets economically, culturally and socially (Chambers and Conway, 1998, Murray, 2001). Livestock, it is argued, have provided a social and cultural escape from poverty, if not a real material escape, and this contradiction between an impoverished material reality and a seemingly more secure social and cultural present and future, is one that much existing analysis of poverty and livelihood vulnerability has not dealt with.

It is important to note that cultural practice of (Imicimbi) ‘rituals’, funeral ceremonies and circumcision, lobola, celebration of the birth of a child and (ukubuyisa) bringing back the spirit of the dead were, and continue to be, critical social wellbeing “traditional” issues that are not taken into consideration when development planners talk about poverty alleviation. Development planners think poverty alleviation should focus on income generation or on material realities only, but they forget that rural livelihoods are complex, and include the
unmeasured social networks and social relations and ‘traditional ceremonies’ all embedded in livestock. How the practice of imicimbi, for example, determines the use of livestock by a household is critical. Making choices, and giving value to understand social needs at the expense of economic value, is one element elaborated in this chapter. Households extensively indicated that their livelihoods were not determined by the economic value of livestock, but by the social value, which was one of the five elements of the livelihood framework outlined earlier (social, financial, human, natural and physical capital). The study then argues that livelihoods, critically, go beyond monetary or material value, and that livestock is equally critical in defining this social and cultural significance of the well-being of livelihoods.

**Socio-cultural significance of livestock and local knowledge**

Herskovits cited in Turton (1999), defined culture as that complex whole which included knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by people as members of society. This definition is adapted to explain the use of livestock in spiritual belief that the spirit of the dead can be brought back to protect the family, if the correct beast (bull) was slaughtered. If not fulfilled, that household would not be protected. It meant bad luck; children would not get work, and would always be sick, and there would always be chaos in the household. There would be fighting in the family and women in the household may not ever get married because of the unsettled spirit. Such notions of rural well-being cannot be explained only by attention given to economic value associated with livestock, which is what development has regularly and systematically proposed in policies, plans and interventions.

Economic behaviour, in any society, is determined not by a simple pragmatic response to material conditions and opportunities, but by the way these conditions and opportunities are mediated by culture and social organisation as well (Turton, 1999). Turton critiqued development as ‘wanting to sweep away indigenous institutions and practices which it believes stand in the way of
modernisation, development and of the rational pursuit of self interest’ (Turton, 1999)\textsuperscript{184}. Such notions, it has been argued, lead to the implementation of a top-down approach to rural development, without considering local knowledge, and has been a major determinant in explaining why livestock projects (wool and goat) or commercialisation initiatives, have not achieved their objectives.

It was widely assumed among development planners, and probably still is among administrators and politicians, that the chief obstacle to the development of ‘pastoralists’ lies in their “irrational preoccupation with accumulation of stock as an end in itself and their predilection for a wandering way of life”. Given such assumptions about livestock, there was little investigation of the farmers’ traditional institutions and methods of stock husbandry, as a prerequisite to successful development. In my study area, one of Ruliv’s mandates was to get the wool farmers to reduce their stock so that they could have better quality of breeds and environmental management. Such pre-requisites ignored the social importance of these large and small stock holdings, and what the stock meant to the rural farmers, other than in terms of quality and economic value. The attempt to develop the pastoral sector in this way had literally disastrous consequences.

It is rather argued through this study that development interventions should be adapted to the circumstances of particular cases and should build on existing institutions and indigenous ‘local’ practices, rather than seek to sweep these aside in favour of intensified technical market-led agriculture interventions. While local government announced the need to commercialise subsistence agriculture, this has not materialised because of the argued ‘top-down approach’, ignoring local knowledge and what the people perceived about commercial agriculture, their knowledge about it and whether they wanted to turn their base livestock into an economic asset. On the other hand, the local knowledge-based wool farming initiative adopted by Rhoxeni with external support intervention coming as a

\textsuperscript{184} I would argue that Turton’s arguments have been universalized. Instead, development is determined by the people themselves, including their traditional way of life, rather than discarding them.
secondary variable, proved to be a success that each livestock economic project could learn from. They determined their destiny using local community understanding and management systems, and where the social basis of livestock is centrally acknowledged.

As was indicated earlier, livestock such as cattle, sheep, goats and chickens have a primary social and cultural significance in all villages where the study was conducted. All (100%) of the respondents in the study said that if an elderly member of the family died, they slaughtered cattle and sheep depending on the role and position the deceased held in the family. A significant number of sheep were slaughtered for a funeral ceremony, to show respect for the dead, (sometimes four, or five if he or she was the head or owner of the household). This was done after a bull had been slaughtered, or otherwise the bull was slaughtered later. What the study argues is that the slaughtering of the beasts was not a loss to the family, as it could have been viewed by capitalist modes of economy, where profit making is the major goal. Such socially embedded activities meant more to the livelihoods of the poor in their well being, and it rather added to a continued social standing ‘within local contents and meanings of community’.

Donham (1999) argued that sustainable development is all about improving the human resource management of the natural resource base in order to maximize human welfare and maintain the environment. If sustainable development is essentially concerned with improving human resource management of the natural resource base, this puts the focus squarely on human and social capital, as argued for in the livelihoods framework, and illustrated here via ‘livestock’. The study defines social capital as the internal social and cultural coherence of society, the norms and values that govern interaction among people and the institutions in which they are embedded (Donham, 1999). In the study, it is argued, primary social relations in the rural areas were governed primarily through livestock.
As Ferguson (1992) found in Lesotho, livestock was highly valued in siSotho culture for religious, social, and symbolic reasons, as well as for economic ones. Livestock was thus valued more than for their economic value and it is for this reason that the Sotho people ‘kept’ livestock, cattle in particular, and were so reluctant to part with them (Ferguson, 1992 p.136). I would argue that such traditional significance of livestock, as applied especially to the Eastern Cape, does not simply or easily alter because of economic and political change, where that very change has asked for and increasingly demanded such change in the interests of citizenship and development.

Citizenship and political power does not bring quick and automatic change in the complex ‘livestock agency’ and meanings of people. As indicated in the study, even the poorest of poor had to make sure he or she had one or two animals, and practised livestock rituals. Cattle were still more valued ‘traditionally’ rather than for economic gain, despite the outcry by the local government, that people should improve their breeds for commercial purposes.

The rural livestock owners in the study areas preferred to keep their livestock during drought, even though they did not have anything to feed them with. They preferred to see the animals die, rather than to slaughter them or sell them. That indicated perhaps more than any other, the actual social rather than material attachment the communities had to their livestock. Livestock (sheep, goats, and cattle) created a social base that had to be maintained all the times, forming the critical part of their socio-natural livelihood portfolio. Following Ferguson, (1992), property can be observed not as a relation between people and things but as a relation between people, concerning things. And if property is always a social relation, one can state as a corollary that property was always structured. The rural people determined what livestock meant to them by constantly defining it as the defining context and meaning of social property, and thus as a relationship
between people. Livestock was the ‘key thing’ for defining individuals and households within local communities, and their dynamics.

The selling of cattle and its price was also complex, as it was determined by social relations, and sometimes by the urgency of need within a household to manage vulnerability. The level at which cash was equated to cattle in my study was therefore minimal. Prices for cattle were sometimes lower than those sold on the commercial market because the exchange had social attachments to it, determined through social relationships and how close the buyer was to the seller and the mutual relations and understandings determining the agency of selling. Such exchange dynamics did not mean a material loss to the family. Rather, it meant making ties for social satisfaction which was important for securing future livelihoods. In order to illustrate these contexts more closely it is necessary to shift focus and demonstrate some of the social and cultural dynamics associated with ‘livestock’ social agency and its meaning. It is crucial to note that income from employment, assistance from relatives and social grants differed markedly from one household to the next, and it impacted on how a household made choices on the livestock they had, whether to maintain them or to sell or exchange them. The types of grants they received depended on the number and ages of the family members.

In the study it is important to highlight that ‘livestock’ dynamics and complexities differed between one household and another, between young couples who were gender sensitive and households of elderly people embedded in ‘traditional culture’. Such dynamics of ‘gendered livestock’ ceased to exist in many households when the wife inherited all of the livestock. The money from the sale of meat or a beast that belonged to the wife was kept by her and she would buy daily necessities for the home (food, paraffin). The money from the husband’s stock was spent on major issues that needed to be solved at home. However, in terms of social grants, the amount was accumulated for future use or
monthly expenditure or school fees. However, this was not uniform in all households. Some households did not accumulate their income.

It is important that we identify the understanding brought by the gendered livestock in terms of household responsibilities. The findings do not differ much from those of Ferguson’s work in Lesotho. Ferguson (1992) argued that women in Lesotho had funds, recognised as theirs, from the sale of chickens or pigs, and the husband had no authority over it. This money was outside the domain of contest. A woman’s animals were her personal property. She would sell them if she wished to and spent the money as she pleased. Men’s animals were a household property, and firmly under the authority of the husband. If a woman bought sheep with her own money, the sheep were taken as the husband’s property. It would be declared household property and she was told she had bought it for her husband. Should the sheep be sold, the cash would be used as household property and not her own (Ferguson, 1992. p151). In the rural areas of the Eastern Cape, the situation is the same, with all men respecting the gendered livestock (‘pigs and chickens’), but some husbands advise their wives on how to use the income, and in fact, the husbands as the heads, are notified before any livestock is slaughtered in the house.

It was common in Lesotho for the owner of large stock to place animals with friends, relatives and neighbours on a long term basis. The recipient took care of the stock and in return received the use of the animals and the proceeds and profits arising from them, such as the sale of wool. In the study areas, the local people let neighbours take care of their cattle, building relations, but they did not let them take the profits. Rather, they paid them for the work done. This still created relationships, networks and ‘ubuntu’, which was the most important part of the exchange. A man with livestock established himself in the community by helping others with various rituals that required animals, and ploughed the land for those without livestock. One was respected, not only for the amount of one’s livestock, but also for one’s sociability (Ferguson, 1992 p.154).
In the study areas a household could ask for a goat to be loaned to practise rituals, and then paid back later. The household lending the goat did that through ‘ubuntu’, knowing the importance of the ritual to the well-being and livelihood of the person in need, not because of prestige that he/she had more livestock. These livestock were not valued according to the economic market value but by local knowledge. A goat, for example, and its value was equated to four bags of maize or anything equivalent. Livestock proved to be multi-functional to each household. When the need arose, they found ways of getting livestock by buying, or exchanging for some other materials, or getting on credit or through reciprocity. These exchanges were expressed through the issue of social need rather than of market value. Those that failed to pay back were not taken to the police but were spoken to on mutual grounds and if things came to the worst they were then taken to the chief who facilitated the payment, looking at the ability of the household to pay back.

