



**HIV/AIDS, LAND-BASED LIVELIHOODS, AND LAND REFORM
IN SOUTH AFRICA**

**Report to the International Food Policy Research Institute and the
Department of Land Affairs, South Africa**

**Human Sciences Research Council, University of Fort Hare,
University of KwaZulu-Natal, and Nkuzi Development Association**

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Executive Summary

Introduction

In 1994, South Africa's Department of Land Affairs initiated a land reform programme. Land reform was – and still is – intended to redress the racial imbalance in landholding, develop the agricultural sector and improve the livelihoods of the poor. These far-reaching objectives were derived from an understanding that land reform has the potential to make a direct impact on poverty through targeted resource transfers, while simultaneously addressing the economic and social injustices caused by colonial and apartheid dispossession. However, there is now a growing concern that the pro-poor objectives of land reform may be under threat from the HIV/AIDS epidemic. However, thus far there has been little tangible action aimed at either better understanding the relationship between land reform and the HIV/AIDS epidemic, or in respect of adjusting land reform policies and practice in reaction to the epidemic.

Although the present study is, as far as we are aware, the first and only research effort thus far of the relationship between HIV/AIDS and land reform in South Africa, it is not the first treatment of the relationship between HIV/AIDS and land-based livelihoods, either in South Africa or elsewhere in the region. However, these prior exercises had some notable shortcomings for which the present study seeks to correct. The first major shortcoming of earlier efforts – including the HSRC's own research – was focusing only on HIV/AIDS-affected households, which meant that the actual impact of HIV/AIDS could not be distinguished from other possible influences. The present study therefore deliberately seeks to interview both affected and non-affected households. The second major shortcoming was that most of the earlier studies were merely snapshots in time. Given the dynamic manner in which HIV/AIDS affects households, as well as the dynamic nature of rural livelihoods generally, it is preferable to trace patterns of change over time. (In addition, as of yet there are no longitudinal studies of land reform, whether of projects or particular beneficiaries, thus our understanding of land reform is itself more one-dimensional than is desirable.) Accordingly, the study is conceptualised as a longitudinal study covering three years. The study is presently concluding its first year, which has focused on 10 sites in three provinces. The idea is to return to the same sites repeatedly over the three years, to bear witness to the relationship between HIV/AIDS and land reform and/or land-based livelihoods as it unfolds over time. Thus the information collected for the first 'wave' is considered baseline data. It was not expected at this time that a full understanding of the relationship would have been established. Indeed, much of the analysis that follows pertains to the nature of land reform projects and land-based livelihoods, and infers the connection to HIV/AIDS rather than observes it directly.

The ultimate aim of the research is to generate actionable policy recommendations and programme responses, first of all by answering basic questions such as to what extent and in what way the HIV/AIDS epidemic poses a threat to South Africa's land reform programme, and secondly by identifying specific ways in which land reform policy and practice should be adjusted. However, it should be clarified that the study is not solely about the impact of HIV/AIDS on land reform and rural livelihoods, but equally about whether and how land reform can serve as an intervention to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS on affected households.

Study description

The study is designed as a collection of mutually illuminating case studies, covering a range of project type and geography. Because resources were limited, the study was confined to three provinces – Limpopo, Eastern Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal – which were chosen largely

on account of their large rural, poor populations that stand to benefit from land reform, as well as the fact that they are the three provinces with the largest numbers of black households engaged in agriculture. In each province, three or four sites were identified, including sites consisting of redistribution project, restitution projects, and communal sites, i.e. communities that are not part of the land reform programme. The inclusion of communal sites serves two purposes. First, communal areas are areas in which the Communal Land Rights Act (CLRA) will eventually be implemented, thus the research ultimately aims to generate insights that will be useful to the development of implementation systems for CLRA. Second, communal areas serve as a sort of 'control' against which the data from redistribution and restitution projects can be interpreted.

In each site, various research activities were conducted, including project visits, key informant interviews and household interviews. Around and apart from the sites, in each of the three provinces the research team undertook a scoping exercise to determine the extent to which local civil society institutions were aware of rural people being displaced from their homes, and held a workshop with provincial officials of the Department of Land Affairs together, where possible, with other provincial stakeholders.

Prevalence

As with similar studies, the present study was handicapped by the fact that it did not have hard information as to respondents' 'HIV/AIDS-affectedness status,' i.e. whether or not it is a household in which a household member has died from an AIDS-related condition, is presently ill with an AIDS-related condition, or is aware or suspected of being HIV positive. The study relied therefore on respondents' direct revelations, as well as a few other imperfect but necessary indicators. The fact that the research team's interpretation of which households are and are not affected is not wholly erroneous, is supported by the correlation between imputed affectedness status and other variables, e.g. household welfare. However, it remains a concern that more is left to guesswork than is desirable.

Based on this approach, the estimated 'prevalence' of HIV/AIDS-affectedness varies enormously across sites, with communal sites tending to be on the high side (near 50%), and redistribution and restitution projects varying from 5% to over 40%.

Findings 1: HIV/AIDS as a threat to land reform

There is a common though not universal perception among beneficiary respondents that land reform projects are at risk from HIV/AIDS in the same manner that a private company might be, i.e. because of the impact on the labour force as well as its 'management' or leadership. However, this general observation can be refined by taking into account the fact that, first, the demographic profiles of land reform projects vary considerably, but also that land reform projects are structured in diverse ways, for example with some involving 'corporate-style' production, and others more individualised land allocation and land use. According to project members own perceptions, age and project type are two inter-related factors that have much to do with the vulnerability of land reform projects to HIV/AIDS.

Age comes into the equation of impact in almost diametrically opposed ways, although both ways are equally premised on the idea that AIDS is an affliction strongly if not strictly associated with the youth. On the one hand, because land reform projects tend to comprise older people who are less at risk of HIV/AIDS, these projects are unlikely to experience direct distress from HIV/AIDS. On the other hand, some respondents appear to take a longer view in which the youth would ideally play a vital role in ensuring projects' sustainability, but that this involvement is in doubt because of the susceptibility of the youth to AIDS.

These considerations in turn related to project type. For our purposes, project type has been taken to relate to the distinction between projects that depend on corporate or collective action versus those in which the individual or household is the primary 'production unit.' There is some evidence, albeit tentative, that beneficiaries of projects that rely on collective action are especially mindful of the danger posed to their projects if members and particularly leaders die. By contrast, beneficiaries of projects that are more individualistic are more apt to focus on the future uncertainty associated with the susceptibility of the youth to AIDS, as mentioned above.

Findings 2: Beneficiary-level implications of land reform and HIV/AIDS

In the first instance, two dimensions of project beneficiaries' experience of land reform were subjectively probed, namely whether their expectations had been met, and whether they felt they had become better or worse off since the beginning of the project. An attempt was then made to discern any patterns distinguishing members from HIV/AIDS-affected versus non-affected households. In respect of whether or not land reform had met the beneficiary's expectations, non-affected and affected households are not very different in terms of the reasons they provide for either feeling the project met or fell short of their expectations. The biggest visible difference is that affected households are less apt to identify getting their land back as a reason for stating that the project had met their expectations, and are somewhat more likely to mention getting jobs and access to services, which might mean that they are more preoccupied with practical considerations such as survival, as opposed to the more psychic rewards of restorative justice.

More telling are the results as to the declared change in welfare of the project member's household since the beginning of the project. Again the results are somewhat tentative, but the indication is that land reform mitigates the negative impact of HIV/AIDS on household welfare. The finding is subtle: on the one hand, members of non-affected households are more likely than their affected counterparts to feel that they are better off since the beginning of the project, but among respondents outside of land reform projects, affectedness is clearly associated with a decline in welfare. As interestingly, project members from affected households whose welfare has improved are much more likely than their non-affected counterparts to identify 'land for farming' as the reason why.

Findings 3: Land reform, household-level food security and HIV/AIDS

The issue of household-level food security was explored by means of two questions from the household survey that served as kind of proxies for household-level food security, namely a question about the number of meals eaten by the household in the previous day, and a question as to what the household's main meal in the previous day consisted of.

There is compelling evidence that on redistribution and restitution projects (and most of all for the two categories taken together), HIV/AIDS-affected households are less food secure than non-affected households. This is in contrast to the absence of any such evident relationship on the communal sites. (On the communal sites, the absence of an evident relationship does not constitute evidence of an absence, however, the contrast is nonetheless conspicuous.) On the one hand, one is not surprised that AIDS negatively impacts on the food security of affected households; on the other hand, why would this be more evident on land reform projects than in communal areas? Moreover, it would appear to contradict the finding mentioned above that affected households who feel they are better off since the project began are more likely than their non-affected counterparts to identify gaining access to land for farming as the main reason why.

The answer relates to the composition of the previous day's main meal, wherein the relationship to AIDS-affectedness is very nearly the opposite, i.e. affected households are /less likely to have had a main meal the previous day comprising two or fewer foods. The results for the communal sites are indeterminate, but if anything appear to swing the other way. The implication is that land reform contributes positively to the dietary diversity of affected households. This is reinforced when one looks at the sources of the different components of the previous day's main meal, wherein affected households are more apt to have sourced one or more ingredients for the previous day's main meal from the land acquired via land reform. Why this is so is unclear. If we had any hopes at all, it would have been that AIDS-affected households benefit no less than non-affected households. However, it turns out that affected households are especially likely to derive some of their diet from the project land, as though consciously mindful of the need to secure a diverse and healthy diet.

We can speculate that the juxtaposition of fewer but more diverse meals among affected beneficiary households owes to a combination of factors: the increased poverty owing to HIV/AIDS means that some affected households are less able than their non-affected counterparts to maintain three meals per day. At the same time, involvement in land reform gives households access to land which they may have previously lacked, and which they use to their advantage by farming, albeit on a modest scale, thus adding diversity to their diets.

Findings 4: Relocation and its implications

The implications of relocation and non-relocation for project beneficiaries are explored, particularly in relation to affectedness status. While a lot of issues are raised, the findings are inconclusive, mainly because the data are such that the link between affectedness and relocation is more inferred than observed. While there is reason for confidence that more light will be shed on this issue as the study proceeds to its next phase, at this stage at least the questions have been clarified. First and foremost, to the extent relocation to land reform projects tends to involve a trade-off between improved access to land for farming (the importance of which to affected households has been affirmed by other findings), and worsened access to services, what are the net implications for HIV/AIDS-affected households, and what are the policy options such as to diminish the reality of this trade-off in the first place? The second question is whether the sometimes prohibitive costs associated with relocation can somehow be dealt with, not least for poor or impoverished households for whom the project could in principle offer greater benefits if relocation were feasible.

Findings 5: The implications of HIV/AIDS for land rights

Overall, the findings as to the impact of HIV/AIDS on land rights are muted. This is in contrast to earlier work done in KwaZulu-Natal (HSRC, 2002), and part of the reason may well be that this earlier study only examined HIV/AIDS-affected households, and thus over-attributed tenure insecurity to HIV/AIDS. Notwithstanding, there are some interesting distinctions that can be ventured. For example, on the face of it, it would appear that tenure insecurity is less of a problem on land reform projects than it is in communal areas, but that there is reason to believe that some types of land reform projects are more likely to experience tenure problems than others. In particular, we predict that those land reform projects that involve individual (household) allocations on group-owned land are more likely to experience such problems, particularly to the extent the formal mechanisms of their legal entities are submerged in favour of land administration systems transplanted from communal areas. This is not to suggest that for projects involving group-owned land, individual allocations should be discouraged, only that in these situations government should be especially vigilant, and make particular efforts to strengthen the legal entities.

Policy implications

Arguably the main policy implication of the research at this stage is that HIV/AIDS as a threat to land reform is less significant than land reform as a means of mitigating the household-level (and perhaps community-level) impact of HIV/AIDS. This is not to suggest that the potential threat of HIV/AIDS to land reform can be ignored; however, given that it is not clear what that threat looks like or how great it is, with some exceptions it is difficult to identify necessary policy adjustments. On the other hand, given the relatively robust finding that land reform contributes positively to affected households' ability to cope, there is much that can be done to enhance this. Most notably, in keeping with findings from other research demonstrating that the predominant reason households demand land (and by extension would wish to benefit from land reform) is to enhance their food security, more could be done to support the food security potential of land reform projects, and not necessarily at the expense of other land reform objectives.

1 Introduction

1.1 Study background and objectives

In 1994, South Africa's Department of Land Affairs initiated a land reform programme. Land reform was – and still is – intended to redress the racial imbalance in landholding, develop the agricultural sector and improve the livelihoods of the poor. These far-reaching objectives were derived from an understanding that land reform has the potential to make a direct impact on poverty through targeted resource transfers while simultaneously addressing the economic and social injustices caused by colonial and apartheid dispossession. Some observers argue that land reform is one of the few viable policy tools available to the South African government in the search of pro-poor sustainable development. South Africa's land reform programme has two main dimensions, namely redistributive land reform, which transfers secure land assets to those without, and tenure reform, which alters the rules that govern how people may use, bequeath, transact, and exclude others from their land. The redistributive aspect encompasses the 'land restitution' and 'land redistribution' components, which together are aimed at transferring 30% of South Africa's 'white' commercial farmland to blacks by 2014, while tenure reform applies to all of the former homelands and coloured reserves. Through all the components of land reform, the need to enhance the status of vulnerable groups is recognised. Thus for example the redistribution programme has established targets for assisting women, youth, and the disabled, while tenure reform has sought to give women more power in decision-making in respect of tenure developments in their communities.

There is now a growing concern that the pro-poor objectives of land reform are under threat from the HIV/AIDS epidemic. HIV/AIDS can be characterised as a 'creeping emergency' that progressively erodes the lives and livelihoods of those affected by it. There is widespread recognition that the epidemic must be factored into policies and programmes that have a developmental objective. This includes land reform, but thus far there has been little tangible action aimed at either better understanding the relationship between land reform and the HIV/AIDS epidemic, or in respect of adjusting land reform policies and practice in reaction to HIV/AIDS. Indeed, the two are related: while the idea that HIV/AIDS could negatively affect land reform is almost self-evident, it is not clear exactly what these negative impacts would be, nor what government should do about them. What is even more unclear is whether and how participation in land reform affects beneficiaries' vulnerability or resilience to HIV/AIDS.

The point of departure for this study is that to understand the relationship between HIV/AIDS and land reform requires, on the one hand, that we improve our understanding of the link between HIV/AIDS and land-based livelihoods generally, but on the other hand that we also specifically examine land-based livelihoods in the context of different kinds of land reform projects, as well as take account of the delivery systems for those projects. There are two main aspects of the link between HIV/AIDS and land-based livelihoods: first, the impact of HIV/AIDS on land use, mainly meaning agriculture; and second, the impact of HIV/AIDS on land rights.

Although the present study is, as far as we are aware, the first and only research effort thus far of the relationship between HIV/AIDS and land reform in South Africa, it is not the first treatment of the relationship between HIV/AIDS and land-based livelihoods, either in South Africa or elsewhere in the region. However, these prior exercises had some notable shortcomings for which the present study seeks to correct. The first major shortcoming of earlier efforts – including the HSRC's own research – was focusing only on HIV/AIDS-affected households, which meant that the actual impact of HIV/AIDS could not be distinguished from other possible influences. The present study therefore deliberately seeks to interview both affected and non-affected households. The second major shortcoming was that most of the earlier studies were merely snapshots in time. Given the dynamic manner in

which HIV/AIDS affects households, as well as the dynamic nature of rural livelihoods generally, it is preferable to trace patterns of change over time. (In addition, as of yet there are no longitudinal studies of land reform, whether of projects or particular beneficiaries, thus our understanding of land reform is itself more one-dimensional than is desirable.) Accordingly, this study is conceptualised as a longitudinal study covering three years. The study is presently concluding its first year, which has focused on 10 sites in three provinces. The idea is to return to the same sites repeatedly over the three years, to bear witness to the relationship between HIV/AIDS and land reform and/or land-based livelihoods as it unfolds over time. Thus the information collected for the first 'wave' is considered baseline data. It was not expected at this time that a full understanding of the relationship would have been established. Indeed, much of the analysis that follows pertains to the nature of land reform projects and land-based livelihoods, and infers the connection to HIV/AIDS rather than observes it directly.

The ultimate aim of the research is to generate actionable policy recommendations and programme responses, first of all by answering basic questions such as to what extent and in what way the HIV/AIDS epidemic poses a threat to South Africa's land reform programme, and secondly by identifying specific ways in which land reform policy and practice should be adjusted. However, it should be clarified that the study is not solely about the impact of HIV/AIDS on land reform and rural livelihoods, but equally about whether and how land reform can serve as an intervention to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS on affected households.

1.2 Parameters of the study

This study is conceptualised as a longitudinal study covering three years. The study is presently concluding its first year, which has focused on 10 sites in three provinces. Although the idea was to return to the same sites repeatedly over the three years, in preparation for the second wave of fieldwork, the team is somewhat modifying the sites, i.e. dropping sites that appear to contribute relatively little to the study, and where possible introducing new sites that will.

The selection of the three provinces was somewhat arbitrary. Resources did not allow coverage of more than three provinces, thus it was necessary to be selective. The three provinces chosen – Limpopo, Eastern Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal – have large rural, poor populations that stand to benefit from land reform, and are also the three provinces with the largest numbers of black households engaged in agriculture.

In terms of the sites selected, a mix was desired between the main types of land reform. Here it is necessary to explain that the inclusion of communal sites serves two purposes. First, communal areas are areas in which the Communal Land Rights Act will eventually be implemented, thus the research aims to generate insights that will be useful to the development of implementation systems for the CLRA. Second, communal areas serve as a sort of 'control' against which the data from redistribution and restitution projects can be interpreted.

1.3 Methodology and shortcomings

The methodology for the study consisted of five main components:

- Primary interviews with individuals/households
- Scoping of displaced persons

- Engagement with community stakeholders and leaders
- Workshopping with the officials of the Department of Land Affairs, the provincial and national agriculture departments, and other institutions
- Report-back meetings with communities.

One component envisaged in the original proposal was dropped, namely the participatory mapping exercise. Moreover, it was originally contemplated that primary interviews might include focus group interviews, however the team eventually decided to pursue only individual interviews, that is, via the household survey. Due entirely to cost considerations, report-back meetings with communities were postponed until the beginning of the second phase of the research, at which time members of the research team will be returning to the field in any event.

The main problem besetting the research project to date relates to a methodological compromise that was made in the early planning stages. The project team was concerned to cover as many sites as possible, lest the diversity of land reform projects not be adequately reflected. The trade-off that was made was to simplify the approach to primary individual interviews. Whereas initially it was envisaged that, as in the HSRC's earlier Kenya study (Aliber *et al.*, 2004), there would be both a comprehensive household survey and a smaller number of in-depth qualitative interviews, it was decided that this would be too costly. The compromise that was struck was to conduct only one round of interviews, using a structured questionnaire that elicited both quantifiable information and qualitative information via open-ended questions.

In the event, the amount and quality of the qualitative information that was captured was inadequate. This owes to two main inter-related reasons. First, the fieldworkers who conducted the interviews were not sufficiently skilled in eliciting and recording qualitative responses.¹ Second, the length of the interview was such that respondents and/or enumerators appear to have lost interest towards the end, where the majority of open-ended questions were concentrated. The result is that the qualitative information captured has not proved as rich and useful as hoped. The consequence of this is that the analysis which follows relies much more on statistical comparisons than had been envisaged. While we maintain that this more statistical analysis is useful and revealing, it must be acknowledged that the study was not designed with statistical analysis in mind.² A key weakness therefore is that the statistical properties of the database are not ideal, because care was not taken to draw samples according to a proper randomised scheme. Nonetheless, some statistical tests are conducted (mainly simple comparison of sub-sample means), not with a view to formal statistical inference, but rather so as identify interesting relationships or discrepancies for further investigation.

1.4 Overview of the report

Broadly speaking, the report is organised as follows:

- Chapter 2 presents background perspectives on various themes to help contextualise the research project.

¹ This in turn relates to what is probably a classical mistake, namely whereby the principal investigators field-tested the instruments, whereas in reality the data collection process to be used must itself also be field-tested.

² Rather, the main purpose of collecting quantifiable information was to understand the context and identify trends, not to conduct statistical tests.

- Chapters 3 and 4 provide basic information on the research sites and site-based respondents, respectively.
- Chapters 5 to 8 present various types of findings on the significance of HIV/AIDS for land reform and vice-versus, starting with fairly high-level observations, and progressing to increasingly specific spheres of the interface between HIV/AIDS and land reform.
- Chapter 9 presents findings from different aspects of the study on the implications of HIV/AIDS for land rights.
- Chapter 10 reports highlights of workshops conducted in each of the three provinces with stakeholders, including but not limited to provincial Land Affairs staff.
- Chapter 11 concludes by indicating preliminary thoughts on policy implications of the research findings.

2 Background and context

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents three brief perspectives by way of background to the study. The first section provides some background about the AIDS epidemic. The second section offers a few observations about the nature of rural-urban population dynamics. And the third section is in respect of land-based livelihoods in South Africa, in particular to convey a sense of the magnitude and nature of black participation in agriculture.

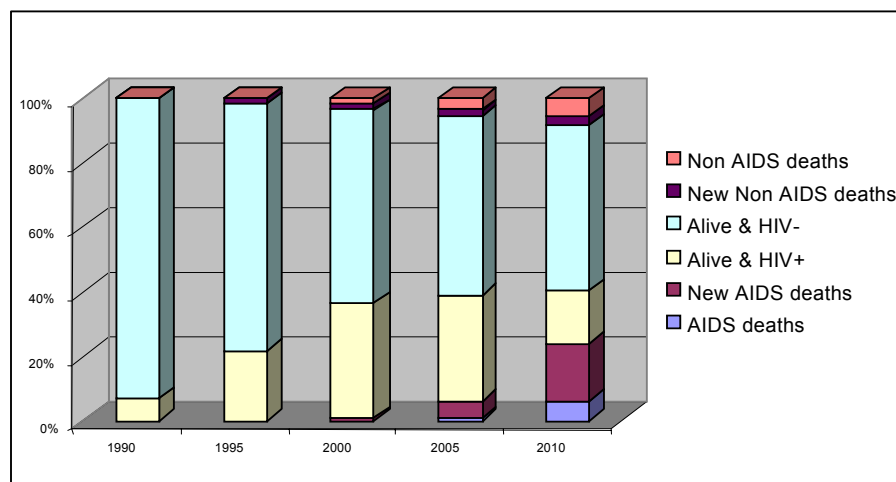
2.2 Overview of HIV/AIDS nationally and in the three provinces

The purpose of this section is to convey some general information about the extent and nature of the HIV/AIDS epidemic nationally and in the three provinces in which the study was conducted.

