

**Livelihoods after Land Reform
- research findings and policy
implications from a three country
study**

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A 3.5 year research project (2007-2010)

- Three countries: South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe
- Funding: Economic and Social Research Council of UK

Objectives:

1. To provide empirical data in systematic and comparable form on the livelihoods impacts of land redistribution
2. To develop conceptual tools for the analysis of livelihood and production support measures, interrogating competing notions of 'viability'
3. To understand what policies (transfer mechanisms, planning models, land tenure regimes, post-settlement support) are likely to result in poverty reduction

Research Design

- Three regions (within countries) that are broadly comparable in terms of agro-ecology and livelihoods: (Limpopo, Masvingo, Hardap & Omaheke)
- A range of field sites within each region, including both low-input dry land agriculture and joint ventures for high value irrigated crops
- A mix of qualitative and quantitative data, at different levels (household, enterprise, project, district)

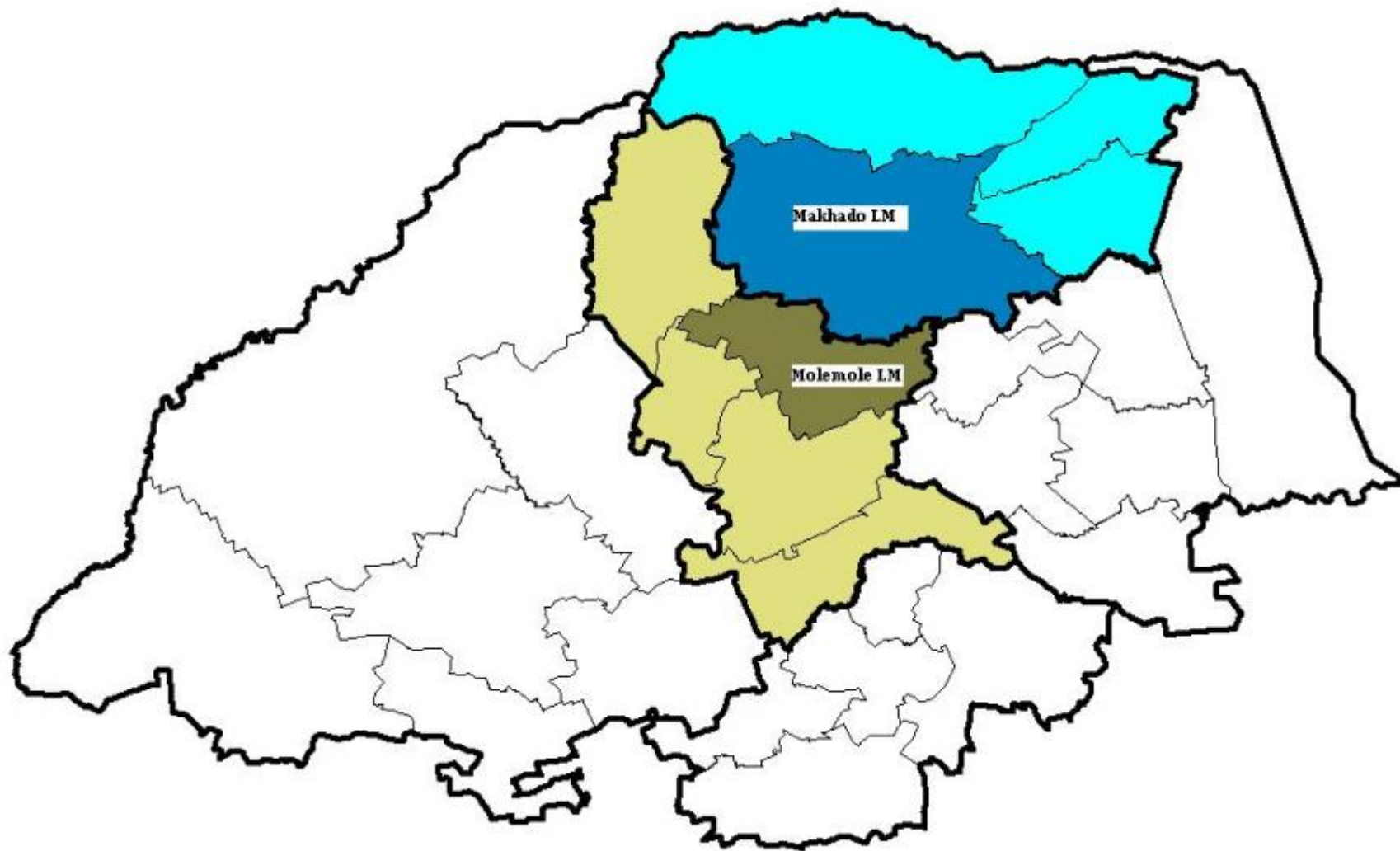
Livelihoods after Land Reform – the South African component

Researchers: Michael Aliber, Themba Maluleke, Tshililo Manenzhe, Gaynor Paradza, Ben Cousins

Methodology

- Project census (Capricorn and Vhembe DMs)
- In-depth project fieldwork (Molemole & Makhado Local Municipalities)
 - Life-history interviews
 - Household census and/or surveys
 - Focus groups
 - Enterprise analysis
 - Key informants
- Value chain analysis

Sites – location of Makhado & Molemole LMs



Agriculture in Limpopo

	Vhembe	Capricorn	Limpopo
Agric employment	12,306	10,650	59,363
Employment	98,116	129,036	534,153
Unemployment (expanded defn)	176,726	216,507	893,696
Agric empl/all empl	13%	8%	11%
Agric empl/labour force	4%	3%	4%

	Vhembe	Capricorn	Limpopo
African HHs who farm	189,910	168,513	606,460
as % of all black HHs	67%	50%	44%
African individuals (15+) who 'farm'	387,941	297,718	1,084,365
as % of all African individuals	52%	35%	32%
African women (15+) who 'farm'	265,462	199,217	745,723
as % of all Africans 'farming'	68%	67%	69%

Land redistribution programmes

- SLAG (1995-2000) – R16 000 per household
- LRAD (2001-2007) – R20 000 to R100 000 per adult individual
- LRAD (2008-2009) – R111 000 to R400 000 per adult individual

Land reform in Limpopo

Land situation as of 1994

	Farmland (HA)	Shares
Former homelands	3,394,518	38%
Commercial areas	5,488,613	62%
Totals	8,883,131	100%

- To date,
 - approx 500,0000 HA restituted; and 4.4 million HA to go?
 - Approx 80,000 HA redistributed

Land reform in Limpopo

	1994		2009	
	Farmland (HA)	Shares	Farmland (HA)	Shares
'Black'	3,394,518	38%	3,974,518	44%
'White'	5,488,613	62%	5,158,613	56%
Totals	8,883,131	100%	9,133,131	100%