However, in the case of the person who worked in town having problems, such as losing a job, or being unemployed for many months\(^{185}\), he or she had to go back to the rural areas and have beer brewed and a goat slaughtered, to please the spirit of the dead so that it would guide him or her when looking for a job. They would then return to town and maybe get employed within a shorter period of time. Goats on these occasions were slaughtered, and they were supposed to bellow to call the spirit, while the elder member of the family communicated with the dead. It is important to note that no household performed such a ceremony with livestock other than a specified goat. In the case of a household member prophesied by a ‘sangoma’ that there was a spirit of the dead that wanted to ‘dwell’ or live within him/her, the person had to look for a goat and get bathed in a pool of goat’s blood, live for months without cleaning the blood and then later communication was made with the dead, facilitated by a ‘sangoma’. If such

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\(^{185}\) Ntombi a lady I interviewed in Ntsinga village had lost a job in Ethekwini Durban and was back home to make sure she looked for a goat to slaughter to ask the dead to guide her to get work as she was the sole breadwinner in the house. She hoped after that ‘izinto sizolunga’ things would be fine again.
rituals took place, the person’s way of life would change, and he/she would become respected in the household and the community, if the deceased was a well known respected person. Such social satisfaction or well being was therefore embedded in livestock.

Trading, social networks and rural livelihoods
Those who sold meat from livestock did not weigh the meat but cut it into pieces and by merely ‘looking at it’ charged a price and sold in cash or for exchange, depending on what the seller wanted. Social relations were further expressed in this way and contributed to the determination of what price a piece of meat was to be sold for. As mentioned earlier, depending on whether it was sold to a neighbour, or a member of the extended family, or to the chief, or a household that was very close in the social network, the price differed. Prices also differed when the seller needed the income urgently, or wanted to increase their social base. It was not the market price or competition on the market that determined how livestock was sold. It was more important to maintain social relations, than to destroy them by profit making. For example, a woman agreed to sell pork to her colleague, “if ‘une ngxaki’ she had a problem I would sell to her, at a reasonable price, because I know her”. That did not mean that she had enough pigs. The notion of ‘ubuntu’ (oneness) was important, and this was preserved through livestock.

Households made choices that differed from each other. The differences in choice were made after a household had considered what it had (livestock, social grant or employment) and what it could get and give to the society, and the differences in ‘satisfaction’ that would result. Some households, even when they had a lot of livestock, were not satisfied and wanted more. Human capital, financial capital, social capital and natural capital all determined how livelihoods were defined within households, but it was the social capital and social agency of livestock that was crucial. In this regard, social relationships were considerably strengthened by the presence of livestock. Food was even provided for a
neighbour who might have been employed to herd livestock so that in return he could be paid a bag of maize to feed his family, depending on the capacity of the herder to support his family. At the end, relations were strengthened through such an understanding. Sheep prices differed from one village or household to another because prices were determined by need. Negotiations between the buyer and seller were based on a social understanding, hoping to create more networks and bring closeness to the two families. It is important to note that such trade was different from that of the formal ‘market’ where the seller was interested in the size, age, weight and the quality of the sheep and in getting profit.

Ferguson, (1992 p.175) argued that land belonged to the entire people; livestock was properly a social, shared, domain of wealth and not a private, selfish or unsociable domain like cash. A man who was wealthy in livestock was expected to be a benefactor, a friend of the people, someone who anyone could turn to in time of need. Both his livestock and the range they grazed on were considered public, socially available resources, and the prestige of the large stock owner depended on his ability and willingness to extend his patronage. In the same way a rural farmer in the Eastern Cape with livestock, was not a capitalist rancher. They lived with other people, connected to them through livestock. It was interesting to note that in the study areas, those with large stock were respected to an extent that in terms of the formation of Wool Growers Association committees, for example, they were chosen as chairpersons or given other positions of influence.

Farmers with fewer animals were less sociable, could help fewer people, stood for fewer head of bride wealth and thus secured less prestige. It was numbers that mattered most (Ferguson, 1992 p.190). In the study areas, no market was created to sell livestock, though some people were willing to do so. Cattle in the past had an important role for those who had them, signifying how wealthy a person was, but today there were very few households who attached such
significance to cattle. Rural farmers who considered themselves the wealthiest were engaged in sheep farming. However, if one farmer had more large and small stock he was respected because of associated social status, rather than of wealth. Livestock was considered a standard of measurement, determined by local knowledge. While this also applied in the study areas, it does appear that aspects of these social distinctions are breaking down ‘from below’ as the majority of rural residents find themselves in the situation of declining or diminishing numbers of livestock.

It is also important to highlight the traditional activities associated with each form of livestock. Such activities form the social standard of a household or household member. What happened in the rural areas where the research was conducted, regarding the significance of livestock, was similar to what Bank (2002) and Ainslie (2005) pointed out in their research papers, that ukukhapha (to accompany), for example, was a ritual performed after the death of a male head of household. On this occasion, an ox was slaughtered in the morning and the meat was eaten on the same day. Bones were burnt the following morning. No beer was brewed and women wore traditional dresses. In the case of a death of a woman, a cow was slaughtered. This was according to tradition. This was to let the spirit of the dead rest in peace, and as a sign of respect. The deceased wife was laid to rest where she was married. This showed the bondage of the two families that became one when the customary or church marriage occurred. The value of the slaughtered bull, economically, was not taken into consideration, but rather its social value. Social satisfaction was of paramount importance. In the livelihood portfolio of the poor, use of local knowledge on their livestock was embedded in their cultural livestock meanings and agencies.

In the case of ‘ukukhapha’ of the deceased father, the slaughtered bull had to bellow when its throat was cut otherwise the ancestors would not hear the call. What was not clear was, if the bull did not bellow, what the family could do (slaughter another one?). The inner parts of the beast were eaten on the same
day, but the beef was only consumed the following day. These dynamics determining value and use cannot be found in the planned policies of local government. The planners systematically consider such activities as ‘backward’, while in actual sense the activities form an important social livelihood portfolio of the rural people. A local social sense of belonging is not complete if such rituals are not fulfilled. Even local government planners of Xhosa origin who had their rural areas in the EC, made sure they practised such rituals, while their planning policies denied it.

*Imifukamo* were performed when there was a problem in the family, for example, infertility of a daughter. This was led by a ‘*Sangoma*’ traditional healer. The ritual involved seclusion of a daughter in a special hut that faced the cattle byre. Beer was brewed, and the healing process involved communicating with the river spirits, and a goat was slaughtered. Here it is not clear whether a female or bull goat was used for ‘*imifukamo*’, as when ‘*ukukhapha*’ is done.

It is important to note that the study argues that these unique differences in social life, embedded in the use of livestock, should not be ignored by planners. It needs recognition, even at national level. The selection of which animal was to be slaughtered depended on local knowledge, and the rural farmer’s understanding of which livestock was suitable for which activity. For example, sheep were not used for ‘*imifukamo*’ and for bringing the spirit of the dead back into the homestead, because they were animals that would not bellow when being slaughtered, so the ancestors would not hear them. This would be as if nothing had happened and, in the end, the family members would continue to experience bad luck wherever they were\(^{186}\). There was one incident of a household that argued that they used sheep because they were too poor to raise money to buy cattle for ‘*ukukhapha*’, but the household had to repeat the ritual some years later, using the correct livestock.

\(^{186}\) Based on the interviews held from January 2005 to December 2005.
‘Ukuwalusa’ is the initiation of boys. It marks the transition from boyhood to manhood and involves the family in a variety of rituals. The process involved the slaughtering of goats as the boys were taken to the ‘mountains’, and again when they came back. Graduation at a circumcision school was important for any young man in a household, to the extent that if the ritual was not performed, the young man would be seen as a boy even when he was in his twenties, married or in his forties. This caused one member of a household, in the study, at fifty years to go for circumcision, as the other adults while drinking together used to taunt him that he was still a boy. He had to look for a goat and join the youngsters in the mountains. When he came back he was a happy man, with a changed life. Such social satisfaction made him feel different. It is important to note that without a goat no circumcision is done. In case of ‘inkwenkwe’ a boy dying in the ‘mountains’ during circumcision, the family were advised later, and had nothing to say or do, because they were supposed to expect such issues as well. The family members were not supposed to cry. The burial was led by the circumcision doctors.

Goats were also used for ancestors to guide and protect a young man, or member of a family, when travelling or working far away. A goat was used during the ceremony to ask the ancestors to protect the family member. No sheep or other animal could be used in this process. Sheep were mostly associated with peaceful, happy ceremonies like washing hands after funeral ceremonies, birthdays, graduations and weddings. Within Alfred Nzo District Municipality, the ‘Amahlubi’ and Basothos in their process of ukuwalusa (initiation) slaughtered a bull when the boy returned from the initiation school. When going, a goat was slaughtered. These were differences determined by the local knowledge of the community, as to which livestock was the appropriate one. When the boy had graduated, they slaughtered a bull and the skin was used to make traditional leather shorts for the boys to wear when returning. This differed from the Xhosa
people, where a boy wore a suit bought from the shops\textsuperscript{187}. Imbeleko was performed for a newborn child, ten days after birth. A goat was slaughtered and the skin was used to make a goat skin blanket for the child. The forequarter of the goats’ meat was eaten by the mother alone. Such social beliefs are embedded in livestock, and show that livestock, such as goats, are more than the economic value determined on the commercial market, as argued by Kirsten (2005), and could be used even to protect the child from mishaps, by practising the ritual.

If a household did not have livestock (goat) it had to look for one to protect the child from the mishaps associated with an activity, such as urinating on the bed. This could take place even when the person was old, and unable to talk or walk well. It was confirmed by households in the study, that children who did not receive such rituals were seen in the community 'as having disabilities'. Children who knew that the ritual had not been done had to make sure the family looked for a goat, and pressurised them to do so even when they had grown up. Such notions of rural livelihoods were important in the lives of the poor. Thus, the rural people of Umzimvubu were reluctant to part with their goats by selling indiscriminately to the project.

