

*Sustainable land use in rural post apartheid South
Africa: an investigation of the Mhlumeni
community in the Onderberg region of Nkomazi
Local Municipality in Mpumalanga Province*

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Abstract

A challenge in post apartheid rural South Africa is how to restore land ownership to the traditional black owners but at the same time sustain economic development in the rural regions. During the apartheid period, white settlers grabbed land from the blacks who were relocated to reserves known as the 'homelands'. The whites developed a variety of land uses such as crop farming, cattle raising, and establishment of game reserves for tourism and employed blacks as cheap labour.

With the fall of apartheid, the ANC Government embarked on a process of land reform which included restoring ownership to traditional owners. In many cases, this resulted in a drop of economic productivity due to the lack of skills and capital of the new owners.

This fieldwork report examines the process of land restitution for the Mhlumeni community in the Onderberg, Nkomazi municipality in Mpumalanga Province, South Africa. Currently, their land is used as a game reserve and is managed by a white company. The community has successfully applied for restoration of their land title, the challenge now is how to maintain its productivity. They do not have the skills to manage a game farm or to engage in tourism. Those with education and skills have left the rural areas attracted by the 'bright lights' of the towns and employment. The research examines both the capacity of the community and the potential for productive activity to continue.

It is concluded that although restoration of land rights is essential in a post apartheid environment, the short-term economic costs to the country's development trajectory are profound. Communal ownership of land presents many obstacles to rapid economic growth in a market economy. As a consequence, transition to a black empowered economy is essential but comes at a cost.

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Acronyms

<i>ANC</i>	<i>African National Congress</i>
<i>CPA</i>	<i>Communal Property Association</i>
<i>DFID</i>	<i>Department for International Development</i>
<i>LED</i>	<i>Local economic development</i>
<i>NGO</i>	<i>Non-government organization</i>
<i>PRA</i>	<i>Participatory Rural Appraisal</i>
<i>SUFA</i>	<i>Silwanendlala Ubuntu Farmers Association</i>
<i>TRAC-MP</i>	<i>The Rural Action Committee of Mpumalanga Province</i>
<i>TSB</i>	<i>Transvaal Sugar Board</i>
<i>ZCC</i>	<i>Zion Christian Church</i>

Introduction

The legacy of apartheid is one of the greatest challenges confronting the democratically elected government in South Africa. Fifty years of apartheid has left a geography of an unequal society divided along racial lines (Seidman, 1999). One of the injustices inflicted on black South Africans during colonialism and apartheid was land dispossession. South African history is one of forced removals: the creation of 'homelands'¹ where black South Africans, who made up 79.6% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2006) were crowded into a little more than 13% of the land, the establishment of 'townships'² for different race groups and numerous other laws that limited the movement of black South Africans, their ownership of land, and where they lived and worked.

The history of apartheid has left South Africa a country plagued with inequality. This inequality not only disrupts social structures and restricts economic opportunities, but also disturbs relationships with the land, and the ways in which natural resources are managed and used. In the new South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) Government is faced with the challenging journey of dramatically reshaping land ownership and resource use patterns. They must not only work towards healing the injustices of the past, but in doing so, foster a future of economic growth for the country and sustainable livelihoods for families.

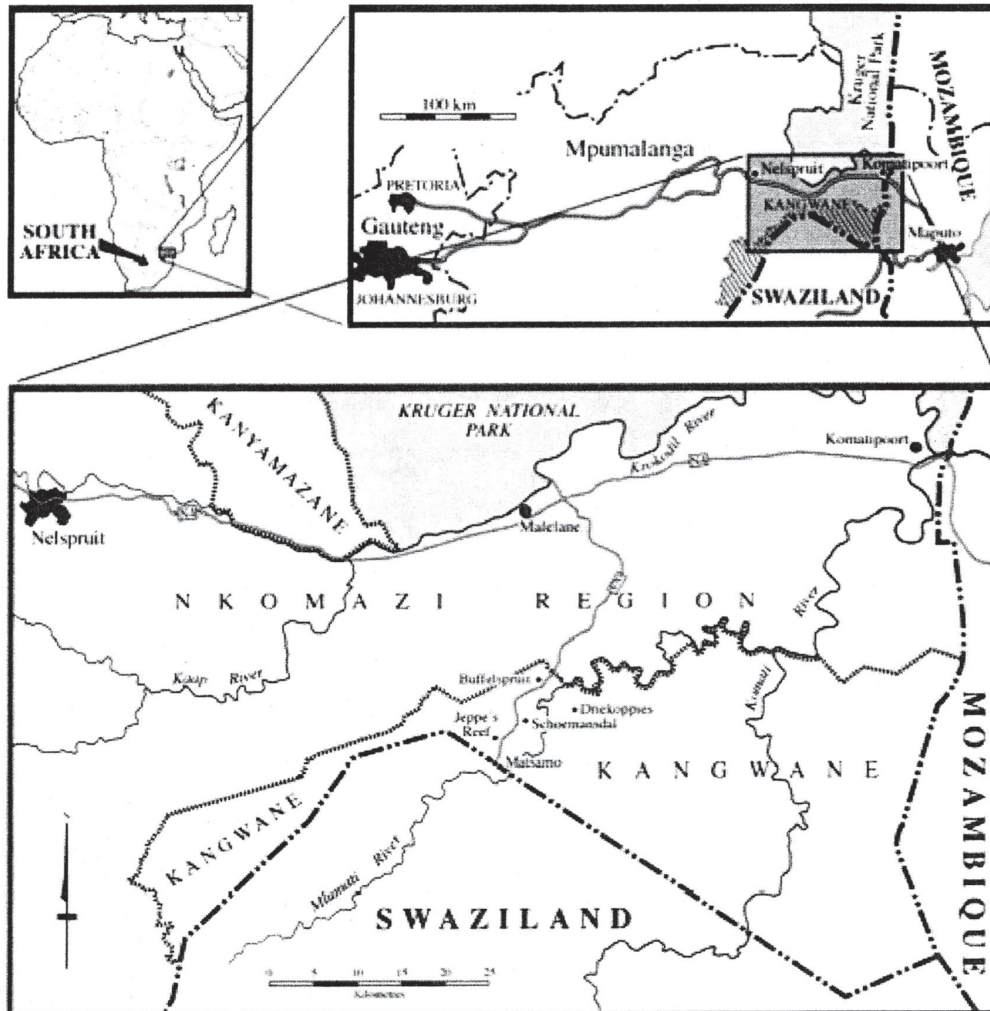
The policy of land reform attempts to reshape the geography of apartheid by reorganising access to and ownership of land in urban and rural areas. Land reform aims to redress the injustices of apartheid, foster reconciliation and stability, and promote economic growth (South African Department of Land Affairs, 1997).

However, simply securing access to land is not enough to guarantee an improvement in people's lives. In order to implement land reform in a way that is truly sustainable and equitable, there are many other factors that need to be taken into consideration. This report seeks to investigate the most difficult facets of the land reform process: the recreation of sustainable livelihoods. The investigation focuses on the process of land restitution for the Mhlumeni community in the Onderberg, Nkomazi municipality in Mpumalanga Province, South Africa (Figure 1). The research question is how to determine the most suitable and sustainable livelihood for the community on the land they hope to reclaim through the land restitution process.

¹ Homelands refer to areas designated for ethno linguistic groups within the black African population; such areas tended to be overpopulated and poverty-stricken (Muller, 1963).

² The term township usually refers to the (often underdeveloped) urban residential areas that, under apartheid were reserved for non-whites who lived near or worked in areas that were designated "white-only" (Irvine, 1984).

Figure 1. Map showing location of Mhlumeni community in the Onderberg, Nkomazi Municipality in Mpumalanga Province, South Africa



Source: Rangan and Gilmartin (2002:646)

This field study is based on data collected during a 3-week field trip to South Africa in January 2007 together with 20 geography students from Monash University. I accompanied the group as part of the University's outreach program to secondary schools. Students were required to work in groups to address the key issues affecting regional sustainability, and then work on an individual piece of research related to one of these issues. I chose to focus on the issue of land reform and sustainable livelihoods.

