

**CONTESTED RIGHTS: THE IMPACT OF GAME FARMING ON
FARM WORKERS IN THE BUSHMAN'S RIVER AREA**

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Abstract

This thesis is an investigation of the impact of commercial game farming on former farm workers in the Bushman's River area of the Eastern Cape. In its examination of the broader economic and political changes that have facilitated a move from agriculture to game farming, it analyses how these changes affect farm workers.

The main concern of the thesis is the ways in which farm workers (at the local level) respond to changes at the national and global level (legal and political changes, the advent of tourism, and the injection of foreign capital and businessmen into the area). Lack of knowledge about their rights under the current political dispensation, as well as the perceived need for mediation between themselves and foreign landowners, points to a general sense of powerlessness. Feelings of alienation from local government structures aimed at fulfilling this function indicate a significant gap between the statute at the national level and the local reality. Local reality is informed by a strong conservatism which is generated by African Independent Church structures and local Xhosa perceptions of manhood and respectability. This conservative discourse leads to a frame of reference which is largely informed by pre-1994 interactions with farmers and government. This results in a situation in which farm workers, largely unaware of their rights in the new dispensation, operate as they did in the past; waiting for landowners to decide their fate for them. What ensues is a lack of meaningful interaction with government and landowners, perpetuating their subjugation and cynicism as to whether government structures are in fact working in their interests.

The thesis comes to three main conclusions. The first is that game farming has been negatively received by farm workers due to the associated threats of unemployment and eviction. The second is that despite high levels of subjugation, even the very poor are agents to some degree. The creation of a masculine identity which is internally articulated, as opposed to outwardly expressed, and the grounding of reputation in the family suggest that farm workers have developed mechanisms to deal with their disempowered position. Lastly, farm workers are in possession of social capital which has made it possible for them to deal with their low status in the societal hierarchy. This includes the Church, family and fellow community members. These coping strategies have however proved a disadvantage in the current era because they prevent direct communication with landowners, government and NGOs.

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Dramatis Personae

The main participants in the study are listed below under the categories of; farm workers, farmers, game farmers, NGO, councillors and provincial government, for ease of reference whilst reading.

PEOPLE	DESIGNATION
FARM WORKERS	
Uncle Zolani	Glenville resident , priest, 'headman'
Tata Ted	Elderly Glenville resident
Tata Andile	Elderly Glenville resident
Elliott	Glenville resident
Ntombi	Elderly Glenville resident
Frances	Elderly Glenville resident
Danny	Millsfontein resident
Laragh	Millsfontein resident
Nancy	Laragh's daughter
Sally	Millsfontein resident
Nikki	Elderly Millsfontein resident
Paul	Millsfontein resident
Samuel	Millsfontein resident
Mary	Fonteinberg resident
Sipho	Fonteinberg resident
Jane	Sipho's sister-in-law
Pumela	Jane's deceased daughter
Malusi	Fonteinberg resident
Pumlani	Chairperson: Masizame Communal Property Association
FARMERS	
Patrick	Resident farmer at Millsfontein
John	Former farmer at Glenville
Joan	John's wife. Sold farm to Buffalo Lodge
Chris	Former owner of Millsfontein.
Frank	Former owner of Fonteinberg
Martin	Frank's son. Sold farm to Buffalo Lodge.
GAME FARMERS	
Jan	Manager: Buffalo Lodge
William	Investor and owner: Buffalo Lodge
Len	Investor and owner: Buffalo Lodge
Geoff	Professional hunter
NGO	
Victor	NGO representative
Bongani	NGO representative
Pam	NGO Director
COUNCILLORS	
Nelly	Makana Municipality Councillor
Mr Musasa	Ward III Councillor: Makana Municipality
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT	
Tad	Department of Land Affairs: Port Elizabeth

Preface and acknowledgements

This preface serves as a guide to the history of the study and the various participants. I have been involved with the people of the Bushman's River area for four years. During this time I have met a number of people and shared many experiences. The preface accounts for some of this history and experience. It illustrates the link between my past involvement with the people and this study.

Project history

Second and third year undergraduate Anthropology students at Rhodes University are expected to undertake an independent research project as part of a broader focus on fieldwork methodology. When I was in third year in 1999 I conducted a research project into the ritual use of *ubulawu*¹ amongst Xhosa speakers in and around Grahamstown. Mr Zweliyanyikima (Zweli for short) Vena, the 60-year-old User Services Librarian at Rhodes University's Cory Library for Historical Research, assisted me with the project. We met in 1998 when we were both enrolled for Anthropology II. When I indicated my intention to conduct research into ritual plant material, he suggested I meet his uncle, a renowned herbalist and priest who lived and worked on a farm between Salem and Alexandria. I met with Uncle Zolani² on a number of occasions. Uncle Zolani is Zweli's father's brother. He was born in 1930 on a farm in Alexandria, is 72 years old, and has lived on his current farm, Glenville, since 1944. He has five adult children and two grandchildren. He lives on the farm with his 75 year old wife and his single, unemployed son of 45. Together with Zweli, Uncle Zolani took me for walks around Glenville to identify various plants. In an attempt to teach me a little of his 'craft', he always insisted that I recall the plants we had collected on any particular day. We spent many hours together walking through the farm, down gorges and along the river's edge. I must confess though that I often had to rest and catch my breath, a little embarrassed that someone 50 years my senior was fitter than I was.

¹ *Ubulawu* are certain varieties of plants and creepers growing near streams or rivers, grasslands and forests that foam when beaten in water. These plants are used for ritual purposes because the foam is said to be a manifestation of the ancestors (Hirst, 1990).

² I have changed the names of all the participants and individual farms. The only identities that have remained unconcealed are Zweli's, Mpho Molapisi's, and the community, the Masizame Communal Property Association, in which he conducted his honours research in 2002.

My honours thesis the following year focussed on Zweli's training as a traditional healer. The thesis had both an individual and a group focus. It looked at the involvement of the family and the broader healing community in the training process. During the course of the year I kept in contact with Uncle Zolani, partially because of his connection to Zweli, but on the whole because of our past involvement.

Whilst with my parents in England during the 2000 Christmas vacation Zweli and I kept in close e-mail contact. During the first week of December he sent me an e-mail stating that on a visit to Uncle Zolani he had discovered that the farm had been sold. The six families living on Glenville knew that the farm had been sold, but knew very little about the new owner or what the land had been bought for. They only knew that game animals would soon be introduced. Zweli and I decided to travel to the farm as soon as I returned to South Africa to see what if anything could be done. I forwarded the e-mail to Penny Bernard in the Rhodes University Anthropology Department, in the hopes that a focus on game farming and farm workers could fit into her NRF funded 'Indigenous Knowledge Systems' programme related to sacred sites. She agreed to the request and I was able to return and enrol for a Masters degree. Penny Bernard has provided the most significant portion of the funding for my masters research. Since 1999 she has taken an active role in the development of my research interests. She has provided emotional and intellectual support. Her advice has always been balanced and well thought out.

Even before the research began the value explicit nature of the project was evident. Some have argued that the 'key function of the anthropologist is to discover what the problem is and what the possibilities for change are' (Van Willigen, 1986: 62), whilst others have countered such assertions with concerns over the incompatibility between the anthropologist and advocate role (Hastrup & Ellass, 1990). The point remains however, that through acknowledging that ethnography is a personal encounter, and an intersubjective reality (Hastrup 1987, 1990 a & b), the anthropologist cannot help but "apply his/her research skills to people's needs with an appropriate blend of humility and confidence" (Ervin, 2000:128). I was put into a position in which I felt that my skills could assist to some degree in helping these people solve a potential problem; that their farms had been bought, and they were uncertain as to their future.

Participants

The research for this thesis took place between March 2001 and December 2002. Initially, as revealed in the project history, I had only ever met Uncle Zolani and his immediate family. In the first few months of 2001 I met the other residents of his farm and the neighbouring two farms, Millsfontein and Fonteinberg, who were later to be resettled on land donated by Buffalo Lodge³. I was also introduced to a variety of farm workers in the immediate vicinity. Almost immediately, I met the chairperson of the Masizame Communal Property Association, his wife and other members of the community. Uncle Zolani's congregation, The New Christian Catholic Church in Zion, meets at Masizame. He runs the local burial society in conjunction with Pumlanzi, the Chairperson of Masizame. Many of the residents of Masizame are married to, or related in other ways to people living with Uncle Zolani. Pumlanzi is also the priest of a local farm based branch of the African Apostolic Church in Zion. Pumlanzi's congregation is not as large as Uncle Zolani's, something which has caused a certain amount of tension between the two men. They do however maintain an uneasy friendship. To avoid further hostility I was introduced to Pumlanzi almost immediately.

The first few meetings between Uncle Zolani and his co-residents were always at night. The convenience of such a time aside (after formal working hours), the people were concerned that the presence of Zweli and I would not be welcomed by the farmer. We generally met in various homes at Millsfontein because it was in between the two other farms, and meant not too much walking distance one way or the other for delegates. Millsfontein is the only one of the three farms with a resident farmer, Patrick. I remember fondly, well now in hind sight perhaps, bruises down the back of my legs caused by climbing through game fences, walking with Zweli back to the car lit only by moon and star light, tripping over the odd sleeping cow, and driving down many a badly graded farm road in absolute darkness. I quickly became involved in a wide network of people which spanned a number of farms. Initially I met people through Uncle Zolani's request that Zweli and I go and speak with certain farm workers over their concerns. Others came to see Zweli at work. I met others at rituals, church services, and through involvement with the Ward committee (see below).

³ This is the subject of chapter 6. Uncle Zolani and nine other families from three neighbouring farms have been donated by land by the game farm on which they live.

Zweli took me to meet the area's councillor Mr Musasa, early in June 2001. Zweli and he had been at Lovedale⁴ together. Having lived and worked in Grahamstown for the better part of forty years, Zweli, I was soon to learn, knew absolutely everybody who was anybody. This would prove invaluable in the months to come as we attempted to negotiate with the Lodge and other local officials to improve the tenure status of the community. We met with Mr Musasa on a number of occasions throughout 2001. I took him and a fellow councillor to Glenville and Millsfontein to meet the residents. He was extremely helpful and supportive towards the end of 2002 when I ran into difficulties with the director of the local NGO involved in the planned relocation of the Millsfontein, Glenville and Fonteinberg inhabitants.

In April 2002 Mr Musasa invited me to be a permanent guest member of his Ward committee. I met a lot of additional people through my involvement with the Ward. Beyond the other members of the committee, I was able to access members of the council. I found the engineers department particularly helpful. Ward III of Makana Municipality is primarily a rural ward which includes the farming areas of Salem, Hope Fountain, Highlands, Farmerfield, Manley Flats and Seven Fountains. I served, at the invitation of Mr Musasa, from April 2002 to the present as a representative of the Hope Fountain area. Membership of the committee not only introduced me to a wider network of people and interest groups (white farmers, emergent black farmers, ward councillors, council employees, land affairs and department of labour officials, farm school teachers and policemen), but also facilitated a broader understanding of the issues that face contemporary agriculture. These include agricultural deregulation, game farming, stock theft and land reform (included both tenure and restitution).

In July 2001 I met Jan, William and later in 2002 Len. Jan is in partnership with William, Len and an American booking agent who provided the capital for the acquisition of the 13 farms which make up the lodge, and the accompanying infrastructure. Jan and I met on a number of occasions during 2001 and 2002. I was introduced by Jan as a friend of Uncle Zolani's who was researching game farming. William and Jan had met Uncle Zolani and decided to keep him employed. He explained 'how we liked him from the start and could see that he was a guy to speak to'. And indeed he is given his sound reputation and standing within the greater area. Jan is manager and 20% shareholder of Buffalo Lodge. We generally discussed the planned relocation of the occupiers. Later we chatted about land claims and other developments in the

⁴ Lovedale is a famous mission school close to Fort Hare in Alice.

area. William and Len reside in America and are frequent visitors to the game farm. They continue to hunt throughout Africa. We talked a great deal about hunting, South African history, game farming versus conventional farming and the residents of Millsfontein, Fonteinberg and Glenville.

Additional acknowledgements

My deepest debt of gratitude goes to Tata Zweli. From our initial meeting in 1998, the father has been a constant source of wisdom and guidance. He has allowed me to see and record aspects of his life which he has not chosen to divulge before now. Through his deep empathy and commitment to his own people I have learnt what true compassion and dedication is. The father has allowed me to air my frustrations and speak my mind in a safe environment. He has always known how to act, where to exert pressure and how to get what is needed for the community. I am as always eternally grateful.

Uncle Zolani, affectionately called 'the headman' by the people he lives with is a true leader. I have lent heavily on him over the past four years, particularly in relation to the resettlement of him and his neighbours. He has always advocated caution and diplomacy. I will remember fondly the many evenings spent chatting with him and his family.

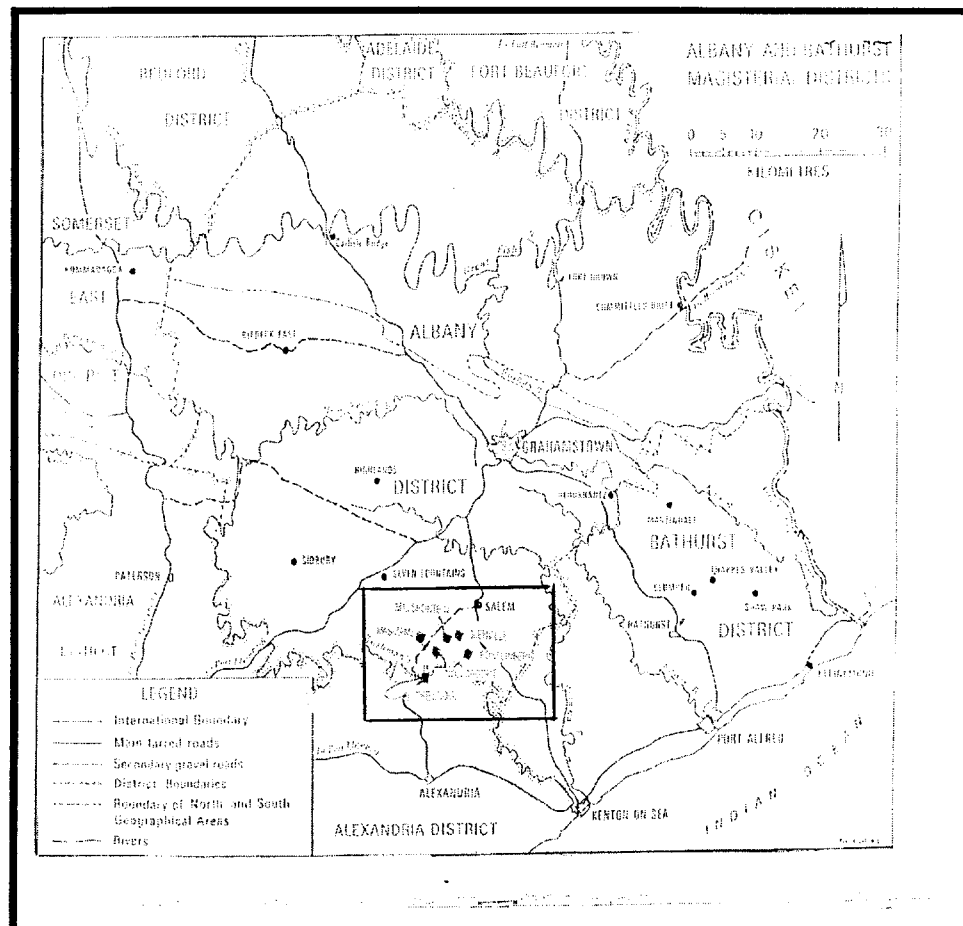
A very deep vote of thanks must go to my supervisor Robin Palmer. He supervised my honours, and now my masters' research. His encouragement and support are greatly appreciated and have ensured that we have been able to retain a close relationship. He has always tempered my 'manic moments' with sound advice and constructive criticism.

I must extend a very special vote of thanks to Michael Whisson. I cannot count the number of times I have phoned, e-mailed or arrived at his office unannounced to vent my frustrations and ask for advice. He always listened and offered constructive counsel.

I would also like to thank Donna Griffin, Rose Boswell, Alister Munthali and Nishlyn Ramanna for their constructive comments and sound advice. Thanks to the residents of the Bushman's River Area who have given of their time and welcomed me into their homes.

Thanks must go to Makana Municipality's Ward III Committee. When I was invited me to attend the monthly meetings I never imagined I would meet such a diverse mix of dedicated people, with the best interests of their community at heart. That I was welcomed, my tendency towards outspokenness accepted, and my contribution valued, I am truly thankful.

To *I-man*, for being there when I needed him the most, for his love and support thank you.



Map 1: Map of field site between Grahamstown and Alexandria

INTRODUCTION

"The world is changing. Things are not as they were. The government has changed which some say is good, but with the farmers things have never really been good. Now things are changing again. The reserve is coming. So many farms are being bought by Americans. The farmers bring in new animals. They say they don't need us as much anymore. Where are we to go? I don't know. I am worried"

(Tata Andile)

The inauguration of Nelson Mandela in 1994 officially brought Apartheid to an end. Three hundred and fifty years of colonialism and Afrikaner Nationalism's unique assertion of white minority rule cannot however be reversed overnight. Eight years on, the struggle for reconstruction, development, poverty alleviation and black empowerment has yet to achieve its goals (Lahiff, 2001: 1). In answering criticisms, the government blames its lack of delivery on the legacy of colonialism and Apartheid. And whilst many of the current government's challenges are a direct result of these legacies, it is increasingly apparent that the ANC's own policies of political reconciliation and economic neo-liberalism are benefiting old and new elites as opposed to the black majority, among whom unemployment and impoverishment are on the increase.

Nowhere is the new South Africa's development challenge more apparent than in the poorest of the provinces, the Eastern Cape. The Eastern Cape has a long and bitter history of conflict between Xhosa and colonial settlers: nine frontier wars were fought here between 1779 and 1878. Switzer (1993: 52) proposes that these wars were amongst the most brutal and protracted of any early colonial encroachment. Following the wars, the Xhosa were completely subjugated and proto-Apartheid settler notions of black aggression and white superiority were firmly entrenched (*Ibid*). Almost a century later, the implementation of influx control and the creation of the homelands meant that the province's black residents were trapped in a desperate cycle of poverty and powerlessness. Despite the demise of Apartheid this situation largely persists to this day.

Beyond the two port cities of Port Elizabeth and East London, and those who are fortunate enough to be employed in the motor manufacturing industry, there is high unemployment, starvation and a

lack of provision of even the most basic services. Addressing these problems has proved nearly impossible due to poor leadership, lack of capacity and corruption. Neo-liberal economic policies, and the redistribution of land on a 'willing seller, willing buyer' basis have greatly disadvantaged the land reform process in a province so desperately in need of land for human settlement. Any other policy choice would however have contradicted the principle of reconciliation and the neo-liberal premises of GEAR, and would have prejudiced the viability of the regional commercial agricultural sector still recovering from the ruinous drought of the previous decade, and hence the precarious livelihoods of farm workers and their dependents. This largely 'hands off' policy, however, had an unexpected sequel, the full results of which are yet to be felt ...

Game farming has long been an alternative to conventional farming for those who had the capital to launch and sustain it (Department of Agriculture, 1994:65). The opening up of South Africa to foreign tourists and investors (and tourists who later became investors) has created a growing incentive for conventional farmers to convert or diversify into game farming, whether for hunting or game-viewing, on their own account or with foreign partners. While this shift in land use can be good for the environment as well as highly profitable, it has differing and ultimately fewer labour requirements than conventional farming. Game farmers have proven even more reluctant than conventional farmers to take over the farm workers on the land. The result has been large-scale retrenchments and removals.

This trend has been particularly marked in the western half of the Eastern Cape. The number of game farms has doubled since 1992 to 500 (Huggins et al, 2002: 6). The industry is worth an estimated R77 million annually (Daily Dispatch: 15 March 2001), and shows no signs of bottoming out. Game farming is not generating a great deal of local employment. Instead it is adding a new layer to the underclass of unemployment and pension dependent people in the region's country towns. This is evident by the increasing rates of agricultural downsizing (see chapter one), frequent reports of eviction (Grocott's Mail: 19 June 2002), and the steady migration of people from the farms into town.

How farm workers respond to this new threat to their livelihoods is the main subject and theme of this thesis. The fact however that the study is Anthropological and thus holistic and embedded,

means that it does not confine itself to this specific problem. How commercial game farmers deal with the problem of long resident farm workers, most of whom are superfluous to game farming, is also a crucial topic. To the extent that both farmers and farm workers involve others in coping with their respective problems with each other, the dissertation also encompasses other interested parties. Because the need to involve others is least pressing for the greatly empowered farmers, and most pressing for the powerless farm workers facing removal on top of retrenchment, these stakeholders are nominally or actually mediating on behalf of the workers. The dissertation therefore also embraces farmer associations, NGOs, councillors and, as it happens, the author.

In the Preface I describe how I became involved with Zweli, Uncle Zolani and the other workers on Glenville, Millsfontein and Fonteinberg farms. From the outset I was a key actor in the process I document in this dissertation, cast not by myself but by my informants in the role of advocate. My own initial understanding of my role was as anthropologist, and that persists. I see no necessary conflict between the two roles and indeed gained some of my most significant *anthropological* data and insights when pursuing my advocacy agenda.

The relationship between conventional and applied anthropological research is but one of the conceptual and methodological issues that should be addressed before proceeding to the more direct concerns of this dissertation. Another necessary task is historical contextualisation of commercial farming and farm labour in pre-colonial, colonial and Apartheid and post-Apartheid South Africa and the Eastern Cape. One of my most immediate concerns is the characterisation of my farm worker subjects in anthropological terms: have they been proletarianised too long to be considered peasants? Are African peasants an entirely different category from peasants elsewhere? Can the literature on peasants and post-peasants provide insights into the remnant communities on the Bushman's River farms that I have come to know over the last four years? Then there is the issue of how individuals and households resident on the farms are constituted: what are their obligations to family and kin living elsewhere. A related topic is how this community is linked to regional, national and global levels of integration. A rather different issue related to the social organisation of the workers and their reaction to the new threat the shift to game farming poses, is that of *values*. In this still patriarchal society, the local interpretation of masculine values is particularly pertinent to the way affected farm workers are conducting themselves.

To the extent that this is an applied project, relevant conceptual and methodological issues are not confined to those that can help me interpret my ethnographic data. I must also include those that might guide and empower the advocate, make sense of the complex process the farmers and workers and other stakeholders find themselves in, and, ultimately provide people confronting increased economic insecurity with new sources of income, new livelihoods that are in their capacity to pursue.

For the remainder of this Introduction, I discuss under separate headings, advocacy and anthropology, farm workers as (post) peasants, household dynamics among the poor in South Africa, levels of integration (regional, national, global), ideologies of resistance, including masculinity and religion, and sustainable development, including land and tenure reform and rural poverty alleviation interventions such as pro-poor tourism. I also provide a brief account of my research methods and a chapter-by-chapter guide to the contents of the dissertation.

Before progressing further, a statement of the goals of this project is in order. These are:

- To explore the effect of game farming on the material, social and spiritual well being of farm workers.
- To examine the means by which farm workers respond to changes at the national and global level (legal and political changes, tourism concerns and the injection of foreign businessmen and capital into their area).
- To examine the interactions between government, farm workers, NGOs and landowners around game farming and new labour and tenure legislation.

Advocacy and Anthropology

Anthropologists have long applied their skills beyond the realm of research and teaching. They have used their skills to assist communities within which they have worked. The nature of this involvement and its impact on research subjects has generated serious debate around the relevance of the applied dimension of research to Anthropology. Van Esterik (1985: 60) has

commented that there are "many ways to 'do' advocacy and a number of rules for anthropologists who 'do' it". She distinguishes between small 'a' or passive advocacy and large 'A' or active advocacy. She suggests that small 'a' advocacy, expressed through mediation, is intrinsic to the practice of Anthropology given the personal nature of fieldwork. Anthropology it would seem is on a very real level about *praxis*. The many roles assigned to applied anthropologists suggests however that application is a matter of degree (van Willigen, 1986).

Defining Applied Anthropology

Applied Anthropology is a wide sub-theme with a number of different expressions. Van Willigen (1986: 8) has defined applied Anthropology as "a complex of related, research-based, instrumental methods which produce change or stability in specific cultural systems through provision of data, initiation of direct action and/or the formation of policy". The two types of application most applicable to this thesis are cultural brokerage and advocacy. Advocacy is a 'commitment of concern' (Paine, 1985:117) to forward the concerns of others and make the vague more explicit (Ervin, 2000:124). The 'concerns of others' refers to the concerns of the research participants. To 'make the vague more explicit' implies communicating information to any additional bodies involved in a research situation. This could include government, NGO's, landowners or the general public.

Cultural brokerage and mediation

Cultural brokerage is a major concept to have emerged in twentieth century Anthropology (Denis, 1994: 302). Its emergence is directly related to the increasing incorporation of local realities into global discourses. Local people often request mediation within this context. Eric Wolf developed the approach in 1956 in relation to peasant communities and the national system (van Willigen, 1986: 31). Cultural brokerage is a two-way communication role, which attempts to minimise cross-cultural conflict (van Willigen, 1986; Denis, 1994). Mediation is seen to serve as a knowledge base for involved groups. It is designed to protect the cultural values of those involved and bring about change (van Willigen, 1986: 132-139).

Is application compatible with Anthropology?

The case for applied anthropology

As discussed above, advocacy, more specifically cultural brokerage formed a significant part of the research process. In some respects it felt like wearing two caps, the researcher and the advocate. Are they compatible? I would say yes for one very simple reason; the more applied aspects of my research enhanced the more 'pure' aspects. As a mediator I thought in terms of bureaucratic structures, housing grants, policy considerations and procedural constraints. As a researcher I located everything within the context of the participants and how they were reacting to change. The fact that I would speak to the DLA (Department of Land Affairs) on their behalf and/or contact the councillor meant that people were more willing to answer even the silliest of questions. I got invited into more homes and to more rituals, and subsequently met more farm workers affected by game farming. Mediation and the presentation of the interests of the community to external bodies, did as Ervin (2000: 128) has suggested, show that I could be trusted, and that I was committed, and therefore provided deeper information that ultimately I believed enhanced the 'scientific dimensions of my academic anthropology'. Ultimately I must agree with Ervin when he says "anthropology cannot avoid advocacy if it wishes to engage in contemporary practice. There is a great need for anthropological advocacy, and those whom we study are unlikely to tolerate our presence if we satisfy our academic curiosity without giving them something in exchange" (*ibid*: 129).

If application is inevitable then the existing distinction between pure and applied anthropology must be questioned in terms of its theoretical and/or practical relevance. According to Van Wiligen (1986: 7) Anthropology has two aspects, 'one of which is concerned with the solution of theoretical problems, and the other which is concerned with the solution of practical problems'. He does go on however to say that 'practical work often serves as the basis of important theoretical developments' (*ibid*: 8). This would suggest that the two concepts are interrelated as opposed to distinct. Hackenberg & Hackenberg (1999) and others (Fiske & Chambers, 1996; Hackenberg, 2000) have acknowledged a shift in Anthropology towards a theory of application within the context of a globalising world. The division between the pure and applied aspects of Anthropology would

appear to be collapsing given the recognition of the personal nature of fieldwork and the fact that mediation is intrinsic to practice (Van Esterik, 1985).

A genuine tool of research?

Reacting against Hastrup and Elsass's (1990) contention that advocacy and anthropology is a binary distinction between moral and a-moral, Mathiesen (1990: 308) maintains that "advocacy is primarily a question of establishing a context for understanding analogous to that of the client". Mathiesen is suggesting that Applied Anthropology is primarily interpretative as opposed to moral. It is a means by which to establish a deep understanding of the field, and is therefore an effective research tool.

Ervin's (2000:128) comment, quoted above, that application represents a deep level of commitment, which is reciprocated with detailed ethnographic data, would suggest that application is a valuable research tool.

The case against Applied Anthropology

Hastrup and Elsass (1990) provide perhaps the most open and eloquent critique of Applied Anthropology. They acknowledge that anthropology cannot divorce itself from application. This is primarily because of the personal nature of fieldwork, and the fact that subject and object come ever closer together. They question however whether 'application' is indeed anthropology or rather a moral position that cannot be reconciled with the epistemological concerns of a discipline premised on ethnography, in which no cause can be substantiated, or right and wrong determined'. Given the personal nature of the discipline, to assume that anthropology has no other principles or moral position outside those used to regulate its professional activities could be considered naïve. And to reconsider Mathiesen (quoted above), advocacy is not moral but interpretative. It is a means by which to establish a deep understanding of the context that is 'analogous' to the participant's. Hastrup and Elsass contend that advocacy is hasty, oversimplified, and overdramatic. This is not the case. Anthropologists should engage in advocacy precisely because, although they are not formally trained (Paine, 1985), they are in a position to do something due to their ability to

infer the complex dynamics in operation in any social context. In the modern, globalising environment, it is precisely this ability, which makes anthropological input at the policy level essential.

Singer (1994: 339) maintains that being post-modern ethnographers, Hastrup and Elsass are reacting against the contradiction between the post-modern polemic and the more practical issues of advocacy. He contends that post-modernism is directly contradicted by practice, which involves 'definite selection and support of particular ideas and actions and the rejection of other options...in a sense there can be no post-modern applied anthropology because *intervention demands attitudes and decisions that a post-modern stance precludes*'. This would seem to reflect a view of post-modernism as 'chaotic'. Such contentions have however been contested by a recognition of identifiable patterns within the complex context 'created' by post-modern ethnography (see for example, Friedman's (1997) discussion of heterogeneity and identity in a post-modern climate). This would imply that choices can be made, and advocacy can be entertained.

My acceptance of advocacy is through a recognition that mediation and involvement are intrinsic to the discipline, and indeed a responsibility when conducting research. We must not however forget the dangers inherent in 'speaking-for' other people. Hastrup and Elsass maintain that this may well include the infliction of 'romantic post-colonial views upon [people] to the exclusion of a thorough understanding of the context' (1990: 304). They appear to equate post-colonial with pro-victim, suggesting that advocacy would bestow victim status on the participants. Mediation and advocacy does not imply that people cannot do things for themselves; instead it is a recognition of the responsibilities inherent in modern research initiatives. Also, advocacy is a tool for gaining valuable Anthropological data and its consideration as a research technique is therefore warranted.

Farm workers as post-peasants

There is a heavy bias in the South African literature on farm workers towards conceptualizing them as the most disadvantaged of the country's working classes. This is achieved through an extensive discussion of wages and working conditions (Antrobus, 1978; Wilson et al, 1977). Great emphasis has been placed on the disparity of wages and working conditions between and within regions

(Greenberg, 1996 and Wilson et al, 1977). Migration patterns between farms and town have been a focus area (Manona, 1988). The effects of alcoholism and the persistence of paternalism (Bekker et al) have also received significant coverage. Authors have commented on the condition of farm schools and the quality of the education received by pupils (Plaut, 1977 and Levy, 1977). Human rights abuses by farmers, eviction, the lack of legal protection and the impact of influx control have received significant coverage (Cocks and Kingwill, 1998; Morris, 1977 and Trac, 1988). The existence of land tenure reform programmes which are designed to address the residential rights of farm workers has sparked significant commentary from NGO and academic commentators (Lahiff, 2001). Much of this commentary is directed towards the suitability of tenure legislation, the continued impoverishment of farm workers and the growing frustration over the lack of available land for redistribution and settlement.

There is a paucity of literature on farm worker culture and society. Due to this bias, and the resultant lack of literature on other aspects of farm worker existence, I drew on European, Asian and African peasant literature to understand 'farm worker culture' and how people respond to change. Their mistrust of outsiders, and resistance to innovation which has in this case resulted in wide scale unemployment and eviction, are synonymous with accounts of peasant societies worldwide.

Post-modern, or contemporary accounts of peasant societies, and writings on the conceptualisation of the peasantry as a whole (Kearney, 1996), suggest that peasants were previously seen as a homogenous category of analysis caught in a struggle against external state and class forces (Foster, 1965 and Wolf, 1966).

Peasant societies were viewed in the immediate past as self contained and stable. Like other early Anthropological accounts of third world societies, peasants were seen within this period as a-historical and homogenous. This notion of homogeneity has recently come under serious review. Kearney (1996) suggests that a discussion of the peasant category cannot be isolated from broader intellectual and theoretical concerns in Anthropology. He sees Anthropology as moving away from a modernist ethos towards a post-modernist one, which must ultimately recognise the 'interconnectedness of things' and the fact that our subjects are increasingly interwoven in a series

of local and global forces which produce complex identities. Authors of peasant societies have moved from earlier notions of homogenous societies to a recognition that peasant societies are diverse (Harrison, 2002: 25). In the context of rural Zambia Crehan (1997: 10) has suggested that rural "communities; are not communities as such but rather collections of people who identify with a whole range of different 'communities', which centre on age, gender, wealth or kin."

Saul and Woods (1989: 81) make this shift in thinking clear in their discussion of African peasantries:

It should be stressed, however, that any definition must not aggregate together uncritically all peasants under a monolithic category, for the peasantry may also be differentiated internally in terms of certain structurally significant variables.

They continue by stating that peasants in Africa should be understood as constituting multiple peasantries as opposed to a single monolithic stratum.

Mackenzie (1992: 1) has echoed these sentiments:

Social struggle within rural Africa, whether it takes a visible form of co-ordinated action *vis a vis* local power structures or less overt but perhaps more sustained forms of 'everyday' resistance at intra or extra household levels, dispels any myth of an undifferentiated, immobile peasantry.

In the 60's and 70's, Anthropological thinking about peasants shifted towards a notion of acculturation, in which people were studied in relation to their interactions with other social, largely state bodies. Acculturation was seen by these modernist writers as negative, and a threat to the integrity of peasant culture.

In their discussion of post war, western Sicily, Schneider and Schneider (1976: 233) suggested that:

South Italians (and Sicilians) have a better chance of improving their lives through the acquisition of patronage than they do by making sacrifices for some ill-defined future common good.

This sentiment comes from a belief that underdevelopment in Sicily is a consequence of a long history of pre-industrial, as well as industrial colonisation emanating in Western Europe. In accordance with this view, patronage is far more fruitful in terms of improving lives and livelihoods than complete integration into mainstream society.

Pearse's (1975: 256) study of the Latin American peasantry also suggests that peasant integration into larger society is a negative exercise:

Indeed, the majority of the peasantry has neither the resources nor the social advantages necessary to make the full re-orientation necessary to benefit from incorporation, and they are forced into a bad bargain with the society. Dependence on the institutions of the land group does not provide security.

It is important to note that although dealing with integration into larger state systems, authors in this period still considered peasant society as culturally homogenous. Whilst it may be true that peasant integration into larger society through agricultural mechanisation has had a number of negative consequences (see Ferguson (1990) on development in Lesotho, Bundy (1979) on the successes and failures of the South African peasantry); the above authors are suggesting that a) such integration is a threat to culture, and b) all members of society are affected in the same way. These suggestions are contrary to new understandings of peasant societies.

Despite these very valid criticisms, less contemporary literature on peasant societies provides a number of key insights into the nature of farm worker society, and its response to change. In the introduction to his edited volume on innovation and changing values amongst European peasant societies, Bailey (1973: 11) has the following to say about innovation:

This approach to the understanding of innovation is very much a matter of finding out what people think. When something new comes along, they make guesses about its consequences by setting it into an already existing matrix of values and beliefs.

Explaining how farm workers think, and discovering the pre-existing "matrix of values and beliefs" in operation involved the use of a number of dated, although in this case highly relevant, studies of peasant society. Foster's (1965) notion of the limited good was useful when considering people's

relations with each other. Foster maintains that peasants conceptualise themselves within a universe in which both material and non-material resources are in short supply. What results is a situation in which people struggle to keep themselves equal. Individual advancement is met with hostility and contempt. An over emphasis of outsider attention on one particular person is also met with the same contempt. A number of authors (Bailey, 1971: 304 and 1989; Brandes, 1975 and Herzfeld, 1985) maintain that peasants create a world or moral universe distinct to the one of the dominant national culture. In discussing peasants as face-to-face societies Brandes (1975:9) suggests that the shared set of morals which link such societies together, enhance the trust of insiders whose behaviour you can control, and the accompanying mistrust of outsiders. Bailey (1989: 289) maintains that outsiders are generally conceptualised as enemies. Bailey's (1971:286-304 and 1989: 289) discussion of the incorporation of outsiders into what he has termed the peasant's moral community was useful when considering the perceived need on the part of farm workers for mediation. In a study of the Indian peasantry in Orrisa, he suggests that peasant societies will always attempt to convert the transactional aspects of more formalised political relationships into diffuse moral ones in order to allow for manipulation. He continues by stating that to move away from the "rigorous unpleasantness of an official relationship", the peasant may well find a broker, thereby adding a personal dimension to the association (Bailey, 1971: 304).

