

The Role of Land Reform and Rural Development In Sustaining Small-Scale Agriculture

*A Case Study of the
Comprehensive Rural Development Program (CRDP)
in Dysselsdorp, Western Cape*

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Short Dissertation
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DECLARATION

I know the meaning of plagiarism and declare that all of the work in the dissertation *The Role of Land Reform and Rural Development In Sustaining Small-Scale Agriculture: A Case Study of Comprehensive Rural Development Program (CRDP) in Dysselsdorp, Western Cape*, save for that which is properly acknowledged, is my own.

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ABSTRACT

This year, the people of South Africa mark the centenary of the Natives Land Act of 1913, a historic piece of legislation that dispossessed non-whites of their right to land. In light of this, now is an opportunity to review the past hundred years and assess how far South Africa has progressed in terms of land ownership and resource distribution. This short dissertation aims to contribute to the academic discussion centered on land reform and rural development efforts to date and their effectiveness in supporting livelihoods rooted in small-scale agriculture for those living in a former Group Area. Research was conducted in February/March 2013 in the Karoo community of Dysselsdorp in the Western Cape. Dysselsdorp was identified as a pilot location for Comprehensive Rural Development, a relatively recent program by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform blending rural development and land reform efforts for the first time. This study used a combination of quantitative survey and questionnaire data with extensive qualitative data in the form of farmer focus groups and key informant interviews. Results gathered from this demonstrated conflicting views about the capacity of the Comprehensive Rural Development Program to support livelihoods based on small-scale agriculture. Coupling discussions with community members and government officials with literature written on rural development in southern Africa revealed that stakeholder involvement within the CRDP structure is both a bane and a benefit to the progress of economic development in the community.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC – African Nation Congress

CFS – Community Food Security

CoGTA – Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs

CPA – Communal Property Association

CRDP – Comprehensive Rural Development Program

CSIR – Council for Scientific and Industrial Research

DA – The Democratic Alliance

DRDLR – Department of Rural Development and Land Reform

FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

FNB – First National Bank

GAA – Group Areas Act

GCIS – Department of Government Communication and Information System

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GEAR – Growth, Economic and Redistribution

IAASTD – International Assessment of Agricultural Science and Technology for
Development

ISRDP – Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Program

LSCF – Large-scale commercial farms

LRAD – Land Reform for Agricultural Development

PDRDF – Peak District Rural Deprivation Forum

PSC – The Public Service Commission, Republic of South Africa

RLCC – Regional Land Claims Commission

SAP – Structural Adjustment Program

SLAG – Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant

UCS – Union of Concerned Scientists

UN – United Nations

ZAR – South African Rand

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This year marks the centenary of the Natives Land Act of 1913, a historic piece of legislation that dispossessed non-whites of their right to land (Ntsebeza & Hall, 2007). In light of this, now is an opportunity to review the past hundred years and assess how far South Africa has progressed in terms of land ownership and resource re-distribution. Under Apartheid, deep inequalities were sown, and the legacy of the policies implemented during that time can still be seen throughout the South African countryside. Since the first democratically government was elected in 1994, the country has experienced a tremendous restructuring and reprioritization of areas for policy in order to create a more just and equitable society. To this end, the African National Congress (ANC) issued an election manifesto stated that “a national land reform program is the central and driving force of a program of rural development” (ANC, 1994, p. 19). The current administration, elected in 2009 and led by President Jacob Zuma, emphasizes public spending for rural development, land reform, and job creation as a way to achieve the goal of vibrancy and equality for the nation’s people (DRDLR, 2010a).

Made evident by these governmental dictums is the imperative role that land reform and rural development have in alleviating poverty and achieving social justice in South Africa. Still, rural development schemes and particularly land reform measures have been criticized for being ineffective and alarmingly slow (Hall & Cliffe, 2009). Now is a time to consider if the policies

enacted to redress the wrongdoings of colonialism and Apartheid have elevated the lives and livelihoods of the poor. It is also an opportunity to improve on past practices in order to develop the best strategies for the future.

1.2 Research Opportunity

1.2.1 Rationale

Considering the 100-year anniversary of an act that had a dramatic and long-lasting effect on the structure of the nation's landscape, it is appropriate that researchers reflect on the legacy of Apartheid legislation that limited rights to non-white communities. Post-centenary analyses contribute to a lively debate about the progress of land reform and rural development in South Africa (Ramutsindela, 2013; Walker, 2013). Scholars contemplate the institutional successes and failures with regards to poverty elimination, social cohesion, and community vibrancy. Indeed, the Institute of Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of the Western Cape has recently pursued a "Life After Land Reform" project, a series of studies that explore the impact of land reform in alleviating poverty and enhancing the livelihoods of land reform beneficiaries (PLAAS, 2012). On land reform, Ramutsindela (2013) states that its success "can best be measured by the extent to which it has laid down a foundation for the emergence of new patterns of land ownership and land use that transcend the planning logic of, and limitations imposed by the NLA" (p. 8).

Bearing in mind the academic momentum towards assessing viability and sustainability of land reform and rural development, the topic for research was borne. Of principle concern in this study is the effect that policies drafted by the newly established Department of Rural Development and Land Reform have on small-scale food production. In the following review of the literature, it will be highlighted that gaps remain with regard to micro-level agriculture pursued by land reform recipients.

The literature will also show land reform and rural development have been historically exercised within two separate government departments (Hall, 2009). Concerning land reform, one of the major criticisms of its implementation in the past is that it often perpetuates commercial agriculture practices (Moseley, 2007). To be a land reform recipient and engage in agricultural activities, there is a *de facto* large-scale farming framework that is institutionalized through previous land reform approaches. Programs of land reform were not necessarily designed to uplift the livelihoods of the rural poor but rather to maintain a white-dominated form of agriculture. Additionally, as detailed later in the brief history of rural development in South Africa, rural development projects in the history of the country have not been successfully aimed at elevating the lived experience of the rural poor and landless through programs offering a more equitable access to land (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982). Under the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, a novel approach to both land reform and rural development is being explored through the implementation of the Comprehensive Rural Development Program (CRDP) throughout the country. For the first time in the country's history, a significant policy shift is being made to synthesize the goal of rural development and land reform. Through its efforts to uplift the small-scale agriculturalists with projects such as those being carried-out in

Dysselsdorp in the Western Cape, this shift as a policy directive has the potential to appreciate and support the role of the small-scale farmer in South Africa.

1.2.2 Research Question

The research conducted in this case study is guided by the following question:

How does rural development and land reform help foster small-scale food production in the Comprehensive Rural Development Program (CRDP) pilot location of Dysselsdorp in the Western Cape?

1.2.3 Aim and Objectives

The aim of the research is to explore how agriculture pursued by emerging farmers, civic organizations, and individuals unifies the objective of both rural development and land reform as detailed in the CRDP framework. This will be achieved by meeting the following objectives:

- To assess the public perception and impact of CRDP in Dysselsdorp with regards to small-scale production of food
- To assess the role of multi-level governance and institutions in the implementation of this pilot project
- To quantify the economic potential created for small-scale agriculture through CRDP

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 The Global State of Small-Scale Food Production

For Olivier De Schutter (2009), the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, the problem for the increasing global population does not lie in the chronic inability to produce enough food to feed the world's people. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that there is currently enough food produced to fulfill the caloric requirements of the whole population (IAASTD, 2008). Rather, the heart of the crisis is a global food system where the modes of production through commercial, large-scale agriculture are fraught with unsustainability and inequity (De Schutter, 2009). The 2008 food crisis demonstrated the vulnerability of these most rapidly growing populations to shocks in global food prices while simultaneously highlighting the fragility of the global food system (De Schutter, 2009).

There are three main categories of people who are the most vulnerable to global food crisis. These include the urban poor, landless agricultural workers, and small-scale farmers (De Schutter, 2009). In order to assess the impact of fluctuations in global food prices on food security within these groups, it is imperative to understand what forces put them at risk to be vulnerable in the first place. For farmers engaged in small scale agriculture around the world, common key challenges to their livelihoods can be identified (Stringer *et al.*, 2008). Here, it is prudent to state that numerous differences remain between small agriculturalists throughout the globe with regard to what plants they cultivate, local climatic patterns, varying political

economies within their countries, and other factors. Still, there are shared experiences amongst these farmers that arise from the prevailing neoliberal approach to global agricultural production (Stringer *et al.*, 2008). Two of the challenges most commonly cited by farmers around the world include climate change and poverty. For the purposes of this literature review, the latter will be addressed as it relates directly to the type of trade liberalization that fostered the economic and political conditions which lend themselves to global food crises.

To understand why poverty is so pervasive among small-scale farmers at a global level, it is apt to examine why large-scale production is preferred in the global market context, hence its relative profitability. The world over, policies enacted by national governments and intergovernmental organizations such as the World Bank and the World Trade Organization have led to the commodification of food as a globally-traded good (McMichael, 2007). These policies have manifested themselves in a host of varying multi-level market interventions, but include the following: preferential subsidies in the Global North that benefit domestic large-scale commercial agriculture, Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) implemented in the developing world to reorient nations' food markets to be export-driven, and development regimes seen in the Green Revolution (Shiva, 1991; McMichael, 2007; McMichael & Schneider, 2011). All of these interventions require capital-intensive modes of agriculture, encouraging the growth of cash crop monocultures through economies of scale while simultaneously fostering the incorporation of a more mechanized and technology-based form of agriculture. Rather than relying on the biological limits and cultural wisdom of a place to determine what should be cultivated there, a free-market dictates the means of food production.

Due to the substantial monetary and resource-intensive investments required to make the transition to a global market-focused operations, many small-scale farmers were forced out of the industry. The farmers that go under tend to become displaced people on the land, opting to leave their fields and travel to urban areas to seek employment (De Schutter, 2009). This migration stream, from rural agrarianism to urban living, puts an obvious strain on the services such as, water, housing, and electricity, provided by municipal governments.

As McMichael and Schneider (2011) argue, for those who manage to maintain their livelihoods through the agricultural sector, there have been overwhelming expectations for these farmers to adopt commercial approach to farming. Rather than encouraging access for small-scale farmers to alternative markets, organizations like the World Bank and the UN Food and Agricultural Organization have systematically advocated for “agribusiness as usual” (McMichael & Schneider, 2011, p. 126). The rationale behind this is that small-scale farmers can capitalize on rising food prices if only they invested in the technologies that are used to grow staple crops. However, high prices have not benefitted these agriculturalists and have actually contributed to making them poorer (Stringer *et al.*, 2008). This pressure to mechanize and cultivate cash crops for distant markets rather than focusing on growing food for local communities certainly works to the disadvantage of all consumers with limited purchasing power. According to the International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science, and Technology for Development (IAASTD) (2009), “technologies such as high-yielding crop varieties, agrochemicals and mechanization have primarily benefited the better-resourced groups in society and transnational corporations, rather than the most vulnerable ones” (p. 23). Clearly, the interest of the poor consumer and farmer is not being considered within trade liberalization regime in the modern-

day global food market. Additionally, there are few policies in place that help foster subsistence agriculture or farming conducted to provide products to regional and local markets (PDRDF, 2004; O'Hara, 2011). Generally, governments do little to uplift the livelihood of small-scale farmers through policies that increase their access to resources, such as land, continued education, proper infrastructure and financing (Stringer *et al.*, 2008).

2.2 Land Reform in Southern Africa

The issue of land reform is not unique to South Africa. Many nations emerging from a history of colonial rule have grappled with the challenge of equitably redistributing land and resources to previously disenfranchised people (McCusker & Fraser, 2008). Lahiff (2003) identifies three unifying themes of countries implementing land reform in southern Africa. These include a common history of settler colonialism which dispossessed native inhabitants of land, persistence of neoliberal economic policies, and continued impoverishment of the rural areas. Despite these commonalities, the approaches to land redistribution vary. Negotiating the terms and implementation of land reform in South Africa oftentimes is accompanied by the tried allusion to the 'specter of Zimbabwe,' where radical and violent land reclamation occurred (Moyo, 2011; Hanlon *et al.*, 2013). South Africa's land reform policy, underwritten by the World Bank (Hall & Cliffe, 2009), was designed as market-based solution (van Zyl *et al.*, 1996). Still, public discourse remains, as described by O'Laughlin *et al.* (2013), that land invasions serve "as a warning of what might happen should land reform [in South Africa] fail" (p. 1).

As previously mentioned, the trade liberalizations instituted in the global food system have been attributed to a substantial amount of farms being sold to larger operations and agriculturalists

leaving the industry. This has led to consolidation of many family farms into the hands of a few corporate farms (Norberg-Hodge, Merrifield, & Gorelick, 2002). In South Africa, the history of the land consolidation takes on a different light. Under Apartheid, the white population dominated agriculture as non-white farmers were barred from owning their own land (Moseley, 2007). Despite being the majority of the population in the country, when the ANC took power, only 13% of the land was owned by non-white people (Atuahene, 2011). In 1994, the new South African government began to redress the inequalities brought about by Apartheid by implementing land reform policy (FAO, 2009). Although the policies enacted since 1994 aimed at equalizing ownership throughout the country, they are often criticized for being ineffective and often detrimental to the livelihoods of small and emerging farmers in the country.

One of the main criticisms of land reform in South Africa is the unbearably slow progress it has made. The original goal of land reform in 1994 was to transfer 30% of the land to non-white ownership by 1999 (Moseley, 2007). Only 8% of it was reallocated by 2010 (Atuahene, 2011). The official new date to achieve this goal is 2025 (O’Laughlin *et al.*, 2013). According to Moseley (2007), there are three main reasons for the sluggish pace of land reform. First, the political mobilization behind land reform projects is low. Second, an overly bureaucratic claims application process hampers the speed at which people can access land or cash credit if they opt. Finally, the current farming system is substantially controlled by the legacy of dominant white agriculturalists. Considering these barriers, the challenges for small and emerging farmers can be inferred. Despite the enactment of policies with the objective to increase access to land to the previously disenfranchised population, the systemic problems in implementing land reform reveal how the program continues to alienate people from the agricultural sector.

Within the South African land reform scheme, there are three branches: land restitution, tenure reform, and land redistribution (FAO, 2009). Land restitution was designed to return the land (or its financial equivalent) to its original, pre-1913 owners. The aim of tenure reform is to clarify the land holding arrangements of people working the land. Land redistribution aims to reallocate land from white to non-white ownership through government grants (Moseley, 2007). For the purposes of this study, land distribution will be analyzed for its particular influence on small-scale farmers in South Africa. Land redistribution, which was drafted in the early 1990s by the ANC with major consultation from the World Bank, was designed as a system to administer the transfer of land to non-white owners through a market-led approach (Ntsebeza & Hall, 2007). Two of the major programs that were implemented under the auspices of land redistribution include Settlement/Land Acquisition (SLAG) and Land Reform for Agricultural Development (LRAD). In the particular case of LRAD, many scholars have commented on how the land redistribution efforts in the country have actually emphasized commercial-scale farming for land reform recipients rather than redressing injustices and alleviating poverty (Moseley, 2007; Cousins 2007, Aliber & Hall, 2010).

Consistent with the prevailing global food system, it is argued that LRAD simply perpetuates an unsustainable method for food production through a neoliberal lens and fails to address the food security needs of the poorest in the nation (Moseley, 2007). Cousins (2007) summarizes the rationale of government when allocating support to farmers by stating “only commercial agriculture is real agriculture, and thus successful small-scale farming must be a scaled down version of market-oriented, technologically sophisticated, and profit-maximizing commercial

farmers” (p. 228). By focusing its efforts on encouraging emerging and small non-white farmers to cultivate export-driven crops as opposed to cultivating crops for their or their community’s consumption, the government misses a substantial opportunity to alleviate poverty and attenuate food insecurity (Aliber & Hall, 2010). Considering the general challenges to small-scale farmers presented through the globalized food trade, it can be seen as poor foresight on the part of the government to expect land reform recipients to engage with the volatile global food market and compete with farmers in distant countries who receive preferential treatment via government subsidies.

Aliber & Cousins (2013) analyze land redistribution schemes of South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia in a paper following PLAAS’ “Livelihoods After Land Reform” study. Some differences between each country’s respective on land reform programs are noted. Mainly, the A1 reform schemes, where land is divided amongst small agricultural operations, in Zimbabwe are highlighted for its implicit acknowledgment of the productivity and viability of small-scale farming. Still, the authors assert that the continual emphasis on large-scale commercial farming, informed by neoliberal land reform policies of Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe (through A2 schemes), undermines development for the poorest in rural areas.

The orientation of small-scale farmers towards resource-intensive commercial agriculture through land reform projects has deep impacts on food security for the nation. Firstly, it undermines subsistence and domestic market-favored agriculture as a viable way of producing food in South Africa. There is very little institutional support for diverse growing operations with the objective to feed families and communities (Aliber & Hall, 2010). There is an irony in

agriculture that small-scale farmers are often times the hungriest people in the population despite their occupation being devoted to the production of food (De Schutter, 2009). This is because small-farmers are encouraged to grow cash crops that are not intended for human consumption, at least not in immediate regional markets. Additionally, by advocating for the technologically driven and capital-intensive model of agriculture, small-scale farmers run the risk of simply not making ends meet. This severely limits their household incomes and reduces the amount of money available to purchase food (McMichael & Schneider, 2011).

To mitigate food insecurity and alleviate poverty within the country, new and innovative ways to food production and community development must be explored. According to Moseley (2007), South Africa has a unique opportunity to challenge the entrenched and unfair global food system through its land reform programs. Rather than using government funding to cultivate a growing class of black commercial farmers, more sound spending could be done through the conduit of community food security schemes and securing access to regional and local markets and land for small-scale farmers. As Aliber & Hall (2010) state, “there is an urgent need to shift emphasis of support from on-farm infrastructure and inputs, to community-level infrastructure, market development, and institutional reengineering” (p.18).

2.3 South African Rural Development

Like land reform, the issue of rural development is not a phenomenon of strict importance to South Africa. The study of development began relatively recently, and its beginnings are oftentimes attributed to a speech made by United States President Harry S. Truman in 1945

(Nandy, 1988). Rural development discourse arose subsequently during the 1950s and has remained a prominent endeavor in many nations' political and economic agendas (Behera, 2006). This literature review only seeks to explain rural development through the lens of South African implementation although some reflection is given to the discourse in the southern African context.

European colonialism has left a legacy of uneven development throughout southern Africa. The colonial project functioned through the continual accumulation of capital into a small number of pockets and the preferential access to land granted to white settlers (O'Laughlin et al., 2013). At the expense of rural upliftment and autonomy, local people and resources were exploited, and land was dispossessed from land holders employing traditional property tenure schemes. Independence from colonial powers came later for southern African countries than for other regions in Sub-Saharan Africa, and at those moments of transition, the issue of the 'land question' was on the lips of most in order to address the under development of rural areas and unequal and unjust access to land.

As previously noted, at the time of democratic transition in South Africa, whites owned 87% of the land in the country. Compared to other countries in southern Africa, this was a considerably higher demonstration of consolidated land ownership. In Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) at the time of independence, white settlers owned approximately 50% of the land (O'Laughlin et al., 2013). The native reserves in neighboring countries held a high proportion of the land, although white settlers benefitted from greater access to the most arable regions of the respective rural areas. In contrast to present South Africa's agrarian prevalence, there is a higher incidence of

small-holder farming being practiced in other regions of southern Africa. O’Laughlin et al. (2013) cite the significantly disparate holding patterns of land between settler and native populations in these various countries as a major factor contributing to the importance of agriculture in present-day national economies in southern Africa.