Note: only takes land reform transactions into account

Findings from project census

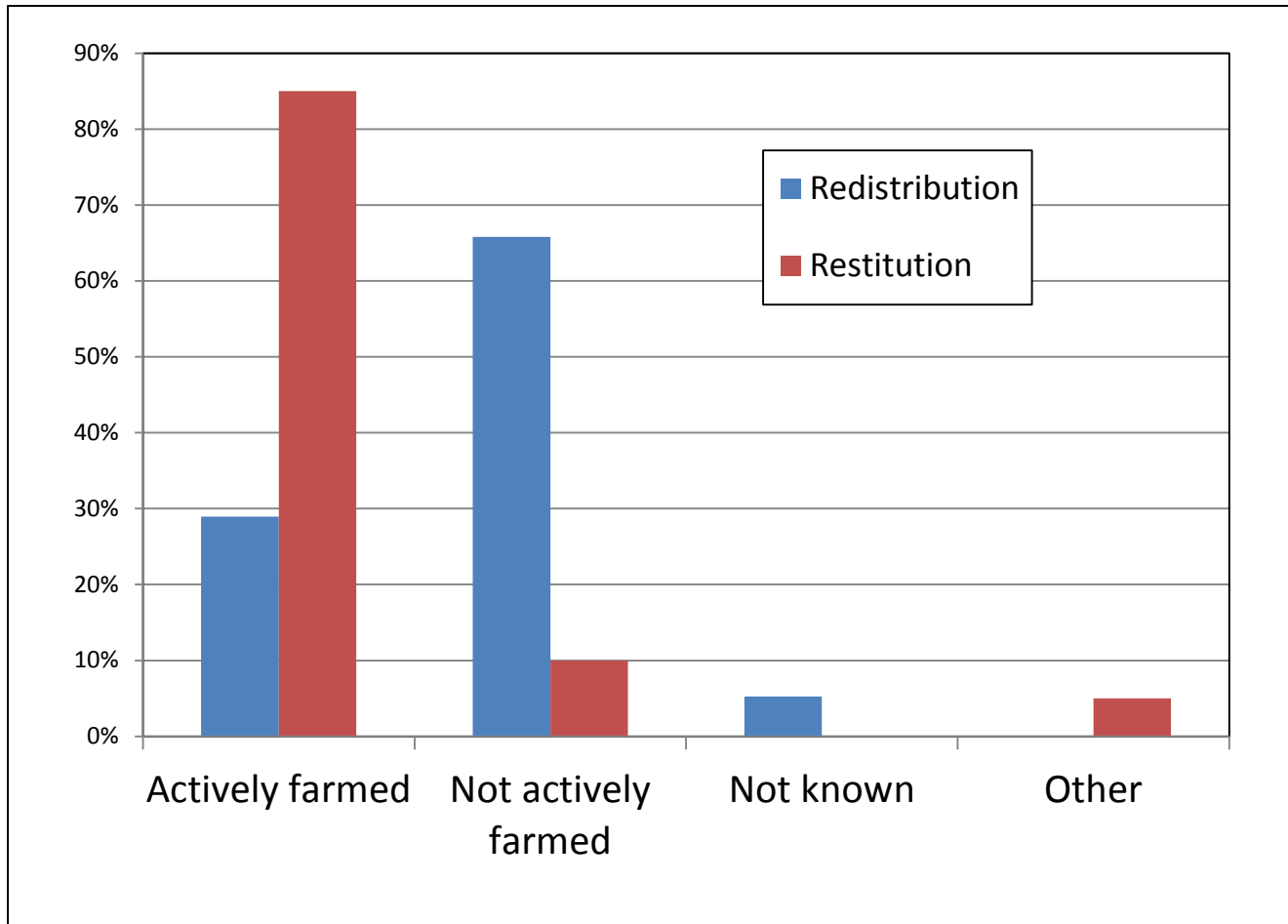
– Project status

	Redistribution		Restitution	
	Count	Share	Count	Share
No benefs using land, nothing happening	41	51%	13	36%
No benefs using, but some land leased out	1	1%	3	8%
Some beneficiaries using	23	28%	4	11%
Some benefs using & some land leased out	8	10%	4	11%
Operational as a joint venture	0	0%	8	22%
No information regarding project	8	10%	4	11%
Total	81	100%	36	100%

Project status: SLAG (earlier) versus LRAD (later) projects

	SLAG		LRAD	
	Count	Share	Count	Share
No benefs using land, nothing happening	17	46%	24	55%
No benefs using, but some land leased out	1	3%	0	0%
Some beneficiaries using	9	24%	14	32%
Some benefs using & some land leased out	6	16%	2	4%
No information regarding project	4	11%	4	9%
Total	37	100%	44	100%

Status of farm just before acquisition



Trajectories – the approach

‘Project trajectories’

+

‘People types’

==>

Livelihood trajectories in/through land reform,
i.e. ‘outcomes’

Examples from project case studies

- **Purpose:**

- To convey sense of similarities and differences among projects and experiences
- To lay groundwork for ‘trajectory’ analysis

<i>LRAD projects</i>	<i>SLAG projects</i>	<i>Restitution projects</i>
Springkaan	Fanang Diatla	Mavungeni
Chokoe cc	Makhamotse	Kranspoort
Karishume	Marobala Chicken	Munzhedzi
Maiwashe	Mmatsehla	Makgato
Vele		Manavhela
		Levubu
		Morebene