In the case of a family having difficulty in acquiring cattle, they used sheep for all ritual processes. This showed how the communities were responding to change while trying at the same time to maintain their 'culture'. However, the use of sheep as a substitute for cattle for funeral ceremonies was not generalised among the Xhosa households. It depended upon households, if they agreed to it. The age of the person who died determined how many sheep were to be slaughtered, and what type of beast was to be slaughtered for men and women.

\textsuperscript{187} The information is based on the interviews with the Hlubis in Alfred Nzo DM and the Xhosa Mpondos and Mfengus in Chris Hani and Amathole DM.
of different age groups, but this differed from one household to another\textsuperscript{188}. Some households spoke of over 40 years for one to be considered an adult, to have a bull slaughtered. Others spoke of twenty years for one to be in the age group where a bull or cow was slaughtered for the dead. For children under the age of 20 years they used one to eight sheep if it was a natural death. Some spoke of 15 years, others 18 years, while others spoke of the time when a boy became an adult (after circumcision) and a girl developed breasts (\textit{une mabele}). Such dynamics are important to notice, how local knowledge was used to bring out the social well-being embedded in livestock.

The death of a chief or headman was greatly respected, and many sheep from his kraal were slaughtered. The community also contributed livestock for the funeral ceremony. However, if the chief died of an accident no livestock was slaughtered. This also applied to other members of the community. If a death was classified to be unnatural, such as suicide or car accidents, the members did not slaughter or spill any blood, although some households used chickens for the funeral ceremony. For example, in Isikobeni, when I arrived in June 2005, there was a funeral at one household. I was told a young lady had committed suicide. The family slaughtered chickens, not because they did not have cattle, but because the death was not natural.

On the other hand people very rarely slaughter cattle for consumption. When an elderly member of the family died, they slaughtered cattle during the ceremony, but after the burial a sheep was slaughtered before people dispersed, for cleaning hands (\textit{ukuhlamba manja}). When a tombstone was to be laid, a beast was slaughtered. This was not the case in all households; it depended on the household’s base (livestock). In one female-headed household, when a one year old child died they did not slaughter anything until one year later after the burial, when a cow was slaughtered for the dead child. It is important to note that this

\textsuperscript{188} Information based on the interviews I conducted while taking part in the rituals that occurred in villages, such as inheritance ritual, ‘ukugugisa’ slaughtering an animal that is old and observing women using cow dung to polish their huts’ floors.
was not the same in every household, as the child’s spirit was not considered as a spirit that could protect family members.

Few households were interested in cattle improvement through Nguni cross-breeding. Some farmers were interested in new agricultural technology but this has not yet materialised in any significant fashion. This did not rule out the cultural significance of cattle. It is important to note that the gene-improved Nguni cattle were used for rituals and for sale among emerging black commercial and rural farmers. All households were vulnerable in the study areas but the degree of vulnerability differed according to the number of livestock and other resources a household had. Households did not milk goats, not because they were ignorant, but because goats were reserved for imicimbi rituals, hence other livestock had to cater for milk. If only goats were available, the household had no option but to buy milk elsewhere rather than milk a goat. Even if a household had problems in putting some food on the table, the last thing that could come to its ‘mind’ was to milk a goat. This was determined by local knowledge. Such principles were not reflected in government’s rural development programmes, giving options in the planned LED and IDP strategies. Instead, development programmes and officials interviewed criticized local knowledge saying the rural poor still did not want to reduce livestock numbers or sell their livestock.\(^{189}\)

Cow dung was used for manure in the gardens and when it was still fresh it was used to polish the kitchen floors and for making fires for cooking (see figure 18). This is a significant source of energy, recognised by the local municipalities in their Local Economic Development initiatives and IDPs. This was the only time when the municipalities included local resource use through local knowledge in their planning processes. However, after the inclusion of cow dung in the IDPs, nothing else was done either to increase cow dung production or promote

\(^{189}\) I interviewed agriculture managers of the seven local municipalities and extension officers and their views were the same: rural livestock farmers were reluctant to invest in their livestock.
fencing of grazing land to have livestock in one paddock so that cow dung can be collected.

People used cow dung as a source of energy, other than electricity, because they could not afford paraffin. Wood was also scarce as the rural areas are in semi arid regions, except in Chatha village where forests still exist. Getting cow dung from the kraal was not done by every woman. For example, elderly women (female heads of households who had passed the menstrual cycle) were allowed to enter the kraal (ubuhlanti) with their head covered with a cloth and wearing a long skirt, to collect ubuhlanti. But no newly-wedded wives were allowed to come closer to the kraal or enter it. Young ladies still of child-bearing age were also not allowed because the kraal was regarded as a sacred place for ancestors. If young women entered the kraal it showed lack of respect.

Figure 19: 'Umakhulu' old lady polishing her floor with fresh cow dung

Chickens, ducks and turkeys were kept for consumption. No social significance was linked to ducks and turkeys, but these could be exchanged, given or sold on credit, strengthening social relationships. Donkeys and horses were used for

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190 The picture was taken in the early morning when I visited the Dube family. MaDube was polishing the floor with fresh cattle dung she collected in the kraal. She could enter the kraal because she is now old, but if she were a young lady she would not be culturally allowed.
carrying water from the river, transporting the sick to hospital, or herding cattle. (‘Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu’ a person is a person because of other people). Some even used horses or donkeys for ploughing. Heads of households gave instructions on what was to be slaughtered, which animal, and when. If the husband was not there, the mother was responsible. This also applied to herding where the husband or son took the livestock to the cattle post (see figure 19). However if the husband or son was not available the wife could herd the livestock, (social responsibilities embedded in livestock).

The social discourse linked to livestock and tradition is therefore critically important to highlight how communities use their ‘livestock’ assets to build a social livelihood portfolio based on local knowledge, (although some ‘modern’ changes in household rituals were identified in the study). For example, some households were gender sensitive, and the women decided which livestock were to be slaughtered, and when the rituals needed to be carried out in the presence of their husbands. Women also joined associations where males used to dominate (Wool Growers Associations). However, the old ‘traditions’ persist where females were the ones who could decide when to slaughter chickens, but had to tell their husbands first. The same applied to pigs, but after selling meat they had to show their husband about the income collected and how it was to be used. Some families planned together what was to be slaughtered, and how to use the income\textsuperscript{191}.

\textsuperscript{191} Village members of Upper Mnxe in Sakhisizwe Local Municipality were called to come and eat the meat of a cow that had been killed because it was old ‘ukhugugisa’. I arrived as an outsider, and was also offered some. I was not allowed to decline the offer. It would show lack of respect, as if what they were doing was not important. As shown in figures 19 and 20, meat was cooked using cow dung, and the male village members gathered together to eat while female members were busy in their homes. Female members ate the internal parts of the beast in their own time. Such gatherings separated women from men to allow women, and even men, to share ideas on family matters. Social gatherings embedded in livestock would teach others to be good husbands and wives, even drunkards to change their way of life, and included the lazy who would not plough the land, and so on. Gendered gatherings were part of the social culture embedded in livestock. No youths were invited to eat the slaughtered cattle except very young ones below five years, as shown in figure 22.
Families, almost overwhelmingly, were not concerned with selling cattle, even if they had a serious problem, unless it was to do with deaths, memorial celebrations or spiritual issues. However, in some cases where cattle were old, looked sick, and could not serve for ploughing, they were then slaughtered, cooked and given to the community members freely. As they ‘ate in one pot’, this activity brought the spirit of *(ubuntu)* togetherness in the community. It was a time where community members could share their stories and chat. Figure 19 shows parts of an old cow slaughtered and the members of the community called to enjoy the cooked meat. The study argues that through such scenarios the members of a community continually developed social relationships of continuity, well-being and belonging. The social networks in rural areas do not occur everywhere. They depend on a deep understanding and sense of belonging expressed through sharing food such as meat (Figure 21, 22 and 23).

192 Very few cattle posts or camps have been fenced, in most of the villages where I conducted the research. However, some villages, through the chief, developed their own mechanism of practising rotational grazing by delimiting boundaries, using mountains, big trees and rivers or valleys. If any one livestock owner was found trespassing the law he/she had to pay a fine or the livestock was confiscated by the chief.
On the 14th of October 2005 I had the opportunity of attending the ukugugisa feast where an old cow was slaughtered. It is not only the cow’s meat that was significant on the day but even the dry cow dung used to cook the meat with a little firewood.

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By having the community as the market for livestock and being a member of a poultry project, the economy, as domain of value model, became applicable. Households engaged themselves in poultry projects initiated by another group of households so that they could strengthen their base. The poultry project was initiated by households out of their own contribution of inputs, though later supported by the Department of Agriculture. The community also supported the project by buying the chickens. The project built and strengthened social networks and social relationships.

Based on the photograph and interview most of the gentlemen available for the feast were retrenched or retired, or some unemployed. It was interesting listening to their conversations as they waited for the meat to be ready. The ‘hot’ story was the political situation in the country, the alleged Zuma saga. Such cultural activities bring the community together (social relations).

Social networks and social relationships have made some households develop cooperatives to increase their base, like poultry projects. Those who used to work in the mines and were educated, managed to get enough income to open spaza shops in Chatha and were more interested in other livestock projects than those who had less, who could not pay cooperative joining fees but could do gardening. I interviewed households during winter. The cold kept them indoors and made it easier to find someone at home. People would only start moving around 9am when it was warm, going to collect social grants at the hall.
Local knowledge, beliefs and social capital

In an effort to sustain a living, households developed mutual survival strategies. The strategies were made, looking at the capacity of an individual or household, together with what the community could offer. For example, in the midst of poverty, a widowed woman without livestock and no pension fund had to think of other means of surviving. She cleaned other rural houses to get at least some income or food. This was done through social networks and social understanding, and in managing vulnerability, created the notion of helping one another, though every household was poor.

