THE EFFECT OF RESETTLEMENT ON THE LIVELIHOODS OF THE FOLWENI TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY

by

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Declaration

DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfillment/partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Social Sciences in the Graduate Programme in Social Work and Community Development, Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was used and that my Supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters in Social Sciences in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Abstract

Resettlement is a change process where people are involuntarily relocated from one place to another. In most cases, it causes drastic environmental, social, political and economic changes. If planned and implemented appropriately, resettlement can have a positive impact on the livelihoods of people.

The study sought to examine how the process of resettlement impacted the livelihoods of the original land users of Folweni as a result of the relocation of Malukazi families into Folweni. The study also sought to understand the tensions which, after 28 years of co-existence with the new-comers, still lingers on, and surfaces in the form of uncertainty, resentment and apathy among the original land users of Folweni from having been being dispossessed of their land.

The study was informed mainly by the sustainable livelihoods theory, which recognizes natural, physical, human, social and financial capitals as important and effective tools for examining the impact of regulations on the livelihoods of the poor. The study employed a qualitative research method which included documentary data and interviews. The researcher interviewed 24 respondents who had experienced the impact of resettlement in the Folweni area. Their views and opinions are presented in Chapter 4 of the thesis. A concluding chapter briefly reviews the key findings of the study and presents recommendations and suggestions for future studies.

Dedication

The study is dedicated to my late Mother and Father whose ancestral spirits continue to inspire and make me who I am.

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First and foremost, I thank the Lord, God, Almighty, (Jah), for guiding me throughout the study.

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ACRONYMS

CCM	-	Constant Comparative Method
IDP	-	Integrated Development Plan
PTO	-	Permission to Occupy
OLUs	-	Original Land Users
SLA	-	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
SLF	-	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

CHAPTER1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

According to Chambers and Conway (1992), a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities that are required for a means of living or support. This research study examines how the process of resettlement has impacted on the livelihoods of the original members of the Folweni community as a result of an influx into Folweni of families from the Malukazi informal settlement. Before the resettlement took place, the land, livestock and cultures in combination enabled the original members of the Folweni community to be viable and self-sufficient with a minimum of outside intervention. Oelofse (2000: 1) states that 'sustainability is a pathway or direction that we need to move along so as to achieve a greater balance between the social, economic and ecological environment.' The original members of the Folweni community used to pursue their various forms of livelihoods sustainably, without degrading the ecological systems.

This chapter is divided into five main sections. The first section attempts to provide a comprehensive background that will demonstrate how historical influences have led to the establishment of the Folweni settlement and shaped its development. The second section offers an outline of research problems and objectives with particular emphasis on resettlement as a contributory factor to unsustainability. This is followed by key questions which serve as guidelines for the research study. The fourth section focuses on two broader concepts namely environments and livelihoods as well as developmental context and these are used as a basis for finding answers to the research questions. The fifth section outlines the structure of the thesis and is followed by a conclusion.

1.2 Background

The focus of this study of the impact of the newcomers (Malukazi families into Folweni) on the original community members in terms of their livelihoods was prompted by the overwhelming tension that is subtly creeping in the Folweni settlement. Folweni is a peri-urban area situated

towards the south-west of Durban in Ward 95of Ethekwini Municipality. It is located within the boundaries of the newly demarcated Durban Metropolitan Unicity declared in terms of the Demarcation Act (Act No. 27 of 1998), (von Riesen and Jewell, 2001). Ward 95 falls within the Umbumbulu Magisterial District and is part of South Local Entity's area of jurisdiction in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, about 40 kilometres from central Durban, with over 210 000 inhabitants falling under both tribal and municipal authority. According to von Riesen and Jewell (**2001: 3)**, from 1864 onwards during the period of colonial rule, forty-two Native Reserves and twenty-one Mission Reserves were established in Natal to provide land for the African population. Folweni is made up of parts of the former Amanzimtoti Mission Reserve and the former communal land which falls under Sobonakhona Makhanya Tribal Authority. Folweni was established in 1981 as a relocation area for families that were subjected to involuntary displacement from the informal settlement of Malukazi.