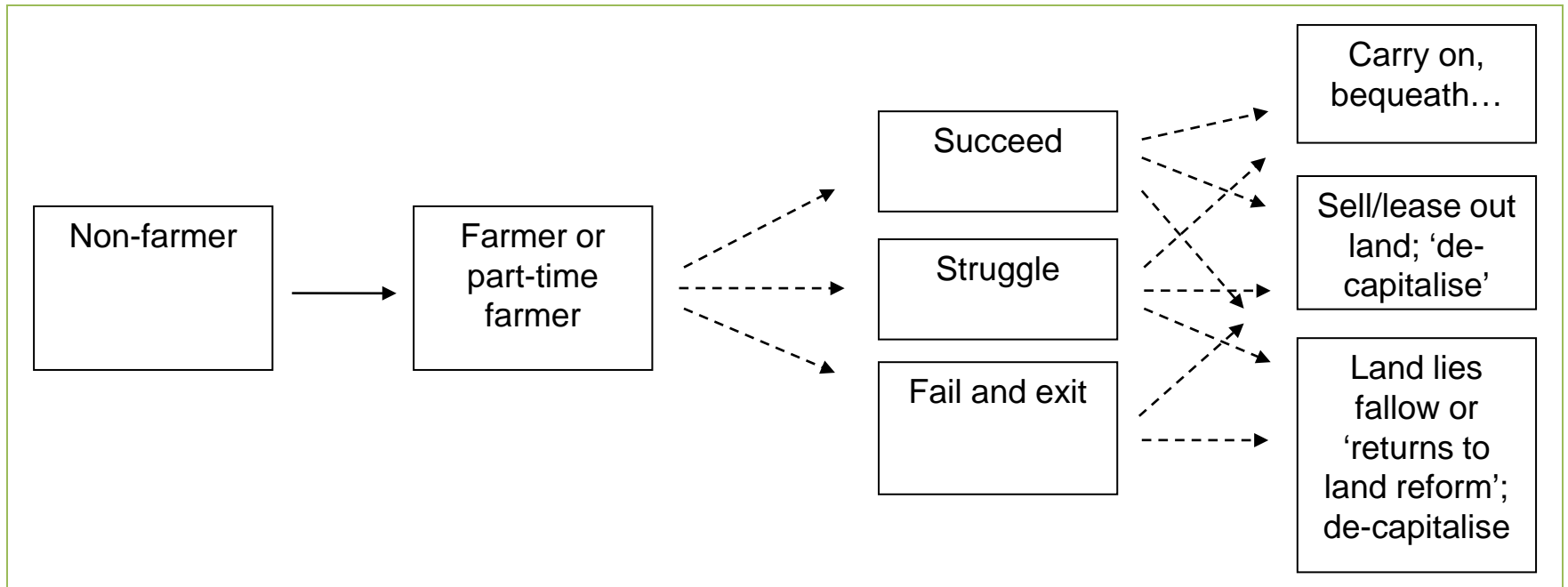
Case Study 1: Maiwashe (LRAD)

- Single-household project on Goedgedacht farm
- The project has three beneficiaries, a father and his two sons
- The land had 993 ha and 83 ha was sold to the neighbours
- Acquired the land through LRAD program in 2002 through an estate agent
- They have 'employed' a farm manager = nephew, 3 other permanent employees and casual workers from Zimbabwe
- Beneficiaries are not hands on the project
- They use 20 ha for crop farming/ vegetable garden and the rest is used for cattle grazing and game
- The farm has 165 cattle, 60 pigs
- They have 67 breeding cows and three bulls

Maiwashe (cont.)

- Pays R24 per month per livestock unit for technical advice from an expert for Bonsmara farming
- Sells 60-70 weaners per year at Bandolierkop Vleisentraal.
- Benefits: selling of vegetables, selling of livestock, occasionally selling access to game hunters and sometimes selling pigs

LRAD project trajectories



LRAD project trajectories

- Straightforward
- Some variation in relation to whether or not full-time or part-time, on own account or for family....
- Future unclear, but alternatives straightforward

Case study 2: Fanang Diatla (SLAG)

- SLAG project of initially 49 beneficiaries (12 former workers and 37 from surrounding villages)
- The farm is 61 HA in size and under the former owner was used for orchards and cash crops
- SLAG applicants got the land in 2000; used balance of the grant to purchase tractor and other implements
- Also took a loan from the Land Bank; purchased a bakkie etc.
- New owners continued with the use of orchard (kind of), vegetable gardens but in addition established a poultry project with grant (CASP) funding

Fanang Diatla (cont.)

- However, by 2003 couldn't sustain monthly pay for the workers/project members, service loans. Alleged misuse of money by trustees? But even so....
- Majority of members abandoned the project; only three original beneficiaries remained; they live with their families on the farm
- Those who left went to look for jobs on nearby farms or around Polokwane
- Three remaining began cutting firewood for sale in order to raise funds to start afresh farming activities
- In 2006 neighbouring white farmer loaned them a tractor and they started ploughing cabbages, tomatoes, beetroot, chilies and pepper
- Resurrection!

Fanang Diatla (cont.)

- In 2008 they managed to employ another 9 employees who are paid at the end of every harvest; (R30 rand per day)
- Now the government wants to move them from the farm because they say it is too big for the three
- The three beneficiaries were told by government to look for a farm and inform government when they find it

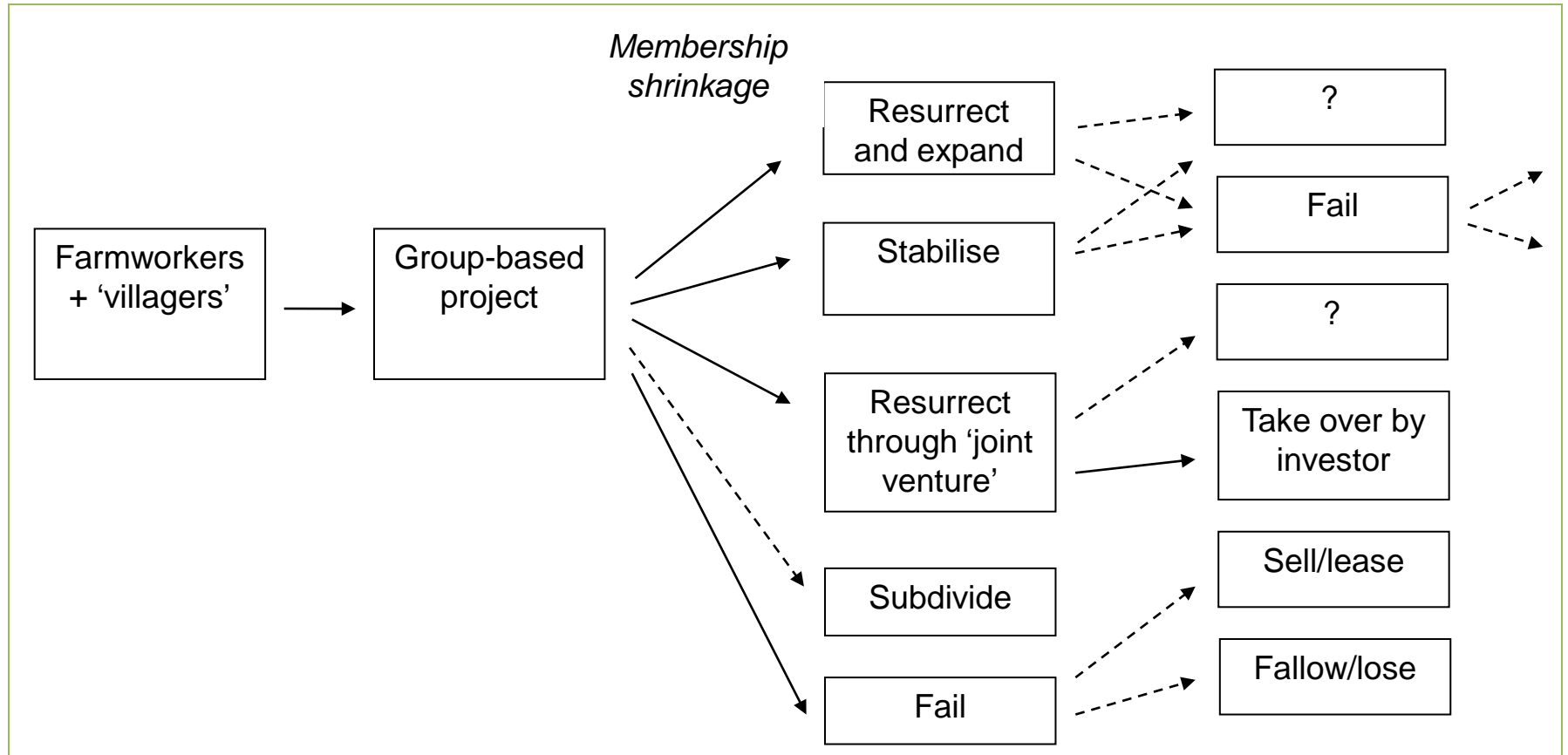
Case study 3: Mmasetlha Project (SLAG)