In one case study the female-headed household had four chickens that were her only livestock. Because they were not increasing in number and were dying, she decided to take them to her neighbour so that she could keep them for her. She believed that she was hounded by bad luck, maybe because her family did not practise ‘imbeleko’ where a goat was supposed to have been slaughtered when she was young. She gave her chickens to the neighbour whom she believed was luckier than she was, and thought her chickens would increase. In the long run, when the chickens had increased, she would thank the neighbour by giving her one or two chickens and collecting the rest. Social relations and social capital were much more important in rural livelihoods. Beliefs formed part of the social life of a rural household and they added meaning to their lives.

Sen (1992) argues that rural people not only have needs but also resources or assets they can use at household and community level, working as a group, sharing and networking. Tradition has remained symbolic to the lives of Xhosa people in the study areas, although there were some alterations on how tradition was practised. Vegetables and crops from the garden were sold to the neighbours at a reasonable price, decided by the seller. Sometime it was given freely through social understanding that the family in need was known not to have a strong base. No competition between one household and another existed in selling vegetables or livestock because a household only sold when there was
surplus, to those who were socially linked to it. This differed from the urban areas where competition existed. Instead, the communities had to develop their own initiatives to buy and sell or exchange or ‘give’ among the community members themselves, based on their social networks, rather than any sense of a market.

Households that produced more bags of maize than others, and also had a plough, cattle, sheep, goats and pigs plus human capital to plough the arable land (natural, human, social, economical capital), did not segregate themselves. Instead, they associated with others, created networks, ploughed for the less fortunate or exchanged whatever they needed. Local social networks and social relations were strengthened by the presence of livestock. Those with livestock viewed those without as poorer, and less fortunate than them, because different types of livestock assisted them to manage vulnerability.

Beer was brewed for an inheritance ceremony and the chief or headman led the ceremony, handing over a knobkerrie to the wife of the deceased, who was to inherit livestock and other property. No one from the husband’s family, even his father, mother or brother, could interrupt or ask for anything during the proceedings. The widower was given a knobkerrie as a symbol of inheritance. The customary law continues to play an important part in the livelihoods of the Xhosa community, and the communities respect it. Here again, livestock played an important role in the process of building relations and bringing family social satisfaction. Traditional customs prevented women from buying livestock, in spite of their status as teachers and nurses. In the case of MaZukiswa, she could not buy cattle or any other livestock even if she had more income than her male counterparts, because cattle belonged to male members of the household. She could only buy pigs and chickens. However, things have changed a bit and women even buy cattle today. What is interesting is that the cattle bought by a woman was inherited by the eldest son, when she died, though, as I explained in the previous chapter, if there had been no sons in the household, the eldest
daughter would inherit. The base was maintained for future generations, because it is the foundation of a family’s livelihood.

Unemployment, poverty and the need for quick money, surrounded by hardships, has led young people in the rural areas to devise new strategies for stealing livestock, often in violent or threatening ways. This has undermined village relations; especially where the culprits involved in the crime are known. If sent to prison, there was still a threat when the person came back. Social relationships were destroyed and this has brought in new social conflicts where relations were worsened by such scenarios. Village people live increasingly in fear that any day they could be attacked by these criminals and lose their livestock. In such instances the social satisfaction of having livestock was disturbed. With stock theft increasing, many households’ social security and stability has been reduced. In villages such as Zadungeni, the livestock owners motivated the youth to join the Wool Growers Association, shearing wool, as outlined in chapter four, as a way of occupying them. Such programmes were scarce as the youth were not associated with the elderly in terms of livestock. The youth were neglected in livestock issues as they had the belief that they would engage in livestock ‘when they inherited’. In fact, I did not meet any household that had a youth with livestock bought by him or herself. Livestock remained a resource that belonged to the elderly in the rural areas, unless inherited.

Rural households differed in their capacities and capabilities to employ other poor community members from the most vulnerable households. How to define the most vulnerable household was determined by the poor themselves, by looking at how the neighbour survived, and what resources he/she had, such as livestock. Most vulnerable families knew their status and looked for employment from those who had livestock, to work as herders or to construct kraals. This created a strong understanding of social relations connected with livestock, and proved to be a source of employment to others while creating a base for the owners. Non livestock owners, defined by the communities as the ‘poorest’, went
to the extent of building rondavels for others, to earn a living. They were given maize as payment. If one was known as a good hut builder, he was in demand, and wanted everywhere. The study argues that the complexity of rural livelihoods among the poor themselves was, out of mutual understanding, local knowledge’ and ‘employment’ it self, in local terms, socially rather than economically determined.

**HIV/AIDS and the rural poor**

The dynamism of livelihoods and the changing economic, social and political environments in the Eastern Cape have brought significant complexities to the livelihoods of the rural poor. These have been shaped by the past historical inequalities, the new changes in policy on rural development, increased unemployment, rural-urban migration, the high death rate of youngsters from HIV and AIDS, limited support from local government in livestock production, and the intervention of NGOs and other institutions in livestock and rural crop farming.

HIV/AIDS is a universal strategic issue that poses extensive challenges to rural development in South Africa. The HIV/AIDS challenge is particularly significant because it impacts on a range of developmental factors, including economic stability and long-term sustainability. Further, there are generally more limited resources available in rural areas. There is also a concentration of poverty, which means that the vulnerability of households increases. HIV/AIDS affects not only the infected individual, but the entire household. This is particularly true where the most productive member of the household is infected. Losses of human capital in relation to both health and skills have profound implications for productivity and output. Because of cutbacks in food consumption due to financial and production constraints, as well as greater demands on the physical labour of household members not suffering from AIDS, the infection of one member of a household usually leads to the deterioration of the health of the whole household.
There are a number of other examples of the impact of HIV/AIDS on the rural poor in the study. The loss of a spouse can have a major disruptive effect on the agricultural cycle because of the division of agricultural labour between men and women. The neglect or inadequate performance of gender-specific tasks such as land clearing, ploughing and the dipping of livestock on the one hand, and planting, weeding and harvesting on the other, can have a major impact on agricultural production as a whole. It has been observed that some households have begun to cultivate crops near their homesteads rather than in more distant fields in order to be able to take care of the sick. The importance of kinship and social networks are reflected in such scenarios. A household would prefer to take care of the sick rather than plough large pieces of land for production’s sake. Other strategies for coping with HIV/AIDS have included reductions in investment in agricultural inputs, reduction of areas under cultivation (with consequent losses in food production and food security), reduced yields, cultivation of less labour-intensive crops, shifts to non-agricultural activities, and a decline in the care and health of livestock. Such trends have important implications for household income, productivity, the division of labour in the household, social and human capital, and land tenure rights.

Rural households had to look at whatever resources they had (natural, human, social, economic and political) and develop mechanisms to use them to earn a living and support the infected. This included households involved in government led rural development programmes, such as irrigation schemes, food security gardens, Massive Food Production Programmes (growing maize on a larger scale) and wool growing. However, the extent to which these developmental programmes impacted on the livelihoods of the poor is limited, as poverty is increasing.
Conclusion

Within the context of sustainable rural development approaches, integration and coordination were often stated as the backbone of development, but in the study areas there was lack of integration of local knowledge in decision making, project management, and about who should benefit from the projects in the name of “they did not want to join the projects”. The local government officials were incapacitated and corrupt, and did not have enough working staff. Not addressing these issues urgently was not much of a problem to the authorities. They also lacked clear planning strategies and skills to implement rural livestock projects that could benefit the whole village.

Thus the thesis argues that we have to look at the resources that the communities have. Before any form of developmental intervention programme is initiated, a thorough research and evaluation process should be conducted within the communities (the whole village or villages in an area), to decide how they would like to utilise their resources for their livelihoods, and how they could contribute to such development in decision-making and management. They should particularly mobilise those who may initially have found it difficult to understand the meaning of a livestock project, until the whole village is involved\textsuperscript{197} (the Rhoxeni case study clearly illustrates this). This does not mean rural development is uniform, as it depends also on the environment in which it occurs. In essence the thesis maintains that rural livelihoods are complex, dynamic, and flexible, and are determined by the social, cultural, economic, political, and natural geographical conditions or situations that surround an individual at personal level, household level, village level, community level, municipal level, district level, provincial level and national level. This does not detract from what has been already defined by other scholars but adds that, within the Eastern Cape, the research has indicated the social basis of livestock

\textsuperscript{197} When I asked the communities what their view was of fencing grazing land and how they could take part, they indicated that even if they contributed R100, because of that little amount they were going to regard the fence as theirs and protect it. Such initiatives were not part of the local government.
to livelihoods, and as such broadens and deepens our understanding as new ways.

On another note, having land and livestock has made rural people declare that they were farmers. This declaration was socially and historically embedded, and for the majority of rural people had nothing to do with actual growing of crops and keeping of livestock for consumption and for commercial markets. This indicates in the thesis the variance in the meaning of ‘farmer’ in terms of a ‘subsistence farmer and a commercial farmer’ as defined by the rural people themselves. Some rural people in the study had no livestock or had one sheep, and ‘un ploughed’ garden and arable land. Some had large stock and grew maize in the garden or in the arable land. However, the definition of a ‘farmer’ remained the same. Such definitions were interpreted by the DoA, the local government, and NGOs that by providing technical support the ‘assumed farmers’ would then become commercial, but this was theoretical in nature, as the farmers did not easily submit their livestock for commercial sale, while forgetting the social and cultural importance of it.

This chapter outlined the social significance of both large and small stock for the rural ‘Xhosa people’, as lying outside of or beyond economic value. Livestock such as cattle, pigs, ducks, dogs, cats, sheep, goats and chickens have a social and cultural significance to the Xhosa people in rural areas. Cattle have an important cultural significance for bringing the spirit of the dead back home, as a form of social wealth, and for agricultural purposes. Livestock, as stated in the introduction to this chapter, and particularly cattle, sheep and goats, provide a social and cultural means to ‘manage poverty’ and reduce vulnerability as they provide the basis for creating conditions of social, if not of material well-being, rather- than on the technical market oriented assumption of rural farming. The

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198 Ukukhapa - bringing the spirit home - is very important in the livelihoods of the rural people. Such dynamisms are not found within the developmental approaches to rural livelihoods when implementing rural projects. In fact it is even discouraged for communities to spare livestock for that, so that they can become successful livestock farmers.
meaning attached to being a farmer was too generalised, so that every household assumed they were farmers yet they were not the majority involved in commercial farming activities but keeping livestock for social needs. It would be misleading to define the rural people as ‘mixed farmers’, those that grow crops and keep animals, as the two activities were not real practised, though the claim that they were farmers persisted.
CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

“We are farmers (simafama) because we have livestock, we get wool, sell and were trained on how to sort, shear, wash wool and press bales. It does not matter that we get returns once in a season and the selling of cattle, goats, chickens, pigs and sheep is not commercialised” Ms. Jada Wool farmer, Nobokwe village.