Background

Prior to 1994, South Africa's land policy was one of dispossession and forced removals resulting in racially skewed distribution of land resources. The land ownership and land development patterns strongly reflected the political and economic conditions of the apartheid era. The new democratic government is faced with the difficulty of dealing with this complex legacy of social inequality based on ethnic segregation and difference. The statistics of 87% white-owned land versus 13% African-owned land indicate the patterns of land ownership and past injustices (Didiza, 2001).

In order to address these issues the Department of Land Affairs developed a Land Reform Policy involving three major mechanisms (Table 1).

Table 1. Outline of three mechanisms of Land Reform Policy

Mechanism	Description
Land restitution	Involves returning land (or compensating victims) lost since June 1913 because of racially discriminatory laws
Land redistribution	Aims to help disadvantaged black people (blacks, coloureds and Indians) to buy land with the help of a settlement grant, so that they can engage in commercial farming
Land tenure	Aims to bring all people occupying land under a single legally validated system of land holding

Source: South African Department of Land Affairs, 1999.

These mechanisms aim to address the injustices of apartheid by creating a more equitable distribution of land ownership and security of tenure for all. However, experience has shown this is an extremely slow process and requires careful management.

Even though the South African economy is growing at 5.6% per annum in 2006 (Statistics South Africa, 2006), much of this is due to the resources boom. The opportunities for small-holder rural economic growth are limited. This is mainly due to the poor infrastructure in the former homeland areas and the lack of appropriately skilled human resource. During the apartheid period, expenditure on infrastructure development was focused on the white settlements while the homelands were left without adequate roads, power, schools and health care. Education for blacks, known as 'Bantu education' was rudimentary and based on the assumption that blacks were less intelligent than whites (Wheeler, 1961). Communities were governed by a traditional authority system led by tribal chiefs who inherited their position of authority. The resources and skills needed for black communities to engage in developmental process are limited. Many of the younger community members from the rural areas have migrated to urban areas for increased work opportunity and education leaving those who are aged and less well educated in the rural areas (Steyn and Boesema, 1988).

The Mhlumeni community is located in the Mpumalanga Province, which is one of the nine provinces in South Africa, and also one of the poorest along with Limpopo. The Nkomazi municipality comprises much of the eastern *lowveld* (lowlands) of Mpumalanga Province, extending across an area bounded by the Kruger National Park to the north and the countries of Swaziland and Mozambique to the south and east. Malelane and Komatipoort are the two largest towns in the region, the former functioning as a tourist gateway to the southern section of Kruger National Park, and the latter as a border gateway into southern Mozambique (Rangan and Gilmartin, 2002) (Figure 1).

The Mhlumeni community is an ideal case study to investigate how and what is the most suitable and sustainable livelihood strategy following land restitution. The community has submitted a land claim to the Department of Land Affairs. The land subject to the land claim is the Bongani farm, which is a game reserve and tourist facility currently managed by a privately owned company engaged by the government.

One part of the process of submitting a land claim is to outline a business plan for how the land will be used if the claim is validated by the government (Chris Williams, personal conversation Jan 20, 2007). The Mhlumeni community received assistance in developing the business plan from a Nelspruit-based NGO called TRAC-MP, which in turn involved our field study group in data collection using various Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques.

Theory

In order to address the problem of how to determine sustainable livelihoods for land reform recipients, it is important to understand the dynamics of the development process and the specific drivers of local economic development (LED) (World Bank Group, 2007). This will inform the adoption of the most appropriate development plan for LED in the Mhlumeni community.

There have been a number of theories that have addressed the drivers of economic development. Early approaches assumed that development could be externally driven. These top-down initiatives focused on production, employment and income to generate LED (Auty and Brown, 1997). However in the 1970s a bottom-up, people-centred approach began to emerge that emphasized incorporating the capacity and knowledge systems of people and promoted their participation in development initiatives (Power *et al.*, 2002).

The sustainable livelihoods approach builds on other approaches and methods such as PRA, stakeholder analysis and gender analysis (World Bank Group, 2007). The sustainable livelihoods approach provides a useful framework for understanding the causes of poverty and how development initiatives can be designed and implemented to improve livelihoods by putting people and the issues that concern them at the centre of analysis. It is a more holistic view of the concept of 'livelihood' as it embraces social and

sustainability, all within the context of building on local strengths and priorities (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

The sustainable livelihoods framework is a tool that helps to understand and analyse the best livelihoods for all people, but especially the poor. It shows the relationships between the different factors that affect people's livelihood options (DfID, 2001).

According to the sustainable livelihoods approach, communities pursue a range of activities (livelihood strategies) using their capital (also called assets) (Table 2).

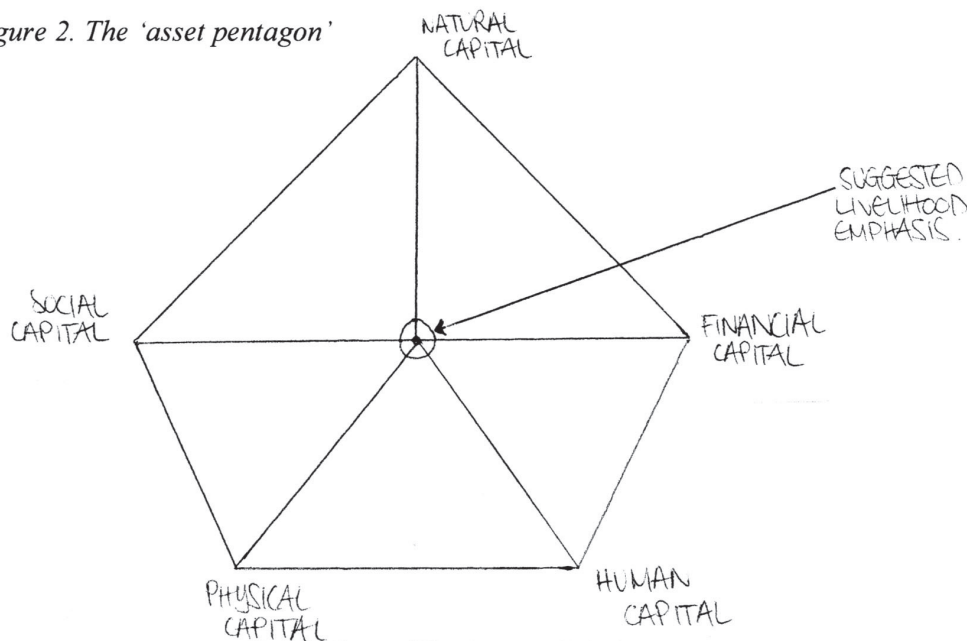
Table 2. Types of capital and resources needed to generate livelihood

Type of capital	Resources involved
Natural	Land, water, plants, animals, soils
Financial	Jobs, savings, self-employment, pensions
Human	Skills, knowledge, education, labour, good health, nutrition
Physical	Clinics, schools, roads, buildings, markets, equipment
Social	Family, community, social networks, participation, empowerment

Source: Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets provided by DfID, UK, 2002.

Communities decide on the most appropriate activities to generate livelihoods according to the extent of their ability to use the five forms of capital. The extent of the community's capital is measured through the use of the 'asset pentagon'. The asset pentagon is a diagrammatic representation of the extent of the each of the five types of capital owned by the community (DfID, 2001) (Figure 2).

Figure 2. The 'asset pentagon'



Source: Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets provided by DfID, UK, 2002.

Source: Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets provided by DfID, UK, 2002.

Methodology

Most of the data were collected during a 3-week field trip to South Africa in January 2007 together with 20 geography students from Monash University. The field trip was based in the Mpumalanga Lowveld region, focusing on understanding the different dimensions that affect the sustainability of the Nkomazi municipality.