Household dynamics amongst the poor in South Africa

The households mentioned in the study area are extremely fluid. A discussion of the literature on household fluidity in Southern Africa is therefore necessary to make sense of this fluidity. The household as a unit of analysis has come under serious review by a number of authors who have criticized its conceptualisation as a static unit (De Wet and Holbrook, 1997 and Spiegel, 1986; 1995). Authors have shown that economic need has created household fluidity. De Wet and Holbrook suggest that regional integration has led the creation of a number of distinct household types; 'single homestead households', where migrants see themselves as having only one home, or 'multiple homestead households' where migrants and their families set up additional homes in the urban areas but still send remittances to the rural areas. Spiegel (1986: 31) rightly suggests that "if the movement of individuals between households in the periphery is a strategy used to manage the very limited resources available to such people, then we can hardly afford to allow our

research methods to result in our ignoring this very process." As the discussion of land reform and development schemes below will reveal, this trend requires further consideration.

What these studies do not develop in any significant detail however is the consequences of this phenomenon in terms of the obligation it creates for those people who are expected to receive, care for and house visitors, and other more long term residents. Due to a heavy reliance on urban remittances, rural households cannot refuse visitors and have therefore to condone their actions. These actions can include a pressure on existing household resources, a possible threat to the relationship with neighbours who function as a support network, and in the case of farm workers, the mere presence and actions of visitors may constitute a threat to the relationship with the landowner.

A large number of writers have suggested the continued linkages between urban and rural in Africa (Ellis, 2002; Manona, 1988 and 2001 and Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). According to Ellis (2002), rural people are largely dependent on urban remittances. Potts & Mutambirwa discuss rural-urban linkages in Harare Zimbabwe. They argue that since town life does not provide all the requirements needed for survival, rural linkages are essential for people's economic security. Manona (2001) points out that rural-urban linkages persist in the Eastern Cape. Like the above authors, he concludes that these linkages continue because people are attempting, through not selecting one over the other, to avoid risks which would cause further deprivation.

James (2001) has skilfully brought a discussion of the urban and rural dichotomy together within the context of land reform in South Africa. She maintains that the pre-existence of strong linkages between rural and urban must be recognized if land reform is to be successful. Government she contends, "depicts claimants as homogenous groups with a primarily rural and agricultural orientation, and as strongly communal in nature" (*Ibid*: 105). This orientation is analogous to earlier Apartheid notions of rural and urban, as well as notions of peasants outlined above. She suggests that a recognition of the interconnectedness between rural and urban would dispel the idea that land reform is only about the rural and about farming. This would bring a recognition that urban development is not misplaced since it would directly touch rural people. And since rural people increasingly seek urban benefits, she maintains that an acknowledgement of this would prevent a 'misplaced' focus on farming in the context of land reform. She is suggesting a move away from the

current developmental focus of land reform, to acknowledging what beneficiaries want; urban style amenities and lease arrangements.

Kepe (1999: 417) has suggested, that whilst the term 'community', used in development discourse, may help to focus attention on the rural poor and impoverished, it has resulted in only cursory attention being given to internal division and social difference, thus ignoring certain powerless groups such as women. The important thing to remember is that some are more impoverished than others. Some people have access to resources and networks that others do not. Some are therefore more equipped to adapt to change than others. People make their own individual choices based on their own assessment of the situation and their position within society. The 'community' is seldom a coherent unit which speaks with one voice and shares one set of values. Crehan (1997: 10) maintains that communities are 'fractured' in the sense they are divided along the lines of age, gender and relative wealth. In the context of rural Zambia, and indeed in other parts of rural Africa, it is perhaps better to think of people as "caught up in a whole range of different but entangled collectivities or communities, all of which [are] socially differentiated". The various vested interests of the members of these 'different communities' often conflict with one another thereby causing internal division and strife in the 'community at large', the community as identified by development agencies. Naguran (1999:46) suggests that given the social and economic differences based on wealth, land, livestock, age, gender, political affiliation, 'a community can not be considered as a homogenous unity, but as something locational'.

Household fluidity, as well as the urban, rural dichotomy and the complex understandings of community are all relevant to my consideration of farm workers. Firstly this is due to the pre-existence of both extensive household fluidity and urban, rural interchanges, particularly in the area of rural dependence on urban remittances. Secondly, farm workers, as the subsequent chapters will show, exist within a highly differentiated community divided along gender, power, age and economic lines.

Regional, national and global integration

Rural people are increasingly caught up in a web of external national and international forces. In discussing the national, and indeed international phenomenon of development, Herzfeld (2001: 154) maintains that it cannot be considered without also considering its entanglements with local political realities. Crehan's work on rural, 'fractured' communities in Zambia, concentrates, drawing on an interpretation of Gramsci's notion of hegemony, on the relationship between rural communities and the state. She discusses two fractured communities drawn into a global power struggle, in which they are significantly disadvantaged. Ferguson's (1990) The Anti-Politics Machine on development in Lesotho, shows how despite the near complete failure of a cattle keeping scheme, a development project can be perceived as a success due to the expansion of the Lesotho bureaucracy through the outside influence of international development agencies. The involvement of rural people in larger national and regional networks has generally led to further impoverishment and increased powerlessness vis-à-vis elites and government.

Resistance Ideologies

Mayer (1980) provides an account of the resistance ideologies of 'Red' and 'School' adopted by Xhosa residents of the Ciskei and Transkei between 1850 and 1970. Both ideologies were concerned with white dominance and arrogance. The Red held fast to their traditional cosmology resisting white and black 'Christian' encroachment. Interestingly however, assimilation or acceptance of the changes in society and the 'perceived advantages' they offer can also be a form of resistance. The School assimilated into white society, took mission education, clothing and doctrine in the hope that they would find acceptance. Although tending towards the hypocritical when considered as a resistance strategy, the school adherents prayed that the whites would accept them and given them the recognition they felt they were entitled to. Mayer suggests that the red were more conservative than the school whom he conceptualised as more 'progressive', given their willingness to assimilate into white society.

Farm workers are starkly portrayed in the local literature as powerless victims who have no defence against largely paternalistic farmers and the former Apartheid state. As Crehan (1997)

suggests, hegemony is a problematic which needs to be constantly produced and reproduced. As in Indonesia, it may be challenged and even revised by established working and peasant classes (Scott, 1985). A central concern in the debate on hegemony is why the dominated accept their fate. Crehan (1997) relates this to the dialectic relationship between force and consent. Force very often masquerades as consent. Given the fact that farm workers did not enjoy the advantages of unionization, legal and human rights protection, they created a particular mode of masculinity to deal with their powerlessness as they were not in a position to overcome it.

The simple distinction made by Mayer, between 'Red' and 'School' as conservative and less conservative, or alternatively more progressive, is not particularly useful when considering the range of responses to change and attempts at assimilation. The Xhosa farm workers under investigation are conservative, but not in the way of Mayer which would suggest Redness. Their conservative, patriarchal nature is located in their particular conceptualisations of manhood and Christianity.

Masculinity is a focus in this thesis because it is men who generally, although not exclusively, deal with the engineers of social change. The existing literature on masculinity has a number of biases. For example, local South African studies focus significantly on violence (Cock, 2001; Xaba, 2001), migrancy and sex (Campbell, 2001 and Wood and Jewkes, 2001). When discussing the components of contemporary black masculinity in South Africa, research has generally concentrated on middle class men (Ratele, 2001). A great deal of the theoretical literature is sociological in orientation pointing to the diffuse nature of masculinity and its reconceptualisation by feminist critiques, concerns with sexual equality, emotionality, the attempt to overcome gender differences and modernity (Seidler, 1994 and Pease, 2000). A further notable bias in contemporary literature is its focus on masculinity and femininity in the context of western, industrial societies.

Morrell (2001: 7) makes a very pertinent point for the discussion of masculine identity:

Masculinities are fluid and should not be considered as belonging in a fixed way to any one group of men. They are socially and historically constructed in a process which involves contestation between rival understandings of what being a man should involve.

The idea that masculinity is socially and historically constructed, and therefore context dependent is useful when considering the peculiarities of the masculinity constructed by farm workers under Apartheid and farmer paternalism. To gain an insight into this masculinity, I was again obliged to consult texts on peasant conceptualisations of manhood and reputation in Europe. Herzfeld's (1985) discussion of Greek, Glendiot manhood was a useful foil against which to view local farm worker conceptualisations of manhood. Glendiot masculinity is about aggression, performance and ultimately action. Farm workers on the other hand consider manhood to be internally articulated. It is grounded in humility due in part to a history of subservience to more dominant men. Campbell's (1964) seminal work on another Greek mountain community was insightful in its discussion of reputation and honourable men. Campbell locates reputation in one's interactions with fellow community members, and the conduct of one's family members. His comments reflect in which a man's status within the family is directly related to status within the community. Since the *umzi* is recognised as the focal point of traditional Xhosa society (Hammond-Tooke, 1975; Hunter, 1936 & Soga, 1931) it follows that status within larger organisational groups would be linked to one's position within the family. In his study of folklore amongst Andalusian peasants, Brandes' (1980: chapter 11) maintains that masculinity is expressed and reconstituted through folklore. Folklore expresses and constitutes the hierarchies in which men exist. If folklore is a tool for the expression of masculine identity in Spain, then the African Independent Churches serve to re-affirm manhood in the Bushman's River area of South Africa. Brandes commented on the twin themes of domination and submission which appear in all Andalusian folklore. These themes find expression spatially and physically. In the context of the Church, women spend a significant portion of the service on their knees. They are not allowed to speak or wear their uniform whilst in a polluted state¹. The lengthy oratory offered by male congregants, serves in conjunction with these other facets to prop up and legitimate male superiority and dominance.

Sustainable development: Land and tenure reform, and pro-poor tourism

Ellis (1992: 198-200) contends that land reform is a mixture of inextricably linked political, social and economic factors. Politically, in the context of post-colonial Africa and post-Apartheid South Africa, land reform is the outcome of revolutionary political change, its main objective being to

¹ Pregnant, whilst the child is suckling and during menstruation.

strengthen and consolidate the basis of the new state. It is also a means by which the ANC government can maintain its support base. From a social standpoint, the main objective is 'social justice'. This is allied to certain political and economic motivations: increased social equality is an argument of both liberal and social advocates of land reform; economically speaking, social justice is linked to questions of employment, income distribution, efficiency and the size of the domestic market. The two main economic objectives of land reform are to reduce absolute poverty and to increase agricultural output.

"South Africa's Land Reform programme has been underpinned by ambivalence about land and what it represents" (James, 2001: 41). There are two opposing positions within the land reform arena. The progressive position which was most prominent under former Minister of Land Affairs Derek Hanekom maintains that land reform should be about the restitution or redistribution of land to those removed from it during an era of state repression. The second approach, backed by the World Bank, has a developmental focus. It prioritises the market and the development of small through medium to large-scale agriculture (Lahiff, 2001, Levin, 1996 & Williams, 1996).

This developmental focus is illustrated in the government's newest land redistribution programme; Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD). Of the policy, which awards grants to rural beneficiaries, it has been suggested, "that whilst paying lip service to 'food safety nets' and the encouragement of a broad spectrum of producers, the new policy and the publicity surrounding it has been unambiguously aimed at promoting a class of full-time black commercial farmers" (Lahiff, 2001: 5). This goal is criticised for a number of very practical reasons, these include the failure of so many of the collective ownership farms formed under LRAD and its predecessor the Settlement, Land Acquisition Grant system (De Wet, 1999 and Molapisi, 2002). As far as LRAD is concerned, it repeats many of the same mistakes of the earlier programme:

- No positive mechanism to ensure that women, the unemployed and the very poor can participate.
- Volume, location and price of land will be determined largely by current owners.
- Design of projects remains in the hands of private consultants

- Major new responsibilities are allocated to provincial departments of agriculture, with no new commitment of resources.
- Approval criteria are even more weighted than before towards commercial production, with little acknowledgement of the importance of part-time farming as part of a survival strategy for millions of poor households.
- No explicit role is allocated to local government, despite official emphasis on the importance of the third tier of government in the delivery of services.
- Integration between different legs of land reform-tenure, restitution and redistribution-remain unaddressed as do links between land reform and the wider aspects of rural development.

(Lahiff, 2001:5)

The commercial orientation of the LRAD programme is re-enforced in a recent edition of the Department of Land Affairs LANDinfo (Vol 9 No3 July-September 2002). While celebrating the approval of the Masizame Communal Property Association project in Whittlesea in the Eastern Cape², Mr Nkayi, the chairperson of the Eastern Cape Portfolio Committee on Agriculture and Land Affairs said "that projects like Masizame which are initiated by communities and are focussed on agricultural production get government support. Many farms are being converted to game farms these days and that reduces agricultural activities in the Eastern Cape. Groups like Masizame should appreciate what they have and use to the best of their ability". Nkayi is stressing the fact that governmental support is contingent on a commercial agricultural focus.

A number of authors have suggested that land reform has a number of built in assumptions which may lead to conflict and failure. De Wet (1997) points to the hierarchies of beneficiaries created in the land reform process. He gives a number of factors which lead to the creation of this hierarchy. These factors centre around particular groups of people who have resources (literacy, money, transport), are already on land, are male, and can implement the project quickly. He goes further to suggest that 'potentially competing claims to land arise out of, or are accentuated by, the land reform process' (*Ibid*: 359). Cocks and Kingwill (1998) confirm the existence of competing claims to land within the context of land tenure reform on state owner land in the Ciskei, and suggest that in

² Not the same association previously discussed.

this context, former farm workers, who are already on the land, are not favoured and often displaced for other outside interests.

The lack of an effective livelihoods component in many land reform projects is a cause for concern. "It is to the livelihoods arena that land tenure reform may need to shift if land rights are to obtain a real meaning in South Africa" (Cocks & Kingwill, 1997: 69). Cross (1996) makes the essential point that land reform must not only provide land, but a livelihood. If livelihood components are not better planned and researched land reform may well be ineffectual. It may provide land but may also as a number of authors have indicated exacerbate existing poverty (see Molapisi, 2002).

A discussion of land reform is relevant to this thesis due to the fact that farm workers fall under the government's land tenure reform programme. Beyond this link, the donation of 20 hectares of land by Buffalo Lodge to the residents on the reserve is directly related to land reform. These two facts mandate a discussion of the current status of the land reform programme, and any or all short comings.

Pro-poor tourism

Rural dwellers and farm workers throughout Africa experience extreme poverty and an acute dependence on pensions and remittances (Bryceson, 1997; Ellis, 2000; Manona, 1999 and Trac, 1988). Income diversification is a recognised survival strategy amongst rural populations. It is seen as a response to certain constraints, and as a mechanism for adapting to difficult economic and social circumstances (Ellis, 2000: Chpt 3). This section discusses tourism in general, and pro-poor tourism in particular. This is because of two things; firstly game farming is an eco-tourism industry, which needs to include farm workers; and secondly because chapter five discusses two income generating strategies, one of which is directly related to tourism.

A significant body of literature exists on the impact of nature based, cultural and eco-tourism on local populations. Impacts are categorised as environmental, social or economic. Environmental impacts include excessive environmental degradation through wide scale patronage of protected and other natural areas (Naguran, 1999: 54). Social impacts comprise of the exclusion of locals

from areas of their own country through direct baring (Pattullo, 1996), or inflated admission prices; intrusiveness and the commodification of local cultural events in the case of cultural tourism; and the corruption of local ideals through the associated maladies of sexual fraternisation between locals and tourists, the introduction of drugs, and acculturation through an acceptance of western style commodities (Joseph and Kavoori, 2001: 1002). Economic impacts in relation to host communities have centred on low wages and the seasonality of the industry (Fredrick, 1993). Nuttal (1997: 230) suggests that tourism often develops in places that are experiencing social change. In some cases tourism can become necessary for the economic survival of some areas. Tourism also has the potential however to create local dependency. Overemphasis on tourist activity as opposed to indigenous needs may result in a dangerous degree of dependency on tourism markets.

In reference to securing income and other non-material benefits for the poor, Ashley and Roe (2002) discuss 'pro-poor tourism' (PPT) or strategies that increase the benefits of tourism for poor communities. PPT is not simply a focus on the community. It is a strategy which prioritises the impact on poverty as a key indicator of success. People become the focus, and thus all aspects of their impoverishment, be they social, political, economic or cultural. They argue that PPT is distinctive from other 'responsible' approaches to tourism due to the placing of 'poor people and poverty at the top of the agenda'. In support of their position they contend that the "current sustainable tourism debate starts with mainstream destinations as a priority ... social issues are usually an add-on to environmental concerns ... [and the] poor people of the South are thus generally at the edge of the picture" (*Ibid*: 62).

As mentioned above, in chapter five I discuss two income generating schemes. One of the two, beadwork, is a tourism related activity linked to pro-poor tourism due to its prioritisation of rural people, and its stress on the need for public-private-partnership. PPT raises a number of issues that determine how communities will benefit from tourism initiatives. These include the commercial appeal of the product and effective marketing. Land tenure is an important consideration. If people are property owners, they are in a far better position to claim the majority of tourism benefits. Government commitment and support to such initiatives is essential. Effect implementation relies on the recognition of a number of mitigating factors; the need to build skills and develop capacity

amongst the poor, collaboration and communication between government, the private sector and the community, and the danger of creating too much expectation, whilst simultaneously managing to sustain interest.

The benefits of such initiatives are not always directly financial, and not always spread equally amongst the various sectors of poor populations. PPT does however offer other significant benefits. All six of the PPT case studies mentioned by Ashley and Roe maintained that benefits had been accrued in the areas of skills, education and health through training, funding for schools and investment in health care. Other benefits included enhanced access to information, increased communications and contact with the 'outside world'. They conclude that despite a caution against overt dependence on the volatile tourism market, 'although those involved remain poor, they are better off than before' (Ashley & Roe, 2002: 73).

Although very much in support of a PPT approach to rural economic upliftment, Ashley and Roe do identify certain inherent difficulties. These include:

- Excessive expectations of the private partner and the state by communities
- Vast training needs
- Slow progress of land tenure reform
- Overt dependency on outside expertise
- Benefits are slow and small relative to the dense population

The important thing to take from this approach is that tourism initiatives for poor communities should add to existing patterns of income diversity. Tourism projects have the potential to provide both financial and non-financial benefits. These will of course feed not only into the tourism project, but other, established income sources as well. Income diversification creates a safety net which will allow for survival given the fact that tourism is generally seasonal and direct financial income may be low and a long time coming.

Research methods

Due to the request for assistance outlined in the Preface, advocacy, more specifically cultural brokerage became a prominent research method. I acted as mediator between game lodge owners and managers, farm workers, NGO representatives and local government officials. Cultural brokerage became in my case a heuristic device, which provided some of my most insightful Anthropological input. As Mathiesen (1990: 308) has suggested, it helped to establish a context for understanding analogous to that of the informant. As for additional research methods, participant observation, which provides a depth of insight, not readily attained through other methods, was combined with cultural brokerage and semi-structured interviews.

The history, time frame, and some of the experiences during research are outlined in the Preface. At various points over the two-year period I conducted and re-conducted a household survey. The survey was re-conducted due to the fluid and ever changing nature and composition of individual households. I could walk away one day and return a week later only to find that three or four cousins had arrived, someone had suddenly passed away or others had left for the urban areas. The household information presented in this thesis should therefore be taken, due to the above constraints, as an approximation, or rather a picture at a particular point in time. Initially the information was intended solely for my own records. Later however I forwarded information to the landowner, the NGO, the councillor and the DLA during the negotiations over the donation of land by Buffalo Lodge to the residents.

In May 2002 I took a class of third year Anthropology students to the Masizame Communal Property Association, and the three farms at Buffalo Lodge, for a PRA workshop. The farm sketches in chapter three were collected during these workshops.

Chapter Breakdown

Chapter organisation and content is divided between establishing the context and explaining the broader trends which are relevant to the discussion of game farming and farm workers.

Through a discussion of the current status of the agricultural industry, chapter one explains the establishment and continued expansion of game farming in the Eastern Cape. The chapter examines the social, economic and political motivations behind the emergence of game farming. Social impetus includes security concerns, and the continued residence of unemployed farm workers on the land. From an economic standpoint, the deregulation of the agricultural sector has led to a marked decline in farming profits. Despite heavy initial capital investment, game farming is believed to be more lucrative in the long run than conventional farming. From a political standpoint, landowners have expressed concern over new tenure and labour legislation. General consensus is that these laws adversely affect farm productivity and employer, employee relationships. This refers directly to staff turnover, weekly working hours and retrenchment and eviction procedures. Game farming presents a solution to many of these problems; high fencing improves security, and significantly reduces movement on and across the land.

Chapter two details the current living and economic condition of farm workers in the Eastern Cape. It looks at both the historical and present condition of farm life. Following its investigation of living and housing conditions, education levels and human rights abuses, the chapter draws a number of conclusions. It is evident that very little has changed since the 1970s. In some instances democracy has meant further deterioration in living and working conditions. Farmers refer workers to the government suggesting they look to their 'representatives', or Mbeki, for increments and improvements. Agricultural downsizing and retrenchment has left many farm residents without rations or wages. Survival is subsequently ensured through pensions, remittances, child support grants, casual farm labour, informal activities and occasionally stock theft.

The people of the Bushman's River area are the subject of chapter three. This is an empirical ethnographic chapter which provides a description of the place and its people. Given the absence of formal clan links, the chapter examines the various variables which draw people together. These

variables consist of intermarriage, lengthy co-residency, Christianity and traditional cosmology, as well as shared economic deprivation. The chapter also examines the persistence and consequences of household fluidity, the relationship with the landowner in the pre and post-Apartheid period, education and retrenchment.

Chapter four looks at the response of local farm workers to game farming. It discusses the concerns they advance over the expansion of the industry. It finds that people are overwhelmingly negative about the industry. The source of this negativity is located in the conceptualisation of game farming as a source of eviction and unemployment, and as something which threatens to fundamentally alter an existing way of life. The chapter examines the interactions of farm workers with new landowners, government and NGO officials. A discussion of mediation forms part of a larger explanatory body which suggests that farm workers are somewhat reticent in their dealings with outside bodies. This reticence is located within certain historical circumstances, and the fact that the attitudes and practices developed during that time persist today.

Chapter five is an examination of two income generating strategies designed to compliment existing patterns of income diversification amongst farm workers. These strategies: beadwork for the women and bee keeping for the men, are a partnership between the residents of Glenville, Millsfontein and Fonteinberg, and certain members of the neighbouring Masizame Communal Property Association. These two strategies arise from the perceived need to marry land reform (the subject of chapter 6) with livelihood generation. Beadwork is a direct attempt to take advantage of the tourism market generated by the Lodge. Bee keeping is part of an empowerment initiative instituted by a Grahamstown based company. The chapter examines the problems encountered by the participants as they attempt to secure an income through these schemes. These problems include infighting, transportation constraints, and the difficulties experienced in sourcing materials and markets.

Chapter six discusses the planned resettlement of ten of the seventeen families resident at Fonteinberg, Millsfontein and Glenville. The planned resettlement falls under the government's land tenure reform programme. This programme and the requirements for project approval are outlined. The reaction of the resident community to the planned relocation is examined. A wide diversity of

local opinion is reflected. In explaining the rationale for these differences, the chapter reflects a highly stratified and heterogeneous community. In the final section of the chapter, a stakeholder meeting is analysed. Turner's (1974) notion of the social drama is employed to locate many of the main themes of the thesis in the farm workers' participation in the meeting. The lack of active participation and the mistrust of outsiders reflect on earlier discussions of reputation, masculinity and fatalism. From an official viewpoint, the meeting reveals government officials caught up in bureaucratic discourses of 'sustainability' at the expense of action. They talk in circles and make very little progress. The presence of civil society in the form of a local NGO is illustrative of the compromised nature of many of these organisations. Constrained by the need to secure government and international funding NGO performance in the area of poverty alleviation is often left wanting.

The thesis arrives at three main conclusions. The first is that game farming has not been well received by farm workers, due to their perception of the industry as a source of unemployment and eviction. The second is that despite high levels of subjugation, even the very poor are agents to some degree. The creation of a masculine identity which is internally articulated, as opposed to outwardly expressed, and the grounding of reputation in the family suggest that farm workers have developed mechanisms to deal with their disempowered position. As authors have said of peasant communities, they have created a moral and cultural code which distinguishes them from other members of society and the state, and allows for a degree of autonomy in an otherwise highly disadvantaged position. Lastly farm workers are in possession of social capital which has made it possible for them to deal with their low status in the societal hierarchy. The strong commitment to the Church provides a focal point for community members, an invaluable support network in times of hardship and a platform for the expression of masculine identity. Their reliance on each other, their strong sense of community and family are all sources of refuge and support which help people to deal with their situation and any or all changes. These coping mechanisms may have proved helpful in the past, but are a hindrance in the new South Africa. This is because they create a reliance on mediation, and foster a mistrust of outsiders which prevents effective engagement with government, landowners and NGOs.

Agriculture in South Africa and the Eastern Cape

"I think it is important to realise that there are a lot of reasons for game farming in the Eastern Cape. For the tourist-think about it, you get to Cape Town do the wine route and end up in Port Elizabeth waiting for a flight back to Jo'burg. What to do? The game farms add to a complete tourism experience. And the malaria. There isn't any like in the Transvaal. The Eastern Cape will soon take over as the private wilderness hot spot."

(CC Africa Employee)

Game farming is only the latest manifestation of agriculture in the Eastern Cape. Agriculture in South Africa pre-dates both colonisation and mechanisation. The people who settled in the country have all been agriculturalists in one form or another. Only the San managed without it. The Khoe combined foraging and hunting with the domestication of animals. The Bantu-speakers were the most comprehensive of the indigenous agriculturalists, domesticating both cattle and crop-plants. This more sedentary lifestyle correlated with their larger numbers and eventual conquest of the country, including the San and Khoe in the Eastern half of South Africa. Except for those who supplied shipping and export interests at the Cape and Algoa Bay, settler agriculturalists had limited opportunities for commercial farming, and those in the interior were as subsistence-oriented as their black neighbours (Switzer, 1993: 46). Commerce for these settlers was closely linked to hunting and trading with blacks as opposed to food production. As for the Bantu agro pastoralists, the introduction of commercial farming techniques by the missionaries saw the creation of a successful commercial and peasant farming class between 1840-1870. These new commercial farmers were viewed as a threat by their white farming neighbours. Government and farmers also saw them as a potential source of labour for white commercial agriculture. Their 'agricultural revolution' was therefore short lived (Bundy, 1979). By 1870 many of the forms of later agrarian structure, most notably the exploitation of a black labour force had been put in place (Ross, 1986:87). Subsequently, commercial farming, fuelled by cheap labour during and after the frontier wars and the devastating cattle-killing and increasing demands for produce in the cities and mining centres, became a white monopoly.

South Africa is not rich in agricultural resources. Despite this the industry has done well. Its strategic importance is recognised through its role as an earner of foreign currency and as a supplier of employment (15% of total formal sector employment) and raw materials to industry. South Africa covers an area of 106 760 000 ha. Approximately 90,7% of this is used for agricultural purposes. Stock farming is the most significant agricultural land use practice (Department of Agriculture, 1994: 5) [See figure 1]. In 2000, agricultural exports accounted for 10% of the country's total exports (Department of Agriculture, 2001: 1). South African agriculture has however traditionally been a divided sector. Commercial or white farmers were distinct from emerging or black farmers. Black dispossession led to the creation of two agricultural sectors. Hendricks (2001: 291) has suggested that:

In effect, while white rural dwellers were encouraged to modernise their agriculture through subsidies, grants, transport concessions, favourable credit facilities, tax relief, marketing boards, and the ready availability of cheap labour, Africans were denied the wherewithal to undertake proper farming. They were to be proletariats, not peasants¹, and certainly not commercial farmers.

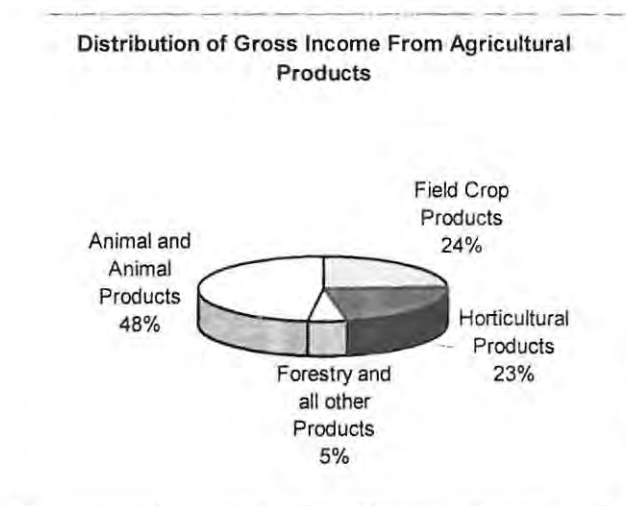
State support for these two industries has traditionally been weighted towards white commercial farmers. Agricultural commentators have unanimously suggested that the state 'has increasingly intervened in agriculture over the period since the formation of Union, and in this area too the impact of the interference appears to have been towards the widening of the gap between black and white farmers' (Nattrass, 1990: 121). Intervention has meant heavy subsidisation for white farmers and unwelcome controls for black farmers². White agriculture was bolstered by 'a complex set of institutional arrangements and artificial supports such as government-funded loans, marketing boards and co-operatives' (James, 2001: 95). From 1910 to 1936 for example the state spent an estimated R224 million on white agriculture and only R1,25 million on black agriculture. This means a ratio of 197:1 in favour of white farmers (*ibid*). Essentially then any or indeed all agricultural success has overwhelmingly been recorded in the white commercial sector. A high degree of white dependency on the state has however developed. Hendricks (2001: 293) reports that many white farmers are dependent on state subsidy for their survival. He estimates that 40%

¹ As the discussion on page 8-12 of the Introduction implies, I do not agree with Hendricks that South Africa's rural proletarians are entirely distinct from peasants, including African peasantries.

² Price stabilisation schemes

would face liquidation if state subsidies were withdrawn. Credit facilities, chiefly through the creation of the Land Bank in 1912, resulted in a situation in which farmers looked increasingly to the State to solve their problems (Wilson, 1971: 136). A high level of state dependence by white farmers has meant that many farmers have not adjusted favourably to recent changes in the industry (discussed below).

Figure 1: Gross Income from Agricultural Products



(Source: 1993 Agricultural Census)

Academic and industry commentators frequently refer to the marked poverty and failure of agriculture in the former homeland areas (Hoffman & Ashwell, 2001: 136). Communal tenure and past policies that favoured white farmers are often blamed for this failure. Betterment, forced on a largely unreceptive population, and a lack of adequate subsidies have resulted in a trend termed de-agrarianisation (Bryceson, 1997 and Manona, 1999). This is defined "as a long-term process of: 1) occupational adjustment, 2) income-earning reorientation, 3) social identification, and 4) spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from strictly peasant modes of livelihood" (Bryceson, 1997:4). Simply put, this means a shift away from purely agriculturally based livelihood strategies towards non-agrarian strategies. These strategies include a range of formal and informal income generating activities (see table 1). Manona's (1999: 33) discussion of de-agrarianisation in Melani Village in the Eastern Cape is illustrative of the trends in operation in the majority of South Africa's communal

areas. His research illustrates the "unsatisfactory conditions of rural dwellers who derive either very little or nothing from the land while there are also few employment opportunities locally."

Table 1: Informal Economic Activity: Melani Village Eastern Cape

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	NO. OF CASES
Petty trading selling e.g fruit, vegetables, groceries, liquor, meat, fuel	18
Selling (on certain occasions) livestock, e.g cattle, goats, pigs and chickens reared locally	10
General household repairs or small-scale carpentry	7
Building houses	3
Operating as backyard mechanics	3
Sewing clothes and/or knitting jerseys	3
Carting goods	3
Doing domestic work for other people locally	3
Operating as diviners	2
Making bricks	2
Hairdressing	2
Selling wood	1
Selling crops (especially mealies)	1
Lending money	1
TOTAL	59

(Source: Manona, 1999: 18)

White commercial agriculture in post-Apartheid South Africa

The current government's vision for agriculture is 'a united and prosperous agricultural sector' (Department of Agriculture 2001: 3). This vision requires the unification of the hitherto separate systems of agriculture. Since 1990, several processes have been put in place to improve participation in the sector. The main policy shifts in this regard included (*Ibid*: 5):

- Deregulation of the marketing of agricultural products
- Changes in the fiscal treatment of agriculture, including the abolition of certain tax concessions that favoured the sector
- A reduction in direct budgetary expenditure on the sector

- Land reform, consisting of the restitution, redistribution and tenure reform programmes³
- Trade policy reform, which included the tariffication of farm commodities and a general liberalisation of agricultural change including free trade agreements
- Institutional reform influencing the governance of agriculture
- The application of labour legislation to the agricultural sector⁴

The government acknowledges that these measures have left many farmers more vulnerable to international shocks, unstable weather conditions, a worsening debt situation and deteriorating terms of trade. "This together with new labour, water and land reform legislation, led to skewed perceptions regarding the aims of this legislation, heightened expectations of labour, and public statements by various pressure groups, contributed to a negative reaction among commercial farmers and a reduction in the number of full time employees" (Department of Agriculture, 2001: 6).

According to the 1993 Agricultural Census there were 1 139 427 agricultural employees (casual and permanent) in 1993. By 1996 this figure had dropped by 20% to 914 473 (Stats SA, 1999: 1). This trend is replicated in all nine provinces. In 1993 there were 104 583 farm workers in the Eastern Cape. The 1996 census reveals a significantly reduced figure of 63 083. This equates to a 40% reduction in three years. Agricultural wages, almost R9 billion, are the sector's largest cost item. The imposition of a minimum wage is an acknowledgment of the high disparity between the cash wages, payment in kind and housing provision received by the country's farm workers (see chapter two). The majority of male farm workers earn more than their female counter parts for the

³ The Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997 (see chapter 1) provides for the protection of farm workers. This relates directly to eviction and long-term tenure security. The Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) programme provides for the acquisition and development of arable or grazing land for beneficiaries (farm workers, residents of communal areas). Land restitution involves the claiming of land due to a past provable history of dispossession.

⁴ The Basic Conditions of Employment and Unemployment Insurance Acts protect farm workers. A basic working week of 48 hrs has been instituted (8hrs & 36 min if they work 6 days a week and 9hrs & 36 min if they work 5 days a week). Extra time is considered overtime and has to be paid accordingly (every hour equates to an hour plus a third of an hour in wages). Farmers and farm workers can reach an agreement to work a maximum of a 52 hr week during busy seasons (Bosch, 1994 & Bosch & Schoeman, 1992). The government has recently announced the imposition of a minimum wage for farm workers from 1 March 2003; R650 for rural farms and R800 for urban farms. 10% of this wage can be deducted for housing (must measure 30 square meters and be fitted with running water and electricity). An additional 10% may be deducted for the provision of food (Grocott's Mail 3 December 2002; Vol 133 No. 95).

same work. The application of labour law to the agricultural sector is an attempt to facilitate collective bargaining and instigate standardised terms of employment. And while such conditions are urgently needed, the instigation of a 48 hr working week, overtime pay and minimum-housing requirements without a 'phasing in period' may well contribute to further downsizing, or a move out of farming altogether. Dr Roth of the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Land Tenure Centre has echoed this sentiment:

Commercial farms in South Africa are highly commercial and indebted operations. Any legal action to increase workers' rights to land, upgrade housing, or provide minimum wages will typically be interpreted as increasing labour costs and decreasing farm returns. In anticipation of farm worker legislation being enacted, farmers typically responded by evicting workers to control labour costs and preserve wealth.

(Roth, 2002: 4)

In a recent (April 2002) survey conducted by Makana Municipality's Ward III⁵, 52% of farmer respondents maintained that new labour laws had adversely affected farm productivity and output. Respondents were invited to make additional comments in this regard. These included:

- Farmers are not encouraged to employ new labour due to labour laws (minimum wage, standardised working week)
- ESTA has adversely affected the employment of rural dwellers. Those who no longer work refuse to vacate their accommodation
- Farmers now prefer to do as much work as possible themselves
- Farmers cannot survive a 48hr week. A 52 hr week is a necessity.
- Unemployment has increased due to the inability to employ more staff (new labour laws and the instigation of basic conditions of employment)

The speed with which new laws designed to protect farm workers are being implemented may in fact lead to a number of unintended negative consequences. It has encouraged many farmers to

⁵ Both farmers and farm workers answered the questionnaire. There were 29 farmer responses. The farm worker figure is somewhat more ambiguous. Single questionnaires were returned from individual farms. The circumstances under which the questionnaires were answered are not known. The questionnaire was open ended. The responses were spontaneous, as no options were given. It was designed and administered by the ward secretary. The results were not codified and quantified. Non-the-less, it is a useful guide to farmer and farm worker sentiment.

downsize or leave farming all together. As discussed above, farming is a highly indebted industry. The Eastern Cape's commercial farm debt rose from R1 222 300 in 1992 to R1 438 900 in 1996. Farm worker retrenchment is common as farmers attempt to grapple with rising debt and dwindling profits. All of the above constraints make game farming an attractive prospect to a number of farmers and landowners who wish to rid themselves of debt and labour concerns.