To begin to look at the history of rural development in South Africa, it is imperative to note potential reasons for systematic underdevelopment in the rural areas of the country. First, it is important to recognize the roles of the two distinct types of agriculture pursued in the country. One of these agricultures exists in the form of capital-intensive, mechanized, commercial farming that is generally associated both during and post-apartheid with white farmers. The other variation of food production is pursued by poor rural black farmers and is characterized by lower levels of mechanical and capital inputs, done on a small-scale and oftentimes for subsistence (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982).

In their study of rural development planning during apartheid, Letsoalo and Rogerson (1982) identify two separate schools of thought with regard to understanding rural underdevelopment in the country. The first relates to ‘market driven’ explanations for underdevelopment. Letsoalo and Rogerson state that this form of rationale was uniformly employed by the South African government during apartheid. Under this school of thought, underdevelopment in rural South Africa was attributable to the failure of African farmers - farmers participating in small-scale agriculture - to adopt technological advancements needed to keep pace with the changing market. These farmers were viewed as underutilizing agrarian space, blamed by the government for low-yielding traditional agricultural practices (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982). The inability to produce

enough food for one's household and the perpetual state of underdevelopment in rural areas was therefore seen as inefficiency in the ways African farmers cultivated the land.

The other school of thought deemphasizes the role of the market in rural development and rebukes the notion of an inherent failure in the nature of traditional forms of agriculture. Rather, it points to deeper and more complicated political motives to perpetuate underdevelopment. "The continuing underdevelopment of the Homelands may be understood in relation to the functions assumed by these areas in terms of South African political economy," (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982). To ensure a cheap labor force needed for the South African economy during the 20th century, it is postulated that programs to truly elevate the livelihood of the rural poor and develop sustainable solutions to poverty, particularly in the 'homelands', were never successfully pursued by the government. Policies that were drafted under apartheid with directives aimed at rural areas did little to uplift the poor living there. What they did manage to do was to either maintain the status quo of underdevelopment in the 'homelands' or actively worsen the lives of agriculturalists in rural areas.

During apartheid, successive governments took up rural development through the implementation of betterment planning (De Wet, 1989). First began in 1936, the formal objective of betterment planning was to attenuate soil erosion, protect the natural environment, and develop agricultural production in the rural areas of South Africa's 'homelands' (De Wet, 1989). It was deemed that traditional agriculture, which did not yield the highest efficiencies and harvests per unit of arable land, was a misguided way to grow crops. This rehabilitation of agriculture in the rural areas was carried out under the assumption that underdevelopment and

agrarian was linked to the 'bad farming' employed by those in the homelands (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982).

Betterment planning involved extensively restructuring of the livelihoods and environment of rural residents. To seek permission to begin a betterment strategy in a village, the government 'consulted' the community, oftentimes only requesting the blessing from one village leader rather than achieving the approval of a majority of residents. After 'consultation', government officials set out to identify three types of land use appropriate in betterment planning: arable land, grazing areas, and residential locations. Much of the land that had been under cultivation or utilized for common grazing areas was deemed to be overworked and were removed from immediate usage under betterment planning. This effort towards conservation and the reduction of erosion dramatically decreased the amount of land available to agriculturalists in the community. Households were forced to disband their traditional farmsteads and were required to move into new residential areas establishment by betterment planning (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982). As a consequence, many villages found themselves with more limited access to land than prior to the implementation of betterment planning (De Wet, 1989).

The program that was started to be a stabilizing force in rural 'homeland' communities inevitably became a source of great social resistance. Those who experienced forced resettlements from their farmland into compacted residential areas protested the government's efforts towards rural development. They emphasized that the reason for soil erosion from livestock grazing and overworking the land through agriculture was not due to their choice in farming practices but rather inadequate amount of usable land (De Wet, 1989). With many of the rural people

displaced and removed from the act of agriculture, the labor pool available to exploit grew substantially, which no doubt benefitted the political economy of the South African government (Letsoalo & Rogerson, 1982). A rural development policy such as betterment planning was never meant to alleviate the hardship experienced in rural non-white areas. Considering the political and social atmosphere in South Africa during apartheid, there was little motivation from the government to truly invest in sound development programs for rural areas. The real political will, according to De Wet (1989), was to frame rural development in a way that resonated with the ideology of separateness and racial superiority.

Shepherd (2000) has identified four key trends within contemporary rural development in South Africa. These include:

- “the importance of redistribution in a context of extreme inequality
- the perceived importance of participation, and the difficulties of participation where institutions are weak
- the requirement for action across several key sectors
- the key role to be played by local government in planning and coordination” (p.211)

Since the advent of a new South Africa in 1994, many policies and programs have been implemented to help alleviate rural poverty. In June of 1996, the national government rolled-out the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macroeconomic strategy. Designed to combine “local economic development, small-business development, integrated rural development and urban renewal, spatial development initiatives and industrial development zones,” the strategy was drafted to help bolster government intervention in development projects

(Harmse, 2010, p. 430). One such initiative is the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Program (ISRDP). Began in 2000, the vision of ISRDP was to target underdeveloped and poverty-stricken rural areas and create economically thriving communities through investment in infrastructure, human resource development, enterprise development, and local governance capacity building (Harmse, 2010).

The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Program was framed at the outset to be a 10-year long effort. Towards the end of the decade-long initiative, the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs issued a report detailing the successes and failures of ISRDP. The aim in revisiting ISRDP at the end of its duration was to identify key avenues for improving rural development schemes for the future (CoGTA, 2009). There were a number of areas for improvement highlighted in the report, but by and large, the greatest target for strengthening rural development efforts is in better planning and coordination within the nodes, or communities, of the program.

Rural development has persisted as one of the key political motives of the ANC (DRDLR, 2010a). With the election of President Jacob Zuma in 2009, rural development and poverty alleviation received a renewed policy focus (Hall, 2009). Central to rural development in South Africa is the role of land reform and the political mobilization to implement policies that serve to enhance the lives of the rural poor. However, many criticize the national government for creating legislation and programs that do little more than pay lip-service to an alleged commitment to the rural poor. According to Kepe & Cousins (2002), “programs to enhance the land-based livelihoods of rural people are one of the few viable policy options available to government in

search of pro-poor sustainable development” (p.1). In other words, to achieve the results of long-term viability and economic advancement of rural poor, development initiatives must incorporate a transformation based on sustainability that recognizes the importance of land-based economies in rural areas. This is in agreement with Drimie & Mini (2003), who state that the key for promoting sustainable development and alleviating poverty is fostering sustainable rural livelihoods. For Kepe & Cousins (2002), this acknowledgement must happen through a dramatic reconceptualization of the current land reform system; “[I]and reform will only be effective if embedded within a broader program to restructure the agrarian economy” (p. 2). They highlight the importance of land reform in shaping the livelihoods of the rural poor and ultimately rural development.

According to Johnson (2000), the agriculture sector in South Africa “clearly has a vital direct and indirect role in economic development and poverty alleviation” (p. 28). Despite a declining contribution to the overall South African economy, agriculture remains significant in generating incomes for both on- and off-farm industries. As a formal industry, agriculture contributes to about 3% of South Africa’s GDP; however, when nested in a larger sphere of agribusiness and value-added industries associated with agriculture, the production of food as an industry accounts for about 7% of the country’s GDP (GCIS, 2011). The benefits to the economy from agricultural production are not limited to simply cultivation, harvest, and marketing of raw plant material. Agriculture has the potential of spurring economic growth by encouraging the establishment of businesses involved with the processing, packaging, delivery, or adding value to crops. These secondary industries to farming have the capacity to employ individuals who do not necessarily have the skill set to participate in agriculture. By viewing the production of food as

activities that happen far beyond the boundaries of the fields and farm yards, agriculture makes a substantial impact on regions of a country that are primarily agrarian.

However, as Bernstein (2013) emphasizes, agribusiness in South Africa, particularly since the end of apartheid, has been highly concentrated within the sphere of influence of a handful of large farms, supermarket giants, seed companies, food processors and distributors. In terms of food production, power and market-share has been commercialized and consolidated. Largely attributable for this hyper-concentration in the industry has been the ANC's policy initiatives during the political transition in the early 1990s (Bernstein, 2013). Agricultural deregulation in the country that began in the late 1980s was further pursued, encouraged by the World Bank and other international development bodies. This deregulation favored large-scale operations and "organized agriculture" and led to the transformation of agricultural cooperatives into privately-owned companies. In a study on commercial farm enterprises in South Africa, Vink and van Rooyen (2009) found that 1.6% (n = 673) of commercial farms contributed a third of the total gross income generated on these operations in 2002. Commenting on the growing clout of large supermarket chains in South Africa, Bernstein (2013) states this industry-wide consolidation limits the options available to the poor to acquire food, particularly in rural areas. As Du Toit and Neves (2007) put it, "[w]hile these supermarkets have succeeded in supplying local areas with cheaper food, they have also been part of a far-reaching transfiguration of the rural economy" (p. 24).

2.4 The Comprehensive Rural Development Program (CRDP)

In 2009, the presidential office issued a mandate for the formal inclusion of rural development into the government's land reform program (DRDLR, 2010a). The result of this mandate was

the formation of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) and the national Department of Agriculture. The major changes that precipitated from this restructuring were the separation of agriculture from land reform, which were historically managed in tandem by the Department of Land Affairs, and the concerted effort to make rural development an integral component of land reform (Hall, 2009). The addition of the rural development mandate into land reform led to the inception of the Comprehensive Rural Development Program (CRDP) (DRDLR, 2010b). Premised on the three pillars of agrarian transformation, land reform, and rural development, CRDP aims for a new approach to alleviating poverty in rural areas. As highlighted by the Minister of the newly-founded department, Mr. Gugile Nkwinti, “it is clear that land reform programs implemented in South Africa, have to date not been sustainable” (DRDLR, 2010b, p. 4). The success of the Department’s delivery of the program will be measured by using the following outputs:

- “sustainable land reform
- food security for all
- rural development and sustainable livelihoods
- job creation linked to skills training” (DRDLR, 2010b, p. 3-4)

In the communities where a CRDP is implemented, a broad and integrative approach is trying to meet these outputs. Many actors from institutions within the community as well as multi-levels of governance work together to isolate the greatest needs of a rural area in light of the corresponding pillars of CRDP. The mission of CRDP is to encourage people living in rural settings to take control of their own destinies and foster an inherent sustainability within rural development.

What sets CRDP apart from other rural development and land reform schemes is the level of integration between the two historically and formally detached discourses as well as the cooperation from many levels of governance (DRDLR, 2010b). By 2010, 21 CRDP locations were located throughout the country; the goal for 2014 is to increase that number to 160 sites (DRDLR, 2010a). After selecting sites for CRDP, the government begins a profiling process of each community that includes obtaining baseline information about topography, geology, soil capability, climate, hydrology, land uses, water, sanitation, electricity, roads, demographics, employment, income levels, education, economic activities, health facilities, and recreation (DRDLR, 2010b).

University of Cape Town

Chapter 3

Dysselsdorp - Case Study Background

3.1 Introduction

In February 2010, the community of Dysselsdorp was selected as one of the nine pilot site locations for the Comprehensive Rural Development Program in South Africa. Dysselsdorp, located in the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality, has become the model in the Western Cape for on-going CRDP efforts within the province (L. Brown, personal communication, March 1, 2013). To better understand why and how CRDP was implemented within this community, it is essential to nest the program within the historical, demographic, and geographic context of the place.

3.2 Geographic Context

3.2.1 Topography & Climate

Dysselsdorp is situated in the Klein Karoo region of the Western Cape. Three biomes converge in the region: Fynbos, Thicket, and Succulent Karoo (Le Maitre et al., 2009). The most dominant of these biomes in South Africa as well as in the region around Dysselsdorp is the Karoo (Cowling et al., 1986; DRDLR, 2009a). The Onteniqua and Swartberg Mountain ranges surround the region of the Klein Karoo. Winters here are mild here, yet during the coldest months, snow can be seen capping the surrounding mountains. Mean daily temperatures for the region of Dysselsdorp for the month of February are greater than 30⁰ C, sometimes reaching temperatures in excess of 40⁰ C. During the month of August, winter in the Klein Karoo, mean daily temperatures range from 20-22⁰ C (Le Maitre et al., 2009). Annual precipitation in the region is

100-300 mm with a majority of the rainfall events occurring in the months of March and November (Le Maitre et al., 2009).

3.2.2 Hydrology

As previously noted, the Dysseldorp region suffers from a lack of sustained rainfall. Due to unreliable precipitation during many months, water is obtained in the form of surface flow from the Oliphants River. For agriculture to be pursued in the area, irrigation systems are imperative to crop success. Farmers who wish to utilize water from the Oliphants River for irrigation must have legal water rights. Others have to install water tanks to collect intermittent rain. According to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, lucerne farming, the most notable crop produced in the area, is “often done at break-even profit level due to the shortage of water over the arable lands...” (2009, p. 16)

3.2.3 Soil Profile

Dysseldorp is situated on what the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (2009a) identify as three dominant soil zones:

- A portion of the community and surrounding agricultural area lies in the **Oliphants River floodplain**. Here, the soils are deep and loamy, and if given sufficient water, can yield significant vegetative productivity.
- A hard pan and limestone reef soil deposit of about 70 hectares comprises the **Foot Zone**, a region where some agricultural activity is pursued as well as residential settlements
- The **Middle Zone**, utilized primarily for livestock grazing, consists of Valsriver and Sterkspruit soil type forms.

3.3 History of Dysselsdorp

The town of Dysselsdorp is located in the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality, 25 km to the east of Oudtshoorn. The population of Oudtshoorn Municipality Wards that make up the community Dysselsdorp (Wards 9 and 10) is 11,910 (Statistics South Africa, 2011). There is evidence that the region around Dysselsdorp was settled pre-colonially by the indigenous Khoi-San people, and ancient local cave drawings allude to the strong connection between the land and people (DRDLR, 2009a). The contemporary community of Dysselsdorp dates back to 1836 when the land was acquired as a grazing location for the London Missionary Society at Pacaltsdorp (Sauls & Associates, 2009). In 1873, a major driving force in the establishment of permanent settlements within the region came in the form of the partitioning of Farm 234 between agricultural and residential uses (Schulz, 1997). That which was not designated for as either agricultural or residential under the subdivision was deemed as commonage.

Over the course of time, five separate settlements developed in the region of the grazing station. These included the communities of Bokkraal, Blaauwpunt, Waaikraal, Varkenskloof, and Oudtshoorn Dysselsdorp. According to a former mayor and long-time resident of Dysselsdorp, these five settlements each had a thriving sense of community (K. Windvogel, personal communication, March 18th, 2013). Each town fielded its own football team, and according to where each settlement was located, different types of agriculture were pursued. For instance, in Varkenskloof, Windvogel stated that home gardening was much more prevalent due to the proximity of a freshwater spring. Similarly, residents of Bokkraal tended to keep more livestock – such as goats, sheep and cattle – as they were closer to the communal grazing areas.

A series of forced removals commenced in these five communities in 1968. According to the final report regarding the Dysselsdorp Land Claim (Schulz, 1997), there is a lack of written accounts documenting or substantiating the removals. The said report reasons that “dispossession occurred in order to create a dependent work force of laborers who would benefit local White farmers by reaping and planting seasonal crops” (Schulz, 1997, p. 1).

Under the Group Areas Act and Slums Act, residents were relocated to a centralized, high-density dormitory community in what is now present-day Dysselsdorp (DRDLR, 2009). The instrument of removal for the communities of Waaikraal and Blaauwpunt was Group Areas Act 77 of 1957, while the Slums Act, enforced through proclamation 56/1966, served to remove residents of the communities of Varkenskloof, Ou Dysselsdorp, and Bokkraal (Schulz, 1997; E. Goodwin, personal communication, March 1st, 2013). The Government Gazette 102 of 1966 detailed the division of Whites and Coloureds in Dysselsdorp, while proclamation 177 of 1972 extended the Coloured area to be incorporated into the recently established township planned for the purpose of resettling displaced communities. The division erected through the application of the Group Areas Act granted White agriculturalists the most fertile half of Farm 234 while at the same time dispossessing Coloured farmers from productive land.

As described in the final report of the Dysselsdorp Land Claim (1997), the property from which these five communities were evicted was Farm 234 of Oudtshoorn. This farm of about 2,200 hectares was subdivided in terms of usage prior to removal; these included registered erven for residential and gardening purposes as well as a commonage for agriculture (Schulz, 1997). All residents, including owners and tenants, possessed rights to utilize the commonage for grazing,

agricultural production, and collection of fuel sources. Agricultural products were sold at a local market.

The agriculture-based economy that helped establish and sustain the community virtually disappeared overnight. Indeed, it was the recognition of the communities' reliance on agriculture and the pronounced need for water in these efforts that helped facilitate covert approaches to forced removals. According to Eric Goodwin with the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (personal communication, March 1, 2013), the Department of Water Affairs drilled bore holes near the community of Varkenskloof. This action resulted in the lowering of the water table, and functionally dried-up the natural springs that the community relied upon for water for household consumption and agricultural irrigation. Effectively, these residents were forced to relocate due to environmental pressures. Removals continued in the region, albeit at a slower pace, until 1984.

A land claim was submitted on behalf of the community by the Dysseisdorp Land Claim Committee in July 1997. According to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (2009), the land described in the claim is largely agricultural and under lucerne production. This area circumscribes current residential Dysseisdorp. The settlement agreement was signed on June 17th, 2000, and ZAR 24,987, 359.71 was awarded to the claimants to cover land restitution costs and community development projects (Sauls & Associates, 2009; DRDLR, 2009a). In the original June 2000 agreement, no financial compensation was included for the 650 claimants represented through the claim. While a business plan was being resolved within the community with regard to the settlement, the total amount was invested into an account with Frater Assets.

In opposition to conditions stated within the original settlement, an Action Group was formed after the settlement agreement was signed in 2000 by members of the community. Led by the current Mayor of Oudtshoorn, Gordon April, this group took issue with the notable absence of the option for a cash pay-out for claimants. Through the formation of the Action Group, 250 new claimants were identified, and in most cases, these claims to the settlement were found to be valid. The formal inclusion of these new claimants expanded the total amount from 650 to 900 claims, and represented approximately 5,000 beneficiaries (DRDLR, 2009a). In repeated insistence, the Action Group called for the settlement to be paid out in cash and to have the clause removed from the settlement agreement that stated all funds will be used for development projects. During this stage of the land reform process, public meetings became unworkable. According to Lourette Brown with the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (personal communication, March 1, 2013), treatment towards officials was life-threatening at times within the community while working towards a suitable settlement agreement.

In 2004, Minister Thoko Didiza (at the time with the Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs), made an amendment to settlement in favor of a partial cash pay-out to claimants. Those eligible for direct, full financial compensation would be only the 144 claimants who submitted a request prior to the signing of the June 2000 settlement of a desire for cash payment. These beneficiaries were then excluded from direct benefits derived from future community development projects. The remaining 756 claimant would be eligible for 50% financial compensation. This move by Minister Didiza was strategic in terms of land available for future development projects (L. Brown, personal communication, March 1, 2013). By seeking financial compensation, the right to claim land became voided. This, according to Brown, was a “strategic

decision to try and make available options for development in Dysselsdorp.” Preparation for community improvement projects began in 2006 when the Regional Land Claims Commission (RLCC) performed a land audit to document current land use patterns in all Dysselsdorp properties.

In 2007, a steering committee was formed for the community with representatives from the provincial, local, and municipal governments as well as members representing the RLCC and the claimants. The objective of this steering committee was “to ensure feasibility and planning, identify sources of funding, and recommend appropriate skills and services” (DRDLR, 2009a, p. 10). Business, land use, and implementation plans were drafted and finalized with Sauls & Associates in August 2009. These plans sought to promote sustainable development that would directly affect land claim beneficiaries as well as the community as a whole.