During the 3-weeks spent based in Hectorspruit, we participated in several activities in order to gain a contextual understanding of the region. These included visits to a number of political, commercial and social organizations (Appendix 1). We visited the Mhlumeni community in the Onderberg or northern Nkomazi municipality with Chris Williams, the Director of TRAC-MP. TRAC-MP has helped the community form a Communal Property Association (CPA) in order to effectively facilitate their land claim with the Department of Land Affairs. We spent a day with the community and, with guidance from Chris Williams and his TRAC-MP colleagues, worked in groups to gather relevant data using PRA techniques.

Following the sustainable livelihoods approach, we engaged in an audit of the Mhlumeni community assets in order to identify appropriate livelihood strategies. We developed an 'asset pentagon' so as to visually represent information about the different assets of community members and highlight the interrelationships between various assets. The pentagon represents assets as the five types of capital: human, social, natural, financial, physical (Table 3).

Table 3. *The fives types of capital*

Type of capital	Description	Type of data required for assessment
Human	The skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives.	Occupation or previous occupations of community members Age Health status Education
Social	The social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. Mutual trust and reciprocity lower the costs of working together.	Relationship with political or civic bodies Relationship to other communities in area Membership of more formalized groups Any exchanges
Natural	The natural resource stocks from which livelihoods are derived.	Natural features Crops Animals Nearby industrial activity Natural disasters Water availability Erosion
Physical	The basic infrastructure and producer goods to support livelihoods.	Modes of transport Types of shelter and buildings Water supply and sanitation Energy Communications
Financial	The financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives.	Savings (cash, bank deposits, liquid assets such as livestock and jewellery) Credit-providing institutions Regular inflows of money (earned income, pension, remittances)

Source: Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets provided by DfID, UK, 2002.

In order to collect the data needed to develop the 'asset pentagon' both secondary data and primary data were collected³. The secondary data includes census data, historical information on government activities from government archives and information from the original land claim submitted on behalf of the community by TRAC-MP. Other forms of secondary data such as newspaper articles or other research published on the community were not available. Specific data regarding government pensions and other kinds of government support received by community members were obtained from government sources.

Primary data were collected from the community members and institutions within the region (Appendix 1). Due to limited time and resources, PRA data collection methods were implemented in order to gather the relevant data from the community. On the 23 January 2007, a visit was made to the Onderberg to visit the Mhlumeni community and a day was spent collecting data using the five PRA techniques. The students divided into five groups to collect data from six groups within the community (Table 4).

³ Secondary data is published accessible data from a variety of sources for research and other purposes. Primary data is data collected personally through fieldwork.

Table 4. Participatory Rural Appraisal Techniques used with the community

PRA method	Brief description	Particularly useful for
Timelines	Historical profiles of longer-term events or trends	Occupation or previous occupations of community members Natural disasters Relationship with political bodies Any exchanges
Transect walks	Land-use maps based on walking through particular areas	Natural features Crops Animals Nearby industrial activity Natural disasters Water availability Erosion Types of shelter and buildings Water supply and sanitation Energy Communications
Resource and social mapping	Identify natural and other resources and also locate key social features	Types of shelter and buildings Water supply and sanitation Energy Communications
Naming and ranking of key institution and organizations	Diagrammatic representation of key institutional interactions	Relationship with political or civic bodies Relationship to other communities in area Membership of more formalized groups Any exchanges
Questionnaires	Structured individual interviews	Savings (cash, bank deposits, liquid assets such as livestock and jewellery) Credit providing institutions Regular inflows of money (earned income, pension)

Source: PRA Guidance Sheets, DfID, 2002.

Upon my return to Australia, I collected additional information on the Mhlumeni community including:

- A copy of the original restitution claim made on behalf of the community provided by TRAC-MP
- A business plan compiled by TRAC-MP
- Data from the South African Statistical Office website
- Secondary data collected through a more targeted literature search

Data collection

Implementation of PRA techniques

There were several challenges to collecting accurate and comprehensive data from the community members and their relationship with the Bongani farm area, which was the subject of their land restitution claim. These included the language barrier and cultural interpretation of responses and also the time constraint. In addition, there were several dominant male members of the community who often spoke for others, especially the female members, thereby hindering the collection of representative data. In order to minimise the impact of these constraints, the group of students and the community members were divided into six groups, each with a bilingual member who could act as an interpreter and with a gender balance. Each research group applied a single technique of data collection. A challenge in collecting this information was the difficulty for the community members to remember how old they were or years in which certain historical events occurred so techniques were used to bench mark time against known events such as when the government took over the land.

1. Timelines

The history of Mhlumeni community' relationship with their land was collected from semi-structured interviews of older members of the community (Appendix 2). Additional secondary data was gathered from the original land claim and business report submitted to the Regional Land Claims Commission. The information has been organised into a timeline to outline the sequence of events from 1860-2007 (Figure 3).

A personal statement made by Mr Madonsela, the oldest member of the Mhlumeni community about the historical genealogy of his family was also reviewed to provide a personal insight into the experience of dispossession (Appendix 3).

Figure 3. Timeline showing the history of the Mhlumeni community on the land claim area 1860-2007



Source: Data collection in community, 23 January 2007.

2. Transect Walk

The information to establish a profile of the property was collected via a transect walk with three community members and also verified through secondary research. The information collected was organised into a table showing the key geographical aspects of the Bongani property (Table 5).

Table 5. Geographic features of the Bongani farm area

<i>Feature</i>	<i>Description</i>
Location	The property is located in the Ehlanzeni District of Mpumalanga Province of South Africa. The property is bordered on the east by the Kruger National Park, on the north by unregistered state land and on the west by Luphisi and Daantjie settlements. The southern boundary borders the farms Sigambule and Makawusi, which are state owned farms.
Vegetation	Mixed lowveld bushland Dense bush on the uplands Tree savannah on the bottomlands Dense reverie woodlands on river banks Typical trees in the area include: Corbretums, Acacias, Matumi and Kiaat Much of the reserve contains thick bush, granite domes and riverine forest Uneven gradients and shallow soils Small perennial rivers and various springs at the base of granite domes
Climate	Hot summers (average temp. 10-38 degrees Celsius) Mild winters (average temp. 5-30 degrees Celsius) High altitude above 800m in most parts Relatively higher rainfall (600-1000mm per annum)
Fauna	Apex predators such as lion, leopard and spotted hyena Wide range of herbivores such as elephant and red duiker Kudu, Nyala, Klipspringer and Duiker abundant on property Over 190 species of bird life found on property
Infrastructure	Tourist facilities at Bongani Lodge Art and crafts shop Game breeding facility
Culture	Ancestors' burial sites Traditional San rock art Traditional Dravidian rock art

Source: Data collection in community, 23 January 2007.

3. Social and resource mapping

The community members identified key resources and social features on the property by mapping the area using objects found nearby (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Photograph of the social and resource map constructed with members of the Mhlumeni community



Source: Data collection in community, 23 January 2007.

This physical map was then transposed into a sketch and labelled with the relevant information (Figure 5).