The shift to game farming

Game ranching/farming is defined as the commercialisation of wildlife by private landowners (Department of Agriculture, 1994: 64). It is one of the fastest growing agricultural sectors, with 300-400 hectares fenced off farms being added every year (Business Day January 14 2002). National growth estimates are however the subject of considerable debate. The Pretoria University Institute for Wildlife Management maintains that the national annual growth rate is as high as 25%, whilst Potchefstroom University's Institute for Wildlife Management found an annual growth rate of 5,6% since 1993. Private game reserves constitute 13% of the country's land area. State parks only account for 5% of national land area. In terms of conservation, private reserves have a greater impact. Some commentators have suggested that if it were not for hunting (only allowed on private reserves) conservation in South Africa would be virtually non-existent.

There are currently 500 private game reserves in the Eastern Cape, 100% more than in 1992 (Huggins et al, 2002: 6). Every indication is that the growth trend will continue, so much so in fact that Minister of Agriculture Thoko Didiza recently intimated, that given the threat they pose to food security, the government was considering drafting legislation to curb the proliferation of game farms in South Africa. She went further to say that "there is an understanding that some of these farms may be bringing in more income than livestock or crop farming, but I think there are dangers inherent that we have to guard against. There must be a co-existence, but that co-existence must not harm our food security in the future" (Daily Dispatch: Thursday 9 May 2002). According to the East Cape Game Management Association the province's industry earned R77 million in 1999. Between 1998 and 2001 the Eastern Cape recorded a real growth rate of 13,5%, the highest in the country. Agricultural output during this period rose an incredible 62%. East Cape Development Corporation (ECDC) economist Mike Lewis accredits this to among other things the substantial

increase in the number of game farms. The highest percentage, 25%, of the country's hunting activity was recorded in the Eastern Cape. Lewis maintains that hunting has contributed significantly to the continuing growth of the tourism industry (Eastern Cape Economic Update: Supplement to the Herald and Daily Dispatch 4th quarter 2002).

To understand the move from farming to game farming a number of things need to be considered. Immediate attention must be given to previous land use. Why is it no longer considered viable? Is it in fact still viable? In analysing any new development consideration must be given to the broader considerations of globalisation and market trends. Tourism is identified as having the potential to generate urban, rural and peri-urban employment, as well as generate much needed foreign exchange⁶. Favourable exchange rates make South Africa an affordable destination for a wide range of international tourists. The level of foreign patronage has risen by 70% from 1,71 million in 1991 to 5, 898 million in 1998 (CSS, 1996: chpt 4 & Stats SA, 2000: 19). Cultural, heritage and eco-tourism are the main forms of tourism in South Africa. Game farming comes under the banner of eco-tourism, with an estimated 80% of income being derived directly from hunting and eco-tourism. From an ecological viewpoint, game farming is considered as vital for the continued existence of wildlife in South Africa. Game farming is also a critically important factor in the conservation of the Eastern Cape's 'thicket biome vegetation type' (UPE Terrestrial Ecology Research Unit). These two factors plus a perceived economic advantage have led to wide spread private support for the industry. But to understand why farmers are willing to participate or sell their land, one needs to go beyond obvious economic incentives, and look more closely at certain agricultural and political realities.

Agricultural downsizing brought about by drought (between 1982-1992), industry changes (see above) and additional security and stock theft concerns has led many farmers to sell completely or partially to game farming interests⁷. For many it is a way to settle debt. For others it offers the promise of more sustainable income. It improves security, a strong motivation given the recent events in Zimbabwe and the fear of farm attacks. Economic motivations are two fold; the

⁶ Chapter five explores two income generating strategies. One of the two involves the inclusion of farm workers in tourism initiatives.

⁷ Many sell directly and move out of the farm completely. Some become game farmers in their own right. Others negotiate a usufruct and remain on as employees.

deregulation and liberalisation of the agricultural sector has led to a decrease in profits for a number of farmers, and game farming promises high capital returns once initial outputs have been recuperated. The political domain is another important area of consideration particularly in South Africa given the mammoth legal and policy changes since 1994. In post-Apartheid South Africa, land reform, the establishment of basic conditions of employment for farm workers, agricultural deregulation and increased stock theft all add to the reduction of direct agricultural activity.

Game farming has received a significant amount of media coverage. It appeared regularly in the media throughout 2000, 2001 and 2002. Emphasis centres on the size and scope of the industry, the reasons for its emergence and the beleaguered state of the Eastern Cape's stock industry. Farm workers received peripheral coverage. Eviction is acknowledged along with the fact that the benefits of the industry are not being shared with farm workers. Comments are made about existing overcrowded urban townships receiving evicted and retrenched farm workers (Mail and Guardian, June 23-29 2000). Farming, most notably stock theft has received extensive coverage. Suggestions were made that a decline in farming operations, and stock theft were related to the spread of the industry in the province. Some journalists hinted at the spread of the industry at the cost of much needed land restitution (Daily Dispatch, March 15 2002).

The major media and academic focus has ultimately however been the expansion of the industry. Many believe it will bolster South Africa's agricultural sector. Despite accounting for 15% of formal sector employment, agriculture only accounts for 5% of the country's GDP (Bosch, 1994). Media and academic commentators concur that the expansion of game farming is directly related to:

- Link between game farming and tourism
- A slump in conventional cattle and sheep farming
- Stock theft
- Indirect link with the exchange rate which makes South Africa an affordable destination for overseas tourists
- New labour legislation (tenure and basic conditions of employment)
- Droughts and dry seasons which have plagued farming in the 1990's (the drought in 1994 being the most brutal)

Due to the above, game farming is increasing in the province at a steady rate. Local reasons tie into the national motivations laid out above, but there are however a number of additional reasons which make the Eastern Cape a particularly favoured spot for overseas tourists. International and local hunters and eco-tourists are attracted to Eastern Cape's game farms because of the 30 species of local game on offer, their relatively low crime rates, their malaria free status, good climate and competitive prices (Mail and Guardian, June 23-29: 2000). In the ward III survey, farmers were asked to explain why they or their colleagues had sold land to game farming interests. Their responses included:

- Shrinking margins from commercial farming. Properties become too small to make a living
- 21% of farmers stated that game farming is less labour intensive (less people on the farm, reduces stock theft, reduces friction with labour unions)
- Game farming is less stressful (overheads, staff relations)
- Reduced stock and agricultural theft
- Financial inputs are lowered once game farms are established
- Disease control is less of a problem
- Game farming encourages tourism, environmental conservation, hunting and foreign investment
- Reduces friction with labour authorities and unions
- Trespassing problems reduced
- Less vulnerable to crime. Game fencing improves security
- Improved economic opportunities

These sentiments are echoed by various game farmers who observe that (traditional) farmers use game farming as a means to get out of 'a bad situation, as a way to cancel debt and to move on with life in other areas'. Many feel that those who continued to farm are 'going against nature'.

In July 2001 I met William, an American hunter from Michigan in the United States. In partnership with two other Americans, William and Jan, a South African, have opened Buffalo Lodge. If you recall from the introductory comments, this is the game farm on which Uncle Zolani lives. After a

meeting in early July between William, Jan, a local NGO representative and the residents of the three inhabited farms bought by the lodge, at which Zweli and I were present, I met William at the lodge. We discussed a great many things that day. The discussion often came back to the merits of hunting versus the relative unpredictability of conventional farming. The Lodge has bought 13 farms in total. A number had been fallow at the point of sale. Land use had ranged between goats, cattle, sheep and chicory. The farmers had sold for a number of different reasons; imminent bankruptcy, diminishing returns, security concerns and employment at the Lodge. William discussed his interest in Africa. He had met Jan whilst hunting with another local hunter that Jan and his wife had once worked for. He and his colleagues have hunted in Africa for many years, and have long harboured the desire to buy land on the continent. South Africa, and the Eastern Cape in particular, was chosen due to the existing relationship with Jan and their own history of hunting in the area. William spoke in great detail about the game that occurs naturally in the Eastern Cape, and how under farming, these species had reached near extinction. It was hunting and the introduction of other species which had, in his view, encouraged the re-emergence of indigenous game. He also pointed out that when compared, aerial shots from the late eighties and the early nineties reflect large tracts of erosion and a significantly reduced crop area. He attributed this to his contention that the area was not really suitable for crop or stock farming, and that game was far more sustainable and profitable.

One of the major reasons advanced for why the number of game farms has grown in the last decade is the perceived economic advantage. In November 2002 I met Geoff. Geoff is a professional hunter based in Grahamstown who hunts mainly with Spanish clients⁸ in the Port Alfred and Fort Beaufort areas. Geoff explained that Spanish clients were incredibly bloodthirsty. Some have arrived with spears in the hopes that they could kill game by hand⁹. In a country of 40 million there are two million recorded hunters. Warthog seems to be a preference, possibly something to do with the proliferation of wild boar in Spain. The similar climate and relative affordability of South Africa seem to be the major motivating factors. In discussing the rapid growth of the industry Geoff asked if I felt the market would soon become saturated. We talked about the proliferation of the industry in the Eastern Cape, the number of farmers who are doing it

⁸ During 1999 7018 trophy hunters arrived in the Eastern Cape. The top three positions went to American at 4000, Spain at 1626 and German with 215.

⁹ 'Pig-sticking' is a traditional method for hunting wild pig or boar.

themselves, and the number of smaller concerns versus the bigger more established reserves. Geoff suggested that perceived financial benefits from eco-tourism and hunting had led to an increase in the number of reserves. He suggested that much of the investment was not thought out, and that those operators without foreign capital may well fold in the immediate future.

Stock theft

Stock theft is a major factor in the reduction of stock farming in the Eastern Cape. It is also quoted as one of many reasons for the spread of the game farming industry. During the course of 2002, the Grahamstown Stock Theft unit made 259 arrests. In the Eastern Cape, stock theft is ahead of housebreaking as the number one crime. In fact, one in four crimes reported to the police is stock theft related, and one quarter of the country's stock theft cases occur in the Eastern Cape (Daily Dispatch: 17 October 2002). Stock theft is both ad-hoc or informal and highly organised.

Informal stock theft or 'potslag' as it is called is generally associated with emerging farmers. Larger scale theft is associated with commercial interests. The official value of East Cape stock theft in 2001 was R37 million (Daily Dispatch: 17 October 2002). Max Mamase, the province's Agriculture and Land Affairs MEC has been quoted as saying that stock theft is the main factor contributing to the decline of wool production in South Africa. He went further to say that there is an accompanying shift away from wool production to high value commodities like game farming (Daily Dispatch: 27 July 2001). The loss of R37 million to an already highly indebted sector is of major consequence. Captain Kitching of the Grahamstown Stock Theft unit reports that some farmers can lose up to 40% of their stock in any given year. And whilst the construction of boom gates across many rural roads has helped to control access to some degree, high levels of stock theft still continue.

Improved Security

The improved security offered by high game fencing is a strong incentive for many farmers to become involved in the industry. Movement across and around farms is fairly commonplace. School children walk across and between farms to get to school. Farm workers often receive

relatives and friends into their homes. If farm workers are ritual specialists (traditional healers, herbalists and faith healers) they often entertain clients. The fear of course is the motives and intentions of such visitors. Game farming restricts movement to a very large extent through fencing, gates and wild animals, and in the event of farm worker eviction, movement on the property ceases altogether. Farm killings are a national problem. In an article in the Daily Dispatch (8 August 2001) Agri SA reported that since 1991, more than a thousand people, mostly commercial farmers have died in 5594 farm attacks. They supplied the following statistics, backed by a Democratic Alliance statement that a lack of farm security has 'resulted in continuous state of terror':

Table 2: Number of national farm attacks

YEAR	NO. OF ATTACKS	NO. OF MURDERS
1991	327	66
1992	365	63
1993	442	84
1994	443	92
1995	551	120
1996	486	109
1997	433	85
1998	769	142
1999	813	144
2000	902	142

These attacks on both farmers and farm workers have generated a feeling of apprehension amongst the province's farming community. In the Makana Municipal area, the police used to visit the farms on a monthly basis. This is no longer taking place. The police do not know the coded defence numbers designed to provide for quick and easy access to farms. This leads to lengthy delays in response to distress calls. In one instance, having made a distress call, quoting the farm number, which is designed to correlate with a map in the police station, the farmer and his wife waited four hours for the police to arrive. Thankfully it was a false alarm, but when asked why they had been so late, the police responded that 'they could not find the farm'. It is therefore understandable that farmers would seek to secure themselves through restricting access to their property. Concerns over security may well, in conjunction with other factors, make game farming an attractive option.

Industry participants suggest economic and environmental motives for the current shift to game farming. Farmers highlight the decline in agricultural profits, new labour and land reform legislation, and security concerns. Game farmers suggest the environmental and conservation aspects of the industry, the economic advantages it offers and the fact that conventional farming is far less sustainable given the realities of erratic rainfall and stock theft.

Negative sentiments: Farmers and farm workers

This section examines the negativity which surrounds the game farming industry. The criticism for the industry stems from a number of sources. Although a number of farmers might support the industry through their own direct engagement, others criticise it for a range of reasons. The most notable being the influx of wild animals onto cultivated land. Many farmers suggest that they 'rightly' struggle on and continue farming despite the economic and security advantages of game farming. Farm workers are perhaps the most critical due to the direct threat it poses to their residential and livelihood status. This negativity translates into their rationale for the emergence of the industry; that it is a means by which they can be evicted.

Farmers

Conventional farmers, particularly pineapple farmers, have been accused of causing severe soil erosion. Overstocking is common. And whilst game farming is considerably more environmentally sound in terms of vegetation integrity, farmers have generally sold for a range of non-environmental reasons (see above). Onlookers in the Eastern Cape have however raised additional concerns over the negative socio-economic consequences of the industry:

- Decline in regional employment (farm workers, seed and feed factories, product warehouses, wholesalers and retailers)
- Demands more land than ordinary livestock/crop farming, in a province where land for human settlement is in short supply
- Influx of wild animals onto residential and agrarian land

(EP Herald, March, 15: 6)

More critically and forcefully, a Manley Flats farmer had the following to say about game farming:

It's really a cop out isn't it, I mean they're looking for a way out. They can get rid of their staff and the high wall is good for security. And then they sit and receive the financial benefits. The rest of us who stay farming struggle on. I mean I've stayed farming for the sake of the staff. We grew up with these people and can't leave because what will happen to them. Somebody came to the farm the other day and joked that he was going to buy my farm. I said well okay but bear in mind that you have to employ all the people who work here¹⁰.

The economic incentive is implied in conjunction with the added advantages of improved security and the reduction or complete removal of farm staff. The removal of staff is perceived as advantageous because no, or less staff, means reduced contact and trouble with labour unions and NGOs. Concerns over housing and service provision, as well as the retrenchment and/or eviction of staff, new labour laws, and increased numbers of visitors on the farms and the associated social maladies of alcoholism and domestic violence are significantly reduced.

Farm workers

Most farm workers see game farming in a negative light. They are concerned with the effect it has on their livelihood. Whilst a few people in the study area for example have been employed on a casual basis during the building of game lodges, or on game catches, relatively few have found permanent employment. Many feel that game farming should be legislated and controlled by the government. This sentiment stems from the fact that local people have witnessed a steady, almost exponential growth in an industry which has resulted in them losing employment, facing eviction and/or re-location to urban areas. The expansion of the industry has therefore been viewed with a degree of apprehension by a number of local farm workers:

It's worrying this thing because we can see this Shamwari¹¹ thing, its going to effect everyone, its worrying us here.

¹⁰ In fact, there is no compulsion for a buyer to take on farm workers. Deeds of sale frequently specify that the land must be vacant (see page 53 under 'Evictions' and 60 under 'Tacit eviction' in chapter two).

¹¹ Shamwari is a prominent, privately owned game reserve situated on the N2 between Grahamstown and Paterson.

It 'is worrying' because for farm workers it is synonymous with unemployment and homelessness. Many fear that they will be relocated to urban areas where employment opportunities are scarce and excessive overgrazing a real problem. As we saw in the case of the people retrenched from Ned's farm, there is every indication that people do not know where they would go. Having lived on a farm for the majority, if not all of one's adult life, many farm workers do not have anywhere else to go. Although the majority have children and kin in the urban areas, these children are not necessarily in a secure enough financial position to support more dependents.

In terms of the reduction of direct agricultural employment for farm workers, a local game farmer had the following to say:

Game farming has a number of effects, both positive and negative. It is good for conservation, the economy and those farmers who wanted out of a bad farming situation, but bad for farm workers as it means less jobs. Farm workers can milk cows, drive tractors and plant but game farming needs different skills. People can be trained, although it is easier to train the younger members of the community.

To go back to the Makana Municipality survey, the farm worker respondents had the following to say when asked why farmers were changing to game farming:

- More economically viable
- It is an opportunity to evict people from the land
- The farmers are generally only interested in money and do not want to assist their employees
- Farmers do not want to employ people
- The farmers are running away from new labour and tenure laws (see chapter two)

Interestingly farm workers come up with many of the same reasons given by the farmers. The economic viability of the industry is recognised. The effect of new labour and tenure laws is also acknowledged. Differences of opinion do however exist. They stem from the vested interests of both parties; farmers with profitability and farm workers with employment and residential security.

When asked how more jobs could be created in the rural areas, one of the many responses given by the farm workers was that game farming should be stopped. Although it is true that game farming poses a threat to farm worker employment, given the low level of skills possessed by farm workers, and the virtual non-existence of the skills needed to engage directly in the game farming industry, it may well have the potential to assist farm workers through benefit sharing and other related schemes (see chapter 5). It should be noted however that a lack of English, low levels of education are amongst the many obstacles that need to be overcome if farm workers are to benefit from game farming on their farms.

The negative sentiments expressed by farmers and farm workers serve to re-affirm certain identified patterns in the shift from agriculture to game farming. In their critique of the industry farmers highlight the many economic and security motivations for its establishment. In the belief that game farming is a means by which farmers can evict them, farm workers are affirming concerns over new labour and tenure laws, security and stock theft.

Farmers and farm workers hold very different positions in society's hierarchy and therefore very different views of change. Their opinions arise from their particular status within said hierarchy. Farm workers, significantly lower than land owning farmers, face the more direct threat of relocation, unemployment and further impoverishment. Farmers face increased rates of 'predator-pests' such as jackal, warthog and jennets. The nature of their criticisms is illustrative of their more secure position. Complaints about escaped wild animals concern profitability. Insinuations by some that game farmers are only interested in money or the chance to 'get rid' of staff implies in some cases a perceived social responsibility towards farm residents. Farm worker fears over eviction and unemployment represent their lower status in society and their continuing dependence on the farmer.

Conclusion

South Africa's agricultural industry has undergone a number of profound changes since the 1990's. These changes coupled with the 1982-1992 drought, security concerns, persistent stock theft and rising debt, have seen a shift, most significantly in the Eastern Cape, towards game farming. Game

farmers are interested in the province because of the advantages it offers over other parts of the country, chief here being the lack of malaria. From a tourism point of view, it is also strategically placed in terms of Cape Town and the wine route which ends in Port Elizabeth. Also of course is the fact that land is available. Land availability is directly related to certain agricultural and political realities. Since the 1990's, the various innovations experienced in the agriculture sector such as deregulation, the cancelling of favourable tax concessions, the application of labour law and land reform programmes have caused significant downsizing. Plagued by stock theft and fears over safety many farmers have either sold their land, or opted for game farming given the added security and economic benefits.

Game farming has escalated and continues to escalate towards the saturation point because of the political and economic nature of post-Apartheid South Africa. The attempts by government to amalgamate the hither-to divided agricultural sector and create a unified, productive sector have caused wide scale downsizing. Their attempts to rectify a history of poor wages and living conditions for farm workers through the implementation of a minimum wage and basic housing conditions are likely to cause further downsizing. The lack of effective policing and the escalating rates of stock theft have all contributed to the emergence of game farming.

2

Farm workers in the Eastern Cape

"We are the people who live on the farms. It is alright about the whites we agree that we live here on the farms with them, but let them give us money for our work. A white man has become a landlord because of us. However much money he has, it is we blacks who do the work. Why won't he give us money because we are the people who raised him up? We have made him a man of property, a big man. Yet he ignores us, he gives us nothing."

(Zwane in Trac, 1988)

This chapter presents an account of the current living, economic and legal conditions of farm workers in the Eastern Cape. Farm workers are considered the most vulnerable members of the South African work force. They lack the skills to effectively engage in the wider economy. Despite the end of Apartheid and the repealing of the associated legislation, farm workers continue to face income and residential insecurity. 18 million (46,3%) South Africans live in the rural areas (Census 1996). These areas include former homelands and white and state owned commercial farms. Farm workers and their dependents constitute 33% (6 million) of the rural population. They are however significantly marginalized within society. In spite of a post-1994 plethora of progressive tenure legislation designed to provide for the protection of farm workers, they continue to face eviction and human rights abuses. In recognition of this fact, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) convened a five-phase project in June 2001 to 'conduct an inquiry into the human rights situation in farming communities' (www.sahrc.org.za/contact_persons.htm). The poor situation on the country's farms is widely recognised and articulated by journalistic, government and academic commentators (Wilson, 1977; Trac, 1988; Greenberg 1996 & Lahiff, 2001).

Farm workers were and continue to be an extremely dependent and impoverished rural population. The impoverishment and agricultural decline of the former homelands are written about at length. The effect of migrant labour on the consciousness, religious organisation, economic independence

and social well being of rural 'homeland' people has been a focus area when considering the underdevelopment of the African population and the establishment of Apartheid and capitalism in South Africa. Farm workers however are not the stuff of much in-depth analysis. Historically, authors have discussed the emergence of white commercial, or capitalist agriculture and its exploitation of black labour (Hendricks, 2001; Nattrass, 1977 & 1990; Ross, 1986; Switzer, 1993). Thesis's have been written on rural, urban migration patterns and relations between people on the farms and those in the nearby urban areas (Manona, 1988), others on the employment and living conditions of farm life (Antrobus, 1978). A 1976 South African Labour and Development Research Unit conference produced a plethora of papers on among other things, wages and living conditions (Wilson et al, 1977), education and capitalist agriculture (Lipton, 1977 & Myburgh, 1977). People have also written on the attitudes and perceptions of white farmers towards black and coloured labour (Bekker et al, 1982). In the present context material on farm workers is mainly divided between review articles (Greenberg, 1996), legal reports from NGO's (Bosch, 1994 & Bosch & Schoeman, 1992), government and NGO newsletters, policy briefs and articles on tenure programmes (Cocks & Kingwill, 1998 & Lahiff, 2001) and press coverage.

African farm workers within the South African economy: Past and present

Farm workers in South Africa have a long documented history of inconsistent working conditions and a lack of adequately protected legal rights. Influx control and the absence of trade union organisation resulted in low wages and limited means of legal protection from human rights violations and work related abuses (Antrobus, 1978; Cocks and Kingwill, 1998; Trac, 1988; Manona, 1988, Wilson et al, 1977). Through the passing of the Native Laws Amendment Act in 1952, the then government sought to divide the African population between rural agricultural labour and urban industrial labour (Morris, 1977). This meant that those people on the farms were prevented from migrating to urban areas if they so wished. They were not allowed to leave the farm on which they were employed without the permission of the owner. The farmer had no constraints save the assurance of continuous and sufficient labour to farm comfortably. A class of trapped people subsequently developed who had limited skills and no possibility of advancement.

The precarious nature of farm life is illustrated through the following account published by Trac in 1988:

They see how we suffer and they don't care. They do what they like because we live under their control. They know we have nowhere to go to. Besides they know that your pass is signed to them and that if you go to another place the next white will say we cannot hire you, you must go back to where you came from.

Living and working conditions

The living and working conditions of farm labour did, and still do differ greatly within and between regions. In an extensive, although dated survey of African and Coloured labour on white owned farms in South Africa, the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit (1972: 110) concluded that housing and conditions of employment, particularly wages differ greatly across the country.

The following three tables provide details from the 70's, 80's and 90's of farm worker wages and living conditions. I have drawn data from a variety of sources. National agricultural surveys provide salary data on a provincial scale. Individual empirical, area studies provide a more comprehensive breakdown of wages (cash and payment in kind) and housing conditions. They allow for more informed comparison between and within regions, and so point more conclusively to the wide divergence in farming conditions. The three decades have been chosen for a number of reasons:

- To illustrate patterns of consistencies and changes over time.
- To emphasize, that despite the demise of Apartheid, farm workers continue to face an impoverished and marginalized existence.
- To provide the rationale for the recent inclusion of farm workers into the Labour Relations Act, the instigation of a 48 hr working week, and the impending (1 March 2003) implementation of a minimum wage and basic housing conditions for farm employees.

Table 3: Recorded farm wages for permanent African staff 1973-1976

REGION OF SOUTH AFRICA	WAGES AND RATION COMPONENT	HOUSING AND SERVICES
Hex River Valley Western Cape Permanent Labour	Average of R8-R10 per week Rations: meat, fish, flower and vegetables Medical and funeral insurance paid by some farmers	Wattle and dorb cottages Majority have inside running water A fair number have electricity
Bonnievale Western Cape *wages fixed at farmers discretion, wide differences exist	Average of R10,80-R15 per week Rations: subsidised groceries at farm stall, subsidised milk, free water and wood Working clothes and medical care provided	Farmers use subsidised loans to provide four roomed houses with toilets. R200 for water provision and R200 for electricity (interest rate 1%)
Albany District Eastern Cape	From 299 returned surveys: 15% R5 or less per month 45% R6-R10 per month 20% R16-R30 per month Average cash wage: R10,67 per month (R128 per year) Rations, bonus, medical care, workers' tax	71% of houses built by farmers running water available on one third of surveyed farms Less than 10% provided toilets
Cathcart District Eastern Cape	Between R10,50-R23,90 per month Rations: meat (one fifth sheep), mealies (66kgs per month), separated and whole milk (185 litres), clothing, bonus and grazing rights.	62% in mud/thatch huts 13% in brick or iron houses No toilet facilities
Adelaide-Bedford Area Eastern Cape	Between R8-R15 a month Rations: groceries, clothing, grazing rights and income from grazing stock, firewood, transport and use of a piece of land	Conditions varied.
Kokstad, Cedarville & Ixopo Former Transkei and Natal	Sample of 247 farms R15,64 per month Rations: crops, milk, meat, grazing and cultivation land, cultivation assistance	Conditions varied
Natal Midlands	Averaging R8 per month Rations: maize, mealie meal, sugar, tea, coffee, milk, meat, fruit and vegetables, grazing for cattle, sheep & horses, insemination of cattle, clothing and housing	

(Compiled from *Farm Labour in South Africa: A Review Article*. Social Dynamics 1976. Vol2 No 2)

Wage figures for the 1980's are available in the Agricultural Census of 1988. I have taken the national and Eastern Cape figures from Greenberg (1996), and combined them more detailed breakdown from other studies carried out in the 1980's. The table that follows serves to re-affirm

certain key factors: that wages and living conditions vary between regions, and that wages and housing provision are dependent on the good will of individual farmers.

Table 4: Recorded farm wages for permanent African staff 1982 - 1988

REGION OF SOUTH AFRICA	WAGES AND RATION COMPONENT	HOUSING AND SERVICES
National average	R141, 92 per month	Highly varied
Eastern Cape average	R126,13 per month	Highly varied
Langkllof Western Cape	Survey of 62 farms R52 per month Rations: clothing, 25kg flour, fruit, transport, firewood	Conditions varied. A large percentage of farm worker sample lived in nearby urban areas.
Northern Transvaal	R20 per month	Conditions vary- wattle and daub; brick

(Compiled from Bekker et al, 1988; Greenberg, 1996 and Trac, 1988)

Although provincial figures are available in the 1996 Agricultural survey, to illustrate the continuing disparity between farm wages and living conditions in a somewhat more detailed and informed manner, I have chosen to use the most recent data on certain regions of the Eastern Cape. Payment in kind is difficult to quantify. Housing and service provision is mentioned but not discussed in any significant detail.

Table 5: Recorded farm wages for permanent African Staff 1996-2002

REGION OF THE EASTERN CAPE	YEAR AND SAMPLE SIZE WHERE AVAILABLE	WAGES AND RATION COMPONENT	HOUSING SERVICES AND
National Average (includes permanent and casual workers)	1996	R503	R125, 70 (quantified figure)
Provincial Average	1996	R417	R123, 80 (quantified figure)
Grahamstown: Hope Fountain Farming Area	1996-97 34 households	Male general workers: R100- R400 Average: R 234 Female general workers: R150-R300 Average: R 181 Female domestic work: R20- R50 Average: R38	Wattle and daub housing No running water or electricity Water from rain water tanks, and boreholes at main house
Greater Addo Elephant National Park	2002 68 households / average of 1.7 workers per household	Median cash income of R588 per month	Not specified

(Compiled from 1996 Agricultural Survey, Huggins et al, 2002; Molapisi, 2002 and personal field work)

The above tables indicate enduring low wages, limited buying power and differing often sub-standard housing conditions. Cash wages are extremely low, with the bulk of the wage being constituted through rations and housing, grazing and any supplied medical benefits. Low wages inculcate dependency on the farmer. As a result of such conditions farm residents lead a very circumscribed life. Bargaining power is virtually non-existent and people remain largely dependent on the goodwill of farmers.

Human rights and work related abuses

Low wages aside, working and living conditions on farms have historically been highly variable. Human rights and work related abuses were common. In a discussion of labour tenancy in the South Eastern Transvaal, Trac recounts the attempted murder of a farm school principal:

A few years ago a new farmer acquired the farm Heyshope, adjoining Driefontein. He found an established, registered school operating on his property. He went to the headmaster, Mr Nxumalo and insisted that he close the school. Nxumalo refused, the farmer responded by arriving at his house at night and firing shots at him.

Luckily he missed Nxumalo, the bullets lodged in the wall of the house next to where Nxumalo had been standing. The police identified these bullets as coming from the farmer's gun. Nxumalo laid a charge of attempted murder. The farmer then arrived at his house, apologised and offered to let the school continue operating. On this basis Nxumalo withdrew the charge of attempted murder and life continued as usual.

(A Trac Publication: May 1988)

More recently, AFRA (Association for Rural Advancement) News (No 48 October 2000) reported a visit by the organisation in June 2000 to KwaZulu-Natal. The visit was designed to assess how the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) 62 of 1997 [will be discussed below] is performing in relation to basic employment conditions and evictions. Vusi Ndawonde from a farm in the Mhlopheni area told the following story:

We were living on the farm when the farmer came. We were grazing our cattle, cropping and we had everything. He took all these things away. He used to victimise us, as when sometimes on payday he would shoot his gun off next to one of us. He also expected us to accept whatever money he paid us –we didn't have fixed salaries.

We never had an opportunity to discuss anything with him, because if our ideas clashed with his, he would point a gun at us and nobody would then be comfortable to express his or her feelings.

He also refused to allow us to maintain our houses. Zulu houses need to be rebuilt regularly because they are thatched and made of timber. But he used to tell us that no one is allowed to rebuild a house. And yet, our houses need to be re-thatched every two years.

Reactions to paternalism

In a study of farmer attitudes towards African and Coloured labour in the Langkloof, Bekker et al (1982: 19) report a high level of paternalism amongst farmers towards their staff. Farmers mentioned the existence of recognised social maladies - alcoholism, domestic violence, marijuana abuse and apathy – amongst their staff. They indicated that after-work behaviour could not be changed short of laying off the 'bad elements' and bringing in more responsible staff. Farmers perceived this behaviour as cyclical and ultimately unchanging. Bekker et al conclude that "farmers see themselves as acting *in loco parentis*". In a recent study of alcohol use on a farm in Stellenbosch, de Kock (2002) demonstrates the continued existence of paternalism amongst farmers.

Farmers in the Eastern Cape's Makana Municipality farming area express similar sentiments. In a recent (April 2002) survey conducted by the municipality's rural ward, all 29 farmer respondents indicated alcoholism and a lack of family planning as a problem on their farms. Whilst alcoholism, high birth rates, domestic violence and marijuana abuse are widely recognised amongst farm worker communities, the perception of the source of this behaviour, and how to deal with it are illustrative of the paternalistic attitudes held by many farmers. A number of responses indicated a belief that farm workers had no self-restraint or will power. Responses such as "encourage people not to waste money on alcohol and tobacco"; "start Alcoholics Anonymous-increased wages means more drinking"; "provide recreation for the youth that does not involve alcohol" suggest that farm workers are perceived as childlike and beyond restraint. Farmers themselves either do not understand, or are not prepared to acknowledge, that there are a number of extenuating circumstances which may contribute to such behaviour. Poverty, marginalisation and dependency are but a few of the variables which exacerbate such behaviour. Paternalism operates within a



cycle. If told or treated often enough like a child, one eventually behaves to some degree like a child.

Education

Farm workers are historically poorly educated. Low or non-existent levels of education, a lack of proficiency in English and skills outside of agriculture have ensured that they are unable to engage in the broader economic environment should the need so arise, as a result of retrenchment or eviction and relocation to urban areas. In a 'resettlement policy framework' report drafted for South African National Parks in connection with its bid to expand the Addo Elephant Park, Huggins et al (2002:9) report that 24% of the interviewed farm worker sample¹ have no education at all, 37% have to standard 2 (minimum literacy threshold), 25% have std 3-5; only 13% have any secondary education, and there was only one matriculant. Educational provision on South Africa's white owned farms is poor. Farm schools are small and understaffed. The majority only provide primary education. Those that do offer secondary education usually do not go through until matric. The quality of the education received is compromised for a number of reasons: overcrowding, high teacher student ratios, unreliable teacher attendance, poor student attendance, and low enrolment. Farm schools are located on white owned farms. They are small, with low student numbers when compared to urban enrolment. They are supported and subsidised by the state who is responsible for curricula and staff appointment (Plaut, 1977 & Levy 1977). This situation remains relatively unchanged in the current context. In the survey conducted by Makana Municipality's rural ward, 49% of the farmer respondents and 32% of the farm worker respondents said that farm schools were not being run effectively. Both groups made similar comments relating to the ineffectiveness of farm schools; teachers are regularly late or absent from school, teachers are not committed and are often drunk at school, children have to walk a long way to get to school, the schools are not inspected and monitored by the Department of Education and Training (D.E.T), the maintenance of farm school buildings is none existent. A number of farm workers indicated that due to non-existent governmental support, their employer maintains their school. A further problem is securing sufficient finance to send children to school. Since the overwhelming majority of farm schools only cater for primary school education, secondary education has to be sought in an urban environment.

¹ 68 farm worker households were interviewed.

Secondary education involves providing for accommodation, food, school stationery and uniform in the urban location. And although children often stay with relatives, accommodation and food costs still have to be supplied by the parent.

Monetary constraints have forced a number of children to leave secondary school. Several of these children urbanise in an attempt to find employment and access services. A significantly larger number however remain on the farm and are forced to enter into farm labour. This is of course subject to the availability of such employment. Adults are very poorly educated, illiteracy levels are high and English is poor. This all exacerbates the economic impoverishment of farm workers. When coupled with a history of work related and human rights abuses, poor communication skills and illiteracy lead to a circumscribed existence within the confines of the farm and nearby urban locals.

Evictions

Most farm workers have lived under the constant threat of eviction. Historically people have been contracted to one farm and one farmer. The lack of legislation surrounding accepted and standardised terms of employment meant that working hours were often lengthy, and rations insufficient to support a worker and his family. Dissatisfaction was not readily expressed for fear of eviction or violent reprisal. Greenberg (1996:75-76) indicates that farm evictions are commonplace and still continuing in the Eastern Cape. The impetus for such evictions is attributed to a number of factors:

- Women who have lost their husbands and been forced off farms
- Deeds of sale often specify that the land is vacant. New owners demand the fulfilment of this condition. This has resulted in post-sale evictions.
- Agricultural downsizing and changing land use patterns in the Eastern Cape (includes game farming).
- Anticipation of new labour and tenure based legislation (Manby, 1998:88)

Farm workers have historically been a marginalized underclass. Working conditions were, and are variable and inconsistent between and within regions. Limited legal protection meant that wages, housing provision, ration composition and interpersonal employer, employee relations were at the discretion of the individual farmer. Limited education and a small skills base meant that farm workers were, and continue to be, unable to integrate themselves into the broader economic environment.