A key point to underline is that the incubation period of the HI Virus means that the morbidity and mortality associated with the disease only occur some years after infection. Although epidemiologists differ, it is widely acknowledged that the incubation period in Southern Africa is between eight and ten years. This means that the AIDS mortality currently being experienced are a result of HIV infection in the early to mid 1990s at which time the provincial prevalence rates were in general significantly lower than they are today. This means that, in terms of manifested symptoms of AIDS and deaths from AIDS, what we are witnessing presently is modest relative to what is to come in the next 10 to 20 years.

One way of understanding this shift over time is by looking at the impact of the epidemic on a single cohort. The figure below shows estimates of the share of men and women who were 20 years old in 1990 according to their 'status' at different points in time:

Figure 2-1: Impact of HIV/AIDS on South African men and women who were 20 years old in 1990



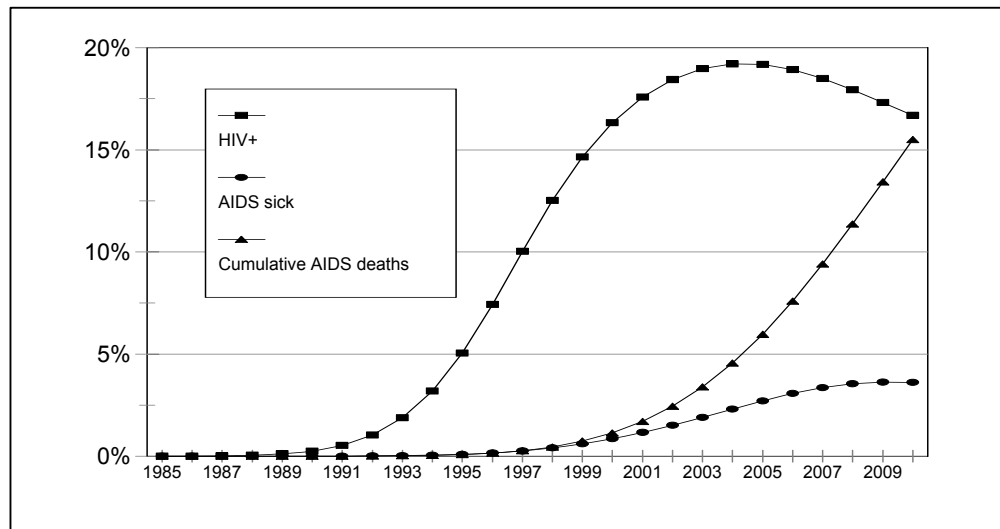
Source: Chris Desmond, HEARD (UKZN)

Focusing now on the three provinces that are the focus of this study, we show estimates of past and future prevalence rates and AIDS-related morbidity and mortality, taken from the Actuarial Society of South Africa's AIDS and demographic model. The total population curve

is measured on the left-hand vertical axis, while numbers of those infected, ill, or who have passed away, are registered on the right-hand vertical axis.

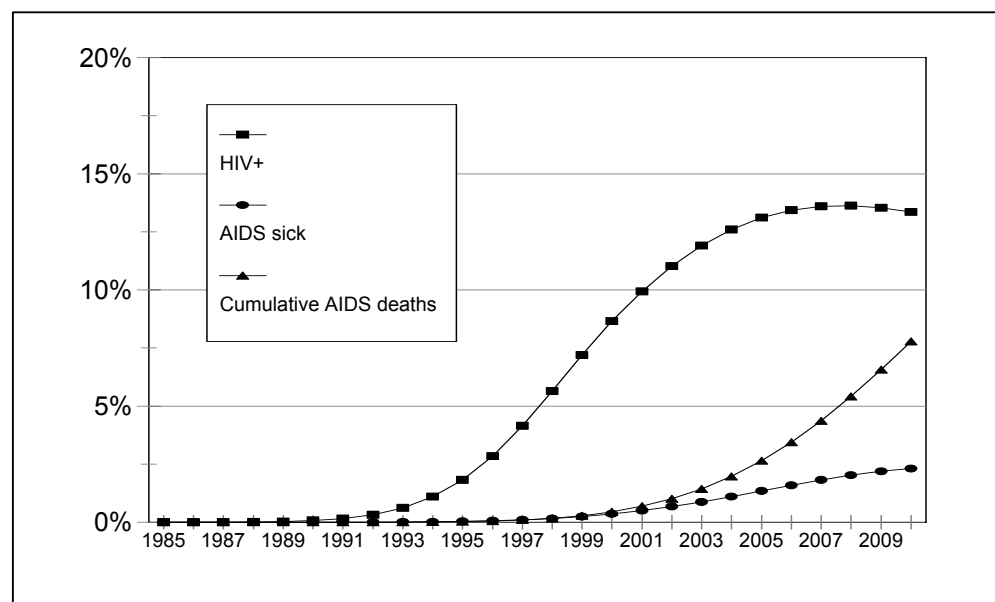
A significant common feature of the graphs is that the cumulative total number of AIDS deaths estimated for 2005 is half or less than the cumulative total for 2010 – i.e. the next five years are likely to see as many or more deaths from AIDS as/than the previous 20. Thus while the impact of the epidemic is surely evident in many if not most communities presently, the impact is still gathering pace.

Figure 2-2: Past and predicted course of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in KwaZulu-Natal



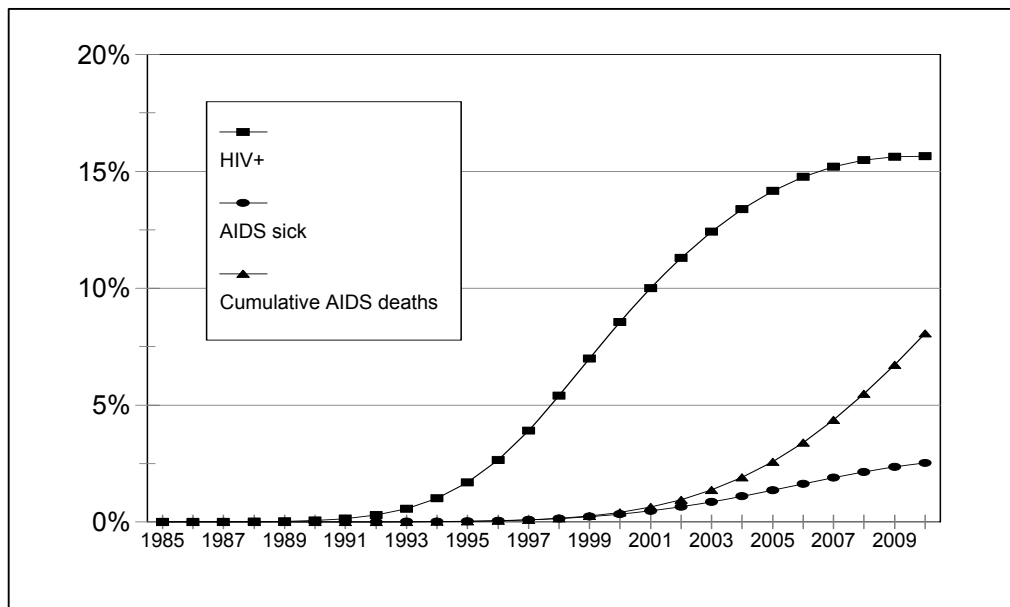
Source: Calculated from ASSA, 2002

Figure 2-3: Past and predicted course of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Limpopo



Source: Calculated from ASSA, 2002

Figure 2-4: Past and predicted course of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Eastern Cape



Source: Calculated from ASSA, 2002

It is important to emphasise that rather than infection being followed by illness within a short timeframe, such as with malaria, the HIV infection curve precedes the AIDS curve by between five and ten years. This long incubation period between infection and the outset of illness often denies the warning to be on guard and forms one of the major reasons why AIDS is unique in terms of its impacts and interactions. The stealth of HIV enables infection to move through a population without sign until people start to leave the infected pool not by getting better but by death as a result of there being no cure.

2.3 Rural-urban population dynamics

The historical significance of South Africa's migratory labour system is well known. Research in Africa has long demonstrated that the prevalence and patterns of spread of infectious disease are closely associated with patterns of human mobility (SAMP, 2002). Thus the continuous movement of people is an underlying factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Numerous studies have established a clear link between elevated HIV seroprevalence and short duration of residence in a locality, settlement or travel along major transportation routes, immigrant status, and international travel to the region (Brockerhoff and Biddlecom, 1999).

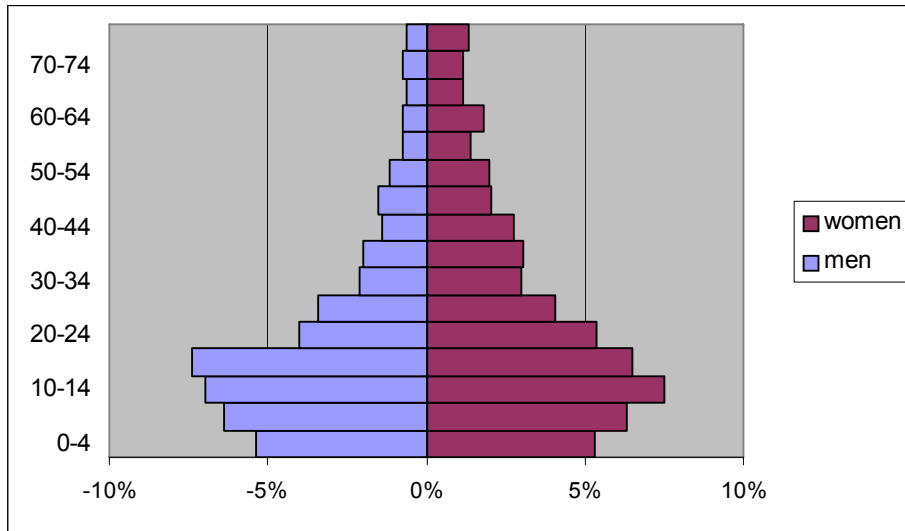
Large-scale migration of young, unmarried adults from presumably "conservative" rural environments to more sexually permissive African cities in recent years has been regarded as partly responsible for the much higher infection levels observed in urban than in rural areas (Brockerhoff and Biddlecom, 1999). For example, in South Africa, many male migrants have been forced to separate from their families for long periods and live in overcrowded single sex hostels. These hostels became sources of clients for sex workers seeking respite from poverty. This resulted in high-risk behaviour which increased the rates of sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, which spread rapidly back to the homes of the migrant workers.

Topouzis and du Guerny have noted that in a number of countries, the HIV/AIDS epidemic has resulted in a return to rural areas of community members who have been living and working in towns and cities (1999). Much documented evidence indicates that rural communities carry the cost of their migrants contracting HIV/AIDS both through the loss of

income remitted by a worker who has fallen ill, and through the cost of supporting the family member if they return home once they are ill.

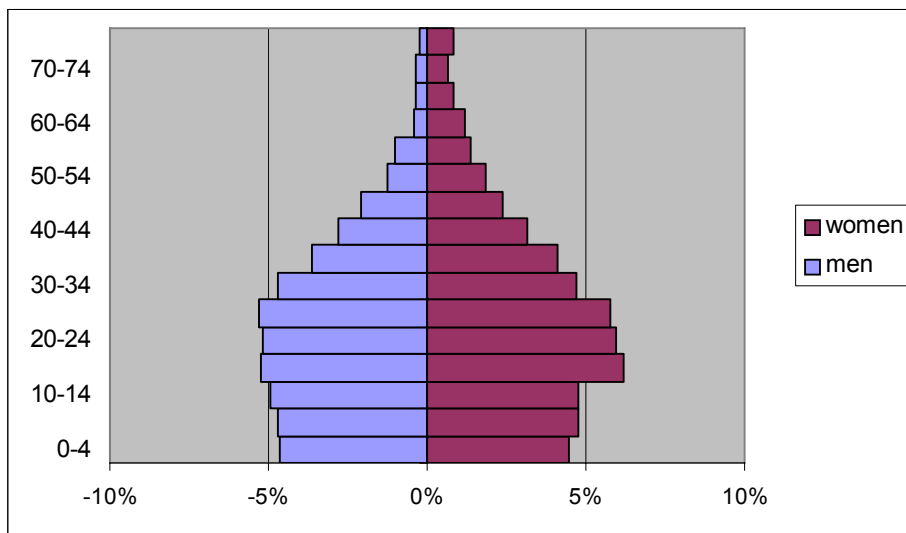
The point to be made here is that the rural-urban dynamics of this system have largely continued. This is demonstrated for example in the rural and urban population pyramids below. Figure 2-5 for example is the population pyramid for rural KwaZulu-Natal, based on the March 2004 *Labour Force Survey*, while Figure 2-6 is the corresponding population pyramid for urban KwaZulu-Natal.

Figure 2-5: Population pyramid for rural KwaZulu-Natal



Source: Calculated from Stats SA, *Labour Force Survey*, 9

Figure 2-6: Population pyramid for urban KwaZulu-Natal



Source: Calculated from Stats SA, *Labour Force Survey*, 9

Similar pairs of figures can be produced for Limpopo and Eastern Cape. What the figures illustrate is the relative mobility of young adults from rural to urban areas, to such an extent

that there is a 'missing middle' in rural areas. Given that this age group is also the most vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, what it means in essence is that the rural population is less at risk. This is not to say that rural *households* are less affected, since their welfare is closely intertwined with that of family members residing in urban areas. However, it does say something about the population from which most land reform beneficiaries are drawn, as well as the population typical of communal areas who are also a focus of this study. In addition to the relative scarcity of adults in the 20-49 age range, this is especially true of men, such that for the 20-49 age range women outnumber men in rural areas by 41%, 59%, and 36% in rural KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, and Eastern Cape, respectively. (There is also an excess of men over women in urban areas in these provinces, presumably owing to male-dominated out-migration to Gauteng and Western Cape, however it is not as great as the asymmetry in rural areas.)

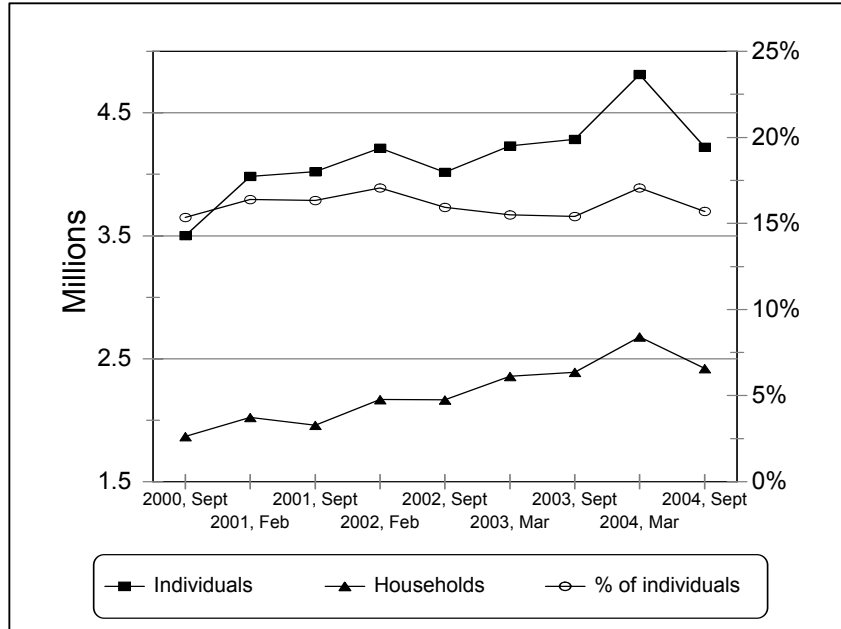
2.4 The meaning and nature of 'land-based livelihoods' in South Africa

As a result of South Africa's unfortunate past, its agricultural sector has an unusually polarised dualistic structure. The damage done to black agriculture by land dispossession and suppressive legislation is such that, in contrast to many other African countries, there is a relative absence of black households for whom agriculture functions as the main source of livelihood. Thus the term 'land-based livelihood' is construed broadly to include households for whom agriculture, as well the ability to gather food and other resources from the veld, are an important contributor to a livelihood strategy, though not necessarily the main pillar of that strategy.

The figures below convey a sense of the structure of black agriculture in South Africa, and thus of the meaning of land-based livelihoods in the South African context. The figures are based on data from Stats SA's *Labour Force Survey*, specifically covering the four-year period from September 2000 to September 2004.

Figure 2-7 provides an overall picture of the numbers of black individuals and households engaged in agriculture. 'Engaged in agriculture' can mean full-time involvement, e.g. as a main source of income or sustenance, or it can mean part-time casual involvement, as with having a garden or keeping a small number of livestock. (Work for pay on commercial farms is excluded.) According to the figure, there are over 4 million black South Africans involved in agriculture, belonging to between 2 and 2.5 million households. Moreover, the trend is increasing since September 2000. However, when the number of people engaged in agriculture is considered as a fraction of the number of people in the working age population (15 years and older), the share remains fairly even at around 15% to 17%.

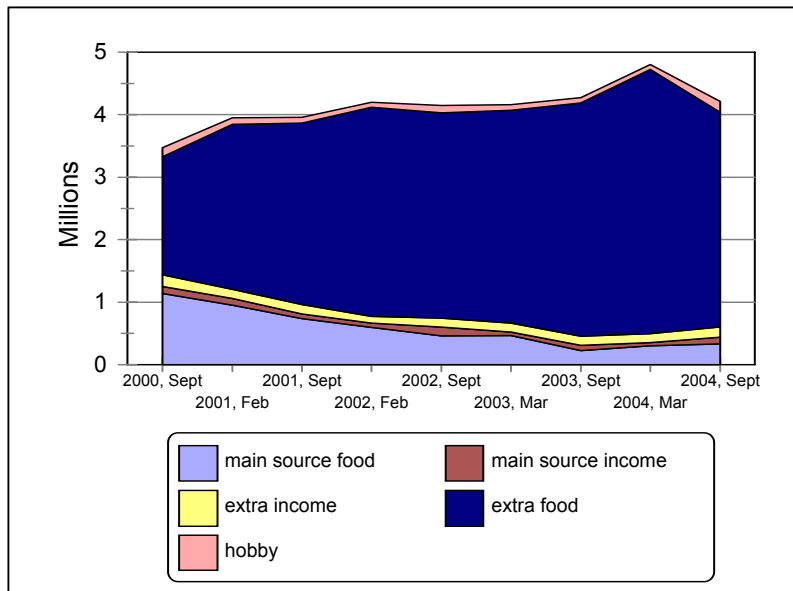
Figure 2-7: Trends in black individuals and households engaged in agriculture



Source: Calculated from Stats SA, *Labour Force Survey*, 2-10

As mentioned above, ‘engagement in agriculture’ is understood broadly to include all levels of involvement in agriculture. Figure 2-8 provides a useful disaggregation according to people’s main ‘reason’ for practising agriculture.³ The main observation is that producing an extra source of food is overwhelmingly the main reason for practicing agriculture. A second observation is that the proportion of people producing as an extra source of food has been increasing at the expense of the proportion producing as a main source of food.

Figure 2-8: Trends in black individuals engaged in agriculture by main reason of engagement

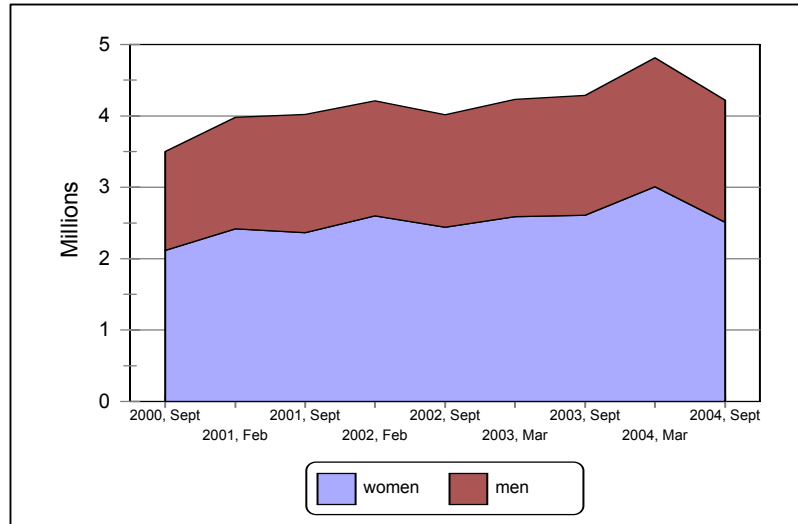


Source: Calculated from Stats SA, *Labour Force Survey*, 2-10

³ The question to which these data correspond was, “Why does grow or help in growing farm produce or keep stock for the household?”

The following two figures seek to give some idea of *who* is involved in agriculture, and moreover what kind of person accounts for the increase in involvement in agriculture. Figure 2-9 shows the disaggregation by gender, and confirms the popular perception that women outnumber men when it comes to agriculture. As importantly, women appear to account for most of the increase in involvement in agriculture that has taken place over the past four years.