For the purpose of this study, it is important to understand the history and issues underlying the settlement of Malukazi (from where people were removed and resettled in Folweni). Prior to its becoming an informal settlement, von Riesen and Jewell (**2001: 4)** point out, Malukazi formed part of the Tribal Authority area with two distinct groups of residents, namely traditional landholders (a status gained through the approval of Tribal Authority) and tenants. Von Riesen and Jewell (**2001: 4)** state that in 1979 the then self-governing territory of KwaZulu commenced a programme of expansion in Umlazi which led to the relocation of 5 000 households from the informal settlement of Bhekithemba to Malukazi. In the same year, Malukazi was incorporated into the town of Umlazi, a step which changed the status of its land and subjected it to township regulations. Malukazi traditional landholders were served with outright expropriation notices and offered alternative sites in Umlazi, while tenants "faced an uncertain future in terms of the new development." Von Riesen and Jewell **(2001: 4)** note further that in 1981 a programme of relocation commenced to transfer 27 000 families from Malukazi to Folweni.

In essence, these historical developments led to the creation of the Folweni settlement and have shaped its subsequent development. Presently, Folweni is characterized by low-income settlements which display a high population density and large service backlogs. Each resident has been offered 192 square meters of site. Folweni was proclaimed a township in 2001 and development initiatives which are being undertaken by local government are an attempt to

develop the area into a fully-fledged township. The housing project that is underway in Folweni, for example, is showing better prospects for social development and local economic growth through the creation of job opportunities. In the meantime, power dynamics play an important role in the shaping and bolstering of the residents' social, economic and political existence and people who have influence in decision-making processes appear to have more access to resources.

This shows that resettlement has a potential for development and that *some* people benefit from it. But the development, such as it is, has also meant that the members of the original Folweni community were stripped of 85 hectares of their land to accommodate the newcomers. Instead, following negotiations between the Sobonakhona Makhanya Tribal Authority and representatives from the Department of the Interior of the KwaZulu Government (von Riesen & Jewell: **2001)**, each former resident was offered 192 square meters of site, just like families transferred from Malukazi – an arrangement which had the effect of depriving the original community of their traditional way of living. Prior to this development, Folweni had been communal land which was shared by its local community in pursuance of their livelihoods. For example, the original residents used land to cultivate a variety of crops such as sugar beans, mealies, amadumbes and sweet potatoes for household consumption. The crops also had commercial value, being sold to neighbouring areas such as Malukazi settlement, and Umlazi and Lamontville townships. This income helped community members pay for their children's education, enhance their quality of life, and promote their overall sustainability. Von Riesen and Jewell (2001: 4) note in particular the commercial utilization of the land for sugar cane cultivation and pastoral activities.

Today, what used to be extensive areas of ploughing and grazing land is now a maze of houses and strings of roads, with serious land shortage and extinction of indigenous plants that the traditional community formerly depended on for their survival. Today, women, in particular those from the original Folweni community walk long distances searching for herbs traditionally used both in food preparation and medicinally.

In addition, it appears that development has also interfered with certain cherished cultural beliefs and practices that Folweni traditional community used to embrace. For example, it was common

practice for the traditional community to bury their dead within their homestead to ensure and uphold their interconnectivity with past and present life. It was also common practice for them to visit the graves of their loved ones in order to communicate and share their happiness and sorrows with them. Today, those graves have been turned upside down by excavators to give more room for the new development and in the process destroying the identity, the pride and dignity which are in essence the existence of the Folweni original residents. According to Von Riesen and Jewell (2001: 4), the Folweni traditional community initially expressed considerable anger about the new development but their concerns were overlooked. The impact of development on the people's values shows that the process of resettlement has indeed ignored the traditional way of living of the original Folweni land users; it also shows that development does not always respond positively to the needs of all people.