Protecting farm workers and preventing eviction

Democracy brought with it the hope that the South African Government would transform property rights and so rectify the history of dispossession. The goal was the social and economic upliftment of the rural and urban poor through land reform (Lahiff, 2001). Land reform is comprised of three components: redistribution, restitution and land tenure reform². A 'rights based approach' has been adopted. It recognises communal ownership (previously outside of the legal domain), and is designed to allow beneficiaries to make an informed decision as to the tenure system that best suits their needs (Kepe, 1999:416). In 1996, the ANC government adopted the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy "which emphasised private sector investment, with the state playing a 'facilitating' role" (*Ibid*: 423). Land tenure reform falls under the auspices of a 'willing seller, willing buyer' program (to be discussed in more detail in chapter 5). This means that private land earmarked for redistribution or restitution has to be bought from the owner at market price (Roodt, 2001: 306).

Tenure reform

In the rural context, tenure reform is understood as being the protection and strengthening of the rights of occupiers of privately owned farms and state land, together with the reform of the communal tenure system prevailing in the former homeland areas (Lahiff, 2001). It is directed at overhauling the current system to rectify the conditional and insecure arrangements currently

² Redistribution is the purchasing of privately owned land and the transference of public land to specified individuals and communities (Hendricks, 2001: 295); restitution provides for the restitution of land rights to persons or communities who were dispossessed of rights in land after 19 June 1913 in terms of a racially-based law or practice (Lahiff, 2001:3). Tenure is the means by which people hold land. Tenure reform is the reform of these systems.

experienced by many of the country's inhabitants (Roodt, 2001: 312). The current government has attempted to improve the situation of farm workers³ and other rural dwellers through the implementation of a series of tenure related Acts (see Box 1). On the commercial farms, the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) 62 of 1997 provides for the protection of farm workers/dwellers. ESTA includes stringent procedures⁴ when a landowner or the person in charge of the land intends to evict residents. Furthermore, the Act extends additional protection to those who have resided on the land for a period of 10 years and have reached the age of 60. Despite this, the National Land Committee (NLC) acknowledges that although offering limited rights, ESTA has been demonstrated to be woefully inadequate in securing real tenure rights for farm dwellers (NLC Annual Report 1999-2000:23). *Tacit evictions* through the imposition of severe water restrictions, lack of access to farms for farm workers and stock restrictions are a common reality as certain farmers attempt to force their workers to leave voluntarily, thereby rendering null and void their responsibilities as laid out in ESTA⁵.

To attend to the content of ESTA: It distinguishes between long-term and short-term occupiers. Long-term occupiers are those persons, over 60 who have lived on the land for more than ten years. ESTA stipulates, "long term occupiers can live on and use the land for the rest of their lives" (DLA, December 1997: 8). Short-term occupiers do not have these special rights. In some instances people who are not 60, but who have lived on a farm for their entire lives do not qualify for these special rights. In terms of eviction, the Act provides strict procedures for eviction, and a number of consequences for illegal eviction of farm workers: jail for up to two years, or fined, or both; occupiers can apply in court to have their rights restored and or apply for compensation (*Ibid*: 12). It gives the landowner certain rights. These include:

³Refers to a person who is, or was, employed on a farm with the understanding that he/she shall be paid predominantly in cash or some other form of remuneration, and not predominantly in the right to occupy and use land (Land Reform [Labour Tenants] Act no 286 of March 1996).

⁴The would be evictor has to make an application in writing to a magistrate stating his or her reasons for eviction. Whilst an occupier's right of residence may be terminated on any lawful ground, the process must be equitable and fair and in accordance with the various provisions as laid out in the Act.

⁵ESTA stipulates that if farm workers are evicted or retrenched a settlement offer must be secured that will allow for the construction of housing in a new locality that is of equal standard to that occupied in the place of former employment.

- The right to terminate an occupier's right of residence, if this is just and equitable.
- The right to apply to court for an eviction order.
- The right to make an urgent application for eviction in certain circumstances.
- The right to set reasonable conditions regarding visits to occupiers' homes. These conditions must apply to all visitors to the land, not only those visiting occupiers.
- The right to set reasonable conditions for visits to family graves.

(DLA, December 1997: 8)

Although farmers and landowners have the right to evict occupiers if they act unlawfully, these people often have nowhere to go. There is a great deal of migration from rural to urban areas, and the maintenance of strong linkages between the two, particularly in the area of urban remittances to rural areas (James, 2001). Owing to economic circumstance however, leaving the farm to join urban kin is not always an option. Eviction may see some farm residents being removed by the farmer to the urban areas. In other instances people who have nowhere to go may squat with neighbours and friends on the same or other farms. Poor people adopt a survival strategy which draws on both rural and urban options, and rarely urbanise completely, such that rural and urban can be held up as two distinct unrelated categories (Ferguson, 1999: 78). Manona (2001:356) maintains that 'urban-rural links are strong in the Eastern Cape'. He continues by stating that 'people seldom abandon their rural homes in favour of permanent urban residence. They try to take advantage of the opportunities both in town and in the country, thereby avoiding risks which could make them more deprived'. And so people will in all likely hood try to keep some presence on the farm, if only to keep cattle. The legal mechanism for eviction may be in place but enforcing such a situation may be difficult given people's economic dependence on the rural areas. "Furthermore, the way in which farm workers have lived and worked, has stopped them from acquiring the education, skills, and street wisdom necessary for life in the cities" (Trac, 1988: 18). Unless people can gain employment or residency on another farm, eviction will probably mean urbanisation and further impoverishment.

ESTA has a number of functions; the most important being the securing of improved tenure for farm workers. It was intended to regulate the relationship between landowners and farm workers,

prevent illegal evictions, and provide mechanisms for the acquisition of long-term tenure security (<http://www2.dti.gov.za/govtnews/20011204LandRights.htm>). In practice however it has only been applied in the area of eviction. This is acknowledged as stemming from the Act's weak tenure component (NLC Annual Report 199-2000: 23). In November 2001, 'The National Land Tenure Conference' was held in Durban. The conference was designed to "examine current land rights legislation and examine alternatives for rural development" (Land Affairs Director Gilingwe Mayende as quoted in Dailey Dispatch: 2 November 2001). The outcome of this conference echoes the earlier quote from the NLC; "although passed with the best of intentions, the practical implementations thereof has shown that the procedure is flawed and largely unworkable" (Gilingwe Mayende). In a discussion of tenure reform, AFRA director Siphesihle Mkhize commented that relevant legislation is "merely fire-fighting measures" (AFRA News No 49 March 2001).

The failure of the legislation to bring about tenure security and an improvement in the living standards of farm dwellers is attributed to a number of factors:

- Many magistrates ignore or do not know of ESTA
- Prosecutors (in many instances) are reluctant to proceed with charges against land owners
- Police are often involved in assisting with illegal evictions
- The fact that the legal aid board is in severe crisis further diminishes the prospects of farm workers realising the rights due to them

(NLC Annual Report 1999-2000: 23)

Box 1: Key tenure legislation

- *Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act 3 of 1996*-protects the land rights of labour tenants on privately-owned farms and provides a process whereby such tenants can acquire full ownership of the land they occupy. Labour Tenants are largely concentrated in Mpumalanga and KwaZulu Natal.
- *Communal Property Association Act 28 of 1996*-a new legal mechanism whereby groups of people can acquire and hold land in common with all the rights of full private ownership. CPAs have been established by groups receiving land under both restitution and the redistribution programme. By August 2000, a total of 239 CPAs had been registered.
- *Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act 31 of 1996*-intended as a temporary measure to secure the rights of people occupying land without formal documentary rights, pending the introduction of more comprehensive reform. In the absence of such legislation, the Act has been extended annually and remains in force
- *Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997*-protects occupants of privately owned farm land from arbitrary eviction and provides mechanisms for the acquisition of long term tenure security. Few cases of illegal eviction have come before the courts and few permanent settlements have been approved
- *Transformation of Certain Rural Areas Act 94 of 1998*-provides for the repeal of the *Rural Areas Act 9 of 1987* that applied to the 23 so-called coloured reserves in the Western Cape and Free state. Deals primarily with the control of commonage land but also provides for the transfer of township land to a municipality

(Reproduced from Lahiff, 2001)

When farmland is sold in South Africa, the first port of call should be the farm workers on the land. Working on the concept of a 'willing seller and a willing buyer', the government will make grants⁶ available to the residents to facilitate the purchasing of the land. This however is not always the case. When land is sold to an outside buyer the options available to the resident community are significantly fewer. ESTA guarantees the occupiers' rights irrespective of ownership, but these rights are limited and rarely satisfactory to resident communities. Settlement options include:

- **Settlement payouts.** These can be pooled and put towards the purchasing of land for farming and/or settlement. This is not always possible in the case of land bought for game farming, as game farmers have bought most of the surrounding land. Some may not wish to add their grants to the pool, opting instead for urban settlement.

⁶ Settlement Land Acquisition Grants (from ESTA), Land Acquisition and Settlement Grants (from the land redistribution programme) and Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) (replaces Land Acquisition and Settlement Grants).

- **Re-location to the urban areas.** If farm workers are relocated to urban areas ESTA stipulates that the costs of re-location must be covered by the landowner, and that accommodation must equal the standard of housing on the farm. A lack of standardisation of farm housing creates a problem in this regard. Urban areas are overcrowded. Pressure on urban commonages is high. Many farm workers who migrate to towns find themselves involved in a futile wait for RDP housing and employment.
- **Land Donation.** Some owners have taken it upon themselves to donate land, generally the area in which people currently live, to the farm occupiers when the farm is sold.

Section 4 of ESTA allows farm occupiers to apply for *Settlement Land Acquisition Grants* for on or off farm developments. By the end of 1999, only nine such developments had been approved. Approval however generally meant people moving off farms into townships rather than granting people land of their own or providing secure accommodation on the farms where they live (Lahiff, 2001: 2). The fact that only a few cases have, and continue to be approved is a matter of concern. The fact that most approved cases have meant urbanisation, even more disheartening given that the goal of ESTA is to see that 'occupiers get independent land rights ... they become owners of the land where they live or on other land, or get stronger rights such as long lease or a servitude' (DLA, December 1997: 9). But the real tragedy is the farm workers. Frustrated at the slow pace of land reform; their lives have not changed for their better. In many instances (see below) living and working conditions have deteriorated.

Farm life in post-Apartheid South Africa: Responses to ESTA

Chapter one discussed the many changes experienced by the agricultural sector since the 1990's. For the purposes of this discussion land tenure reform realised through ESTA is the most relevant. The reason for this is the fact that ESTA touches directly on the living arrangements of farm occupiers. The effects of new labour laws and the impending introduction of a minimum wage have yet to make a significant enough impact to enable a detailed discussion of farmer reactions. ESTA has been in existence since 1997. It has generated a significant amount of commentary and criticism from the NGO and government sectors. The farming community has also had sufficient time to respond to democracy, ESTA and the other changes effecting agriculture. Farmer reactions

to ESTA are grouped under four sub-headings; reduced staff numbers, tacit evictions, speaking to farmers and ignorance of ESTA.

Reduced staff numbers

As mentioned above, Manby (1998:88) maintains that farm evictions in South Africa are in part due to farmers anticipating the passing of new labour laws. ESTA has not been well received by the farming community. Although many recognise the impoverished state of farm workers and occupiers country wide, ESTA's stipulations have generated a significant amount of criticism. Major criticism centres on the rights afforded long-term occupiers. Long-term occupiers can stay where they are and use the land for the rest of their lives. After their death, their dependents can be evicted but only after a 12-month notice period. Such stipulations have prevented labour rotation. By this I mean a number of farmers have decided against employing more staff as retired workers can not be made to vacate farm accommodation. Many farmers have decided against building additional or improving existing accommodation because of these new stipulations.

Tacit evictions

Tacit evictions through such measures as the imposition of severe water restrictions, lack of access to farms for farm workers and stock restrictions where there were none before, are common as certain farmers attempt to force their workers to leave the farm 'voluntarily'. ESTA defines eviction as "removing occupiers from land, forcing them off the land, threatening them so that they will leave, or stopping them from using land or from using water that was linked to their right to stay on the land" (DLA, 1997: 12). It carries a possible two-year jail sentence. Affected occupiers can apply for their rights to be restored or request compensation from the owner.

Speaking to farmers

When asking about increments, many farm workers have been told to approach Mandela, or since 1999, 'their government'. In reference to housing and housing improvements people are referred to the IDP (Integrated Development Plan). Ironically the government expects occupiers, landowners and themselves to come together in the provision of more secure tenure and improved residential

conditions for farm workers. Just as factory workers complain about, and at times express antagonism towards their direct superiors, farm workers are almost expected to complain about the farmers. The idea that all three parties must come together and find a satisfactory resolution for the occupiers is often met with unwelcome bewilderment. The imposition of a minimum wage for farm workers in March 2003 comes with a proviso about basic housing conditions, and is likely to be met with opposition and further downsizing.

Politically-speaking, farm workers often complain that nothing has changed. Of life in post-Apartheid South Africa, good is the fact that people can move freely between farm and town without having to carry a pass. Bad is the fact that people have not experienced any real change in living standards. Wages have not increased, housing has not been delivered and relationships with farmers have generally deteriorated.

Ignorance of ESTA

Another major problem is ignorance of ESTA and its stipulations. Farm workers on the whole are ignorant about the existence and content of laws designed to provide them with more security. Most if not all people are aware that they have rights in the new dispensation, but as to what they are, confusion and ignorance far outweigh certainty. Farm workers hold a lot of unreal expectations. The ushering in of democracy brought the belief that things would improve. This however has not been the experience for the majority. And despite high levels of cynicism, people still believe that the government 'will protect their rights as understand by them'. Not wishing to see a change in their lifestyle many believe that the government will always side with their right of residency. Discourses of poverty alleviation, justice and reconciliation may well underscore the political aspects of land and tenure reform, but it is the way in which these discourses are internalised by different interest groups may well be a cause for further conflict. For government, social justice and redress in the area of land reform is about 'development', whilst for the people it is about secure housing, dignity and safety. And beyond that, a certain degree of cynicism has developed about the post-Apartheid situation: "You see now all the things that are happening there is no order, even with this thing of people getting land, we haven't seen anyone getting land", and perhaps more unveiled criticism; "There is no reliability I don't want to lie to you".

Conclusion

The common thread through most of the literature on farm workers is variable living and working conditions. In the past people experienced long working hours, low cash wages, poor housing provision and even poorer education. This created a situation of acute dependence on the farmer. Influx control and severely limited buying power created and re-enforced a circumscribed universe divided between farm and town. Agricultural labour did not provide the skills necessary to work in an urban environment should the opportunity arise. Relative economic deprivation meant the establishment of a number of urban linkages which still persist today. High levels of disparity existed between and within farming regions. Human rights and work related abuses were frequent and still persist today.

It was believed that democracy would bring an end to the majority of these abuses, provide an improvement in living conditions and secure residential status. ESTA was passed, two classes of farm occupiers were created, and their residential rights weighted accordingly. ESTA was passed with a view to overhauling the existing system of tenure in operation on the farms and in the former homeland areas. Beyond the rights afforded long-term occupiers, and the stringent procedures for eviction, it was meant to provide more secure rights for farm workers. It has however failed; only achieving limited success in the area of eviction. Through ESTA the DLA envisaged a situation in which the 'owners, occupiers and the state can make plans for accommodation that will, in the long term, grant the occupier independent land rights that are acceptable to both the occupier and the owner' (DLA, December 1997: 6) The reverse has happened. Farmers have not responded well to new tenure related legislation and innovation in the agricultural sector. The rights afforded long-term occupiers has often meant evictions and a reduced number of staff. Independent land rights have not been forthcoming. Most farm workers, at their own admission, find themselves in a worse position than before the end of Apartheid. Farmers are reluctant to improve housing. Many suggest that people resort to their government if they want increments or other forms of assistance. Farm workers are sceptical as to whether government will deliver land and security.

3

The people of the Bushman's River area

"We are fine, going through life's ups and downs. We're grateful we're still standing, because if we're standing we can lie and say we are well. A man's health is a lie. A man that says they never lie does not exist"

(Farm worker- Hope Fountain)

The Bushman's River runs from the farming interior to Kenton-on-Sea on the East Coast of South Africa. In the course of its undulations it passes through the Hope Fountain farming area located on the gravel road between Salem and Alexandria. This area falls under Ward III of Makana Municipality. The farms are dairy, beef, chicory, pineapple, tomato, ostrich and sunflower producers. The area's land use patterns have changed considerably in the preceding ten years. Game farming, trophy hunting and eco-tourism now constitute a significant and increasing presence in the area. The road signs tell you that you are driving through 'frontier country', named for the nine frontier wars fought in the area from 1779 to 1878, between the Xhosa and the European settlers. The village of Salem and the surrounding farming community was originally constituted as a buffer zone between the white colonial settler presence and the indigenous Xhosa nation (Mostert, 1992: 672). Salem was named by Wesleyan missionary Reverend Shaw from the lines in Psalm 76 *"In Salem also is His tabernacle and His dwelling place"*. Salem is perhaps best known for the Methodist Chapel established in 1822 (Makin, 1971: 43), and the negotiations between Richard Gush and the Xhosa warriors during the 1835 War of Hintsa, which saved the settlers from attack.

Salem today is not without controversy. Nearly four and a half years ago a land claim covering three major farms (subdivided into 42 properties held by 18 individuals, three companies, one trust and one communal property association), or the *'Salem Commonage'* was registered in respect of a number of black families whose fathers had previously used the land for grazing, agricultural and burial purposes. The claimants, the majority of whom are labourers on the farms in question, maintain that their fathers were dispossessed of the land in 1948 when it was subdivided and sold to individual white farmers. The land claim has caused a number of divisions between the black residents of Salem and the nearby Hope Fountain. Families are divided with brothers disagreeing as to the validity of the claim; people who have been

neighbours for years have levelled accusations at one another surrounding a lack of support for the claim. The committee acting on behalf of the claimants has canvassed large sections of Salem and Hope Fountain to try and encourage resident farm workers to join the claim. The donation of land by a game farm to farm workers in the Hope Fountain area (subject of chapter 6) has caused further conflict due to the belief that any other development will jeopardise the validity of the claim.

Hope Fountain on the gravel road between Salem and Alexandria is a mixture of conventional stock farms, pineapple and chicory farms, the Masizame Communal Property Association, consisting of 22 farm worker families, established in 1997 through the then Land Acquisition and Settlement Grant System (see Molapisi, 2002), and game farms. The only access to and from the area is by dirt road. Farming activity has slowed down considerably over the last ten years. The majority of resident farm workers are unemployed. The number of farm workers and their dependents fluctuates from month to month. Over the last three years the size of individual resident families has changed depending largely on the economic status of the extended family. By this I mean that members may return home from the urban areas if they cannot find employment, grandchildren may join their grandparents for a substantial period of time and sick relatives sometimes return to the farm for home based care.

Although farm schools only go up to standard seven (grade nine) a number of parents send their children to relatives on the farm for schooling. Not that the quality of education is better, it is in fact often far worse. Teachers are unreliable. Farm schools are usually closed more than they are open. Teachers are often drunk at school. The Department of Education has placed farm schools last on their list of priorities. Despite all of these factors, the overriding motivation seems to be that school fees are significantly cheaper on the farm as opposed to in the urban areas.

Employment is erratic. People are employed during chicory and pineapple harvests. People have also been employed on a casual basis during the construction of local game lodges, game fence erection and maintenance, alien plant clearance, rubble removal¹ and game catches. A lack of formal employment has led to increased rates of poaching, and stock and other theft. Abandoned farm buildings have been stripped and the material taken to Alexandria

¹ Demolished buildings, wire and other rubble associated with farm life (rusted trailers and cars, fencing poles).

and Motherwell for the establishment of housing. Families have been subject to the arrival of urban kin who have in partnership with local residents' stolen sheep, ostriches and game animals. Abandoned farmhouses have been burgled. On the game farms, the number of retrieved snares is increasing as people become more desperate to find food².

The people

Between April 2001 and December 2002 I spent the majority of my time on three farms in the Hope Fountain area: Glenville, Millsfontein and Fonteinberg. Buffalo Lodge bought Glenville, Millsfontein and Fonteinberg in successive stages from November 2000. In April 2001 there were six families living at Glenville, six at Millsfontein and eight at Fonteinberg. By July 2002 three families had moved away from Fonteinberg. The composition of the remaining 17 households shifted at various points through out this period. In one instance, a son moved on with his wife, who is Glenville resident Frances' daughter, and two children, and left his mother, Ntombi, alone at Glenville. He returns only periodically when her pension has been paid out. She maintains that one of her other sons from Port Elizabeth will soon be collecting her, but given that he has not materialised in close to 18 months I suspect she will not be going anywhere. In other, more frequent instances relatives arrive from the urban areas and take up residence for short periods of time. Unfortunately, the obligation created by this household fluidity, means that family cannot be turned away and their behaviour has to be condoned even if it threatens to jeopardise one's relationship with fellow residents or the landowner.

The people on these three farms have always been farm workers. Many have enjoyed long periods of residency on the land seeing it change ownership on a number of different occasions. They have seen farmers die and their sons take over, and new owners move in. They all arrived on the three farms from different farms in the immediate area. As Just has commented in connection with the small Greek island village of Spartokhori (2000:chpt 9), the people on these three farms view themselves as a family who support each other in times of happiness, and in times of need. Although not immune from gossip, malice and even murder, they ultimately see themselves as a 'family' and 'community'. And 'family' is something people like to present to outsiders. They downplay internal divisions and present a unified image of

² A large number of households survive on pensions and child support grants, but these are seldom enough to support large families. In other families, members are not eligible for grants and pensions. Seasonal agricultural work is often the only source of income. This is erratic and rarely sufficient to meet basic nutritional requirements.

mutual support and interdependence. Recently however, the donation of land by Buffalo Lodge to the residents has caused deep divisions (see chapter six) within this 'family'. Two interest groups have formed; those who accept and those who resist. But despite these cleavages, people still support each other in times of hardship. They still attend each other's rituals and church services. The women still gather wood together. Their children still play together.

Beyond these three farms, the sense of community and family also extends to the neighbouring area. People exist within a network of relationships premised on co-residency, marriage, religious affiliation and linguistic similarity, which extends beyond their own farm into the neighbouring properties. Men keep mistresses on farms in the immediate vicinity to their own. People attend church with residents of other farms. Burial societies straddle whole areas drawing people from various farms together. Marriage between different families living on the same or neighbouring farms is quite common. Siblings live in separate homesteads on the same or adjacent farms. People are therefore caught up in a variety of different collectivities or communities (Crehan, 1997: 10), which constitute the network and ultimately the 'family' in which they reside.



Photograph 1: People from two neighbouring farms building a seclusion hut for an upcoming river ritual

During the course of this study I spoke to many farm workers³. Initially the focus centred on Uncle Zolani and the people in his immediate proximity. During the second half of 2001, I began to attend Church with Uncle Zolani, and during the 2002 Easter Weekend became a member of his *New Christian Catholic Church in Zion*. His congregants are primarily resident

³ I conducted a number (averaging 4 -5) of formal semi-structured interviews with 45 farm workers, but spoke informally to an equal if not larger number of people at public meetings, rituals and church functions.

on the farms that surround his. Church was rarely complete without a discussion after the service. Topics varied but never strayed far from local events, politics, game farming and religion. This allowed me to meet and speak to a wide variety of farm workers; unemployed residents, farm workers in permanent employment and those resident on, and/or working (albeit only on a casual basis) for local game reserves. My active involvement in the resettlement of Uncle Zolani and his neighbours (subject of chapter 6) led a number of people to conclude that I was somehow involved with a legal NGO or government development agency. This resulted in a growing number of requests for Zweli and I to meet with people on various local farms. I was regularly presented with UIF cards, applications for store accounts, requests to purchase paraffin and other groceries for people ahead of their pension payments. I was phoned on a number of occasions concerning labour disputes between fellow farm workers. Zweli had a steady stream of visitors to his office in the Cory Library. The visitors originated from a number of farms both inside and outside of the Makana Municipal Area. Areas included Ndlambe Municipality (centring on Alexandria) and Sundays River Municipality (centring on Paterson). Much of the discussion centred on game farming and the perceived threat of eviction. All of these occurrences provided valuable insights into the concerns and views of farm workers with regard to game farming.

The farms

There are 94 core residents, making up the 17 families living on Glenville, Millsfontein and Fonteinberg. I say core in recognition of the fluidity of these households and the fact that relatives and other acquaintances are frequent visitors. The number of people fluctuates depending on the economic and employment status of those living off the farm. If children and other relatives are unemployed they often return to the farm. Grandchildren also often come to live with their grandparents due to belief that the farm provides a safer environment.

Glenville

The six families resident at Glenville are all headed by people over 60. They were either born on the farm, or arrived from different farms (see table 6). As far as owners are concerned, the farm has always belonged to one family. Janice was the owner before Buffalo Lodge bought it. Janice had taken over the running of the farm on her husband John's death in 1996. During John's tenure as farmer, the farm produced chicory, pineapples and potatoes. John was

extremely well liked. Wages for general workers were R100 per month in 1996 (see table 6). A portion of the harvest was planted specifically for the people. Their cattle numbers were not restricted. When John died in 1996, Janice approached the residents and told them that since the 'man with the money had died', there was no more work for them. Farming operations ceased all together. Rations were discontinued. Uncle Zolani was kept on as a gardener. The other residents remained on the land and took up casual jobs in the surrounding areas. Since Janice kept her own small herd of cattle, they often helped on dipping days. Payment was half a loaf of bread. Current income is sourced through pensions, child support grants and casual work. Stock is an important asset, only sold in times of dire need (see table 6).

The residents built their own housing. Individual homesteads (the physical structure) consist of a number of one-roomed buildings. Living areas sometimes double as sleeping areas. Kitchen areas are separate. Houses are wattle and daub. Water is sourced through rainwater tanks and from a tank at the main farmhouse. None of the residents have electricity in their homes. Rainwater damage to houses is common. People often have to re-build and repair damaged homes. Tata Ted relocated his family to the cowshed in September 2002 after a severe rainstorm which led to the collapse of his homestead. He has chosen not to re-build given the imminent relocation of his family to new land. All the residents have cattle. Each home has a kraal where cattle are herded at night. The six homesteads are randomly positioned around the farm (see figure 2). Grazing areas were not restricted until Buffalo Lodge bought the farm.

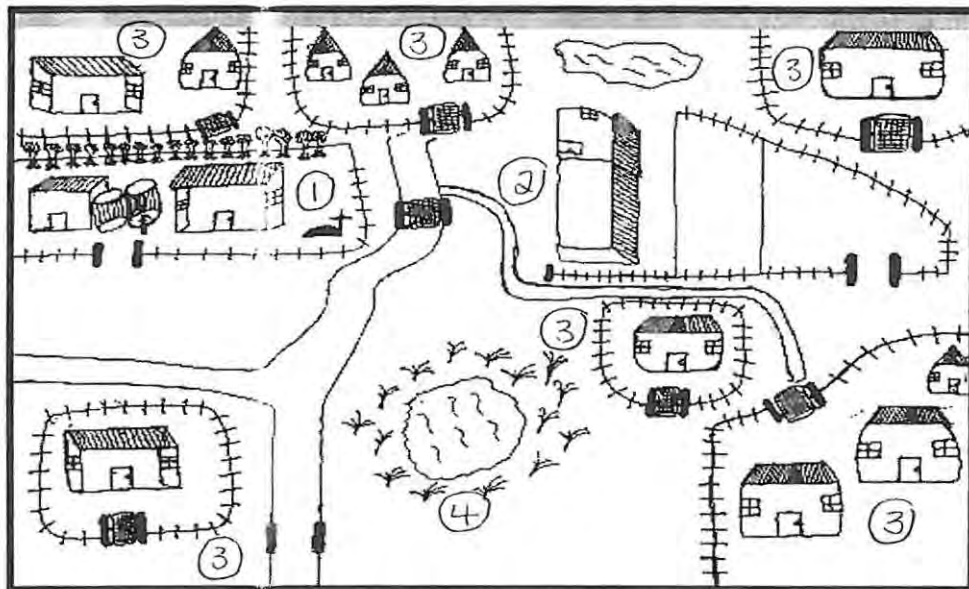


Photograph 2: An example of wattle and daub housing.

Table 6: Demographic information, employment history and livestock details of Glenville residents

NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD & ESTA STATUS	AGE & GENDER	DATE OF ARRIVAL ON THE FARM	ARRIVED FROM	NO OF PEOPLE PERMANENTLY IN HOUSEHOLD	EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND WAGES	TERMINATION OF FULL TIME WORK	CURRENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME	NO OF STOCK
Tata Andile Long term occupier	5/10/27 75 yrs Male	1984	Alexandria	Adults: 5 Children: 4 Total: 9	<u>Head</u> 1984-96 Farm Worker R100 per month <u>Wife</u> 1984-96 Domestic: R20	1996 John stopped farming	Pension: R640 Casual Work: R50 Total: R690	4
Tata Ted Long term occupier	17/05/37 65yrs Male	1963	Fort Brown	Adults: 7 Children: 2 Total: 9	<u>Head</u> 1963-96 Farm worker R100 per month 1963-96 <u>Wife</u> Casual Work R20 2 Children 1988-96 / 95-96 R200 per month	1996 John stopped farming	Pension: R640 Daughter: R75 Total: R715	4
Uncle Zolani Long term occupier	01/08/30 72 yrs Gender	1944	Nollspoort	Adults: 3	<u>Head</u> 1914-1996 Farm Worker R350 (1996) 1996-00 Gardener: R250 2001-02 Gardener (Buffalo):R250	N/A	2 Pensions: R1280 Buffalo Lodge: R250 Total: R1530	7 cattle 2 donkeys

Elliott Long term occupier	10/09/42 60 yrs Male	1953	Salem	Adults: 2	Head 1960-1996 Tractor Driver R100 Wife (no longer at home) 1968-1996 General Worker R20	John stopped farming	Casual work R10 per day Average: R200 per month Total: R200	7
Ntombi Long term occupier	26/06/40 62 yrs Female	Born on the farm	N/A	Adults: 1	Ntombi 1958-1997 General worker/domestic worker/nanny R20	Farmer's wife no longer needed staff.	Pension: R640 Total: R640	3
Frances Long term occupier	12/04/40 62 yrs Female	1952	Nollspoort	Adults: 1	Frances 1958-1996 General Worker R20	Farming operations stopped in 1996.	Pension: R640 Total: R640	2



(Drawn by an informant)

Figure 2: Glenville Farm

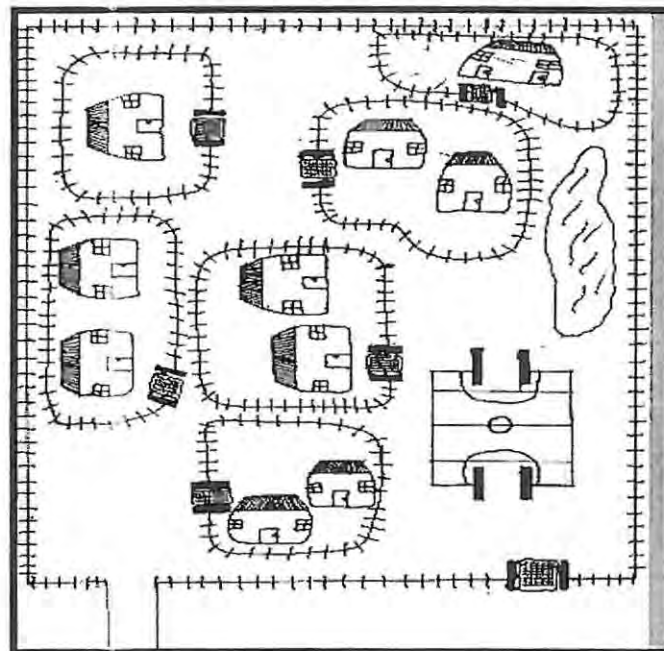
Key	
1	Old farm house
2	Cow shed
3	Farm worker housing
4	Natural Dam
+++	Fencing
++●++	Gate

Millsfontein

John's son Chris used to own Millsfontein. He went bankrupt in 1998. Philip bought the farm from the Landbank in 1999. When Chris was the owner he ran cattle and grew chicory on the land. Members of all six resident households were employed. All but two residents, Paul and Samuel, were retrenched as impending bankruptcy forced farming operations to wind down. When Patrick took over in 1999, Paul and Samuel remained employed. He has never called the residents together for a meeting. Any messages he might have are communicated via Paul and

Samuel. Like the Glenville residents, most people survive on pensions, child support grants and casual work (see table 7).

As for housing, like Glenville, the residents built their own wattle and daub housing. Water is via rainwater tanks and electricity is non-existent. The residents' houses are grouped together in a roughly three-hectare area. Their cattle and other livestock are confined to this area. Access to their residential site is via a grassed walkway (see figure 3). This walkway is not wide enough for vehicle access. To gain vehicle access during funerals or on pension registration days residents have to ask Patrick to unlock the gate at the bottom of the compound (see figure 3).



(Drawn by an informant: same as figure 2)

Figure 3: Millsfontein Farm

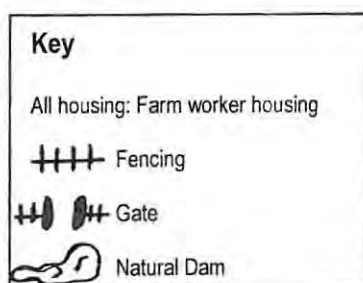


Table7: demographic information, employment history and livestock details for Millsfontein

NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD & ESTA STATUS	AGE & GENDER	DATE OF ARRIVAL ON THE FARM	ARRIVED FROM	NO. OF PEOPLE PERMANENTLY IN HOUSEHOLD	EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND WAGES	TERMINATION OF FULL TIME WORK	CURRENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME	NO. OF STOCK
Danny	20/9/46 56 yrs Male	1990	Salem Area	Adults: 2 Children: 5 Total: 7	<u>Head</u> 1990-1998 Farm Worker R350 <u>Wife</u> 1990-1998 Casual Worker: R200	Chris left, and Patrick did not hire him	Casual Work: R200 per month Wife's Pension: R640 Remittances: R90 per month Total: R930	N/A
Laragh	24/03/50 52 yrs Female	1980	Salem	Adults: 2 Children: 2 Total: 4	<u>Head</u> 1981-83 Domestic worker R20 <u>Daughter</u> 1987-1995 general worker R300	No longer needed	Disability Pension: R640 Child Grant: R150 Total: R790	N/A
Sally Long term occupier	27/11/32 69yrs Female	1991	Narraway	Adults: 4 Children: 3 Total: 7	<u>Head</u> Never worked <u>Daughters</u> 1991-1997 Casual work R7 per block of chicory	Chris stopped cultivating chicory	2 Pension Grants: R1280 Total: R1280	N/A
Nikki Long term occupier	16/06/29 73 yrs Female	1986	Glenville	Adults: 2 Children: 3 Total: 5	<u>Head</u> Never worked <u>Daughter</u> (now in PE) 1986-1994		Pension: R640 Total: R640	5

					Domestic worker R200 <u>Resident</u> <u>Daughter</u> 1986-1999 Domestic worker R350			
Paul Short term occupier	28/08/56 46 yrs Male	1980	Gardner's Gate	Adults: 5 Children: 3 Total: 8	<u>Head</u> 1980-present General worker R400	N/A	Paul's wages Total: R400	6
Samuel Short term occupier	08/04/1961 42 yrs Male	1980	Salem	Adults: 3 Children: 3 Total: 6	<u>Head</u> 1980-present General worker R400 <u>Wife</u> 1989-1998 General worker R250	Wife: Farm was sold to Patrick	Samuel's wages R400 Son Casual building labour R500 (when working) Total: R400 (steady)	3

Fonteinberg

Buffalo Lodge bought Fonteinberg from Martin in 2000. Martin's father Frank died in 1991. His wife took over until her own death in 1993. Martin returned from Europe and took over as of 1994. Tomato was the chief crop before the land was sold to Buffalo Lodge. From 1998 onwards, Martin began retrenching his workers. He maintained that he no longer had the money to farm. People were given no warning and no retrenchment package. In 1999 Martin told his existing staff that he could not pay their wages and that they should take the tomato crop in lie of payment. Payment had been erratic up to this point. General workers were supposed to receive R250 per month (see table 8). People were generally given between R50 and R100 in cash and told that the rest would follow later in that month, or with the next salary payment. Shortly thereafter he informed the tenants that he was moving to the Transkei in a bid to make a living at farming. He spoke to the domestic worker, Malusi's wife Dolly, and told her that he could take her to the Transkei and employ her there. She indicated that she was prepared to go with him to set up the house but would not stay permanently as her husband, one of the first people to be retrenched, was still on the farm. Together with Martin, three families left the farm in January 2001. These men were given tin and building materials to establish a house in Grahamstown. The wives and dependents of the three farm workers were to remain in Grahamstown until such time as their husbands who had left for the Transkei with Martin sent for them.