This study has sought to understand firstly how, in the midst of poverty, rural farmers have continued to try to manage their vulnerability through the use of local knowledge and resources such as livestock, land and off-farm activities. Secondly, it has sought to critically engage with how the rural livestock farmers in the three district municipalities of the Eastern Cape (Chris Hani, Amathole and Alfred Nzo) received government and NGO support in livestock production and livestock services, to improve their livelihoods portfolios. The study has considered related questions about the rural livestock farmers’ livelihoods, how they used their capacities and capabilities to sustain a living and how they used social relations and networks for their well-being. It also sought to understand the relationship between the local government (Provincial, District and Local Municipalities), in their capacity as service providers to rural farmers, and emerging farmers, through livestock projects and crop farming.

The notion, and ‘ideology’ of ‘we are farmers because we have livestock’ clearly indicated in the study that the rural people assumed they were farmers because of having land and livestock that they inherited, bought or acquired by living in the rural areas. In actual sense, most of the rural people were not ‘tilling the land’ but relied on multiple livelihoods strategies embedded in ‘livestock agency’ and off farm activities. It is important to outline that, as evident in the study, the
selling of livestock was not ‘market driven’ for profiteering but as a form of agency, though there were exceptional cases of households and villages that sold on the capital market.

Conceptually, the study examined the fundamental issues arising from the livelihoods framework, around the capacities and capabilities of rural livestock owners, and the use of social and economic capital to determine the livelihood of a household through use of local knowledge, whether or not supported by the government or from outside. The study further sought to find answers to the economic question of why the local government support to rural livestock farmers has been limited and questionable through its emphasis on a commercial, technical and market oriented approach. In trying to understand the continued rural poverty in the study areas and the actual nature of livestock as a central component in a livelihood portfolio, the study traced the history of peasant farming in the former Cape, and the history of rural livestock farming in the former Transkei and Ciskei before and during the apartheid era, and touched on the post-apartheid period.

The patterns of rural livelihoods have constantly been moderated with the coming of colonisation, apartheid and post-apartheid regimes in South Africa (De Wet; 1983; Kariuki, 2004; Lahiff, 2005). The colonial answer was to divide and rule (Ntsebeza, 2002). The decline in productivity and profitability for African agriculture and the corollary of greater dependence by Africans on wage labour is, in an important sense, the outcome of the nature of capitalist development in South Africa (Bundy, 1972, Peires 1998, Cousin, 2006). The study argues that despite the forced removals, migrant labour and the decline in agricultural production that resulted from policies and Acts that were put in place by the apartheid government, the rural livestock farmers continued to use the little remaining resources for their social and economic well being, while retaining land and livestock as central bases to them. Those excluded from the Betterment villages were concentrated in closed settlements in the homelands, in some
cases. The changes influenced the way of life of the rural poor, such as having a morgen of arable land, a garden, and fenced grazing land (De Wet, 2000, Minkley and Westaway, 2005). Such settlement patterns still exist in the rural areas, but with grazing land no longer fenced and rotational grazing no longer a practice.

The former reserve areas were not separate from the main economy, but integrally linked, even functional, to it. The absence of economic opportunities for upward mobility for the majority of rural black people, and the oppressive restrictions placed on their mobility and choices of residence were what tied them to the reserves and to supposedly ‘traditional’ modes of livelihood, such as livestock production (Ainslie, 2005). These traditional modes of livelihood were seen as drawbacks to rural development, such that the rural people were forced to sell wool at the auctions, and cattle were sold in some of the sale pens in Transkei at prices determined by the buyers.

The former Transkei and Ciskei have, according to this study, through case studies, continued to be places where ‘ordinary people’ carried on with their social and cultural practices as best they could. For the rural people of Chris Hani, Amathole and Alfred Nzo District Municipalities specifically in Sakhisizwe, Intsika Yethu, Engcobo, Emalahleni, Amahlati and Mbashe Local Municipalities, owning livestock gave the households the opportunity to practise social traditional rituals that formed part of their livelihoods. They adapted and maximized the use of the available resources to sustain their living. The free grazing land and water resources on the commons, the economic resources, the state-subsidized dipping and inoculation programmes, the household labour available to them; the cultural resources, the patriarchal values, the practices such as bride wealth and norms of accumulation and sharing, and the ritual practices, made the livelihood portfolios strong. However, these differed from one household to another. The rural poor could identify among themselves who of them were poorer, by looking at the resources such as livestock each
household had. Each and every resource that the household had gave a distinct meaning to them and was used in a different way in their livelihoods in the midst of rural development programmes from the government.

One of the key issues under discussion in the study was whether recent political transformation in South Africa laid the basis for significant socio-economic change and rural poverty alleviation, through various development programmes, in an attempt by the National, Provincial, District and Local governments to address the inequalities of the past (Kariuki, 2004, Ntsebeza, 2007, Hall, 2007). Land reform, land restitution and land redistribution programmes implemented in the Eastern Cape Province were problematic (Bank and Minkley, 2005, Lahiff, 2005, Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007). The study argues that such programmes have not yet benefited the majority of those for whom they were intended. Instead, the rural poor are getting poorer and have had to develop mechanisms that could assist them to sustain a living, and help those who were poorer than themselves.

The study argued that the recognition of cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys, horses, cats, dogs, pigs, chickens and geese as family resources caused a household to determine how they could be used, for transport, meat, rituals, borrowing, trade, wool or satisfaction. Sustainable livelihoods emphasized the need to promote solutions to poverty that were economically and environmentally sustainable, and that recognized the importance of enhancing the asset base of the poor (Chambers and Conway, 1998). Based on the findings, the study argued that development initiatives in the study areas chose to ignore the importance of creating a base; hence livestock projects were unsustainable. The issue of sustainability and environmental protection in the rural areas, in terms of livestock production, was far from successful, as the communities were not capacitated, nor were they involved in decision making. Development implementers imposed how livestock and agricultural programmes were to be done (ram improvement, Nguni breeding, Massive Food Production Programme, Siyazondla vegetable gardens).
In the Eastern Cape in post-apartheid South Africa many developmental policies were put in place (IDPs, PGDP, LED framework). The strategy of most district and local municipalities in the study areas, prioritised rural livestock farming, but there was less that could be spoken about in terms of delivery and support in the prioritisation of rural livestock farming. If delivery had taken place, it could have yielded results in improving rural livelihoods and reducing poverty. The pattern of how local knowledge, in collaboration with government interventions and support, assisted the Rhoxeni village in Nkonkobe Local Municipality to succeed in their wool production was a good example of effective ‘down-up’ approach to rural development. The study argues that local knowledge on how to manage and use natural resources, such as livestock, can bring social understanding and social networks. How the communities perceived rural development and how government supported it, was fundamental to their own livelihoods.

What was stated in the policies is not what was implemented. Through case studies, the study argues that the benefits the rural poor people derived from different types of capital differed from one village to another, such as the use of cow dung and firewood. For example, in Chatha village, because of the presence of forest, they did not use cow dung as often as those in rural areas without forest, who had to look for cow dung everyday. This clearly indicated why Local Economic Development Planners ‘identified’ or mentioned cow dung in their IDPs as a source of energy but did not say more than how they could utilise it sustainably. There were no plans in place for using such a traditional source of energy for the betterment of the rural livelihoods. Instead they resorted to ‘rural electrification’ and housing.

Such conceptions of rural development from above (as originating from the National and Provincial governments), and NGO sectors, tended to rely on modernist, dualist and technically driven definitive conceptions, in which the rural people were locked into static traditionalism and where only modern technology,
commercialisation, market oriented and capitalist modes of production could transform people’s livelihoods. Such understanding of the globe’s shared history and shared future were deeply flawed. The view of development, emanating primarily from external centres of power via interventions by state or international bodies, following a determined development path, did not fulfil the projected goals. Such notions brought debates and differences on how to define rural development that corresponded to a given area. We have to understand growth patterns in terms of multiple trajectories; each situated in particular spatial and historical contexts. What happens in one place and at one period does not necessarily occur elsewhere.

The actor-oriented approach has consistently found that, far from being irrational, people in poor rural areas were open to change if they perceived it to be in their interest. Based on the study, the rural livestock farmers knew far better than development planners how to strategize and get ‘the best’ for their own well-being, under difficult circumstances. Indeed, local culture and local knowledge was generally ignored by planners, or treated as a constraint. This was a failure to understand local knowledge.

The study further argued that the complexities of a rural set-up in the Eastern Cape cannot be easily explained through generalized concepts, because of the dynamism of the socio-economic, cultural and political environment that formed rural development and rural livelihoods. The rural people defined poverty according to their own understanding and considered others much poorer than themselves, looking at the number of livestock a household had. The ‘labelling’ assisted the rural livestock farmers to develop strong relationships, and to assist each other with material and social needs in the midst of poverty.

On the conceptual understanding of rural agriculture and promotion of commercial agriculture in the Eastern Cape, agriculture-led growth was conceptualized as having the strength to drive economic reform in rural areas
and commercial farms. This was questioned and it was largely disputed in all spheres. However, the study argued that despite government’s efforts, economic life for the average person living in the rural areas worsened, and agricultural activities declined. The ability of a household to manage hardship and external shocks depended on its access to the relevant information, knowledge and skills, its participation in social organizations (Wool Growers Association) and its final resources, such as livestock.

The rural people sustained their living, built and created coping strategies, and developed a range of livelihood activities based on land and livestock. The forms of livelihood patterns between one household and another differed in all villages of the six Local Municipalities in actual terms, but structurally and socially there were major similarities. These included social grants, some food, and huge areas of vulnerability in material terms, but also, socially, the generation of ‘livestock agency’ as a source of social well-being if not of actual material livelihood. The study argued that the ability of a household to have livestock and other resources, determined how a household planned its monthly expenditure for food and groceries, whether to purchase a beast for ‘imicimbi’ rituals or borrow from those with many; whether to substitute the actual beast used for a given traditional ceremony or to slaughter five or ten sheep on the death of the head of household, or for any other social activities a household was involved in. Such dynamics and complexities were unique and cannot be equated to other regions where sheep, cattle, goats and even dogs and cats were used to manage vulnerability in different ways. The use of local knowledge and the creation of the base as domain of value formed the foundation of the livelihoods of the rural farmers, despite different forms of government support.