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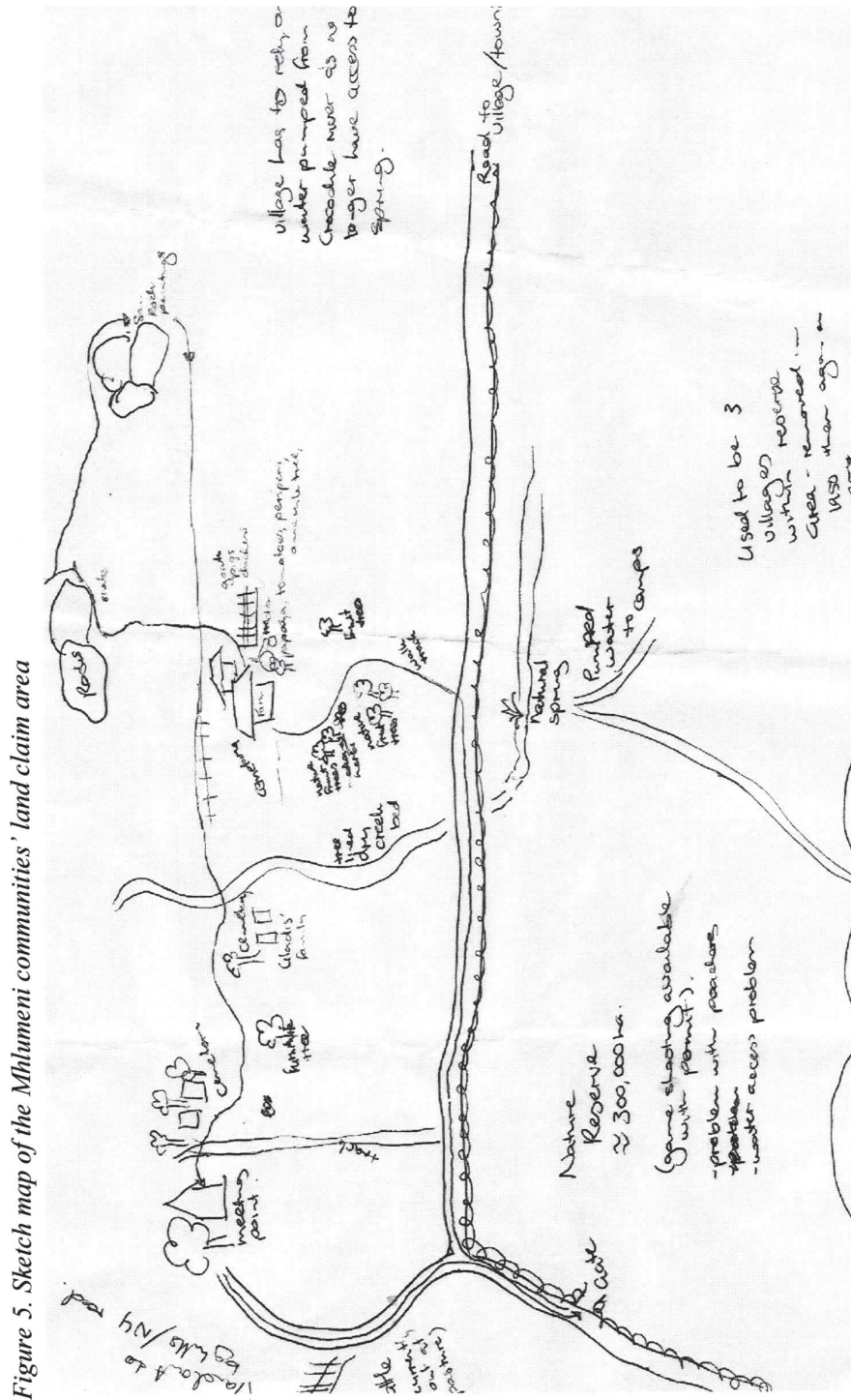


Figure 5. Sketch map of the Mhlumeni communities' land claim area

Source: Data collection in community, 23 January 2007

4. Naming and ranking of key institutions and organizations

A group of community members participated in the exercise to identify key institutions and organizations with whom they interact (Table 6).

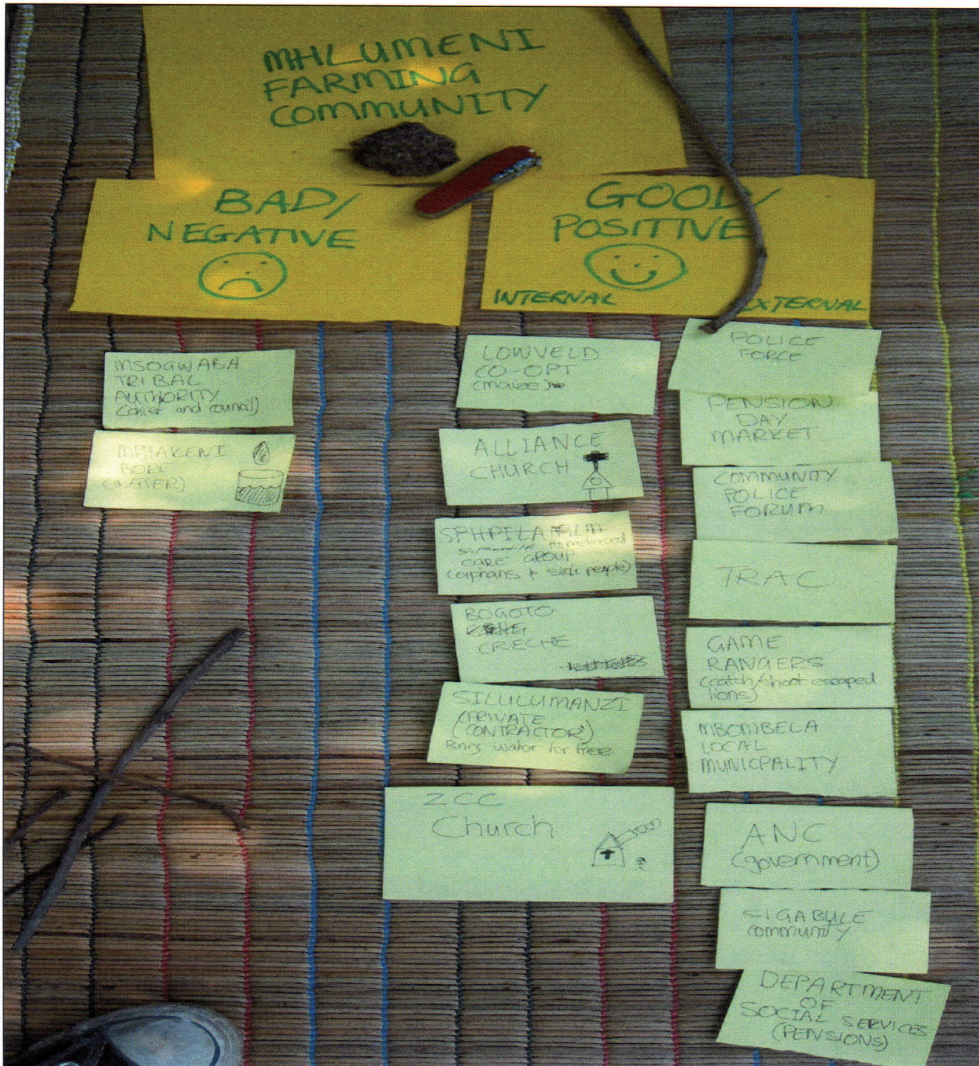
Table 6. Key institutions and organizations identified by Mhlumeni community members

Group	Further details
Community police forum	A forum for residents to come together and discuss crime related incidents in their area.
Game rangers	The rangers catch and shoot lions that have escaped from the neighbouring game parks and nature reserves. Group stated that rangers have been known to spray grass and kill cattle on the communities land. The community does not receive any compensation from such actions.
Lowveld Co-op (maize)	Families give maize grown to co-operative and receive a paper receipt. This receipt can then be handed in at a latter date to receive a quantity of maize meal.
Mphakeni bore (water)	The bore is a long walk away for many of the community members.
Pension day market	Sell mats, vegetables, and chickens at the pension day markets.
Silulumanzi (private contractor providing water)	Bring water into the community for free.
Siphumlile home based care group	Provide home-based care for orphans and sick people.

Source: Data collection in community, 23 January 2007.

The identified groups were then recorded onto a number of individual flash cards. A large card, with the name of the group that was interviewed, was created and placed in the middle of a board. Group members were then asked to take the individual cards and stick them around this large card, closer to the card representing the community if there is a strong or close relationship between the identified group and the community. To help with this classification, and to combat language constraints, we created another two large cards, with the following text, and asked the members to group the cards under 'good' and 'bad' headings (Figure 6). This data were then tabulated (Table 7).

Figure 6. Photograph showing the categorization of key institutions and organizations by Mhlumeni community members



Source: Data collection in community, 23 January 2007.