3.4 Economic Activity

Considering the agricultural history and potential of Dysselsdorp, the production of food is the most prevalent economic activity within the community (DRDLR, 2012). The types of agriculture practiced here include livestock operations of ostrich and cattle, sheep and goats, as well as vegetable gardens and lucerne production (DRDLR, 2010b). Lucerne, also known as alfalfa, is a crop that is commonly cultivated for use as animal feed. It has a strong root system and can better withstand drought-like conditions, making it an appealing choice for agriculturalists in this dry region (Western Cape Department of Agriculture, 2007). In addition, value-added agricultural processing industries are located in Dysselsdorp including the Dysselsdorp Licorice Company. Situated in the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality and the Eden

District Municipality, Dysselsdorp is proximal to larger and more regionally-influential economics hubs such as George, Oudtshoorn, and Beaufort West.

Despite the opportunity that exists for an agricultural-based economy, the majority of residents involved with some form of economic activity pursue these outside of the community (DRDLR, 2009a). These opportunities largely exist in Oudtshoorn or on nearby farms. Commercial land use in the town is limited and shopping outlets are few. The one shopping center, Eaton Mall, houses a Chinese-run retail establishment, a grocer, a liquor store, and ABSA and FNB ATMs. Aside from this locale, other shops are small and peppered throughout the community.

Some light industry exists within the town in the form of the Dysselsdorp Licorice Company. Registered in 2001 as a Section 21 non-profit company, the Dysselsdorp Licorice Company is involved with some harvesting of the licorice plant, processing the raw material into various forms, and marketing the product to clients around the world. Currently, the Dysselsdorp Licorice Company is the only producer of licorice extract in the whole of South Africa (Executive Director, personal communication, March 13, 2013). Their largest contract is with British American Tobacco who, when fully operational, can purchase 24 tons of licorice extract annually (DRDLR, 2009a). The company employs 6 permanent workers and 3 temporary workers, yet during the last harvest, the company was able to pay 150 people for their efforts in collecting licorice roots from the banks of the Oliphants River (Sammie, personal communication, March 13, 2013).

According to a status quo report of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (2009a), prior to the implementation of CRDP “most residents practice[d] subsistence farming since they have small portions of vegetable gardens on their premises” (p. 43-44). Additionally, there is a government-run farm called Waaikraal in Dysselsdorp that consists of 215 units and is managed by Casidra (DRDLR, 2009a). There is limited commercial production occurring in terms of agriculture in Dysselsdorp, and one of the biggest challenges that remains to farming in this region is the availability of irrigation (DRDLR, 2009a).

3.5 Socio-economic Profile

Dysselsdorp has a population of about 11,910 with a racial make-up of 95.2% coloured, 3.7% African, 0.3% white, 0.4% of Indian or Asian descent, and 0.4% other (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Poverty and unemployment are high, with 85% of the population living on less than ZAR 2,000/month, with an average monthly income for residents of ZAR 1,800 (DRDLR, 2009a). Unemployment for the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality is at 23% (Statistics South Africa, 2001), but according to a government official’s estimate, unemployment in Dysselsdorp alone can be as high as 60-70% (L. Coetzee, personal communication, March 7, 2013). In light of stark unemployment, social grants have become a lifeline for approximately 71% of households in Dysselsdorp (CSIR, 2005).

There are four schools within the community of Dysselsdorp – three primary schools and one secondary school¹. In terms of levels of education completed, 90% of adults have completed primary schooling, 15% has finished secondary school, while only 1.3% of the population has a tertiary education.

¹ PJ Badenhorst, Dysselsdorp, and St. Konrad’s Primary Schools; Dysselsdorp Secondary School

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to communicate the rationale and execution of research methods that were used in the collection of primary data in this study. According to Spencer et al. (2003), transparency is a necessary feature to detailing study methodologies, and therefore, this section will explicitly detail the site selection process, the research approach, forms of data collections, as well as study limitations and research ethics. Utilizing the literature review as a conceptual framework for informing appropriate data collection, a case study research method was designed with the aim to speak to broader themes in current rural development, land reform, and micro-scale agriculture.

4.2 Site Selection

A case study was chosen for this project because it has the potential to provide an in-depth analysis into the impacts of the Comprehensive Rural Development Program in one particular community. A single case study can help ascertain whether the theory and its assumptions are correct when implemented in a practical context (Yin, 2009). Many CRDP nodes have been identified in South Africa (three of those being in the Western Cape). While there is the possibility to conduct a comparative study of a number of these locations, this study aims at profiling one community and drawing conclusions about the effectiveness of delivery in CRDP framework. The limitations of case studies will be discussed further in this chapter.

The site of Dysselsdorp was selected through a process that began with first identifying what type of research context was desirable to the researcher. Having been raised in a rural farming community in northern Minnesota in the United States, the researcher has a particular affinity towards impoverished agrarian communities in South Africa. Despite being separated by thousands of miles and having considerably different political and social histories, similarities between rural dwellers in the Western Cape and those in the State of Minnesota were apparent. Largely, what stood out the most was the capacity of a small group of people to unite over a common history and land in rural areas. Also striking were difficulties encountered by small-scale farmers – the implicit and sometimes systematic pressure to expand their operations in order to become profitable and ‘legitimate’ enterprises. In search for a project idea, the researcher drew a connection between the need for broader support for agriculturists in both South Africa and the United States. However, although this connection was the initial inspiration for a research trajectory, this project is not comparative in nature.

Bearing an interest in agricultural reform in mind, documents published within the last five years by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and the Western Cape Department of Agriculture, and those available in the University of Cape Town’s Government Publications Library were analyzed for potential project ideas. From this initial research, the Comprehensive Rural Development Program was identified as synthesizing all the research interests into a coherent model for rural development and land reform delivery. Dysselsdorp in particular was chosen not only due to its proximity to the University of Cape Town but also because of the fact that it is the first CRDP location in the Western Cape, and is currently a community where active land reform disputes are being settled.

4.3 Access to Information

As detailed in the previous section on site selection, the researcher did not initially have a connection to the community of Dysselsdorp; the case study site was identified first through document review. This posed a challenge with regard to gaining access to the community. It is one matter to state that data will be gathered in one specific place; it is entirely another matter to secure the relationships with local people in order to appropriately and ethically collect information. The first port-of-entry to the community was through the Deputy Director of Rural Infrastructure Development at the DRDLR, Lourette Brown. Through email correspondence, Ms. Brown happily provided contact information for Bishop Joey Thorne, Chairperson of the Council of Stakeholders for CRDP in Dysselsdorp, as well as the contact person for the program with the Oudtshoorn Municipality, Lluwellyn Coetzee.

Silverman (2010) states that there are two types of research settings commonly identified in qualitative studies; a “closed” or “private” setting and “open” or “public” setting. These two distinctions refer to the accessibility of information obtainable for a particular person or group of persons, as in organizations or government. Here it should be stated that the researcher was granted access to both types of settings within the context of Dysselsdorp. For closed and private settings, access to information is granted by “gatekeepers” (Silverman, 2010). Through the relationship established with Ms. Brown and Mr. Coetzee, access was granted to a meeting held privately between the Oudtshoorn Municipality and the DRDLR. More will be expanded on this meeting when describing data collection techniques.

Access to open and public settings came with its own type of difficulties as an American outsider, but once a working relationship was established with Bishop Thorne, conducting research within the community became easier. Bishop Thorne provided the contact details for people within the community working with the production of vegetables – both at the institutional (schools, the old age home, and the clinic) and micro-farming scale. Not all of those identified were directly impacted by CRDP, although most had knowledge of its recent implementation within Dysselsdorp. Additionally, the Council of Stakeholders through Bishop Thorne and the administrative staff helped identify home gardeners to whom a questionnaire was distributed.

One other important factor influencing access to community members was the position of the woman who was recommended to translate documents, interviews, and focus groups conducted in Afrikaans. A recent graduate with a BSc in Agriculture, the translator had grown-up in the community, matriculated from Dysselsdorp secondary, and has a lifelong connection with the people of Dysselsdorp. Her mother had, at one point, been a counselor for the community. This positioned the translator with a network of people. The translator actively helped identify groups of farmers with whom to conduct focus group sessions. More about this relationship will be explained within the study limitations portion of this chapter.

4.4 Research Approach

A mixed research method was utilized for the study as it allowed for the explicit integration of both qualitative and quantitative research techniques. The data collection for this study followed a *qualitative to quantitative research* trajectory (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011), meaning that

first, views and experiences of small-scale agriculturalists, key informants, and community members were explored to ground the topic of the research in the context of community. By focusing on qualitative research at the outset, data collection was grounded in the local views and experiences within Dysselsdorp. It provided a meaningful backdrop to subsequently gathered quantitative data in the form of surveys and questionnaires.

The questionnaires administered to households and surveys of shops were designed based on themes that emerged from the qualitative data collection. Largely, these methods were utilized to provide another level of clarification on those issues discussed in the interviews. For instance during the interviews, dissonance arose between government officials and small-scale farmers as to the prevalence of Dysselsdorp shops purchasing locally grown foods. Those interviewed representing the government conveyed that small-scale farmers have not been able to successfully market to shops in the community. Farmers disagreed. Therefore, shop owners were asked to respond to a few questions about their relationships with local farmers. This approach allowed for key relevant issues and themes to arise from qualitative data collection, which led to a deeper pursuit of possible trends through quantitative methods.

4.5 Research Environment

Due to the mandate within CRDP to integrate all levels and branches of government into the delivery of rural development projects, it was impossible to avoid the political atmosphere that exists within the Oudtshoorn Municipality and between various governmental entities. Within the Western Cape, Oudtshoorn is an anomalous municipality in that it is currently led by the ANC in a province under the administration of the Democratic Alliance (DA). Upon speaking

with members of the community in Dysselsdorp, Oudtshoorn, and De Rust (another town located within the municipality), leadership in the municipality oftentimes oscillates between being primarily ANC to primarily DA during each election cycle. Communicated in many interviews was a frustration with working with the municipality with regard to project implementation. Some participants cited political tensions as a reason for poor relationships; others alluded to the fact that the current Oudtshoorn Municipality administration is being actively investigated for high levels of corruption as ordered by President Jacob Zuma.

In terms of the receptivity of community members towards an external researcher entering Dysselsdorp, it was a welcoming environment. This openness is largely attributable to the relationships that the researcher established with a prominent leader in the community (Bishop Thorne) and the daughter of a former political representative. Acquiring interviews with the people of Dysselsdorp was generally an easy process aided by the overall friendliness of Dysselsdorp and Oudtshoorn residents. Follow-ups with the schools were done simply by approaching the reception desk and asking for a few moments with the respective principal sometime during the course of the field visit. In every instance, the researcher was granted some time with the principal immediately. Accessibility to various types of information within the community never appeared to be hampered by any antagonistic feelings towards the research process or the researcher's position as a young, white, female American student.

4.6 Positionality

Dealing with primarily qualitative techniques for collecting data necessitated daily interaction with strangers within the community of Dysselsdorp and Oudtshoorn. In this vein, the researcher

encountered her own positionality within the design study regularly. As a mid-20 year old, white, non-Afrikaans speaking, college-educated American, there was a substantial amount that set the researcher apart from a large portion of the community. While performing research, it is important to remain neutral, patient, and attentive. In the opinion of the researcher, these important facets were naturally amplified by being an outsider with very little background information on contentious subjects such as politics within the community. Admittedly, the researcher found many of the stories about the challenges of being a small farmer in South Africa to be quite harrowing. Coming from a chiefly agrarian background and a career devoted to uplifting small-scale growers, it took great effort to not let the accounts of the systematic difficulties in agriculture affect the way the researcher dealt with subsequent interview participants.

Additionally, the researcher noted great surprise and curiosity from not only participants in the study but also from the general public in Oudtshoorn when they were informed that there is, in fact, an American conducting field research in Dysselsdorp. For much of the more affluent population residing in Oudtshoorn, little was known about what sort of developments had been pursued in the impoverished community of Dysselsdorp. Some were not aware of the extent of the forced removals of 1968. Upon confidentially relaying accounts of the removals the researcher had been given from members in the community and from the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, people commented on how curious it is to have an American so well-informed. In a sense, the researcher's nationality granted her privileged access to information and people. People's willingness to cooperate with the study was heightened upon hearing a North American accent.

Lastly, community members became quite surprised but also glad when the researcher would speak a few words to them in Afrikaans. The researcher was instructed by locals that by having a few phrases in Afrikaans, people would be more apt to respect the researcher and willing to grant permission for interviews.

4.7 Data Collection

4.7.1 Introduction

A preliminary participatory observation period occurred for three days in August 2012. During this time, the researcher informally familiarized herself with the Oudtshoorn municipality, the community of Dysseldorp, and the broader Klein Karoo region. Here, the researcher met with key informants within government and the community who would later serve as invaluable resources for connecting with residents. Research was formally conducted within Dysseldorp and Oudtshoorn for a three-week period from February 25th – March 18th, 2013. As mentioned previously, this study utilized a variety of methods which were seen to be complementary in terms of the information they explicated. This approach optimized research time available in the field in addition to allowing the flexibility to look towards multiple sets of data should one method fail to deliver coherent results. Triangulation, or the strategy employed to compare the results gathered from the execution of multiple research methods, is viewed by some researchers as enhancing the validity of conclusions drawn from qualitative data collection (Silverman, 2010). Still, Silverman (2010) warns that overextending the approach to research in the field has the potential to dilute the findings collect from each method. With this is mind, it was imperative that the researcher in this study was continuously referring back to the research questions and aims so as not to pursue unnecessary techniques.

4.7.2 Participant Observation

According to Hennink et al. (2011), participant observation gives researchers the opportunity to monitor the actions and behavior of people based on the specific social context of that site. It is beneficial when a researcher desires to gather data which is not prompted through an interview or focus-group format. Participant observation first occurred on a preliminary trip to Dysselsdorp prior to the commencement of on-site research. Due to the sensitivity of this research and the level of cooperation desired from the community, it was advisable for the researcher to first gain a general understanding of the community prior to conducting research. Participant observation was carried out by informally touring Dysselsdorp, visiting markets, meeting with residents, and sitting-in on governmental meetings on CRDP in Dysselsdorp.

In August 2012, the researcher met with Bishop Thorne, the Chair of the Council of Stakeholders, and Eric Goodwin with the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in the community of Dysselsdorp. Mr. Goodwin provided the researcher and her travel companion with a tour of the community, which included a visit to the site of the violent forced removal of Blaauwpunt. Upon this first visit, the researcher noted how much greenery pervaded nearly every home garden. Assessment just on sight revealed that most households were engaging in some type of gardening. Also noted by the researcher was the amount of people walking around the community during the weekday. This spoke to the high level of unemployment found in Dysselsdorp. An informal meeting was also conducted with Lluwellyn Coetzee, Manager of Strategic Services in the Oudtshoorn Municipality.

Another form of participant observation came when in the field during the month of March 2013. As indicated in the section pertaining to access to information, the researcher was granted permission to attend private or closed-door meetings between various government entities. On March 7th, Mr. Coetzee extended the invitation to join him, three other representatives from the Municipality's Strategic Services branch, and Ms. Brown and a colleague from the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform for a meeting on CRDP in Dysselsdorp. Discussed that day was the immediate repair of sandbag homes constructed under the auspices of CRDP. Although the content of the meeting did not relate directly to home gardens and food production in the community, it shed light on how CRDP is actually managed between multiple levels of government. Notes were taken during the session and later electronically captured within a word document.

From attending that meeting, the researcher was then invited by Ms. Brown to accompany her on the following Tuesday (March 12th) for a visit to Dysselsdorp. The purpose of her visit to the community was two-fold: first, she was to oversee the delivery of wood stoves and solar-powered blankets and lights to the 10 households living in sandbag homes constructed through CRDP. Second, a forum had been organized to prepare Dysselsdorp contractors for the tendering process to repair the damaged sandbag homes. The researcher was allowed to observe both of these activities related to the practical implementation of CRDP within Dysselsdorp. The contractors' forum was conducted in Afrikaans, so a translator was requested to take thorough notes on what was discussed. After this meeting, the researcher had a debriefing session with the translator and rewrote the notes in English which were later typed.

Finally, the researcher visited a market in Dysselsdorp that was established solely with the intent to cater for governmental grant recipients on All-Pay Day (March 13th, 2013). Here, vendors were spoken to in English about the purpose of the market. Using a voice recorder, the researcher made notes on what could be seen as far as food sales at this particular market.

4.7.3 Key Informant Interviews - Government

Formal, semi-structured interviews were conducted with four officials at three different levels of government; one representative from the Oudtshoorn Municipality, one from the Western Cape Department of Agriculture, and two from the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. The purpose of these interviews was to gauge the level of participation by institutions in CRDP in addition to identifying the long-term goals for the project. Prior to the commencement of interviews, the researcher created a guide document for desired questions to be asked (see Appendix 1). Each interview session lasted approximately an hour and was conducted in the offices of the individuals. All sessions were recorded and were later transcribed into a word document. In one instance, the interview guide was shared with the interviewee prior to the formal meeting on their request. Follow-up email correspondence was pursued with both Ms. Brown and Mr. Goodwin at the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform as well as Mr. Coetzee at the municipality. This was done in order to clarify responses from participants.

4.7.4 Key Informant Interviews – Community Leaders

In order to assess the impact of CRDP within Dysselsdorp and to clarify the role that institutions in the community played in the program's implementation, ten semi-structured interviews were conducted. The following is a list of institutions represented within these sessions:

- Dysselsdorp Clinic (1)
- Primary Schools (4)
- Secondary School (1)
- Council of Stakeholders (1)
- Dysselsdorp Licorice Co. (1)
- Old Age Home (1)
- Dysselsdorp Small-Scale Farmers Assn. (1)

Interviewees discussed what CRDP has meant for each of their respective institutions. Additionally, open-ended questions about the production of food in Dysselsdorp were asked in order to measure attitudes and receptivity towards gardening within institutions in the community. All interviews were recorded. Two interview sessions were held with the principals at each of the schools. The first was an in-depth meeting where issues around CRDP and school gardens were discussed. A week later, the researcher returned for a brief five-minute meeting with each principal simply to have them describe in their own words the state of the school's feeding scheme.

4.7.5 Focus Groups with Small-Scale Farmers

Focus group interviews have the ability to reveal the experiences, perceptions, and opinions of a select group of individuals through a thoughtfully-planned discussion (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999). These discussions are based on a specific topic, and “the group is ‘focused’ in that it involves some kind of collective activity” (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999, p. 4). For this purposes of this study, that collective activity was food production at a small scale. Two focus groups were conducted with representatives from two separate farming operations within Dysselsdorp. In each session, five farmers were present to discuss issues around access to land, infrastructure, and markets as well as difficulties endured by small-scale growers. Each of the sessions was a

mid-day on-farm discussion held in a building at the location. One group, the Lovti Project – a farming collective of fifteen individual farmers growing a variety of vegetables – is an initiative directly supported through CRDP. This focus group consisted of four women and one man. The other – Hou Moed Farm – is not directly supported by CRDP and focuses most of their activities on seed production, lucerne, and potatoes. Two women and three men participated in this session.

Participants at the Lovti Project were identified with the assistance of the Chairperson of the Council of Stakeholders. At Hou Moed, participants were five of the eleven farmers who were available during their lunch hour. Both sessions were conducted in Afrikaans and necessitated the use of a translator.

4.7.6 Shop Surveys

During the course of the one-on-one interviews with key informants and focus group discussions, the researcher inquired as to if and how surplus food is marketed in the region and whether or not it is encouraged through the framework of CRDP. This type of question elicited varied responses. In order to elucidate whether shops within the community of Dysselsdorp did actually source locally, a short survey was developed (see Appendix 2). The survey was administered at ten different shops within the community. Ideally, the researcher sought to speak with the store owner or manager. When they were not available, the person working was asked about their knowledge of locally-sourced products.