Livestock formed the base of every household, though those that received social grants, support from relatives, or worked, had extra livelihood portfolios to manage vulnerability. This made the rural farmers think beyond keeping livestock for accumulation but as a means of survival, after looking through their
survival strategies and safety net. The dynamics of one household which received only a child support grant of R200 but did not have livestock, put the household on the margin. However, a household had to build social relations with those that had livestock, and worked for them or undertook any form of employment for them so that he/she could be paid in cash or kind. Each household had to understand itself how strong its base was, and had to develop mechanism, with the support of the community, to sustain a living. Whether a household had one cow or many, it meant a lot to that household because of their social significance ‘livestock agency’.

The study argues that growing vegetables was another form of survival strategy for some of the households, although some households did not grow vegetables nor ploughed arable land because of lack of resources. However, they were entitled to call themselves ‘farmers’, because they had livestock. Such claim was more ideological than real, as those without resources did not practise farming activities but, because they stayed in the rural areas, they automatically became ‘farmers’. Lack of human labour affected the livelihoods of most of the households as they could not plough the land nor look for part time jobs in the rural areas to increase their livelihood base. The old aged heads of households argued that they were farmers, despite the fact that they could not farm any more ‘growing crops’. To them, living in the communal rural areas automatically made them subsistence farmers, but in essence they were not growing any crop. ‘The majority’ kept livestock only for social and cultural subsistence, unlike the households supported by NGOs in developing agricultural projects, such as the Chatha village irrigation scheme, who got their living from the project and depended less on selling or slaughtering livestock.

The study argues that some rural people claimed, through wool growing, that there was life in livestock farming through the sale of wool even if they got only 3kg of wool from twenty sheep. Based on the fact that they got some wool (3kg), they then assumed they were farmers, though there were exceptions who were
doing well. In terms of the definition of a subsistence farmer (growing crops and keeping animals for consumption and for sale when there is a surplus), the assumption that they were farmers becomes problematic if equated to other subsistence farmers in Mozambique, Zambia (Chileshe, 2005), Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2007), who actually tilled the land every ‘rainy season’, drought or no drought and had livestock. This can be illustrated by the difference in how Rhoxeni WGA at village level was involved in wool growing in comparison to other villages in the study areas where wool growing was not well developed.

Despite profit of only R2-300.00 in returns, farmers confirmed that they made enough out of wool to cover their ‘needs’, though it did not make them commercial farmers, although Grwambi (2004) argued that, rural wool farmers in Peddie became commercial farmers because they sorted wool, classified it and sold on the market. This study argues that it is not the knowledge of how to sort wool and press bales that makes a rural farmer become ‘commercial’ but a series and combination of factors that include; ‘bottom-up approach’, local knowledge, people’s understanding of the market and their own decision-making supported by any other technical support.

There was no one critical variable, but a combination of all potentially catalytic implications that need to be taken into consideration for rural development. The location and transfer of wool production knowledge and techniques, beyond ‘non-present’ extension officers, was critical, as were levels of mutual community involvement. The study argues that government support should go beyond the planning stage to the implementation stage, so that the level of poverty in the Eastern Cape, as stated in the policy documents, could be halved by 2014, in accordance with the millennium goals. The use of local knowledge and how the communities understood their resources and used them remained critical. District and Local Municipalities in the study areas failed to assist the rural livestock farmers in a manner that could alleviate poverty, despite the introduction of Massive Food Production Programmes that were ‘cultivated
development in nature’ in the rural areas, and imposed on the villages. Lack of accountability and support was the order of the day in my study as donated tractors were inappropriately used and parts stolen, diesel fuel sold and no one was accountable for the tractors, leading to them being grounded. Communities were not given responsibility to take charge of the project. Everything was haphazard.

The communities did not know when they were to get dip or receive training from the Department of Agriculture. Households had to use their own understanding of livestock diseases, such as foot and mouth, or Anthrax, and treat the beast with medication from roots of plants, though some afforded to buy. The study argued that local trade among the farmers themselves was more prominent and meaningful than trade on the commercial export market. Sheep were sold to emerging black commercial farmers or within a village, strengthening social networks, social identity and relationships. The commercialisation of rural agriculture in the Eastern Cape has still far to go, and there are still a lot of factors that need to be addressed in terms of the pillars of ISRDP, IDP and PGDP. As argued by Long (2001), development had to start from below, embracing the cultural and traditional ways of farming, rather than rejecting them. Scoones (2007) argued that it was critical for the implementation of indigenous knowledge systems in local government, to develop socio-economic projects.

The agrarian transformation in the Eastern Cape is still yet to prove effective as poverty is deepening towards 2014 and is likely to treble instead of being ‘halved’. Most of the policies and implementation strategies at National, Provincial and Local levels face challenges of accountability, corruption, not being ‘people-centred’, rejection of traditional knowledge as backward and of impeding development. Development projects, ‘livestock projects’ in the study have yet to achieve their goals, yet some have already collapsed as donors have withdrawn or government funds have been inappropriately used. In the midst of all the government planning for rural development, and attempting to implement
projects and impose development on the rural poor, they continue to use livestock as an agent of managing vulnerability in a more or less similar manner, but with exceptions, diversities and complexities per village or household.

Diversity in rural settings manifests itself in the different types of farming systems in the different livelihood systems (Ellis, 2000). It is possible to derive defensible generalisations about the experience of large numbers of the rural poor over time. The question is how to achieve a better understanding of the links and the tensions between different levels of analysis. The micro-level of the household, the meso-level of institutional intervention through local government, development agencies or regional markets, and the macro-level of national policy-making, are critical in determining the livelihoods of the rural poor when surrounded by natural resources, such as livestock. In the light both of prevalent neo-liberal policy prescriptions, and of the reality of diversified rural livelihoods across a number of conventionally discrete economic sectors, it is how policies are devised in practice that had an effective impact upon the disparate livelihoods of the rural poor.

Therefore, the study argues that, so long as people call themselves farmers, or identify what they do as ‘farming’, then policy and practice will structure interventions for farming and agriculture. In other words, this self definition, built on ‘livestock agency’, is actually central, from below, in defining the rural areas as rural and agricultural, rather than as being, effectively, a kind of impoverished, state reliant, splintered urbanism. Development works with a sense of people ‘wanting to be farmers’, but where, actually, this is probably an incorrect assumption. Rather it is access to land and livestock and their agencies, which are structured and conditioned by aspects of social and cultural ‘well-being’ or at least of association and belonging at a time when new citizenship has not meant material change (beyond service delivery of electricity and water); continuing unemployment; build-up of state dependency on social grants. All of this is in a countryside that is actually caught up in poverty and death, intensified by HIV
and AIDS and the ageing people, especially those who used to work in the mines but have retired, affected by respiratory diseases. Hence, the concern with rituals and with funerals and initiation as moral ‘defence’ against HIV and AIDS, and the role livestock has come to assume in this.

Livestock agency has become the vehicle through which the vulnerabilities of ‘social death’ are being managed. The countryside is not just full of young and old with desperate levels of material poverty, but where the spectres of almost daily routines of death need to be planned for and built up through ‘livestock agency’. Hence it is a ‘well-being’ built on social decline, fragmentation and disintegration, and where local rural development initiatives are not resolving development and addressing the material aspects in any real ways. The fact that the rural people ideologically assume they are farmers because of having livestock and land, made development planners (extension officers, NGOs and local government officials), with their parcel of ‘top-down’ projects, presume the rural people could become commercial farmers if technically supported, following the prescribed route. This proved to be untrue and only worked when the rural people organised themselves at village level through social understanding and local knowledge, initiated wool growing embedded in community driven rules and received technical support from development organisations.

The study concludes that the rural people of the Eastern Cape varied in their degrees of poverty, depending on the number of livestock they had. This made the households decide whether to employ a herd man, or to herd the livestock themselves. Those employed as herdsmen, or employed to construct rondavels, were paid by mutual arrangement, not according to labour laws. The payment was either with a beast or in cash. Livestock were not valued in monetary terms but as a social value. It was appropriate to argue in the study that rural poverty must be defined to suit specific places at specific times. In certain instances we cannot separate the social, economic and political notions in defining the poor.
The poor identified themselves as being better off than others, as mentioned earlier. Families have proved that they could hold on to a small amount of cash, such as R180, and save it for important activities in the family. While the amount was minimal to sustain an average household, the households who had limited resources knew how to use it. The family did not think of luxury things because to them they were of secondary importance. This clearly stated that it was the poor themselves who determined their well-being, through the use of local knowledge on how to use their resources, such as livestock.

It is important to argue that grazing land was still identified as the ‘commons’ where the livestock grazed together and the communities took care of the land through the chief. However, the differences in accountability between one village and another made some villages practise rotational grazing, using local knowledge for determining imaginary boundaries, when the grazing land was not fenced. Some village members developed social relations through taking responsibility of the land while others did not. These differences clearly indicate why imposed environmental management could not work while a communally driven environmental understanding worked for some villages driven by the chief and his ‘indunas’, advisers.

Trade among livestock owners was through a barter system where, for example, a scotch cart was exchanged for seven sheep. The monetary value of the seven sheep was not considered in this regard, thus, market determined ‘economies of scale, and profiteering’ did not prevail. One household wanted a scotch cart for transporting goods, while the other household wished to increase his/her stock. The resultant exchange was based on social need, rather than material value. More generally this small example is illustrative of, and serves as a tiny glimpse into a much larger context and basis of social relations. The study, generally, has argued that such social networks were created in villages, according to the affiliation of one household to a group such as Wool Growers Association. This created social networks which led households to assist each other not only
economically, but also socially, and that these social ties transcended the supposed, or primary material determinants attached to their initial development. However, these social relations, in turn, often led to new levels and forms of differentiation. In the sheep farming context, for example, non-members were marginalised. The degree of social exclusion had a negative impact on the livelihoods of the rural poor, because they found it difficult to do as others did (managing vulnerability).