It should be pointed out that the so called newcomers did not voluntarily choose to resettle in the area of Folweni. Folweni is a far cry from the Malukazi informal settlement in terms of close proximity to workplaces, shopping centres, urban amenities and affordability of public transport. It should further be pointed out that it was not the decision of the new government to dump newcomers in the area of Folweni and destroy the traditional way of living of the original land users. Resettlement has been brought about by the policy of relocation introduced by the apartheid system and it is this policy which has seen Folweni's original residents stripped of 85% of their land to accommodate the newcomers. Initiatives presently being undertaken by local government in the area are, in principle, a means to address the social ills of the past. However, local government development interventions fail to touch the core of the plight of the traditional community of Folweni and this creates uncertainty and resentment. It is therefore crucial that challenges faced by the original land users of Folweni be addressed to prevent the tension that threatens community participation in the area, which according to Oelofse (2000: 5) is one of the key principles for promoting sustainable development.

1.3 Research problems and objectives

The Folweni traditional community has depended on subsistence farming for their livelihoods for many years. But resettlement has brought in its train a land shortage and stringent animal by-

laws, both of which serve to deprive the original community of their land for agriculture and cattle keeping. The occupation of land in Folweni by the Malukazi families has led to the shortage of land which resulted in the failure to produce crops for household consumption and the extinction of indigenous plants that the traditional community used to depend on in the making of food and medicinal purposes. The shortage of land has also led to the reduction of income which once helped to enhance the quality of life of the Folweni community and promote their sustainability. Resettlement has also challenged the dominant ideology manifested in the long-established cultural beliefs and practices which the Folweni traditional community has embraced. For example, the traditional practice of burying the dead within the homestead and visiting the graves of their loved ones for communication purposes had to be ceased due to strict township laws which barred the original community to maintain their cultural beliefs and practices. Such resettlement process interfered with the livelihoods and sustainability of original land owners of Folweni area, because they were no longer in a position of sustaining their livelihoods in terms of their traditional way of living such as cultural practices, food security and medicine.

Accordingly, the research objective is to examine how the process of resettlement has impacted on the livelihoods and sustainability of the Folweni traditional community. In view of the research objective, the following research questions are explored by this study:

1.3.1 Key questions

What effect has resettlement of newcomers from Malukazi informal settlement had on the livelihoods of the Folweni traditional community?

As secondary and related questions, (i) what tensions have surfaced in the form of possible uncertainties or difficulties in personal acceptance of new conditions among the original land users of Folweni as a consequence of being dispossessed of their land because of the resettlement, and (ii) what impact, if any, have these personal factors had on their sustainability?

1.3.2 Broader issues investigated

In seeking answers to the research questions, the researcher has been mindful of the following broader or cross-cutting issues that have impacted on the Folweni traditional community:

1.3.2.1 Environments and livelihoods

According to Nefjes (2000: 71-73), the most appropriate approach to development issues is the sustainable livelihoods framework which encompasses human, social, natural, physical and financial capitals. Social capital includes relationships of trust, collaboration and support systems, and economic capital embraces natural, human or other capitals that have been converted to provide access to money and can contribute to consumption and production. The physical capital, or 'human-made capital', brings in basic infrastructure and producer goods and embraces inputs of human, social and natural capitals. On the other hand, human capital *per se* includes the skills, knowledge, ability and good health that allow people to pursue different livelihoods in the preservation of their broader human dignity. Lastly, natural capital includes, most importantly, land, which in conjunction with other kinds of capital enables people to pursue their different livelihoods strategies. All five capitals are strongly interlinked and together, they are fundamental in determining people's quality of life.