- SLAG project near Morebeng with 396 HA on the farm Driefontein
- The project had 60 beneficiaries when it was started in 1999, incl small number of former farmworkers
- The chief of Dikgale assisted his subjects to acquire the land from government
- When started in 1999 beneficiaries were very active but by 2002 they started fighting each other and started to loot project resources
- By 2006 most beneficiaries had left project and sought employment on nearby white-owned farms; 6 beneficiaries remained behind

Mmasetlha (cont.)

- In 2007 the 6 beneficiaries leased the land to a local businessman due to lack of resources to run the farm – Mr Tshilipo
- All 6 beneficiaries were employed by him on their own farm
- Tshilipo pays R1000 pm for rent, R500 pm to workers for 3-week month
- They also have their own land for their own production on the farm – sometimes use depending on rain
- Tshilipo has more than 80 pigs, few cattle, vegetable plot and a plot to produce maize

SLAG project trajectories



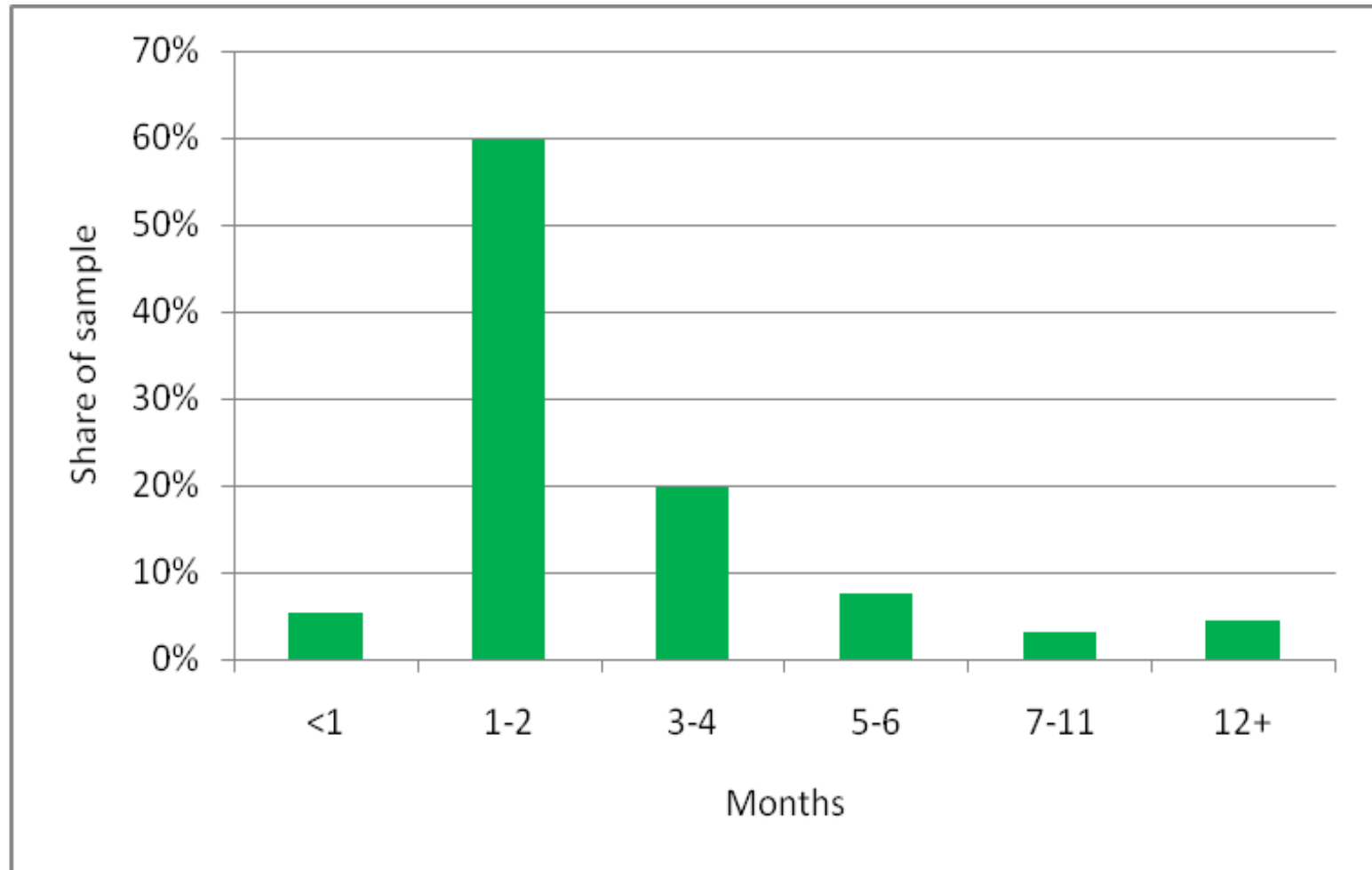
SLAG project trajectories

- Common denominators:
 - Combination of farmworkers and extra recruits ('rent-a-crowd')
 - Membership shrinks, leaving core of original farmworkers
- What we don't see, and what it means that we don't see it

Case study 4: Mundzhedzi (restitution)