The study further argued that ‘cultural satisfaction’ and the well-being of women may not be understood by gender scholars fighting for gender equity in the universalised world. Some rural women appreciated that they were shaped by their culture/custom in issues related to owning livestock and land, although some households were gender sensitive, allowing women to be involved in decision making in issues related to livestock, and in livestock projects that involved men’s stock, such as sheep and cattle. Women were satisfied, as they possessed pigs and chickens. Inheritance was a social concept understood by the community and households themselves.

The study addressed the question of ‘spiritual’ well-being through livestock, so those with or without livestock had to obtain a goat to slaughter to please the spirit of the dead. They were protected wherever they were in all circumstances. If a household did not have a goat, it had to look for one, or borrow or exchange with a sheep. Those that wanted to join the traditional healers’ ‘sangoma’ world, had to have a goat slaughtered. Spirituality was one social activity that was fulfilled through a beast. If not practised, the household member became worried, unhappy and full of mishaps and incomplete life. Such meanings attached to livestock agency are discarded as drawbacks to rural development, hindering the commercialisation of goats.

Support from family members working in towns was unpopular, because of the tough situation facing many families in towns and rural areas. Many families
were no longer getting that support, and the rural household members had to make ends meet with the resources they had. There was no longer reliability on those working in town but on what was at home, such as livestock and crop farming, plus social grants, if any.

Those with livestock, as they left in the morning to herd livestock in the field, whistled as a sign of contentment and felt ‘social satisfaction’. On the other hand, those without livestock felt something was missing in their lives. They wished they had livestock and they developed a hope that one day they would have. Embarrassed, unhappy and incomplete social and spiritual life, and having no food portrayed the lives of those without livestock. Realising the importance of livestock, many unemployed youngsters, and some without livestock, have become involved in stock theft, affecting social relations. This has destroyed the base of many social relationships within households, in spite of local government’s poverty alleviation policies.

Banking of income accumulated either from the sale of livestock or crops was not common in the rural areas. They preferred to keep their money at home in case of emergencies. The amount was kept for more than six months or more, until a need arose. This also clearly indicated that in real terms the rural people were not farming but developing a multiple livelihood portfolio for managing vulnerability.

Having no records of sheep production, how much was spent, profit returns acquired, progress reports, dosing calendars, and selling through ‘bopipi’ speculators but knowing only the numbers of livestock, indicated that the rural farmers were not worried about the market or producing wool for commercial purposes, but to keep their stock as a base. The most important thing to them was to know their livestock numbers. All factors affecting the economies of scale, as mentioned above, were not important to a ‘rural farmer’, hence the argument of whether they were really subsistence or commercial farmers or
livestock owners. Farmers, despite lack of input and financial capital, made what they could to sustain a living. The study argues that livestock farming in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape used less technology. The only technology used was the introduction of quality rams to improve the genes, and electric wool-shearing machines for Rhoxeni village. It can be argued that most of the rural people were still ‘subsistence farmers’ or not farming at all but derived multiple livelihoods from livestock, although there were attempts to introduce new technology, commercialisation, and marketing through international wool and goat markets. However, the real practice of wool growing and goat production and commercialising farming was still reliant on the people’s potential and capabilities. As echoed by the President of the Republic of South Africa, “halving poverty still has a long way to go, and rural development programmes have failed because they lacked local knowledge and the experience of the rural people themselves (Mail and Guardian June 4-9, 2007).
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- Ms. Mbolekwa
- Mr. Gcelityana
- Ms. Mtyhalela
- Ms. Ntshutsha
- Mr. Mbangathi
- Ms. Mboso
- Mr. Zinyubile
- Mr. Yalezo
- Ms. Mdoda
- Mr. Mshweshwe
- Mr. Msweli
- Mr. Zandisile
- Ms. Ntombizodwa
- Mr. Baleni

Interviews held 25/08/05 to 11/11/05

- Sister Sibongile
- Mr. Baleni
- Mrs. Kuse
- Mr. Thyuluba
- Mr. Kanyongo
- Ms. Rancwana
- Mr. Mlumbi
- Ms Jada
- Mr. Nkosinathi Nkohla
- Mr. Dryphus Ntlantsana
- Mr. Aaron Mgoqi
Mr. Novumile Ndebu

Interviews held from 17/03/06 to 20/05/06

Ms. Zina Bandla
Ms. Yedwa Noyuzithi
Mr. Staymeli
Mr. Mbeki
Mr. Mkosana
Ms. Mondi
Mrs. Mbombi
Mr. Matanzima
Mr. Skenjana
Ms. Qemeshe
Mr. Ncedani
Dunjwa family

Municipal Agricultural Managers interviewed

Mr. Ngxeba Mbashe Local Municipality
Mr. May Interviewed agricultural manager Sakhisizwe local Municipality
Mr. Simanga Interviewed agricultural manager Intsika Yethu local Municipality

Extension officers

Mr. Piqi Engcobo Local Municipality
Mr George LED officer Emalahleni LM
Mr Qaba Extension Officer Emalahleni LM
Mr Gosa Extesion Officer Emalahleni Local Municipality
Mr. Xasimba Amahlati Local Municipality
Mr. Magadla Nkonkobe Local Municipality

ANNEXURE A
Questionnaire to a member of a household

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1</strong></td>
<td>Do you own livestock?</td>
<td>Indicate the number owned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1=Yes 2= No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **A2** | Number owned | Purpose |
|        |              |        |
| **A2.1** | Cattle |   |
| **A2.2** | Sheep |   |
| **A2.3** | Goats |   |
| **A2.4** | Chickens |   |
| **A2.5** | Horses |   |
| **A2.6** | Pigs |   |
| **A2.7** | Other specify |   |

| **B1** | Did you buy any of your livestock in the past year? 1= Yes 2= No |
| **B2** | Are you satisfied with the size of your herd? 1= Yes 2= No |
| **B3** | Do you have access to sufficient grazing land for your livestock? 1= Yes 2= No |
| **B4** | How would you rate the quality of grazing land? 1. excellent 2. good 3. satisfactory 4. poor 5. very poor |

| **C1** | Do you have a garden and or crop field? 1= Yes 2= NO |
| **C2** | How often do you use the field or garden for growing crops? |
| **C3** | Did you use your field or garden during the current growing season? 1= Yes 2= No |
| **C4** | If not when did you last use it (Year) |
| **C5** | What crops did you grow? |
| **C6** | How much maize did you produce? Number of bags |
| **C6.1** | How many bags did you consume? |
| **C6.2** | How many of these did you exchange/barter? |
| **C6.3** | How many did you sell? |

| **D1** | In the past year |
| **D2** | How many |
| **D3** | If you want to |
| **D4** | In the past year |
| **D5** | How much did you |
| **D6.1** | If members of your |
| **D7** | If yes, How |
| **D8.1** | How much did they pay |
which of these livestock have you raised? Put a cross X

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>how many have you sold?</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>receive from the sales?</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>household bought any?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>many did they buy?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cattle
Sheep
Goats
Chicken
Pigs
Ducks
Other specify

E. Animal Products

E.1 During the past year since January have your household sold any products obtained from your animals? For example milk, yoghurt, eggs or tanned skins? If Yes,

E.1.1 Products

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milk?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sour milk?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skins?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow dung</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other specify</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F. Livestock expenditure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>F.1 In the past 12 months did you spent money on the following items in order to raise livestock?</th>
<th>F.2 If yes, How much have you as a household spent in the past 12 months</th>
<th>F.3 Where did you obtain this amount?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paid labour for herding</td>
<td>Yes....</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shops........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No....</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cooperative................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building pens and fences</td>
<td>Yes.......</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Agency.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No...</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other public source.........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maintenance of pens and fences</td>
<td>Yes....</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No....</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feed, including salt?</td>
<td>Yes....</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No....</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary services</td>
<td>Yes....</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No....</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chemical products</td>
<td>Yes.......</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.......</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport of animals,</td>
<td>Yes....</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
feeds and supplies? | No… |
| Other expenses for raising livestock | Yes…… |
| | No…… |

G. Sources of Income

G.1. Complete the table indicating your sources of income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources of income</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>When did you start receiving the grant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pension</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary from relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funds from NGO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Insurance Fund</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child support grant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care dependency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other specify</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G. 2. What are other source of income for your daily subsistence and school fees for your kids?

………………….
………………….

H. Household Histories

H.1. When did your family start living here?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
H.2. How long have you been living here?

H.3. When did you start keeping livestock?

H.4. What difficulties did you encounter in raising cattle?

H.5. How many livestock did you have at the beginning?

H.6. How old were you?

H.7. How did you manage to acquire the first lot of livestock?

H.8.1. Was your household established during the apartheid era? Yes No

H.8.2. If yes complete the table below indicating the number of livestock you had.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livestock</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkeys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other specify</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H.9. How many livestock were you supposed to have?

H.10. Are there any restrictions that you still remember in as far as keeping livestock is concerned?

H.11. Which apartheid laws do you still remember that dealt with keeping livestock?
H.12. How does the apartheid system of government support on keeping livestock differ from the one today?

H.12.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of support</th>
<th>Apartheid era</th>
<th>Post apartheid era</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dipping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H.13. Are you satisfied with keeping cattle/ livestock? Yes………………..No………………

H.5.2. If Yes or No give reasons for your answer……………………………………………………………………………………………………

H.14. How many are you in your family?

H.15. Who are the owners of the livestock? Cattle, Pig, Goats, Sheep, Turkey, ducks, others specify……………………………………………….

H.16.1. Do women own any form of livestock? If yes, which types of animals?

H.16.2. If no give a reason for your answer……………………………………………………………………………………………………

H.7. During the drought period what do you do to your livestock?

Marketing

I.1. (a) When do you normally slaughter or kill a livestock?
   (b) Who are involved in the killing?
   (c) Who decides which livestock to be killed or sold?

I.2. Who herds the livestock?
I.3.1. How often do you sell your livestock?

I.4.2. If so, where do you sell them?

I.5. 1 What do you use the money for after selling?

I.6.2 How do people buy livestock if you are selling (cash, installment, barter system? ...................................................

J. Social aspects

J.1. What form of support do you get from the Department of Veterinary services and the Department of agriculture? ..............................................................