People in different communities pursue multiple livelihood strategies according to their level of vulnerability and poverty and the available assets at their disposal. Nefjes (2000: 74) argues that since natural assets cannot be substituted or created it is essential to employ strategies that will protect them, if sustainability is to be achieved. According to the Constitution (RSA 1996), it is fundamental for every citizen to have fair access to land on which each can realize their potential and pursue their livelihoods. Nefjes (2000: 74) further emphasizes the need to include the social and economic context whenever environmental sustainability is being addressed in order to systematize relations between people and nature, as this is necessary to balance social and economic factors for successful livelihood outcomes.

In his argument, Nefjes (2000: 74) makes the point that livelihood capitals cannot yield successful outcomes in the absence of development agencies; hence the interactions between different social actors in various sectors of development programmes are of vital importance in contributing towards a livelihood. For example, while it remains the sole responsibility of government to make policies, laws and regulations that create livelihood opportunities and strategies, social actors from local, national and international institutions have the leverage to influence other stakeholders to adopt policies and processes that contribute towards the improvement of life of the poor and vulnerable people, enhance social justice and promote

environment sustainability. Nefjes goes on to note that participation of citizens in government processes which affect their life is a fundamental right in that this participation enables citizens to learn and make informed choices and decisions to empower themselves and adapt to new changes. Nefjes further points out that citizens also have the right to access livelihood capitals which can, through their knowledge and skills and the influence of social actors who advocate rights and claims for citizens, be turned into sustainable livelihoods.

Land, plants and livestock are all important assets that the traditional community of Folweni used to employ, prior to resettlement, to pursue their livelihood strategies and to build, advance and entrench their social, economic and cultural freedoms to sustain themselves. A particular issue for them was that trees, which are a natural resource base and on which the traditional community used to depend for fuel wood, were felled as more land had to be cleared to accommodate newcomers. Land deprivation has as a result led to unprecedented curtailment of crop cultivation and livestock rearing. Besides the latter, emissions caused by the increased public transport and tree felling put ecosystems at stake and devastated the quality of life of the original land users.

1.3.2.2 Developmental context

Resettlement, although it may appear to benefit some of the people, remains an indirectly destructive developmental instrument which tampers with biodiversity and stifles people's social, economic and cultural progress, leaving them impoverished. It causes population increase as people scramble for scarce resources. Rapid consumption of available resources gives rise to the degradation and depletion of natural resources at an unsustainable rate and poses serious challenges for present and future generations as well as for plans for community development. With regard to the current study, land deprivation and destruction of biodiversity have a potential to impede sustainability and it is essential to employ strategies that will address the plight of the original residents if sustainable development is to be achieved.

Before resettlement, the traditional community of Folweni was mostly illiterate and unskilled in relation to market demands and competencies, yet the traditional way of living was adequate for this community to pursue its livelihoods. Crop cultivation, in particular sugarcane, underpinned the subsistence of this community, either for direct consumption or (especially in the case of

cane-growing) as a cash crop. Livestock rearing, and cattle keeping in particular, served to showcase the status of the head of the house, and also constituted important financial capital in times of crisis.

The process of resettlement in the Folweni district came at a time when members of the traditional community did not consider education as a priority, since their traditional ways of living allowed them to be self-sufficient and sustainable; they found themselves drastically unprepared for the rapid changes that suddenly confronted them. Resettlement was the brainchild of apartheid, packaged together with a spate of oppressive legislation that came into effect during the 60s, 70s and 80s. The policy of resettlement, as set out in the Natives Resettlement Act No. 19 of 1954, was enacted to remove black people and other racial groups forcefully to designated "homelands" ("group areas"). The forceful relocation of black people was part of process of slum clearance and removal of "surplus people" from urban areas. According to Von Riesen & Jewell (2000)he resettlement policy impacted on approximately 27 000 Malukazi families when the programme of relocation commenced in 1981 to transfer them to Folweni. The then KwaZulu government, which was one of the homeland structures established by the apartheid government, enacted and embraced apartheid laws mainly for political gain. Knowing full well how the resettlement would impact on the livelihoods of the original land users of Folweni, the KwaZulu government went ahead with the forceful removal of Malukazi families to Folweni. Resettlement led to unprecedented land shortage and prevention of crop cultivation and livestock rearing, drastically impoverishing the traditional community by stripping them of their marketable agricultural production and leaving them ill-qualified for such new employment opportunities as were offered by nearby transnational corporations. In this sense, the new global culture severely disrupted the social cohesion and moral fabric of the small traditional community and destroyed their livelihoods.