Table 7. Categorization of key institutions and organizations by Mhlumeni community members

Bad/Negative ☹	Good/Positive ☺	
	Internal	External
Msogwaba tribal authority (chief and council) Mphakeni bore (water)	Lowveld Co-op (maize) Alliance Church Siphumlile home based care group Bogoto crèche Silulumanzi (private contractor providing water) ZCC Church	Police force Pension day market Community police forum TRAC-MP Game rangers Mbombela local municipality ANC (government) Sigabule community Department of Social Services (pensions)

Source: Data collection in community, 23 January 2007

The ranking of key organizations and institutions indicates the social development of the community.

Pension days are noted for not only receiving pension payouts from the Department of Health and Social Services but also are an important market opportunity for farmers and women who produce mats from local materials. Limited access to water was raised as a major impediment to a better quality of life. This needs to be considered in the future planning of the project.

The role of rangers from the Bongani farm game reserve was seen as ambiguous. They protect livestock of the community from escaped predators such as lions that could decimate a herd of cattle. However their practice of spraying herbicide along the fence of the reserve has a serious impact on the livestock.

This exercise also highlighted the negative relationship between this community and the Tribal Authority (Daantjie-Mphakeni). Clearly the community members are suspicious of the chief and the tribal authority and are concerned about the chief's interest and motives related to the operation of a tourism facility on the reserve. They consider the past behaviour of the chief in a bad light due to the perception that only the Tribal Authority has benefited from the Reserve in the past.

6. Questionnaires

The questionnaire used was prepared by TRAC-MP (Appendix 4). Due to the complex nature of the questions which required extensive translation and explanation, and the limited time available, many questions went unanswered. Therefore, secondary data from the original land claim application and a follow up meeting with some community members on the 24 February 2007 by TRAC-MP supplemented the data collected by students. The data were then organised to reveal the demographic profile of the community (Table 8) and also the nature of infrastructure and services both on and surrounding the Bongani farm area (Table 9).

Table 8. Demographic profile of the Mhlumeni

Demographic profile	Characteristics of Mhlumeni CPA Members
Membership	There are 565 Mhlumeni community members.
Age	Most of the community members are very old between 65-90 years.
Gender	Total female members: 295 Total male members: 270
Education levels	Low with very few of the middle aged members having reached high school.
Income sources and levels	There is a very high reliance on social grants both pensions and child support grants within this Association.
Dependents	The average dependency ratio per household is around 6 per income earner.

Source: Mhlumeni Communal Property Association Business Plan prepared for consideration by the Commission for the Restitution of Land Rights.

Table 9. Infrastructure and services on and around the Bongani property

Infrastructure/services/social facilities	Characteristics
Housing	Brick and wattle shelter with 6 rooms
Water	Rivers, rainwater and water pipes in nearby settlements/ game reserve
Electricity	Only at tourist lodge
Sewerage	Pit latrines
Refuse Removal	Dig pits to bury rubbish
Roads	Gravel
Access to farming land	200 m ² vegetable gardens 2 ha cropping lands (Dry lands) Grazing lands
Schools	Up to 5 km from property
Police Station	Up to 7 km from property
Clinics	Up to 7 km from property
Shops	Up to 5 km from property
Churches	Up to 7 km from property

Source: Mhlumeni Communal Property Association Business Plan prepared for consideration by the Commission for the Restitution of Land Rights.

Secondary data collection

In addition to data collected directly from the community, additional data were collected from other organizations.

1. Financial data

According to the Regional Land Claims Commission in Mpumalanga Province, the Mhlumeni Communal Property Association is entitled to request three different types of grants from the Commission (Table 1).

Table 10. Outline of prospective grants available to Mhlumeni Communal Property Association

Type of grant	Description
Restitution Discretionary Grant	This grant can be used to improve the property under claim, develop community facilities or improve the infrastructure of the claimants or for farming.
Planning Grant	This grant is to be used to employ the services of a company who will assist the Association to develop detailed business plans for the use of the reserve and the development of the Association.
Development Aid Grant	This Grant is to be used to assist claimants with resettlement, improvements on existing infrastructure as well as to develop commercial opportunities on the land under claim.

Source: Business Plan prepared for consideration by the Commission for the Restitution of Land Rights, 15 March 2007.

The possible funding received from each of these grant would directly affect the financial implications of the development project for the community (Table 11).

Table 11. Financial implications of the development project based on current policy and possible grants

Type of Grant	Amount per unit	Total	Intended Use
Restitution Discretionary Grant (RDG)	R 3, 000 per household	R 633,000	For individual improvements to homes and agricultural lands.
Restitution Planning grant (RPG)	R 1, 440 per household	R 303,840	Appoint service providers to develop detailed plans on the project.
Development Aid Grant (DAG) in terms of section 42 (c)	25% of land price (R 20, 700, 000)	R 5,175,000	Develop residential infrastructure for the members as well as productive infrastructure on the Reserve.

Source: Mhlumeni Communal Property Association Business Plan prepared for consideration by the Commission for the Restitution of Land Rights.

Data Analysis

The data collected provide an adequate resource from which to develop an 'asset pentagon' for the Mhlumeni community on the Bongani property. The information gathered was used to assess the community's access to each form of capital and the types of capital were then represented diagrammatically on the pentagon (Table 12).

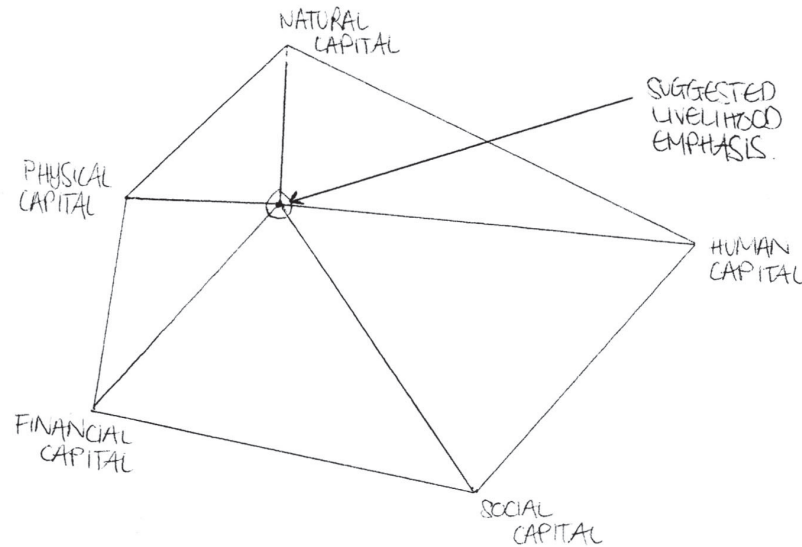
Table 12. Overview of types of capital possessed by Mhlumeni community on the Bongani property

Type of Capital	Data acquired for analysis	Overall assessment of capital measured on a relative scale of 1-10
Human	The majority of community members are over 45 years of age and do not have any employment qualifications. Many do not have jobs and rely on subsistence farming and pensions to survive. Only a few of the community member have completed high school.	4
Social	As many of the younger members of the community have moved into the nearby township for work or education, the community has a strong relationship with the surrounding communities. Pensions provide an important marketing opportunity for farmers and women who produce mats from local materials. Rangers protect animals but also spray fences with pesticide. Bad relationship with tribal authority. Problems with security on and around property causing a problem for tourists.	5
Natural	Poor and shallow soils Poor water access Wide range of fauna Native vegetation Ruins of former occupiers such as ancestors burial sites San rock art Dravidian rock art	8
Physical	Tourist facilities at Bongani Lodge Art and Crafts shop Game breeding facility Poor residential facilities Gravel roads Pit toilets Significant distance from services such as police, schools, churches, clinic and shops	8
Financial	Limited wage income Pension Remittances Restitution Discretionary Grant (RDG) Restitution Planning grant (RPG) Development Aid Grant (DAG)	6

Source: Data collection in community, 23 January 2007.

Using the relative measurement of each form of capital on a scale of 1-10 an 'asset pentagon' was drawn to diagrammatically represent the overall access to capital of the Mhlumeni community at this time (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Asset pentagon for the Mhlumeni community



Source: Hand-drawn based on data collection in community, 2007.