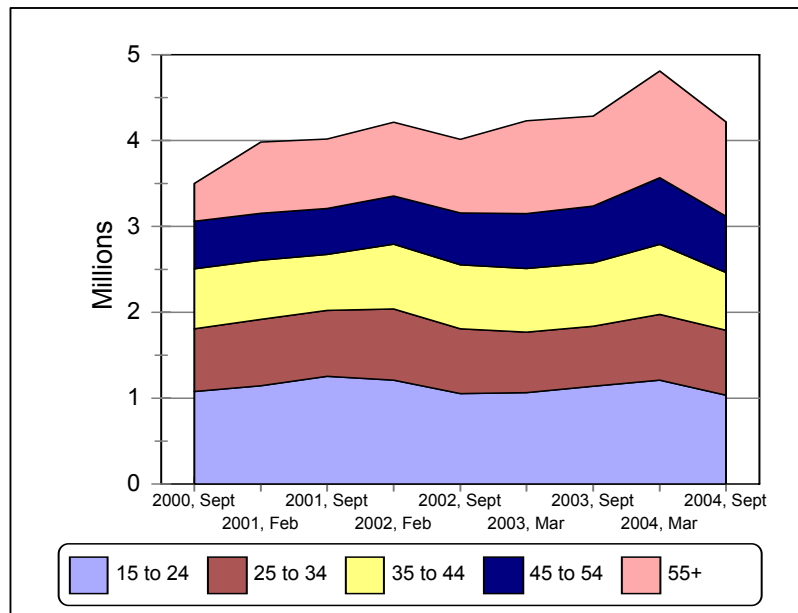
Figure 2-9: Trends in black individuals engaged in agriculture by gender



Source: Calculated from Stats SA, *Labour Force Survey*, 2-10

Finally, Figure 2-10 disaggregates by different age ranges. There are two main points to observe: first, no particular age range has a monopoly on involvement in agriculture; and second, the increase in engagement in agriculture over the past four years appears to be concentrated among those in the older age brackets, and most of all those 55 years or older.

Figure 2-10: Trends in black individuals engaged in agriculture, by age range



Source: Calculated from Stats SA, *Labour Force Survey*, 2-10

Returning to the question of why households engage in agriculture (see Figure 2-8), it is tempting to suppose that those who produce as a main source of income or main source of food are the larger, more commercially-oriented farmers. Although this is difficult to test directly with the *Labour Force Survey* data, on account of the fact that the *LFS* includes very few questions about agriculture, e.g. area of land farmed, we can demonstrate that it is half true. We start by looking at the ‘main reason’ responses⁴ in connection with estimated household income:

Table 2-1: Relationship between main reason for producing and household monthly income, rural households only

Why practice agriculture	HH income	HH income per adult HH member
Main source of food	564	234
Main source of income	10 187	4 782
Extra source of income	1 078	471
Extra source of food	690	293
Leisure activity	1 281	502
Do not practice agriculture	1 006	599

Calculated from Stats SA, *Labour Force Survey*, 7

There are three main observations. First, those who engage in agriculture for a main source of food tend to have somewhat lower incomes than those who produce as an extra source of food. Second, those who practice agriculture for a main source of income have significantly higher incomes than all of the other categories. And third, those who do not practice agriculture at all have higher incomes than those who produce in order to have an extra source of food.

This picture can be enriched by considering households’ reasons for practising agriculture in conjunction with households’ reported experience of hunger:⁵

Table 2-2: Relationship between main reason for producing and household’s experience of hunger

	RSA		Eastern Cape		KwaZulu-Natal		Limpopo	
	Main reason HH produced	Of whom experienced hunger	Main reason HH produced	Of whom experienced hunger	Main reason HH produced	Of whom experienced hunger	Main reason HH produced	Of whom experienced hunger
Main source of food	8%	50%	2%	68%	19%	42%	2%	63%
Main source of income	3%	37%	1%	49%	4%	47%	2%	59%
Extra source of income	4%	38%	5%	42%	4%	37%	3%	42%
Extra source of food	78%	42%	88%	55%	67%	48%	91%	27%
Leisure activity	7%	15%	3%	28%	6%	11%	2%	0%
Total	100%	Na	100%	Na	100%	Na	100%	Na

Calculated from Stats SA, *Labour Force Survey*, 10

⁴ The ‘main reason’ question (see footnote 3 above) applied to individual adults, however for purposes of this and the following table the data were applied at household level. The only complication is that some households have more than one adult member practicing agriculture, and who do so for different reasons. Because these households could not be categorized without being arbitrary, they were disregarded for purposes of subsequent calculations. However, they accounted for less than 2% of households in the data set that are engaged in agriculture.

⁵ The exact wording of the question is, “In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, did this household have problems satisfying their food needs?”

First and foremost, those relatively few households who engage in agriculture to generate a main source of income, experience hunger on a par with or more so than those who produce as an extra source of income or food. Meanwhile, with the exception of KwaZulu-Natal, those who practice agriculture for a main source of food experience hunger considerably more than those who produce as an extra source of food. Very likely the explanation is that, rather than being associated with a more commercial orientation or greater agricultural resources, producing as a main source of food relates to a lack of other options, i.e. desperation. (Why KwaZulu-Natal runs contrary to this trend is difficult to say, however it is notable that it also differs in terms of the much larger proportion of households who engage in agriculture as a main source of food, i.e. 19% of black households who practice agriculture, versus 8% nationally). For the consistently small number of households who practice agriculture as a main source of income, by contrast, agriculture is clearly a commercial proposition. And yet, despite these households' relatively high monthly incomes, there is still a high incidence of hunger, presumably associated with the seasonal nature of agriculture.

So rather than being a bad thing, the trend shown in Figure 2-8 whereby production as a main source of food has declined in favour of production as an extra source of food, may well be a positive development. The underlying reason for this shift is as yet obscure, but could very likely relate to the government's success in enrolling poor rural households for social security grants, which would allow them to secure more of their diet through purchase rather than own production. If correct, this interpretation suggests that the food security benefits of land access are indeed complex: land access clearly makes a positive contribution to household-level food security, but most households would rather not depend too heavily on the land.

When adding the dimension of HIV/AIDS, the issue of household food security becomes more complex. An increasing number of studies, particularly over the last four years, have shown the vulnerability of subsistence and part-time agriculture to the impacts of AIDS (Gillespie & Kadiyala, 2005). The HIV/AIDS epidemic is clearly eroding the socio-economic well-being of households and threatens the social cohesion of communities (See Lamptey *et al*, 2002). For households, the impact is different from that of other diseases. Those infected are most likely to be at the peak of their productive and income-earning years. Households feel the impact as soon as a member falls ill. This is associated with a decline in income as the member's ability to work decreases, while living costs increase, such as medical and funeral expenses.

The literature on the impact of adult illness and death on household livelihood or coping strategies suggests that individuals and households go through processes of experimentation and adaptation as they attempt to cope with immediate and long-term demographic change (see SADC FANR VAC, 2003). It is believed that households under stress from hunger, poverty or disease will be adopting a range of strategies to mitigate their impact through complex multiple livelihood strategies. These entail choices that are essentially "erosive" (unsustainable, undermining resilience) and "non-erosive" (easily reversible) (see SADC FANR VAC, 2003). The distinction between erosive and non-erosive strategies depends crucially on a household's assets (for example, natural capital, physical capital, financial capital, social capital and economic capital), which a household can draw upon to make a livelihood.

What is the relevance of this discussion for land reform? It is conceivable, a priori, that land reform applicants are 'uncharacteristic' in their attitudes towards agriculture. Evidence on this issue from our sample will be presented later. However, there is some evidence from a recent survey on attitudes towards land reform and land demand (HSRC, 2005), that land reform applicants are rather typical in their expectations. Of the 42% of black respondents who indicated that they wanted land, 61% indicated that the main reason for wanting land

was to produce food, versus 20% who wanted land for tenure security, and a mere 13% who wanted it for income purposes.

Table 2-1: Main reason for wanting land

	All	Farm dwellers	Communal dwellers	Urban formal	Urban informal
To grow food	61.3%	57.5%	69.1%	50.7%	54.1%
To have a secure place to stay	20.2%	14.3%	12.2%	32.1%	31.9%
To generation income	13.1%	16.5%	12.1%	13.9%	13.4%
To get back what was taken	2.6%	0.6%	4.3%	1.2%	0.0%
To use as collateral	0.4%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Other	2.4%	11.0%	1.5%	2.1%	0.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: HSRC, 2005.

Of course, wanting land in the abstract, and carrying through to the extent of getting it through land reform, are not the same thing. However, the present study will support the conclusion that food security is a major motivation among land reform beneficiaries.

3 Research sites

3.1 Overview

Altogether 10 research sites were chosen. In general, for redistribution and restitution sites, the 'site' consisted of a single project. The exception is the cluster of redistribution projects from Elliot District in Eastern Cape. The number and proximity of redistribution projects in Elliot District made it practicable to cover a number of larger and smaller projects. Seven projects were selected in all, of which one was a SLAG project and the rest LRAD projects.

Closer inspection of the projects/sites reveals that the labels 'redistribution'/ 'restitution'/ 'communal' are not always so helpful. One of the restitution projects (Chata), did not involve a transfer of land, while in another (Makuleke), the community took possession of the land without occupying it. On the other hand, one of the redistribution projects (Lonsdale) had a strong restitution ethos, and for practical purposes has as much in common with restitution as with redistribution.

Table 3-1 provides an overview of the sites, organised by province. (Henceforth the organisation will typically be by programme, bearing in mind the comments made above.)

Table 3-1: Summary of research sites

Name	Programme	Households	Year of transfer	Number of HHS interviewed	Of whom number 'involved'
<i>Limpopo</i>					
Makuleke	Restitution	427	1998	30	19
Munzhedzi	Restitution	approx. 1500	2001 (formalised)	34	25
Dan Village	Communal	1599	NA	35	NA
<i>KwaZulu-Natal</i>					
Cremin	Restitution	85 (of whom 21 returned)	1997	27	22
Goxa	Redistribution (LRAD)	40	2003 (Jan)	21	12
Lonsdale	Redistribution (SLAG)	67 (incl. 9 labour tenants)	1996/97	25	18
<i>Eastern Cape</i>					
Chata	Restitution	334	2000 (but no land transfer)	29	24
Masakhane	Redistribution (SLAG)	100	2002	30	30

Elliot cluster					
▪ Masikhule	▪ SLAG	▪ 51	▪ 1998	▪ 7	▪ 7
▪ Vukuzenzele	▪ LRAD	▪ 12	▪ 2004	▪ 6	▪ 6
▪ Lutha	▪ LRAD	▪ 5	▪ 2003	▪ 2	▪ 2
▪ Rodderberg	▪ LRAD	▪ 5	▪ 2002	▪ 2	▪ 2
▪ Funekhule	▪ LRAD	▪ 3	▪ 2004	▪ 1	▪ 1
▪ Mnukwana	▪ LRAD	▪ 2	▪ 2003	▪ 1	▪ 1
▪ Smiling Valley	▪ LRAD	▪ 1	▪ 2003	▪ 1	▪ 1
Cala Reserve	Communal	< 500	NA	30	NA

The second-to-last column indicates how many household interviews were conducted at each site, with the total coming to 281. The last column indicates how many of the household members were actually involved in the project as formal beneficiaries. That is to say, a number of respondents live among the beneficiaries and may access land together with the beneficiaries, but they were not formally part of the project. For example in Munzhedzi, 15 out of the 34 respondents did not regard themselves as project beneficiaries, as they were not involved in the original claim. (As an aside, this raises an interesting question as to how one counts beneficiaries of land reform, since it would appear that in some cases significantly more people benefit than the official figures probably suggest.)

3.2 Limpopo sites

Makuleke

Makuleke is on the edge of the Kruger National Park just south of the Punda Maria Gate. It was part of former Gazankulu bantustan. The dwellings are primarily traditional houses mainly rondavels made of mud and thatched roofing and people rely on shared taps in the streets for water. This community has 427 households in the village, 74% with incomes below R9,600 per annum (Stats SA, *Census 2001*).

The people of Makuleke were removed from their land, in what is now the Kruger National Park, in 1969. They were amongst the first communities to lodge a land claim when the Restitution of Land Rights Act was passed in 1994. The claim was the first to be settled in Limpopo with the return of land to the claimants in 1998. The settlement of the claim involved Makuleke becoming owners of about 25,000 hectares of the Kruger National Park, but they have to keep it operating as part of the Park. Only tourism and conservation activities are allowed on the land so the community have entered into agreements with some investors to develop lodges that the community have a stake in and members of the community will be employed in. There has been extensive financial and technical support provided to Makuleke by a number of organisations including conservation organisations interested in preservation of the Park. The returned land is owned through a Communal Property Association (CPA) that also has responsibility for managing the developments on and related to the land. Chief Makuleke also plays a strong role in land matters and works closely with the CPA.

Makuleke incorporates three villages all of which are under the same chief and all are beneficiaries of the land claims. This research was carried out only in the main and larger village of Makuleke itself. Within the area of the village there is an irrigation scheme and a joint venture project with some white farmers to grow cash crops. In interviews some respondents when asked about the land reform project referred to these schemes although they are actual separate initiatives from the land claim.

Munzhedzi

Munzhedzi is located about 25 kilometres southeast of the town of Makhado. It is a new settlement resulting from a land occupation that started around 2000. In 2001 the occupation was formalised as a settled land claim with the return of 1,400 hectares to the community. While there were only about 300 families registered as the rightful claimants there are now approximately 1,500 residential sites allocated in Munzhedzi and about 90% of these are occupied. There is little demographic information available as the main settlement came after the last census. However, it is a typical rural settlement with limited water supplies and not yet electrified. Houses range from small shacks to large modern buildings.

The land claimants mostly come from Nthabalala, a rural village about 30kms away in part of the former Venda bantustan. While that is not very far it is on a winding gravel road that is often in poor condition. The other occupiers of the land come from a wide variety of places, but mostly villages in the former Venda that are more remote than the land now returned to Munzhedzi. Key elements driving the influx of people onto the land are the location adjacent to an existing township with schools, running water and electricity. It is also close to a recently tarred road that goes to Makhado, the largest town in the area and the place where many people go for work and shopping.

The land at Munzhedzi is officially held by a Communal Property Association, however Chief Munzhedzi continues to play a large role in the allocation of land. The Chief (father of the current chief) was very involved in organising the initial land occupation. There is also some confusion about the use of some of the grazing and arable land by people from a neighboring community. Everyone on the land, including all those interviewed for this study are beneficiaries of the settled land claim (perhaps one should say the land occupation) as they have residential sites on the land acquired. The residential sites are of a reasonable size and many people are starting to plough on the stands around their houses, some also have access to fields or grazing on the land that has not used for residential purposes. Despite being beneficiaries many respondents were not part of or are not aware of the land reform process. This is due to them having simply come and applied for land, sometimes to the chief as they would do in any other villages in the area and sometimes to the CPA, and being accepted even if they are no necessarily part of those identified as the rightful claimants.

Dan Village

Dan Village is located about 20kms east of Tzaneen. Dan is a rural village that was under the former Gazankulu, but is on the edge of a large township and is becoming more urbanised. Dan has 1,599 households. 63% of household have an annual income below R9,600. Just under 2 thirds of households have brick houses with most of the rest being traditional dwellings, there are also around 100 households living in shacks.

Land in Dan is administered by a traditional authority. Being close to a large town and on the edge of an existing township Dan is to some extent becoming peri-urban, but the traditional land allocation systems remain in place. Overcrowding is also reducing the amount of grazing and ploughing land available to people in the community.

There has been no land reform project implemented in the village. However it turned out that some people are part of land claims, not yet settled, in the area.

3.3 KwaZulu-Natal sites

Cremin

Cremin is a restitution project involving a 625-hectare farm situated in the Uthukela District Municipality, near the Elandslaagte station, some 25 kilometres from Ladysmith. The project derives from a successful claim for restitution by the former landowners of the farm (and their descendants), who had been expropriated by the apartheid government as a so-called 'black spot' in 1977 and removed to the new relocation township of Ezakheni, in the vicinity of Ladysmith.

The original farm was bought on the market by the founding members of the Cremin community in 1912, shortly before the passage of the 1913 Natives Land Act, and held in a mixture of individual title in homestead land and undivided shares in a community Commonage. By the mid twentieth century, the Cremin community formed part of the small, relatively prosperous but economically and politically vulnerable black rural elite. Over time many landowners moved away from farming as their main economic activity and let sections of their land to tenants' these tenants' were also removed in 1977 but did not join the restitution claim after 1994 (Walker, 2004).

The land claim was lodged with the Land Claims Commission by the Mayibuye I-Cremin Committee on behalf of 114 former landowners (or their descendants) in 1995. Negotiations with the current landowner (a deceased estate, represented by the son of the former white landowner) proceeded relatively smoothly and in October 1997 the Land Claims Court confirmed a settlement agreement for 85 of the 93 claimants before it. (Twenty of the original landowning families could not be traced while the Court excluded one claimant because of a dispute and another eight on various technicalities.)

This was the first claim to be settled in KwaZulu-Natal and the second in the country. The settlement involved the state buying back the land and restoring their original lots to each of the claimants while ownership of the Commonage and any unclaimed lots were vested in a community Trust. Although claimants had the opportunity to replan the land, they insisted on the restoration of the original lot boundaries and community layout.

At the time this study was conducted (November 2004) only 21 of the 85 claimant households recognised by the Court had moved back on to the land. The most common reason cited by community members for the community's failure to take up the opportunity to return to Cremin was the lack of infrastructure on the farm compared to that available in Ezakheni, as well as the cost of building new houses. Qualitative research conducted independently of this study in 2002/03 (Walker, 2004) suggests that youthful members of the community, many of whom had grown up in Ezakheni, are particularly reluctant to return to a rural lifestyle, even though they cite many social and economic problems in the township. While the majority of beneficiaries who have not returned are holding on to their land and have not ruled out establishing a presence on the land in due course, a few have indicated that they wish to sell.

A number of the families who have returned have members in formal employment and have been able to mobilise their own resources to build substantial houses. Other structures are more rudimentary. Public infrastructure is limited. A mobile health clinic visits the area from time to time and a primary school has been built on the site of the original community school. However, despite provision in the restitution settlement budget for the provision of basic infrastructure, including electricity and piped water for both household and irrigation purposes, these services were not operational at the time of this study. A few landowners had fenced off sections of their property but most of the agricultural land was not fenced off.

There was no local dipping tank and telephone connections were confined to limited cellular reception (personal communication, Cremin Trust chairman).

Goxa

Goxa is situated some distance outside of Kokstad in southern KwaZulu-Natal. The LRAD land redistribution project consists of two properties which were purchased by the Bambisanani Community Trust on behalf of the people of Umzimvubu Ward 4 in January 2003. The two properties are 543 hectares and 101 hectares respectively, a total of 644 hectares.

A portion of the farm is currently being run as a cut flower farm on which proteas are being cultivated. The initial seedlings were planted too early and were killed by frost. A second set of seedlings were being planted at the time of the field visit in October 2004, and it was hoped that the first flowers would be harvested in April 2006 (some eighteen months later). The sale of these flowers has already been negotiated with a marketing agent, and the flowers are destined for overseas markets. There is basic infrastructure including electric fencing around the protea fields, a shed, a project office, and some heavy equipment. Water is provided using a pump from two dams and a reservoir.

The non-governmental organisation (NGO) Bambisanani is assisting with the cultivation of the flowers and capacity development of the community. The NGO provides a mentor, and have employed a foreman that they hope to make the farm administrator once the project is more fully established. A position for a farm manager (with cut flower experience) has been advertised. Curiously, Bambisanani has received support from Alfred Nzo District Municipality, which is within Eastern Cape. The reason is that the community in question are actually living in Eastern Cape, just over the border from where the farm is. The beneficiaries speak isiXhosa.

The farm is situated some distance along a district road which did not appear to be well serviced by public transport. There did not appear to be any schools on the road to the land reform site or health care facilities. There was also no cellular phone network available in the valley.

The NGO representative indicated that there were approximately 100 beneficiaries to the project which does not correspond with the list of 40 beneficiaries held by the DLA. The explanation is that, for reasons that are not clear, the group of 40 beneficiaries in effect applied on behalf of the whole community. The benefits from the project are meant to be shared in two ways. First, once the project is bringing in a profit, dividends will be paid out to all community members. The project's business plan estimates that once the project is operating at full capacity, dividends per household will amount to over R10 000 per household per year. The other way in which benefits are to be shared is through employment on the project. At any one time, the project only requires 10 or fewer workers. However, these positions are rotated. All community members who wish to have a turn are entitled to do so, and may put their names on a list.

Lonsdale

The Lonsdale project is located on a farm by that name situated in the Umvoti Valley just outside Muden, a small village lying between Greytown and Weenen, in the Umzinyathi District Municipality. This project dates from the very earliest phase of land reform in the province, when this area was included in the KwaZulu-Natal land reform pilot district in 1994. Although technically a 'SLAG' land redistribution project, the project, like many others in this

area, was informed by a strong restitution ethos inasmuch as the land was identified for redistribution to beneficiary households primarily because of their strong ancestral ties to it.

The history of the Muden area is characterised by 'profound racial tensions stemming from extensive land deprivation and stock clearances' suffered by black farm dwellers (IRRD, 2002). In the 1960s and 1970s many labour tenants and farm workers living on white-owned land were moved in terms of apartheid policy into the adjacent Msinga district of the KwaZulu Bantustan, an area characterised by high levels of poverty and violence. In the 1990s these communities were supported by local NGOs to use the land redistribution programme to regain access and title to their former homes. In part because of the early, pilot status of these early projects, project planning and post-settlement support and provision of services has been particularly poor.

There are 67 beneficiary households involved in the Lonsdale project, nine of whom were already living on the farm when it was transferred to the community in 1997. The former farmer was growing pecan nuts commercially and a small portion of the original orchard still remains. One poorly maintained shed and some fencing around the pecan trees still stand but that is the extent of the agricultural infrastructure on the property. Water provision is problematic, although there is a river running through the farm, which could potentially be utilised for agricultural purposes. Road access into the farm is extremely poor, although the entrance to the farm is off the R47, a tarred road connecting Muden and Greytown. The nearest health facilities are in Greytown while there is one primary school in the area, but off the project.

3.4 Eastern Cape sites

Chata

Chata is a restitution project in which the basis of the claim was that the community was negatively affected by Betterment Planning.⁶ The settlement has not involved acquisition of land, but rather cash compensation to households as well as funding for community infrastructure. The Chata community was assisted in lodging their claim by Border Rural Committee and by ISER. ISER helped in that one of its researchers had earlier undertaken research documenting the process dislocations/relocations imposed on what had previously been eight different villages.