I.3.2. If yes, give reasons for your answer........................................................................................................................................

J.4. If an elder person, son or daughter of the family dies, what arrangements are made for the funeral in relation with the killing of a beast for the funeral? ........................................................................................................................................

Questionnaire for the Veterinary officer Department of Agriculture

A.1. How long have you been working as a veterinary officer or agriculture manager? ............................................................................................................................

A.2. What are your responsibilities in the municipality? ........................................................................................................................................

A.3. What does the Local Economic Development, Department Of Agriculture, IDP and land constitution say on rural livestock farming in the rural areas? ........................................................................................................................................

A.4. How do these constitutions differ from the apartheid regime one? ...........................................................................................................................
A.5. How is the Department of Agriculture helping households involved in livestock farming?

A.6. What is your opinion on livestock farming in the rural areas?

A.7. How is keeping livestock assisting households in meeting their daily needs?

A.8. What form of education do you give to households involved in livestock farming?

A.9. How do you help these farmers in times of drought?

A.10. How do livestock farmers link livestock farming and crop farming?

A.11. What is the importance of livestock farming to the livelihoods of the rural people?

A.12. How do you assist people to sell their livestock at a better market?

A.13. What recommendations do you give to the local government with regard to sustainable rural livestock farming?

A.14. What recommendation do you give to the household livestock farmers?

Questionnaire for an official in the Department of Agriculture

A.1. How long have you been in this work?
A.2. How do you help livestock farmers?

A.3. What is your view on the number of livestock and the size of land available for grazing in the area?

A.4. How responsible are the livestock farmers in as far as overgrazing is concerned?

A.5. What is the link between your department and the local government or the department of agriculture in as far as rural livestock farming is concerned?

A.6. What do you think is the importance of livestock to the rural households involved in livestock farming?

A.7. Which animals (livestock) is/are considered much important by the livestock farmers? why do you say so?

A.8. How is the government helping the livestock farmers?

---

**Questionnaire (Municipal Manager Agriculture)**

A.1. How long have you been working as a municipal manager agriculture?

A.2. What is the major agricultural activity in your municipality? (Crop farming or livestock)
A.3. Do rural households practice both livestock farming and crop farming?

A.4. If yes which one do they prioritise most?

A.5. Agriculture is said to be the major economic development strategy? Yes…… No……

A.6. If yes, What is the role of the municipality on rural livestock farming?

A.7. What is the link between the municipal IDP, LED, agrarian and land reform in relation to rural livestock farming?

A.8. How do you know that your plans and objectives in as far as rural livestock farming are being met?

A.9. How are rural households sustaining their livelihoods?

A.10. What is the importance of livestock to the rural households involved in livestock farming?

Questionnaire to a commercial farmer

1. When did you acquire this farm?

2. How did you acquire it?

3. Which farming laws (constitution) did you went through (Apartheid or post apartheid) in buying the farm?

4. How were you affected by betterment planning?
5. How much did it cost you to buy the farm?

What difficulties did you encounter in running the farm from the beginning?

6. What agricultural activities are you involved in?

7. How many of these livestock do you have

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livestock</th>
<th>Number owned</th>
<th>When owned</th>
<th>Young ones</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkeys</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goose</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ducks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Did you buy any in the past year? If yes which ones?
9. If yes at how much did you buy them?
10. How do you market your livestock?
11. Is your market satisfactory? Yes No
12. If Yes or No give reason for your answer
13. How much profit have you acquired so far per each livestock?
14. Which of these products do you normally have from the livestock?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By Products</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milk from Cows</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk from goats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow dung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal skin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15. How do you link your farming activities with the local municipality, Department of Agriculture and the District municipality?

What difficulties do you encounter in getting assistance from the above mentioned organisations (Local Municipality, Department of Agriculture and District Municipality) if any?

16. What is the social or cultural significance of any of the livestock you keep (Cattle, Sheep, Goats etc)?

17. What problems are you encountering in keeping livestock?

18. What form of support do you need from the local, district and provincial government?

19. How do you link yourself with the rural people in the villages?

Questionnaire to wool growers in Mbashe and Emalahleni

Wool Grower

Section A
Before Ruliv's intervention in wool growing
1. Name initial Surname……………………………………………………………
2. Location Village………………………………………………Municipality…………………………
3. When did you start to have sheep? …………………………………
4. How many sheep did you have? ………………………………………
5. How did you acquire them? ……………………………………………
6. What was the main purpose of having sheep? ……………………………
7. When did you start selling wool…………………………………………
8. Describe how you used to herd sheep, shear wool, sort wool, bale and sell wool
9. How much did you use to get from the sale of classified wool or no classified?
10. What did you use to do with the income you got?
11. Did you use to have wool growers associations? Yes…………No………………
12. If yes how did they use to help you?
13. What form of assistance did you use to get from the government if any and as per now?
14. What problems did you encounter in wool growing?
15. How did you solve them or who assisted you to solve them?
Section B
Ruliv’s intervention

1.1. When did you start to get assistance from Ruliv? .................................................................
1.2. What form of assistance did you get from Ruliv in relation to wool growing? .................................
1.3. Did the assistance help you to improve the type of wool, shearing shed, state of sheep, grazing land, marketing of wool, sorting and baling of wool

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of wool</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shearing shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazing land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing of wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorting of wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4. After the assistance how much income were you getting after selling wool altogether and how many sheep did you have? ........................................................................................................................................
1.5. How much did you get per each type of wool?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1.6. Was there any difference in the amount you got from the sell of wool before Ruliv’s interventions and after interventions? If any difference explain why so

1.7. What did you do with the income you got from the selling of sheep?

1.8. Describe how organised was wool growing after Ruliv’s interventions

1.9. What other changes took place after the intervention?

2.0. What problems did you encounter in managing wool production during Ruliv’s intervention and how did you solve them?

Section C
Post intervention period

3.1. How was wool growing when Ruliv was no longer assisting you?

3.2. Describe how you were now able to shear wool, feed sheep, sort wool, market wool and sell sheep.

3.3. How is the situation now in so far as wool growing is concerned?

(A) Shearing shed ........................................................................................................................

(D) Wool Growers

Association ............................................................................................................

(E) Baling ..................................................................................................................
3.4. What is your recommendation in terms of Ruliv’s intervention and its effect to your present way of wool production?

3.5. How is your selling of wool now and how much are you getting per type of wool?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Wool</th>
<th>Price per Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3.6. Is there a decrease or increase in the amount you get now after selling wool since Ruliv last assisted you? Explain your answer.

3.7. To which markets do you sell your wool?

3.8. How do you transport your wool to the market and who assist you?

3.9. What problems are you encountering now in wool growing and how are you solving them?

14.0. What do you think is the way forward in improving wool growing?

Section D

Socio economic

11. What is the cultural significance of sheep?

12. When do you slaughter sheep?

13. When do you sell sheep?

14. What do you do with the amount you get from selling sheep?

15. How do you help one another to eradicate sheep scab>
A questionnaire to a member of the Wool Growers Association
Questionnaire to the chairperson
Section A: Personal details
1.1. Name…………………………………… Surname…………………………………..
1.2. When did you join as a member of the WGA? .....................................................
1.3. When did you become the chairperson of the organisation? .........................
Section B Organisation
2.0. When was the association formed? .................................................................
2.1. Describe how it was formed?..............................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
2.2. Who were the members of the association at the beginning?
........................................................................................................................................
2.3. How did you motivate the members to join?
........................................................................................................................................
2.4. How much was the joining fee if any?
........................................................................................................................................
2.5. What form of support did you get in developing the association from any organisation or
government?
........................................................................................................................................
2.6. Was your association formed before Ruliv’s intervention in wool growing in your area? If
yes answer
2.7. How was the wool growing situation before Ruliv’s intervention?
Describe how you used to shear wool, control sheep scabs, sort wool, bale and sell wool? 
........................................................................................................................................
2.8. How did the farmers use to transport wool?
........................................................................................................................................
2.9. How was the marketing of wool?
........................................................................................................................................

Section C
Ruliv’s intervention
3.1. How did Ruliv intervene in wool growing in your area?
........................................................................................................................................
3.2. What is your evaluation of Ruliv’s intervention in wool growing in your area? Did it change
anything for the better or worse? Explain your answer.
........................................................................................................................................
3.3. What do you think is the way forward in wool growing?
........................................................................................................................................
3.5. How has been wool growing after Ruliv’s intervention?
3.6. How is the wool growing situation today after Ruliv left?

3.7. Are there any differences if so how are they?

3.7. Did wool growers and you as an Association benefited from Ruliv’s intervention, if so in what ways?

3.8. What is your opinion on those who did not benefit from the intervention how is their wool growing situation?

3.9. Who is supporting those who did not benefit from Ruliv’s interventions and how are you supporting them as well?

3.1.1. Do you think there is need for an intervention like that of Ruliv in future or now? Why do you say so?

Questionnaire to Former Ruliv officials
Section A
Personal details
1.1 Name…………………….Surname…………………….
1.2 Position held at Ruliv……………………………………………………………

Section B
2.1 For how long have you been working for Ruliv? ………………………………………………..
2.2 Describe Ruliv’s intervention in rural areas of Mbashe and Emalahleni local Municipalities in wool growing?

2.3 Do you think the intervention helped the rural wool farmers in anyway? Support your answer

2.4 How were you involved in the intervention process?

2.5 What lessons can be learnt from this intervention in your own view?

2.6 List down the benefits the rural wool growers got from the intervention
Cultivated Land for irrigation project in Chatha village

Cattle beyond economic value

Nyanga sub-village in Chatha
Isikobeni village

vegetable garden Iliso Lethu co-operative
Cow dung
Umzimvubu goat project

Nobokwe WGA
Nobokwe WGA soaked wool

Xume village herd boy
Woman wool farmer and the extension officer

Wool pressing machine
Sheep grazing in a household vegetable garden

Sheep flock
Chris Hani District Municipality

Amathole District Municipality
Young men involved in shearing wool in Zadungeni

Young ladies cooking for wool farmers who were busy shearing wool in Zadungeni
Izingqolweni Wool Growers Association

Focus group interview with farmers at Isikobeni village
Tractor donated to the community by the department of agriculture

Upper Nqadu Wool Growers Association
Wool Quality BF class