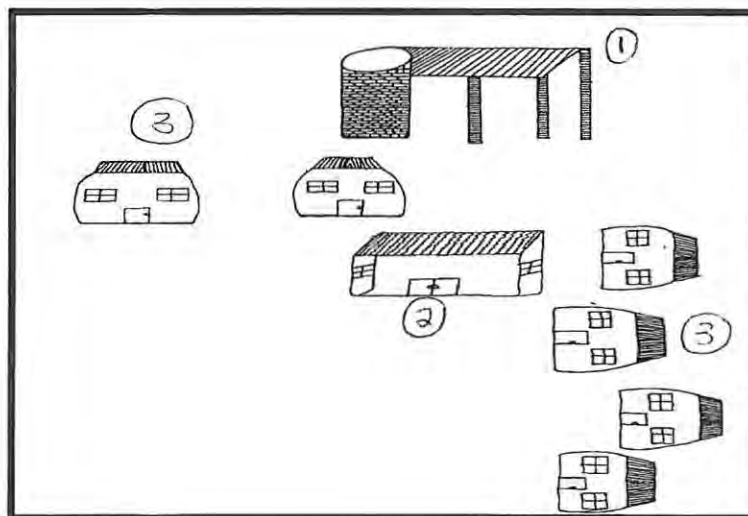
The remaining eight families were instructed to leave the farm as somebody else had bought it. Jan is reported to have visited Malusi's house and informed his wife 'that they (Buffalo Lodge) bought land and not people'. He went further to say that animals would be arriving in June. Dolly took this as an insinuation that the residents should leave, as they would soon be sharing their home with unfamiliar 'residents'. The number of people remained fairly constant well into 2001, until three families left the farm for the urban areas:

- Edward entered into an agreement with the labourers from the Port Elizabeth fencing company contracted to erect game fencing. Edward stripped the old farm buildings of their zinc, windows and doors at night. The labourers would then load the material onto the truck the following day and take it to Alexandria or Motherwell. Edward used the material to establish a home in Alexandria. The additional material was sold and the

profits shared equally between Edward and his co-conspirators. Edward left the farm late in 2001 to take up residency in his house in Alexandria.

- The two other families left to join kin in Motherwell.

The housing situation at Fonteinberg is a little different to that at Glenville and Millsfontein. Malusi and his family live in one of the old farmhouses. Shortly before his death in 1991, Martin allowed Malusi to take up residency in the house in recognition of his long years of service (since 1976) and loyalty to the family. The other residents live in a combination of wattle and daub and brick housing. Martin built a few two roomed brick houses. Three of the four remaining residents occupy these houses. A major problem is water damage. When it rains water seeps through the flooring. Siphos family lives in a two-roomed wattle and daub house. Malusi's house is at a significant distance from the rest. The remaining houses are in close proximity to one another (see figure 4).



(Drawn by an informant: same as figure 2 & 3)

Figure 4: Fonteinberg farm

Key	
1	Shed
2	Old farm house (Malusi's home)
3	Other farm worker housing

Table 8: Demographic Information, employment history and livestock details of Fonteinberg residents

NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD & ESTA STATUS	AGE & GENDER	DATE OF ARRIVAL ON THE FARM	ARRIVED FROM	NO. OF PEOPLE PERMANENTLY IN HOUSEHOLD	EMPLOYMENT HISTORY & WAGES	TERMINATION OF FULL TIME WORK	CURRENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME	NO. OF STOCK
Mary Long term occupier	09/02/40 62 yrs Female	1997	Kariega	Adults: 4 Children: 3 Total: 7	<u>Head</u> 1997-2001 General Worker R250 (payment erratic)	Martin relocated to the Transkei	Pension: R640 Total: R640	N/A
Sipho Short term occupier	06/10/60 42 yrs Male	1996	Bathurst	Adults: 2 Children: 3 Total: 5	<u>Head</u> 1996-2000 General Worker R250 (payment erratic)	Martin relocated to the Transkei	Casual Work: R5 a block App. R300 Total: R300	N/A
Malusi Long term occupier	01/01/40 63 yrs Male	1976	Salem	Adults: 6 Children: 4 Total: 10	<u>Head</u> 1976-1994 General Worker 1994-99 Foreman R600 <u>Wife</u> 1981-2001 Domestic Worker R120 <u>Sister</u> 1978-1999 Domestic Worker R120 <u>2x daughter</u> 1986-1999 Casual Work R10 per day	Labour disagreement with Martin. Daughters resigned in protest over the conflict. The wife stopped work once Martin relocated to the Transkei.	<u>Head</u> General worker July 02-present R500 <u>Wife</u> Pension: R640 <u>Daughters</u> Casual work R10 per day Average: R400 (total) Total: R1540	N/A
John	02/06/58	1997	Manley	Adults: 2	<u>Head</u>	Owner relocated	Casual Work:	N/A

Short term occupier	44 yrs Male		Flats	Children: 3 Total: 5	1998-2000 General Worker R250 (payment erratic)	to the Transkei	R10 per day Averages: R200 Total: R200	
Jack Short term occupier	15/05/58 44 yrs Male	1996	Salem Area	Adults: 2 Children: 3 Total: 5	Head 1996-2000 General Worker R250 (Payment erratic) <u>Wife</u> 1996-June 2000 Casual Work/Domestic App: 250	Owner relocated to Transkei	Head July 02-present General worker R600 <u>Wife</u> July 02-present General Work R200 Total: R800	N/A

Overarching themes

Household fluidity

Household dynamics amongst the poor in South Africa were discussed in the Introduction. I re-introduce the literature in this context to discuss the consequences of this fluidity in more detail. A number of authors have noted the increasing trend towards household fluidity (De Wet and Holbrook, 1997; Spiegel, 1986 and 1995) and rural-urban connections (Ellis, 2002; James, 2001; Manona, 1988 and 2001; and Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990). People move in and out of homes based on labour migration, the desire to urbanise and the need to secure resources for economic survival. In the context of the Bushman's River area, household fluidity, and female-headed households are key features of social organisation. Grandparents take in their grandchildren, whose parents remain working in the urban areas. Sick people often return to the farm for home-based care. Children leave home to finish their schooling⁴ in Grahamstown or Port Elizabeth, only to return when they cannot find employment. The extended family make regular weekend and holiday visits. Migrants return home during their off-season. Existing patterns of household fluidity create certain obligations. Kin cannot be turned away despite high levels of economic deprivation. More pressingly, the actions of kin whilst on the farm have to be condoned despite the threat they might pose to one's relationship with fellow residents and the farmer:

Mary lives at Fonteinberg with her three daughters, one son and two grandchildren. She arrived on the farm in 1998 from a farm near Kariega game reserve. Her brother Vusi is a regular visitor. He lives with his wife and three children in Motherwell in Port Elizabeth. He often comes to stay with his sister. He is hoping to establish a home in the Salem Commonage Claim. During that time he has stolen both sheep and ostriches. Vusi has worked alone and in conjunction with some of the other farm workers living on his sister's farm. Once stolen, the animals are skinned, cooked and sold or given away to fellow residents. On one occasion, one of the other male farm workers, Malusi, walked in on Vusi slaughtering an animal. Vusi responded to Malusi's enquiry as to what he was doing by saying that he had stolen from the white man and that his actions were therefore justified and none of Malusi's concern. Afraid of violent consequences Malusi walked away and said nothing. Shortly thereafter the police arrived on the farm. They went to Mary's house whilst she was cooking the stolen meat. Vusi managed to slip away and no arrests were made.

⁴ The farm schools only go up to standard seven or grade nine.

Economic position of the farm workers

As illustrated by the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (1976: 93), farm workers are a class of chronically disadvantaged people:

Farm workers are among the lowest paid in the South African economy. Unprotected by statutory minimum wage fixings, denied access to collective bargaining processes or to elementary political rights, there conditions are set by farmers whose only constraint is the need to keep enough workers on the land to farm comfortably... but on the whole Black farm workers are prevented by lack of schooling, lack of skills and an apparently chronic shortage of urban housing from seeking alternative employment in the towns. In addition, the system of legislative controls over the movements of African workers operates to 'trap' them on the farms.

The residents of the Bushman's River area are generally very poor. Cash wages, for those in permanent employment, are low and people rely heavily on pensions and remittances from urban-based kin. The information presented below is drawn from table 6 and concerns the economic position of the people living at Millsfontein, Fonteinberg and Glenville, or collectively at Buffalo Lodge.

Figure 5: Income sources of Buffalo Lodge residents



56% of the community's income is sourced through pensions. Only 13% comes from direct agricultural employment. Individual family income varies. Average income is R725,59 per month

and average family size 5,5 people (taken from tables 6, 7 and 8). Such a low level of income has a number of ramifications. Unemployment means that food rations are no longer provided. Nearly all available cash income is spent on food and education. None of the families plant vegetable gardens. The major historical reason seems to be lack of money for seeds and that the land is not theirs. Currently however, the impending move to the donated land has meant that people have been reluctant to improve their living arrangements. This refers directly to home improvements (repairing rain damage) and planting. Those people who are intending to relocate have however indicated their intention to plant once they are settled in their new home. People are understandably reluctant to spend time and money in their current location when they are going to move. Presently however, the only secure sources of income are pensions valued at R640 per month, and child support grants of R150 per month. Income from casual work is just that, casual and erratic.

Given these dire circumstances many of the households engage in a diverse range of economic activity. Additional income generating strategies include selling firewood, brewing traditional beer, selling store bought beer, and the reliance on remittances from urban kin. Cattle, for those who have them, form a safety net in times of particularly acute hardship.

The plight of the people in question is perhaps most poignantly revealed through the recent death of a two-year-old child at Fonteinberg:

Jane's husband has been in prison in Port Elizabeth for rape since 1999. When he was first incarcerated she moved, together with her four children; Xolani, 16; Xolisile, 13; Tendai, 8 and Pumela 2; to Fonteinberg to live with her brother-in-law. She does not have an ID book and cannot therefore get a child support grant for Pumela. Her brother-in-law Sipho does not have a job. He works when he can. Their average monthly income is R200. In December 2002 one of her children, two-year-old Pumela died suddenly. She was eating *mphokoggo* (porridge and milk) and began to vomit. At this point she was taken to one of the other family's houses and the ambulance was called. By the time the ambulance arrived Pumela was dead. The ambulance personnel then called the police. The baby was taken to Grahamstown for an autopsy. It was later revealed that her death had been caused by food going down her windpipe. Uncle Zolani agreed to conduct a service the following Saturday. Jane's husband was to be released to attend the funeral. Unfortunately things did not go as planned. Jane and her brother-in-law did not have sufficient money to bury

Pumela. Jane was then forced to approach the state to request that they bury her. Pumela was buried somewhere in Grahamstown. Her mother was not able to attend the funeral.

The poverty experienced by the family is devastating. Not being able to bury one's child, to not know where she has been laid to rest is a source of unimaginable anguish for any parent. This is just one of the many tragic consequences of impoverishment. Low levels of income mean that even the most basic necessities are often out of reach.

Connecting people: Links between farm residents

Economic equality and co-residence

The three farms and their residents are connected for a number of reasons. Geographically the farms border one another. In the present the farms are connected because the same owner has bought them, and the residents are being relocated together to a new settlement area. The people however have links that pre-date the consolidation of their three farms into the game farm. In the past, when the farms were still owned by John, Chris and Frank, the friendship between the three farmers meant that the workers received the same wages. Such a situation fostered a sense of 'community' amongst the workers. This community came together in terms of economic equality and co-residency. As Tata Andile has often said:

John was Chris's father. Frank was their friend. They paid equally and gave the people on the three farms the same rations. John would take the money and buy the people's food. He shared any additional crops equally between all the people. The people here they have a history of coming together. We act as a community here we all support each other.

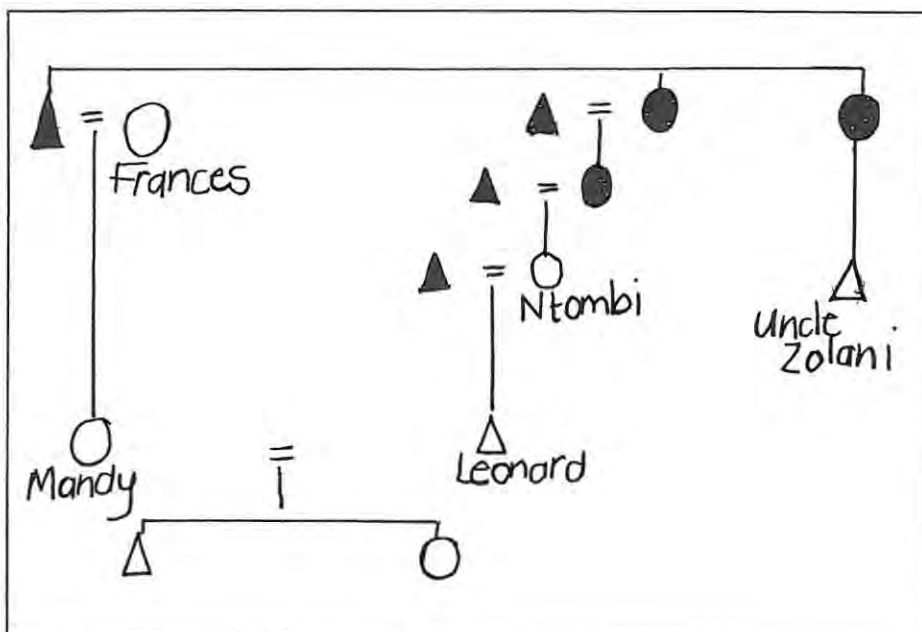
This perceived economic equality did not persist once Peter and Frank died and Chris went bankrupt. Most of the current residents of Fonteinberg did not arrive on the farm until well into the 1990's (see table 6). They would not therefore have formed part of the community Tata April is speaking of. Despite this, the new arrivals were welcomed into the broader 'family', more especially now given that the residents are moving to a new area where they will all have to live in relatively close proximity to each other.

Kinship and marriage

* Note for diagrams that follow: Shaded figures = deceased. Single line = co-habitation.

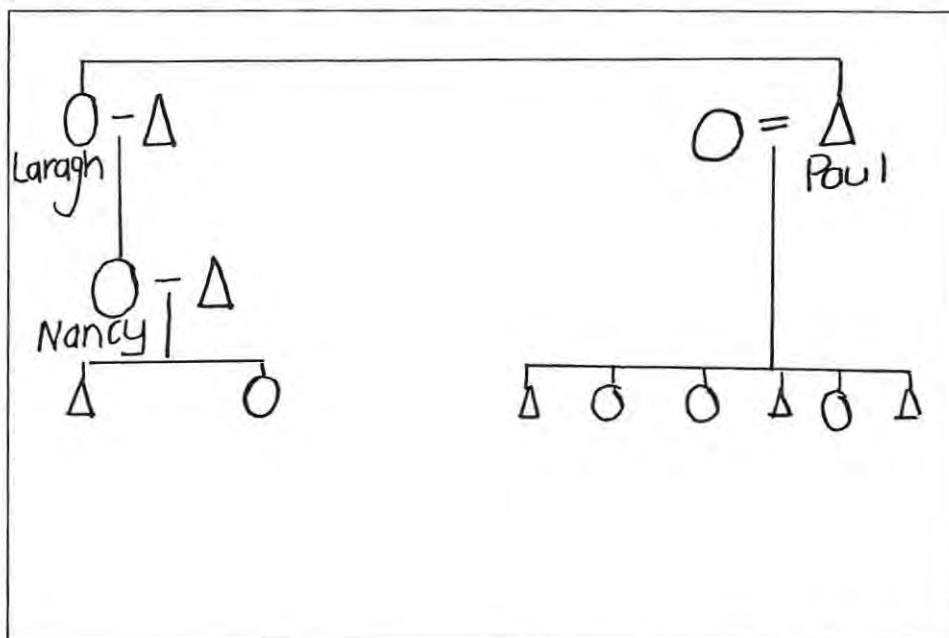
In terms of formal kinship ties, residents are interwoven into a complex set of sibling and marital relations. Frances' daughter Mandy married Ntombi's youngest son Leonard. Frances' deceased husband was brother to Ntombi's maternal grandmother. The grandmother and Frances' husband were brother and sister respectively to Uncle Zolani's mother. Leonard and his wife, together with their two children lived with Ntombi until they left in late 2001 to join Mandy's unmarried sister in Colchester. The relationship between these Glenville residents is shown below in Box 2.

Box 2: Relations between Frances, Ntombi and Uncle Zolani



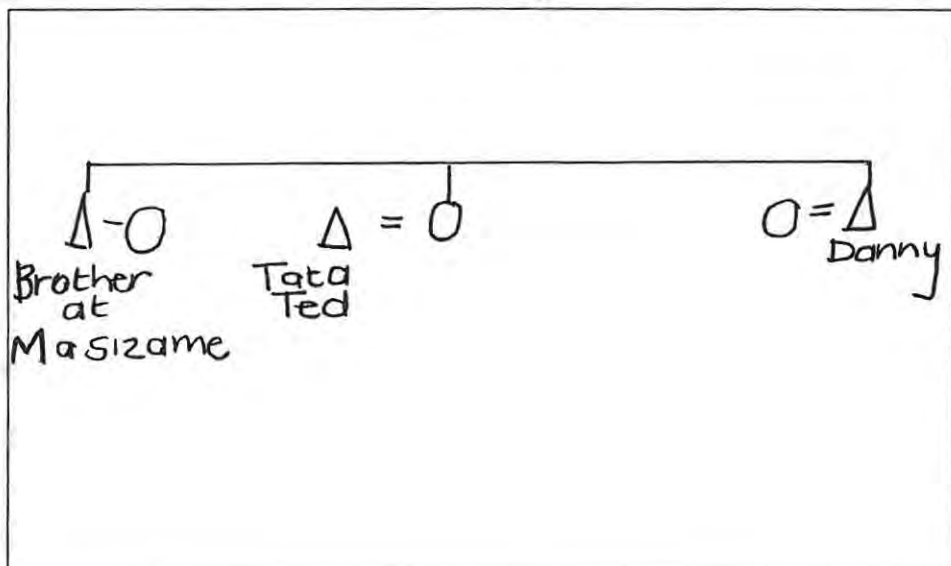
Siblings have moved onto the farm together and established separate households. Nancy's mother Laragh arrived at Millsfontein with her daughter and two grandchildren in 1980. Her brother Paul arrived at the same time with his wife and six children.

Box 3: Laragh and Paul's households

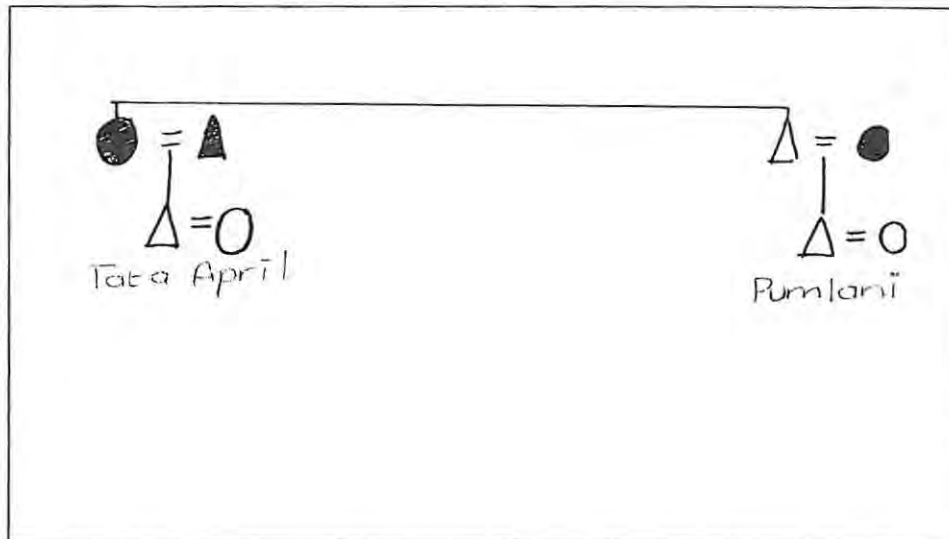


Marriage between and across farms is a common form of kinship linkage between farm residents. Tata Ted who lives at Glenville is married to Danny who lives at Millsfontein's sister. They have another brother resident at Masizame (see Box 4). Tata April's mother is sister to Pumlani, the chairperson of Masizame's father (see Box 5).

Box 4: Relations between Tata Ted and Danny



Box 5: Tata Andile and Pumlan̄i



The Church

Another very important point of consideration is the role of the church in uniting people. The church, in this case the African Independent Churches, provides a sense of community as it brings people together. It provides financial support in times of need, emotional support during bereavement and a platform for the expression of masculinity. Oosthuizen (1996) and others talk extensively about the economic function fulfilled by the church. It provides credit as well as burial schemes. Masculinity is re-enforced and propped up through the spatial positioning and the role of women in church. Women are separated by marital status both spatially and by their differing uniforms (married women wear blue or white capes as an addition to a basic uniform consisting of a blue skirt, long sleeved white shirt and various sashes [see photograph 4 for an example of the uniform worn by unmarried women]). They are not permitted to speak openly in church, forwarding their concerns instead through senior male members of the congregation. They are not permitted to wear their uniform whilst menstruating or pregnant due to their 'polluted' status. Pregnant women are only permitted to wear their uniform six months after giving birth, or alternatively once the child has been weaned. At the end of every service, the young unmarried women, who form the choir, kneel in front of kneeling married women, behind a row of standing young men. This height differential represents male dominance and female submission (see Brandes, 1975). Hofstede (1998: 196-202) maintains that Christianity has maintained a dialectic between tough/masculine

and tender/feminine elements. More masculine oriented cultures place importance on 'God the father'. Following from this emphasis, women in these societies are socialised into gender inequality. As can be seen in this particular case, masculinity is propped up in the religious domain.



Photograph 3: Men 'before' women: church elders and their wives.

A number of farm-based congregations exist in the area. Methodists compete alongside African Independent Churches for congregants. As mentioned above, I spent the majority of my time in Uncle Zolani's church, *The New Christian Catholic Church in Zion*. The African Independent Churches are recognised as following the Apostolic tradition of the New Testament. Heavy emphasis is placed on faith healing (Kiernan, 1990, Oosthuizen, 1992, Maboea, 1994), and the use of water as a curative. There are two occasions on which churchgoers have recourse to use water: instances of illness as a washing or ingesting agent and baptisms in which the water is believed to be imbued with the 'spirit'. Prophets are often directed to certain baptismal sites through dreams and visions⁵. Like traditional notions of sacredness, the water in these pools must be flowing. It is then understood as being alive and imbued with the spirit in much the same way as the sacred pool is the home of the river people. Pools or water sites used for traditional rituals are often also used for baptismal purposes.

⁵ Kiernan (1990) draws a distinction between dreams and visions by identifying them as two distinct modes of communication. Beyond the waking (vision) and sleeping (dream) division, he explains that visions, exclusively the domain of the prophet, are preceded by a church activity. Prayer and singing are often the catalyst for visions. Dreams on the other hand can be experienced by both congregants and prophets.



(Photograph by Christine Obbo)

Photograph 4: New Christian Catholic Church in Zion service

Understandings of the landscape

Beyond economic inequality and co-residency, kinship and marriage and the church, landscape is a powerful source of identity and therefore solidarity. The way people relate to their surroundings, and the sense of belonging they attach to the landscape is an important facet of their identity. Xhosa farm workers attach a deep significance to the landscape as a place of residence, a locus of identity, a site to bury the dead, as a source of ritual and medicinal plants, and the home of their ancestors.

From an indigenous perspective, landscape is conceptualised as being part of a people's identity, but more fundamentally, part of the identity of the ancestral beings (Hirsch and O'Hanlon, 1995; Morphy, 1995; Tilley, 1994). It is widely held to allow for the self-preservation and regeneration of indigenous culture. Ritual that is carried out within the landscape re-enforces group identity and establishes historical continuity (Carmichael, 1998; Morphy, 1995). Collective history and identity are often understood as being inseparable from landscape. The Xhosa for instance believe that their ancestors reside in certain identifiable pools and riparian zones (Hammond-Tooke, 1975).

Four domains of experience are identified in Cape Nguni⁶ traditional belief systems: the Supreme Being (iThixo), the ancestors (amathongo), the river people (abantu bomlambo) and witches (igqwirha). No rituals are directed towards the Supreme Being. Together, the river people, the

⁶ The Cape Nguni are a congeries of chiefdoms, stretching from the Natal border to the Fish River and speaking dialects of the Xhosa language. They include the Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Bhaca, Xesibe, Bomvana, Hlubi, Zizi and Bhele chiefdom clusters (Hammond-Tooke, 1975).

ancestors and witchcraft provide an explanatory theory for evil and misfortune (Hammond-Tooke, 1975). The Nguni identifies three sacred localities: the water, the forest and the grassland (Hirst, 1990). Within each domain are identifiable sacred places. In respect to the water, certain pools are considered sacred due to the residence of the river people (De Jager and Gitywa, 1963 & Ngubane, 1977). These pools are generally deep pools of running or 'living' water. The occurrence of the umkumzi reed, *typha capensis*, indicates the presence of the river people. They are believed to live at the dry bottom of selected pools and are reported to have a similar lifestyle to those on the surface. The people keep stock, have houses and undertake circumcision and other rites (Bernard, 2001; Elliott, 1970). For all intent and purposes it is an idyllic lifestyle in the mode of pre-colonial life. The Xhosa equate the river people to the ancestors and articulate being drawn to certain pools for rituals due to the presence/residence of one's family in the water (Hammond -Tooke, 1975). The forest and the grassland are sites for the collection of medicinal and ritual plants. The cattle kraal is another sacred space. Cattle are markers of masculinity and wealth but also a means of communicating with the ancestors through sacrifice. The kraal is the home of the cattle, and the preserve of men.



Photograph 5: The cattle kraal

The farm is therefore not only a place of residence. It is a source of identity. To be removed from the farm is a threat to economic security, but also spiritual and social well being. People frequently expressed the desire to be buried on the farm. The historical dimension of landscape and its enduring significance to people is illustrated in the following accounts of two sacred pools within Buffalo Lodge, Kwa Mbotina:

Account 1

Kwa Mbotina [the pools] is named after Mbotina who lived there in the 1930's. He lived and had his fields over on the bank of the pool. Every year, as is our custom, he offered ukushwama⁷, some of his crops to the river people. He asked for health and wealth, cattle and good crops. The people saw that he had a good harvest and began to offer with him to get their own luck. It is after him that the pool is named. We remember him when we go there to offer gifts.

Account 2

When I was a boy in the area in the 40's, my father was on a different farm, but I used to swim in Kwa Mbotina with friends. We used to race to the pool and jump in. The race was to see who would come first. One day I raced and reached the pool just ahead of my friends. On the rock in the middle of the pool, see it there [points to a rock in the middle of the large pool], sat a figure. He, well I couldn't see if it was a man or woman, but it was a person. Well the top half was like that of a person. The figure had long black hair. I saw him for a second, before he slipped into the water. I couldn't go in I ran home. He was a person from the river, I'm sure.

Account 3

My father had stock. The farmer used to have a bull he let the people use to fertilise their cows. At this time [breeding season] my father was away picking oranges for another farmer. The people persuaded the farmer to give them the bull while he was away. When he, my father came back the bull was nowhere. The farmer had sold it, as the people had asked. They were jealous of my father and his healing ability. He asked where the bull was and found that it had gone. He went to the farmer who said he had sold it. He was worried about his cows but what could he do? One day he noticed a beautiful bull amongst his herd. A bull he had never seen before. A few days later, I went with the herd to the water for them to drink. And the bull, it went into the water and didn't come out. My grandfather said that we should look for it on the bank or at another point in the river, but he only said that, he knew-it went under the water back to the people there.

[Were the cows successfully fertilized by the bull?] Yes, yes...my father had a number of off-spring, I do not remember how many.

⁷ *Ukushwama* means 'to taste'. It is a thanks giving /first fruits offering made to the ancestors after the crops have been harvested (Soga, 1931)

These particular pools, and many other features of the landscape, most notably grave sites, continue to be significant to the farm residents. The historical dimension, and the stories attached to particular sites like Kwa Mbotina signify a deep and abiding attachment to the landscape.

Relations with the farmer in the contemporary era

Tacit eviction

The following account is taken from the perspective of the residents of Millsfontein. Their relationship with Patrick is at best tense and at worst openly hostile. He has never spoken directly with the six resident families since taking ownership of the farm in 1999. He only communicates with Samuel and Paul who work for him. Over the years he has acted in ways which have made the residents, and later their legal advisors, believe he was trying to get them to leave the farm:

When Patrick took over the management of the farm in 1999, he imposed cattle restrictions of two animals per family. Although cattle restrictions are often placed on farm workers, in this case, the previous owner had not imposed any restrictions. The lack of livestock restriction created a precedent that could be potentially detrimental to farm workers if overturned. Only three of the six resident families have stock, but all have animals in excess of the limit imposed by Patrick. The farm workers informed Patrick that they could not abide by the restrictions as they needed their stock to ensure their economic well-being. Patrick then implemented a system in which stockowners had to pay R20 a month per full-grown animal, for grazing, vetting and dipping. They managed to talk him down to R15 per animal. Sometime later, he is reported to have informed the farm workers of his intention to personally sell all of their stock and hire a truck to collect it. Such actions and threats can be seen in two ways, to discourage stock ownership or as attempts to force farm workers to leave the land and settle elsewhere. But since stock is so closely tied to identity and economic security, such impositions might well have been directed at the latter. The people paid the money and their stock numbers continued to increase.

More seriously, Patrick imposed severe water restrictions. Legally this is constituted as a direct attempt at eviction. The farm contains two dams: one for human consumption, and one for livestock use. There is also a borehole in close proximity to the main farmhouse. He has consistently denied access to the dam with water fit for human consumption. During a public meeting in July 2001, Patrick's son defended the blocking off of the dam by saying it was in response to the farm workers having left certain farm gates open. The farm residents approached a neighbouring farmer and requested permission to draw water from his dam. The

request was granted, but later rescinded when he experienced stock theft. That is not to say that he suspected or accused the people of Millsfontein but instead attempted to restrict movement across his land.

Patrick had taken to locking the main access gate to Glenville on a number of occasions through out 2001 and 2002. The main thoroughfare to Glenville passes by his home. He padlocked the gate without informing the residents. On the one or two occasions I did find myself locked out, Patrick mentioned that there had been too much movement on the farm over the weekend. Tata Andile had had an ukubuyisa⁸ ceremony for his late father which game farm management had attempted to disrupt. An agreement was reached whereby the padlock would remain on, but two chain links would be partially severed. The gate would only appear locked. Despite this, the gate continued to be locked sporadically, hugely inconveniencing people. Jan was usually sympathetic and did not really understand why the gate had been locked. But since he and Patrick were the only people to have keys, and given Patrick's 'track-record' and his close proximity to the gate....On a few occasions it was locked on pension days, meaning that groceries had to be carried down the long driveway to individual homes.

On another occasion one of the female residents fell ill. Patrick was away from the farm at the time. His wife called the ambulance. The woman was taken to Settlers Hospital in Grahamstown. Patrick, who had since returned, is reported to have rushed to the main gate as the ambulance was leaving and lock it. When the woman returned by taxi the following day, the main access gate was locked and she was unable to enter. Instead she was carried to her home. The entrance to the occupiers' accommodation is a long walkway not wide enough for vehicle access. She did not have a good night and needed to return to hospital the following day. The head of the household decided against asking Patrick for the gate to be open given the occurrences of the day before. Instead he approached the neighbouring farmer where they drew water and requested that a vehicle be brought onto his property to carry her to Grahamstown. The car drove up and she was taken to hospital.

This account represents an attempt by Patrick to 'make life difficult for the resident farm workers'. Whether Patrick's explicit intentions were directly orientated towards eviction, or merely an expression of his particular ideological orientation is not always easily deciphered. Interestingly however, he is mentioned by name by Greenberg (1996: 76) in his review of farm workers and agriculture:

⁸ *Ukubuyisa*, is to 'send off'. It marks the death of an individual and the beginning of a process of incorporation into the corporate body of the ancestors.

The changing patterns of production and the type of agricultural product are cited as the reasons for reducing the workforce in the Eastern Cape. A farm⁹ owned by Patrick is a good example in this case. It appears that in many cases the letter of the law is complied with, making these cases at such a time apparently incontestable.

This would suggest a history of ill treating farm workers, which is synonymous with accounts given by the residents of Millsfontein as well as others in the area who remember his past activities, as well as those of his brother and father. Then there is the fact that when a woman moved away to join her son in Port Elizabeth, he demolished her house. Admittedly this was in part due to a request by Jan, in the belief that the vacant house might encourage occupation, it is was interpreted by the occupiers as an attempt at intimidation.

Speaking to farmers

Politically-speaking, people often complain that nothing has changed. Of life in post-Apartheid South Africa, good is the fact that people can move freely between farm and town without having to carry a pass. As to the relationship with the farmer, the following extract from a conversation between myself, Zweli and Uncle Zolani, Tata Andile, and Tata Ted from Glenville, and Paul from Millsfontein suggests the continuation of conflict and strained relationships. Uncle Zolani works as a gardener for Buffalo Lodge, and Paul for Patrick at Millsfontein. Andile and Ted are both unemployed. Ted retired for ill health, and Andile was retrenched in 1996 when the farmer died. Andile does work casually when he can. Both however have children in permanent farm employment, and have a wide body of direct and indirect (through friends and family) experience to draw on for this discussion:

Kelly: Have you noticed any change at all in your life, do you feel that anything has changed since 1994?

Uncle Zolani: Nobody is held by the obligation to carry the pass book. You no longer get arrested for not having it. You can go to town and stay as long as you want, even a week. Nobody is going to ask or arrest you for being there.

⁹ This information is relevant as of 1996, before he bought Millsfontein. But does suggest the establishment of a pattern.

- Zweli:** Lets come back now to home between you and the farmers. These farmers as you know them, you know they treated people badly in the past, now is there any change that you can see?
- Paul:** In terms of the farmers there are no changes that have been made, instead things are harsher.
- Tata Ted:** For example, my daughter who works at Salem tells me, if you are having any complaints they will tell you to go to the government you voted for although they are your employers. For example, when you ask your employer for something he won't give it to you as in the past, he will defer you, the employer will defer you to the government.
- Kelly:** Now he will...
- Tata Andile:** Yes, they will say you go to Mandela
- Paul:** Yes, like an increment. In the past they would make the necessary arrangement, but now if you ask for that they say go to your government

The conversation suggests a worsening situation. It suggests even greater detachment by farmers to the detriment of farm workers. And although this may be a view of less forward thinking farmers, even those who are willing to engage effectively with the new system face a number of financial difficulties and concerns over the practicality of much of the new legislation.

Farm worker retrenchment

In June 2001 Uncle Zolani asked Zweli and I to travel to a farm close to his to talk to the resident farm workers. Ned, a close friend of his had informed him that the farmer, Matt, had retrenched 26 of his original 36 strong labour force. He had sold a portion of his farm to a game lodge and kept the rest for dairy, beef and pineapple production. He had kept ten of his workers, of which Ned was one. These ten were however retrenched with the rest, but immediately re-instated at the same wages on a work roster which ran until January 2002. The workers believed he was immigrating to Australia and bringing in a foreman to run the farm in his absence.

In due course we met with Ned who asked us to attend an evening meeting with the residents. The time was as much to accommodate the people, as it was to avoid detection by the farmer. Ned felt

that Matt may well get nervous if he knew Zweli and I were coming. His concern is not totally unfounded. On two separate occasions during the course of the research, even after my presence in the area had become known and understood by the majority of white farmers, the farmers approached their workers after I had left and suggested that I wanted something other than what I had indicated, and that Zweli and I wanted in fact to cause trouble for them. In August 2001 Zweli and I visited Mr Mdinda, a farm worker we had happened on a few months previously whilst meeting one of Zweli's relations. On discovering that Mr Mdinda was not at home we went to the farm house/courtyard to see if he was working. On arrival we were told that he was away in the pineapple fields. The farmer approached the car as we were about to depart. We told him that we had tried unsuccessfully to find Mr Mdinda and left. A few days later Zweli bumped into one of the men who had been at the main house in Grahamstown. He told Zweli that the farmer had spoken to him after we had left. He had asked what it was we really wanted. The man responded as we had, that we had come to speak to Mr Mdinda. The farmer was not satisfied. He said he knew Zweli, who had grown up in the area, and knew him to be someone who caused trouble with the workers. His unease may well have had something to do with the fact that shortly after our visit he announced his intention to sell the farm. He hoped game farmers would purchase it.