- It is a historical community of Venda and Shangaan speakers; living under Chief Nthabalala under headman Rambau Mundzhedzi
- The community claimed three farms, mostly unoccupied
- Land invasion orchestrated by the chief in 2000, in 2002 the land was restituted back to the community
- The land is 1225 ha and mostly used for settlement
- As of March 2008, 170 claimants HHs and 800 non-claimants HHs had settled
- Most of the settled non-claimants were from nearby communities
- About 550 people are practicing subsistence agriculture and 20 of them practicing commercial smallholder agriculture
- People are in an advantageous location, ie on well-travelled route into Elim and Makhado town

Self-provisioning of maize in Munzhedzhi



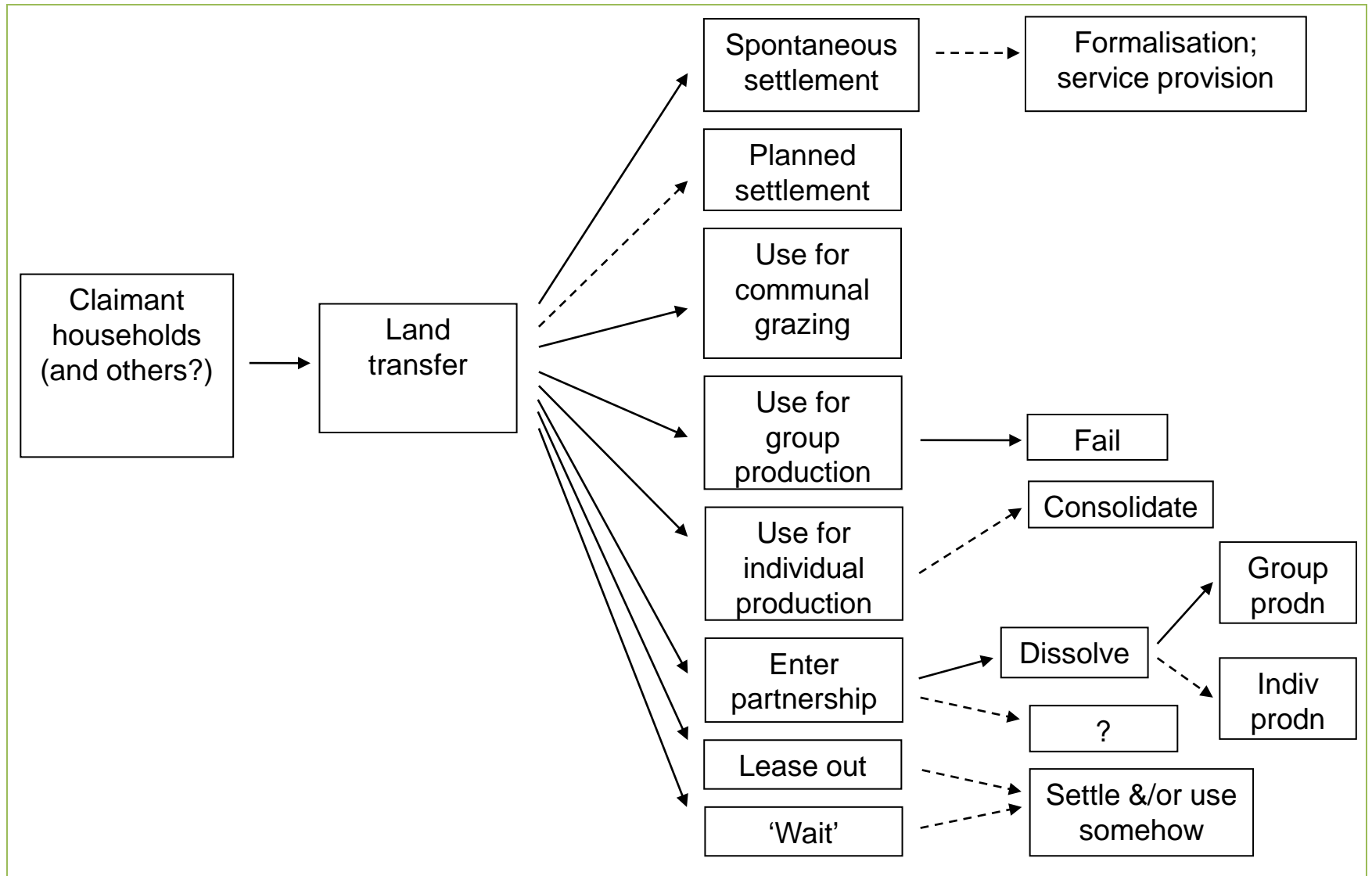
Case study 5: Morebene (restitution)

- A restitution claim settled in 2004 and restoring 1700 ha of agricultural land to Morebene CPA
- The CPA has 590 households with 1337 beneficiaries
- CPA experienced internal disputes resulting in land not being used, mainly between 2004 and late 2007
- Disputes emanated from CPA committee which disagreed on how to operate the farm; allegations of embezzlement
- In 2007, one of the beneficiaries' grandson (a young black entrepreneur) intervened and organized beneficiaries to come together and resolve their differences
- This grandson, Elias, is based in Gauteng and has businesses in Johannesburg, appears to be successful
- Elias accesses two farms which he farms for own account; has employed a white farm manager

Morebene (cont.)

- Employs 44 beneficiaries paid on a monthly basis
- He produces potatoes, strawberries, maize, sweet potatoes and avocados on the orchard site. He also has livestock on site.
- In return, Elias supports beneficiaries to farm plots of maize on two other farms for their own benefit; 35 in 2007/08; 60 in 2008/09, but over 100 others joined in to plough maize with own resources on same farm
- No extension support since December 2007

Restitution project trajectories



'People types'

- People involved with / affected by land reform in different ways
 - Official versus unofficial beneficiaries
 - Farm workers, tenants, investors
 - 3 main types of livelihood benefits
 - Via 'direct use'
 - Via employment relationship
 - Means of augmenting influence, collecting rents, etc

'People types'

- **'Lifetime farm-dwellers'** – spend lives on farms, limited social networks, little/no entrepreneurial experience; sometimes have no other home
- **'Foot-loose labourers'** – have tried different things, e.g. working in Gauteng or mines, small enterprise; often some agricultural experience
- **'Communal area dwellers'** – pursue multiple-livelihood strategies, including subsistence farming, trade, etc.
- **'Communal area farmers'** – farm commercially, often with livestock (but also orchards, cash crops, etc.), often linked to other enterprises, embedded in local economy
- **'Teachers and career civil servants'** – have often farmed on the side, want to go into agriculture more fully when retire, some means but not rich
- **'Poor nephew'** – might be similar to a foot-loose labourer, but have a well-off relative
- **'Successful businessman'** – from rural area (usually communal area?), made it in urban economy, want to diversify into agric, partially economic and partially emotional