4.7.7 Household Questionnaires

This study utilized household questionnaires to obtain quantitative accounts of gardening within households (see Appendix 4). The participating households were identified with the assistance of the administrative staff of the Council of Stakeholders. Approximately fifty households were chosen to complete the questionnaire, which included questions pertaining to the following information:

- Household size
- Source of food
- Gardening activities
- Surplus produce – Is it given away or sold?

4.8 Limitations

As a case study, the research conducted in Dysselsdorp is not an exhaustive view into the Comprehensive Rural Development Program. A generalized assessment of CRDP is not within the scope of this research, nor is it the aim. Rather, an in-depth analysis of the impacts of and the localized views of this program was the desired goal. Therefore, this study limits its discussion of research results within the Dysselsdorp context while still being able to serve as an empirical example of rural development and land reforms programs at play in South Africa.

As was anticipated from the inception of this particular research design, difference in language proved to be a barrier in the data collection process. While a translator was utilized in a number of situations where meetings were conducted in Afrikaans for the benefit of the interviewee, some interviews were done in English. These interviews mainly happened with community leaders.

There were varying degrees of proficiency in English amongst these participants; on some occasions during the transcribing process, the researcher had great difficulty understanding the precise English word that is used by the interviewee. Those instances were noted and captured in the electronic documentation of the interview. When translating from one language into another, it is inevitable that certain information will be lost in the process. The researcher had to rely on the English skills of the translator to interpret what respondents were trying to communicate. How the translator felt about a particular topic or group of people could color the language that is utilized to explain the responses from participants. Additionally, the translator is a fairly well-known member of the community and the daughter of a former politician. This may have affected how participants responded to the questions asked by the objective, outsider researcher. The translator's former knowledge about study participants compromises the assurance that confidentiality will be maintained.

Lacking the ability to speak the primary language of study participants meant that the researcher was dependent on the assistance of volunteers in the community. It was difficult to carry on conversation with a potential study participant without the aid of a local translator. During the 3-week data collection period in Dysselsdorp, the researcher managed to learn a handful of phrases in Afrikaans, so as to introduce herself to community members. The scope of the acquired language skills, however, could not penetrate into great depth or articulate complex notions around land reform, rural development, poverty, and agriculture.

4.9 Data Analysis

Data collected from qualitative methods (interviews and focus groups) were recorded and later transcribed by the researcher using Microsoft Word. To analyze this data, the researcher with the assistance of her supervisor constructed a list of commonly recurring themes throughout the interview sessions. These themes were reflective of the literature on rural development, land reform, and agriculture gathered for this study. An Excel spreadsheet was created to organize statements by participants based on defined themes.

Quantitative data was organized and analyzed utilizing a spreadsheet. Within the tables for both the questionnaires and the shop surveys, each question on the respective document was listed followed by the frequency of a corresponding response. Graphs were created to display the percent response to these questions.

4.10 Research Ethics

Considering the sensitive nature of land reform, the utmost of ethical standards have been maintained during the course of this research project. This study relies primarily on collecting qualitative data through interviews and focus groups. Therefore, ethical approval of was pursued through the Department of Environmental and Geographical Sciences, as well as with the Faculty of Humanities with which the researcher is registered.

When possible, anonymity was granted to participants. In light of the tense political situation within the municipality of Oudtshoorn, it was important that the researcher protected the identities of community leaders who expressed politically-charged statements. Still, conducting

research in such a small community presented the challenge of never being completely able to meet in private. Additionally, it behooves the researcher to note that in at least one interaction with small scale farmers, some of the study participants were under the impression that the purpose of the meeting was to deliver money or aid. When the true nature of the visit was revealed to the assembled group through the translator, the farmers were still more than happy to carry-on with the session. The point was still made, however, that they hoped that the document produced from this case study would communicate the hardships experienced by these farmers and that the researcher's thesis would elicit some sort of intervention from an outside party.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 5

Results

5.1 Introduction

In accordance with the research methodology detailed in the previous chapter, qualitative and quantitative data were gathered for this study during a 3-week period of time in Dysselsdorp in February/March 2013. The purpose of this chapter is to communicate the findings from the field utilizing figures, tables, and excerpts from interviews and focus group discussions. In-depth interviews and/or focus groups were conducted with representatives from 3 levels of government (national, provincial, and municipal), primary and secondary schools, clinics, churches, small-scale farmers, and the business sector in Dysselsdorp. Vignettes extracted from the spoken word from study participants are interwoven with empirical findings. The collection of quotes displayed throughout this chapter is taken from conversation with study participants.

Using the research aims and objectives as detailed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.3), the results are displayed in thematic sections throughout this chapter. Firstly, the results have been analyzed by the researcher in order to *assess public perception and impact of CRDP in Dysselsdorp with regard to small-scale food production*. The majority of these responses from interviews and questionnaires are represented in the themes “Food Security and Agriculture” and “Comprehensive Rural Development Program.” Secondly, the results serve to *assess the role of multi-level governance and institutions in the implementation of CRDP*, displayed in the themes of “Comprehensive Rural Development Program.” Finally, *the economic potential created from*

small-scale agriculture through CRDP is quantified and communicated through the theme of “Economic Potential and Market Development.” This chapter begins with a demographic profile of study participants who completed questionnaires related to home gardening in Dysselsdorp.

5.2 Demographic Profile of Questionnaire Participants

Questionnaires were distributed to 47 households in Dysselsdorp inquiring as to their involvement with home gardening, their familiarity with CRDP and food production within the community, and general social demographic characteristics. The questionnaires were administered in Afrikaans, the native language for all of the participants (for English version, see Appendix 4). Results from this method are interpreted through the “Food Security & Small-Scale Agriculture,” “CRDP,” and “Economic Potential and Market Development” sections. The brief demographic description of those who were selected to participate is discussed below.

5.2.1 Age

The age of the participants ranged from 21-70 years old. As displayed in Figure 5.1, the most represented age range of participants in this study was 41-50 years, accounting for 42.55% of the total respondents.

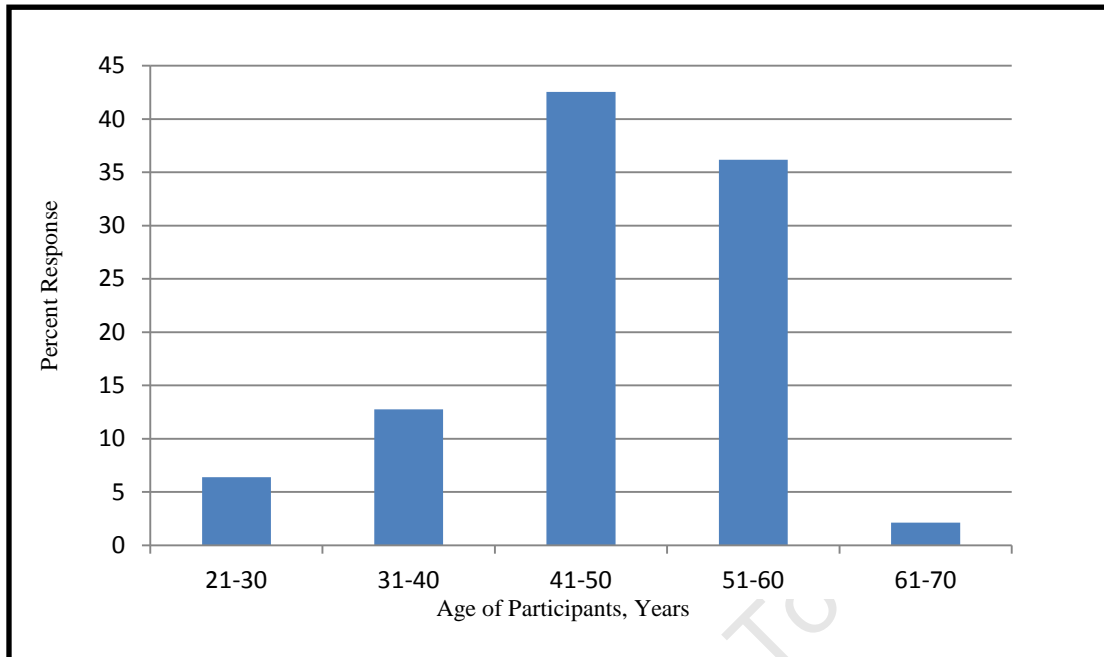


Figure 5.1 Age of questionnaire respondents
 [Source: Fieldwork Data]

Comparing age data gathered from these questionnaires with the 2011 Census information on Dysselsdorp (Figure 5.2), participation in gardening in the community does not directly reflect the raw demographic statistics.

Within 21-70 years of age, there are 2,957 residents. The most represented age range within the entire community of Dysselsdorp between the ages of 21 and 70 is 21-30 year olds at 28.20% of the population. People in the 41-50 years old age range account for 20.60% of the Dysselsdorp population between the ages of 21-70.

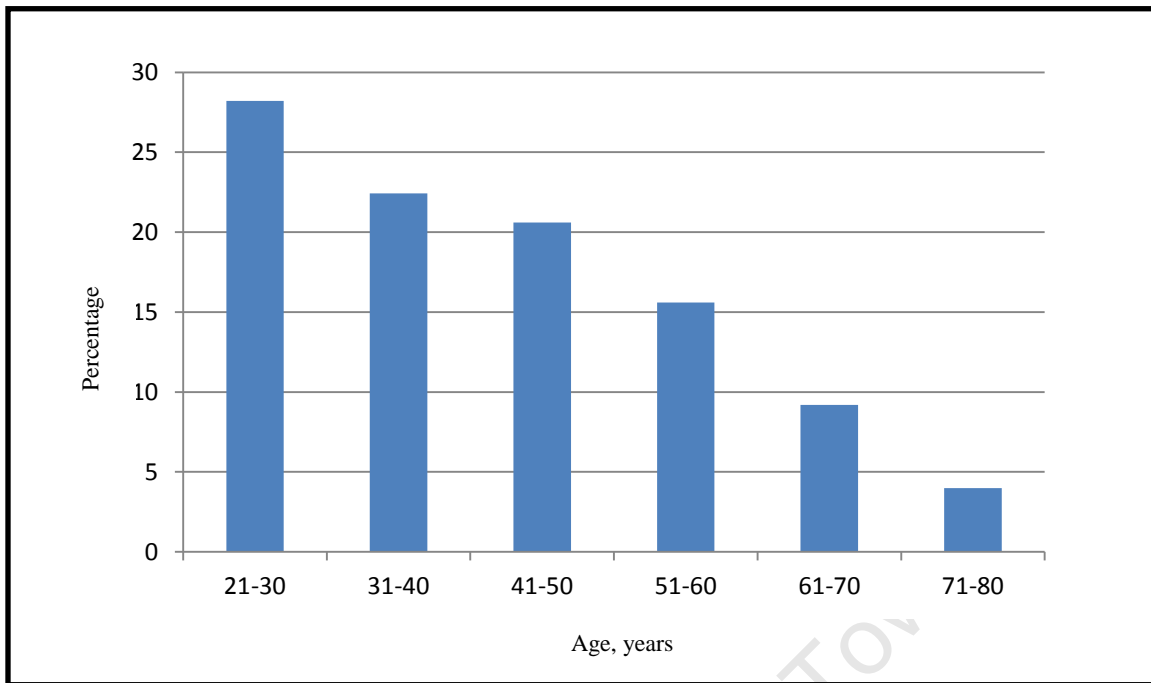


Figure 5.2 Percent of Dysselsdorp residents between the ages of 21-70 years
 [Source: Statistics South Africa 2011]

5.2.2 Gender

Males accounted for the largest participation in terms of gender for this study. Of the 47 respondents in this study, 31 (65.96%) were male. Examining the 2011 Census data, males account for 42.51% of the total Dysselsdorp population between the ages of 21 and 70.

5.2.3 Household Information

Of those who participated in the questionnaire portion of this study, 22 or 46.81% stated that they were the head individual of their household. Eighteen or 38.30% stated their spouses were the head-of-household, while 7 or 14.89% said a parent led their household. The average size of households participating in this study was 4.6 persons per home.

5.3 Food Security & Small-Scale Agriculture

This study employed three main research aims and objectives to illustrate the state of rural development, land reform, and small-scale agriculture within the community of Dysselsdorp. First examined through the results chapter is the *assessment of public perception and impact of CRDP in Dysselsdorp with regard to small-scale food production*. To address this objective, responses gathered from the household questionnaires were examined with regard to the food security metrics built into the survey alongside an investigation into responses from in-depth community and governmental interviews.

Of the 47 households that participated in this study, 80.85% or 38 households stated that their family grows at least some portion of their food needs in a garden either on or off their home's property.

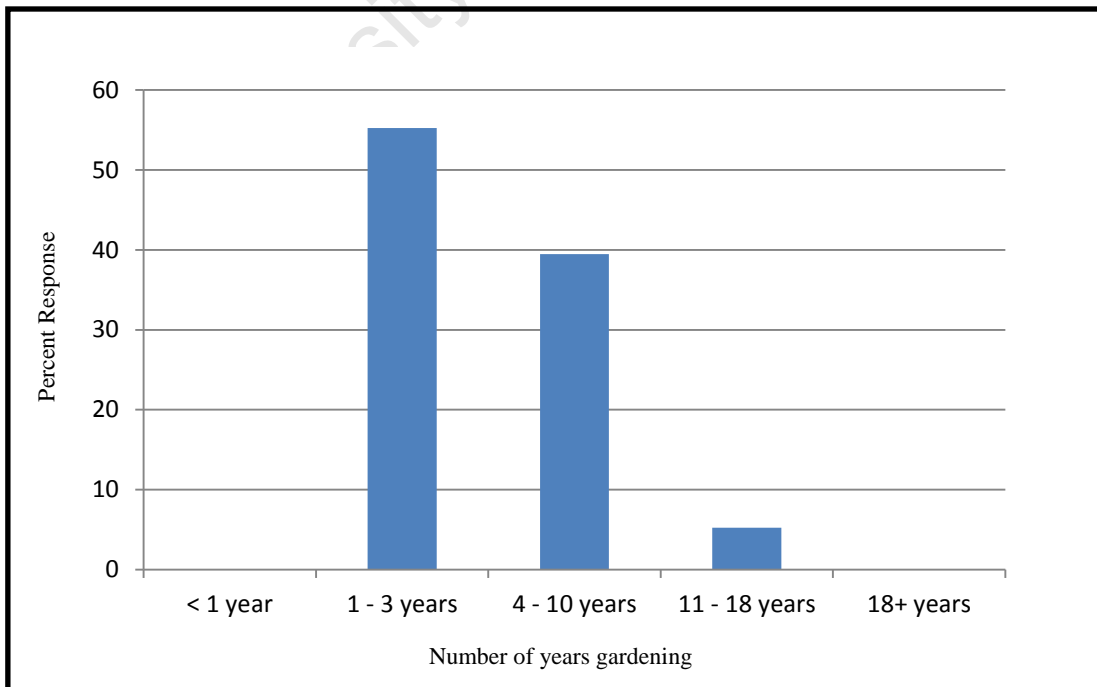


Figure 5.3 Years spent gardening in household
[Source: Fieldwork Data]

Figure 5.3 displays the length of involvement in household gardening of questionnaire respondents in number of years. The majority of participants (55.26%; 21 respondents) stated that they had been growing their own food for 1-3 years. When asked where their food was primarily grown, 63.16% of those involved in gardening stated that their food production was located at their home (Figure 5.4).

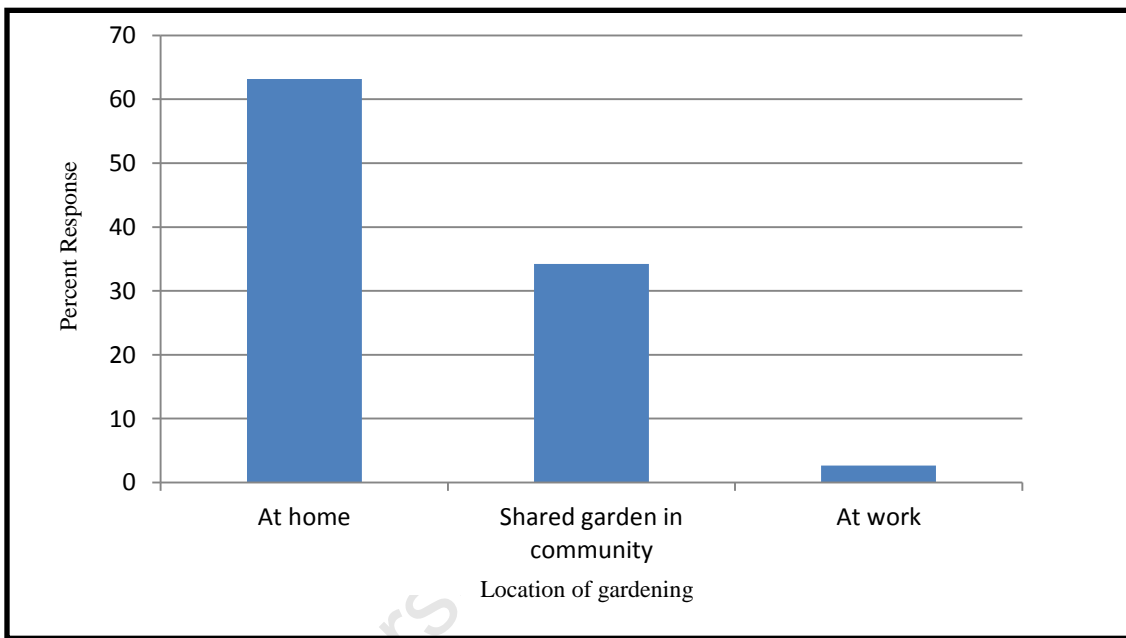


Figure 5.4 Location of where food is grown for gardening households (n = 38)
 [Source: Fieldwork Data]

The households that participated in some form of gardening were asked if they are able to for their family’s food needs largely through their garden. A significant amount of respondents, 89.47%, stated that they were able to provide enough food to meet their household requirements for food. All 47 participants, both gardeners and non-gardeners alike, were asked about the state of household food production in Dysselsdorp. When requested to compare the prevalence of gardening currently in the community to what existed 3 years ago, 85.11% said they have seen an increase in food production mainly in home gardening operations (Figure 5.5). In a related

question, participants were asked if there had been an increase in all food available in Dysselsdorp in the last 3 years. This question aimed at exploring food security within the community in a broader sense apart from solely household gardening. Forty-one of the 47 respondents (87.23%) agreed that there had been an increase in the amount of food available to the residents of Dysselsdorp in the years since 2010.