On another occasion in March 2002, Zweli and I took Mpho Molapisi into the field to meet the people of the Masizame Communal Property Association on whom he would base his Honours dissertation. Before introducing him to the people at the Hope Fountain School Zweli suggested we locate Uncle Zolani to help us make the introduction. Uncle Zolani was head of the burial association of which Mr Mamase (chairperson of Masizame) was chairperson. He felt it was fitting that both men met Mpho. Since it was a Sunday we tried Uncle Zolani's church which meets at Masizame. We were informed that it had moved location to a nearby pineapple farm. The three of us (Zweli, Mpho and I) travelled to the farm. Zweli suggested we drive to the main house and ask permission from the farmer to enquire after Uncle Zolani. The farmhouse was empty so we proceeded to the workers' residential area. We were told that Uncle Zolani was attending a family ritual in Alexandria. On our way out, the farmer's wife approached in her vehicle. She slowed and asked us what we wanted. We explained that we regularly attended church at Masizame and were looking for the service which had moved location for the day. She went to one of the older residents an hour or two later and asked what we had wanted. He explained that he, Zweli and I

regularly worshipped together, and that we were looking for the church. She said she did not believe him and that I must have wanted something else. A certain degree of mistrust and suspicion for any unknown outsider is however understandable given the reality of farm attacks, the fear of worker unionisation and land claims.

The farm school principal chaired the meeting. Her opening remarks suggest something of the concern felt by the community over their retrenchment:

I'm welcoming you, I'm glad you are here with us, to come and help us in sharing some of the problems we have. Indeed it's a disaster and it's something we are not able to understand because we have been staying here for years. I have been here since 1989. I was so happy then up to this year when I heard that the walls were shaking. If the walls are shaking there is a danger.

As to why the walls were shaking:

Firstly I want to introduce the topic to the meeting. The problem is that we as workers have been retrenched. And we found out that we have to leave the farms after employment is terminated, even though we have parents who had died on the farm, and if I'm the eldest of four boys, and my father died on the farm, my three brothers will have to stop working. I don't know where they're supposed to go. That's the other problem that I have.

These comments reflect two things: a deep non-material commitment to the land, which reinforces earlier comments, and the lack of available employment and residential options for retrenched workers. When asked at a meeting between the farmer, his legal representative, a representative from Grahamstown's Department of Labour and the affected farm workers, the farmer indicated that retrenchments were necessary due to the recent decline of the pineapple industry. He went further to say that he had retained the skilled people (three truck drivers, four dairy workers, one welder, one mechanic and one domestic worker) and retrenched the unskilled. He imposed a stock restriction of three animals per household (never been imposed before) and no longer allowed his bull to fertilise the worker's cows. He indicated that the excess animals should be turned over to him to sell on their behalf. In November 2002 the farmer shut the dairy completely.

Whilst this account is taken only from the perspective of the affected farm workers, it does illustrate the tendency towards downsizing and the perceived economic difficulties currently experienced by many commercial farmers. Retrenching the majority of the work force may also be a reaction to new labour laws which mean more labour costs, and more in the way of residential rights for farm workers.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the people of the Bushman's River area from a number of vantage points. Although one cannot hope to grasp any particular group of people in their entirety, participant observation and a lengthy association with the residents has allowed me to gain a insight into the various things which draw them together, and the nature of their relationship with the owners of the land on which they live. The picture which emerges is of a group of economically deprived people whose dependency has meant that new changes to the agricultural sector, be they through game farming, democracy or tenure and labour law, have led to a deterioration of their relationship with their landowners, as opposed to the intended improvement. The people themselves exist within a network premised on co-residency, religious affiliation, kinship and linguistic similarity, which extends beyond their own individual farm in the surrounding area. They are a 'family' who support each other, despite internal differences and conflicts, in times of crisis, bereavement and need. Household composition is fluid, which has on occasion created problems with fellow residents and landowners. People have a deep and abiding commitment to the farms on which they live. This commitment is realised through long periods of residency, the presence of graves on the land, and the recognition in accordance with their traditional cosmology of the sacredness of certain areas of the landscape. If I had to sum up the people of the Bushman's River area in a few words I would conclude that they are hospitable, conservative, patriarchal and have an incredible capacity to accept and deal, largely because they have no other choice, with the many hardships that life throws in their direction.

4

Farm worker understandings of and reactions to game farming

"This reserve [game farming] is difficult to understand. They said the farm had been sold, they did not tell us the farm was being sold. The fences went up and the animals came in, we did not know what to think. Some of the neighbouring farmers told us that the animals were coming and that we would have to leave. But leave to where, life on the farm is hard yes but the town is not good. Here at least the cattle can eat, there is a forest for medicine and housing poles. We have all lived here, buried our dead here, our children have grown up here. I do not know where else I would go. The cattle would get stolen in the town. The violence is not good."

(Tata Andile, ex-farm worker)

This chapter examines the attitudes and understandings of farm workers vis-à-vis game farming. It looks more specifically at the interactions of farm workers with larger authoritative structures: the state, foreign and local landowners and their NGO representatives. I return to this topic from the perspective of a specific case study in the final chapter. In documenting farm worker reactions to game farming there are two identifiable groups of people involved. First and foremost it is the farm workers living on the purchased land. The people who live on the surrounding farms are also however affected by game farming. Many of these residents are not employed on the farms where they live, and rely on casual labour in the immediate area. The chapter is divided between an exploration of the major concerns about game farming advanced by farm workers, and a close analysis of their interaction with landowners, government and NGO officials. People are faced with a change which threatens to significantly alter their lives. They are overwhelmingly negative about the industry. The reasons for this are numerous, the most pressing being the potential loss of their homes for residents, and reduced employment for both residents and non-residents. Lack of direct communication with landowners leads to confusion and increased levels of negativity. Scepticism over the commitment of councillors and NGO's to assisting local people leads to a feeling of inertia and hopelessness.

Dealing with change: 'middle men', dependency and masculinity

Mediation, dependency and masculinity were all key features of the introductory discussion. They fell under the *Applied Anthropology* and *Resistance Ideologies* subheadings respectively. I re-visit the literature in this context together with ethnographic case material. The goal is to illustrate more conclusively the role of these particular practices and ideologies in the context of social change.

As Bailey (1966) has suggested of peasants, farm workers rely to a large extent on the interventions of others when dealing with government officials and innovation. Although outsiders are generally mistrusted, given that their behaviour is not subject to the same moral code (Brandes, 1975), certain outsiders may be adopted into what Bailey has termed the 'peasant's moral community' (Bailey, 1989: 286). The outsiders who achieve the most success in this regard are termed 'cultural brokers'. Not necessarily from peasant communities or political classes, these individuals facilitate communication between distinct groups of people (Denis, 1994, Van Willigen, 1986). The perceived need for mediation by farm workers in their dealings with outsiders is located in the existence of distinct cultural codes such as masculinity that deny direct complaint, as well as the persistence of dependency on the farmer that militates against direct contact and communication with outside structures.

The farm residents cast Zweli and I into the role of patron and cultural broker. Zweli is both an insider and an outsider. Being born in the immediate vicinity, and spending much of his childhood at Glenville under the watchful eye of Uncle Zolani, his rise to the rank of Cory User Services Librarian, and the fact that he lives in Grahamstown make him a useful patron. I on the other hand am a total outsider. This fact, coupled with race, and my concern for the residents translated into my co-option as a mediator or cultural broker. The language barrier meant that people spoke to me through Zweli. Beyond this more obvious constraint, people often requested things of Zweli which he then delegated to me, reflecting our partnership as patron and cultural broker. Zweli was not in a position to speak to Jan and the surrounding farmers as readily as I was. Instead he was a patron who drew for his clients on the resources available to him. These resources included me. This relationship is illustrated in the following case:

I met Uncle Zolani at Glenville one morning in August 2002 for a meeting with Jan and the local NGO representative. The meeting was to show the NGO representative where the various residents were located,

and the number of households on the property. When I arrived Uncle Zolani attempted to express his concern over the fact that the main entrance gate to the farm had been locked. Unfortunately I could not understand him. He requested that I contact Zweli. I phoned Zweli who then phoned us back. Uncle Zolani spoke to him for some time. When the phone was returned to me Zweli indicated that Uncle Zolani had a problem. The gate had been locked, causing unnecessary unpleasantness for the residents, most especially because they had been to collect their pensions and their groceries the day before. The taxi driver had dropped them at the gate. This had meant a long walk with very heavy bags and boxes. Zweli asked me to speak to Jan on behalf of the residents, and ensure that the gate was unlocked. Uncle Zolani and I met with Jan shortly thereafter. I asked for the gate to be unlocked. Jan apologised for the oversight and took the chain off straight away. He professed ignorance when asked why it had been locked.

Crehan (1997: 29) asks the important question; 'How is it that even the disadvantaged in a society seem so often to accept their disadvantage as legitimate or at least inescapable?' Her response is to illustrate the close relationship between force and consent and to suggest that 'force may be concealed behind a façade of consent' (*Ibid*). As we saw in chapter two, farm workers were forced to consent to their subordinate status through the implementation of influx control and a lack of adequate legal protection. Hegemony has to be constantly produced and reproduced (*Ibid*: 34); farm workers internalised their subordinate status and accepted the status quo. Scott (1985: 39) suggests following Gramsci, that the elite control the 'ideological sectors' of society. They disseminate discourse and accompanying concepts which prevent subordinate classes from 'thinking their way free'. Although he counters this with what he calls 'everyday forms of peasant resistance', farm workers are still bound by a history of domination. They were forced to accept their subordination. Challenging and confronting landowners *directly* was simply not possible in their eyes.

To resist and deal with their powerlessness, and assert their own independence, farm workers retreated into themselves and created, as authors have witnessed in peasant communities, a distinctiveness vis-à-vis the outside world (Brandes, 1975; Herzfeld, 1985). This particular distinctiveness is located within discourses of reputation, manhood and religion. Reputation demands that a man does not complain openly, he accepts life's hardships with dignity, and carries his burden with poise, secure in the knowledge that he is a 'good husband and father', and ultimately a 'good man'. Or do they? Herzfeld's Glendiot men prized 'being good at being a man' as opposed to 'being a good man' (1985: 16). Farm workers in the Bushmen's River area however put emphasis on 'being a good man'. The boastfulness which informs Glendiot male interaction with

other men would not be appreciated. Reputation is grounded in humility and the quiet acceptance of one's status. Masculinity is internally articulated, not publicly performed. Brandes (1980: Chapter 11) contends that folklore among Andalusian peasants creates and re-enforces male identity. Folklore is used to express the power hierarchies within which men exist. The twin themes of dominance (by men and landowners) and submission (of women and peasants) run throughout various aspects of folklore. Folklore serves on one hand to perpetuate the division between men and women and thereby bolster manhood. The strong presence of the African Independent Churches in the Bushman's River area provides a platform for the reconstitution of masculine identity. The endorsement of the importance of God rather than one's relationship to the rest of humanity in these churches, suggests what Hofstede (1998: 6) has termed a 'masculine society' in which women are socialised into an unequal position. Women are not permitted to speak in Church. Each service ends with the women kneeling behind a row of standing men. The spatial organisation of the congregants and the marked separation and height differential between men and women serves to re-affirm the dominance of men over women. The importance of masculinity is therefore stressed.

Local conceptualisations of manhood often produce behaviour which is to the direct detriment of farm workers. The concern with establishing one's own autonomy against the farmer can have decidedly dangerous consequences:

Tata Ted of Glenville retired from work early due to ill health. He suffers from acute asthma. In September 2002 his health took a turn for the worst and he required hospitalisation in Grahamstown. A week or so before his hospitalisation Uncle Zolani had commented on Tata Ted's ill health. I arrived at the farm on one particular day only to be told that Tata Ted could not get out of bed owing to ill health. I mentioned that I would be back the following day and asked if there was anything I could do. I returned at 4pm the following day. Tata Ted was waiting for me. His daughter helped him to his feet. His chest was extremely tight and his breathing very laboured. Uncle Zolani informed me that he had been this way since about 7am. I phoned the ambulance and drove a deathly ill Tata Ted and his daughter out to meet them. Patrick (the resident farmer at Millsfontein) had been at home the entire day. When asked why they had not consulted him, Tata Ted said he knew that I was coming and preferred to wait for me instead, despite the threat this could have caused to his health.

The decision to wait for me instead of contacting Patrick suggests a number of things. Firstly, I am not part of the moral code in the same way as the farmer, and it is therefore permissible for me to

see illness, and for people to request my assistance. Secondly, in reference to contacting Patrick for help, the cultural code, or in this case, notions of manhood, prevent a show of weakness represented here by a request for help.

Dependency and a history of subordination facilitated the creation of a resistance ideology premised on reputation and manhood. The family and the Church serve, like Andalusian folklore, as a mechanism for expressing and conserving a particular patriarchy. When faced with change, dependency and a resistance ideology which favours humility, restraint and a lack of outward complaint, prevents direct interaction with outsiders. Mediation is a tool to bridge this gap and undermine the 'unpleasant bureaucratic nature of the official relationship' (Bailey, 1966). Together these forces constitute a situation in which people act very much as they did in the past; they wait for the farmer to decide their fate for them. People's reaction to game farming is therefore somewhat delayed. They wait to be informed as to what will happen and then react, as opposed to engaging directly with the problem themselves.

Concerns over game farming

Most farm workers are negative about game farming. This is because people have seen an almost exponential rise in an industry which has left many unemployed and others evicted. Many feel the government should legislate the game farming industry to prevent further job losses and removal to urban areas. Farm workers identify a number of concerns regarding the growth of game farming. These include: security of tenure and residency rights, availability of water and grazing land, housing provision and access to grave sites and other sites of cultural significance.

Security of tenure and unemployment

As we saw in chapter two, many of the country's farm workers only have occupier status. Farm evictions are common and have increased in response to impending tenure and labour legislation (see chapter one and two). Game farming has added to this eviction trend. People have been evicted at the point of sale or after the reserve has been established. To those people still resident on game farms, concern is expressed about their continued residence on the land. Other people express concern over the reduction in permanent and casual employment since the arrival of game

farming. Given the high levels of retrenchment and attempted eviction, farm workers are justified in their fear that game farming will result in eviction and unemployment:

In June 2002, a local farmer sold his farm to a game farmer. He attempted to relocate the five families on the farm to Grahamstown. He approached the ward councillor and asked what the procedures for such relocation were. The councillor put him in contact with Makana Municipality's land, housing and infrastructure department. The council however has no procedure regarding the relocation of farm workers to the urban areas. It was later determined that transit campsites were available and could be purchased by the farmer. The councillor requested the farmer to indicate in writing, the size of each individual family, and what housing provision he proposed to make for the families. He also asked the land, housing and infrastructure people to draw up a list of housing requirements from their side. The matter would then be forwarded to the council for debate. The matter was again raised in the August ward meeting. The farmer had still not forwarded the demographic and other information. It subsequently came to light that the farmer had suggested that people take poles and zinc from the farm and establish themselves in town. The councillor rejected this proposal and suggested that the people remain where they were until suitable housing arrangements could be made. The committee then dictated a letter to the council suggesting the creation of a policy regarding the relocation of farm workers. A list of priorities was put forward. Where possible provision should be made for an onsite development (donating land at the point of sale); alternatively farm workers should look towards buying land through the grant system; and as a last resort farm workers should be settled in an urban area in housing of the same standard and financial value as the current government housing subsidy of R22800.

This situation is far from resolved. The situation with the workers may well cause delays in the transfer of the land. Tacit evictions, see chapter two, are fairly common. As a result people are understandably sceptical and often draw the conclusion that the farmers are involving themselves in the industry in whatever form, to evict their tenants. The fact that the people in question are still in their homes may only be a temporary reprieve. The sale will probably go ahead. The council has not as yet issued any resolution relating to the relocation of farm workers. The engineer's office is currently understaffed. Re-zoning for residential purposes, and the subdivision of farms, not to mention the widespread planning that goes into any development (housing and service provision, access points, sufficient arable and grazing land), particularly in a rural context, requires extensive input. The fact that these projects often include a wide ambit of stakeholders means that the council's mandate and responsibility is not always clearly defined. Despite all of these

considerations, as the game farming industry expands, the issue of relocating and re-settling farm workers will grow with it. The government's preference for on-site developments due in part to existing overcrowding in the urban areas means that small rural developments may well become the norm. This is rather alarming when one considers that local councils and NGOs are ill prepared for such an eventuality.

Availability of water and grazing land

Access to water and grazing land are a real concern for residents. Game farmers often impose cattle and grazing restrictions. They generally discourage the mixing of cattle and game. Cattle are as a result kept away from the game. Grazing areas are therefore significantly reduced. This has very real material consequences. Reduced grazing area means that the condition of the herd often deteriorates. And since cattle serve amongst other things, 'as investments to be sold in times of need' (Ainslie, 2001: 5) reduced grazing has significant economic consequences. But more importantly as Ferguson (1990) has suggested in his discussion of development in Lesotho, cattle have a deep and enduring value, which is beyond their mere commercial value. They are closely associated with manhood and the continued re-creation of a Xhosa umzi or homestead. Any changes to the status of cattle therefore have a range of economic and social consequences.

Housing provision

The restrictions associated with game farming, and the fear of eviction also generate concerns over housing provision. The recognition that life in close proximity to wild animals could be less than pleasant causes a great deal of apprehension about housing and residential status. Residents within established game farms frequently express concern as to where they will live and where their housing will come from. Older residents are generally resist urbanisation expressing concern over urban crime and overcrowding. Younger residents however usually express eagerness about urbanisation. They see town as a source of services, government housing and employment. Sadly, many have encountered the effects of urbanisation second hand; from friends who have tried and failed. These friends have found town life hard and opportunities even harder to come by.

Access to grave sites and other sites of cultural significance

Chapter three illustrated the attachment farm workers have to the landscape. This attachment comes from long periods of residency and an indigenous cosmology which considers land to be sacred (Morphy, 1995). The farm is not therefore merely a residential site for farm workers. It includes family graves and other sites of cultural significance. These areas include certain water pools and riparian zones which some Xhosa speakers consider sacred. Cognoscente must also be given to access to the game farming landscape for the collection of medicinal and ritual plants. Continued access to these sites is essential to cultural, emotional and spiritual well being.

Communicating with landowners, councillors and NGOs

This section details the interaction of farm workers with new game farming landowners, ward councillors, a system instituted after the 1999 election, and NGO representatives. The need for, and reliance on outside mediators is a key feature of these interactions. Mediation is synonymous with a recognition by farm workers of their own relative powerlessness in relation to landowners, and to a lesser degree councillors and NGO representatives. Reputation is also a crucial factor in determining interaction with outsiders. Mediators are often sought to forward the complaints of people given the fact that reputation prevents direct, public complain. This section demonstrates the continued dependency of farm workers, but also the means they employ to better their own situation.

Communication with landowners



Photograph 6: Tata Zweli at the locked gate to Glenville

In the past, communication with farmers has very much depended on the good will of the farmers. In the current era, union membership is virtually non-existent and communication between farmers and farm workers severely limited. Farm workers are generally told after the fact about land changing hands, or changes in their employment and living arrangements. As Uncle Zolani said of the situation at Glenville, "They said we have sold the farm, not we are selling the farm".

In the current era, as we have seen in chapter two, the introduction of ESTA was supposed to improve living conditions, through communication between the occupier, the owner and the government. But as we have seen it has often placed more strain on the relationship between occupier and owner, and significantly reduced direct communication. With reference to game farming, communication with new landowners is again dependent on the personalities involved, and the ability of the occupiers to realise their rights as afforded under ESTA. The information presented below is drawn from the residents of Glenville, Millsfontein and Fonteinberg, and details their interactions with external bodies.

Direct conversation between Jan and the residents was very limited. People often commented that they seen him pass on the road, or on the farm with hunters. He mentioned on a number of occasions that they should speak to him about any of their concerns or needs. If they had any requests however they always asked if I would phone him. He often asked after the residents, about instances of vandalism on the farm, cattle numbers and the expectations held by the community regarding game farming. The people generally preferred that I speak to him on their behalf. All age and gender groups concurred. Although young people tended to be more vocal about their dissatisfaction, they tended to defer to the older residents in suggesting that it would 'be better' if I spoke to Jan for them. Being a member of Jan's racial and 'cultural'¹ group they felt that I would have greater success at communicating their concerns to him. They felt that he would be more inclined to listen. For his part Jan found it easier to speak to me, and felt confident that I would convey his sentiments to the community and thereby reduce potential conflict and misunderstanding.

¹ Cultural group in the sense of being a white South African.

History also has a role to play in their reluctance to engage directly with Jan. Historically the people on these three farms did not interact very much with the farmers. This was also the case with the people in their immediate area. Dissatisfaction was rarely expressed. Acceptance of one's status, and coping with it through the alternative codes of family and reputation allowed people to develop a sense of autonomy. As suggested above, despite the demise of Apartheid, and the introduction of the councillor system in 1999, these codes of behaviour still persist. This does not mean of course that people do not complain about their situation and their relationship with their employer, but these complaints are aired in very particular spaces. In church they pray for security and improved lives. They find solace in their families.

Communicating with the councillor

He [the councillor] is supposed to be the person darting backwards and forwards making the necessary arrangements for us to stay here, but [we] have given him votes. He is not the person who is delivering the goods, someone else is delivering the goods for him, somebody who does not belong to the government just ordinary people are trying their best for us.

(Uncle Zolani)

Pumlani is a member of Ward III. He is the representative of the Hope Fountain area. He is supposed to forward the concerns of the people to the meeting. The meetings are conducted in English. He is the only person on the committee who does not speak English. Although the discussion is translated for him he rarely makes a contribution unless specifically asked. And when asked, these questions centred on progress and events at Masizame. Mr Musasa relies on him to canvas the residents of Hope Fountain. His reliance may not have been well placed. The other residents of Masizame and Hope Fountain in general are concerned that Pumlani does not report in sufficient detail the proceedings of the meetings. When asked in April 2002 to hand out questionnaires, he took them with a smile but did not hand many out. Given his own dissatisfaction with the progress on his own farm (see Molapisi 2002), which he attributes in part to Mr Musasa's lack of commitment, he tore up his own questionnaires saying that he did not need paperwork, but action. This is a sentiment shared by many. People frequently express their disillusionment with Mr Musasa's performance. Criticism centres on the fact that he has not been seen since he canvassed for votes. Many farm workers imply that he is too close to the farmers, and have hinted

that he might be taking bribes. In his defence, he has a very large ward and a demanding job in the Education Department. His loyalty is to the farm workers but he is understandably in a difficult position trying to serve both interest groups.

When people spoke to Mr Musasa however they gave no indication of their dissatisfaction. They did express their concerns over game farming (outlined above) in recognition of his position as councillor, but never indicated their dissatisfaction with his performance. Conversations about game farming and its effects were devoid of detail and generally superficial. People never openly expressed, nor hinted at their dissatisfaction with his performance. They preferred instead to give the impression, in accordance with concerns over reputation that they were satisfied with his conduct. They voiced their concerns over Mr Musasa to me confident that I would forward them to him without implicating them directly. They managed to have their say but not lose 'face' with both Mr Musasa and their co-residents. On one occasion when I visited Masizame, Pumlanzi complained bitterly about Mr Musasa. He said that he was not interested in the concerns of the people. He did not promote their interests in council or larger government circles. He had not been to visit them in a long while. At the ward meeting the following day we discussed the fact that Mr Musasa needed to make more of an effort to visit his constituents. When asked by one of the committee members for his opinion on the subject Pumlanzi said that he felt that everything was 'fine'. After the meeting I asked him why he had not discussed the concerns he had expressed the day before. He replied that it would not have been 'proper' to do so. Tata Andile later reconfirmed this sentiment when he stated in relation to a discussion about Mr Musasa, that although he was not delivering effectively, "a man would lose respect if he criticised another man openly." He continued by saying that people could be critiqued but it had to be done diplomatically, 'you must find some way of doing things subtly, maybe by involving a third person, then it will be alright'. Mediation was a mechanism whereby people could hold onto their reputation, by not being seen to be complaining directly.

Just as race played a factor in my interactions with Jan, it also played a role, in the minds of the occupiers, in my interactions with Mr Musasa. The legacy of a history of racial segregation does not just disappear with the emergence of democracy and majority rule. In the two years that I conducted research in the community people called me a range of things from Maam, to Madame, to Miss Kelly and finally Kelly. People, especially the older members of the community, still get up

to open the gate for farmers as they approach in their cars. In their presence, nearly everybody calls the farmers 'Baas'² or Mr. Mpho was frequently told that he was lucky to have a white friend. This would suggest that people still see white as having more 'cultural capital' than black.

Communicating with NGOs

How many times have those people been here? Bongani was scarce. Victor is even less visible. They do not know any of us. I asked Victor the other day if he was on our side. He said yes, that he was concerned with the people, but he seems to speak to Jan more than us. Nancy said that he pulled up at the gate to Millsfontein the other day in a white van. He asked if Harry asked where the people were. She told him we were at a meeting at the school. He drove on to the school, but we saw him go past towards Jan³. He came back a while later but went straight past back to Grahamstown. You have to wonder if he is really interested in helping people.

(Tata Andile)

NGOs and GROs (grassroots organisations) are supposed to act as a counterweight to state power-protecting human rights, opening up channels of communication and participation, providing training grounds for activists, and promoting pluralism (Edwards & Hulme, 1996: 2). In the case of NGO impact on rural poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe, Muir (1992:115-116) found that whilst NGOs tended to "over-stretch themselves and extend the services they provide at the cost of impairing their efficiency", they did provide the resources to meet gaps in the government's own programmes. Edwards & Hulme (1996: 5) maintain however that on the whole "there is increasing evidence that NGOs and GROs do not perform as effectively as had been assumed in terms of poverty outreach, cost-effectiveness, sustainability, popular participation, flexibility and innovation". In a discussion of NGO activity in East Africa, Gariyo (1996: 158-162) has identified a number of factors which discourage effective NGO participation in poverty alleviation. These include:

- High levels of foreign funding deprive NGOs of a strong base in their own societies and contribute towards their inability to plan for the long term
- The level of bureaucracy in NGOs, where salaries and operational expenses push administrative costs up, leaving less money for individual projects

² Boss

³ The lodge is situated after the school and Masizame at the intersection between the dirt and tar roads between Salem and Alexandria.

- Governments often see NGOs as an extension of state policy. This results in the co-option of politicians onto NGO boards and increased collaboration with the state to ensure survival.

The residents of Millsfontein, Fonteinberg and Glenville have experience with one local Grahamstown based NGO. It works exclusively in the Albany area. Its mandate is the protection of the human and residency rights of farm occupiers. It views itself as a mediatory body. It is also involved in a number of land restitution cases. Bongani was the employee the people dealt with between 1999 and 2001. Victor took his place as of January 2002. The involvement of the NGO stems from a labour dispute between Martin and one of his staff, Malusi. The NGO was approached in July 1999 in reference to the labour dispute. Martin alleges that Malusi stole some of his clothing from the line outside his house. Martin's departure to the Transkei in June 2001 seems to make a resolution next to impossible. It is at this point that Bongani was alerted to the situation on the farm. Ever since 1998 Martin had been encouraging people to leave the farm by telling them that he did not have enough money to continue farming. Wage payments from 1998 onwards had been erratic.

Bongani made a second visit to the farm and Malusi in February 2001. At this point it became clear that the occupiers were aware that the farm had been sold to game farmers. At this juncture, the NGO became involved in the proposed resettlement of the community in question.

Bongani ran the *Land and Housing Unit* of the NGO, before he left and was replaced by Victor in January 2002. Formed in 1994, the NGO operates in the Albany district. The focus area of the organisation is identified as the land rights of farm occupiers. The *Land and Housing Unit* monitors farm evictions and intervenes through mediating between farm workers and farm owners to prevent eviction and secure the tenure rights of both classes of occupiers.

An analysis of farm worker interaction with NGOs is very much an extension of their relationship with the councillor. An important point to stress in reference to both is the issue of commitment. Criticism is levelled at both for a lack of commitment to the community. Both roles are conceptualised as focussing on the interests of the community. NGO's face increasing criticism for

not serving the interests of poor communities, but being increasingly focused on securing overseas funding to ensure their survival (Edwards & Hulme, 1996). At the local level this is recognised through criticism as to the level of commitment, and comments over the proficiency to write reports without speaking to people. Councillors are often accused of not taking an interest in their constituents after they have been elected. People attempt to find mediators and brokers to deal with this perceived lack of commitment. They referred Victor to me or Zweli, indicating that we understood and knew what was 'in the minds of the people'. On the few occasions that he suggested he meet with the people and hold a workshop they informed him that Zweli and I would be there. Uncle Zolani often mentioned that given my commitment to the people, he could not meet with Victor without me being there. Although he did not want me to feel excluded, he also sought to remind Victor that his progress was being monitored. Zweli and I were a kind of quality control. Whilst the people might not complain to Victor about his poor performance, he knew that we would.

Discussion

The accounts of communication with landowners, local government and NGOs reveal a number of similar features. People are generally antagonistic towards all three. They resent landowners for not communicating openly with them about impending changes. They reject being told after the fact that something is happening. They feel that councillors are not serving their interests and are to be compromised because of their involvement with the farmers. They express their concerns to the councillor about game farming but not their dissatisfaction over his performance. For the NGO, the criticism is often worse. They are supposed to serve the interests of the people, but are not very prevalent in the area and do not demonstrate their commitment. In interacting with these three bodies people employ similar methods. Notions of reputation imply that complaint should be limited and that conflict with individuals should be dealt with privately if possible, but generally through an outside third party. The outside party should be known to the people, committed to their well being and able to introduce a moral component into their interactions with designated outsiders. This will allow people to get more out of the relationship.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that farm workers are generally dissatisfied with the onset of game farming. Their concerns centre on grazing, housing, eviction, and access to sites of cultural significance. They are negative towards an industry which they see as taking away their jobs, their security, and threatening their way of life. Many would like to see it regulated to protect jobs and prevent eviction. The chapter demonstrates that a lot of the negativity expressed by farm workers is because of a lack of communication between previous owners, new owners and themselves. People become hostile when changes in land use are not explained. The land changes and develops around them as if they were not there. This creates understandable hostility and anxiety over their residential status.

And whilst people are indeed victims of history, they have also evolved certain mechanisms to cope with their situation. Historically they have dealt with their powerlessness by stressing the importance of the family and the community, and obtaining dignity through quiet acceptance of their disempowered position. People resisted by working slowly, since the odds were firmly weighted against direct forms of insurrection. Often doing nothing and allowing time to pass is a greater weapon than violence. People asked for God's help in Church. But ultimately they responded to their situation by developing codes of behaviour which located strength and pride in an ability to accept hardship quietly. In the context of game farming, the persistence of these ideas coupled with the history of relative subservience has meant that people are reluctant to engage directly with landowners, government and NGO officials. With landowners they have chosen to bring in outside assistance to minimise conflict and effect change. They are highly critical of 'their representatives' in government and NGOs, but reputation demands that they cannot speak about this openly to these individuals. Instead they employ others to do this for them. People outside of the community who are familiar with the members are committed on another level. They are not elected officials or employed NGO representatives. They, or in this case Zweli and I, are not caught up in bureaucratic structures, or the language of 'sustainability', 'time frames', 'accountability' and 'transparency'. Instead we are committed simply because we are. We are not constrained in the same way that officials are, and unlike the farm workers we are not bound to the same degree by ideas about reputation. Although having to be diplomatic at times, and veil our criticism to achieve

action, we are in a position to forward the concerns of others, when those others feel they cannot do so directly themselves.

5

Addressing the Situation I: Two Income Generating Schemes

"Life on the farm is never easy. The people here are hungry. The work does not come regularly. We rely on the pension so much. Many get grants for their children, but some do not have the ID books they need. We do many things to make money, but it is hardly ever enough. By the middle of the month, the mealie meal and rice is finished"

(Mary- resident of Fonteinberg)

It has already been established that the living conditions of farm workers in the Eastern Cape have not changed very much since the 1970's. People live a circumscribed existence between farm and town. They remain impoverished with little if any room for social advancement. Yet they remain suspicious of change. In chapter four, I explained the reaction of farm workers to game farming. These reactions were mostly negative due to the perceived threat of eviction and the reduction of available agricultural employment¹. Against this background I now chart the progress of two innovative income generating strategies adopted by the residents of Buffalo Lodge, together with certain members of the Masizame Communal Property Association: bee keeping and beadwork.

Bee keeping, undertaken by male residents, and beadwork by female residents adds to an existing pattern of income diversification, synonymous with rural dwellers throughout Africa (Ellis, 2000: Chapter 3). Both of these activities were instigated by outside parties in recognition of the poverty of the community, the tourism opportunity provided by the game lodge², and the need to marry land reform with livelihood generation (Cross, 1996).

The residents view both initiatives as a supplement to other more 'real' forms of income. By real I mean habitual, familiar, time honoured practices such as firewood selling, beer brewing,

¹ It is important to note that a significant number of farm workers are not in permanent employment. Seasonal and casual work is currently the dominant form of formal employment in the farming areas surrounding Grahamstown.

² Beadwork is directly related to tourism. Bee keeping is at this point a development project – outside of tourism - designed to generate income for male residents. There is however talk of selling honey to the game lodges in the future. Presently, the project is pitched at the supply level. Farm workers produce honey and other associated product for a Grahamstown based business.

carpentry and casual agricultural work. Beadwork and bee keeping are however not new to farm workers. All the residents wear beads for ceremonial and decorative purposes. Many of the women learnt the skill at school and at home from their mothers. As for bee keeping, people collect wild honey, domesticate hives and brew mead. The innovative nature of these two projects, and their point of departure from more traditional forms of income generation, is the commercial nature of the strategies.

Background to the projects

Conceptually speaking, these projects fall under the banner of *people-centred-development*. This form of development stresses the participation of the majority of the population, most especially previously excluded individuals like women, the youth and the illiterate (Roodt, 1996: 317). This kind of participation is defined as "achieving power in terms of access to, and control of, resources necessary to protect livelihood" (*Ibid*: 318). Both projects are designed to procure a livelihood for the participants. They are premised on the participation of beneficiaries to the extent that they might eventually run the initiatives themselves, with only limited outside support. Beadwork is a tourism related project. Bee keeping, as already stated, is a different kind of development project: an empowerment initiative designed to create rural bee keepers who sell their products to the parent company.

Beadwork

Despite its high level of success, the craft industry has largely been ignored in debates and discussions on tourism and local black populations³. Black entrepreneurs and communities have however to date recorded more success in the art and craft segment of cultural tourism than any other. Crafts have a high appeal to tourists as take home gifts. The export and local potential of arts and crafts is recognised by government, and increasingly promoted by hoteliers and other tourism operators. Local crafters have recently received an injection of outside interest and creativity. These partnerships between white and black entrepreneurs have included Ndebele women decorating BMWs and the incorporation of beadwork into high fashion garments. A number of long-term projects have also recorded significant success. *Talking Beads*, for example, is a network of rural-based beaders run as a business by Nkandav van Wyk Smith. The first half of 1999 saw a turn over in excess of R600 000 (Palmer and

³ Ashley and Roe's (2002) discussion of how tourism can be used to uplift poor communities does not include arts and crafts.

Viljoen, 2002: 237). A large number of arts and crafts stores and markets exist in the Eastern Cape. Quoting Mafisa, Palmer and Viljoen (2002: 239) report a lack of training, marketing and institutional support, and internal and inter-group conflict and competition. These problems threaten to jeopardise the success of the industry as a whole.

Bee keeping and honey

Traditionally, honey forms part of the diet of all of South Africa's indigenous populations. San men and women gathered wild honey rating it as one of the sweetest components of their diet (Lee, 1979: 168). The Bantu speakers domesticated bees, bringing hives near their homesteads. The Xhosa consider bees to be messengers of the ancestors. They are classified into the category of sacred forest animals (Hirst, 1990: 187). Honey has also been used to brew mead. In South Africa, *iqhilika*⁴ dates back to the San. Beer brewing has however received significantly more attention given that it has both ritual and social uses and ramifications (Hunter, 1979:253-256 and 356-377; Lee, 1979: 418 and McAllister, 1986). Amongst the Xhosa, both men and women brew *iqhilika*, although it is generally men who domesticate and keep beehives. In Grahamstown, a number of street traders and hawkers sell *iqhilika*. On the farms, *iqhilika* is brewed for both personal, recreational and re-sale use. The yeast is gathered in the wild and occasionally domesticated. A project centred on farm workers keeping bees and harvesting honey for commercial purposes arguably has the potential for success given the long history of bee keeping. Theft of hives and the brewing of *iqhilika* before the honey is sold may however prove to be problematic.