Because restoration of the original land was not feasible, nor a priority, the claimant group of 334 households was offered monetary compensation. Through discussions with government, it was decided that this would take two forms, first cash transfers to households (R15 878 each), and an equivalent amount of money for community projects (about R5 million). By way of community projects, in 2003 a community hall was built, and at some point some of the money was used to build extra classrooms for the primary school. A forestry project was also established and appears to be function, and numerous other projects have been planned. The CPA however is not clear how much money is still with the Department of Land Affairs. The unspent money is in fact a bone of contention within the community, with some members clamouring for the remainder to be divided up and transferred to the member households rather than held for further community projects. Another focus of disagreement is that about two dozen households who should have been included in the original claim were not, allegedly because they did not believe it anyone would really benefit from the claim. This in turn has been related to the fact that the non-included households are mainly members of

⁶ 'Betterment' was a process undertaken primarily in Eastern Cape under the auspices of apartheid, whereby sparsely settled rural households were resettled in relatively dense communities or villages, and through which land holdings were stripped, reorganised and reassigned.

the UDM, whereas the majority were identified with the ANC, the suggestion being that the former were, intentionally or unintentionally, marginalised.

According to the Border Rural Committee, in recent years there has been an increase in poverty in the area (BRC, 2004): "One of the reasons for the increase in poverty is that the amount of economic activity taking place in the village has declined. In 1996, 58 people (i.e. 3% of the population) were employed; by 2001 only 44 people (i.e. 2% of the population) had a job. It is also apparent that rising unemployment in the cities has severely reduced the level of remittance payments being made into the village." This trend is corroborated by other key informants in and around the community.

Masakhane

Masakhane is a redistribution project situated in a village called Cathcartvale, near Seymour. The village is part of the Nkonkobe Local Municipality, which forms part of the greater Amathole District Municipality.

Until 1981, Cathcartvale had been divided into five farms, which were owned by white and coloured people. In 1981 the farms were bought and Cathcartvale was thus incorporated into Ciskei. After the handover and departure of the previous owners, former farm labourers and herders took over the farms and settled in their present day settlement. More members from outside arrived later and assimilated themselves into the residential community.

In due course, much of the farm land was either leased or sold to Ciskeian civil servants or supporters of the Ciskei National Independence Party. Tensions arose between the lessees and farm dwellers (ex-farm workers). The lessees argued that they could not farm when all the resources of the farm were being used by the farm dwellers. The farm dwellers refused to move until the government had made provision for their welfare and security. The adversarial and hostile relationship that developed between lessees and the farm dwellers persisted until the dwellers bought the farms through the Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) of the land redistribution programme.

The whole process of land acquisition started in 1997 and the land was transferred in June 2002, where 100 beneficiaries got 674 hectares of what was technically state land. In addition to the land, the beneficiary group's grant balance was R1 million. It also received various in-kind donations from the provincial department of agriculture. The project is large, reflecting the early stage in the redistribution programme at which it was first formulated, but also the fact that the project came about as farm dwellers sought to resist being removed from the land during their dispute with the lessees.

Accounts vary as to how well the project is functioning, but on the whole it appears to be struggling. Ordinary project members complain that the project management committee is not functional, not least because it is dominated by older members who have little education and not much business or management savvy. A big blow was the death of the vice chairperson, a women who, among other things, worked to ensure that the committee met regularly. As one example of the group's lack of dynamism, rolls of fencing that were donated by the Department of Agriculture have not been used, even though there is a notable problem with livestock straying onto and off of the project land. Other non-events include reconnecting the electricity, sorting out the water situation, and demarcating residential sites. It is difficult to gauge the level of support provided to the group. Mention was made of various types of training provided by different agencies, however members complained of being neglected by government.

Another concern is the presence of non-members on the land. It is not clear who these people are. They could be farm dwellers who, for some reason, were not included as beneficiaries, but more likely they settled on the land during the stage after the transfer was effected, as there appears to be a fair amount of squatting in the area.

Elliot District cluster

Elliot District is a commercial farming area which happens to be home to one of the greatest concentrations of land reform projects in the country, including more than forty LRAD projects, one large SLAG project, and two restitution projects. The total amount of land transferred accounts for about 10% of the agricultural area of the district. Together with Cala, Elliot is subsumed within Sakhisizwe Municipality.

Seven projects were included in this study, including the one SLAG project and six LRAD projects ranging in size from 1 to 12 households. Note that this does not refer to the official number of beneficiaries, which refers to *individuals* who were awarded grants. Rather it refers to the number of distinct households represented by the individual beneficiaries. From an ongoing study of land redistribution in Elliot District (Aliber and Masika, 2005), it appears that only about a third of actual beneficiaries are actively involved on their projects, while about half of households that benefit have a member who is actively involved. The general pattern in Elliot is that half of all projects are producing no field or garden crops, and of those that are, about half are producing entirely for own consumption. Also, about one tenth of projects have no members who are actively involved, though there may be a hired herder watching over livestock.

Cala Reserve

The village of Cala Reserve is located about 5 kilometres south-west of Cala town along the road to Queenstown. The exact population of the village is unknown, but it appears to be not more than 500 households. Cala Reserve and part of Mnxe, a village further to the south, share a chief.

Because of its proximity to Cala town, which is the seat of Sakhisizwe Municipality, a number of the residents of Cala Reserve are civil servants. Cala Reserve itself has little by way of economic activity beyond a few spaza shops and small-scale agricultural production. Population increase in the recent past has meant a decline in available agricultural land, which might be one factor in explaining the importance attached to the community garden that was founded (with external support) a few years ago.

Speaking of Sakhisizwe as a whole, unemployment was about 70% according to the 2001 census. The number of unemployed people rose by 60% since 1996. One factor, though probably not the main one, is loss of agricultural jobs in the Elliot part of Sakhisiwe, which appear to have dropped by about 50% since 1988.

4 Demographics, health and livelihoods

This chapter presents an overview of the demographics, health status and livelihood profiles of the different sites, or, to be more precise, of the samples drawn at the different sites.

4.1 Demographics

Table 4-1 reports selected demographic statistics, paying particular attention to household heads and their gender.

Table 4-1: Demographic indicators for the site samples

	Gender of HH head	Gender of HH head, <i>de facto</i>	Average age of (de facto) HH head	Marital status of de facto female HH heads
<i>Redistribution</i>				
Goxa	F: 33% M: 67%	F: 33% M: 67%	F: 61.6 M: 52.6	Single: 14% Married: 0% Widowed: 86% Other: 0%
Masakhane	F: 33% M: 67%	F: 33% M: 67%	F: 76.6 M: 63.0	Single: 10% Married: 0% Widowed: 70% Other: 20%
Lonsdale	F: 33% M: 67%	F: 40% M: 60%	F: 52.0 M: 46.3	Single: 20% Married: 10% Widowed: 60% Other: 0%
Elliot cluster	F: 0% M: 100%	F: 0% M: 100%	F: NA M: 62.7	NA
<i>Restitution</i>				
Makuleke	F: 17% M: 83%	F: 17% M: 83%	F: 48.2 M: 45.0	Single: 60% Married: 0% Widowed: 40% Other: 0%
Munzhedzi	F: 53% M: 47%	F: 56% M: 44%	F: 41.0 M: 46.3	Single: 63% Married: 11% Widowed: 11% Other: 16%
Cremin	F: 33% M: 67%	F: 35% M: 65%	F: 66.1 M: 57.4	Single: 11% Married: 11% Widowed: 78% Other: 0%
<i>Communal</i>				
Dan Village	F: 48% M: 52%	F: 57% M: 43%	F: 47.4 M: 52.3	Single: 35% Married: 35% Widowed: 10% Other: 20%
Chata	F: 52% M: 48%	F: 56% M: 44%	F: 69.7 M: 63.2	Single: 7% Married: 21% Widowed: 64% Other: 0%

Cala Reserve	F: 41% M: 59%	F: 47% M: 53%	F: 61.4 M: 61.1	Single: 0% Married: 7% Widowed: 93% Other: 0%
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One obvious conclusion is that the sites vary greatly in terms of the frequency of women-headed households, household-head age, etc. A second observation is that, for some sites (especially Lonsdale and Dan Village, but also Munzhedzi, Cremin and Chata), there is a noticeable discrepancy between the declared household head and who we deem to be the de facto household head. The discrepancy owes mainly to the fact that some women respondents identified a man as household head even though he may be rarely present in the household or may even have passed away. A third observation is that, with the exception of Munzhedzi, redistribution and restitution projects appear to have a markedly lower share of women-headed households relative to communal sites. This is supported by Table 4-2, which shows comparative statistics for the rural areas of the three provinces according to data from the *Labour Force Survey*. For all three provinces, the proportion of rural households that are female-headed is around 55%. By contrast, again with the exception of Munzhedzi (the particular circumstances of which were noted above, i.e. the fact that a large share of members were not in fact formal beneficiaries) the proportion is significantly lower, suggesting a tendency among land reform projects to attract particular kinds of beneficiaries.

Table 4-2: Comparative statistics for the three provinces, rural areas only

	Proportion of HHs that are female-headed	Average age female HH heads	Average age male HH heads
KwaZulu-Natal	53%	51.2	50.7
Limpopo	56%	49.9	48.5
Eastern Cape	55%	52.8	52.3

Source: Stats SA, *Labour Force Survey 9*

Finally, in terms of land reform projects tending to attract older people, this is *not* borne out by the data. While there are some projects where the de facto household head is older than the rural provincial average (Goxa, Masakhane and Cremin), for the others this is not the case, or indeed the household head tends to be younger than the provincial average (Lonsdale, Makuleke and Munzhedzi). What is perhaps more telling is that, where the average age of female household heads is high, it is because a relatively large proportion of these women are widows.

4.2 Mortality, morbidity and HIV/AIDS

Turning now to questions of health status and HIV/AIDS-affectedness, it is evident from Table 4-3 that there is also a large amount of variability from site to site. However, only Cremin is relatively untouched by chronic illness. Across the board, recent prime-age (i.e. 15-55 years) death due to illness affects fewer households than chronic illness. The estimates as to the share of the sample households that are directly affected by HIV/AIDS is given in the right-hand column. (By “directly affected”, we mean those households in which a household member has died from an AIDS-related condition, is presently ill with an AIDS-related condition, or is aware or suspected of being HIV positive.) It must be stressed that these figures are relatively soft – on the one hand, they take into account respondents’ admission that the household is HIV/AIDS-affected, but on the other hand there are cases where the presence of HIV/AIDS is inferred by the research team on account of characteristic symptoms, or prime-age death that is not otherwise explained.

Table 4-3: Morbidity, mortality and HIV/AIDS-affectedness across the sites

	Chronic illnesses (3 or more years)	Chronic illness – % of sampled HHs affected	Prime-age deaths in past 4 years from illness	Prime-age deaths – % of sampled HHs affected	% of sampled HHs <i>likely</i> affected by HIV/AIDS
<i>Redistribution</i>					
Goxa	20, in 14 HHs	67%	0	0%	5%
Masakhane	7, in 6 HHs	20%	0	0%	23%
Lonsdale	16, in 11 HHs	44%	2, in 2 HHs	8%	20%
Elliot cluster	10, in 7 HHs	35%	2, in 2 HHs	10%	20%
<i>Restitution</i>					
Makuleke*	6, in 5 HHs	17%	9, in 7 HHs	23%	37%
Munzhedzi*	13, in 8 HHs	24%	2, in 2 HHs	6%	44%
Cremin	2, in 2 HHs	8%	2, in 2 HHs	8%	19%
<i>Communal</i>					
Dan Village*	35, in 19 HHs	54%	5, in 5 HHs	14%	34%
Chata	14, in 13 HHs	45%	1, in 1 HH	7%	10%
Cala Res.*	29, in 17 HHs	57%	20, in 12 HHs	40%	47%

* For the Limpopo sites as well as Cala Reserve, it must be recalled that the samples were drawn in such a way as to seek not less than one third of respondent households were HIV/AIDS-affected. However, over 30% more cases of affectedness were discovered randomly over and above those that were deliberately targeted.

One curious observation is the low correlation between the extent of chronic illness and HIV/AIDS affectedness. (In fact there is a *weak negative* Pearson correlation coefficient between the two.) One reason is that a large proportion of chronic illnesses are in fact not very serious, i.e. life-threatening, though they may well be unpleasant (e.g. rheumatism and asthma); or, they might be serious, but are clearly not related to HIV/AIDS (e.g. high-blood pressure). Another reason for the weakness of the relationship is that in around half of the cases where the household is determined to be AIDS-affected, it is on account of a recent AIDS-related death rather than a current illness.

Interviewees were asked to identify the main health problems in their communities, and, if they did not mention HIV/AIDS among them, to indicate whether they thought HIV/AIDS was a problem. Across the sites, there was a mixture of responses, in that some interviewees claimed not to be at all aware of HIV/AIDS being a problem, whereas others indicated strong feelings that AIDS was a serious and generally growing problem:

“Haven’t heard of that here, we still have virgins here” (Cremin)

“No one is infected here” (Goxa)

“Only ignorant people and prostitutes get infected with HIV/AIDS” (Dan Village)

“This is the disease for white people. The only problem is the food we eat” (Makuleke)

“People who die are bewitched, they are not dying from AIDS” (Makuleke)

“No one suffers from HIV/AIDS at the moment” (Cremin),

versus

“It is a problem, but people deny it, they believe it’s witchcraft” (Lonsdale)

“It is a problem, people are dying and there are more orphans” (Lonsdale)

“There are a lot of funerals caused by HIV/AIDS and TB these days” (Cremin)

“It is a problem because people are dying day and night” (Elliot)

“Yes, we are burying them day and night” (Elliot)

“In the community AIDS is riding a horse” (Cala Reserve).

Among those respondents who did acknowledge HIV/AIDS as a serious problem in the community, there was near agreement that it particularly affects the youth:

“The illness is killing mostly the youth in this area” (Cremin)

“The youth, they die like flies” (Cala Reserve)

“Youth — lack of discipline or unable to control themselves” (Elliot)

“They [the youth] are most sexually active and they use drugs and alcohol” (Munzhedzi)

“Young people are dying everyday and there will be no leaders to lead our country in the future” (Dan Village).

However, there was also a substantial minority of respondents who indicated that the elderly were also badly impacted, not because they are apt to be infected, but because they end up bearing responsibility for tending to the sick as well as eventually for the grandchildren, as reflected in these comments from Dan Village:

“They [the elderly] are the ones who take care of the infected”

“They take care of their children and grandchildren when they are sick. Sometimes they have to stop working”

“Because they have to take care of the grandchildren if their parents become ill.”

This relates to a recent paper on the role of pensioners in taking care of children in a context of high HIV incidence. A paper by Schatz and Ogunmefun focuses specifically on the potentially crucial role older women’s pensions play in multi-generational households both during crises, such as HIV/AIDS morbidity and mortality, and day-to-day subsistence (2005). The authors conclude that although the South African government may intend pensions to substitute and supplement income for elderly individuals, older women are using pensions for much more than their own subsistence. They are using their pensions as means for sustaining their multi-generational households, as a substitute for unemployed children’s income, and as a resource for economic shocks.

This confirms that HIV/AIDS constitutes a considerable economic shock to households. The cost of a protracted illness and the income loss of a prime-aged adult are further

compounded at death by funeral expenses and the need to care for children left behind. Older women are very likely to pool their pensions with other household income to feed, clothe, and shelter their kin, and less likely to spend it on luxury items like alcohol and tobacco (Schatz and Ogunmefun, 2005).

4.3 Livelihoods

Turning to the question of livelihoods, Table 4-4 shows that typically only a minority of households have employment while most have at least one unemployed member. Perhaps surprisingly, among women-headed households the situation is sometimes better. Cremin as a site is anomalous, in that an unusually high proportion of households have employment. Quite striking is the fact that few households in any of the sites had a member who identified herself or himself as a farmer. This is not to say that involvement in agriculture is rare (as will be discussed below), but it does suggest that, for most individuals and households, farming is not regarded as a central pursuit. The same can be said of non-agricultural SMMEs, which are probably more common than indicated by the responses, but which by the same token are likely to be secondary and/or temporary pursuits. Lastly, the table shows that receipt of social security grants is very common. This is also borne out in the qualitative data collected in the course of the survey, which indicated a very high level of dependence on the old age pension and child support grant.

Table 4-4: Summary statistics on livelihoods

	HHs having an employed member	Female-headed HHs having an employed member	HHs in which at least 1 member self-employed in agriculture	HHs with other self-employed	HHs with unemployed members	HHs receiving at least 1 social grant
<i>Redistribution</i>						
Goxa	33%	43%	5%	10%	95%	95%
Masakhane	23%	40%	17%	17%	63%	83%
Lonsdale	36%	30%	0%	0%	84%	72%
Elliot cluster	25%	NA	75%	25%	50%	80%
<i>Restitution</i>						
Makuleke	23%	0%	7%	3%	90%	70%
Munzhedzi	18%	21%	9%	9%	79%	56%
Cremin	43%	22%	0%	0%	36%	43%
<i>Communal</i>						
Dan Village	31%	30%	9%	3%	63%	71%
Chata	48%	60%	0%	7%	79%	76%
Cala Reserve	40%	43%	17%	23%	69%	83%

An obvious question to consider is whether AIDS-affected households are distinct in any way in their livelihoods profile from non-affected households. Three particular aspects were examined: the relative probability of having an employed member, the relative probability of having a household member who is a 'farmer,' and the relative probability that at least one household member receives a grant.

Table 4-5: Implications of AIDS-affectedness for livelihoods

	HHs having an employed member	HHs in which at least 1 member self-employed in agriculture	HHs receiving at least 1 social grant
Non-affected	34%	13%	74%
Affected	24%	9%	76%
t-ratio of difference	1.69	0.99	-0.26

Of the three aspects examined, only the household's relative probability of having an employed member distinguishes affected from non-affected households – affected households are less likely to have an employed member at the 10% significance level. (The critical value associated with the 10% significance level for a two-sided t-test is 1.645.) Although a greater proportion of non-affected households have at least one member who identifies herself or himself as a farmer, the difference is not significant. The proportion of affected and non-affected households who receive grants is virtually the same.

There are two likely explanations for the difference between affected and non-affected households in terms of employment: first, that as a person's illness progresses, he may no longer be able to maintain employment, and second, affected households lose members who were previously employed. In any case, the finding merely echoes what is well known from other studies, namely that HIV/AIDS has a direct and measurable economic impact on affected households.

Having said this, it is important to point out that the household questionnaire was not designed so as to try to gauge household income. The reason is that it is exceedingly difficult to establish household income with any degree of accuracy, and certainly not without devoting a significant share of the questionnaire to questions about income and/or expenditure. As a very rough substitute, therefore, households were asked if they regarded themselves as better off, worse off, or about the same as other households in their community, and then to explain why they rated themselves as they did. Among those who regarded themselves as worse off, the explanations typically cited were that the household did not always have enough food; that the household could not afford to keep children in school; and that the recent death of a breadwinner had impaired the household's ability to cope.

A more profound linkage that is often mentioned in public discussions is that poorer individuals are more apt to engage in risky sexual behaviour, thus poverty contributes to the likelihood of AIDS-affectedness rather than, or in addition to, the other way around. This link cannot be discounted, however it is interesting to note that in response to the question about who is most vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, not one respondent mentioned the poor or poorest of the poor.⁷

Table 4-6 reports the proportions of affected and non-affected households that rated themselves in different ways. Statistically, the results are somewhat muddied. The proportions of non-affected and affected households who regard themselves as better off are very similar. However, non-affected households are more likely to regard themselves as the same as the average household in the community, and affected households as worse off, though not at a reputable significance level.

⁷ The notion that poverty is not a major risk factor in contracting HIV is supported, *inter alia*, by Chapoto and Jayne's research in Zambia.

Table 4-6: Self-evaluation of relative welfare in relation to AIDS-affectedness

	Better-off	Same as	Worse-off	Sum
Non-affected	17%	46%	38%	100%
Affected	19%	34%	47%	100%
t-ratio of difference	-0.41	1.74	-1.36	

Overall, the results confirm, albeit not forcefully, that affected households are worse off than their non-affected counterparts. On the one hand, this serves only to confirm what we already know about the impact of HIV/AIDS; on the other hand, and more importantly for this study, it suggests that despite imperfect knowledge as to households' actual 'affectedness status,' our inferences are not entirely erroneous.

5 The impact of HIV/AIDS on land reform projects

5.1 Overview of project status

The focus of this chapter is on the possible impact of HIV/AIDS on the functioning of land reform projects. It must be stressed from the outset that, as with the other research foci, we will be in a far better position to perceive and understand any such impact after the second wave of site visits have been conducted in late 2005 / early 2006, that is, at which point one will be able to observe changes in the project over a one-year period. At this stage, we rely primarily upon views expressed by perceptions of beneficiary respondents. Perceptions of key informants, not least PLRO staff, are discussed more in Chapter 10.

By way of providing a succinct reference, Table 5-1 summaries the status of the land reform projects that figured in the study, as of late 2004 / early 2005.

Table 5-1: Summary of status of land reform projects as of late 2004 / early 2005

<i>Redistribution</i>	
Goxa	Goxa has not yet realised a profit, partly because it is still 'early days' (it takes three years from planting to harvest for proteas) and partly from bad 'luck' (the first batch of flowers were planted prematurely and were killed by the cold). The project is of the type we might call corporate, in that participants are meant to work together rather than independently. However, an interesting aspect of the project is that it is meant to benefit directly more people than the official beneficiaries, by means of rotating short-term employment through the community. By the same token, only a small number of people are involved in the project on a sustained basis. Management is provided mainly by a community-based development project, which appears to be fairly dynamic.
Masakhane	Masakhane is typical of those redistribution projects where not much is going on, and there is no immediate prospect of things changing because of lack of initiative and internal dissension. Some members are making use of the land, where most were previously farmworkers. However this falls well short of the land's potential and well short of earlier expectations.
Lonsdale	Lonsdale is a project in which the land is allocated to member households, who in principle can work the land independently. In practice not a great deal of productive activity is taking place. Those beneficiaries who were previously labour tenants regard themselves as worse off than before, because previously they received at least some income and support from the land owners.
Elliot cluster	These projects are mixed, both in terms of how they are structured and how well they are performing. The oldest of the projects is Masikhule, which was a typical, large SLAG-based project paralysed by internal dissension. The other projects are much smaller, typically involving a handful of households or even just a single household. These smaller projects are also more recent. By and large the members of these projects are optimistic about their projects provided they receive more support, e.g. implements and fencing, some of which they may well receive through the agriculture department by means of the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme.