	'People types'						
	'Lifetime farm-dwellers'	'Foot-loose labourers'	'Communal area dwellers'	'Communal area farmers'	'Teachers and career civil servants'	'Poor nephew'	'Successful businessman'
LRAD	Employees - Maiwashe - Vele	Employees - Karishume - Chokoe		Direct user / tenant - Chokoe		Managers - Maiwashe - Springkaan	Direct users/ mangers - Chokoe - Vele - Karishume
SLAG	Direct users - Makhamotse - Fanang Diatla Beneficiary-employees - Marobala - Mmatsehla	Direct users - Fanang Diatla	'Ex-beneficiaries'!		Investor/ manager - Mmatsehla	Managers - Marobala	
Resti-tution	Direct users /claimants - Makgato Employees / claimants - Levubu Employees / non-claimants - Levubu	Direct users /claimants - Munzhedzi Direct users / non-claimants - Munzhedzi Brokers - Munzhedi Employees: - Manavhela	Direct users / claimants - Munzhedzi Direct users / non-claimants - Munzhedzi 'Rent collectors' - Levubu	Direct users / claimants - Makgato - Munzhedzi	Direct users /claimants - Kranspoort		Investor - Morebene

Policy implications

- Despite statements to contrary, our ‘models’ (esp in redistribution) work according to their own logic in determining who benefits
 - Key issues = information, initiative, resources, bureaucratic ease
- We don’t in fact have models that are well suited to:
 - Farm workers/dwellers
 - Communal area farmers and dwellers
- Policy makers have a one-sided appreciation of the nature of demand for land

...Policy implications

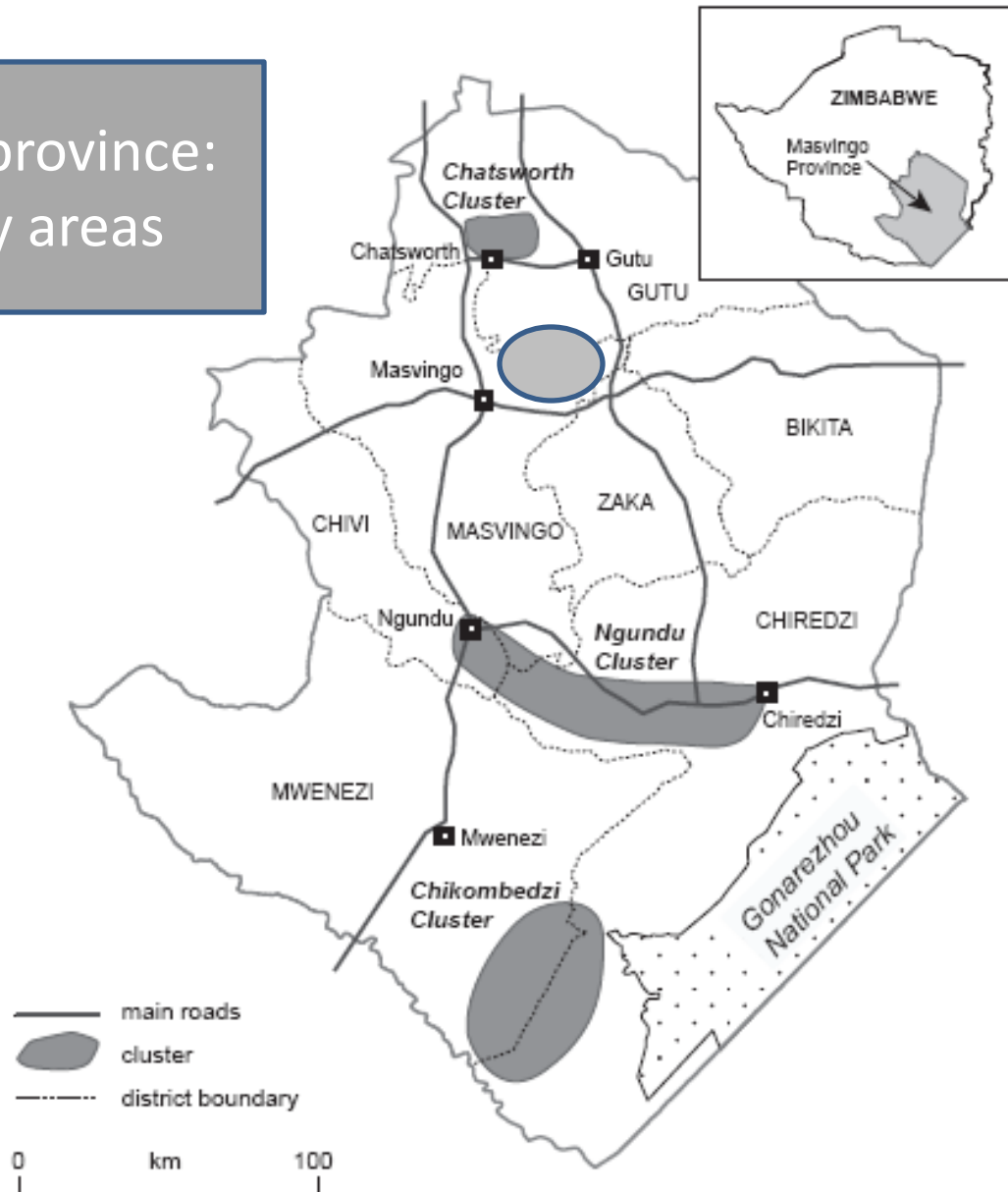
- Need to build on what is working, whether as result of deliberate planning or spontaneous evolution, eg:
 - many LRAD projects are working well; intensifying, attracting additional resources
 - Settlement-oriented projects can benefit many people (esp if not too much planning?)
 - ‘Non-traditional partners’ (like relatives who are entrepreneurs) may be useful for land reform beneficiaries

Livelihoods after Land Reform – the Zimbabwe component

Researchers: Nelson Marongwe, Chris Sukume, BZ Mavedzenge, Felix Murimbarimba, Jacob Mahenehene , Ian Scoones

- Masvingo: survey of 400 households, 177 in depth, 120 life histories (and use of some household data from 2006)
- Forthcoming book(see www.lalr.org.za)

Masvingo province: the study areas



Masvingo province: a new agrarian structure has emerged

Category	Area (hectares)	% of Total
A1	1 195 564	21.1%
A2	371 520	6.5%
Old Resettlement	440 163	7.8%
Communal area	2 116 450	37.4%
Gona reZhou National Park	505 300	8.9%
Remaining large scale farms (white owned)	44 724	0.8%
Other (indigenous-owned large scale farms, small scale farms, state farms etc)	982 879	17.5%
Total	5 656 600	100.0%

Scheme type	Settlement patterns	Gutu	Masvingo	Chiredzi	Mwenezi	Province
A 1 villagised and self contained	Total farms settled	83	56	33	72	244
	Total area (ha)	154522	70455	248176	722411	1 195 564
	Total settlers	5 479	3209	11155	12 754	32 597
	Average area / settler(ha)	28.2	21.9	22.2	56.6	36.7
A 2	Total farms settled	18	21	73	64	176
	Total area (ha)	58281	27755	73927	211557	371 520
	Total settlers	179	372	672	372	1 169
	Average area / settler(ha)	326	75	110	569	318

New land, new people.... Were they 'just cronies'?