The projects

Beadwork

In partnership with a few women from the neighbouring Masizame Communal Property Association, the women of Buffalo Lodge are attempting to sell beadwork. The initiative began in September 2002. The annual Anthropology Southern Africa (ASA) conference was held at Rhodes University from the 9th to the 11th of September. I suggested to the women that they produce material for the conference. This was a pilot project. The ultimate intention is to

⁴ The Xhosa word for honey mead or wine

expand the market to include local game farms and existing tourism retail outfits. The women from Masizame have already been introduced to commercial beading:

In February 2002 the Department of Education held a beading workshop with the women of Masizame. Women from Masizame were given small bags of beads and other materials used for beadwork. There were however no initiatives to market the finished products. The local school principle later promised to market their jewellery in Grahamstown. In June 2002 she took beadwork to the Grahamstown National Arts Festival. According to those members of the community involved in this project, the principal promised to liaise with the 'Masithebe Beadwork and Craft Project' during the festival. Since then, the women from Masizame have not heard anything from the principal. They have not received their beadwork back, nor have they received any money (Molapisi, 2002: 49-50).

The female residents of Buffalo Lodge have not received such inputs, though they still produce beadwork. Necklaces, bracelets, badges and the like accompany the clothing worn for traditional feasts. Teenagers often wear beadwork for daily adornment purposes. The emphasis however is on ritual events: people draw a clear distinction between traditional (or 'Xhosa' as it is locally termed), and modern beadwork. Interestingly, although made by Xhosa women, modern beadwork, which is essentially traditional designs in bright non-traditional colours⁵, is considered non-Xhosa. Xhosa appears to be understood as traditional, and the antithesis of modern, or western. This is consistent with my characterisation of the communities in question as conservative.

A local Grahamstown businessman supports the women in their efforts. He bought a few of the necklaces at the September conference and supported my fundraising effort. He was impressed by the quality and originality of the designs, and feels that if marketed aggressively the beadwork should sell well. He provides the women with capital, currently administered by me, and plans to market their jewellery in the near future. He has at present only invested capital. He will shortly register the women as a Section 21 company, draw up a business plan

⁵ The beads used in Africa are glass or plastic, made mostly in Venice, Italy and Gablonz in Czechoslovakia (Carey, 1986). Among the Xhosa speaking peoples of the Eastern Cape, artistic expression centred on personal appearance. There is no evidence of elaborate wood or stone carving. Before the twentieth century architecture did not lend itself to elaborate decoration. In the 16th and 17th century Portuguese writers spoke of the use of red beads in body adornment. The beads were identified as imported from India by the Portuguese into Delagoa Bay, but could have been sourced much earlier from Arab trade at Soffala. The preference for red beads may have been linked to the use of red ochre for bodily adornment. In the 18th century white beads, symbolising liminality and purity (Elliott, 1970; Hunter, 1979 & Hammond-Tooke & Nettleton, 1989) replaced red. These were associated with diviners and spiritual healers, as white is synonymous with the ancestors. The arrival of European colonisers in the 18th century increased the availability of hither-to scarce beads and saw the incorporation of more colours.

and work out a financial agreement. This agreement will detail the percentage of each sale that will go back into the project and the amount of money the individual designers will earn per consignment.

Bee keeping

Makana Meadery is a Grahamstown based company which produces *iqhilika* or traditional honey mead for both the local and export market. The company is a partnership between a white Rhodes University Micro-biology graduate and two of his black friends from Grahamstown East. The company builds on the traditional product through a process of filtration, which ensures a significantly longer shelf life and higher alcohol content. The company is still very much in the planning stage. The liquor license has yet to be finalised, and the factory and laboratory are in various stages of completion.

The company has recently instituted a 'community bee keeping project'. They plan to establish 900 rural beekeepers as part of an empowerment initiative. They already have links with the Peddie Women's League. The company was looking for a locally based community. They already keep bees on a number of farms in ward III. In early 2002 I suggested they approach the people at Buffalo Lodge and Masizame. The people produce honey, *imoela* (the yeast), pollen, wax and a variety of other related products for sale to the company. Makana Meadery is in need of honey for the production of the mead. They have agreed to purchase the honey and yeast at market prices. They will provide the transport to collect and bring the products to their factory. To date they have supplied boxes and limited training in the more commercial aspects of bee keeping. They have also suggested that the community try and sell their honey to Buffalo Lodge. The fact that the meadery can guarantee that they will purchase the products will go a long way towards ensuring the project's success. People will have the security of a secure, established market.

Considerations when involving farm workers in income generating schemes

Involving farm workers in any new income generating scheme has a number of built in obstacles. These include the need on the part of beneficiaries to assess the risk and the potential benefits, and an acute dependency on outsiders.

Calculating risk and accessing benefit

As mentioned above, the people living at Millsfontein, Glenville, Fonteinberg and the Masizame Communal Property Association are presently engaged in multiple income generating strategies due to a lack of sufficient cash income. And although welcoming new schemes, suggesting that they 'help a little bit', people are reluctant to believe in anything new because the benefits are not immediately visible. Once direct benefits can be seen however, willingness to participate is generated. In discussing the determinants of livelihood diversification, Ellis (2002: 75-6) maintains that risk constitutes a voluntary motive for diverse income generating strategies. A discussion of risk implies choice; the choice to engage in a particular strategy or not, depending on one's perception of the risk involved. People therefore weigh the known against the unknown when deciding whether to involve themselves in any activity.

The following account suggests that people understandably seek assurances, and calculate risk before engaging in an income generating activity.

Makana Meadery had just received a business related award and had made two appearances on local television: one on the evening news in connection with their award, and another on SABC 1's *Morning Alive* in connection with their company as a whole. I arrived at Glenville a few days later for a social visit. Uncle Zolani had a number of friends and clients in his home. As we sat around talking he mentioned that he had seen the news reports about Makana Meadery on the television. In discussing these news items he said, "I saw the bee people on TV last night (he runs his TV off a car battery). I now know that this project is real."

The fact that the company had appeared on television meant that it was 'real'. More 'real', incidentally than it had been when the owners had visited the farm, or the people had visited the factory. The risk of involvement had diminished due to the sudden 'believability' of the project. An appearance on television communicated longevity and importance. Believability and limited risk are therefore essential if farm workers are to take interest in, and support schemes.

Dependency on outsiders

High expectations, slow returns and an acute dependence on outside expertise (Ashley and Roe, 2002) are some of the many difficulties identified in the involvement of rural people in development related projects. In the case of bee keeping, I often found that people knew what to do but insisted on asking the head of the meadery before they would go ahead and implement their strategy:

Having driven out to Masizame to fetch Mpho, who had been staying with Pumalani for the weekend, Pumalani invited me into his house and started to talk about his bees. He explained that he was having difficulty closing the hive he had been given by the meadery. When closed, the wooden lid left a significant gap between it and the body of the hive. He was concerned that he would not be able to use the hive and asked me to contact the meadery for him. Upon enquiries, the head of the meadery suggested that Pumalani close the gap with clay. When I spoke to Pumalani about this he told me he knew about that strategy and used to do it with his own boxes.

His reluctance to implement his own strategy without the approval of the meadery is illustrative of two things. In the first instance it reflects a perceived dependency on outsiders, despite his prior knowledge about how to repair the hive. Secondly, this deference to the manager, who was in this case white, signifies key features of the earlier discussion of farm worker interactions with farmers. Farm workers were subservient to the white farmers who provided for their well being. In this instance, the fact that the meadery manager is white (his black partners are not given the same consideration by the beneficiaries) means that the paternalism and subservience which informed dealings with white farmers are transposed onto this situation, however dissimilar it might be. A lack of initiative and the resulting dependence on outsiders will have a number of ramifications in the area of project sustainability and growth.

Challenges and 'growing pains'

A number of challenges have presented themselves in the short time that the people have been involved in these projects. Major challenges have centred on the commercialisation of existing traditional skills, slow progress, transport and accessing markets, inter-community conflict and the over reliance on outside assistance.

Commercialisation of existing skills

Both bee keeping and beadwork are traditional skills still practiced by contemporary Xhosa people. Bee keeping and *iqhilika* date back to the San. Whether the Xhosa acquired either or both of these skills through contact is unclear. We have however established that both activities have become a tradition amongst black people in the Eastern Cape.

Developing a commercial orientation towards these products has been a little difficult at times. In terms of beadwork, if pieces are to sell they need to be correctly counted and well finished. The women however placed more emphasis on the design and the colour, than the quality of the finished product. Financial constraint was also a mitigating factor. If people ran out of beads, they finished pieces with similar colours. If this was not possible they altered the existing pattern. What resulted was often a non-symmetrical piece. Another area of concern was the colour employed. Initially people stuck very much to blue, green and white. These incidentally are traditional colours. This was overcome by reminding the women that the people who would eventually buy the jewellery were not necessarily Xhosa. The incorporation of different media: wood, porcupine quills, plastic were also a little difficult. Although it was determined that these media were appealing to tourists, the women were very reluctant suggesting that beadwork was about beads. The older women were on the whole more skilled. They were willing to teach the younger women. The younger were also more inclined towards brighter, non-traditional colours.

With bee keeping there were not as many obstacles. Difficulties came in seeing honey as a commercial product, and not using it to brew *iqhilika* for home use. None of the beekeepers have sold any honey to date. Once they have sufficient honey to sell to Makana Meadery, financial returns will no doubt help in establishing a commercial ethos in reference to honey. This was certainly true in the case of the yeast. People harvested it from the wild in large amounts. Initially people were reluctant to adhere to requests to grow it at home stating that it was available in the wild. Once the money was forthcoming however, people began to grow it at home. Financial income generated more support for the project and therefore a willingness to accept direction. Also however, people realised that they could indeed make money from the resource and were therefore more interested in ensuring that it remained around. The fact that it does not require much watering or care beyond keeping the goats and chickens away also helped.

Slow progress

People generally expected immediate returns. Generating faith in the various projects was difficult given the fact that returns would be slow. In the case of honey, the company is still establishing itself. And although they have appointed someone to run the empowerment initiative his time is divided between establishing the factory and running the empowerment initiative. The meadery has only provided the community with ten hives. The chief reason was to gauge skill and commitment levels, and to ascertain if the initiative will meet with success. Progress is understandably slow, and everybody wants his own box.

The willingness to participate was more apparent in certain individuals than in others. There are a number of reasons for this, the biggest being the fear that the returns will not be significant, that the project will not come to fruition and that effort will be expended on a futile venture. The perceived hardships are articulated by one of the participants:

This is a good idea, and we would like for it to work as we are all in need of money here. But not everybody will believe. There are many hardships. Where can we sell the beads? The town is far from here. And the beads, they are expensive. So many people need money; the pensions are not enough to sustain a family. Will people be able to reserve some money to buy more beads for next time? I don't know; things are hard here.

As Ashley and Roe (2002) have suggested, a commonly encountered difficulty is not raising expectation but simultaneously sustaining interest. Locating markets is a slow process; formulating a business plan and generating stock are time consuming. The women have only had two exhibitions to date. Negotiations are currently underway to stock the jewellery at a number of retail outlets in Grahamstown, and a local game reserve. Jan has agreed to stock the jewellery at Buffalo Lodge.

Transport and accessing markets

This was not as much of a problem in the case of bee keeping given the fact that the meadery has committed itself to buying the product back. In the case of the beadwork however, accessing markets is potentially more difficult. The women are totally dependent on their investor and other outside help. Distance from retail outlets in Grahamstown and Alexandria

mean that buying raw materials is difficult. Accessing markets is even more difficult given a lack of English and available transport. This results in an overt dependence on outside assistance for raw materials and product marketing.

Internal conflict

For the men conflict has not been a significant problem. The ten boxes have been shared equally between Masizame and the people at Buffalo Lodge, and given to the people within those two communities who attended the initial training programme. Although there are constantly requests for more boxes, and that everyone would like a box of their own, the fact that collecting and growing the yeast will generate money now as opposed to honey, which will only come much later once the hives are established, has prevented conflict. The imminent possibility of expansion has also helped to foster a climate of co-operation between participants. The older, more skilled men have taken to training some of the younger men. Skills transference and the likelihood of expansion, together with a secure market have fostered a climate of co-operation.

In terms of beadwork sales, not all the women are as successful as others. At the moment the pieces are sold and the profits given to the designer. Once things become more formalised, the investor has proposed that the women work together to produce a consignment and share the benefits between themselves equally. Currently the women put back into the project at their own discretion. Later, when things are more formalised, a set amount will be introduced to ensure a steady supply of capital. Whilst this will ensure that everybody benefits, special attention must be given to the amount of work put in by each woman, as theoretically this would have to be equal. The fact that some women have recorded more success than others has aroused jealousy and resentment:

Nancy was achieved substantial success with her beadwork. She has sold work at both of the exhibitions mentioned above. A number of local farm workers have asked her to make beads for them. This has caused a number of problems for her. She maintains that she is simply trying to improve things for her two children. Sally has not had as much success at selling beadwork as Nancy. She has started talking about Nancy to the other women suggesting that she thinks a great deal of herself, and that she sees herself as better than the other women. Nancy's child came home from school one day in tears, and asked her mother if she had AIDS. Apparently Sally's grandchild had cornered Nancy's daughter in the playground and said that because she was so thin, her mother had AIDS. The girl had apparently

overheard Sally talking to her mother. The stigma associated with having AIDS, and the rejection that many sufferers experience has turned AIDS into tool to belittle and insult others. Nancy is justifiably upset and battles to understand why people would resent her trying to make a living for herself and her children.

This account is synonymous with what Foster (1965) has termed the 'limited good'. Peasants he maintains constitute themselves within a universe where material and non-material resources are finite. When someone succeeds it is at the expense of other members of the community. The source of Sally's resentment is located in Nancy's success and the unconscious perception that this success possesses a threat to her own success.

Money has also proved to be a problem. The men have not as yet sold any honey. They have however harvested yeast and sold it on. The meadery paid them an above average price, and people were generally happy. The women however, who have received more direct financial benefit, have experienced a number of problems:

Nancy and Pumlan's wife travelled to Grahamstown to sell the beadwork at the conference in September. Each piece was given a selling price. If sold, the money was kept aside for the lady responsible. Towards the end of the conference I divided the money up into brown pay packets and asked Nancy and Pumlan's wife to distribute them. When I arrived the following week for a meeting about the beadwork, Nancy was very upset. She had delivered one of the envelopes only to find that Mary was not at home. She told those in the house how much money she had for Mary, and requested that she pick it up from her house as soon as was convenient. Mary arrived the next day and took her money. She counted it and began to shout at Nancy saying that this was not the original amount quoted, and that Nancy must have taken some of it. Nancy, innocent of the charges, was devastated and asked Mary to leave. Nancy immediately approached Uncle Zolani and asked for his advice. He went directly to Mary and asked her to explain herself. She did, saying that the people in the house had given her the wrong figure, and that she was sorry. At the next meeting about beadwork, where a number of men including Uncle Zolani were present, and Mary was conspicuously absent, Nancy publicly aired her concerns.

This conflict suggests poverty on the one hand, but also the manipulation of the existing cultural code to restore order. Money is often a source of conflict, more so in cases of dire poverty. Suggestions of foul play by Mary are motivated by economic need. Nancy's actions reflect the use of existing gender roles and other norms of behaviour to re-affirm her position and end the hostility. Nancy is unmarried. She has no father or brothers at home. To rid herself of blame and also to bring Mary back in line she employed the help of an outside, senior male. She is relying on the patriarchal nature of her society, as well as the tendency in small

face-to-face communities (Brandes, 1975) towards controlling the behaviour of others through the existence of a common moral code. The conflict was settled and order and mutual co-operation restored.

Discussion and conclusion

Given the pre-existence of income diversification amongst farm workers, and the recognition that land reform needs to be combined with livelihood generation, this chapter examined two schemes designed to produce livelihoods for farm workers. Both bee keeping and beadwork rely on skills already possessed by the intended beneficiaries. Despite this, and the relative recent date of project implementation, a number of problems have been encountered, to a greater or lesser degree in both projects. The most pressing problems have been internal community conflicts premised on jealousy over another's success and financial matters, and persistent subservience and deference in relation to white people.

The role of, and the need to understand cultural practices cannot be ignored when dealing with any new innovation (Bailey, 1973: 11). As we saw in relation to direct interactions with meadery management or fellow community members, the continued existence of certain cultural codes and modes of interaction can help and / or hinder development. The continued subservience in relation to white people, or in this case managers, could prove detrimental in terms of progress. In other instances, as we saw with Nancy and Mary, culture may in fact limit conflict and promote mutual co-operation. The hard part will be in trying to achieve a balance between the two.

Addressing the Situation II: The Resettlement Project

"I am old and I am finished now. I am sad because I can not live here anymore but happy that I can make a new start and live a better life than I live now in a new place"

(Ted, farm worker)

"It is not a nice life here; there are no good houses and no toilets. Water is scarce. Now that I know I have land of my own I feel free. When I think of what I will do with my own land I will plant vegetables as sometimes we do not have the money to go to the shop"

(Nancy, farm worker)

"I can't wait to be on that other farm. The reserve here is closing in it is not so safe. The houses are damaged with the rain, perhaps in the new place the government houses will be better"

(Sally, farm worker)

"Me, I will not go because we are being forced. The farmer cannot decide for us. In this government of ours, in this new South Africa we will not be forced to go anywhere"

(Samuel, farm worker)

This chapter examines in detail the plan to relocate the residents of Glenville, Millsfontein and Fonteinberg from their present locations on the three farms to another area of the game farm. It is an account of the bureaucratic process undergone, and the expectations of the participants involved in the proposed relocation. De Wet (2001: 333-4) makes the insightful point that resettlement in South Africa has only been talked about within the context of Apartheid. Information on post-Apartheid resettlement is limited for two main reasons: the limited number of documented cases, and the lack of sufficient time in which to monitor the psychological, social and economic adjustments or maladjustments of targeted communities. Given these two constraints, and the fact

that the residents of these farms have yet to be moved, the information presented below is more an account of the *expectations of resettlement*, than an act of resettlement.

The discussion is divided into three main sections. The first major section is a review of the motivations of all the parties involved. The bureaucratic aspects of the land tenure reform process are also outlined. This includes an identification of the various role players, and an explanation of the process which must be undergone to secure approval for tenure related projects. The second section looks in more detail at the development of the project and the reactions of the beneficiaries to the proposal. The residents of the three farms are divided over the proposed move. This division is directly related to certain economic conditions and the prior existence of a land claim within the immediate vicinity. The division has caused a great deal of conflict between co-residents. Although those in favour of the project have made a concerted effort to come together as a community given the fact that they will shortly have to live in close proximity to one another, conflict and jealousies still persist. Those opposed to the move have begun to gossip about those individuals who are willing to move, due in part to their increasing uncertainty as to the wisdom of their choice. The third and final section outlines the vested interests of the individuals and organisations involved in the resettlement process. This section culminates in an account of the 'stakeholder meeting' which took place at Buffalo Lodge on 16 October 2002. The build up to the meeting, and the events that transpired shortly thereafter were particularly illustrative of the fact that NGO and government officials are trapped in a cycle of development rhetoric which may in fact be to the detriment of the beneficiaries. The 'all or nothing' attitude adopted by many officials; a lack of clarity as to which department should do what; the constant calls for a consultant to discover the role of local and provincial government in the 'project'; the need to make things 'sustainable', and discover not "what the people want," but "what they are entitled to", is alarmingly reminiscent of the disastrous social engineering that marked so much of the last century in South Africa.

Eviction from game farms

Evictions related to the onset of game farming are quite common. An extract from the local Grahamstown newspaper, the *Grocott's Mail*, dated 19 June 2002, suggests that farm evictions are continuing (see box 6). Farm residents are usually considered superfluous to the commercial

operation. Their labour is not needed, and their continued residence on the reserve is seen as a threat to security, including their own. The continued existence of people and their domesticated livestock on the reserve is potentially dangerous to them if predators or other dangerous animals, like buffalo, are introduced. Beyond these concerns, many landowners simply do not want extra people on their land. They do not enjoy the responsibility of having additional occupiers. They are not prepared for any complications which may arise because of this: stock theft, poaching and vandalism (see chapter three for an empirical account of such occurrences). Eviction is therefore something which has occurred both before a transfer of ownership, and once the new owners are established.

Box 6: Eviction from game farms

EVICTIIONS FROM FARMS

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) is concerned with reports of farm evictions in South Africa, including Albany District. Allegations of farmers who advise their workers to relocate to urban areas because farms are to change ownership continue to reach the offices of the PAC. Reasons given by farmers are that farms are to become game farms and that the new owner/s want workers to leave before they take over. Farmers would then show their willingness to help the poor workers by buying them building materials and offer[ing] transport. Workers, their families, etc. would be rallied to urban areas of the Albany district at night. Those workers who are reluctant to the illegal removal, albeit politely communicated would be harassed (sic). It's no wonder that squatter camps are mushrooming in almost all our urban areas, particularly within the district of Albany. Local authorities are hard-pressed to provide amenities and basic services.

The PAC cannot help feeling that these evictions, whether legal or politely effected, cause great suffering for the African worker. It can also be added that they are an embarrassment to the government. Farm workers have sought-after skills of producing food and that of delivering it to the nation in the wake of the fast diminishing numbers of white commercial farmers. We also believe that not every inch of our land must be turned into game farms. Hunger and poverty cannot be fought successfully without extensive farming in food production over and above tourist oriented game farming.

Nombewu, M.G.K

The residents of Buffalo Lodge were understandably concerned about their own residential status, and the possible threat of eviction when Jan and his partners bought the farms. On the 3rd of July 2001, together with Uncle Zolani, Zweli and I went to the Legal Resource Centre in Grahamstown to seek advice in this regard. Zweli and I had met with a representative from the Centre shortly before to enquire as to the legal rights of the families resident on the three farms. He had informed us about the existence of ESTA and the continued eviction of farm workers in the area. He suggested we set up a meeting and bring representatives from the farms to discuss their situation.

The outcome of this meeting was the forwarding of letters to Jan regarding ESTA¹ and to Patrick regarding his treatment of the residents of his farm (see pages 90 - 92) for a discussion of his attempts at tacit eviction).

The decision to donate land to the people was in part prompted by the fact that the residents had sought legal advice. Jan mentioned at a meeting on the 12th of July between himself, William, the residents and Bongani of the NGO, that he wanted to discuss things with the people directly, and that there was no need for lawyers. Since a dialogue was opened between themselves and the landowner, the residents had successfully managed to manoeuvre themselves into a better position.

The proposal

Buffalo Lodge has proposed donating the 20 hectares of the farm Nollspoort that it owns to the residents of Millsfontein, Fonteinberg and Glenville. Nollspoort is in the Hope Fountain area. It borders the Masizame Communal Property Association, and is just over a kilometre on the dirt road from the entrance to Glenville in the direction of Alexandria (see map 1 on page xvi). The reasons for the donation are numerous. Initially, the Lodge wanted the households at Millsfontein to stay in their present location. This was primarily because of the fact that the residents were already grouped together in a pre-existing demarcated area (see figure three on page 70). The Lodge proposed the payment of settlement offers to the residents of Fonteinberg for them to relocate off the farm². Janice's request that the residents of Glenville be permitted to remain where they are was accepted. In July 2001 however, at the meeting mentioned above, the residents of the three farms indicated that they did not want to leave the farms, but rather stay together. The resolution reached was to investigate the establishment of an on-site settlement for the residents. The site at Nollspoort was chosen because it borders the Masizame Communal Property Association, because it is the pension point for the majority of the community, because it is on the access road, whereas their present locations are not, and so provides more convenient access to the mobile clinic and lifts to and from Grahamstown and Alexandria. It is very close to their current

¹ See appendix section for a copy of this letter.

² There have been instances where farm residents have taken settlement offers from landowners. Those who were willing have pooled the payouts to buy land elsewhere. Others have taken their money and settled in urban areas.

location and so will not disrupt existing networks and relationships. It brings the children closer to their school. From the Lodge's point of view, it is significantly removed from the remainder of the reserve to allow for the unfettered movement of the game.

The people of Masizame are encouraging the resettlement due in part to their desire to run goats on the land. They are suggesting that the resettled people graze their cattle at Masizame, and allow them to run goats on the grazing at Nollspoort in return. This idea has not been received particularly well given the problems currently encountered by the people of Masizame, and the long history of rivalry that exists between the two groups of people. This has led to open criticism from the residents of Glenville in particular regarding the deep divisions within Masizame and their lack of agricultural success (see Molapisi, 2002). Of the 17 families currently resident on Glenville, Fonteinberg and Millsfontein, only 10 have indicated their intention to resettle on the donated area. The other 7 families maintain that they will either stay where they are or join kin in the urban areas. The various reasons for accepting or declining the offer of land are detailed below.

Jan's American partners were perplexed by the proposal. They frequently remarked that buying land in America was a lot less painful. Less painful in terms of the fact that when purchased in America, land is vacant, and does not come with residents. On the whole though I found them to be pragmatic and business minded. They frequently suggested that 'taking care' of the inhabitants was the best way to ensure that their fences remained in tact and current snaring and poaching levels were reduced. William frequently spoke about his view of how the relationship between him, or the lodge, and the occupiers could be. This relationship included employment opportunities once the lodge became more established and sharing the hunting spoils with the community. This is arguably a little romantic given the current impoverishment of the people in relation to the relative wealth of the game farm (chapter three indicated the economic status of the lodge residents). They did however see the donation of land as a good way out of an otherwise bad situation. Jan mentioned on many occasions his intention to get the 'game farm running properly by the 2003 hunting season'. By this he meant that the occupiers and their cattle would be relocated, their houses demolished, the old farm rubble cleared away and the lease on grazing land that Patrick

rents out terminated³. The lodge wants to create a picture of the reserve as uninhabited and unspoilt bushveld. The majority of the residents do not enjoy their current living conditions and the restrictions imposed by game farming and are eager to relocate. As stated above, for Jan and his partners this is the best way out of a 'bad situation'. When they bought the land they inherited a group of occupiers. To satisfy the occupiers, and create their image of the game reserve, the donation of land is the best solution. Unfortunately for them, they were the only parties to the proposal with a timetable!

Getting official approval for the project

The government is in favour of small enclaves of rural settlement as opposed to continued urbanisation. ESTA and the LRAD programme were designed to provide for residential security, land acquisition and to increase agricultural output. In the context of farm workers, the government favours what it calls on-site developments. These refer to the provision of tenure security to farm occupiers through the allocation of land on their existing farm. Off-site developments can be movement to agri-villages⁴ or the pooling together of settlement offers or grants (LRAD) to purchase land.

There are a number of prerequisites before government will endorse any project involving the resettlement of farm workers. Tenure security is the first priority. Section 4 of ESTA grants the Minister permission to release Settlement Land Acquisition Grants to secure tenure. These grants can be held in conjunction with other additional grants: either LRAD grants released by the DLA or

³ Patrick has sold the farm but negotiated a usufruct for himself and his family. The transfer of the land from Patrick to Buffalo Lodge has taken a long time to go through. In the interim Patrick rented out grazing land.

⁴ An agri-village is envisaged as a rural township where dislocated farm residents can reside. The main idea being that concentrated settlements are easier to service. There is a plan to establish an agri-village in Sevenfountains. The land will be purchased and owned by the government. There is a list of well over 90 beneficiaries who wish to settle in the village. The council's engineer's office has opened a folder on the subject but nothing has happened to date. There is no water on the property. Drilling has proved unsuccessful in the past. The councillor maintains that the government is well aware of this fact and that the project will go ahead despite these serious reservations. The expectant beneficiaries are understandably growing impatient. The agri-village was often on the ward committee meeting agenda. I remember at one particular meeting, one of the councillor's colleagues saying that the beneficiaries must be aware that the IDP programme is a five-year programme. They must be patient she said. As for water, it will come. The government may implement an emergency, temporary measure and tanker it out to the village. Although a few agri-villages have been established on wine farms in the Western Cape, there is nothing to the best of my knowledge in the Eastern Cape. Local farmers are concerned that bad planning and poor implementation will lead to large scale dissatisfaction. If not accompanied with a livelihood component the fear is that the village will be a source of criminal activity.

local housing grants from the ministry of housing. Having realised that one grant was not enough to purchase land and develop housing and other related infrastructure, the government now allows beneficiaries to hold more than one concurrently. To qualify for these grants, a number of conditions need to be met. These are summarised in table 9.

Table 9: Conditions for gaining government grants

GRANT	STIPULATIONS
Settlement Land Acquisition Grant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The development should be cost effective ▪ The development should meet the interests of the occupier and the owner ▪ Where occupiers prefer an on-site development, but the proposed development is off-site, good reasons should be given ▪ Efforts should be made by the occupiers and owner to meet the above requirements ▪ Whether the occupiers are spouses or dependents of long term occupiers ▪ Whether there is an urgent need because occupiers face eviction ▪ The development should have the support of the majority of the adults among the present occupiers* ▪ The occupiers should earn less than R 1500 per month
Housing Subsidy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Subsidies must be used to provide occupiers with affordable residential property with secure income ▪ Applicants for the housing subsidy must earn less than R3500 per month
LRAD Grant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Personal minimum contribution of R5000. In the case of farm workers however this is taken as personal labour, and no monetary contribution is required

*This will have serious ramifications in terms of the fact that support for the development is not unanimous.

But since the majority are in agreement it will go ahead.

(compiled from DLA, 1997 & Lahiff, 2001)

Having decided on donating land to the families resident on the three farms, Jan approached the Port Elizabeth branch of the DLA and was put into contact with Tad⁵. Tad made a trip out to the lodge and met with Jan in July 2001. The initial meeting was followed up again in August of the same year where they discussed Jan's intention to donate land to the occupiers. No real advancements were made during the rest of 2001. Jan was waiting for the transfer of the land in question from the previous owner to the lodge to take place. During the first half of 2002, Victor contacted Jan by telephone on a number of occasions. He phoned to enquire as to progress in the

⁵ Refer back to the dramatis personae on page ix for a reminder of the identity of the participants mentioned in this chapter.

establishment of the agri-village decided upon in July 2001. Jan re-iterated, whilst getting increasingly more annoyed, that he was waiting for the final land transfer and instructions from the DLA. Victor made no attempt during this time to communicate with the farm occupiers. His predecessor Bongani had not introduced him to the people. This might have been a little difficult since although putting himself forward as an advocate of the people, Bongani did not actually know anyone by sight or by name. This was due to him only having visited Fonteinberg twice since 1999, and none of the other farms. Since July 2001 nothing has as yet developed. Every indication is that things will take a considerable amount of time. Local council officials insist on time frames and sustainability, but suggest that people continue to repair their rain-damaged houses because things "will take time". They should it appears *"just wait"*.

To date the following has transpired. Tad has indicated that a number of grants may be awarded to the people. Government insists on the inclusion of as many relevant role players as possible. Tad maintains 'that the more role players one has, the more chances you have of success'. Since local government is identified as the first port of call, the DLA insists on 'buy in from the local authority'. The local authority has however indicated its reluctance to become an active stakeholder in the project planning and implementation process. The engineer's office has indicated that the council is not clear on its designated role in such developments. It is reluctant to involve itself in rural development because of an apparent inability to support and service such developments. They are prepared to carry out the necessary assessments but do not want this to be taken as an indication of their endorsement of any particular project. The sentiment of the local authority is summarised by the following account given by a senior member of the city engineer's office:

I would be nervous to commit myself to any rural development. These small-scale rural settlements are inherently problematic. Proper planning is not always possible. Things seem to filter down from national to provincial and ultimately get left to local. Policy is fine but the government has to consider the implications. It might make the financing available but think of the practical issues. Housing from the Provincial Housing Board is a commercial unit. By that I mean a serviced unit. Service provision is potentially problematic in the rural areas given that very little infrastructure exists. The councillors also tend to assume that the council will take on such developments. In the past the emphasis was on sound planning and infrastructural support. Today the focus is on rural development, delivery and poverty alleviation. I have learnt that you often have to forgo many sound planning principles and realise that compromise is inevitable.

The rationale for the government's support of on-site developments is two fold. In the first instance they are opposed to further urbanisation given existing overcrowding in urban townships and informal settlements. Secondly, post-Apartheid political life demands land reform and the securing of people's rights to land and ultimately social justice. The councillor is seen as pivotal to the delivery of such objectives. The local authority is therefore directly implicated in the management and support of these developments. Their reluctance due to a perceived lack of capacity casts a pall over local rural on-site developments and indicates further delays and frustrations as the council considers its position and the practicality of the government's land reform programme.

If the local housing authority will get involved at Buffalo Lodge and commit itself to housing and housing grants, then Tad will apply for the LRAD grants, valued at approximately R20 000 per household, as a kind of safety net. Since the land has been donated, the community do not have to use their grants to purchase it. The grants will serve instead as a means by which to establish housing and other related infrastructure⁶. The DLA do however require an agricultural component. Despite the fact that the donated piece is small and only intended for residential and nominal subsistence purposes, Tad has suggested a low intensive agricultural practice such as poultry rearing.

After a meeting between Jan, Tad and Victor in early August 2002, Jan was requested to provide the following information to the DLA in writing:

- Size of the land he is donating
- A map of the site if possible
- The services and infrastructure in close proximity to the resettlement site (road, school)
- The landowner's contribution to the resettlement project (employment opportunities, donation of building material etc)

The DLA expected a full detailed report. Jan supplied them with a few lines. This was not viewed as acceptable. Tad requested that he submit a more detailed report so that he could get 'in-principle approval' for the project at the department's monthly meeting.

⁶ The land in question has no pre-existing buildings. Since it is only a portion of a farm, there are no farm buildings or other physical developments on the land.

At this meeting the responsibilities of all the related parties were laid out. Jan was to provide a report detailing his proposal. In return the DLA will exempt the Lodge from donations tax. They will pay the surveying costs and for the establishment of the legal entity, in whose name the land will ultimately be transferred. The community must have an idea as to what they plan to do with their land once it is awarded to them.

Once all this had been completed Tad proposed a meeting between all stakeholders to plan a way forward and to begin to develop a framework for action. This stakeholders meeting was subsequently held, and is discussed below.

The reaction to the project

Ten of the resident families have accepted the offer and seven have not. There are various reasons for this divergence of opinion. A pattern does however emerge in relation to relative economic and employment status, and housing provision. Those with better quality housing do not want to leave. Government built low cost housing will not be as spacious. Those employed by Patrick do not want to leave and risk losing their work related benefits. The supporters of the move are all in poor quality housing. Uncle Zolani is employed but only receives a cash wage and no other benefits. He does not stand to lose anything by relocating. Those who are employed casually do not get the same benefits as full time workers, and can therefore be resident anywhere.

Resistance

The seven families against the move have been adamant right from the very beginning that they were not interested in relocation, but for very different reasons. The sentiments of the seven resisters are as follows:

- Paul and Samuel live and work at Millsfontein. When Patrick bought the farm in 1999, they were the only two of the six resident families in permanent employment on the farm. They continue to work for Patrick at R400 per month plus additional rations of 50kgs of maize,

12,5kgs of flour, 12,5kgs of samp, 2,5kgs of sugar and tea. None of the other residents work for Patrick, nor do they have permanent employment elsewhere. Paul, 46 has seven dependents and Samuel, 41 five. Samuel's son is a building labourer and occasionally gets casual work, his wife was a farm worker until 1998, and now sells beer at R10 a quart to add to the family income. Both men have stock. Paul is the only member of his family bringing in any income. Both men sat in on a number of the meetings between Zweli, myself and the other residents. They were always however sceptical of the resettlement. Initially they indicated concern over the quality of the grazing and having to live in close proximity to the residents of the other two farms. Samuel in particular was always convinced that new rights in the new dispensation would protect his residential status. But the rights afforded under ESTA have certain conditions. Samuel is not a long-term occupier. And given that the majority of occupiers have accepted the proposal he may well find himself in a difficult situation. Both seemed unwilling to accept the fact that although they work for Patrick, he no longer owns the land, nor can he make any decisions in relation to their residential status.

- Elliott is 60 and lives with 31 year old daughter at Glenville. Although I often encountered him at rituals and beer drinks, beyond a polite greeting he had very little to say. He drinks a lot, something which is not accepted by the church going residents of Glenville. Excessive drinking is frowned upon and considered as a blight against one's reputation as a man. There is also some deep-seated feud between Elliott and his immediate neighbours that no one is willing to discuss. He has always maintained that he will move himself, his family and his cattle to Uitenhage should the need arise. He never believed that the planned resettlement would come to fruition. Now that it looks set to take place he has allied himself strongly with the other resistant families and begun to spread rumours about Uncle Zolani and his advocacy for the relocation process.
- Malusi lives at Fonteinberg. He is 62. He lives with his wife, aging sister, 3 daughters and 4 grandchildren. He works for a neighbouring farmer, and his wife and sister collect disability pensions. They live in an old farmhouse, left to him by Martin's father Frank. He had always expressed uncertainty about moving to Nollspoort. Initially it appeared as if this

centred on his strained relationship with his fellow occupiers⁷ and his desire to keep the house. Later it became apparent that there were more pressing and overriding factors. These included his inclusion in the Salem Commonage Claim.