<i>Restitution</i>	
Makuleke	The land restored to the Makuleke community is part of Kruger National Park and has remained so. The deal struck with the National Parks Board is that the community will allow its land to continue to function as part of the Park, in return for dividends directed to the community and inclusion of some community members as employees on some of the tourist ventures. So far, only one respondent household reported having a relative who, at the time of the interview, was gainfully employed as a result of the project. Even so, there is broad awareness in the community that they have benefited from these jobs and the associated training.
Munzhedzi	Munzhedzi is primarily a residential community situated in the southern part of Makhado Municipality. The 'project' started when a disgruntled group of claimants squatted on the land. The claim was eventually settled, and other claimants settled on the land together with large numbers of non-claimants. Those presently residing at Munzhedzi came from a variety of different places, mainly villages and locations in the district. The main advantages people cite is having land of their own (meaning inter alia that they don't have to pay rent, but also that there is more space for farming) and being close to Makhado town, which offers opportunities for casual and sometimes non-casual employment.
Cremin	Less than a third of the members of the Cremin community have so far settled on the land that was restored to them. The main reason for others to not return is reportedly the lack of infrastructure on the land, e.g. water, sanitation and electricity, and/or lack of money with which to build a house there. Only a modest amount of production is going on on the project land.
<i>Communal</i>	
Dan Village	Not applicable
Chata	To the extent Chata is a restitution project, it appears to be undergoing serious problems related to the identification and execution of projects, which has contributed to and/or been caused by intra-group disagreements.
Cala Reserve	Not applicable

5.2 Perceived impact of HIV/AIDS on projects

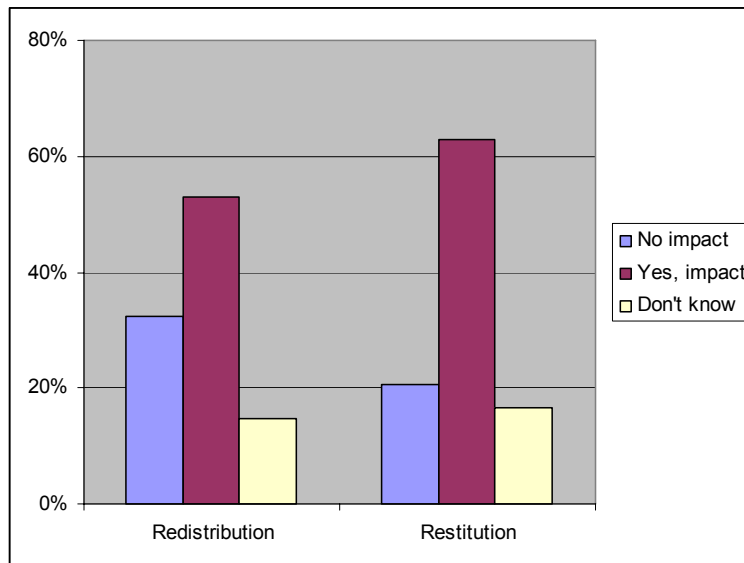
Both key informants and beneficiary respondents were asked about their perceptions of the impact of HIV/AIDS on land reform. In terms of key informants, including PLRO staff (about whose views more will be said in Chapter 10), the general feeling was that in principle one would expect HIV/AIDS to affect land reform projects negatively, but that as of yet such impacts have not been observed.

We therefore dwell mostly on the views of beneficiary respondents, who were asked a series of questions about the presence of HIV/AIDS in their communities. The last question in this series was: "Do you see HIV/AIDS as possibly having an impact on your group's project?" The respondent was then prodded to indicate "Why or why not?" The limitations of this approach are appreciated: the subjective views of beneficiaries can at best constitute partial evidence of the link between HIV/AIDS and project performance and sustainability. This is all the more the case because, strictly speaking, the respondent was asked not specifically whether their project had been impacted by HIV/AIDS, but rather whether it might possibly. In other words, it requests the respondent to explore beyond her own immediate experience

and speculate as to what might happen in the future. Even so, the perceptions are nonetheless important and potentially revealing.

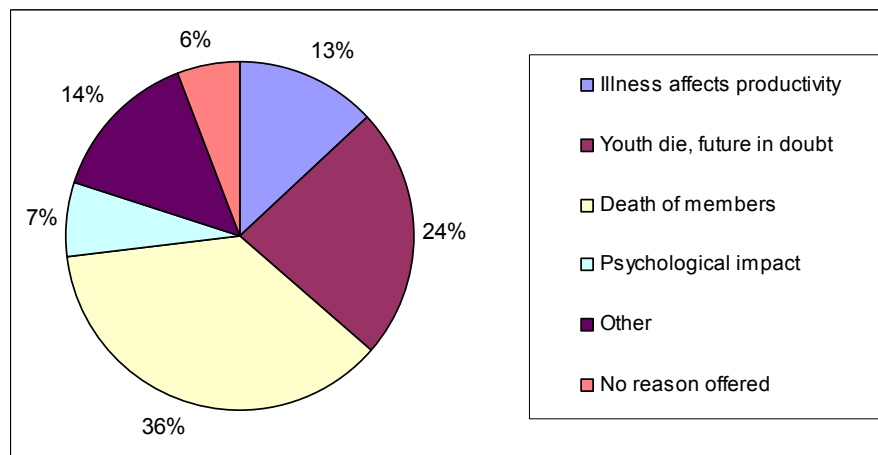
Figure 5-1 depicts the percentage of respondents who indicated that they believe HIV/AIDS is having or is likely to have an impact on their redistribution or restitution project. All one can say at this stage is that the perception that HIV/AIDS does have, or could have, a negative impact on land reform projects is strong. As for the fact that redistribution beneficiaries are less likely than restitution beneficiaries to hold this view, one possible explanation is that household head beneficiaries of redistribution are on average ten years older than their restitution counterparts. As was hinted above in 4.2, and as will be seen again below, age (or more precisely youthfulness) is understood as an important indicator of vulnerability to HIV.

Figure 5-1: Perceived actual or likely impact of HIV/AIDS on projects



For those respondents who felt that HIV/AIDS would have an impact on their project, Figure 5-2 summarises their explanations as to why:

Figure 5-2: Explanations of those who thought HIV/AIDS had or would have an impact



What is perhaps most striking is how conventional the responses are, in that they roughly parallel the manner of thinking of those who describe the way in which HIV/AIDS impacts on private companies.⁸ Arguably, the only significant difference is the large percentage of respondents who indicated that the project would be affected in particular because of the vulnerability of the youth, who ordinarily would be expected to carry on with the projects.

The quotes below give a flavour of the sort of answers given by respondents. Note that only the first three would seem to relate to respondents' own direct experience, whereas the others are more conjectural:

"I know of people who were working for the project who died. If the CPA⁹ does not address the issue of AIDS, the project will collapse" (Makuleke)

"Yes, people are dying and HIV has an impact on our group project" (Lonsdale)

"It has a big impact to us as women, we had a stokvel and now its dying because we lost three members who were ill" (Cremin)

"If the manager dies the whole project will be affected" (Makuleke)

"If those employed in the projects are HIV positive, the project will have slow progress because their immune systems are very weak" (Makuleke)

"If we loose those trained staff the project will not function properly. It is also difficult to hire people to finish something they did not start" (Makuleke)

"Infected people will not be effective anymore" (Makuleke)

"It is costly to replace those who are dead" (Makuleke)

"It is difficult to replace people when they die because they go with their experience" (Makuleke)

"The high rate of absenteeism from those affected with HIV/AIDS will reduce productivity and income generated by the projects" (Munzhedzi)

"In the future there will be nobody to handle the duties required by the project" (Munzhedzi)

"Yes, because youth contribute to development in the community. If they are suffering from HIV/AIDS there is no progress" (Cremin)

"It has a bad impact because we depend on our youth, our future, even on this project you find grown ups are more than youth, young people are sick and have to stay at home" (Goxa)

"Yes, it costs us a lot because of travelling to clinics" (Goxa)

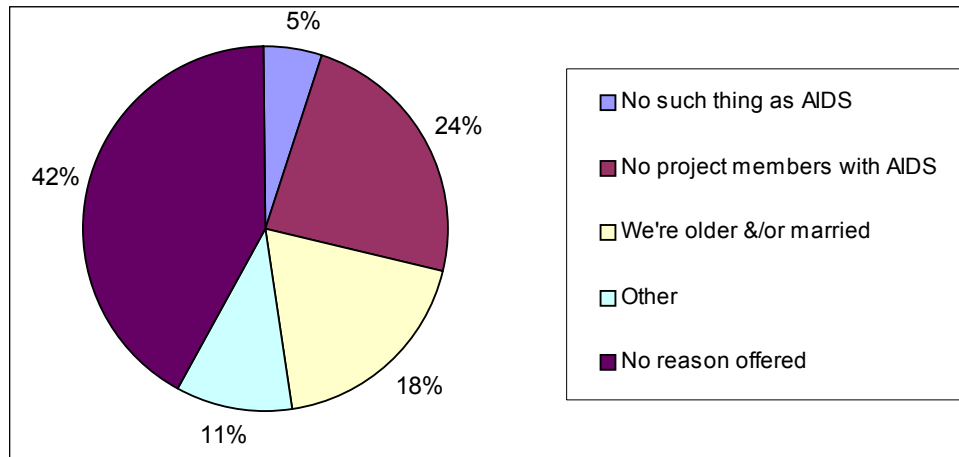
"Yes, thinking that if you're HIV positive is killing you" (Goxa).

⁸ E.g., ING Barings, 2000, *Economic Impact of AIDS in South Africa*; C. Arndt and J. Lewis, 2000, "The Macro Implications of HIV/AIDS in South Africa: A Preliminary Assessment", TIPS Conference "2000 Annual Forum."

⁹ 'CPA' stands for Communal Property Association, which is one of the main types of legal entities used by beneficiary groups to acquire and hold land.

Turning now to those who indicated that HIV/AIDS does not or will not impact their projects, Figure 5-3 summarises the main explanations provided:

Figure 5-3: Explanations of those who answered 'no impact'



The explanations are a mix. A small number of 'denialists' indicated that there is no impact on the grounds that HIV/AIDS does not exist. This is in contrast to the larger number of people who did not doubt the existence of the epidemic, but who indicated that they do not know what the impact will be for their projects because at present they are not aware of any of the project members being affected. A related but different answer was the one characterised in the chart above as the 'we're older &/or married' response, which not only indicates that there is no impact of HIV/AIDS because as of now there has been no HIV/AIDS, but also purports to explain *why* there is no HIV/AIDS among the project members. The quotes below convey above all this explanation held by many respondents that the age and marital status of project members place them at low risk:

"Most people in the projects are adults and married" (Munzhedzi)

"Most people in the projects are adults who are not sexually active" (Munzhedzi)

"There are not many projects and people who work in the projects are married" (Munzhedzi)

"[HIV/AIDS has] not affected our group projects but has impacted on the community" (Cremin)

"It hasn't affected the project because the members are elders" (Goxa)

"So far it has no impact on our project, all is well" (Goxa)

"We have not seen it in the project because we are old people not youth" (Elliot)

"They are busy with the project. This keeps them from engaging in activities that will bring AIDS" (Cremin).

The one quote that stands out is the last one, where the non-occurrence of HIV/AIDS within the project is given an entirely different explanation, namely that the project contributes to prevention because involvement in the project makes engaging in risky behaviour less likely.

Whether this is a ‘true’ explanation or not is impossible to establish at this point; it is nonetheless significant that a beneficiary came up with it. Also worth noting is the third quote, which reminds us that people have different understandings of what is meant by “the project,” an issue to which we return in the next section.

5.3 The question of project type

As seen in the previous section, there is a common though not universal perception among beneficiary respondents that land reform projects are at risk from HIV/AIDS in the same manner that a private company might be, i.e. because of the impact on the labour force as well as its ‘management’ or leadership. However, it is important to note that the structure of land reform projects is diverse, and in particular many projects do not involve corporate-style production. Of the projects in this sample, in fact, only Goxa would appear to be structured like a company, and thus be at risk from labour force or management problems. The situation in Makuleke is more complex, in that group members participate in some corporate enterprises in which the community holds a stake. A common concern raised among Makuleke respondents was that it would be difficult or costly to replace trained community members who were employed in these enterprises, though we note again that the number of employment opportunities appears to be small relative to the size of the community.

For some of the other projects, some sort of group strategy for farming was planned and hoped for, but either never materialised or could not be sustained on any scale or level of intensity. This is the case for Masakhane as well as for some of the larger projects within the Elliot cluster, e.g. Masikhule and Vukuzenzele especially. (In principle one should ask whether the lacklustre performance of these group projects could be attributed to the impact of HIV/AIDS, but there is no evidence that HIV/AIDS played any such role; indeed, the problems afflicting group projects are well known to land reform implementers and policy-makers, and do not appear to have been any different in these instances.) And for still others, there was never a plan for group production, e.g. Munzhedzi, Lonsdale, Cremin, as well as the smaller projects in the Elliot cluster. For projects that involve member households working more or less independently, as well as those that actually consist of a single family, one would imagine that the potential threat of HIV/AIDS is quite different. In these cases, it would likely be a question of the ability of the next generation to carry on what is essentially a family enterprise.

On closer inspection, this logic of differential vulnerability is reflected in beneficiary respondents’ perceptions, provided one categorises the projects into two groups, namely those that still maintain some sort of corporate coherence (i.e. Goxa and Makuleke), versus all of the others.

Table 5-2: Perceived differential vulnerability of projects to HIV/AIDS as a function of effective current project organisation

	HIV/AIDS impacts project or likely to (% agreeing)	Among those who think HIV/AIDS had or would have an impact	
		Youth die, future in doubt	Death of members
‘Corporate’	76%	11%	64%
Other	59%	34%	21%
t-ratio of difference	1.96	-2.66	4.09

The t-ratios are all significant at the 5% level. It must be emphasised that these results relate to beneficiaries' perceptions, which themselves are not necessarily based on actual observation. Nonetheless, the findings provide valuable insight as to how different types of projects might be vulnerable to HIV/AIDS in different ways, with the finding that corporate-type projects are perceived as more vulnerable overall.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter is a first cut at understanding whether and in what way HIV/AIDS may pose a threat to land reform projects. The conclusions are tentative, especially given that they are based entirely on beneficiary respondents' perceptions rather than on objective observations. Nonetheless, two inter-related themes emerge that are worth bearing in mind as the study proceeds to its second phase, namely age and project type.

Age comes into the equation of impact in almost diametrically opposed ways, although both ways are equally premised on the idea that AIDS is an affliction strongly if not strictly associated with the youth. On the one hand, because land reform projects tend to comprise older people who are less at risk of HIV/AIDS, these projects are unlikely to experience direct distress from HIV/AIDS. On the other hand, some respondents appear to take a longer view in which the youth would ideally play a vital role in ensuring projects' sustainability, but that this involvement is in doubt because of the susceptibility of the youth to AIDS.

These considerations in turn related to project type. For our purposes, project type has been taken to relate to the distinction between projects that depend on corporate or collective action versus those in which the individual or household is the primary 'production unit.' There is some evidence, albeit tentative, that beneficiaries of projects that rely on collective action are especially mindful of the danger posed to their projects if members and particularly leaders die. By contrast, beneficiaries of projects that are more individualistic are more apt to focus on the future uncertainty associated with the susceptibility of the youth to AIDS, as mentioned above.

6 Member-level significance of land reform

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents evidence on the significance of projects for their beneficiaries, and seeks to ascertain whether HIV/AIDS-affected beneficiaries are any different from non-affected beneficiaries in terms of how and how much they benefit. There are two main sections: the first relates to beneficiaries' satisfaction, with land reform relative to their expectations, while the second examines beneficiaries' perceptions as to whether their welfare has improved or otherwise since the introduction of the land reform project.

6.2 Satisfaction with land reform

This section examines beneficiaries' perceptions of land reform first in respect of whether their projects 'met their expectations.' The table below summarises responses to the question, "Has your involvement [in land reform] met your expectations? Fallen short of your expectations? Or exceeded your expectations?" The calculations are made only for those households that are actually involved. (See Table 3-1 and associated discussion for clarity on the question of 'involvement.')

Table 6-1: Proportion of respondents for whom project met or did not meet expectations

	Fell short of expectations	Met expectations	Exceeded expectations
<i>Redistribution</i>			
Goxa	29%	71%	0%
Masakhane	67%	30%	3%
Lonsdale	79%	21%	0%
Elliot cluster	76%	24%	0%
<i>Restitution</i>			
Makuleke	37%	63%	0%
Munzhedzi	26%	74%	0%
Cremin	16%	84%	0%
<i>Communal</i>			
Dan Village	NA	NA	NA
Chata*	63%	25%	13%
Cala Reserve	NA	NA	NA

* Although Chata is categorised as a communal site (because no land was restored), it is a 'project' in the sense that some of the financial compensation was earmarked for development investments.

The extent to which respondents' expectations were met varies considerably from project to project, with a fairly strong degree of satisfaction for Goxa, Makuleke, Munzhedzi, and Cremin, and a low degree of satisfaction with Masakhane, Lonsdale, and Chata. One preliminary, tentative conclusion is that restitution beneficiaries are more apt to feel that their expectations have been met than beneficiaries of redistribution. The reason why will become evident momentarily.

However, first we examine the data to see if there is any discernible relationship between AIDS-affectedness and the likelihood that a person feels or does not feel that the project has met her expectations. Table 6-2 shows the proportions of respondents who indicated that the project had *not* met their expectations, first by province, then by programme, and lastly in total. For KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape, respondents from affected households appear to be *less likely* to feel that the project fell short of expectations than for respondents from non-affected households. For KwaZulu-Natal, this difference is not significant at any respectable significance level, however for Eastern Cape it is significant at the 10% level. The same pattern is evident for redistribution and restitution, although in neither case is the difference significant. Looking at the sample in aggregate, the t-ratio of 1.53 falls short of the 10% significance level. Taken together, while the statistical evidence is inconclusive that affected households are more inclined to feel that the project has met expectations, there is a strong suggestion to that effect.

Table 6-2: Proportion of respondents for whom project fell short of expectations in relation to AIDS-affectedness

	By province			By programme		All
	Limpopo	KwaZulu-Natal	Eastern Cape	Redistribution	Restitution	
Non-affected	32%	43%	72%	68%	38%	53%
Affected	33%	33%	46%	50%	30%	38%
t-ratio of difference	-0.07	0.45	1.75	1.25	0.71	1.53

The follow-on question in the household questionnaire asked respondents to explain why they answered as they did. The two figures below show the percentage of respondents (excluding those who are not formal beneficiaries, and thus who did not have project-related expectations as such) who mentioned a particular reason or issue in support of their answer to the question whether the project had met or not met their expectations, relative to the number of respondents in each category. The question allowed the respondent to mention more than one explanation, such that the columns do not add to 100%. Note that the same item could emerge as explanation for the project meeting (Figure 6-1) or failing to meet (Figure 6-2) expectations – for example, many respondents cited ‘development’ as a reason why they felt the project had met their expectations, while a large number of other respondents also identified the *lack of development* as a reason for stating that the project had *not* met expectations.