(% of settlers across scheme types)

	A1 villagised	A1 self contained	Informal	A2	Total
'Ordinary' from other rural areas	59.9	39.2	69.7	12.2	49.9
'Ordinary' from urban areas	9.4	18.9	22.6	43.8	18.3
Civil servant	12.5	28.3	3.8	26.3	16.5
Security services	3.6	5.4	3.8	1.8	3.7
Business person	3.1	8.2	0	10.5	4.8
Former farm worker	11.5	0	0	5.3	6.7
N	192	74	53	57	376

No investment....?

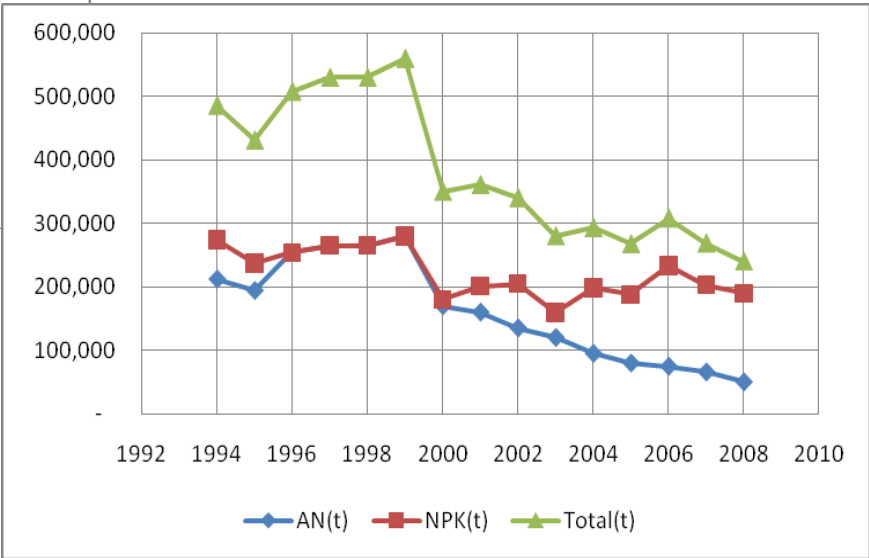
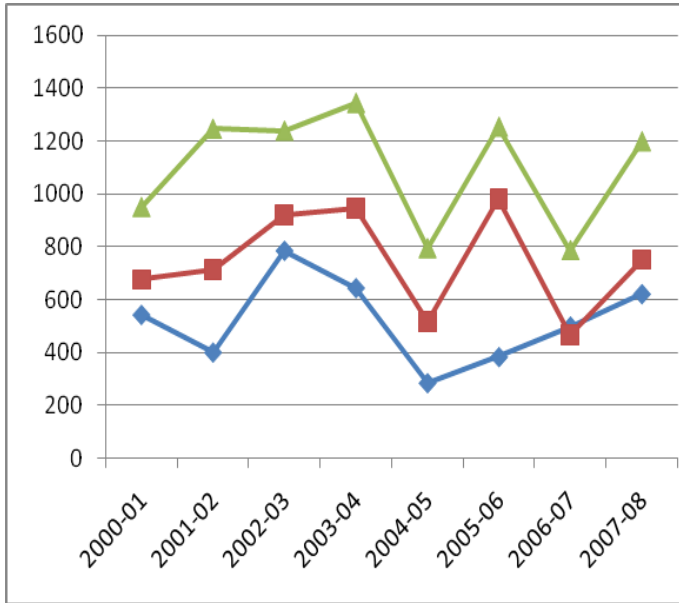
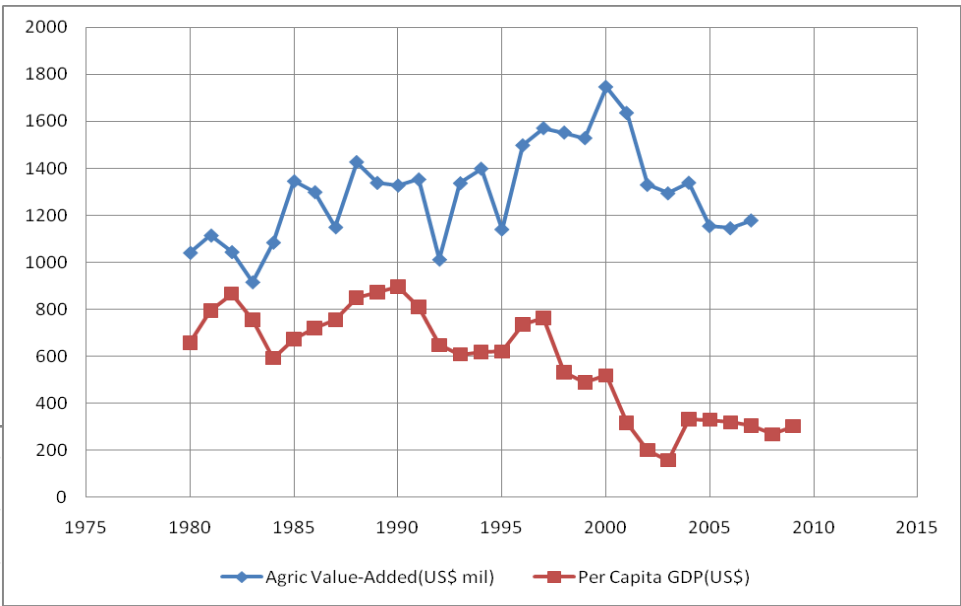
(estimated value of investment since settlement (across 400 hh))

Focus of investment	Total value across study sites (US\$)	Average per household (US\$)
Land clearance	154124	385
Housing/buildings	252429	631
Cattle	245075	612
Farm equipment	79142	198
Transport	60361	150
Toilets	30734	77
Garden fencing	11613	29
Wells	31638	79
Total	\$85 5116	\$2 161

Despite tough conditions ...