Population density on the other hand has grown out of proportion and demand for public transport is in the increase. While it cannot be denied that development has good prospects for economic growth, development at the same time contributes to pollution due to emissions of the ever-increasing public transport in the area of Folweni. Resettlement has undeniably contributed to the degradation of environment and this has a potential to impede sustainable development in the area of Folweni.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

The introductory first chapter is followed by a literature review which explores the theoretical framework by drawing upon both local and international theorists. The chapter also discusses the legislative framework of South Africa as it relates to land, livelihoods and community development. The theoretical framework is followed by a review of pertinent legislation as it relates to the important processes of participation, governance and sustainable development.

Methodologies employed in conducting the study are presented in the third chapter. These include the manner in which questionnaires have been prepared, constructed and administered and techniques utilized in conducting interviews, and in collecting, capturing, editing and analyzing data.

Presentation and discussion of findings of the study then follow. Views and experiences of local community leadership as well as their comments and suggestions are included.

The final chapter summarises the findings of the study and presents a conclusion and recommendations.

1.5 Conclusion

The process of resettlement in the area of Folweni has led to land deprivation, and extensive areas for crop cultivation and pastoral farming have been reduced to a concrete jungle of mass low-income settlements. Tree felling to clear more land for development is another negative aspect which has paralysed the economic standpoint of this community, which has for many years used firewood for as an energy source. The increasing number of residents has also contributed to land shortage, large service backlogs, increased demand for public transport, and pollution, threatening the ecology of the area and affecting the livelihoods both of the Folweni traditional community and of the newcomers.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a brief survey of the local and international literature to indicate different perspectives that are pertinent to the issues investigated in the current study. Also discussed in this chapter are policy and legislative formulations in the relevant South African documents which will help in focusing the findings and recommendations of the study. The chapter concludes with a discussion of participation, governance, sustainable development and community development issues that will be useful in the evaluation of the findings.

2.2 Theoretical framework

According to Cernea (1993: 15), rural-urban inflows and natural population expansion lead to land shortage in urban areas which, he argues, triggers involuntary displacements and relocation of urban inhabitants to make room for urban economic and social development. He refers to the process as "a necessary companion to economic growth," (1993: 6). Cernea argues that compulsory displacement is likely to increase in the developing world as more space becomes needed for urbanization, and notes (1993: 4) that urban involuntary displacement is painful and disruptive of people's livelihoods and is often undemocratically implemented without public consultation, as evidenced in the Bantu Laws Amendment Act 7 of 1973 which gave absolute power to the State President to order a removal without prior notice (Murray and O'Regan, (1990: 18-19). In citing the World Bank's recommendations on urban (compulsory) displacements and relocation (1986; 1991a), Cernea (1993: 21) emphasises that broader planning and legal frameworks need to be considered when displacing people to ensure that they are compensated for losses incurred and share benefit in the projects created.

The process of economic and social development that Cernea discusses is a capitalist tool used by organs of ideological manipulation to perpetuate and maintain capitalist exploitation; hence it is also profit-oriented. In a bid to increase profits and accumulate wealth, developers too easily ignore the likely implications and repercussions of resettlement on people's livelihoods, and in

particular those of people who depend solely on land for survival. In this current study, and in contrast to Cernea's concept of rural-urban inflow and its implications, what we find is an unusual scenario of urban-rural inflow when the programme of expansion was commenced in Umlazi in 1981. According to Von Riesen and Jewell (2001), the involuntary removal and relocation of 27 000 families from the informal settlement of Malukazi to the Folweni area, which was then a rural settlement, led to unprecedented land shortage and population density and crippled the self-reliance practices that the traditional community of Folweni used to employ to sustain their lives.