Figure 6-1: Reasons given for why project met expectations, by affectedness status

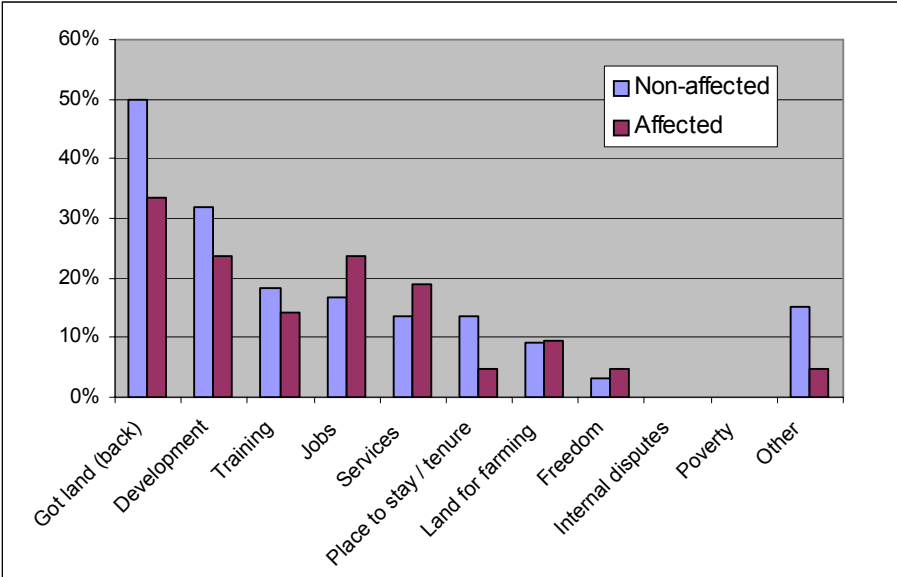
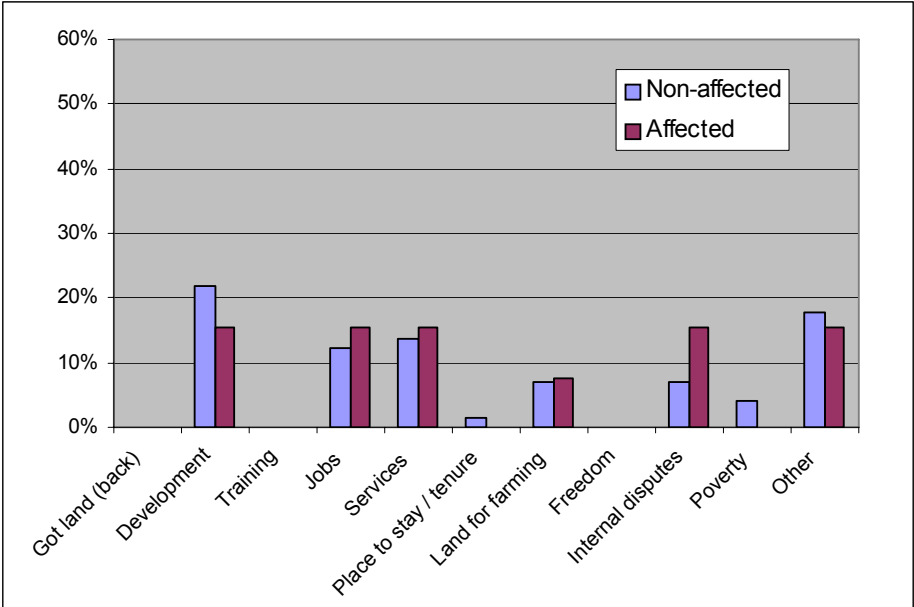


Figure 6-2: Reasons given for why project fell short of expectations, by affectedness status



A general, but critical, observation is that the single most commonly cited reason for indicating that a project has met one’s expectations is that it resulted in people getting their land back. Relatively unimportant was whether the project provided land with which to farm. Presumably this explains why restitution projects as a group appear to have met people’s expectations to a greater degree than redistribution projects, i.e. because their expectations are presumably more focused on getting land back in the first place. The other most appreciated aspects of projects were development, jobs, training and improved access to services. The high percentage for these owe a great deal to Makuleke, where the developments in question were the tourist lodges that had been erected on the community’s restored land, and where the jobs and training were in respect of these and other tourism developments, albeit directly affecting very few people. Also in Makuleke, an overwhelming

number of respondents identified getting access to electricity as a major benefit of the project, although it is actually not clear whether the access to electricity had anything to do with the project. (Interestingly, most of the same individuals who lauded the electrification also decried the lack of progress in improving access to safe water.) Significantly, it is lack of development which is one of the main points of dissatisfaction among respondents who indicated that their expectations had not been met.

In respect of the importance of AIDS-affectedness, the main finding is that non-affected and affected households are not very different in terms of the reasons they provide for either feeling the project met or fell short of their expectations. In terms of the frequency with which getting land for farming was mentioned, affected households are on a par with non-affected households. The biggest visible difference is that affected households are less apt to identify getting their land back as a reason for stating that the project had met their expectations (and are somewhat more likely to mention getting jobs and access to services), which might mean that they are more preoccupied with practical considerations such as survival, as opposed to the more psychic rewards of restorative justice.

6.3 Impact of land reform

We turn now to the other main measure of satisfaction, based on the question, “Compared to your life before the land reform project, would you describe your household now as economically better off, about the same, or worse off?” This question was also followed up with an open-ended question asking for an explanation. It is important to note that the first question does not ask the respondent whether their change in economic welfare is *because* of the project, though in the response to the open-ended question that followed they may or may not have indicated the causal link between the project and their change in welfare.

Table 6-3: Proportion of respondents who reported becoming worse off or better off since the project

	Worse off	About the same	Better off
<i>Redistribution</i>			
Goxa	24%	33%	43%
Masakhane	7%	72%	21%
Lonsdale	52%	20%	28%
Elliot cluster	25%	45%	30%
<i>Restitution</i>			
Makuleke	30%	7%	63%
Munzhedzi	28%	25%	47%
Cremin	46%	19%	35%
<i>Communal</i>			
Dan Village	NA	NA	NA
Chata	24%	28%	48%
Cala Reserve	NA	NA	NA

It is curious that there is not a very close correspondence between the results presented here, and those in respect of the question whether the project had met expectations (Table 6-1). For example, 84% of Cremin respondents indicated that the project had met their expectations; yet 46% indicated that they were now worse off relative to before the project.

An example that works the other way around is Chata, in which only 31% of respondents indicated that the project had met or exceeded their expectations, and yet 48% reported being better off since the project. Perhaps the most obvious point one can make is that this is not surprising, given that some people's expectations are not primarily economic, for example getting one's land restored.

Table 6-4: Proportion of respondents according to self-reported welfare changes since the project began, in relation to AIDS-affectedness

	By province			By programme		All
	Limpopo	KwaZulu-Natal	Eastern Cape	Redistribution	Restitution	
Non-affected						
- worse-off	22%	41%	18%	23%	31%	28%
- same	11%	23%	48%	45%	16%	30%
- better-off	68%	36%	33%	32%	53%	42%
Affected						
- worse-off	40%	27%	14%	31%	34%	30%
- same	24%	36%	57%	46%	28%	36%
- better-off	36%	36%	29%	23%	38%	34%
t-ratio of difference						
- worse-off	-1.54	0.92	0.38	-0.59	-0.35	-0.29
- same	-1.33	-0.87	-0.60	-0.10	-1.35	-0.81
- better-off	2.57	-0.02	0.35	0.70	1.53	1.08

With the exception of Limpopo, in which there is strong statistical evidence that non-affected households are more likely to feel that they are better off since their projects began than affected households, the statistical relationship between affectedness and likelihood of being better off since the project is weak. However, the t-ratio for restitution is just shy of being significant at the 10% level, and beyond this there is a general pattern whereby non-affected households tend to be more likely to have perceived themselves as having become better off.

On the face of it, this would appear to contradict the earlier set of results in respect of whether the project met one's expectations, i.e. where affected households were more likely to feel that their expectations had been met. However, a plausible explanation is that affected households were less likely to have become better off since the project began simply because of the negative impact of the disease, even if at the margin they remained relatively happy to have been part of the project, indeed, benefited from it. One indication of this is simply what happened over a similar period in the two communal sites, whose respondents were asked the question, "Compared to your life two years ago, would you describe your household now as economically better off, about the same, or worse off?" (The period of two years was arbitrary, but the idea was to ask about a length of time roughly of the same magnitude as the typical involvement of the redistribution and restitution beneficiaries covered in the study.)

Table 6-5: Proportion of respondents from Dan Village and Cala Reserve according to self-reported welfare changes since two years ago, in relation to AIDS-affectedness

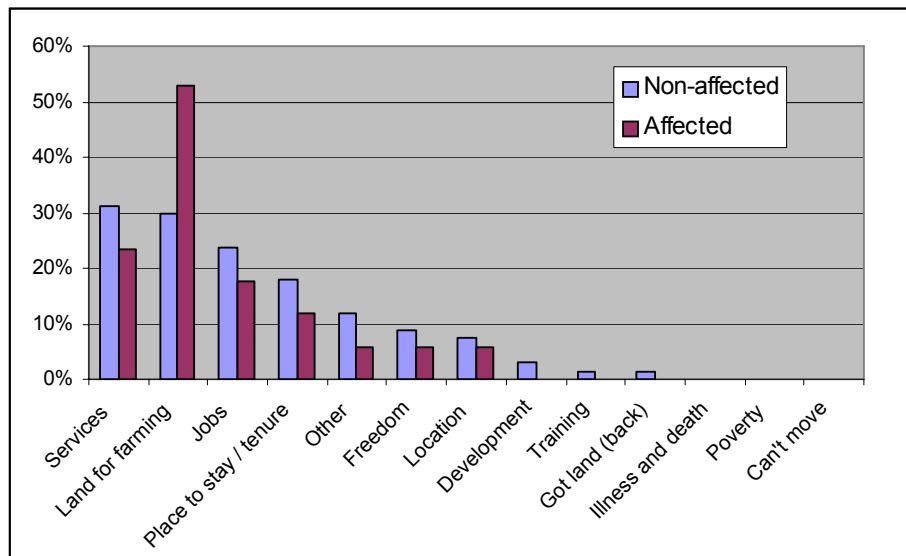
	Worse off	About the same	Better off	Total
Non-affected	9%	44%	47%	100%
Affected	33%	17%	50%	100%

t-ratio of difference	-2.27	2.40	-0.22
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Thus in the two communal sites, AIDS-affectedness is clearly associated with declining welfare over time, precisely as one would expect. (It is worth pointing out, however, that this statement holds for only some AIDS-affected households; half reported getting better-off since the past two years, the same proportion as for non-affected households. The difference is that among those non-affected households who did not get better off, most remained the same, whereas among affected households, most of those who did not get better off actually got worse off.)

Finally, to get a clearer sense of what is going on with redistribution and restitution beneficiaries, we examine the reasons given as to why they indicated that, since the project began, they got better off (Figure 6-3) or worse off (Figure 6-4).

Figure 6-3: Reasons given for why respondent household became better off since beginning of project, by affectedness status



In most respects, affected households are little different from non-affected households in terms of what they cite as the reasons for indicating that they were better off since the project began. However, there is one difference that stands out, namely the higher frequency with which the former identify getting land for farming as the main reason they have gotten better off since the project began. Although it must be emphasised that the small size of the sample is such that this finding must be interpreted with caution, it is nonetheless an important – and perhaps surprising – finding.

The appreciation of land for farming is illustrated by the following sample of quotes from both non-affected and affected households:

“My life has changed for the better, I can grow food now” (Cremin, non-affected household)

“I have goats, chicken and cattle here, I didn't have access to livestock at the township” (Cremin, non-affected household)

“I get more temporary jobs here because here is lot of farming activities” (Munzhedzi, non-affected household)

“In Vliefontein you have to buy everything, even vegetables. Here we are able to farm and even sell and make money” (Munzhedzi, affected household)

“I can plant vegetables to sell” (Munzhedzi, affected household)

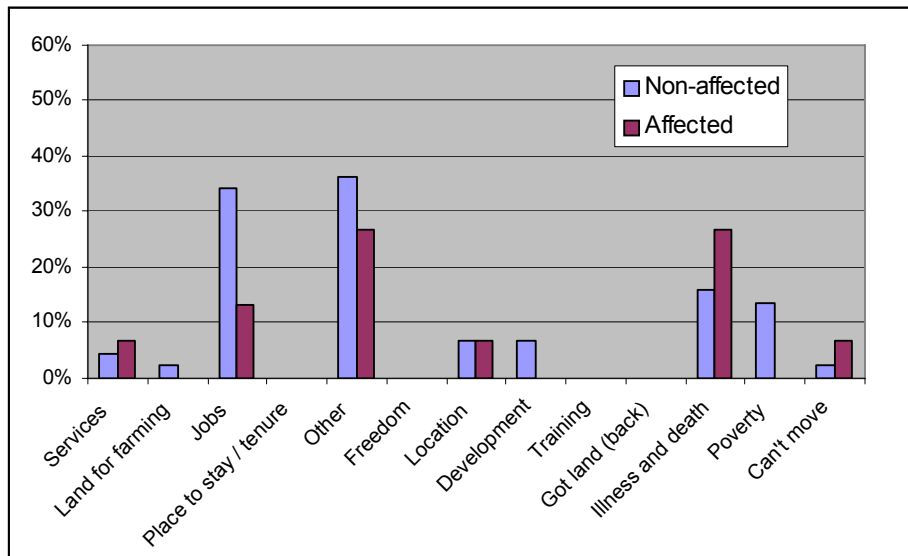
“We have cultivated some plots in our garden and planted vegetables. We eat fresh vegetables...” (Elliot, affected household)

“We can plant vegetables now” (Lonsdale, affected household).

These and other quotes generally support the notion that having access to land for farming can make a valued contribution to household-level food security, while for some households a secondary benefit is that a share of agricultural production can be marketed for cash income.

Turning now to those who claim they became worse off since the project began, the complaint most commonly offered (other than ‘Other’¹⁰) was in relation to ‘jobs.’

Figure 6-4: Reasons given for why respondent household became worse off since beginning of project, by affectedness status



In general, it is important to understand that the specific grievance was typically not that land reform had failed to provide a job, but that lack of a job, or loss of a job, meant that life was very difficult despite having got land through land reform, e.g. “I used to work as a teacher but now I am unemployed; things were better then” (Makuleke). However, in some instances, the resettlement to the land directly contributed to the loss of economic opportunities. In

¹⁰ It is generally undesirable to leave ‘Other’ has such a large category, i.e. rather than identifying a few dominant themes that can stand as categorical answers in their own right. In this instance, however, it was not possible to identify any such themes, as the those answers categorised as ‘Other’ truly consisted of a number of disparate responses, and a few non-responses.

Lonsdale, this was apparently because a number of the beneficiaries had previously relied on employment opportunities provided by the farm owners, and the project itself reduced these opportunities¹¹:

“The only difference is that we don't have jobs, but before whites used to hire us, the fact is that we are worse off because of the lack of job opportunities”

“Because before I was working and it was easy to get money to buy food etc. Now we are unemployed and we are struggling.”

In other instances, the loss of economic opportunities has to do with finding oneself in a less favourable geographic (too far from opportunities) or social (not having a reputation in the new community) position, as in these two examples from Munzhedzi:

“Because before the project where I was staying I was working at one of the hotels. I used to get more money than now”

“It was easy for my husband to get a job where we stayed before moving here because he was well known.”

It is perhaps counter-intuitive that affected households were less likely to cite ‘jobs’ as a reason for having become worse off since the project began, even though, as we saw before (e.g. Table 4-5), affected households are less likely to have employed members. This may just reflect the fact that affected households are rather more focused on ‘illness and death,’ as indeed the results show they are, though importantly, not exclusively.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to summarise the evidence, largely of a subjective nature, relating to the significance of land reform for individual beneficiaries. An attempt was made to discern any patterns distinguishing members from HIV/AIDS-affected versus non-affected households. In respect of whether or not land reform had met the beneficiary’s expectations, the tentative finding is that affected households are more likely to be satisfied, in large measure for reasons other than non-affected members who also felt their expectations had been met.

More telling are the results as to the declared change in welfare of the project member’s household since the beginning of the project. Again the results are somewhat tentative, but the indication is that land reform does mitigate the negative impact of HIV/AIDS on household welfare. The finding is subtle: on the one hand, members of non-affected households are more likely than affected counterparts to feel that they are better off since the beginning of the project, but among respondents outside of land reform projects, affectedness is clearly associated with a decline in welfare. As interestingly, project members from affected households whose welfare has improved are much more likely than their non-affected counterparts to identify ‘land for farming’ as the reason why. This is explored further in the following section.

¹¹ This is not to say all Lonsdale respondents are nostalgic for their previous situation, as will be discussed more below.

7 The contribution of land and land reform to household-level food security

7.1 Introduction

A key finding from the previous chapter is that, among beneficiary households who claim they are better off since the project began, what most distinguishes affected from non-affected households is that the former are more likely to mention getting access to land for farming as the reason why. This chapter further probes the issue of 'land for farming,' in particular focusing on the implications of land reform projects for food security. Specifically, the chapter examines the relative food security status of affected versus non-affected households, and then seeks to tease out the contribution of land reform to food security.

Before proceeding, it is useful to bear in mind the discussion in 2.4 on recent trends in agriculture. Drawing inferences from the *Labour Force Survey*, it would appear that the overwhelming function of agriculture is not economic advancement, but contributing to household-level food security. The suggestion is that the value of having land access is therefore largely informed by the role of agriculture in enhancing food security. However, it will also be recalled that relying exclusively or even mainly on one's own production for food security purposes is generally not regarded as desirable. Even households who practice agriculture commercially, and whose incomes are high relative to those of other rural households, experience food insecurity to an alarming degree, thus underlining the vital importance of having an off-farm source of income with which to be able to purchase food.

7.2 The role of land for farming in respondents' own words

Taken collectively, respondents' statements about the role of agriculture and land in their lives helps one appreciate the complexity as well as the fragility of rural livelihoods, both of which pertain as much to land acquired through land reform as to any other land. A useful starting point is the sheer importance of secure land access to many rural dwellers:

"We did not know that land is the only source of survival until we were retrenched at work" (Cala Reserve)

"It [the idea of selling land] is not possible unless I will be digging my own grave" (Elliot).

This extends readily to land acquired through land reform:

"We grow mielies [maize] here and make maize meal, we used to buy it at the location" (Cremin)

"I have gained more cows than before; I have more space for my cattle and ploughing" (Cremin)

"We can plant vegetables now" (Lonsdale).

On the other hand, having access to land, and actually benefiting from it, are two different things. Among observers of land reform, this truism tends to find expression as a criticism of government for not transferring sufficient resources so that beneficiaries can make effective use of the land. However, it is worth bearing in mind that the same issue applies to hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of rural households for whom poverty is itself a constraint to effective land use:

“The garden we have is not cultivated due to the difficulties we have at this home” (Cala Reserve)

“I am alone and depend on the grant which is not enough. I can’t manage the costs of farming” (Cala Reserve)

“The issue of ploughing is on and off because if we do not have money to buy seeds we do not plough, but if its available we do plough” (Cala Reserve)

“The change happened when I got an old age pension and also my son got a job in his own business so we get more income to plough the whole of our land” (Cala Reserve)

“We introduced a borehole and are now able to produce throughout the year” (Cala Reserve).

If poverty is a hindrance to effective land use, what are the prospects for AIDS-affected beneficiaries to benefit from land reform?

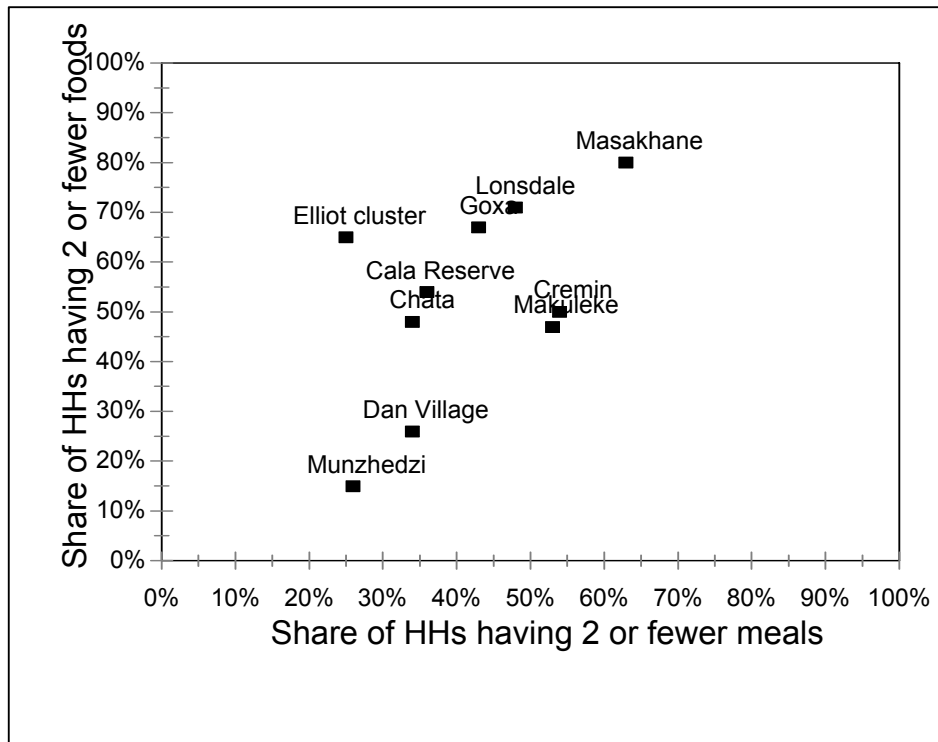
7.3 Evidence of household-level food insecurity

A simple way of measuring food insecurity is to ascertain the number of meals a household typically eats per day. For purposes of our survey, the question was posed about the previous day, followed by a series of questions about what specifically was eaten, where it was sourced, and whether the household typically ‘eats better or worse’ than the day in question. In principle, a number of other indicators could have been included, and perhaps will be included in the next round of interviewing, for instance related to seasonal differences in the experience of hunger, adjusting for time of month (e.g. close to or far from pension days), coping mechanisms, etc.

For now, however, we focus on two questions as kind of proxies for household-level food security, namely the question about the number of meals eaten by the household in the previous day, as well as the question of what the household’s main meal consisted of.¹² Figure 7-1 plots, by site, the proportions of households that consumed two or fewer meals in the previous day, versus those whose main meal the previous day consisted of two or fewer foods.

¹² This second question serves as a crude measure of dietary diversity, with the idea that a more diverse diet is healthier. It is crude in that the differential nutritional quality of different foods consumed was not taken into account. Moreover, it is imprecise, e.g. is a salad one food or as many foods as there are ingredients?

Figure 7-1: Proxies for household-level food security



There is a fairly strong correspondence between the two measures, with a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.54. The Elliot cluster is arguably most at odds with this apparent relationship, in that it has a very low proportion of respondent households who had two or fewer meals in the previous day, but for a high proportion the main meal had consisted of two or fewer foods. This is in contrast to Munzhedzi, which has an equally low proportion of respondent households who had had two or fewer meals, but which also had a low proportion of households for whom the main meal had consisted of no more than two foods.

The question now is whether affected households tend to be more food insecure than non-affected households. According to the measure of meals per day, there is compelling evidence that indeed they are, but only on land reform projects.

Table 7-1: Comparison of affected and non-affected households in terms of food security proxies¹³

	Redistribution	Restitution	Redistribution & Restitution	Communal	All
<i>Proportion of respondent households having two or fewer meals in previous day</i>					
Non-affected	44%	37%	41%	37%	40%
Affected	61%	55%	57%	31%	47%
t-ratio of difference	-1.37	-1.61	-1.98	0.52	-1.20
<i>Proportion of respondent households having two or fewer foods in previous day's main meal</i>					
Non-affected	73%	39%	58%	38%	52%
Affected	67%	29%	43%	48%	45%
t-ratio of difference	0.50	0.96	1.85	-0.92	1.04

The results are surprising. Taking first the results in respect of the number of meals eaten in the previous day, there is compelling evidence that on redistribution and restitution projects (and most of all for the two categories taken together), affected households are less food secure than non-affected households. This is in contrast to the absence of any such evident relationship on the communal sites. (Of course, as for the communal sites, the absence of an evident relationship does not constitute evidence of an absence, however, the contrast is nonetheless conspicuous.) On the one hand, one is not surprised that AIDS negatively impacts on the food security of affected households; on the other hand, why would this be more evident on land reform projects than in communal areas? Moreover, it would appear to contradict the finding from the previous chapter to the effect that affected households who feel they are better off since the project began are more likely than their non-affected counterparts to identify gaining access to land for farming as the main reason why.