- Highly variable rainfall, 4 droughts in 10 years
- Wider economy in free fall (hyper-inflation, rent-seeking in currency markets, rapid decline in formal employment)
- Poor availability of seed, fertilizer, fuel

Tough conditions....



National agricultural output since 2000: variable by crop

- Outputs of maize, tobacco, wheat, sugar , tea, coffee, horticulture = reduced
- Outputs of cotton, small grains, groundnuts = increased
- Maize: - 33% compared to 1990s
- Cotton: + 13% compared to 1990s

Agricultural decline....?

Crop	1990s Average	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Maize	1668.6	1476.2	1526.3	929.6	1058.8	1686.2	915.4	952.6	575.0	1242.6
	% Change	-11.5%	-8.5%	-44.3%	-36.5%	1.1%	-45.1%	-42.9%	-65.5%	-25.5%
Wheat	219.3	250	325	213.0	122.4	135	134	150	75.0	38.0
	% Change	14.0%	48.2%	-2.9%	-44.2%	-38.4%	-38.9%	-31.6%	-65.8%	-82.7%
Small Grains	50.01	90.7	99.6	35.8	131.2	196.1	128.6	138.6	93.2	270.2
	% Change	81.4%	99.2%	-28.4%	162.3%	292.1%	157.1%	177.1%	86.4%	440.4%
Edible dry beans	5.3	7.4	7.2	7.1	10.8	56.8	21.5	30.3	3.8	37.3
	% Change	39.6%	35.8%	34.0%	103.8%	971.7%	305.7%	471.7%	-28.3%	603.8%
Groundnuts	92	191	168.7	59	141	135	57.8	83.2	131.5	216.6
	% Change	107.6%	83.4%	-35.9%	53.3%	46.7%	-37.2%	-9.6%	42.9%	135.4%
Tobacco	197.61	236.97	202.57	165.87	81.87	68.97	73.47	55.57	69.815	63.6
	% Change	19.9%	2.5%	-16.1%	-58.6%	-65.1%	-62.8%	-71.9%	-64.7%	-67.8%
Cotton	214.11	242.02	280.32	194.22	228.01	198.01	265.03	300.03	226.415	246.8
	% Change	13.0%	30.9%	-9.3%	6.5%	-7.5%	23.8%	40.1%	5.7%	15.3%

Perennial food insecurity....?

(% of hh producing more than a tonne of maize)

<i>District</i>	Scheme Type	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
<i>Gutu</i>	A1 self-contained	18.4	50.0	45.5	75.0	63.4	28.6	61.5
	A1 villagised	13.3	39.1	24.0	79.3	63.3	36.7	78.6
	A2	0.0	0.0	44.4	75.0	66.7	-	63.6
<i>Masvingo</i>	A1 self-contained	55.3	63.2	56.4	100.0	100.0	51.3	100.0
	A1 villagised	28.0	38.1	45.8	95.7	91.2	15.8	77.9
	A2	0.0	25.0	25.0	XX	75.0	75.0	100.0
<i>Chiredzi</i>	A2	14.3	38.5	46.2	50.0	66.7	50.0	88.9
	Informal	18.8	10.2	3.9	86.5	51.0	24.5	62.5
<i>Mwenezi</i>	A1 villagised	26.9	8.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0 (57)
	Informal	11.5	11.5	0.0	0.0	26.7	6.7	0.0 (73)

Differentiation occurring amongst land reform beneficiaries

- Not all households doing equally well
- 3 x “success groups” identified, using local criteria
- SG 1 producing more maize for sale & accumulating more cattle than SGs 2 and 3

Differentiation and production (bags of maize sold in 2009 by 'success group')

		2008-09		
Scheme Type	(SG)	0 bags	1-20 bags	21+ bags
A1 self-contained	1	26.1	8.7	65.2
	2	51.9	22.2	25.9
	3	58.6	24.1	17.2
A1 villagised	1	38.9	29.6	31.5
	2	52.8	35.8	11.3
	3	67.9	19.7	10.7
A2	1	60.0	20.0	20.0
	2	70.0	10.0	20.0
	3	90.0	0.0	10.0
Informal	1	84.2	15.8	0.0
	2	96.6	3.4	0.0
	3	100	0.0	0.0

Differential accumulation....

(no's of cattle per household by success group)

Scheme Type	SG 1		SG 2		SG 3	
	At settlement	2008	At settlement	2008	At settlement	2008
A1	6.3	10.4	4.5	4.5	1.9	2.6
A1 self-contained	11.2	16.2	1.3	10.9	0.9	3.7
A2	18.9	20.5	13.6	14.8	11.1	4.4
Informal	7.5	12.5	4.5	3.8	0.0	0.5

Labour: the new farm workers

	A1 and informal				
	Temporary cropping	Temporary livestock	Permanent both	Permanent cropping	Permanent livestock
Percentage of hhs employing workers	20	13	9	11	9.3
Nos employed	244	29	19	38	12
% of these female	48	31	26	32	25

	A2				
	Temporary cropping	Temporary livestock	Permanent both	Permanent cropping	Permanent livestock
Percentage of hhs employing workers	67.6	43.5	44.8	71.9	43.3
Nos employed	233	15	60	88	25
% of these female	27	7	23	26	28

Category	Livelihood Strategies	Total
Dropping out (10.0%)	Exits	4.4%
	(Chronically poor, destitute)	3.3%
	(Ill health)	2.2%
Hanging in (33.6%)	Asset poor farming, local labour	17.8%
	Keeping the plot	10.3%
	Straddling	5.6%
Stepping out (21.4%)	Survival diversification	2.8%
	Local off-farm activities	5.3%
	Remittances from within Zimbabwe	5.0%
	Remittances from outside Zimbabwe	4.4%
	Cell phone farmers	3.9%
Stepping up (35.0%)	<i>Hurudza</i>	18.3%
	Part-time farmers	10.6%
	New (semi-)commercial farmers	4.7%
	Farming from patronage	1.4%

Myths and realities....

- Myth 1: Zimbabwean land reform has been a total failure
- Myth 2: The beneficiaries of Zimbabwean land reform have been largely political 'cronies'
- Myth 3: There is no investment in the new resettlements
- Myth 4: Agriculture is in complete ruins creating chronic food insecurity
- Myth 5: The rural economy has collapsed

Conclusions

- Myths are being challenged: now a need to shift policy discourses (all political parties, donors)
- Is Masvingo exceptional? Or typical of Zimbabwe
- Accumulation from below is occurring: potential for a new agrarian dynamic? Needs support
- Beyond dualism (and rigid planning models): an emerging flexibility in land holdings, production systems, scales of production
- Agrarian politics: an emerging struggle over who will benefit from land reform under a new government