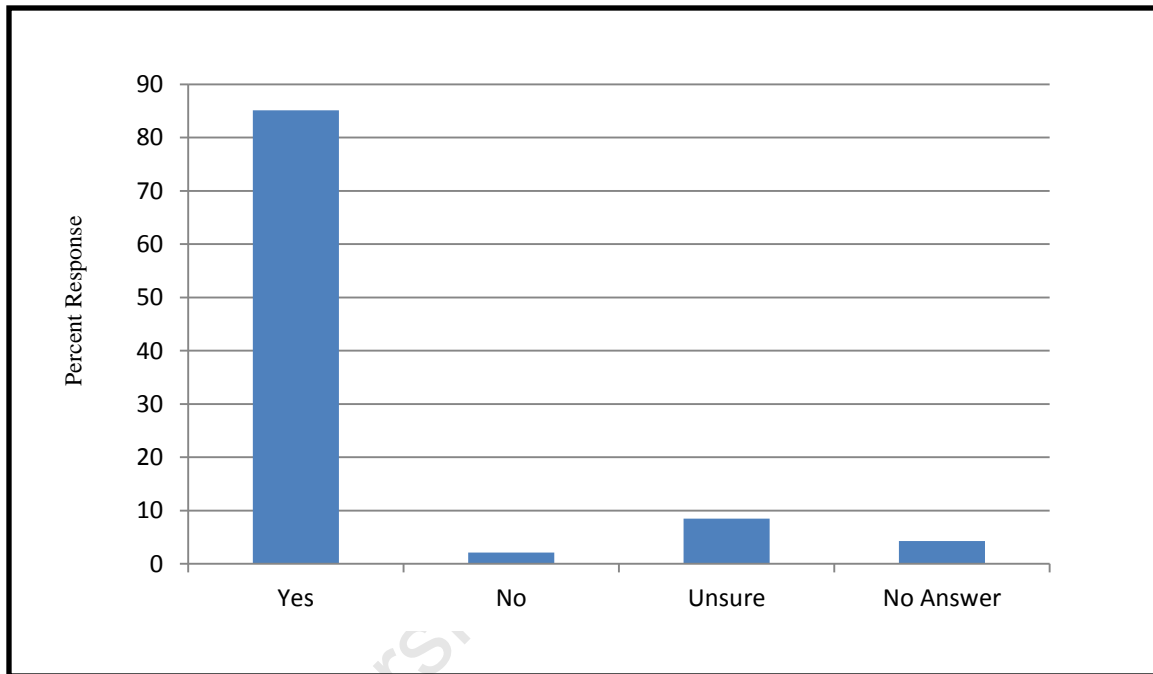


Figure 5.5 Increase in food production in Dysselsdorp since 2010
[Source: Fieldwork Data]

View of government officials involved with CRDP in Dysselsdorp differed on the matter of food production. Mostly, it is the assertion of these government representatives that food security has not been greatly impacted by an increase in the total amount of food grown in the community. Lluwellyn Coetzee of the Oudtshoorn Municipality, commenting on small-scale food production within the community of Dysselsdorp, stated that he has not noticed an increase in the amount of food available for residents nor has he directly seen a decrease in food insecurity for the town's poorest households. Ernst Guder, with the Western Cape Department of Agriculture's office in

Oudtshoorn, had a more nuanced perspective on what an increase in food production or household food security means. When asked if he has seen an increase in the amount of food available to households in Dysselsdorp, Mr. Guder had this to say:

When I came here 10 years ago, most of them [residents of Dysselsdorp] were planting a lot, but they were mainly planting vegetables that could take the heat and drought like onions. That culture has changed. They still plant a lot of onion, but they also plant carrots and beetroot and spinach, 2 or 3 tomato plants per household, and to a certain extent, even medicinal plants and herbs and stuff like that. So the variety has definitely changed.

The increase in food security witnessed by Mr. Guder is indicated by an improvement in the quality and variety of the produce available to Dysselsdorp residents. This view of food security is in line with what Anderson and Cook (1999) describe as community food security. Community food security (CFS) developed in the 1980s and is characterized by three major shifts in the discourse of mere food security. These are described as firstly being an emphasis on households and individuals. Second, CFS extends the focus of food acquisition away from a “food first” concept towards an emphasis on sustainable livelihoods. Most applicable to this study is the final defining shift of CFS as one in favor of more subjective measures of food security (an emphasis on quality is cited as an example) as opposed to purely objective indicators such as caloric intake (Anderson & Cook, 1999). As the person who designed the program specifics within CRDP pertaining to household gardening, Mr. Guder incorporated these subjective measurements into the business plan for home gardens. Organic practices, seen to improve the quality and safety of the food grown, were required for the home gardens in order to receive support in the form of seeds, tanks, and tools from the Department of Agriculture. All

food production at homes associated with CRDP in Dysselsdorp must be done without the use of non-organic fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides.

All of the representatives from government agreed that prior to the Comprehensive Rural Development Program, people in Dysselsdorp already had a long-standing tradition of home food production. Lluwellyn Coetzee from the municipality commented:

Being a rural community the people, and because of the high unemployment rate, the people already had a culture of home gardening.

The Chair of the Council of Stakeholders in Dysselsdorp agreed with all of the government officials on the matter of home gardening within the community; prior to 2012 and the commencement of CRDP, there was already a well-established culture of growing food at home. In fact, when asked if there was an increase in food production since the start of CRDP, he stated:

No. If you talked to people in town, they would say they grew more before.

These statements are in line with what the DRDLR cited in the 2009 Status Report: “[m]ost residents practice subsistence farming since they have small portions of vegetable gardens on their premises” (DRDLR, 2009, p. 43).

Commenting on the major challenges to food production in Dysselsdorp, two government officials cited the harsh climate coupled with the difficulty to access an adequate supply of water for irrigation.

The food purchasing habits of participants were investigated through the household questionnaire. Oudtshoorn was cited as the most frequented town where households purchase food that cannot be provided through a garden. Thirty-three participants (70.21%) stated they acquired most of their food from shops in Oudtshoorn, 23 kilometers west of Dysselsdorp. By disaggregating the data between responses given by gardeners and those from non-gardening households, it is noted that households that do not produce their own food tend to shop outside of Dysselsdorp more frequently for food purchases. Trips to Oudtshoorn for food accounted for 77.77% of non-gardening household food expenditure. In households that practice some form of gardening in the community, 68.42% shopped for food in Oudtshoorn. When asked why Oudtshoorn was more popular for purchasing food, community members stated two reasons. First, most of the employment for Dysselsdorp residents is located in Oudtshoorn. It provides a convenient location to purchase food after work each day. Additionally, residents stated that availability of food items is greater at Oudtshoorn stores (which include Pick 'n Pay, Shoprite, Checkers, and Fruit & Veg).

When asked about the relationship between the Comprehensive Rural Development Program and household food security, responses from government officials differed. Lourette Brown from the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform stated that the initial impetus for the project

was rooted in a well-established clinic garden addressing food insecurity in Dysselsdorp. The Dysselsdorp Clinic garden, started in 1994 by June Jantjies, was identified as the first project that would be enhanced and supported through CRDP. Still, as she highlighted during an interview, CRDP is more than just an attempt to bolster food security within rural towns of South Africa:

It's not only food security but it's enterprises that run and can be done in small and medium scale.

Lluwellyn Coetzee from the Oudtshoorn Municipality echoed Ms. Brown's sentiments, stating:

It's [CRDP from the municipality] more related to creating entrepreneurs, smaller farmers. Creating sustainable work...

In his vision for home gardening in Dysselsdorp through CRDP, Mr. Guder stated that a friendly competition between gardeners would be pursued for a definite period while the program gained traction within the community. The first of these garden competitions occurred in December 2012, and it is seen by Mr. Guder as having the potential to be repeated every 2-3 years. During the first competition, 55 home gardens and 8 community or institutional gardens participated. A winner was selected from each category and was awarded a cash prize of R5,000. The metrics for judging competing participants were defined by Mr. Guder and included the variety of fruits and vegetables grown, the innovation of practices utilized in growing, the neatness of the gardens, and the extent water conservation methods were employed in each garden. According to Mr. Guder, the garden competition was a resounding success and united the community around the act of growing and harvesting food:

People started talking to each other though they were in competition with each other. And this typically builds community... the community actually grew closer to each other, especially the gardeners.

When responding to the same question posed to government officials on the connection between CRDP and household food security, a representative of the community and the Chair of the Council of Stakeholders had a differing opinion:

... the government saw things different than we did and the only thing for them was food security, food security, food security. And they pumped in a lot of money for food security. At the end of the day, it would have been cheaper for us just to buy truckloads of food with that money and give it to the people then more people would have benefitted out of it. And you would have provided for so many people something to eat.

The Chair of the Council of Stakeholders noted that the scale of each home garden is small; just large enough to provide fresh fruits and vegetables for the household and maybe a neighbor or two. On the subject of the garden competition held in December 2012, it was maintained that the event had been a great success, encouraging community members to rally around the act of growing food. He stated that even those who had not been involved with gardening prior to the competition were keen to get involved in order to be able to enter for the next event. This eagerness in participation is largely incentivized by the R5,000 award given to the winner.

In the community of Dysselsdorp, there are 4 schools; 1 secondary school and 3 primary schools. The principal from each one of the primary schools was interviewed while the deputy principal

was spoken to at the secondary school. The interviews were structured to create a discussion on the capacity for school gardening at each institution. This approach was informed by the impetus of CRDP to expand growing operations within institutions in a community as well as at the home garden level. According to Ernst Guder, there was a substantial push from Minister Nkwinti with the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform to establish school gardens in community's slated for Comprehensive Rural Development:

He [Minister Nkwinti] actually said that he wanted all the schools to be greened and make a healthy or an aesthetic or nice environment especially for children at the schools because it has an influence on the [psychological] development of children.

In a speech given on March 24th, 2010, Minister Nkwinti emphasized the need to renovate community institutions such as schools and clinics through the DRDLR. Specifically on CFS, Minister Nkwinti stated in an interview with the Business Report that it is a priority to support gardening in schools and institutions in rural areas (Pressly, February 2, 2011). Additionally, in the Strategic Plan for 2010-2013, the DRDLR cites the establishment of community and school gardens as one measurable output for increasing food security for all (DRDLR, 2010c). A goal for obtaining this objective is to have gardens established in 60% of rural schools by 2014.

Despite this clear political aim to establish gardens at each of the schools, only two of the four schools (PJ Badenhorst Primary School and Dysselsdorp Primary School) actually had some form of small-scale agriculture in place, and of those two, only PJ Badenhorst had involvement from students enrolled in the school. Both of the gardens at these schools were established within

the last two years and were begun after the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform approached each school about the possibility of a garden. The principals at the schools that currently do not have a garden on school property (St. Konrad's Primary School and Dysselsdorp Secondary School) cited lack of space as the most important factor limiting their school's ability to establish a small vegetable plot. Additionally, each school official identified minimal shade from trees on the school property as another difficulty in finding an adequate place to begin planting.

Each school was asked about programs administered by the school to provide meals for the students. All of the school officials confirmed that they provided at least one meal per day to each of their students. The Department of Education was identified as the governmental body responsible for providing the funding for these meals. The school feeding scheme, officially known as the National School Nutrition Program (NSNP), began as the Primary School Nutrition Program in 1994 (PSC, 2008). In an evaluation of the National School Nutrition Program, it was stated that the aim of NSNP is to improve the concentration and performance levels of students while addressing inequality brought about by apartheid (PSC, 2008). The two schools with functioning vegetable gardens on the premises stated that the harvest from these plots supplemented the food provided by the Department of Education for the meal programs. When asked how much of their institution's food requirements come from the gardens, the principals from both PJ Badenhorst and Dysselsdorp Primary Schools estimated that approximately 10% of fresh produce is grown on-site. With regard to specific goals for providing meals to school-aged children, the principal at PJ Badenhorst stated:

We'd like to see growing food for them [the students] and like them to learn to put seeds in the ground... So we not like them to only eat, but we want them to learn through what they are doing.

As noted previously in this chapter by Ms. Brown, the initial project identified as an entry point into Dysselsdorp for CRDP was the garden located at the Dysselsdorp Clinic. Started in 1994, the garden was initially a site where the founder, Western Cape Department of Health Nutrition Promoter June Jantjies, provided families of children with fetal alcohol syndrome with fresh produce:

I've worked with the children's parents, the children with fetal alcohol syndrome. Those parents who drink too much and then they don't have money for food, and then I invite them to come and work in my garden to help produce food.

Commenting on the health of the patients, Ms. Jantjies said that she was able to see an improvement in overall nutrition for individuals that started eating more fruits and vegetables donated by the clinic garden scheme.

At the outset of the clinic garden project in the mid-1990s, Ms. Jantjies stated that she was able to employ a substantial workforce:

... I had 73 people working for me in the gardens, but I wasn't able to support them financially so they had to go out and find other jobs.

To date, four people work in the garden. Monetary payment is no longer an option to compensate the work of these individuals. Rather than a paycheck, those who work in the garden are paid

with fresh produce and donated clothing. The remainder of the produce that is grown in the garden is then donated to a crèche in town as well as distributed to disadvantaged families as identified by the clinic. At times, Ms. Jantjies stated that she has even been able to sell some of the garden's harvest to patients of the clinic. Since the commencement of CRDP in 2010 and with the support received from the government, the clinic garden has been able to produce more and better quality produce. Highlighted was the installment of water tanks and shade cloth over the plot. Prior to this addition, many of the plants were scorched by the sun and there was difficulty in retaining moisture within the soil. This infrastructural advancement in the garden has saved many crops from dying in the harsh sun and parch environment of the Klein Karoo.

Investments into infrastructure around improving food security in Dysseisdorp reflect the DRDLR's commitment to address integrated rural development, one of the three prongs of CRDP. As Drimie & Mini (2003) state, sustainable rural development and improving access to food in rural communities must be first addressed by encouraging sustainable livelihoods. By employing development tactics that invest in a livelihood strategy which produces organic produce for local consumption, the DRDLR demonstrates clear understanding of the need to integrate food security into the broader scope of household and institutional development.

Still, Ms. Jantjies states that she could and would like to grow more produce. What stands as the biggest challenge for this institutional garden is the lack of seeds and a problem with people stealing tools. Her attitude toward the possibility of selling the produce from the garden if there was the capacity to grow more is as follows:

I dream about it [a market] for selling vegetable in Dysselsdorp, and I believe they can do it, but if I can get more seeds. The people that work in the gardens work very hard and they [DRDLR] can really give us what we need to do our job.

On her hopes for the future of the clinic garden and development projects in Dysselsdorp, Ms.

Jantjies closed by saying:

I hope that if God helps me, other people come and help me, we can give more people work because many people come ask me for work, but I can't give them work... But if everything go better in the future, I hope that I can give more persons work in the garden. They will earn more food and vegetables for us... for the community. And to sell for markets...

The voices of small-scale farmers were captured in this study through two focus groups with farmer groups as well as an interview with a representative of the Dysselsdorp Small-scale farmers Association and the Council of Stakeholders. It is prudent to note that one of these farmer groups, the Lovti Project, is directly connected to CRDP while the other, Hou Moed Farm, has no explicit affiliation with rural development initiatives through the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

The Lovti Project began in March 7th, 2012 in association with Comprehensive Rural Development in Dysselsdorp. In the DRDLR 2010 – 2013 Strategic Plan, one objective was to identify and support three categories of land reform beneficiaries. One of these categories is small-scale farmers, who have the “proven ability and commitment to farm but do not have the means to expand as they do not have enough land, access to finance and the required technical support” (DRDLR, 2010c, p. 16). At the time of writing, 15 individuals were engaged in

agriculture through Lovti. There are three groups of 5 farmers, each cultivating 1000 square meters. Every farmer group has a shared shed and tools and each farmer has their own tank. With regard to what they grow and how it is sold, each farmer is responsible for marketing what they produce. Five farmers participated in a discussion on their experiences with Lovti and CRDP. The following are the results gathered from that meeting.

When asked if those farming with Lovti had been agriculturists prior to CRDP, those participating in the focus group said they had. Again, this demonstrates the sentiment repeatedly stated about culture of growing food in this community. Translating for the farmers present, the researcher's assistant said the following on the culture of farming in Dysselsdorp:

In the olden days, their [farmers with Lovti] parents used to farm to put food on the table. There wasn't going to shops to buy food.

Commonly grown items in the Lovti plots include potatoes, green beans, beetroot, peppers, pumpkins, butternut squash, onions, sweet corn, green vegetables, and sweet potatoes.

As stated previously, each individual farmer has the freedom to do what they will with the produce they grow in their plot of land. One participant, however, stated that the rationale behind the Lovti Project is to benefit the greater Dysselsdorp community and that any gain reaped from farming with support from CRDP must first address a need in the town. This respondent said that they are able to sell everything they grow to shops in Dysselsdorp and also have a portion that they donate to organizations like crèches in the community. When a farmer has been able to make a profit, especially during large harvests at the end of a season, 1-2 additional members of

the community can be employed at R60 per day for 5 hours of work. All of those present for the focus group discussion agreed that they were able to make enough money and grow sufficient amounts of food in order to support each of their households.

The major obstacles to farming in Dysselsdorp were discussed with this group at length. When asked the direct question “What is the biggest challenge you experience?,” the response, as unanimously agreed upon by all those present, was the difficulty of ensuring that all 15 farmers contribute to working the land equally and paying their portion of the electricity bill. In a study done on Community Property Associations (CPAs) in the Northern Province, McCusker (2002) noted a similar challenge to communally-held land projects. One of the major problems preventing success of CPAs is a lack of continual participation by those involved. Through this study, McCusker concluded that the five CPAs analyzed did not significantly benefit the livelihoods of those choosing to participate.

Also cited as a major challenge for the Lovti farmers is the lack of on-farm implements and transportation that would allow for a wider distribution of what they grow and more efficient cultivation. The farmers stated that currently, they deliver the produce they grow to their customers in Dysselsdorp either by wheelbarrow or in a rucksack.

Hou Moed, meaning ‘Keep Courage’ in Afrikaans, is a group of 11 people identified by the researcher’s interpreter who are farming collectively in Dysselsdorp. Originally a group of 52

farmers, these individuals gained access to land on the eastern edge of Dysselsdorp in 2001. A focus group was conducted with 5 of the 11 farmers. In their own words, the collective enterprise was mismanaged and a majority of the 52 stakeholders were not participating equally in the production activities on the farm. The Department of Land Reform instructed the group to reduce its numbers to a more manageable size. In 2008, the group of remaining farmers regained their ability to work the land. The following is a summary of the results gathered during a discussion accompanied by the interpreter.

Hou Moed Farm has 77 hectares of land under cultivation directly to the east of Dysselsdorp. The main crops grown include potatoes, tobacco, onions, and lucerne. Additionally, Hou Moed produces onion and cabbage seeds under a fixed-contract with Klein Karoo Seed Production located in Oudtshoorn. Of notable success in their crop production has been with potatoes. The farmers stated that during the peak of the potato harvest, they were able to employ 40 farmhands. Vegetables that are grown by Hou Moed are sold to shops mostly in Dysselsdorp, but the farmers stated that they have been able to market produce in Oudtshoorn as well. Regarding the potato harvest, the entire product was sold. When asked if they would like to expand their operations, one farmer responded:

[We] want to grow more, want to get bigger, on planting that [potatoes] because [we] make money. But [we] don't have money to buy seeds.

Unlike the farmers of the Lovti Project, the Hou Moed farmers said they are not able to support their households with the incomes derived from their farm:

3,4 weeks – [we] didn't take any money home. ... [we] are husband and wife. Both of [us] didn't take anything home.

One of the most significant reasons cited for their inability to be profitable and make a suitable living from agriculture is their mounting debt. Hou Moed Farm, like the Lovti Project, does not have its own tractor or mechanized implements to assist in the planting and harvesting of crops:

Biggest challenge is implements. Implements and [we] don't have money to buy the implements. [We] can't... [we] want big, big pieces of land, and without implements and tractors, [we] can't. That's the biggest challenge.

In order to cultivate their 77 hectares, the farmers of Hou Moed must rent tractor services from the Small-Scale Farmers Association in Dysselsdorp. Since they are not members of the association, the rental fee is R300 per hour. The farmers estimate that they spend approximately R20,000 every two weeks on rental fees, which include the tractor, fuel, and a labor payment to an external operator of the machinery. This amount equals the total the group pays on rent and utilities annually. By not having their own tractor, the Hou Moed farmers spend a considerable amount of money for services rendered by the Small-Scale Farmers Association.