Turning now to the results in respect of the composition of the previous day's main meal, the relationship to AIDS-affectedness is very nearly the opposite. Most of the comparisons are in fact not significant at any appreciable level, however when combining household beneficiaries of redistribution and restitution, the difference is significant at the 10% level, but in such a way that affected households are *less* likely to have had a main meal the previous day comprising two or fewer foods. The results for the communal sites are indeterminate, but if anything appear to swing the other way.

There is always a possibility that these apparently contradictory results are some sort of meaningless statistical aberration owing to a peculiar sample selection, poor variable construction, or just plain chance. However, on the premise that this is not the case, we nonetheless have to declare that at this stage we have no compelling explanation ready at hand. We can however speculate that the juxtaposition of fewer but more diverse meals among affected beneficiary households owes to a combination of factors: the increased poverty owing to HIV/AIDS means that some affected households are less able than their non-affected counterparts to maintain three meals per day. At the same time, involvement in land reform gives households access to land which they may have previously lacked, and which they use to their advantage by farming, albeit on a modest scale, thus adding diversity

¹³ One might rightly ask whether Makuleke should be excluded from the calculations for restitution on the grounds that it did not result in more land being made available for farming. The exclusion of Makuleke does not in fact change the conclusions, although the t-ratios associated with the percentage differences among households having two or fewer meals per day decline in absolute value somewhat, while those associated with the number of foods in the main meal increase somewhat.

to their diets. This accords with the finding in the previous chapter about the perceived value among affected households of getting access to land for farming.

7.4 The value of land reform for dietary diversity

Given the preceding discussion, it is necessary to try to establish in what way if at all land reform contributes to more diverse diets of affected beneficiaries. This is approached simply by analysing the information collected via the questionnaire as to how the various ingredients for the previous day's main meal were acquired. Table 7-2 summarises:

Table 7-2: Reliance on different food sources by affectedness status

	Affected*	Non-affected*	t-ratio of difference
<i>Redistribution</i>			
own land	0%	14%	-3.58
project land	39%	25%	1.14
shop	100%	96%	1.77
<i>Restitution</i>			
own land	10%	3%	1.08
project land	55%	37%	1.61
shop	97%	100%	-1.02
<i>Redistribution and restitution</i>			
own land	6%	9%	-0.76
project land	49%	29%	2.40
shop	98%	96%	0.86
<i>Communal</i>			
own land	31%	40%	-0.82
project land	na	na	na
shop	93%	100%	-1.47

* Note: percentages sum to more than 100% because households tend to rely on more than one food source.

The table shows two things. First, affected and non-affected beneficiaries alike depend heavily on purchased food. One can ask whether this is not a function of the time of year at which the interviews were conducted; no doubt this is true, however in light of what we know about 'land-based livelihoods' in South Africa, this finding is in keeping with general trends.

Second, and more importantly for our purposes, affected households are more apt to have sourced one or more ingredients for the previous day's main meal from the land acquired via land reform. Why this is so is unclear. If we had any hopes at all, it would have been that AIDS-affected households benefit no less than non-affected households. However, it turns out that affected households are especially likely to derive some of their diet from the project land, as though consciously mindful of the need to secure a diverse and healthy diet.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter offers preliminary observations on the food security benefits of land reform, with particular attention to how land reform beneficiaries appear to derive benefits by way of greater dietary diversity. Although the statistical evidence remains tentative, it points up directions for further investigation, as well as suggests a positive aspect of land reform that has until now received little or no attention.

8 Relocation, lack thereof, and implications

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this brief chapter is to examine the question relocation/resettlement, which could be expected to have welfare impacts distinct from those raised above, e.g. regarding food security. On the whole, there is little direct evidence of a link of any sort between HIV/AIDS-affectedness and the experience (or non-experience) of relocation. However, there are a number of clear generic issues raised by the decision to relocate or not, from which one can postulate likely implications for HIV/AIDS-affected households. The strategy of this chapter accordingly is to describe the incidence of relocation, then identify the main welfare-enhancing or welfare-negating issues associated with relocation, and finally draw out the possible implications for affected households.

8.2 Incidence

Table 8-1 below summarises the numbers of beneficiary households who re-located to their projects, versus those who chose not to re-locate, as well as those who were already living on the land that became project land. Not surprisingly, the circumstances vary enormously from project to project. For example, Lonsdale and Munzhedzi involved almost complete resettlement, whereas most of the members of Masakhane were already residing on the land that was acquired on their behalf, and for Goxa and Cremin fewer than half relocated from their homes to the project.¹⁴

Table 8-1: Relocation (settlement) and non-location to projects

	Relocated to project	Did not relocate to project	Already on the project land
<i>Redistribution</i>			
Goxa	8	13	0
Masakhane	3	0	27
Lonsdale	21	0	4
Elliot cluster	8	8	2
<i>Restitution</i>			
Makuleke	0	30	0
Munzhedzi	34	0	0
Cremin	11	16	0
<i>Communal</i>			
Dan Village	na	na	na
Chata	na	na	na
Cala Reserve	na	na	na

¹⁴ It must be recalled that the beneficiary respondents are not necessarily statistically representative of all beneficiaries of their respective projects. This is especially true in respect of the question of relocation, because there was a bias in favour of beneficiary respondents who could be found on or near the project site. A notable example is Cremin, for which we know that only around a quarter of the beneficiaries returned to their restored land (see Table 3-1).

Table 8-2 presents a bit more detail regarding those who relocated, first as to what kind of area/settlement they previously resided in, and second as to whether they regard their post-relocation settlement situation as better than what they left behind. In terms of previous types of settlement, again there is a great deal of case-specificity. Thus in Lonsdale, for example, most of those who relocated had previously been farm dwellers (in fact, labour tenants), whereas in Munzhedzi and the Elliot cluster most had previously resided in former homeland areas nearby.

From the right-hand column, one can see that for each province the majority of those who relocated regard their residential situation as better than the pre-relocation situation. However, the fact that in some of the project a third or more of beneficiaries regarded themselves as not better off following relocation may be cause for concern.

Table 8-2: Information regarding beneficiaries who relocated

	If relocated, from where?					If relocated, is new living situation better? (As % of those who relocated)
	Farm	Former homeland	Township	Informal settlement	Other	
<i>Redistribution</i>						
Goxa	4	4	0	0	2	80%
Masakhane	2	1	0	0	0	67%
Lonsdale	11	4	0	2	4	76%
Elliot cluster	0	8	0	0	0	63%
<i>Restitution</i>						
Makuleke	na	na	na	na	na	na
Munzhedzi	0	26	7	0	1	68%
Cremin	1	5	4	1	0	91%
<i>Communal</i>						
Dan Village	na	na	na	na	na	na
Chata	na	na	na	na	na	na
Cala Reserve	na	na	na	na	na	na

Focusing for a moment exclusively on the cases where the nature of the project was such that beneficiaries meaningfully exercised a choice whether or not to relocate to the project site – i.e. Goxa, Lonsdale, the Elliot cluster, and Cremin¹⁵ – it does not appear that AIDS-affectedness plays much of a role in either inducing or discouraging relocation. Whereas 53% of the members of these projects relocated, 56% of the members from AIDS-affected households belonging to these projects also relocated. Given the modest sample size, these proportions are statistically indistinguishable. But, apart from that, there is almost no qualitative evidence elicited through associated open-ended questions, for instance, that reveals any direct link between considerations of AIDS-affectedness, and the decision to relocate or not relocate. To the extent relocation is or might be an issue for AIDS-affected households, we would have to infer it. We attempt to do so by delving a bit deeper, on the

¹⁵ We exclude Munzhedzi on the grounds that most people became project beneficiaries by means of moving there prior to formalisation, thus we have no knowledge of people who may be beneficiaries (i.e. from the group of successful claimants) but who have not relocated to the site; for Makuleke and Chata, the projects by their nature did not involve much in the way of resettlement.

one hand into the reasons given why people are happy or unhappy with having relocated, and on the other hand into the reasons given why people did not relocate at all.

8.3 Qualitative evidence regarding relocation and non-relocation

Based on respondents' answers to open-ended questions as to the consequences of relocating or the reasons for not relocating, four main themes come to the fore: first, the satisfaction of having more and/or better land for agriculture and keeping livestock; second, the pleasure of not having to pay rent and rates (property taxes); third, the regret at losing access to amenities such as water, electricity, and clinics, as well as to economic opportunities¹⁶; and fourth, the benefit of removing oneself from an exploitative or oppressive relationship to those with power. Examples of each of these are listed below:

Agriculture –

“We are happy here, we can plough and do a lot of things” (Cremin)

“There is nothing I miss, we were living on mountains” (Goxa)

“Life is better here than there because we didn't have access to farming but here we do” (Goxa)

“It is better [here] because there is less rock and good vegetation” (Munzhedzi)

Reduced cost of living –

“I'm better off here, if you are in your own place you are free to do whatever you want, like ploughing, not paying rent and have a private graveyard for the whole family” (Cremin)

“Life is good here. I'm care free I do whatever I want to, I don't have to pay rent and rates” (Cremin)

“We were struggling before because we had to pay rent, etc.” (Cremin)

Loss of access to amenities and economic opportunities –

“It is not better here because I have no transport, water and electricity” (Munzhedzi)

“The living situation is not better here, before we had water and electricity” (Lonsdale)

“At the previous location we had water and electricity” (Cremin)

“I want to go back to Rietvlei, children are too far from town, there are no jobs nearby” (Lonsdale)

¹⁶ See also section 6.3 for discussion on the loss of economic opportunities associated with relocation.

“It’s not better [here] because I lack access to water, there is no electricity and there are thieves from the nearby township, but it is good for agriculture” (Munzhedzi)

Escape from exploitation/oppression –

“Life is better here because on that farm they [the farm owners] were chasing us away” (Lonsdale)

“It is better [here] because we are closer to town, we can farm better and get all our harvests unlike in the old village where some of their harvests had to go to the chief” (Munzhedzi)

“The chief here is not very abusive” (Munzhedzi)

“It’s not the same as when there were boers, we were oppressed” (Goxa).

As for why some beneficiaries do *not* relocate, the predominant reasons are lack of funds for building a home and lack of access to services:

“There are no structures on the farm that can accommodate us as group members” (Elliot)

“We are still in the township because nothing is happening on the farm. We just go to check on the livestock” (Elliot)

“There is no infrastructure like houses and presently we do not have money to buy building materials to build houses here in the farm” (Elliot)

“We don’t have money to build a house there and there is no infrastructure” (Cremin)

“We won’t be able to move to the land as we don’t have money to build there” (Cremin)

“We don’t have money to build a house there, but we beg the government to assist us financially” (Cremin)

“It is still our plan to move to Cremin. But the problem is that I am working in Dunlop here and my family is too small, they can only go there if I go. But I will need someone to stay there for me” (Cremin)

“We don’t have the money to move” (Goxa).

Finally, there are only a handful of comments that are explicit about health matters in relation to the decision to relocate or not relocate:

“Due to my age and illness I can’t afford to move to that place as there are no close facilities to help me, e.g. clinics. The young ones can go. When I die I want to be buried there” (Cremin)

“My health is deteriorating here” (Munzhedzi)

“It is difficult to get a job here if you are an AIDS patient” (Munzhedzi).

Of these, only the third is actually about AIDS, or was stated by a respondent from an HIV/AIDS-affected household. The person in question had relocated from a township, the implication being that the larger size – and perhaps the consequent anonymity – of a township, was favourable from the point of view of finding employment.

Overall, whether a person decides to relocate, and whether they find that they are happier or less happy following their relocation, appear to be a function of numerous considerations, including ‘where they came from’ (i.e. the type of settlement and living situation they are contemplating leaving), their desired or actual economic pursuits (e.g. getting into farming versus seeking wage employment), personal perceptions and preferences (illustrated by two respondents from Lonsdale, one of whom celebrated the lack of crime, and the other of whom identified theft as the main down-side of her new home), and very obviously their financial means. To some extent, health status also features, but as we have seen the evidence here is rather thin.

Overall, the picture that emerges is one of calculated trade-offs, wherein the calculations may not infrequently go awry. In terms of inferring the implications for project beneficiaries from HIV/AIDS-affected households, there are two main points. First, given that lack of financial means represents a big obstacle to relocation, to the extent affected households are likely to be financially impaired, then one would expect that households that are affected prior to projects being approved will be less likely to relocate. (This is notwithstanding the observation above that, in the present sample, affected households appear to be equally represented among beneficiaries who have chosen to relocate.) Second, to the extent relocation can have negative implications for access to amenities,¹⁷ then affected households will be impacted even more so. This is by virtue of the fact that, logically, access to certain amenities – not least health care, potable water and electricity – is all the more critical for affected households while a household member is ailing. The characteristic trade-off in this regard is that the land reform project offers better access to agricultural land, but may well impair access to services. The data generated from the present exercise are not sufficient to suggest whether this trade-off tends to work in affected households’ favour, however the real point is arguably that the trade-off itself is highly undesirable.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has made a preliminary stab at exploring the implications of relocation and non-relocation for project beneficiaries belonging to HIV/AIDS-affected households. While a lot of issues are raised, the discussion is inconclusive, mainly because the data are such that the link between affectedness and relocation is more inferred than observed. While there is reason for confidence that more light will be shed on this issue as the study proceeds to its next phase, at this stage at least the questions have been clarified. First and foremost, to the extent relocation to land reform projects tends to involve a trade-off between improved access to land for farming (the importance of which to affected households was affirmed in the previous section), and worsened access to services, what are the net implications for HIV/AIDS-affected households, and what are the policy options such as to diminish the reality of this trade-off in the first place? The second question is whether the sometimes prohibitive costs associated with relocation can somehow be dealt with, not least for poor or impoverished households for whom the project could in principle offer greater benefits if relocation were feasible.

¹⁷ It can also in principle have positive implications for access to amenities, however in our present sample of case study sites there are no clear examples where this is the case.

9 Impact of HIV/AIDS on Land rights

9.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the impact of HIV/AIDS on land rights, both in respect of rights to land acquired by means of redistribution and restitution projects, and in respect of communal land. The approach is twofold. First, in 9.2 and 9.3, we relate findings from household and project interviews. Second, in 9.4 we relate the results from the 'scoping exercise,' in which a variety of local institutions in the vicinity of the project sites were approached to see if they had knowledge of people being chased from their homes.

9.2 Incidence of tenure insecurity according to the site surveys – project land

Before proceeding to describe whether or not instances of tenure insecurity were identified, it is important to clarify what we mean by tenure insecurity in the context of a land reform project. Broadly speaking, it is useful to distinguish between two categories of land reform projects, namely those in which, on the one hand, there is a single individual beneficiary or group of individual beneficiaries from a single household or family (as in some LRAD projects), and on the other hand, those which involve a group comprising beneficiaries from different households.

In the case of single individual/household projects, the situation is relatively simple. The beneficiary individual or household holds the title deed for the property, and therefore enjoys the protections to private property that have been historically available mainly to favoured race groups. In most LRAD projects involving husband-wife pairs as the only beneficiaries, or perhaps in conjunction with one or two adult children, the wife and husband hold the title jointly. The main cause of tenure insecurity that could in principle arise relates to intra-household power asymmetries, such that notwithstanding the usually equal legal status of wife and husband, the wife may feel unable to assert her rights if, for example, the marital relationship breaks down, or if the husband passes away. In the small number of family projects examined for this study (i.e. within the Elliot cluster), no such instances were observed, but in principle a more intensive research process might have uncovered at least perceived insecurity among wives.

In the case of projects involving groups of beneficiaries from different households (including projects involving extended families), the main issue is the possible vulnerability of a group member relative to other group members. Such projects involve the creation of a legal entity, most often either a communal property association (CPA) or a trust. The legal entity is the vehicle through which the project members own the land, as well as other property on the land. By extension, it is via the group that the individual member has 'ownership' of land, but this 'ownership' is not a real right (which is held by the legal entity, i.e. in the form of the title), but a 'personal right,' which has to be defined in terms of the group's constitution (or technically a trust deed if the legal entity is a trust) (del Grande, 2003; p.4).

Formally, therefore, there are two different ways in which the member of a legal entity could find his land access threatened. First, the group could try to alienate that portion of the land that is allocated to the particular member. And second, the group could try to terminate the particular person's or household's membership to the legal entity. However, legal entities are enjoined to adhere to principles as set out by law as well as by other guidelines. In the case of a CPA, the Communal Property Association Act of 1996 states that "a member may not be excluded from access to or use of any part of the association's property which has been allocated for such member's exclusive or the communal use except in accordance with the procedures set out in the [association's] constitution" (9(1)(d)(ii)), and later that "the association may not sell or encumber the property of the association, or any substantial part

of it, without the consent of a majority of the members present at a general meeting of the association” (9(1)(d)(iii)). In other words, in principle, association (project) members have formal protection from losing their land access, but this protection has limits, depending on the rules that govern the association, including procedures defined for group decisions that may have the effect of excluding one or more members. Similarly, while members’ status as members is protected, not least by principles such as ‘fair and inclusive decision-making’ and ‘equality of membership,’ the Act provides for procedures according to which the group can terminate the membership of a member. One particular problem that has been observed, furthermore, is the ambiguity that attends the membership status of household members other than the household member whose name appears on the beneficiary list. The result is that some women who are project beneficiaries together with their husbands, worry about their ability to continue benefiting from the project in the event either their husband dies or there is an eruption of marital discord, simply because it is the husband’s name that appears on the official list of beneficiaries (Walker, 2002).

Broadly speaking, the ability of a person to enforce her rights thus depends on two things: first, on the content, clarity and completeness of the group’s constitution, and secondly on the extent to which the group and its members abide by or enforce their constitution. In respect of the efficacy of constitutions, Cousins and Hornby (2002) have noted that groups’ constitutions have tended to have a fair amount of space devoted to defining procedural rights, but insufficient attention to substantive rights. Meanwhile, in terms of whether groups abide by their constitutions, they have noted that “there is a wide gap between the de jure and de facto rights and systems of land regulation” (p.30). What this implies is that, depending on the beneficiary group, members’ personal rights may or may not be adequately defined, and secondly even where they are, they may exist more in theory than in actuality.

Both through the key informant interviews and beneficiary interviews, an attempt was made to establish whether there were any instances of beneficiaries experiencing tenure insecurity in respect of the land acquired by means of the project. This in principle would have been prelude to trying to find out if these instances of tenure insecurity were in any way linked to the members’ HIV/AIDS-affectedness status. However, no such instances of tenure insecurity were identified, thus there was no opportunity to investigate what they might be related to.

The absence of instances of experienced tenure insecurity could relate either to the fact that there was in truth an absence of such situations, or to some shortcoming in the methodology. The latter cannot entirely be ruled out, particularly given the possibility that project members who have been ‘squeezed out’ of a project would be less likely to have been interviewed. Our approach to guarding against this sort of systematic bias was to learn from key informants with knowledge of the project about changes in project membership, and to specifically ask about circumstances of members leaving. Based on this we are reasonably confident that our conclusions are not the result of serious blind spots, however, a different approach was also employed to try to pick up what might otherwise have remained invisible (see section 9.4 below).

At this point the non-finding of tenure loss on land reform projects is best explained in terms of the different kinds of projects studied, referring principally to the earlier discussion (Section 5.3) of ‘corporate’ projects versus those in which land is used by individuals or individual households:

- On malfunctioning ‘corporate’-type projects such as Masikhane and Masikhule (the large SLAG project within the Elliot cluster), and to some extent Chata, to the extent many or most members have little continuous involvement, it can simply be ascribed to the moribund state of the projects, and not to anyone being excluded, for whatever reason. Given that there is little competition over the project land (or revenues

derived from it), there would be little purpose in some members ganging up to exclude others. In principle, one could imagine one or more project members trying to sell land, but this has simply not been observed among the case study projects for this study, nor would it be easy to effect.

- For Goxa, a ‘corporate’-type project that is working well, there is thus far very little evidence of HIV/AIDS impact, however there are also reasons to suppose that even if there were or might be in the future, it would not likely impact on members’ tenure. The reason is that in Goxa there is a clear distinction between labour and ownership. Most of those who provide labour are not formal beneficiaries. (Moreover, the labour supply is far in excess of the labour required by the project.) As soon as the project starts to generate profits, the relatively small number of beneficiaries will begin to receive dividends, which is contingent upon the proper functioning of the business enterprise, rather than upon individuals’ access to the land as such. Makuleke is also a ‘corporate’-type project that appears to be working well, but given the nature of the project, there is even less opportunity than in Goxa for some individuals to benefit by excluding others.¹⁸
- Lonsdale, Cremin and Munzhedzi have in common that they involve group-owned land that is mostly parcelled out to households for individual use. The manner in which it is parcelled out differs, as do the mechanisms for administering it. In Munzhedzi and Lonsdale, there are traditional leaders who exercise typical land-related responsibilities as though on tribal land, while in the case of Cremin the CPA that evolved from the original group of claimants is the relevant structure. This is not to say that Munzhedzi and Lonsdale are not also constituted in terms of legal entities, but rather to emphasise the point made above as to the gap between de jure and de facto processes. One might speculate that it is especially in these situations that group members might be vulnerable, first because ostensibly there is more for a person to gain by squeezing out a fellow member, and second because there is a degree of nebulosity as to who or what is in control, and according to what rules or principles. However, in Cremin, most formal project members have not even returned to the land, thus one cannot speak of land pressure. In Lonsdale, although all of the land is occupied, environmental and infrastructural conditions are such that land use is desultory, thus again there is little evident land pressure.