The pentagon shows strength in physical and natural assets. There is also substantial, potential financial capital. However, the pentagon also reveals a limited amount of social and human capital. Considering these results it seems that the natural and physical resources of the land have greatest potential in providing livelihood for the community.

Further analysis of these resources it is revealed that the natural features of the property and the relatively low agricultural potential of the property meant that production, animal husbandry and crop production would not generate significant levels of income or employment. As well as this, members of the CPA had already accessed other lands for crop farming and for cattle grazing purposes. Using the land for this purpose would therefore not generate a significant improvement of the quality of life or livelihoods of the majority of members.

Also an important consideration is that during the lengthy land reform process, Mhlumeni community members developed residential facilities elsewhere on adjacent state land or in denser settlements or townships. As the state is investing in the upgrading of infrastructure, services and community facilities in these areas, the community members agreed that it would be most cost effective and convenient to remain in their current residential areas. Therefore no residential settlement is planned for the area.

Natural capital measures highly. This is due to the rich cultural value of the traditional rock art and ruins, and the vast array of native vegetation and bird life. In addition the high measure of physical capital is as a result of the tourist facilities already built on the premises such as the lodge and arts and craft shop.

Therefore it appears that continuing to operate the tourism-related activities on the property would be an appropriate livelihood activity. The Mhlumeni community wants to maintain the current land uses and develop additional tourism and conservation related activities on the land to generate both profits and employment for members.

The pentagon also shows that significant financial capital could be accessed through government grants which would contribute to the project. This support would allow the community to make provision for 10% of all profits from the project to be invested in the development of the surrounding communities of Daantjie, Mphakeni, Luphisi, Zwelitsha and Matsulu.

A key motive for the inclusion of this profit-sharing provision with these communities is to improve the well being of the communities and reduce motives for theft and violence against visitors to the game reserve. Currently the reserve is negatively affected by poaching and crime including the attempted high-jacking of tourists en route to the reserve.

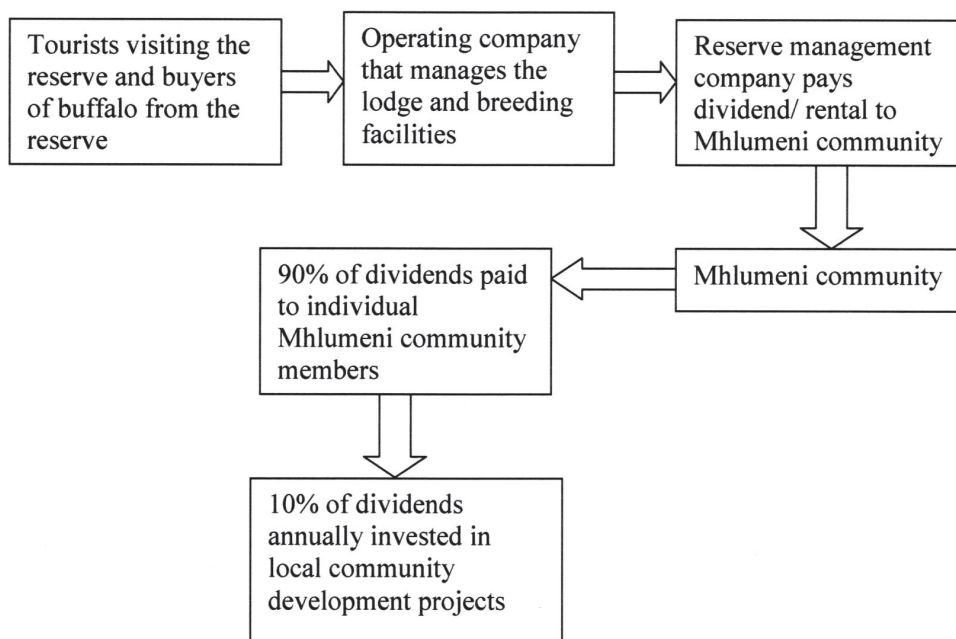
In the past, very few benefits flowed from the game reserve to the surrounding communities. Both the Mhlumeni community members and the surrounding residents have a negative view of this reserve and often see it more of a hindrance than a benefit. Not only do dangerous wild animals periodically escape from the reserve and eat their livestock, but the rangers on the reserve spray herbicide on the fence of the reserve. This has led to the death of livestock in the past. The community, as future owners of the reserve, has decided to change the use of the reserve to accommodate less dangerous animals such as buffalo and invest in visible projects that will improve the facilities, infrastructure or social services of the surrounding communities to improve security of the area.

The Mhlumeni community at a meeting held on the 10 March 2007 discussed the main livelihood outcome suggested by the analysis of capital reserves and the representation of the asset pentagon. The ideas were well received and three main outcomes were decided to promote a sustainable livelihood for the community:

1. To develop the commercial infrastructure of the reserve.
2. To improve community facilities and infrastructure.
3. To spend these funds individually to improve the households own infrastructure.

As human capital of the community itself is quite limited, it is proposed that an operating company should be hired to manage the lodge and maintain the buffalo breeding facilities. The following diagram indicates the envisaged relationship between the Mhlumeni community and a future partner and how the money would be distributed in the future (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Outline of income distribution from proposed livelihood strategy



Source: Business Plan prepared for consideration by the Commission for the Restitution of Land Rights, 15 March 2007.

Conclusion

The Mhlumeni CPA land restitution project has developed through a process of research and assessment that makes up the livelihoods framework. As a result the outcome produced proves to be the most suitable and sustainable livelihood for the community on their reacquired land. The Mhlumeni CPA restitution project has the potential not only to redress decades of unfair treatment and neglect of the rights of the Mhlumeni community but furthermore to make a very tangible improvement in the livelihoods, physical environment and skills of the members. The significance of this project for the relationship between local communities and conservation is also of regional, national and international interest. It will have a positive effect on the surrounding local community and the region as a whole. It is hoped that this project in the post settlement phase will develop high-value, low-impact ecotourist facilities that can attract national and international visitors to the area and contribute to sustainable regional development.

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Appendix 1. List of organizations in Mpumalanga Province visited during the field trip, 18 January- 4 February 2007

<i>Date</i>	<i>Place visited</i>
18 Jan 2007	Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg
19 Jan 2007	Urban tour of Johannesburg
22 Jan 2007	SUFA Community farm in Buffelspruit
23 Jan 2007	Mhlumeni Community in the Onderberg, Nkomazi municipality
24 Jan 2007	Transvaal Sugar Board (TBS) main headquarters in Malelane Mfumfanea, small development farming project (sugarcane)
25 Jan 2007	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry main office in Nelspruit
26 Jan 2007	Muchuchi Primary School Phendulwane High School
27 Jan 2007	Masibambisane Game Project in Hectorspruit
30 Jan 2007	Nkomazi Municipality main office in Buffelspruit
1 Feb 2007	CARE Mozambique in Maputo

Source: Field trip schedule compiled by Dr. Priya Rangan and Dr. Christian Kull, November 2006.