Hall (2010) discusses three interrelated challenges to South African land reform programs in the book *The Land Question in South Africa*. One of these characterizes the hardships felt by both the Hou Moed and Lovti Project farmers. This particular challenge is centered on the persistent lack of post-settlement support in land redistribution and restitution schemes. As McCusker (2002) found on CPAs in Limpopo, land reform initiatives have been criticized for not providing

beneficiaries with appropriate skill-development training to run viable agricultural operations. In a study done on post-settlement livelihoods, Cousins and Aliber (2013) noted the substantial investment made into large-scale commercial farms (LSCF) through land reform and agricultural policies in South Africa. This focus on profitable commercial farmers diverts political and economic attention away from small-scale farming operations and can be attributed to some of the difficulty farmers like those working in Hou Moed face.

Another challenge is the compounding debt comes from the group's reliance on commercial farmers, particularly the previous farmer who managed the land they are on currently. Due to their lack of implements and pronounced difficulty in acquiring seeds, the Hou Moed farmers must seek external assistance. In their words, farmers who run larger operations in the area agree to supply Hou Moed with seeds, implements, tractors for harvesting, and all the necessary tools required to process the product before it is sold to markets. If this external assistance was not available, the farmers would not be able to carry-on with their agricultural activities. However, this type of arrangement fosters dependence on people and organizations outside of the collective group of farmers. The resources and services granted to Hou Moed come under the condition that when a harvest is brought in and the product is sold, the external party will take a portion of the profits. According to the farmers this payment can exceed 80% of the gross income generated from a crop:

The problem here is... commercial farms... [we] want to plant potatoes. [A commercial farmer] come and say 'I'm going to help you. I buy the chemicals, I buy the seeds. I'm going to do everything, I'm going to pay the electricity.' At the end of the day, the potatoes sell, and [the commercial farmer] come with [an] invoice – R30,000. [We as farmers] make 35,000. At the end of the day, [we] make nothing.

Partnerships between the public and private sectors have a prominent place in macro-economic strategies of contemporary South Africa. In order to minimize government spending in the wake of political transition and spur private-sector development, the South African government developed its growth, economic and redistribution (GEAR) macro-economic policy in 1996 (Hall, 2004). GEAR relied on market-oriented strategies to redress the inequities of the apartheid era (Greenberg, 2004). This approach is largely reflected in the neoliberal restructuring of agriculture and land possession in South Africa during political transition. As discussed in Chapter 2, the previous land reform program LRAD resulted in cultivating a class of commercial black farmers while failing to address the real needs of the rural landless and poor.

With his intimate knowledge of agriculture, a representative from the Small-Scale Farmers Association was asked to comment on the biggest challenges facing farmers in the region. First, he identified the enormous debt incurred by small-scale farmers to help pay for the mechanization that's required on the farm. As he sees it, this punishing financial burden of small-scale farmers is largely attributable to actions of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and the former Department of Land Reform. It has been misguided approaches by government, favoring commercial-scale agriculture, that have kept micro-scale agriculturalists from achieving profits and independence. On this topic, the representative states:

Because you look and maybe, and I'm not meaning it bad, but if you look at the Western way of farming, then you say farming, it's tendency, and farm you grow big and you have a market and you have a this and you have a that. That's the Western way of farming. And maybe it's the best way if you want to become rich. Maybe it's the best way. Question is: do our people want to become rich, or do they want to be sustainable?

Farmers who are not at a commercial scale suffer from this preferential treatment, says this participant. Additionally, farmers who are not participating in projects directly tied into CRDP and pursued by governmental departments struggle as well. The representative from the Small-Scale Farmers Association uses the Lovti Project and the irrigation scheme designed for them as an example. As he states, the DRDLR put the needs of this CRDP farming project before those of already-established small farms in and around the community of Dysselsdorp. There was an opportunity at the outset of CRDP to benefit more existing farmers, but in the opinion this interviewee, the government sought to bolster their own efforts at improving agricultural development in the community:

Well, one of the things is water. Now people [in the community] come and say 'Let's put up a pump to provide water. We will pump water from the river to provide water for all the farmers alongside the river, along the banks of the river. Because the commercial farmers, they pump water from the river and they are irrigating with it. So let's do this.' Now Rural Development says 'No, you see, we will put up a smaller pump, and we will put up some water tanks there [at the Lovti Project], and we will pump the water into the tanks, and we will provide water for the Lovti.' And now you see it's... wasting money on the smaller pump... and each of these pieces of land [each farm along the river] has an outlet. So why not put a pump there in order to put water into this system... then all farmers could have water.

As a representative from the Small-Scale Farmers Association, which to-date has 60 members, this participant was asked to describe what a small farmer is in his own words:

In this case [in the case Hou Moed], it's different. There's nothing that says how small you must be. If you're a commercial farmer, then you cannot be part of the small-scale farmers.

He had more to say on what a small farmer *is not*, rather than what it is. When discussing the Hou Moed Farm, he commented:

They aren't supposed to be commercial farmers but they are certainly not seen as being small-scale farmers. I think it used, the resources they already have. They are not making profit like commercial farmers. But they are not regarded as small-scale farmers.

Implied by this classification is that a farm collective like Hou Moed straddles a blurry divide between what defines a commercial farm and a farm that be considered to be small-scale. As previously mentioned, Hou Moed is not a member of the Small-Scale Farmers Association; this reflects the interviewee's sentiments expressed above. The price they pay for a tractor rental is inflated because of this fact. Members of the Small-Scale Farmers Association are still required to pay a fee for services provided by the organization, albeit a reduced one. Per hour, a member would pay about R200. The fee is task-dependent, as this participant noted, and will correspond to the level of expertise needed to perform a task as well as the specialized implements needed. The approach he believes would have been better for CRDP and rural development projects in general is to first identify who is already farming successfully on their own. Then isolate what their needs are, foster them to grow and use those farms as models for emerging farmers incorporated through land reforms schemes.

The whole thing should have been to assist those people who already have land. Assist them to the extent where they are getting what they need and let them be profitable. And as you bring in some others, let them join and then those people who are already in existence can assist.

In his 2002 study on CPAs, McCusker sites the lack of organization and agricultural skills as a major contributor to the failure of such projects. In support of this participant’s sentiments, McCusker states “[t]he membership and leadership of CPAs were not chosen specifically for their expertise in farming, and many simply lack the necessary skills to run a farm as a business” (p. 7).

Table 5.1 Challenges for growing food in Dysselsdorp
 [Source: Fieldwork Data]

	What is the biggest challenge to growing food in Dysselsdorp?	Physical Constraints	Economic	Governmental	Organizational
Government	Lluwellyn Coetzee	water			
	Ernst Guder	harsh climate			
Community Informants	Executive Director, Dysselsdorp Licorice	water, lack of land	lack of implements		
	Representative, Small Farmers Assn.		Debt	lack of govt. support	
Farmer Groups	Lovti Project		lack of implements		unequal group participation, Council of Stakeholders
	Hou Moed		lack of implements, debt	lack of govt. support	

5.4 Local Economic Potential of CRDP

The economic potential possible from an increased social and financial investment in small-scale agriculture can arguably have the ability to minimize poverty and bolster rural livelihoods. As stated by Johnson (2000, p. 28), “[a]griculture clearly has a vital direct and indirect role in economic development and poverty alleviation”. This section aims to address the research aim of exploring *the economic potential created from small-scale agriculture through CRDP*.

The primary objective of the household questionnaires was to assess the involvement of residents in Dysselsdorp with home gardening. Still, the document inquired as to occasional surpluses of produce for those with gardens and what they did with extra food grown from their efforts. When asked if those involved in gardening were able to sell any of their surplus produce, 50% (17 participants) stated they were able to market to neighbors. Again, this is an apt location to mention that food purchases made by Dysselsdorp residents occur predominantly outside Dysselsdorp; 70.21% of respondents claimed that the majority of the food acquired outside of the home comes from shops in Oudtshoorn.

In the community of Dysselsdorp, there are numerous tuk and informal shops. There is only one conventional grocery store, Eaton’s MultiSave. For shop survey portion of data collection, 10 shops were identified with the assistance of the researcher’s interpreter,

who was born and raised in the community. Of those businesses selected, 8 were tuk shops, 1 was a general trading facility, and the final location was Eaton’s MultiSave. The owner of the shop was surveyed at every location apart from one. Excluding Eaton’s MultiSave, which employs 15 people and therefore is an outlier in terms of their employment capacity, the average workforce for each store was 2-3 individuals.

Each store was asked to list commonly purchased products in their store. As Figure 5.6 illustrates, bread is the most popular item sold at food retailers in Dysselsdorp.

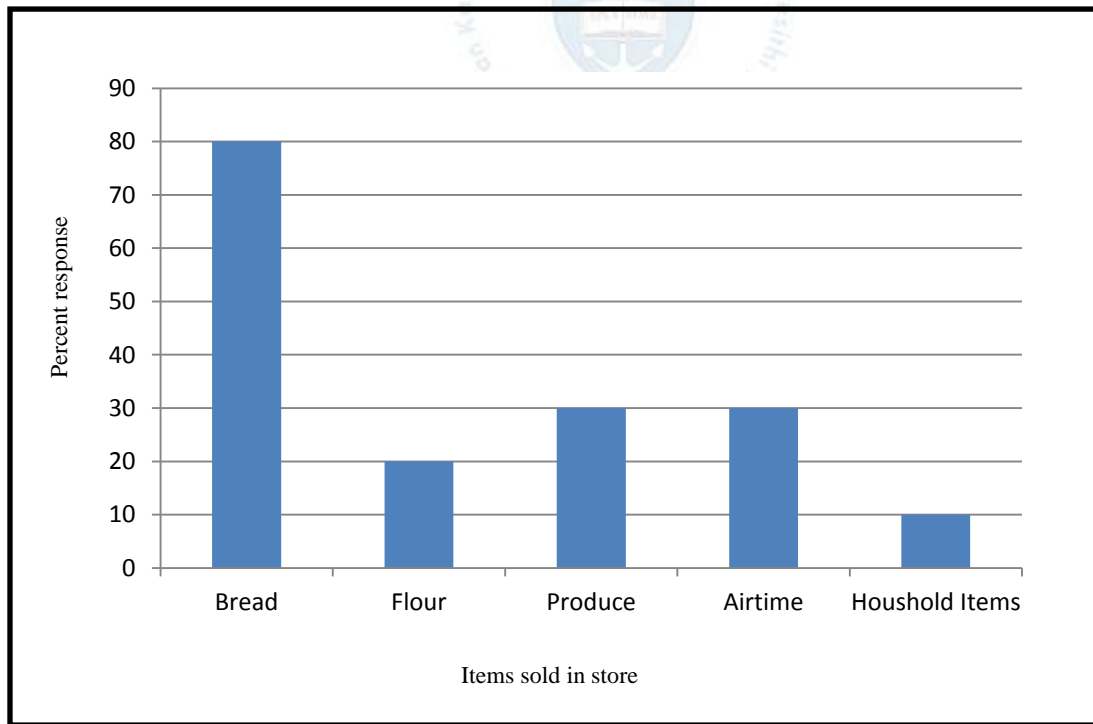


Figure 5.6 Most commonly sold items at shops in Dysselsdorp
[Source: Fieldwork Survey]

Three of the 10 shops surveyed stated that they sell products from local growers in Dysselsdorp. Two of those shops claimed that 10% of their total food sales come from local foods, whereas the third, Eaton’s MultiSave, said 20% of their food sales were accounted for by local goods. Figure 5.7 displays the local products sold from producers in these 3 Dysselsdorp shops.

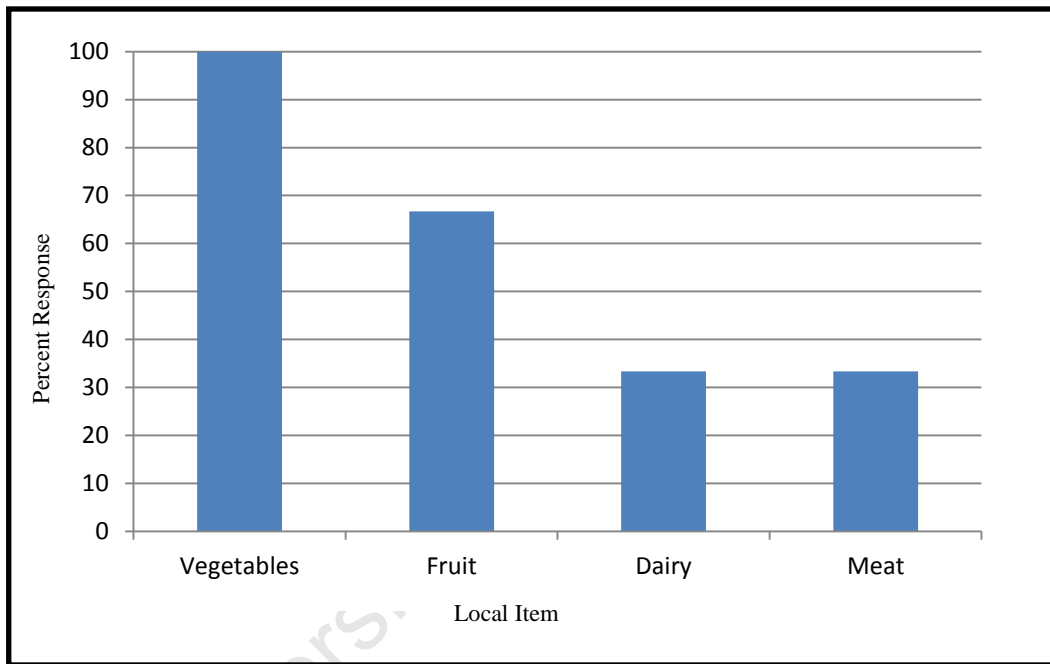


Figure 5.7 Local items sold in Dysselsdorp
[Source; Fieldwork Survey]

When asked from what type of local producer these three shops purchase, two stated that their local supply comes from home gardeners while one shop stated it sourced from small-scale farmers. Delivery methods of locally produced goods from Dysselsdorp suppliers were consistent through all three; growers distribute their products personally and deliver directly to the shop.

All 10 shops were asked what impedes them from selling more locally-sourced items. Of the businesses that currently do not sell from local growers, 100% stated that they were not aware of the possibility to source locally. Other reasons for not buying more local products are displayed in Figure 5.8.

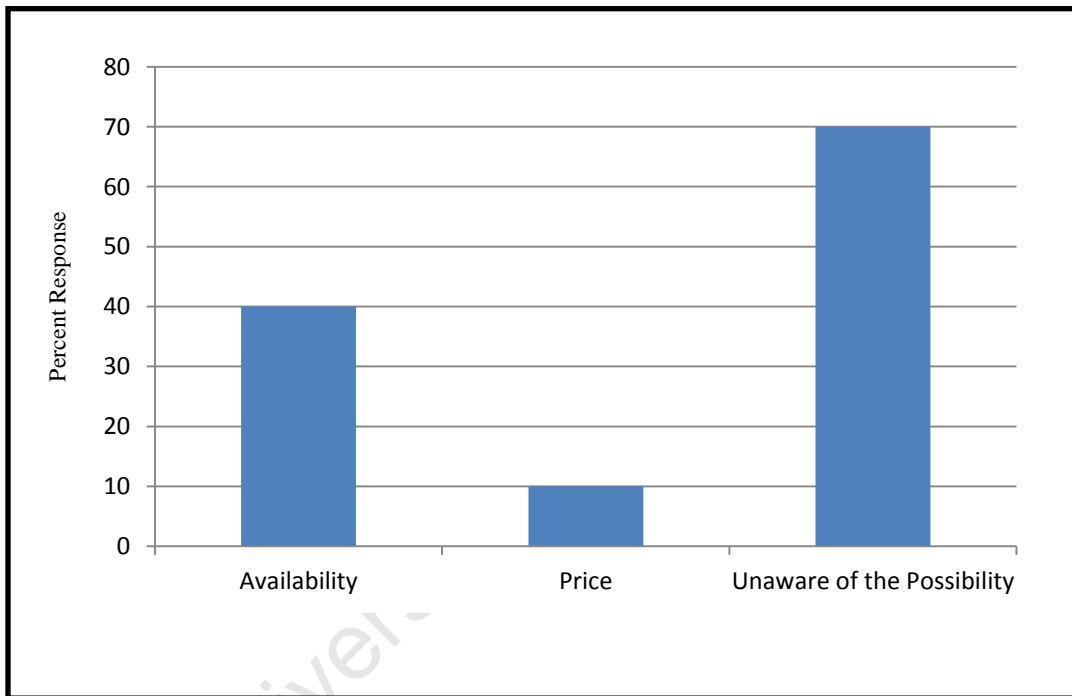


Figure 5.8 Obstacles for Dysselsdorp shops in sourcing more products locally
[Source: Fieldwork Survey]

Speaking with one particular shop owner in-depth about the possibility of buying fresh foods from local producers, there was great enthusiasm for such an option. He, like all of the other 10 shop owners, must travel daily to Oudtshoorn to retrieve their stores supplies from a large distributor's warehouse. This businessman saw the opportunity to buy from local producers as a way to save money. He mentioned 'cutting out the middleman,'

meaning a reduction in the necessity to purchase produce items from a distributor in Oudtshoorn.

As it was originally designed, the research methodology allotted for the administration of surveys to shop owners only if the necessity to do so was motivated by conversations with community members and government officials. The utilization of shop surveys was deemed necessary due to the dissonance between government and farmers on the level to which Dysselsdorp growers were able to sell their produce to local shops. Conversations with representatives from government and voices from local farmers illustrate conflicting views on what precisely is economic potential and enterprise development available in Dysselsdorp.


When asked to discuss economic potential in Dysselsdorp through CRDP, Lourette Brown with the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform commented that the 3-tiered structure of the program culminated in a final stage of business development:

... the 3rd phase of the CRDP is actually enterprise development and that's where the markets should be established for all of these efforts that came to the gardens that were established. So that is where we should focus now; to get those enterprises established, to get the markets formalized to see how they can be linked to other towns.

As Ms. Brown stated, there is a natural progression towards that third stage of economic development, and CRDP tries to foster this transition by identifying businesses within the community and integrating them into development projects. The researcher was able to

see this process of identifying needs in terms of infrastructural development and reaching out to local contractors to provide the required services. Ms. Brown extended an invitation to attend a contractors' forum to discuss the tendering process for a CRDP-affiliated building project.

Ms. Brown discussed how members of the community have taken the initiative to consider new and alternative ways to market locally-grown produce to Dysselsdorp residents. One such idea is to start a monthly vegetable market in Dysselsdorp:



And what we have seen is that they now want to establish a Dysselsdorp Festival in the area in front of the community hall where they want to sell their produce. And that's an interesting thing. It's a development that came after the establishment of the gardens where once a month after it's all paid, they want to get together there and they want to sell their produce if they have.

With regard to these alternative market opportunities and economic development strategies, it can be inferred from Bernstein (2013) that Dysselsdorp's lack of a national supermarket chain is an advantage for the community. Bernstein describes the evolving food landscape of South Africa as one that tends toward concentration in all activities related to the production, packaging, and marketing of food. This trend is increasingly more prevalent in townships and former group areas (Bernstein, 2013). For the time being, Dysselsdorp, although functionally reliant on Oudtshoorn for major food shopping

trips, is uniquely situated in that it has yet to have a major grocery chain established there.

When discussing business opportunities that may precipitate out home gardens and small-scale farming supported by CRDP, Lluwellyn Coetzee had the following to say about the municipality's involvement:

From an economic point-of-view, we don't provide specific funding for economic activities but we could be facilitators of sorts from other government departments or other parastatals or other funders to assist and maybe provide funding for a specific project... but our main focus on the municipality side is infrastructure. That is our responsibility.