- Frances and Ntombi, both 62 live alone. Ntombi was born at Glenville. The connection between the two women is through Ntombi's status as Frances' late husband's cousin, and the marriage of Ntombi's son to Frances' daughter. Towards the end of 2001, Ntombi's son took his wife and his two children and moved to Colechester to join her family. Ntombi has strongly resisted moving saying that she wants to die and be buried on the farm where she has lived all her life. Having lived on the farm since the early 1950's Frances claims that she does not know, nor is she prepared to accept another area and another way of life. This other way of life that she is talking about is living in close proximity to people who she is familiar with, but has always lived at relative distance from.
- Nikki is the last of the people resisting the relocation. She is 73 years old and lives with Samuel and Paul at Millsfontein. Mid way through 2002 her eldest daughter left to join her own sons in Port Elizabeth. Nikki's eldest son Danny died tragically in September 2002. During a heavy bout of rain he disappeared from home. He was mentally disabled and often went for walks alone. But he did not come home this time. People feared that he had drowned in the Bushman's River whilst it was in flood. Patrick called the police. Neither they nor the residents found him. It is assumed that he is dead. I suspect that Nikki is afraid of change. She was born on Glenville and has lived at Millsfontein since her eldest daughter was employed as a domestic worker in 1986. She also has 4 head of cattle. Paul and Samuel have advised her that the grazing at Nollspoort will not be suitable⁸. She has since pleaded ignorance of the proposed move, primarily because she feels increasingly

⁷ The people at Fonteinberg have been accused of stock theft and house breaking, as well as game snaring. Malusi has had prior knowledge of one or two attempts, and has happened on episodes of stock theft. He has been told that since the theft is from the white man it is right, and is no concern of his. Fearing reprisals he has said nothing.

⁸ The official carrying capacity for Nollspoort is 3,5 hectares per animal without supplementary feeding. And although 20 hectares will not be sufficient to hold in excess of 5 animals, the possibility of renting additional grazing land is being explored. The grazing in the encampment at Millsfontein is very poor. There are very clearly too many cattle for the estimated 2 hectares they now subsist on. The objection to moving in this regard possibly has to do with a reluctance to move in with people and compete with their cattle for grazing.

that the world is closing in on her. But at the same time, like the other residents does not want to face change.

Motivations for resistance are thus as differentiated and heterogeneous as the people themselves, and are directly bound up with their personal situation in life. They emerge less through conscious articulation than in the context of everyday situations, and may only be revealed through participant-observation. This is possibly the best way to discover what people 'really' think, as opposed to what they tell you in a formal interview situation.

Salem Commonage Claim⁹

The commonage claim committee approached Zweli in the Cory Library to get all the relevant historical documentation regarding the land they were planning to claim. In August 2002 I wrote a letter to Paul and Samuel asking them to reconsider their stance and accept the offer of land at Nollspoort¹⁰. I did so because Tad had request a list of the ID numbers of all the household heads involved in the planned relocation. Victor did not have transport to the farm. And since his phone lines were down, I could not get hold of him and faxed the ID numbers myself. A few days later I got a call from the Legal Resource Centre in Grahamstown. The Centre is handling the case for the Salem claimants. They asked me to convey a message to Paul and Samuel; that their status in the claim would not be affected if they accepted the move to Nollspoort. The rights awarded people in ESTA are separate to the land restitution process. Uncle Zolani and members of the Masizame community informed Zweli that the commonage committee had canvassed the residents, and encouraged Malusi, Paul and Samuel to stay where they are. The commonage people were critical of the planned development at Nollspoort suggesting that it would detract from the claim. When challenged on this, and asked by one of the residents at Masizame what they planned to do with the people at Buffalo Lodge, they said nothing. He continued by asking what they would do for those residents who did not want to move to Nollspoort since they could not in all likelihood remain in the reserve. Would they be in a position to house them? Their response was that the claim would be successful, and the farm occupiers would not have to go to Nollspoort, which is not

⁹ Refer to the preface for an introductory discussion of the Salem Commonage Claim.

¹⁰ A copy can be read in the appendix section

claimed, but could move instead to land within the claimed area. The claimant's lawyers however maintain that the claim is unlikely to succeed, and that claimants may only receive cash compensation from government. Malusi is related to the committee members. They have encouraged him to stay where he is. And given that his farm does fall within the claim he supports their position, as much to hold onto his house (see below) as anything else.

Different economic status

Malusi lives in an old brick farmhouse, left to him by Frank, Martin's father. His co-residents live in a small one roomed brick and wattle and daub housing. He has a full time job with the neighbouring farmer. Only one of his other co-resident is in permanent employment but earns less. Paul and Samuel are the only two people at Millsfontein employed by Patrick. They each receive R400 and substantial rations. Relatively speaking they 'earn more' than their co-residents, even those families with pensions and child support grants. A cursory glance at the furniture in their homes and their windows (large French panes), affirms that they have better living conditions. And although all three support large families, they are in a better position than other residents. Despite the fact that Paul and Samuel do not receive pensions, their ration component makes up for the deficit. They are also permitted to draw water from the pump at the main farmhouse. The other residents rely exclusively on rainwater. These benefits are strong motivating factors in wanting to remain where they are. Even though Paul and Samuel have been assured that they will stay employed if they move, their history with Patrick, and his reputation 'as being difficult' has fostered the idea that leaving will mean being fired since they are no longer close to him.

Fear of change

Beyond the obvious 'class' or economic considerations of these three families, the other four resist because they reject change. They reject that they should be made to move and alter their lifestyle. Their resistance manifests in a number of ways through the avenues of non-compliance and ignorance. They refuse to graze their cattle in the demarcated areas or co-operate with government and NGO officials, feeling that the 'farmers' should not be allowed to decide their fate for them. The sentiment is that the farmers have decided on the move and the government is

siding with them. They consistently refuse to interact with government officials. The land claim and the maintenance of an existing way of life is the primary motivation for resistance. Inclusion in the land claim will allow for the continuation and preservation of existing life. Staying where they are will ensure the continued uninterrupted practice of their 'cultural traditions'. These are not of course not as undiluted by the colonial and Apartheid, but the point is the same; innovation and change in the form of land tenure reform are not wanted and not trusted.

The 'small politics' of resistance

The residents of the farms are sensitive about their reputations, which are formed in relation to their immediate neighbours, and employ gossip, joking and ostracism as mechanisms for maintaining social control. As 'face-to-face' communities (Brandes, 1975: 6), peasant communities have been understood as creating a feeling of distinctiveness vis-à-vis the outside world (*ibid* & Herzfeld, 1985). This distinctiveness is expressed through common values and morals, which are distinct from those held by other members of the nation state. Although contemporary theoretical discussions of peasants have been at great pains to illustrate the differentiated nature of peasant society, and its integration into larger global arenas (Kearney, 1996; Mackenzie, 1992 & Saul and Woods, 1989), people still attempt to produce a unified version of themselves. They attempt to shield outsiders from conflict and internal division.

In the case of the proposed resettlement, gossip has been used to assault individual reputations through direct personal attack, through insinuations of unwise, reckless behaviour, or by suggesting that outsiders, namely landowners, have forced people into a decision. The suggestion of outside influence is particularly damaging given the attempts to establish some degree of autonomy from such influence through the generation of particular resistance ideologies premised on manhood, reputation and Christianity (see pages 14-16). The contradiction inherent in this assertion cannot escape mention. Despite the existence of new labour and tenure laws designed to facilitate collective bargaining and prevent exploitation, informed by a history of subordination, farm workers still defer to landowners in terms of their residential and working conditions. The point is that although one is outwardly dependent on the farmer, farm workers consider themselves inwardly independent due to the existence of certain specified cultural codes. To suggest that

landowners have forced people to make a decision is a direct attack on one's inward independence, and therefore one's reputation. Outsiders might well decide your fate for you, but the semblance of independence is important.

The aim of the gossip is two fold. In the first instance, to co-inside with Brandes, whether consciously or unconsciously, the goal has ultimately been to encourage the other residents to side with the resistors and so reconstitute a unified community. Secondly, people are feeling increasingly insecure in their position given the fact that the resettlement process has gained some degree of momentum through the lodge's hosting of a stakeholder meeting and the carrying out of certain agricultural and carrying capacity assessments.

As 2002 drew to a close Jan made a number of visits to the farms in the company of Victor and myself to talk to the residents about the relocation. Those people resisting the move began to get nervous. Once Patrick and one of his two sons stopped working for the Lodge, in September 2002, Paul and Samuel feared that they might lose their jobs, and finally acknowledged that Patrick had no say over the land on which they resided. In a bid to exert some form of pressure on the other residents and draw everyone together, Paul and Samuel, in conjunction with the other residents began spreading certain rumours.

Paul and Samuel led the charge against Uncle Zolani saying that he was pushing the people towards leaving. Elliott said that he was against leaving because they were being forced into a move. Nikki maintained that she had not heard about the development. These comments only surfaced towards the end of 2002. The reason for this is because very little had happened during 2001. In 2002 however the DLA asked for ID numbers and a stakeholder meeting was held. After the meeting a number of agricultural and engineering assessments were carried out. Although nobody has moved anywhere, things have taken on a new immediacy. The commonage claim will not be settled in the near future. The affected farmers only received official notification in October 2002, nearly four and a half years after it was lodged. The legal process will be slow and arduous, and the planning should it be approved even more time consuming. People may well be concerned that the claim will not be settled before the other residents relocate to Nollspoort. Those residents not directly associated with the claim did not, or rather chose not to believe that the resettlement

would happen. Given the slow pace of land reform in the Eastern Cape, and the country at large, and the fact that very few people around them have gotten land, they did not think it possible. They indicated that they would leave, but only 'if they had to'. This suggests a belief that the need would not arise. Now that events are moving towards a resolution they have realised that they could be left with nowhere to go. Given that the project has the support of the majority of the resident adults it will go ahead, leaving the remaining residents out in the cold. People have therefore resorted to gossip to try and force their co-residents to adopt their position, and in the spirit of *ubuntu*¹¹, share their fate with them.

Acceptance

The ten families who have accepted Jan's offer have done so for a number of reasons. They do not enjoy the restrictions currently imposed by the reserve:

It is crazy here. The fences are going up, the animals are inside. There are more gates and fences than before. The wild animals often eat my father's fowls. We are not free to move like before. We have no choice but to go. But to go is also a good thing. To go means we get government housing and land of our own which is close to the road. Life will be better, it will be less restrictive.

Nollspoort is on the road and is the pension point for most of the residents. People also recognise that they have very little in the way of choice. As Uncle Zolani explained to my father when he visited in November:

When things first started to happen I was worried about where I would go. The township is not safe, and I have lived here for a long time, we all have. And now that we have land I feel a lot better, I feel I can start a new and live out the rest of my life in peace.

Another very pressing reason is the provision of housing. Wattle and daub suffers terribly from rain damage. As mentioned earlier, Tata Ted has moved his whole family into the cow shed because his house collapsed in September 2002. The idea of low cost brick housing that would hopefully be rain resistant is a strong motivating factor.

¹¹ Sense of togetherness and mutual hospitality.

Whilst the men stressed housing, lack of restriction and land ownership (3 of the houses are female headed), the women emphasised the closer proximity to the school and the road for the mobile clinic. This is reflective of the larger division of labour and the association of men with provision for the family, and the women for caring for its well being.

Those who have agreed to move are integrating themselves into the national and international world of development and modernisation. Although essentially pleased about gaining better quality housing and land of their own, they do feel that they have no other choice. Game farming is restrictive and current impoverishment creates a situation in which people have nowhere else to go. They might accept their fate, but they do employ certain strategies to secure the best possible situation for themselves. Like Mayer's (1980) 'school' adherents, they have agreed to 'play the game' with a view to manipulating the situation to place themselves in a more secure position. By accepting to relocate they are hoping to accrue the benefits of assimilation; better housing and land ownership. And as for the commercial ambitions of the DLA, with their land arguably not big enough for even a low intensive commercial activity, the people will do as their forefathers did: keep cattle and grow subsistence crops.

People are filled with expectation and have a very positive attitude about the proposed resettlement. They all maintain that they will live quite happily together despite their current separate residence. Nancy's recent unpleasantness regarding the beadwork (see page 119) did initially cause a little reluctance and apprehension on her part. She spoke to Uncle Zolani and he convinced her that 'things would go well at Nollspoort' since he would 'look after her'. And although people actively make an effort to come together as a 'community' in preparation for the relocation, the dynamics of their interaction will only be evident once the move has taken place. The fact that the grazing is theoretically not enough given the identified carrying capacity of the land is not a concern for residents, who maintain that the grazing will be fine. The possibility of renting additional grazing land is being pursued.

The stakeholder meeting as a social drama

Turner's (1974) notion of the 'social drama' can be applied in examining the October 2002 meeting at Buffalo Lodge. Turner maintains that "disturbances of the normal and regular often give us greater insight into the normal than does direct study" (1974: 35). A focus on the extra-ordinary, in Turner's case, conflict, frequently illuminates many aspects of everyday behaviour not readily observed under normal circumstances. In this case, the meeting serves as a break from the regular routine, a 'social drama', which illustrates many of the themes discussed in the study. These include: a history which discourages people from interacting directly with the agents of change; suspicion of outsiders; a high level of fatalism regarding the changes that people are experiencing; and the perceived need for mediation.

The meeting as well as the events in the immediate run up to it also proved informative as to the nature of government and NGO involvement in the 'development process'. Frequently uttered phrases such as 'development is a process and not an event' seem to reflect a situation in which government is slow to action and NGOs even slower. As already stated, NGOs are to some degree compromised due to their subordination to the competition for international aid; their collaboration with the state; and the potential for financial corruption (Gariyo, 1996). In support of the above, Gupta (1998) maintains that the international order represented by the NGOs often plays into and depends on the persistence of national entities.

Coupled with the above constraints, the NGO involved in this study has a very bad name in local and provincial government, as well as in NGO circles. The organisation has consistently shunned other organisations in their immediate area and field of interest. The motive for this is closely tied to the competition for funding and the need to independently establish itself and its focus to secure funding. Local government officials, also acknowledge the 'difficulty' of the director, Pam. She has been involved in falsely implicating Makana councillors in taking bribes from local communities:

Nelly has worked with local farm communities for many years. She is deeply allied to representatives in the Port Elizabeth DLA and constantly encourages people to take advantage of new concessions to acquire land. According to Nelly, Pam does not appreciate competition. Pam

phoned Nelly's contact in the DLA and reported that accusations of bribery had been leveled against Nelly by a group of farmers at a meeting she had attended. Nelly had apparently taken a R50 bribe from a number of farm worker families in order to investigate the possibility of getting them land. Nelly's contact phoned her immediately to report the accusation saying that it could not possibly be true. Nelly phoned Pam and asked her for the minutes of the meeting, and the details of both the accusations and the accusers. Pam could not provide either. Nelly concluded that other people outside of the DLA and Agriculture getting involved in land issues threaten her.

Pam's research staff indicates that she is secretive with information. They are not privy to the financial status of the organisation. She only provides them with précis's of the reports she forwards to the overseas funders. Since its establishment in 1994 staff turnover has been very high.

Immediate run up to the meeting

I have already mentioned that I spoke to Tad on a number of occasions regarding the relocation of the residents. When I mentioned that I knew a number of the local stakeholders, he suggested that I set up a meeting to decide how best to take the project forward. Tad forwarded a list of proposed provincial delegates. I contacted them in conjunction with a number of local representatives in the council and agricultural office. I spoke with Victor and forwarded him the date and time of the meeting. When I received no reply as to whether he would be attending or not I contacted him at the office. Pam answered the phone and requested that I send a fax detailing the reason for the meeting so she could determine whether it was necessary for Victor to attend. Tad phoned me later that same day. Pam was not happy with the tone of my fax¹², and the fact that Tad had asked me to help him organise the meeting. She felt it was a little pre-mature and that it should be cancelled or postponed until her organisation had time to conduct a number of assessments. Tad was concerned about being stuck in the middle and did not want any hostility. Given that the other delegates had committed themselves, the meeting went ahead.

These events can best be interpreted as follows. The NGO is tasked with representing the needs of the farm occupiers. Their particular mandate is to prevent human rights abuses and mediate

¹² A copy can be read in the appendix section.

between farmers and farm workers. The idea that private individuals are concerned with the well being of resident communities and are prepared to translate this concern into action has the potential to encroach on the NGO's particular field of interest. The incident with Nelly outlined above would appear to support this hypothesis.

The meeting

The agenda was not formalised before the meeting took place. Tad proposed that a chair be elected on the day itself. Zweli was proposed and accepted as chair by the assembled delegates. He opened with the following words:

I would like to welcome you today to Kwa Mbotina¹³, the place of my ancestors and my birth. The pools you see here just below the lodge are sacred. It is here that Mbotina offered his gifts to the ancestors and was awarded agricultural success in return. I was born and grew up here. My parents are buried on Glenville.

Stunned silence followed, eyes firmly placed in shuffling paperwork, and Zweli just smiled. Ever the strategist, he had succeeded in elevating the meeting to another level. He had placed the discussion within the framework of indigenous rights and self-determination, and introduced a spiritual claim, rather than limiting the discourse to practical considerations. He had reminded everyone that the people were the focus, that the people had a deep abiding commitment to the landscape, and that the impersonal discourses of 'community', 'rural', 'sustainable' and 'time frames' should take cognisance in the context of real people with real, practical concerns.

The meeting quickly shifted to a more bureaucratic tone. Pam suggested that the meeting was perhaps a little premature. She felt that an agricultural and engineering, or carrying capacity assessment was necessary before the discussion could proceed or tasks could be assigned to the assembled delegates. Once Zweli had sketched the history of the project and Jan had outlined the proposed offer, the other delegates were invited to contribute. Being unfamiliar with the project

¹³ Mbotina, now dead, was a farm worker in the 1930's. His children have moved onto other farms in Kenton and Alexandria. His homestead and garden was near the water. After every harvest he offered a portion of his crop to the river people or *abantu bomlambo* (see Bernard, 2001 & Hammond-Tooke, 1975) in the pool near his house. He received very good crop yields thereafter. His neighbours were encouraged and followed his example. The pool, situated above the game lodge was named after him and has been considered sacred by local residents ever since.

their comments were superficial at best. They commented on the apparent sustainability of the project and the government's preference for on site developments. Tad set an agenda and tried to establish a way forward and secure approval for the project. Victor did not say anything. When Tad tried to include him in the discussion by drawing his attention to their previous meetings with Jan, he remained quiet, allowing Pam to speak for him. People seemed to dwell on the difficulties involved in the process, of bureaucratic red tape, the fact that the council did not really know what its mandate was, and that the process would take time. Residents were advised to re-build their damaged houses and wait since things would take time. Tad tried to temper these negative sentiments by asking for suggestions as to how to 'take the process forward'. The resolution taken was that the assessments Pam had called for should be commissioned before Tad sought approval for the project and the release of the LRAD grants from the DLA and the housing subsidy from the local housing authority. Pam and Victor proposed that given their NGO's involvement with the community (see chapter four) it should conduct the assessments and compile a report for the DLA. Tad requested that this be ready for the DLA's monthly meeting on the 6th of November. At the time of writing, the report had yet to be submitted. The community had not been approached.

The nine community delegates did not add much to the proceedings. Uncle Zolani prepared a written submission on behalf of the community stating their desire for a speedy relocation and the provision of housing. Along with the other delegates they introduced themselves and the farms on which they live. Beyond that they remained silent, their eyes generally downcast and only really looked up when Zweli offered a translation of the proceedings. Sometime after the meeting Pam commented that she was concerned at the lack of community participation in the discussion. To expect the delegates to be at the forefront of the discussion is to ignore an historical experience which prevents such interaction. Five of the nine delegates were women. Given the presence of men they were unlikely to comment publicly. The four male delegates were well into their 60's and 70's. For almost their entire adult life they have lived under a farmer.

It is useful here to refer back to Crehan's (1997: 34-5) discussion of hegemony mentioned in the Introduction. Hegemony is essentially fluid and dependent on both context and historical circumstance, and as such changes between generations and different historical contexts. She makes the important point that it is a 'power relation which must be produced and reproduced'. It is

not simply about domination but acceptance of such domination. Hegemony refers to the relationship between groups or classes in a struggle. In reference to the relationship between farm workers, the state and farmers; farm workers may have resisted their subjugation, but given the historical realities of colonial conquest, paternalistic landowners and the Apartheid state, they were ultimately forced to accept their low status in the hierarchy. The demise of Apartheid and the passing of new laws and policies to provide farm workers with land and secure tenure do not erase the attitudes and practices of the past. Although the youth might be more willing to engage with landowners and government, older generations are still bound by a history which dictates that one accept that one's fate is decided by others. The offer of land has been made and accepted. As to the details of resettlement people wait for the landowner and the assembled officials to decide.

After the meeting

The community delegates found the whole event a little amusing. Although frustrated that things had not progressed any further, it was not unexpected, they said. They suggested that this was the way things were and I should not worry. Brandes (1975: 9) suggests that the closeness of peasant society and the existence of a shared set of morals promotes a trust of insiders whose behaviour you can control, and a mistrust of outsiders. Bailey (1989: 289) who goes so far as to say that outsiders are conceptualised as enemies, re-enforces the above sentiment. The suspicion directed towards the NGO in particular would seem to co-inside with this conclusion. The NGO and local government do not escape critique (see chapter four). Reputation might prevent a direct verbal assault but people are generally suspicious of the motives of both, hinting at corruption and a lack of commitment.

After the meeting the delegates relayed the events to the rest of the beneficiaries. The discussion was lively. Uncle Zolani recounted my frequent comments and requests for progress and a time frame for action. Nancy, whose grasp of English is far better than Uncle Zolani's, spoke about how Zweli and I countered the suggestion that people remain patient and wait for government to respond by drawing everyone's attention to the immediate concerns over housing and the approaching 2003 hunting season (starts in February). Tata April emphasised the importance of my role as mediator and suggested that I keep up the good work despite the apparent set backs of

the meeting. There was still 'lots of work for me to do and I should keep going' he said. These comments represent the continued call for mediation. This suggests in line with Bailey (1971:304 & 1989: 289) that peasant communities will attempt to extend their moral community to certain outsiders who have the potential to convert the official relationship into a moral one thereby allowing for manipulation. The perceived need for mediation points to two things. Firstly an acceptance of dependency and a lack of willingness to engage with change directly, and secondly as a strategy to try and convert the situation to their advantage. Through me would come an in depth knowledge of the community and its concerns. I would give them a 'face' amid the impersonal bureaucratic discourse of 'sustainability', 'timeframes', 'outcomes', 'modernization' and 'commercialisation'.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented a close analysis of the planned relocation of the Glenville, Fonteinberg and Millsfontein residents to Nollspoort. The proposed development falls under the government's land tenure reform programme. A brief overview of the bureaucratic processes and requirements for the approval of such projects is given, before progressing to a discussion of the project itself. Since the move has yet to take place, I have had to concentrate on the dynamics involved in the pre-move context, especially the reactions of the beneficiaries of the project. These reactions reveal a difference of opinion with 7 out of the 17 families opting out of the scheme. The various reasons for this difference of opinion are outlined. These reasons illustrate and tie into earlier suggestions in the literature review of the heterogeneity of rural society. Opinions are divided. Rationales for acceptance and resistance also differ between individual people. Resistance is premised around the Salem Commonage land claim, personal economic and residential status and a fear of change. Acceptance centres on the restrictions encountered inside the reserve, the desire for government housing, and the prospect of land ownership. The only outcome of these two ideologies to date has been the employment of gossiping as a tool to reconstitute a unified community and position over the proposed development. The chapter ends with a detailed account of a stakeholder meeting held at Buffalo Lodge in October 2002. This account is used to reflect on many of the themes already discussed in the thesis. These include a suspicion of outsiders; the perceived need for mediation and the persistence of an historical frame

of reference which prevents direct engagement with the agents of change. The meeting also illustrates the difficulties and delays generated by a large number of stakeholders. The role of individual personalities is shown to be crucial in understanding the frustrating delays that accompany many of these tenure related projects.

In spite of the difficulties and delays, the benefits of relocation outweigh the uncertain prospects of continued resistance. The dangers of eviction have been avoided through the proposed donation of land. Although not a vast tract of land, residence at Nollspoort provides security of tenure, the prospect of better quality housing, freedom from the restrictions of life inside the reserve and closer proximity to the main road, the pension point and the school. Continued resistance might result in eviction and relocation to the urban areas. Since the project has the approval of the majority of the adult residents it will go ahead anyway. The Commonage claim will in all likelihood not be anywhere near being settled in the immediate future. And despite the fact that four of the household heads are long-term occupiers, their decision against relocation might well jeopardise their residential rights.

A conclusion in two parts

This conclusion is divided into two parts. The first section discusses the three factual conclusions drawn in reference to farm workers and their reaction to change. These conclusions briefly re-examine the issues of masculinity and Christian values, codes of conduct under Apartheid, and the relevance and danger of the persistence of these codes in the current era. Given the applied aspect of the study, the second section of the conclusion makes a number of recommendations concerning farm workers and the game farming industry. These recommendations are directed at the policy level, suggesting that local as well as provincial and national government need to consider: 1) combining land reform with livelihood generation (Cocks and Kingwill, 1997: 69 and Cross, 1996), 2) drafting a policy on the sale of farmland and the fate of resident farm workers and 3) allowing continued access to sites of cultural significance.

1. Farm workers and innovation

As stated on a number of occasions, the focus of this study has been the reaction of farm workers to game farming. Understanding this reaction has involved the incorporation of a number of theoretical and conceptual variables. Notable deficiencies in the literature on farm workers in the areas of their interpersonal interactions and 'culture' warranted the use of peasant literature to explain their enduring dependency, mistrust of outsiders (Bailey, 1989; Brandes, 1975 and Herzfeld, 1985), request for mediation (Bailey, 1971& 1989) and use of *values* such as masculinity, reputation and Christianity to deal with their disempowered status.

The subjects of this study are best conceived of as a people who still rely on the survival strategies they employed during the Apartheid era. These strategies focused on variables such as manhood, religion and reputation, and were designed to resist and cope with their subservient position. This subservience was informed by farmer paternalism (Bekker et al, 1982), and inadequate and highly variable working conditions and labour practices (Wilson et al, 1977), and human rights and work related abuses (Trac, 1988). In the current era, when faced with a change in land use which has for the most part brought the unwanted consequences of eviction and retrenchment, people revert to what they know and what they are comfortable with. What this means is that people shy away from change and the engineers of change, ultimately to their own disadvantage.

Three factual conclusions may be drawn from the study. The first is that game farming has not been received well by farm workers. People are negative about the industry because it has been accompanied with eviction, extensive agricultural downsizing and rampant unemployment. Due to the fact that farm workers are not necessarily complimentary to this new pattern of land use, they are generally perceived as a problem by new landowners who attempt to find ways to *deal with the situation*. Dealing with the situation has taken a number of forms. Some game farmers have insisted that the occupiers be removed before they buy the land. In some instances farmers have taken their staff with them to new farms. In other instances people have been retrenched and told to leave before the sale goes through. New landowners have themselves evicted farm workers. In more favourable circumstances, game farmers, weary of ESTA and other labour laws, have attempted to ameliorate the situation by donating land to farm workers for residential purposes. This process has however proved lengthy and frustrating for both game farmers and farm workers.

The second conclusion relates to farm worker agency. In the South African literature, farm workers have been starkly cast as victims who are defenceless against paternalistic farmers and the Apartheid state. Yet despite high levels of subjugation, even the very poor are agents to some degree. The Xhosa farm workers I encountered may be conservative, but not in the same manner in which Mayer suggested. For Mayer (1980), the Red were conservative and the school more progressive. These farm workers are neither Red nor School, but are still conservative, especially in the face of an external threat. As a strategy for dealing with their living and working situation during Apartheid, farm workers resorted to the values of manhood and reputation. Local conceptualisations of manhood and reputation, which find expression in the Church and the family, were a means of resisting complete subjugation and a mechanism for establishing a degree of autonomy outside of the nation state and the workplace. The demise of Apartheid however has not seen a re-evaluation of these modes of behaviour. Democracy and the passing of tenure based legislation which awards farm occupiers residential rights and the opportunity to acquire land under title deed, cannot easily or immediately erase a history of subjugation.

Hegemony needs to be constantly produced and reproduced (Crehan, 1997), and whilst it is challenged by certain members of the working class to the point that it can be revised (Scott, 1985), it is on some other level internalized and accepted. This is particularly the case with farm workers. Manhood and reputation were mechanisms for *dealing with dependency*, not

overcoming it. Farm workers, particularly the older generation, still conduct themselves in as they did in the past. Their mistrust of outsiders and resistance to innovation are a direct result of ideologies of resistance which were developed under Apartheid.

The creation of a masculine identity which is internally articulated, as opposed to outwardly expressed, and the grounding of reputation in the family suggest that farm workers have developed mechanisms to deal with their disempowered position. As authors have said of peasant communities, they have created a moral and cultural code which distinguishes them from other members of society and the state (Brandes, 1975 and Herzfeld, 1985), and allows for a degree of autonomy in an otherwise highly disadvantaged position.

The third conclusion relates to social capital. Farm workers are in possession of social capital which has made it possible for them to deal with their low status in the societal hierarchy. The strong commitment to the church provides a focal point for community members, an invaluable support network in times of hardship and a platform for the expression of masculine identity. Their reliance on each other, their strong sense of community and family are all sources of refuge and support which help people to deal with their situation and any or all changes.

A very important corollary to the last two conclusions is the fact, mentioned above, that the persistence of local cultural codes related to manhood, reputation and dependency do not operate to one's advantage in the post-Apartheid era. As we saw in chapter four, and again in chapter six, these ideologies prevent direct and ultimately meaningful interaction with outside forces. They persist due in part of the nature of the relationship between farm workers and hegemony: Farm workers were not in a position in the immediate past to resist their subservience, and therefore accepted it. This led to the creation of 'cultural codes' which attempted to reduce interaction and dependency on outsiders, most notably farmers. Democracy, the advent of the councillor system and land tenure reform which awards significant residential rights to farm workers, has not lead to a re-conceptualisation of these modes of behaviour. The use of mediation and patronage by local farm workers suggests continued dependency.

2. Recommendations

The applied aspect of the study facilitated the generation of a number of recommendations. These include:

- In recognition of the loose and poorly implemented precepts of ESTA, local councils should pass resolutions relating to the selling of farm land and the position of farm workers in their areas. First priority should be given to on-site developments, followed by the purchasing of land and the building of secure housing in an urban environment, synonymous with RDP standards
- In the context of game farming, priority should be given to settling farm workers on land within the reserve area. They should hold this land under title deed, or alternatively, but less favourably, a living usufruct. Provision should also be made for grazing land.
- Given the huge revenue of the game farming industry and the potential for cultural, and eco-tourism, provision should be made for empowering resident farm workers through their inclusion in benefit sharing and other tourism related schemes.
- Emphasis should be placed on employing farm workers more directly in the game farming industry. These job opportunities should however be coupled with a training and empowerment component. Farm workers should preferably not be left at the manual level clearing away alien vegetation and maintaining game fences. Their limitations which include poor English, illiteracy and experience should be recognized and sensitive and realistic programs instituted.
- Given the importance of landscape to farm workers as a source of identity and solidarity, effective provision must be made for continued access to grave sites (a right by law) and other sites of cultural significance within the landscape.

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APPENDIX SECTION

1. Copy of letter sent to Jan regarding ESTA and possible eviction of farm occupiers

Template of letter from Legal Resource Centre when a client is facing eviction

Dear Sir

We have been instructed by our client [Please fill in the name of the client] that they have been threatened with eviction from the farm.....[Please fill in the name of the farm].

We would like to draw your attention to the provisions of the Extension of Security Act 62 of 1997. If you are not aware of the provisions of this statute, we would urgently advise you to seek legal assistance before you proceed in this matter.

We would like to bring to your attention the fact that the Act makes provision for particular procedures to be followed in the event that a land owner or a person in charge of intends to evict people who reside on agricultural land. Although an occupier's right of residence may be terminated on any lawful ground, the termination of such a right must be just and equitable, having regard to a variety of factors set out in the Act. Among other things, the fairness of the legal provision on which the owner or person in charge of the land relies in order to evict residents is taken into account. Moreover, the fairness of the eviction procedure which was adopted by the owner or person in charge of the land is also important. Finally, the Act extends more stringent protection to persons who have been occupying the land for a period of 10 years and who have reached the age of 60. Dependents and spouses of such long term occupiers who might have died can also be evicted on 12 month notice only.

Should you not comply with the provisions of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act we shall refer the matter to our legal advisors who will then be in a position to ensure that the provisions of the Act are complied with in order to resist our client's eviction.

Yours Faithfully

2. Letter I wrote to Paul and Samuel regarding the move to Nollspoort

20 August 2002

Dear Paul and Samuel¹,

I'm sorry I could not come out today. I could not organize transport. I came last night for the meeting but the weather understandably kept the people away.

Glenville, Millsfontein and Fonteinberg were sold by the previous farmers to Jan of Buffalo Lodge. Patrick still lives on the land but does not own it and has no say as to what happens on it. Jan is the owner and ultimately the decision maker. Patrick and his sons work for the reserve. To protect the rights of the people and ensure that they have secure tenure/residency,

¹ave altered the names to co-inside with those used in the thesis.

the government passed the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA). This act sets out the responsibilities of the people and the responsibilities of the owner.

The owner is allowed by law and the government to move people from the farm. If he decides to do that he has to make an offer which ensures the tenure security of the people. The majority of the occupiers must agree with the offer. His offer must ensure that the housing in the new area is equal to, or better than what you have now.

Jan has expressed a desire to move the people outside of the game farm. This is something he has been thinking of since he bought the farms in 2000. He is making the following offer to the people. He will give the people ownership of a piece of land at Nollspoort (It includes 80% of the cultivated piece and an additional piece on the other side of the road which runs to just before the house. It stretches as far back as the river). I will come out on Wednesday and Jan will take all the people to look at the land. This offer ensures that the people own their own land and that the tenure of themselves and their children is secure. As an occupier, which everyone is now, your rights of residence ARE NOT secure. As an owner you are more secure.

The government will provide each household head with two sets of grants to build housing and provide services. From ESTA, the government will provide the *Settlement Land Acquisition Grant* valued at just over R20 000. The Department of Land Affairs will make *Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development Grants* of R16 000 available to the people. The ID numbers I requested at Nancy's beer drink on Saturday are just to get the grants. The government gives the people one chance to get these grants, if you don't take them now, the offer will not be there again.

I have spoken with Musasa, people from ECARP and Tad, the man from Land Affairs who will handle the case. The people will be more secure once they have moved. Jan has agreed to provide a number of services to the people (additional building material, fencing for the property). Patrick assures me that your jobs are secure, and you will remain employed even after the move. The government has committed itself to the move which means that those people who do not agree will not be allowed to stay in their current location. They will be forced to move out (with the support of the government). This is because Jan has made an offer which ensures the relocation of the people, and places them in a better position than they are in now (they become owners as opposed to occupiers).

As far as the residential and production aspects of the new land are concerned, these will be decided upon, in conjunction with the people over the next while. For now, the ID numbers are to get the grants only. I cannot do enough to urge you to accept this offer. I truly believe it is the best possible solution to the current situation and places your family in a better position for the future.

Please give your ID numbers to the person who has delivered this letter. As I have to fax them to Land Affairs by the 21st of August (tom).

Thank you
Kelly

3. Copy of fax I sent to Pam regarding stakeholder meeting at Buffalo Lodge

ATT: Pam
NGO

RE: Stakeholder Meeting: Buffalo Lodge 10 am 16 October 2002

At the request of Tad of Land Affairs in Port Elizabeth, I am inviting you and any other relevant personnel, to a meeting to discuss the donation of land by Jan, manager of Buffalo Lodge, to the farm worker community resident on the game reserve.

Jan is donating a piece of land for settlement purposes to the residents of three farms that he has purchased: Glenville, Millsfontein and Fonteinberg. Tad has requested a meeting of all relevant stakeholders to attest to the sustainability of the project and secure the release of housing and land redistribution for agricultural development (LRAD) grants for the development of the donated area.

I have contacted the councillor, Mr Musasa and members of Grahamstown's Land, Housing and Infrastructure branch of the local council. The community have elected a number of representatives who will be present. A report detailing all relevant project history, demographic information, current accommodation and service provision, present income and future livelihood strategies will be available at the meeting, or before should you so require. Given your history of involvement with the community, I would strongly urge you and or your associates to attend.

As per our telephone conversation, I will contact you telephonically on Friday 4 October 2002 to confirm the attendance of the relevant delegates.

Please do not hesitate to contact me should you need any additional information.
Yours Sincerely

Kelly Luck
Masters Candidate
Anthropology Department
Rhodes University