Appendix 2. Interview of older community members during PRA data collection

Name	Madonseia (Old Man)	Nkosi
Born	Maybe 1929. We calculated his age based on the age of Nkosi and other assumptions based on information from other people and knowledge of prior events.	1939 in the village
Parents	Parents & grandparents born in the village	Born in the village
Siblings	4 Brothers 3 Sisters He was third born	4 sisters 2 brothers
Work	Herded cows from 5 years old.	Herded cows from 11 years old.
Marriage	One wife	1958. Traditional wedding. Both families brought a cow to slaughter. Each family then took the cow from the other family to eat. His wife died in 1999.
Children	Both the old man and his wife had trouble remembering how many children they had. 11 children 2 Boys 9 Girls 1 died at a young age.	7 kids. 2 died at the age of 30 & 27. They went to Pretoria and came back and died. He believes they died of Aids. He now looks after his grandchildren as they were orphaned. Other 3 children live in village. The youngest girl is 27 and she stays at home to look after him. Other son married and lives in another village. He prefers the other village as there are more people living there.
Memory of the Boers arriving in village	Chased out in 1948. Approximately 25 yrs old. He had already had children and was married. Remembers the men were on the hill and ladies in the village. Men returned to village as women were screaming. Forced to leave immediately and slept in bushes. Children sick from mosquitoes so built house in Lupisi.	We understood that he moved to Lupisi at 29 years old and worked as a builder in Nelspruit. He is now a pensioner and also worked for the government.
Memory of when returned to village	He thinks he returned around 1960. His family lived in a nearby village but he returned alone. Was chased away again by people from the reserve and moved to the other side of the fence.	N/A

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Name	Maka Thwala (Second wife of Make Nkosi's father)	Make Nkosi (Daughter of Maka Thwala's husband)
Born	1920 in the village	1949 in the village
Parents	Not specified	Father had 2 wives. She is the daughter of her father's first wife. Make Thwala is the second wife of her father.
Siblings	Not specified	12 siblings 9 sisters 2 brothers
Work	Not specified	Not specified
Marriage	Second wife of Make Nkosi's father. She is happy to be the second wife as she has always been well provided for. The first wife has recently died. The two wives used to live in separate houses in the village.	Yes
Children	7 girls 4 boys	7 children died - 2 at birth and the other of TB (probably Aids)
Memory of the Boers arriving in village	Provided a descriptive re-enactment. Could hear the horses coming and was very afraid. They were given 1 week to move because they lived in the hills. They moved to Instikazi (close to Lupesi). She had no knowledge of the Boers prior to seeing them on this occasion.	Aged 10-11 when the Boers came. Their family took some cattle and some belongings in a cart.
Memory of when returned to village	Not specified	Returned at 19-20 years old. Therefore, probably around 1966.

Source: Data collection in community 23 January 2007.

Appendix 3. Statement made by Mr. Madonsela about his historical genealogy

'My name is MAFAYFI. My surname is MADONSELA so how I'm related with the Bushmen. My forefathers were bushmen and also my grandfather was a bushmen. My grandfather was Mntukuza. He left his parents and went to a place called Mashobotho (Sudwala) where he met two beautiful ladies, Bankhambule and Lavilakati. He was not working, he only survived with hunting. He stayed for a while as he was just passing and does not like that place and problem was those people who stayed at Mashobotho, were farming, most of them were having cattle. He was having a problem of making a difference between a cow and a buffalo. All he sees was an animal. They then have a problem with him and people started complaining.

One night he stole the two ladies, Lankhambule and Lavilakati and told them I'm going and they then followed him. They only walked by legs without transport. They then until reach the place now called Mthethomusha, where he identified the places as fertile and quiet. He then stayed and started making some shacks using sticks for shelter. Temporary they were sleeping under the rocks. When they finish building, they then started living inside the shack.

In the morning he went out to look or hunt for food and when he came back he will be holding something, an Impala (Springbok). The two women became happy and forget about their parents at Mashobotho. After sometimes he then saw some people while on bush hunting. Taller people than him, also with cows, that's where the second problem appears. He then greet that man and asked him where does he live, and the man told him I'm Mawondane Sibiyi. I'm also living here and I'm from Kwazulu-Natal. I'm on top of the mountain. They then became friends and Mawondane taught him many things like to plough mealie and making maize meal by grinding on stones. Mawondane also introduce his wife Lamnyomu, and my grandfather also introduced his wives to Mawondane and Lamnyomu.

My grandmother (Lankhambule) got pregnant to a son called Phahlane. Phahlane was taller than his father (Mntukuza) because my grandmothers were not bushmen. He was followed by Mzululeki, Lombambo, Mangewangu, Ngobozane. Then the second wife (Lavilakati) have the following children: Mvakashi, Sinuyafu, Ntombini, Vurimova. My grandfather got old with his wives, he then died, followed by his wives.

Phahlane (Mafayifi's father) was taller than his father. He grew up and became a boy, he also haven't go to school, he was only doing the same thing as his father does, hunting. What will he do is to prepare his bow and arrow after that he will be out on hunting or else he will be on the farm, busy ploughing. When he grew up being a man, he then decide to get cows and then his friend Mbango Sibiyi gave him two female cows and they began to have a kraal. After three years he was having a big flock of cows. He then gave back the two cows to Mbango and ask him to give two give two goats with one bull calf. Mbango agreed as a friend and now Phahlane was having a kraal also for goats. That's where the farming for him grew up.

When time goes on he and his brother decided to start selling mealies. Phahlane said they must do that with their neighbours, the Sibiya families until they reached the other families like Nkamane, Nkosi's family, July Motsa's family, Sikhonyane Mhlabane's family and other families. Some were not that successfully farming and they had to leave the area. Their business went well because it has make my father got a wife at Matsamonow (Shongwe) and another one from Mbuzini but the Mbuzini wife had not stayed there and she then leave him. He was only left with the Matsamo wife, Lamsimango a Swazi woman.

He then got married to her as he paid lobola before traditional wedding. They stayed together and she got pregnant to a first born son Mgenge, followed by me (Mafayifi), Madniza, Tiphoso and Bhabhalazi. My father survived until he also gets old and then he died. I and my other children with my mother left and continue with farming and when time goes on my brother Mandniza got sick and he died. After a while my mother also died. I then survived with three brothers including myself.

I then also re up and then marry two wives, one from Skhonyane Mhlabane and the other one from the Mhlabane family at Kabokweni. The first wife is Frleni Mhlabane, the third born from the late Malambe's family. Sikhonyane was also great farmer until his generation do now. We were very close to the Sibiya and Mhlabane's family until now. I also knew other families whom I also live with like Sibiya, Mhlabane, Maluka, Mndzawe, Twala, Nkosi, Motsa, of which some are living on the border of the Mthethomushwa by now.

When the Sibiya family get the P.T.O we failed to get them but we have tried and the Kangwane Government told us we are late, it is now closed to apply for P.T.O's because it was 1994. I also knew about the Malelane land for the Sibiya family I use to go visit and then plough some mealies and other children were attending school there. The Sibiya family was breeding beef and milk and cattle at that stage. In the late 1950s a group of white men attacked us on the areas now Mthethomusha. They were holding guns, some were with horses and we then ran away to hide. We only hear them saying 'you have to go and never come back'.

We were very scared with fear because we knew that it was time for apartheid, what they mean will happen. One problem was where to go from now. We then just move without destroying our houses, just left with our clothes, pots, blankets, don't forget our livestock. We went from Mthethomusha and walk while resting on the way because some of our children were young and have to rest a little bit. That way lead us to Nsikazi. We then began chopping wood to make fire and others, especially men cut wood to build houses. The first day we just slept outside and make sure that we wake up early in the morning to continue to build houses.'

Source: Land claim acceptance report, 22 August 2006.

Appendix 4. Copy of the questionnaire compiled by TRAC-MP for use during PRA at the community

TRAC-MP LAND RIGHTS AND LIVELIHOODS ASSESSMENT FORM

Name of Field Workers: Jade Connor, Melissa Schulz, Anna Matwijiw

Name of Project- Mhlumeni Land Claims Group

Date of Completion 23/01/07

A. PARTICIPANTS PROFILE

ITEM	ANSWER
Name of participant:	Not to be revealed
Identification number/other:	-
Gender:	Male
Language preference:	Swazi
Physical address:	Luphisa
Postal address:	-
Telephone/other:	0728464796

B. HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

A household is defined as those people living together in one homestead for more than three nights of the week.

B.1 Household tree (draft household tree indicating names, age and relationships of dependency) eg. Mary- grandmother 76.

Mother- 90
Participant- 47
3 children
- 2 boys- younger than girl (not sure of age)- one primary school, one high school.
- 1 girl- 23

B.2 Demographic features of the household

ITEM	ANSWER
Size of household	4 rooms + kitchen
Number of women in household	2
Number of adults in household (above 21 years of age)	3

- B.3 Are there any other dependents or member of the family that live elsewhere but consider this household their permanent place of residence? If yes please provide details.

2 Females, Possibly other daughters- One is staying with the participant's brother's child, Another is not working or at school- she is away it is not clear where.

C. LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCE UTILISATION.

C.1 Land Description:

Name of property, including portion, registration division and magisterial district.	Luphisa
Land use classification/zoning	Residential
Owner's details	Participant
Existence of Mineral Claims	No
Existence of Restitution Claims	No
Existence of Servitudes	Electricity and Water (but no water actually on land, rely on water tank deliveries)
Existence of leaseholders	-
Other parties occupying or using the land	Uncle uses land for crops

C.2 History of Occupation

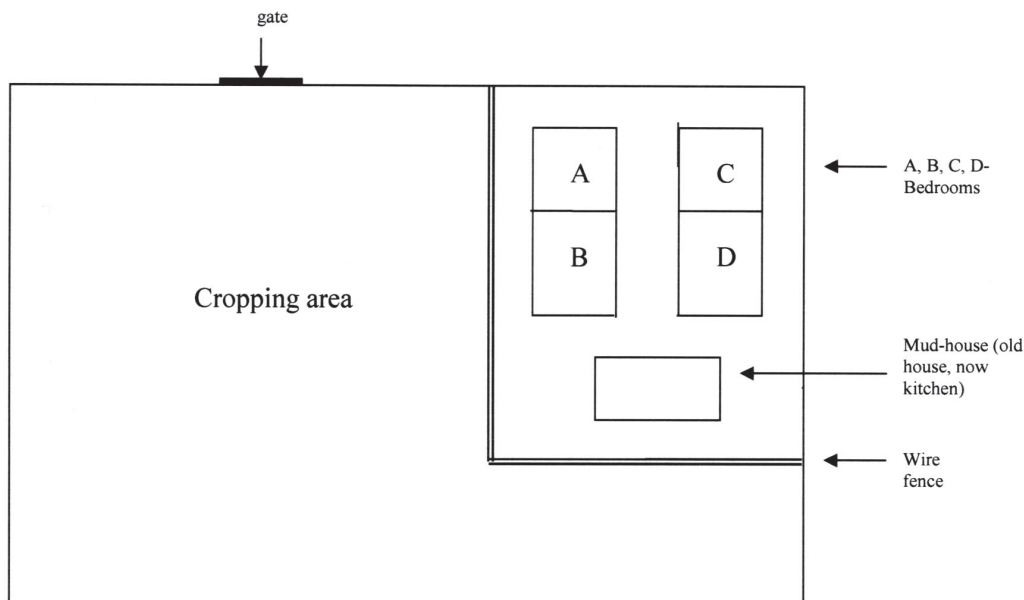
- a) How long has your household occupied this property and used this land? **1983**
 b) How long has the household lived in this current residential structure? **1987**
 c) Where did your household live before occupying this property? **Mthetomusha**
 d) On what basis did you come to stay on this property? **Forceful removal from other land were occupying**
 e) Are there any records of your occupation and use of this property? **Yes-paper/photos**
 f) Are there any historic/physical structures that confirm the length of your occupancy? **Trees planted by the participant on the property, the participant's wife is buried on the property.**
 g) How has your use of the land or occupancy of this property changed since your household/family first settled on this land? **No, has always been residential. Mother, wide, 1 child and participant moved onto this land in 1983, this has now changed as wife has passed away and there are more children living on the property.**
 h) Do you or members of this household have any other land that they occupy or utilize at present? If yes please provide details. **No.**

C.3 Legal Status of Occupation

- a) Do you have any form of land ownership, lease agreement or written consent to occupy this property? If yes please furnish details or indicate where these were obtained. **P.T.O (Permission to occupy)**
- b) Is your occupancy linked to any employment contract? If so please provide details. **No**
- c) Have you ever been threatened with eviction or your use of the property you occupy been restricted? If yes please provide details. **No**

C.4 Land Use Analysis

- a) List the types of land use practices that your household engages in on this property? **Goats, Cropping.**
- b) Homestead map: Please indicate the boundaries of all residential, agricultural and other land uses in the picture.



ITEM	ANSWER
Size of residential area:	Smaller portion of land
Size of grazing area:	-
Size of crop lands:	Biggest portion of land
Size of vegetable garden:	Very small portion of land
Size of natural area:	-
Size of other important land uses:	-

C.5 Access to Natural Resources:

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Please indicate on the above map where important natural resources occur on the property. Please list the natural resources that are used by the household. Please indicate who uses these items.

ITEM	USER	FREQUENCY OF USE
-	-	-

C.6 Land Reform Registration

Have you or any members of your household made an application or registered for assistance in terms of:

- | | |
|--|------------|
| a) The Land Reform-Labour Tenants Act | No |
| b) The Extension of Security of Tenure Act | No |
| c) The Restitution of Land Rights Act | Yes |
| d) The Redistribution Programme including the 'Land Reform for Agricultural Development Act' | No |
| e) A Housing Programme | Yes |
| f) Have you or any members of your household received any subsidy from the government (before or since 1994)? | No |
| g) Have you or any of your household received a loan from the Land Bank or any other financial lending institution to purchase property? | No |

D. INFRASTRUCTURE AND SOCIAL FACILITIES ASSESSMENT

ITEM	ANSWER
Approximate size of house	4x4, 3x3, 5x5.6x3 (mud house)
Number of rooms, please list bedrooms, kitchen etc	4 bedrooms, 1 kitchen
Type of material used to build the house	Kitchen- mud, 4 bedrooms- brick block.
Level of services within the house	Electricity
Nearest source of water for domestic purposes	Water tank delivery (municipality) used to use water from river but now cannot drink.
Type of ablution facility	Pit toilet
Electrification and telephones	Electricity
General condition of house	Brick house (bedrooms)- very good condition, mudhouse (kitchen)- very old,
Size of yard	Not sure
Drainage and roads	No, gravel road
Vegetable garden or chicken kraal	Vegetable garden, chickens (but no kraal)
Type of fencing	Wire fence
Other infrastructure in yard	None

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| a) Do you share any of these facilities with people outside your household? | No |
| b) Are there any business activities taking place in the residential area/yard? | No |
| c) Is any of the property being leased or sublet to any other person? | No |

- d) Infrastructure outside the yard **Road and Electricity Post**
- e) Who built this infrastructure and which people make **Municipality-**
community.
use out of it?
- f) Are you connected to any bulk services: Electricity, **Electricity, roads**
water, sanitation, roads, storm-water drains etc?
- g) Who owns and maintains these services? **Roads- Municipality,**
Electricity- Eskom
- h) What are the average monthly costs of these services? **R100- Electricity**
- i) What are the different sources of energy on the property? **Fire (cooking/warmth),**
Electricity
- j) Where is refuse placed and is it removed? **Dig hole to bury rubbish**
(not removed)
- k) How close is the homestead to a public road? **House built on the road**
- l) Which community facilities do members of the household make use of, please indicate what they are, frequency of use and distance from the homestead?

FACILITY	USER	FREQUENCY	DISTANCE
Primary School	Children	As usual	Walking distance
High School	Children	As usual	Walking distance
Church	1 st born	As usual	Walking distance
Community Hall	Participant	Community meetings	Walking distance

- m) Are there any recreational or cultural facilities on the property **Community**
Hall
or nearby?

E. COMMUNITY AND GENDER PROFILE

- a) Do you or your household belong to any particular cultural group?
No
- b) Do other people living in this area belong to the same or different cultural group?
No
- c) Are you members of any particular tribal authority? If yes, please indicate the name of the tribal authority and relationship (eg. PTO holder.) How often do you meet the tribal authority? **DMTA-**
PTO holder
- d) Is there a local government councillor or ward councillor in your area? Do you know the person? If so, how often do you interact? **One councillor- yes, staying with**
them
- e) Are there any other community structures in which you or members of your **None**
household participate?
- f) Are there any culturally significant landmarks on the property?
None

- g) Are you aware of any graves or burial sites on the property? **Yes, participant's wife**
- h) How often do members of the household attend church, schools or travels to town?
As usual for school and church, travel to town when need
- i) Are there medical facilities nearby or regular visits by mobile clinics? If yes, how far or how regularly are these facilities accessed? **One clinic, very far away**