Despite the participation of the municipality being almost singularly focused on infrastructural development, Mr. Coetzee noted that there is enterprise development opportunities related to agriculture in value-added industries through CRDP:

It [CRDP] will have to play a specific role in positioning us... I think we will have to use the CRDP process to position us for that because from a national perspective, there could be better understanding between the departments and industry and [The Department of] Rural Development [and Land Reform] to push and get to position ourselves as an agro-processing hub.

According to Mr. Coetzee, the agricultural region surrounding Oudtshoorn, including the town of Dysselsdorp, has the unique opportunity to develop itself as an agro-processing

hub. This area has the potential to be a center of value-added industries related to agricultural products. In order to do this, Mr. Coetzee emphasizes that agriculture in the region must diversify. Worryingly, as he states, the agricultural activities in the Klein Karoo is overly dependent on the ostrich industry. An outbreak of the avian bird flu in 2011 dramatically threatened the livelihoods of many commercial-scale ostrich farmers in the region. To this end, Mr. Coetzee advocates for broadening the scope of the agricultural products from the Oudtshoorn area.

Tying into what Mr. Coetzee said about agro-processing in the community, the Executive Director of Dysselsdorp Licorice and spokesman for the Dysselsdorp Council of Stakeholders, was interviewed to discuss industry's ability to enhance agricultural endeavors in the region.

One of the plans for rural development or the development of Dysselsdorp is to develop a building where value can be added to current production in Dysselsdorp. Which are produced in Dysselsdorp... the idea is to add value to the current production line in Dysselsdorp that could create job opportunities in these sectors.

The government official who most explicitly addressed the possibility to economically develop small-scale farmers and home gardeners through CRDP was Ernst Guder with the Western Cape Department of Agriculture. Mr. Guder was asked if he could envision the opportunity to develop enterprises related to the marketing of vegetables grown at the home and on small farms. His response was that although there is clearly an opportunity

for food markets to be established to which theoretically local growers could sell, it simply is not a feasible option for the poor living in Dysselsdorp:

So they do sell some of it... They would rather give it away. And that's a tendency in all poor community... there are some of them who sell it. One lady told me she made R800 from selling her excess potatoes... but that is actually exception with people selling. They usually keep it to give to neighbors... so yes, there is business opportunity but because of the poverty, it isn't really exploited.

In the end, the people have full stomachs and they are more satisfied about their livelihoods. But it's not creating wealth. And that's why we do need industry to come set up, who can create permanent job opportunities... But until we establish business there, until it's created permanent job opportunities, that's not going to happen. People are going to give their excess produce away.

He further commented that CRDP has been a success in terms of improving food security but until households are making an income outside of the home, people growing their own food will opt to donate surplus to neighbors: When discussing the potential for economic development through small-scale agriculturalists and home gardeners, a mixed reaction was gathered from community members interviewed. A principal at one of the primary schools saw gardening as a way of “keeping busy” but that it serves as more of a hobby than a legitimate form of income generation for a household. The Chair of the Council of Stakeholders was more optimistic about the potential to develop small markets to cater towards the surplus of vegetables grown in home gardens. Through a CRDP infrastructural development project which will build a much needed taxi rank in town, he

identified the possibility of establishing a market there for people to purchase vegetables from local home growers.

The representative from the Small-Scale Farmers Association agreed that there is possibility for enterprise development for small-scale produce growers through CRDP.

However, the burden of debt hampers the ability to establish a profitable business:

If you start up a business like a farm business, you must start right from the beginning, you open your bank account and you have no money. You must have money in your bank account... If it's not there, you can't make a profit.

Agreeing with the sentiments expressed by Ernst Guder with the Department of Agriculture, in a poor community like Dysselsdorp, the tendency is to give surplus food to neighbors rather than trying to sell to them. Even if there was the desire to make a profit from their bounty, the Small-Scale Farmers Association representative notes the lack of a place to formally transact with other community members:

You see it's that type of [culture]. So it sounds funny. It sounds funny. But let me put it this way: everybody likes to make money but if the market is not available, they have their ways of earning something for them. Of course, the best thing for people at Lovti is to have a market for them, for people to pay or somewhere... But let's face it. Pick 'n Pay or Fruit & Veg won't take things from small people.

The Chair of the Council of Stakeholders agrees, stating:

We're planting vegetables and we're planting this and this but it's just short-term solutions to the economic growth of the problem. And in the long run, it's not really going to help because the people of Dysselsdorp doesn't have money to sustain themselves and to go just bigger and bigger and bigger.

When speaking with the farmer focus groups, opportunities for them to create a profitable enterprise were discussed. For the Lovti Project, they mentioned being able to sell to shops within Dysselsdorp. Beyond that, a youth summit was held at one of the churches in Dysselsdorp during the period of field research. This hosting church purchased vegetables from the Lovti farmers to supply some of the food for the students hosted for a weekend. Additionally, one farmer spoke about how Mr. Eric Goodwin, working for the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform on the Dysselsdorp Land Claim settlements, suggested growing heirloom tomatoes to cater to a niche market in Oudtshoorn.

With regard to available markets for their products, the Hou Moed farmers discussed their fixed-contract with Klein Karoo seed. Cited as the greatest difficulty are the financial arrangements with large-scale commercial farmers and the Small-Scale Farmers Association. These prevent them from making a profit even when markets are available. For instance, the potato crop was the only one that generated enough returns to inspire the farm to expand this operation. As the interpreter for this study put it, people in Dysselsdorp eat potatoes every day; there will be an endless consumption of this item. However, due to the debt they owe external parties, the Hou Moed farmers fear they cannot invest in the mechanical advancements and employ more workers to boost production.

On the Dysselsdorp Licorice's capacity to create more jobs, thereby giving an economic boost to more households in the community, the Executive Director stated that the agricultural production of licorice can offer a broad range of employment. However, in order to provide that additional employment, resources such as more land devoted to farming licorice and tractors must be attained. Broad changes in governmental policies must be altered as well in order to ensure the autonomy of Dysselsdorp Licorice and that it continues to benefit the community as a whole rather than individuals. On this topic, he states:

*The disadvantage at this moment is we don't have land of our own.
So for us, it is basically management of the raw materials.*

Not only does Dysselsdorp Licorice lack land needed to grow licorice roots and machinery with which to harvest the crops, the Executive Director says the Section 21 company is unable to operate to its fullest potential because conflict exists with the Oudtshoorn municipality. Legally, the municipality is one of the co-founders of the Dysselsdorp Licorice Company; any changes to the strategic plan of Dysselsdorp Licorice, the only licorice processing plant in the whole of South Africa, must be monitored by the Oudtshoorn Municipality. Yet, according to him, there is a considerable lack of cooperation from the side of the municipality to make the company a profitable community endeavor. He stated that routinely, the municipality has failed to send a representative to meetings they have scheduled to discuss the future of the company and of CRDP. It is perceived that the leadership in the Oudtshoorn Municipality is out-of-touch with the needs of the residents of Dysselsdorp.

5.5 Reflections on the Impact of CRDP

To assess the role of multi-level governance and cooperation from community institutions through CRDP, interviews were conducted with government officials and community leaders. These conversations ranged in breadth of topic, but each person was asked what their role or familiarity with CRDP is. Additionally, data was also gathered through the household questionnaires on the awareness and public perception of CRDP.

What makes CRDP unique from other rural development and land reform schemes in South Africa is that it “has a holistic approach, partnering various stakeholders like other departments, non-governmental organisations, the business sector and the communities, in order to enhance socio-economic development issues” (DRDLR, 2009b). First discussed with government officials was their role with CRDP and the rationale behind the program. Lourette Brown with the DRDLR is responsible for infrastructure development in CRDP sites in Eden and the Central Karoo. Ms. Brown stated that CRDP is about:

developing those communities because we found that a lot of people migrated from the rural areas to towns where the jobs were and where there was better infrastructure.

She emphasized that it is about involvement from all branches of government at all levels and a well-integrated voice of community members:

We will not, will not, enforce projects from government one-sidedly. It will have to be approved by them and then rolled out into the community.

Of the 47 participants in the household study, 38 (80.85%) were familiar with CRDP. Disaggregating the data to only show responses from home gardeners resulted with 94.74% stating they knew of the program within their community. The following graph, Figure 5.9, illustrates what participants think is the purpose of CRDP.

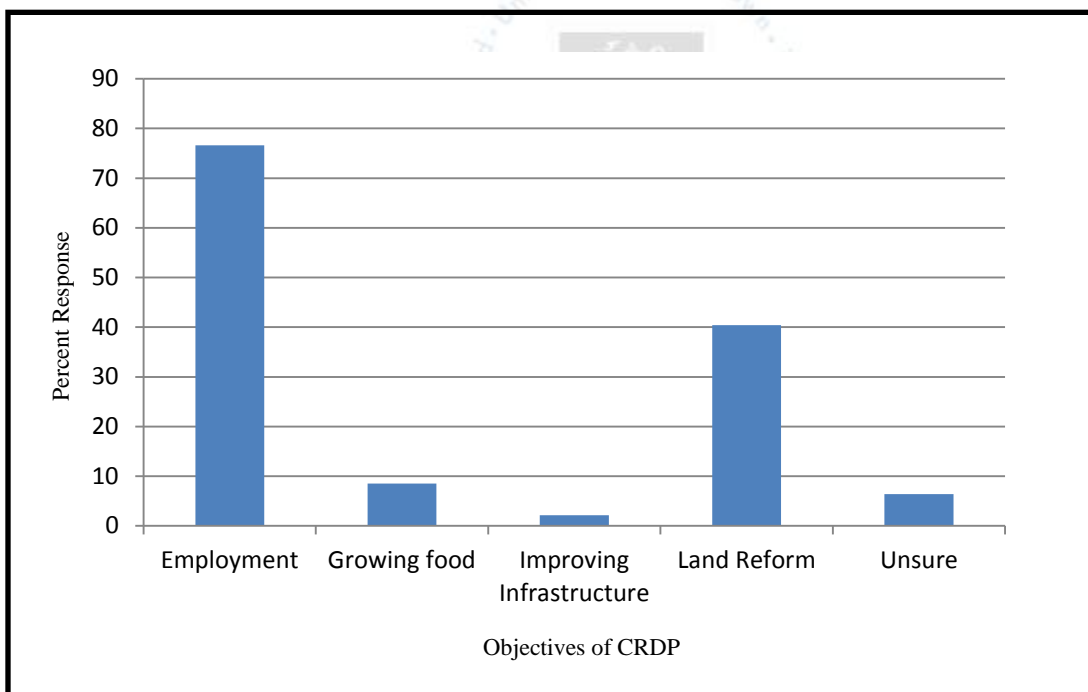


Figure 5.9 Public understanding of CRDP in Dysselsdorp
[Source: Fieldwork Data]

Responding to the question if participants have seen an increase in food production in Dysselsdorp since the start of the program in 2010, 85.11% responded that they have.

Lluwellyn Coetzee from the Oudtshoorn Municipality has this to say about the rationale behind the program:

I think there's a more focused approach to rural areas... usually, each department was doing its own thing. There's never coordinated effort in order for us to change a specific space. And this program looks like it's bringing all different role players together and have a more holistic view of what needs to be done than on an ad-hoc basis.

Ernst Guder's comments on CRDP specifically were that, on the whole, the project has been successful, especially in terms of home gardening.

The biggest challenges for CRDP in Dysselsdorp were discussed with all participants. Responses to this question varied depending how each stakeholder was involved with the projects. At the level of governance, responses included the lack of connection with the land and reliance on social grants, (Ms. Brown):

But the problem that we've encountered there is that because of the changes in Dysselsdorp over the years, most people have lost connection to the land. Their livelihood is an urban livelihood. And there is a continual demand for cash.

... passivity from community members, (Mr. Goodwin):

You see, one of the challenges that we face not only in Dysselsdorp but many, many of the communities in the Western Cape is that of dependence and passivity.

... a lack of empathy for the poorest of Dysselsdorp from those with influence, (Mr. Guder):

... it's actually a pity that the Council of Stakeholders are a bit distant from the community... it's not that they are totally removed from the community, it's just they don't have the compassion because they are usually more wealthy people.

... and conflict between different branches of government (Mr. Coetzee):

Generally, [it's] a South African problem. We've got the different spheres of government – we've got national, provincial, local... but each one has its own ideas.

Considering the overwhelming participation in home gardening by Dysselsdorp residents, the “connection to land” that Ms. Brown speaks of needs to be further qualified. The high prevalence of community members in Dysselsdorp actively engaging with the land to grow food for household consumption has been revealed through qualitative research and interviews. So far, working with the land in home gardens has not produced a viable livelihood for residents. It is not disconnection from working with the land experienced by residents necessitating social grants. There is, however, a pronounced separation between income generation and the agricultural practices of community members.

Opinions and assessments about CRDP's effectiveness varied in the community as well. The only member of the community to comment specifically on the rationale behind

CRDP was the Chair of the Council of Stakeholders. He stated it is about upliftment of rural people:

To help people to think for themselves and to create a better community. And also to uplift people out of the poverty situation they're in.

When asked to describe the biggest challenge with the implementation of CRDP, he said:

To get the government to do what the community wants.

One final point to analyze with public perception of CRDP is the extent change has been witnessed within the community since the implementation of the project. Highlighted previously in the section on food security and agriculture are results on increased food production in home gardens, school and institutional gardens as well as on small farms such as the Lovti Project. The trend has been that, in the last 3 years, home gardens have been able to produce more food of higher quality. In this regard, the implementation of CRDP coincided with a period of bolstered food production within the community.

The Chair of the Council said the following on what has most dramatically changed within the community since February 2010:

I think what happened with the CRDP, people saw things differently. Also now, they see differently because now... They do things to enhance themselves. And here, it's actually going better now with the CRDP project in Dyselsdorp... um, in the beginning, people would sit at home and do nothing....but now people, they've started businesses.

The Executive Director at Dysselsdorp Licorice stated that the marketing strategy and production options for the company has changed since 2010:

Previously, one product, one client. At this moment, we have more clients, so we have the bulk material... at least through the CRDP program, we're getting to look at how we can start with economic process within the community.

Since the implementation of CRDP, Dysselsdorp Licorice has been able to diversify their operations to include selling raw, unprocessed licorice roots to markets in France and Germany. When asked how this is so, he responded:

Rural Development is part of the bigger picture of the development of Dysselsdorp. One of the plans for rural development or the development of Dysselsdorp is to develop a building where value can be added to current production in Dysselsdorp.

On the same topic, the representative of the Small-Scale Farmers Association stated that the biggest change he has seen relates to a more holistic approach to development for poor community:

... previously there was [the Department of] Land Affairs, but... for me the difference is they concentrated on giving people land but [the Department of] Rural Development [and Land Reform] concentrate on developing the rural areas.

Finally, for the Lovti Project farmers, it all comes down to access to land:

[We are] very grateful for the government for the piece of land they gave [us] this opportunity to better [our] lives. So [we're] grateful for that. And even if it's small or if it's little, it helps. [We] are very grateful



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Chapter 6

Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presents the results gathered from surveys, questionnaires, interviews, and researcher observations. This data was the backdrop for a collection of findings from primary literature sources as well as government publications. To further analyze the results from this study, this chapter serves as a timely re-entry point for literature discussed in Chapter 2. A discussion of the results is separated thematically and reflects the study's research objectives.

6.2 CRDP & Small-Scale Food Production

In an interview with DRDLR representatives, Lourette Brown emphasized that CRDP is not simply about food security. Indeed, as the CRDP Framework document states, food security is only one of the priority areas of the program (DRDLR, 2009c). Other measurable outputs of the program are sustainable land reform efforts, job creation, and rural development linked to sustainable livelihoods. Although results gathered from household questionnaires conflicted with some key informant responses, participants in the study were able to identify an apparent change in food production in the community. On this matter, Ernst Guder with the Western Cape Department of Agriculture best resolves the ostensible disagreement by stating that although there has not been a notable increase in household gardening participation, the variety and quality of food grown by

Dysselsdorp residents have improved. Harkening back to Anderson & Cook (1999), this shift in food production is indicative of increased *community food security*. CRDP has supported efforts of some home gardeners in the community to be sustainable and provide their households with a variety of locally-grown produce.

Largely attributable to the success of home gardening interventions made by the DRDLR and the Department of Agriculture has been the well-established culture around growing one's food. Mr. Guder cited this as the primary reason that CRDP with regard to gardening and community food security has been so successful:

Well, I think our success is the culture of the people. Them being poor or willing to help each other. The other thing is they have a culture of home gardening.

Arguably, this is a step in the right direction for programs associated with land reform initiatives in South Africa. Scholars like Moseley (2007) and Aliber & Hall (2010) note that in light of the failure of previous land reform programs, a reconfiguration of government support must occur to address broader community needs; “there is an urgent need to shift emphasis of support from on-farm infrastructure and inputs, to community-level infrastructure, market development, and institutional reengineering” (Aliber & Hall, 2010, p.18). On sustainable rural development, Drimie & Mini (2003) state there is an urgent need for rural development to situate sustainable rural livelihoods as a priority in order to address food insecurity in communities. In its framework, CRDP unites rural development and land reform, two historically separate areas of policy, while drawing in the explicit need to reconfigure agrarian livelihoods. With its clear emphasis on

supporting institutional and home gardens in Dysselsdorp, CRDP demonstrates the unification of the “3-pronged” structure laid out in its framework.

Turning attention towards small-scale farmers, the Lovti Project has been cited as the major success of CRDP in the community of Dysselsdorp (E. Goodwin, personal communication, March 1, 2013). Although there has been a problem with maintaining participation from all those involved at the Project, as cited by the farmers interviewed and Mr. Goodwin, it has achieved the objective of supporting sustainable livelihoods. This demonstrates support for diversified growing operations, a key alteration needed in land reform programs as cited by Aliber & Hall (2010). Despite the frustrations that exist with the community organizational structure of CRDP (largely directed towards the Council of Stakeholders), the farmers with Lovti have been able to support their households while also producing a surplus to donate and even sometimes sell. These farmers are not pressured to grow and sell food for distant markets or to mechanize, as is done through commercial farming (IAASTD, 2008) but rather encouraged to find ways to benefit the local community with what they grow.

However, this governmental support is not accessible for all small-scale farmers, as noted by a representative for the Small-Scale Farmers Association and the farmers with Hou Moed. As noted in Chapter 5, some feel that preferential treatment is given to those the DRDLR deems as the “winners” of land reform, i.e. the projects they have begun. It is not within the scope (or the budget) of CRDP to intervene in every struggling agricultural

operation. Some take issue, though, with the approach the DRDLR has taken to performing its agrarian transformation. Rather than identifying those who are already farming, have the skills and experience running a business, as McCusker (2002) states, some see that government as simply pursuing projects that will boost CRDP's image.

6.3 Agriculture-Driven Economic Opportunities through CRDP

The third phase of CRDP is economic development. As far as the progress of CRDP in Dysselsdorp, it is seen by those in government (L. Brown, personal communication, March 1, 2013) that the community is embarking on this next step. This study aimed to isolate the economic potential that exists for those in and around the community for selling their produce in Dysselsdorp. In an article written on the connection between small-scale agriculture and sustainable rural development, Johnson (2000) states "there is an urgent need to shift emphasis of support from on-farm infrastructure and inputs, to community-level infrastructure, market development, and institutional reengineering" (p.18). For Johnson, investment into direct farm support is seen as a poor use of resources and capital. In order to truly benefit the small-scale farmers (and household gardeners with the capacity to sell surplus produce), it is imperative they have access to markets. And based on the previous analysis of the literature in Chapter 2, those markets should be local.