The reflections above seek to rationalise the non-finding of tenure loss among land reform beneficiaries, however this is not meant to suggest the impossibility of tenure loss occurring on these projects in the future. The prediction is however that some types of projects are more likely to breed tenure problems than others, in particular those in which group-owned land is effectively divided among household or individual members.

9.3 Incidence of tenure insecurity according to the site surveys – non-project land

Of the research sites, three are regarded as communal sites, but beneficiary respondents from the other (redistribution and restitution) sites were also asked about experiences related to other land that they may have or had previously, i.e. ‘non-project land.’ The table below summarises three main dimensions, namely the experience of land disputes, the loss of land, and land sales. The purpose of including consideration of land sales is to explore whether

¹⁸ This is so except to the extent that community members might have an incentive to compete with one another for scarce project-related job and training opportunities. However, the point is that this is different to saying that people will compete over the land on which the project is based. The latter is difficult to envisage.

there may be crisis sales occurring. As with land disputes and land loss, the idea is then to ascertain whether these events may be linked to HIV/AIDS.

Table 9-1: Summary of tenure events on non-project land

	Share of HHs that have experienced land disputes	Share of HHs that have lost land in last 10 years	Share of HHs that have sold land in last 10 years
<i>Redistribution</i>			
Goxa	14%	14%	9%
Masakhane	23%	10%	0%
Lonsdale	4%	4%	0%
Elliot cluster	0%	5%	na
<i>Restitution</i>			
Makuleke	3%	13%	7%
Munzhedzi	21%	3%	3%
Cremin	15%	4%	0%
<i>Communal</i>			
Dan Village	3%	3%	3%
Chata	14%	10%	3%
Cala Reserve	10%	3%	na

Focusing first on land disputes, a summary of the various descriptions of the circumstances surrounding them (Table 9-2) goes some way to dispelling the idea that they might be systematically related to HIV/AIDS, in the sense that a link to HIV/AIDS can be excluded for a good many of the disputes reported (i.e. those related to betterment, forced removals, and confused allocations to households). On the other hand, it is conceivable that HIV/AIDS contributed in some fashion to those disputes involving accusations of stealing by the community, contestation with members of the extended family, and/or problems with the chief.

Table 9-2: Summary of circumstances around land disputes

Betterment/forced removals	7	23%
Overlapping/confused HH allocations	6	19%
Accused of stealing by community	6	19%
Contestation with extended family members	6	19%
Threatened or exploited by chief	2	6%
Gov't took for public use	2	6%
Other/unclear	2	6%
All	31	100%

Although with such a small number of disputes, it is not possible to conduct conclusive statistical tests, it is worth indicating that tests for statistical difference do not support the notion that affected households are more likely to be embroiled in disputes. This is the case where one takes into account all types of disputes ($t = 0.02$), or only a restricted list of relevant dispute types as indicated above ($t = -0.49$).

Respondents were also asked whether they had ever lost access to land in the past ten years, and if so to then describe the circumstances of that loss. The responses to this question reveal some overlap with the answers regarding land disputes, however restricting the time frame to 10 years excluded some situations picked up by the question about disputes, notably those having to do with betterment or apartheid-era land dispossession. All that is picked up by the land loss question that is *not* picked up also by the question about disputes are a number of instances in which government took land away from respondents for purposes of 'public use,' such as RDP housing developments or dams. Thus the conclusion is that there is very little recent loss of land access, and still less that could possibly be ascribed to HIV/AIDS.

Finally, there is a small but significant number of households who have sold land in the past 10 years. This is despite general opposition to selling and buying land, as revealed by more general attitudinal questions regarding land transactions (e.g. "I think to sell land is bad. People are doing it but I won't sell mine;" Cremin). Looking at respondents' descriptions of the circumstances regarding these sales, it is difficult to identify any trends, apart from the fact that they tend to be of excess residential sites. Two sales by respondent households from Makuleke involved the sale of residential land of deceased family members, but in both instances this land appeared to be in excess of the household's needs, and in at least one the permission of the chief was sought. In another case, a household that decided to relocate to Munzhedzi decided to sell its house in the village that it was about to leave. A respondent household in Dan Village indicated that it had an extra (residential) stand, which it chose to sell to another household "desperate" for a place to stay. Unfortunately, the two Goxa respondents who indicated that they had sold land did not indicate the circumstances, nor did the one respondent household in Chata. The results are inconclusive. All one can say is that there does not appear to be a stampede of households wishing to sell their land, and such sales as do take place do not appear to be crisis sales.

9.4 Results of the scoping exercise on displaced persons

Recent research conducted in Lesotho, Kenya, South Africa and Malawi has revealed that HIV/AIDS impacts on the terms and conditions in which households and individuals hold, use and transact land (Drimie, 2003; Mbaya, 2002). However, in most of these studies there has been little concrete attempt to capture the experiences of displaced persons who had already left or been chased away from the study site. In the first place, those who had left would simply no longer be present and thus could not be interviewed. Second, those remaining behind would not necessarily reveal the fact that an absent member had been chased away, least of all by those who might have done the chasing.

To correct these deficiencies, this study attempted to learn of those who have been 'chased away.' Of particular interest was whether HIV/AIDS was a reason for people to be displaced. This was done by means of interviewing legal aid clinics and advice offices, women's shelters, social workers, NGOs, community based organisations, etc., to get a sense of how common displacement is, and to learn whether there are any patterns as to the circumstances leading to displacement. In some cases, an attempt was made to actually locate and interview the displaced individual, but in most instances the only information gathered was from the legal aid clinic, etc. In the Eastern Cape, information on displaced persons was also probed during focus group sessions. However, it is important to state at this early stage that as very little displacement was found, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, it is not possible to make any comparisons across provinces regarding the nature of displacement. Moreover, the findings, although to some extent quantified, do not represent an estimate of any sort.

Table 9-3 provides a summary of individuals and households chased away in Limpopo, mainly in the vicinity of the three study sites, with particular emphasis on whether HIV/AIDS appears to be a reason for people to be displaced.

Table 9-3: Summary of findings on displaced and fleeing persons in Limpopo

Makuleke	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2 women were accused of witchcraft and chased away by the community. ▪ 1 child-headed household of children who's parents passed away moved to stay with relatives elsewhere. ▪ 1 woman was chased away by her husband; circumstances unclear.
Munzhedzi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 3 children went to stay with relatives after the death of their parents. ▪ 1 woman was chased away by her husband; circumstances unclear.
Dan Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1 woman and her children were chased away by her husband in HIV/AIDS related incident.
Villages near Munzhedzi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1 wife was chased away for being HIV positive and accused of infecting her husband who was also HIV positive. ▪ 1 man ran away after being accused of rape. ▪ 1 man ran away after stabbing a boyfriend of his wife. ▪ 2 women were chased away after being accused of poisoning people. ▪ 1 woman and child were chased away by family after her husband was arrested and sentenced to a long prison term. ▪ 1 woman was chased away by family members after her husband allegedly died of HIV/AIDS. ▪ 1 woman was chased away by the community after being accused of killing her husband.

The table above shows that 17 individuals or household groups were found to have left their original households and were living somewhere else. Some were chased away by family or community, while others ran away from their original households on their own, but ostensibly due to some perceived threat. While some of these individuals were still living in the study sites, others had moved to live in other villages outside the study sites. One important observation in the nature of displacement that took place in the study sites is that more women and children were displaced, or chose to leave, as compared to men. Women were chased away after the death of their husbands while children were moved to stay with relatives after the death of their parents. In both instances, they lost access to land, houses and other properties such as furniture. However, it is important to note that in most instances this land has remained unoccupied, sometimes for more than a year (in Munzhedzi in particular, it was stated that people were waiting for the chief to reallocate the vacated land), suggesting that land hunger was not a motivating factor.

The second observation is that the only incidents in which males moved from their own communities concerned their alleged involvement in criminal activities that forced them to run away to other areas. (This recalls the finding Table 9-2 about respondents having land disputes arising from their being accused of theft.)

The third observation is that roughly a third of women who were chased away appear to have been chased as a result of HIV/AIDS related matters, particularly after the death of their husbands.

Although concerted efforts were made to find displaced persons in the KwaZulu-Natal study sites through organisation such as AFRA Legal Resource Centre (Diakonia), Landless Peoples Movement, KZN Land Legal Cluster Project, Community Law and Rural Development Centres, no instances of people being displaced or fleeing were identified. This does not mean that no such displacements take place, but it does imply that they are not rampant. In Eastern Cape, similarly, there was the scoping exercise picked up little evidence of displacement. Two individuals, a woman and a young man, were found to have left their original households in Chata. However, it appears that they did not leave as a result of HIV/AIDS. The woman was chased away by the community because she had allegedly been having an affair with her neighbour's husband, while the young man was chased away from the village because he was allegedly selling liquor at inflated prices.

9.5 Conclusion

Three concluding observations are in order. First, overall, the findings as to the impact of HIV/AIDS on land rights are muted. This is in contrast to earlier work done in KwaZulu-Natal (HSRC, 2002), and part of the reason may well be that this earlier study only examined HIV/AIDS-affected households, and thus over-attributed tenure insecurity to HIV/AIDS. Second, on the face of it, it would appear that tenure insecurity is less of a problem on land reform projects than it is in communal areas, but that there is reason to believe that some types of land reform projects are more likely to experience tenure problems than others. In particular, we predict that those land reform projects that involve individual (household) allocations on group-owned land are more likely to experience such problems, particularly to the extent the formal mechanisms of their legal entities are submerged in favour of land administration systems transplanted from communal areas. This is not to suggest that for projects involving group-owned land, individual allocations should be discouraged, only that in these situations government should be especially vigilant, and make particular efforts to strengthen the legal entities. The third point is that more time is required to ascertain the validity of the first point, as is a more in-depth qualitative approach, especially if we are to develop a more concrete understanding of the role of HIV/AIDS.

10 Summary of workshops with provincial staff

As part of this first phase of the research, provincial research teams met with DLA officials working in Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo to discuss draft research findings and canvass their views on policy issues and implications arising from this research. In Limpopo organisations working in the field of HIV/AIDS were invited as well. These meetings were held as follows:

- *Eastern Cape* – East London, 10 March 2005; four DLA staff (from Umtata and Queenstown) plus two Fort Hare and one HSRC researchers
- *KwaZulu-Natal* – Pietermaritzburg, 4 April 2005; seven DLA staff (provincial management committee, including director) plus two HEARD and one HSRC researchers
- *Limpopo* – Polokwane, 21 April 2005; two representatives from DLA as well as organisations dealing with HIV/AIDS in the province – Treatment Action Campaign; Takalani Nana, PASPWA (Poverty Alleviation and Support for People with AIDS), Centre for Positive Care, Lovelife, CHOICE – and four Nkuzi staff members.

The following issues emerged from these discussions.

Importance of HIV/AIDS and of research around it

There was general agreement among participants at these meetings that understanding the impact(s) of HIV/AIDS on land reform is important and requires more attention than it has received to date. DLA has not drawn out the linkages between HIV/AIDS and the land reform programme in implementation and more work needs to be done to establish and clarify what those links are, especially in terms of tenure security and land access. Officials appear to agree that, intuitively, there is a link, even though the impacts are not clearly visible. Particular issues raised here concerned the potential impact on the 2014 target of redistributing 30% of commercial farmland to black people, as well as the consequences for projects if their leadership is affected. Concern was also expressed in one office (KwaZulu-Natal) that DLA officials are themselves at risk of contracting HIV.

Current DLA HIV/AIDS policy

Provincial offices have designated an official as an HIV/AIDS focal-point person, who cooperates with his/her counterpart in the Regional Land Claims Commission, but the focus of attention is on internal work-place policy and marking World AIDS Day, not land reform projects or national policy. The latter was presented as the domain of the national office and its development is something quite removed from provincial officials.

Issues for a land reform HIV/AIDS policy to address

The discussion was open-ended and wide-ranging, with no attempt to reach final agreement on all proposals. The following issues were raised:

- The importance of developing policies and systems in support of sustainable land reform is an important task in itself, which is currently under discussion within DLA. It is not just a concern because of HIV/AIDS.

- While the old SLAG projects share broadly similar features, there is no typical LRAD project, hence it may be difficult to develop generic policy for LRAD. In any case, the current project cycle for LRAD is too short (3-4 meetings) to include HIV/AIDS awareness and gather information on HIV/AIDS issues from the community.
- The issue of succession within projects as well as for individual members, in the event of the death of a member, has been identified as a general issue requiring attention at a policy level within DLA; the HIV/AIDS pandemic can be expected to exacerbate these problems. However, different points of view or emphasis emerged in the different offices as to the best way for government to respond. One proposal, coming from the Eastern Cape, was that the issue of succession, including how new members should join the project, needs to be addressed in project/CPA constitutions. In the KwaZulu-Natal office, however, a note of caution was sounded about imposing inappropriate solutions from outside, alongside an expression of confidence that communities and households would deal with these challenges most suitably in terms of their own norms and practices.
- With specific regard to protecting the land rights of children or youth in the event of the death of their parents, the Limpopo discussion identified this as an important area for policy development, suggesting the writing of wills and individual titling as possible mechanisms.
- Linked to this is the issue of record keeping around land transfers once DLA has exited the project. It was noted in the Eastern Cape that projects do not report beneficiary deaths to DLA and also that there is no mechanism in place for tracking the subsequent sale of land by land reform beneficiaries.
- The issue of child-headed households was raised. The point was made in the Limpopo discussion that attention also needs to be directed to AIDS-affected households where the parents (or responsible adults) are still alive but so sick that responsibility has devolved *de facto* to a child or children.
- The need to guard against HIV status being used to exclude people from land reform was raised in the KwaZulu-Natal office, alongside a certain scepticism about the value of developing projects that specifically target HIV positive people or affected households; the concern here seems to be that not only could this be discriminatory but also that it could have the consequence of removing or isolating people from their communities and support networks.
- The involvement of 'youth' in land reform emerged as a concern. It was recognised that young people are particularly at risk in relation to HIV and that this poses a threat to the longer-term sustainability of projects. At the same time, it was noted in the Eastern Cape that youth interest in land reform is minimal and in KwaZulu-Natal that land reform has no specific targets around youth.
- Basic health needs, e.g. developing minimum standards around the provision of clean water, require more attention in land reform project design (even though there was a general feeling among DLA officials that the DLA mandate needs to be kept limited – that DLA is not a general service provider). On health, it was noted that general health awareness is low in projects, including on a range of common, chronic conditions, e.g. diabetes.
- The Limpopo discussion raised the importance of including traditional leaders in HIV/AIDS strategies, noting that they still play an important role in land allocation.

- Both the Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal offices emphasised the importance of 'mainstreaming gender' as well.

Responsibility for land reform projects

Defining DLA's role in project development and delivery, and hence, by extension, for dealing with HIV/AIDS issues in land reform projects, emerged as a major issue of debate. In general DLA recognises that there are serious concerns about the lack of post-settlement support for land reform beneficiaries but is trying to limit its mandate to the delivery of land and to involve other line-function departments in terms of their specific responsibilities, such as agricultural extension support, service delivery, distribution of condoms and HIV awareness materials, etc. In some LRAD projects, e.g. those packaged by the Land Bank, DLA is not even involved in beneficiary selection but provides grant funding only.

According to the KwaZulu-Natal office, new policy directions are currently being developed to try to address these concerns. The importance of inter-departmental cooperation and integrated service delivery is recognised but so are the difficulties of achieving this. Consideration is also being given to DLA becoming more proactive in identifying and recruiting appropriate land reform beneficiaries.

Way forward

At all the provincial meetings the importance of information and its effective dissemination was stressed. A number of specific ideas and proposals were raised during these discussions in addition:

Participants' suggestions for DLA

- DLA should invite HIV/AIDS organisations to address groups and communities involved in land reform projects during the project design phase, but can itself also take on more responsibility for talking to project members about the issues.
- DLA could put together information on the impacts of HIV/AIDS on land reform for AIDS organisations to use in their own awareness-raising and education work.
- DLA should organise joint events with HIV/AIDS organisations on World AIDS Day in land reform projects (specific plans for this for 2005 were developed at the Limpopo meeting).
- DLA's HIV Unit should provide more on-going training on the issues.
- DLA should engage political leaders to take up the issue of HIV/AIDS and land reform and raise the profile of the issue.

Suggestions for the research team

- At both the Eastern Cape and the KwaZulu-Natal meetings, it was felt that there would be value in the research teams involving project officials at district level in further discussion on the research findings.

11 Preliminary policy implications

The policy implications sketched below must be regarded as preliminary, not least because at this stage the research process is still a work-in-progress.

Mitigation and food security

Arguably the main policy implication of the research at this stage is that HIV/AIDS as a threat to land reform is less significant than land reform as a means of mitigating the household-level (and perhaps therefore community-level?) impact of HIV/AIDS. This is not to suggest that the potential threat of HIV/AIDS to land reform can be ignored (see below); however, given the relatively robust finding that land reform contributes positively to affected households' ability to cope, there is much that can be done to enhance this. Most notably, and in keeping with findings from other research demonstrating that the predominant reason households demand land (and by extension would wish to benefit from land reform) is to enhance their food security, more could be done to support the food security potential of land reform projects, and not necessarily at the expense of other land reform objectives.

One obvious measure along these lines is to be more choosy about location of food security-oriented land redistribution projects,¹⁹ so that the confounding trade-off between accessing land for production, and accessing services, is not so stark. This is in principle facilitated by the fact that – again alluding to recent complementary research – households desiring land for food security purposes want relatively small amounts, meaning that there is a better chance of identifying suitable land not far from communities where people stay. Moreover, the use of the financial package could allow less for land acquisition, and more to defray the costs of relocation, whether for redistribution or restitution, which are at times prohibitive.²⁰

Settlement support

More strategic locations will not always be feasible, in which case it adds to the burden of ensuring more co-ordination and resources devoted to providing services where people wish to move to. The investment in these services is more easily rationalised under conditions of relatively dense settlements, which is not inappropriate where food security rather than commercial production is the primary objective.

Post-settlement support and appropriate technology

Still on the topic of promoting the food security benefits of land reform, one has to ask whether the sort of post-settlement support generally on offer is appropriate. There are indications that, in the main, it is not. One worrying indication of this is the almost total neglect, if not subversion, of indigenous knowledge by extension personnel. The food security benefits of indigenous crops and practices are well established in the research community, but have had only minor influence in the day-to-day process of providing extension support. A related theme is appropriate technology. The technological needs of households striving to improve their diets are generally dissimilar to those of small-scale or

¹⁹ Obviously this does not generally apply to restitution projects, where location is a given rather than a matter of choice.

²⁰ Observing this recommendation will be all the easier within the framework of a more supply-led approach, where significant areas of land can be identified and acquired for their strategic location, also allowing more flexibility in matching land parcels to needs and preferences.

emerging farmers who regard farming as a business opportunity, although obviously there is a grey area linking the two. The needs of the former would include for instance household-level water harvesting, which can greatly enhance household food security, even if more or less irrelevant for commercial purposes. The bulk of attention presently however is on resuscitating large-scale irrigation schemes, which is not bad in itself, but appears to operate at the neglect of more food security-oriented initiatives.

Project type and legal entities

Presumably there will always be a need for a variety of project types, but unequivocally the model most appropriate to production for food security is individualised production. Given its costs, formal subdivision will not always or even usually be feasible, meaning that tenure security will depend on the efficacy of the legal entities and their internal rules. This is an area in need of greater support, not just in assistant beneficiary groups devise appropriate constitutions from the beginning, but in terms of offering ongoing support. In short, the gap between the de facto and de jure situation in respect of the functioning of beneficiary groups needs to be closed, not least because it would appear to be particularly in these situations that there is a potential for tenure insecurity to feature on land reform projects.

Legal entities and succession

One area in which the present exercise arguably shed insufficient light on is the question of succession. Succession came up implicitly in so far as a large proportion of beneficiaries expressed concern that HIV/AIDS could spell a bleak future for their projects. In this respect, the worry was that the youth would not be around to take over the projects. However, another, almost opposite angle is that in group projects in particular, means of succession are not worked out, thus to the extent responsibility must in time be handed over to new, younger members – not least one's own children – the procedures for doing so are unclear. It is unclear at this stage whether HIV/AIDS makes this issue more urgent, i.e. as though because of the epidemic more succession needs to happen sooner than it would otherwise.²¹ Be that as it may, it is an issue requiring both policy attention and resources to provide real support.

Project cycles

Similarly, the present exercise did not shed much light on how project cycles should perhaps be amended. One exception was the suggestion made by some provincial Land Affairs staff that at some stage during the project cycle, civil society groups should be invited to make a presentation to the applicant group as to issues regarding HIV/AIDS. This would certainly be advisable, but it is doubtful that it will make an enormous difference. Other possible tweaks to the project cycle have already been implied in the above, e.g. in respect of better coordination with services, provision of support to facilitate relocation, etc.

Dealing with women's tenure insecurity in communal areas

There is tentative evidence that tenure insecurity, in particular women's tenure insecurity, is less acute on land reform projects – and especially corporate-type projects – than in communal areas. At this stage this appears to be less a positive statement about the benefits

²¹ At the margin this is no doubt the case, however as articulated repeatedly by beneficiary respondents, they are not by a large members of an 'at risk' group.

offered by land reform, than a negative comment about the prevalence of tenure insecurity in at least some communal areas. Given that improved tenure security is one objective of CLRA, and that we do not at present know how exactly CLRA will impact rural communities, it is premature to venture concrete recommendations as to what should be done to attenuate tenure insecurity. One rather counter-intuitive recommendation does come to mind, however, which is to *not* over-privilege HIV/AIDS-affected households for protection from tenure insecurity. This relates to the finding that, while HIV/AIDS may well be an aggravating factor in situations of tenure insecurity (e.g. where an AIDS widow is chased away by extended family or by the community), it is by no means the sine qua non of women's tenure insecurity. Probably the most reasonable suggestion is that as CLRA is rolled out, it is accompanied by a sensitisation programme that covers HIV/AIDS among other factors.

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