At the outset, the challenge seems to be a lack of locations to sell ones produce within the community. As was highlighted in Chapter 5, households buy the bulk of their food from large grocery store chains in Oudtshoorn. In the community, there is no formalized

farmer's market, and while the largest store in town is able to source an estimated 20% of its products from local growers, there is still a desire from those who already have sold their vegetables to stores to be able to sell more (J. Jantjies, personal communication, March 4, 2013). Yet, by inference from Bernstein (2013), it arguably works in the favor of Dysselsdorp that it currently does not have a well-established supermarket chain in the community. Weatherspoon & Reardon (2003) note that supermarket expansion favors producers who are able to respond to a larger demand of a particular good. Unless small-scale farmers and household gardeners can coordinate growing schedules to accommodate the purchase orders from large stores, they will not be able to compete with large, commercial scale growers. However, since Dysselsdorp does not have a large chain retailer yet has an abundance of small growers within the community, this may present itself as an exciting and novel place for small markets to develop. Indeed, according to Lourette Brown and the Chair of the Council of Stakeholders (personal communication, March 2013), such a market is already being discussed by residents.

Additionally, the survey results from shops in Dysselsdorp show a potentially untapped market for local growers looking to market their produce. Of the 7 shops that do not source locally-grown items, all stated that it is an unawareness of the possibility that kept them from doing so. When asked in conversation if the option of sourcing from local producers is appealing, one shop owner enthusiastically responded "yes." He stated that he would expect prices to be cheaper from local growers compared to what he pays at a large distribution center for the same items in Oudtshoorn.

Here, it is important to frame commentary from the architects of CRDP in Dysselsdorp in light of criticism of capitalist hegemony in development discourse (refer to L. Coetzee). In development, capitalism and neoliberal pursuits have been seen as the “heroic transformative agent” (Gibson-Graham, 2006, p. 5). In the book *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It)* (2006), authors Katherine Gibson and Julie Graham discuss how prevailing traditions of capitalist critique have reiterated, although through an unfavorable lens, the power and dominance of capitalism. The authors assert that alternatives to capitalism in economic pathways and livelihoods have been framed as operating *within* capitalism. The understanding by government and community leaders alike of subsistence livelihoods in Dysselsdorp is problematic because the myriad of other noncapitalist economic practices are placed at the social periphery. Rural development can thereby become a vehicle for the capitalist hegemony. The structural emphasis within development programs like CRDP on enterprise development and job creation should be questioned. The main issue for small-scale growers may not be connecting with a market. The representative from the Small-Scale farmers Association stated that for many, there simply is no desire to expand their production capacities to the point of being profitable (personal communication, March 18, 2013). As he puts it, the Western way of farming (one he sees as finding markets, making a profit, and expanding agricultural operations) is not a universally held ideal by all farmers the world over. Some would rather remain subsistent. More so, as Ernst Guder noted, even if there was an opportunity for a small produce grower to market their bounty within the community, it may be underutilized as people would continue to give surplus away to benefit their neighbors rather than turning a profit.

In Chapter 2, the consolidation of production in the agricultural sector, specifically related the growing prevalence of commercial agriculture was discussed. Bernstein (2013) notes that the overwhelming trend in all activities related to agriculture is one towards consolidation. This includes agro-processing and agribusiness. In interviews with key informants from both the community and government, situating Dysselsdorp and the greater Oudtshoorn region as an agro-processing hub for South Africa is a key economic priority. According to Lluwellyn Coetzee with the Oudtshoorn Municipality, CRDP can play a role in helping achieve this objective. In order to do so, CRDP must look towards its rural development strategy prong, which aims to establish “business initiatives, agro-industries, cooperatives, cultural initiatives and vibrant local markets in rural settings” (DRDLR, 2009c, p. 6).

One such place to invest resources and expertise through this conduit of rural development is in the Dysselsdorp Licorice Company. As a company that has been registered as a Section 21 Non-Profit since 2001 for the benefit of the community, it has a well-established presence there, and according to the Executive Director, has the capacity to expand its staff if they could acquire more land. Being that it’s South Africa’s sole producer of licorice root concentrate, the community has the comparative advantage over other rural settlements throughout the country. It is expected that investment associated with CRDP will be made into existing and potential agro-processing ventures during this third stage of enterprise development.

6.4 Role of Multi-Level Governance and Community Stakeholders

The strategic objective of CRDP is “integrated development and social cohesion through participatory approaches in partnership with all sectors of society” (DRDLR, 2009c, p. 4). Lluwellyn Coetzee describes this in his own words as “... bringing all different role players together and having a more holistic view of what needs to be done than on an ad-hoc basis” (personal communication, March 7, 2013). So how has CRDP stacked-up in synthesizing all the stakeholders involved – the community, multiple levels of government, the private sector, and institutions – to best address the needs of the people of Dysselsdorp? Basically, it is difficult to characterize this process with one sweeping generalization about participation. From the household questionnaires, it can be inferred that CRDP has made itself within the community. Additionally, participant observation during a tendering process revealed to the researcher the extent that the DRDLR goes in order to involve residents. The major bridge that needs to be crossed in this and rural development projects in general is the transfer of responsibility and authority over to the community to manage on their own.

Shepherd (2000) has identified four key trends within contemporary rural development in South Africa. One of these is “the key role to be played by local government in planning and coordination” (p. 218). Speaking with government officials outside of the Municipality and leaders within the community reveals the sentiment that the local government in Oudtshoorn has not fulfilled its role as being the closest and most immediately influential governmental body to Dysselsdorp. Atkinson (2007) discusses a

trend of failure to deliver services in municipal governments in South Africa, while failing to address the needs of the poorest in their jurisdiction. Indictments of government, however, cannot fall singularly on municipalities, as Atkinson states that oftentimes, the role of the municipality is poorly communicated. The Executive Director at Dysseldorp Licorice (and also a member of the Council of Stakeholders) noted this lack of clarity in the role of the Oudtshoorn Municipality with regard to the company and CRDP.

6.5 Conclusion

The rural poor have at least a portion of their livelihoods tied to the land, and they face considerable obstacles in South Africa and as discussed in Chapter 2, the world over. The activity of growing is deeply reliant on uncontrollable forces like climate, something that can, at times, be circumscribed by technologies. Yet for a large majority of those who engage in agriculture, they are incapable of obtaining infrastructure to aid in irrigation due to extreme poverty. Small-scale growers, as illustrated through this study, also face social and political forces that keep them from accessing land and the resources to support their agricultural efforts. This study focused on one community with a long-standing culture of growing food and aimed to elucidate the impact that one piece of policy can have on livelihoods and development strategies there.

Growing food for household consumption is certainly something that residents of Dysseldorp and those in the government can agree is a part of the culture in the

community. People were growing food there long before the community was transformed into effectively a dormitory urban-like settlement after the application of the Slums and Group Areas legislation. And despite have been effectively stripped of their right to land, residents still managed to grow food for their families. CRDP did not usher in this culture, but to date, it has been instrumental in furthering support for household gardeners and some small-scale farmers. Additionally, efforts through CRDP have bolstered enthusiasm from others in the community to begin their own gardens. If sustainable rural development and improving food security starts with promoting sustainable livelihoods, (Drimie & Mini, 2003), then development policies should continue to encourage home and institution gardens.

In Dytsselsdorp, economic potential in developing enterprises around small-scale growing exists, but faces definite challenges. There is the possibility for home gardeners and small-scale growers like Lovti and Hou Moed to market their produce to local tuk shops. This potentiality can be drawn from coupling the shop survey results stating there could be an increase in demand with the statements from small growers (including home gardeners, institutions, and farmers) would like to produce more. High-levels of unemployment and poverty, however, are large contributors inhibiting the connection between a local market and those who are growing. Ernst Guder noted that as long as the poor remain without work, a culture of giving, rather than selling, one's surplus vegetables will prevail.

CRDP efforts should be aimed at increasing the employment capacity in agriculture-related industries rather than focusing on creating direct farmer to consumer trade networks. Diversifying and expanding the agro-processing industries in the region while also ensuring that these businesses support small-scale farmers is one such avenue. Simultaneously, the desire exhibited by community members to start a produce market should be a source of mobilization for those in the government committed to promoting sustainable livelihoods.

The central aim of this study was to highlight how rural development and land reform, when unified through CRDP, supports small-scale agricultural efforts. In Dysselsdorp, this is primarily apparent through home and institution gardens as well as the Lovti Project. It has been demonstrated through the literature presented in this dissertation that both rural development and land reform objectives can be met through investment made into home growers and small-scale farmers. This case study highlights how CRDP has impacted the lives of those growing fresh produce for local consumption and how varying stakeholders in the program view this impact. Further research on this topic in Dysselsdorp could be done to deepen understanding on the shopping habits of residents – determine which products are most often purchases in Oudtshoorn and compare that with ability of local small-scale farmers to produce enough to meet demand.

To reach the goal of redistributing 30% of the land by 2014, the government of South Africa needs to reassess past land reform efforts. Past strategies have yielded very slow

results and arguably have not contributed to the benefit of the rural poor. Through the Comprehensive Rural Development Program initiated in 2009, there is a unique potential to integrate rural development with land reform efforts through community-based efforts. The multiple levels of governance in South Africa play a crucial role in the implementation of CRDP, but ultimately the aim is to cultivate sustainable and economically, socially, and culturally vibrant communities that can maintain the momentum from the projects.



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APPENDIX 1

Interview Guide – Key Informants

Introduce Self

Permission to Record Yes No

Purpose of Study

Date/Time:
Setting:
Respondent:

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INTERVIEW

- Describe your affiliation with the Comprehensive Rural Development Program (CRDP)
- Tell me about the CRDP; why is it implemented in the rural communities selected as sites?
- How is CRDP different from other rural development programs? How is CRDP different from other land reform programs?
- How are sites selected for CRDP?
- What features of the community of Dysselsdorp made it an appropriate pilot location for CRDP?
- What type of preliminary research was done in Dysselsdorp prior to the implementation of the CRDP?
- How were community members engaged in the planning process for CRDP?
- Tell me more about the structure of organization and participation with regard to CRDP
- In terms of food security, has local food production increased in Dysselsdorp since February 2010?
- Is there a specific goal regarding the growing of food in Dysselsdorp?
- What have been the major successes in the community?
- Describe some of the challenges CRDP experiences in Dysselsdorp
- Is there anything else you think is relevant that I must know as a researcher?

APPENDIX 2

Shop Survey

Shop Location _____

Shop owner surveyed? Yes No

1. **Type of Shop** Tuk shop/corner store Supermarket Other

2. **How long has this shop been here?** < 1 year 1 – 3 years 3 – 6 years
 6 – 10 years 10 – 15 years +15 years

3. **How many people are employed at this location?** _____

4. **In terms of what you sell the most, please list the following (1 = most sold, 6 = least sold)**

____ Fruits & Vegetables

____ Cool drinks & Sweets

____ Other Foods

____ Airtime

____ Household Items (cleaning products, toilet paper, tools)

____ Other

5. **Do you sell from local growers in Dysselsdorp?** Yes No

6. **If not and you sell fruits and vegetables, from where do you get them?** (check all that apply)

Farmers in Oudtshoorn/surrounding region

Large distributor

Other shops in Oudtshoorn/Dysselsdorp

Other _____

→ Please continue on to question 13

7. **If so, what items do you sell from local producers?** (check all that apply)

vegetables fruits dairy meat

grains

8. **What percent of the food that you sell is from local growers?** _____

9. **Have you seen increase in local food sales?** Yes No

10. If so, when did you start seeing an increase?

11. From what local growers do you buy? (check all that apply)

Small-scale farmers (do you know what farm?)

_____)

Home gardeners

Clinic Garden

Old Age Home

Crèches

Other _____

12. Do your local producers deliver? Yes No

13. What prevents you from buying more locally-grown foods? (check all that apply)

Availability of product

Quality of product

Customer preference/enthusiasm

Price

Shipping/Transport Issues

Other (please describe)



APPENDIX 3

Shop Survey Results

Information on Shops

Shop Type	Number	Percent
Tuk/Corner Shop	8	80%
Supermarket	1	10%
Other	1	10%

Shop Owner Surveyed?	Number	Percent
Yes	9	90%
No	1	10%

Years in Operation	Number	Percent
<1	1	10%
1 – 3	4	40%
3 - 6	3	30%
6 – 10	1	10%
10 – 15	0	0%
>15	1	10%

Average Number of Employees	3.8
<i>Without outlier</i>	2.6

Most Popular Items Sold	Number	Percent
Fruits & Vegetables	3	30%
Bread	8	80%
Flour	2	20%
Eggs	1	10%
Sugar	1	10%
Chips	1	10%
Airtime	3	30%
Household Items	1	10%

Local Purchasing Habits

Source some local products	Number	Percent
Yes	3	30%
No	7	70%

Items Sold from Local Growers	Number	Percent
Vegetables	3	30%
Fruit	2	20%
Dairy	1	10%
Meat	1	10%
Grains	0	0%

Average percent local ($n = 3$)	13.33%
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Increase in local sales in last 3 years? ($n = 3$)	Number	Percent
Yes	2	66.67%
No	0	0%
Unsure	1	13.33%

From what type of local growers do you buy? ($n = 3$)	Number	Percent
Small-scale farmers	1	33.33%
Home Gardens	2	66.67%

Do local growers deliver? ($n = 3$)	Number	Percent
Yes	3	100%
No	1	10%

Main source of food products	Number	Percent
Large distributor	10	100%
Oudtshoorn Farms	0	0%
Other Shops	0	0%

Preventing purchase of more locally-grown food?	Number	Percent
Availability	4	40%
Quality	0	0%
Customer Preference	0	0%
Price	1	10%
Unaware of the possibility	7	70%

APPENDIX 4

Household Questionnaire - English

1. Do you grow your own food in your household? *(If no, please continue to Question #4)*

- Yes No

If yes, where is it grown? (check all that apply):

- At home
 Shared garden in community
 Outside Dysselsdorp
 At work
 Other _____

2. How long have you been growing your own food?

- Less than 1 year
 1 – 3 years
 4 – 10 years
 10 – 18 years
 18+ years

3. Do you grow enough food to meet your household's needs

- Yes No

If yes, are you able to sell any extra?

- Yes No

4. Where does your household get its food? *(please place an X in the appropriate box)*

Source	Daily	3x a week	Once a week	Never
Supermarket				
Informal market/street food				
Take-away/Restaurant				
Grown at home				
Shared meals with neighbours				
Food donated from neighbours				
Community food kitchen				
Food Aid				
Other				

5. Have you heard about the Comprehensive Rural Development Program in Dysselsdorp?
 Yes No

6. If you have, what do you think the program is about? (*check all that apply*)

- Employment
- Improving health
- Growing food
- Education
- Improving roads and housing
- Land Reform
- Providing electricity
- Sanitation
- Public transportation
- Other _____

7. Have you noticed an increase in food production in Dysselsdorp since 2010 when the Program began?

- Yes No Uncertain

8. If you grow your own food and are familiar with CRDP, has the programme helped you to grow more food for you household?

- Yes No Uncertain

9. If yes, how? (*check all that apply*)

- seeds
- tools
- land
- education
- irrigation
- other _____

10. Has there been more food available in Dysselsdorp in the last 3 years?

- Yes No Uncertain

11. In what community do you purchase most of your household's food?

- Dysselsdorp Oudtshoorn Other

As a way to help categorize your answers, please complete the following questions:

1. **Age** 16 – 20 21 – 30 31 – 40 41 – 50
 51 – 60 61 – 70 71 – 80 81 – 90 90+

2. **Sex** Male Female

3. **Country of Birth** _____

4. **Head of Household?** *Myself* *My spouse* *Parent* *Shared duties*

5. **How many people are in your household?** _____



APPENDIX 5

Household Questionnaire Results

Demographic Information

Age	Number	Percent
16 – 20	0	0.00%
21 – 30	3	6.38%
31 – 40	6	12.77%
41 – 50	20	42.55%
51 – 60	17	36.17%
61 – 70	1	2.13%
71 – 80	0	0.00%
81 – 90	0	0.00%
<90	0	0.00%

Gender	Number	Percent
Male	16	34.04%
Female	31	65.96%

Head of Household	Number	Percent
Myself	22	46.81%
My Spouse	18	38.30%
Parent	7	14.89%
Other	0	0.00%

Average Size of Households	4.6
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Household Growing

Food grown in household	Number	Percent
Yes	38	80.85%
No	9	19.15%

<i>If yes, where is it grown?(n = 38)</i>	Number	Percent
<i>At home</i>	24	63.16%
<i>Shared community garden</i>	13	34.21%
<i>At work</i>	1	2.63%
<i>Other</i>	0	0%
<i>Outside Dysselsdorp</i>	0	0%

How long have you been

<i>growing your own food? (n = 38)</i>	Number	Percent
< 1 year	0	0%
1 -3 years	21	55.26%
4 - 10 years	15	39.47%
11 - 18 years	2	5.26%
> 18 years	0	0%

Do you grow enough food

<i>to meet your households needs? (n = 38)</i>	Number	Percent
Yes	34	89.47%
No	3	7.89%
No answer	1	2.63%

If yes, are you able to sell surplus? (n = 34)

	Number	Percent
Yes	17	50%
No	17	50%

In what town do you buy most of your food?

	Number	Percent
Oudtshoorn	33	70.21%
Dysselsdorp	11	23.40%
Other	3	6.38%

CRDP, Dysselsdorp & Gardening

Have you heard of CRDP?	Number	Percent
Yes	38	80.85%
No	9	19.15%

If yes, what do you think the program is about? (n = 38)

	Number	Percent
Employment	36	76.60%
Improving health	0	0.00%
Growing food	4	8.51%
Education	0	0.00%
Improving Infrastructure	1	2.13%
Land Reform	19	40.43%
Providing Electricity	0	0.00%
Sanitation	0	0.00%
Public Transportation	0	0.00%

<i>Unsure</i>	3	6.38%
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Have you noticed an increase in food production since the start of CRDP in 2010?

	Number	Percent
Yes	40	85.11%
No	1	2.13%
Unsure	4	8.51%
No answer	2	4.26%

If you grow your own and are familiar with CRDP, has the program helped you grow more food? (n = 35)

	Number	Percent
<i>Yes</i>	32	84.21%
<i>No</i>	3	7.89%
<i>Unsure</i>	0	0%
<i>No answer</i>	3	7.89%

If yes, what support has helped you achieve this? (n = 32)

	Number	Percent
<i>Seeds</i>	34	89.47%
<i>Tools</i>	31	81.58%
<i>Land</i>	3	7.89%
<i>Education</i>	0	0.00%
<i>Irrigation</i>	11	28.95%
<i>Jobs</i>	1	2.63%
<i>Tanks</i>	18	47.37%

Has there been more food available in Dysselsdorp in the last 3 years?

	Number	Percent
Yes	41	87.23%
No	1	2.13%
Unsure	5	10.64%

APPENDIX 6

2011 Dysselsdorp Census Data – Statistics South Africa

Population - Ward 9

Gender	Male	Female	Total
Population group			
Black African	147	160	307
Coloured	2,447	2,756	5,203
Indian or Asian	16	15	30
White	4	2	6
Other	12	14	26
Total	2,625	2,947	5,572

Population – Ward 10

Gender	Male	Female	Total
Population group			
Black African	66	69	135
Coloured	2,937	3,198	6,136
Indian or Asian	11	8	19
White	12	13	25
Other	20	3	23
Total	3,046	3,292	6,338

Total Population, Wards 9 & 10 – 11, 910

Employment Status – Ward 9

Official employment status	Total
Employed	914
Unemployed	643
Discouraged work-seeker	387
Other not economically active	1,452
Age less than 15 years	-
Not applicable	2,176
Total	5,572

Employment Status – Ward 10

Official employment status	Total
Employed	832
Unemployed	768
Discouraged work-seeker	611
Other not economically active	1,654
Age less than 15 years	-
Not applicable	2,473
Total	6,338



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