Land deprivation, as the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA 1996) stipulates, is an infringement of human rights and disrupts the livelihoods of people who depend on land for survival. In this respect, resettlement appears to have the potential to erode the social, economic and cultural fabric of communal settings.

Claassens (in Murray & O'Regan 1990: 29), on the other hand, argues that it is cultural practice for black people to share land communally, adding that communal settings do not require title deeds or deed of grants – which promote individual ownership of land and entrench capitalism. Claassens (in Murray & O'Regan, 1990: 27) further argues that black people value land as they do life itself because they depend on it for sustaining their livelihoods. They plough it to secure food, use the soil of the land to build their homes, dwell on it, and are eventually buried in it; land is the very centre of their life. With this in mind, and coupled with the colonial imposition of land rights, resettlement prevents people's free access to land use and disturbs or destroys the equilibrium of communal settings. In relation to the current study, resettlement has interrupted the continuous flow of livelihoods of the traditional community of Folweni by undermining their traditional way of living. In this sense, resettlement coerces people to adopt and embrace social and economic ideologies that make them servants of capitalists who offer them a minimum wage insufficient for decent human life. Subjection of people to landlessness leads to a scrambling and scraping for limited resources and impoverishment and that takes away their pride and respect. Land is hence an important and essential asset that people can utilize to free their potential to restore their dignity. In other words, access to land liberates people to pursue their livelihood strategies (agricultural activities) and thereby enhance and elevate their social, economic and cultural wellbeing, and reduce their dependence on external help.

Reinforcing Claassens's insistence on the importance of land, Shiva (2000: 97) cites a declaration by Hendrik Verfaillie, president of Monsanto Company which manufactures herbicide and pesticide chemicals, that "all biodiverse species that are not patented and owned by them are *weeds that steal the sunshine*," and therefore of no value. Shiva's argument emphasises how developers dictate and decide on how poor people should leave and in the process (employing manipulative tactics to increase their profits) destroy among other things "weed" species which poor people depend on for survival. To underline the importance of land and ecosystems, Shiva (2000: 104) claims that women in India use approximately 150 species of uncultivated plants for medicine, food, or fodder. In a Tanzanian village, over 80 percent of the vegetable dishes are prepared from uncultivated plants, and about 124 "weed species" collected from rice fields have proved to have an economic value to farmers in West Bengal.

In this respect, the infrastructure projects being undertaken by developers in the Folweni settlement have led to serious land shortage and extinction of weed species which the Folweni traditional women regarded as a food supplement. Folweni traditional women still utilize uncultivated plants for various household purposes, but they now have to travel long distances searching for herbs, since the nearby areas in which weed species used to be located have been turned into a concrete jungle. In this sense, development that is being undertaken in Folweni is not benefiting the original land users; instead their livelihood strategies and cultural identity have been destroyed. Development in the area of Folweni has accelerated the degradation and depletion of natural species diversity that is a core survival resource for indigent people. Shiva's argument enlarges on the claim made by Harding (1996: 439) who strongly attacks European ideologies for stifling and destroying the scientific and technological traditions of other cultures.

As with science, which Visvanathan (2000: 44) describes as a hegemonised form of knowledge, development has the power to persuade people to consent to their oppression and exploitation. On a positive note, Nefjes (2000) highlights the influence of social actors and the role they play in persuading other stakeholders to adopt policies and practices which aim to transform the status quo. However, to support Visvanathan's view of hegemony, Brookfield (2005: 93) makes the point that, much as policies and practices may seem to promise transformation, such policies and practices work towards 'supporting the interests of those who have power over us' and thus end up harming us. It is important to state at this juncture that Brookfield (2005: 94) is of the opinion

that people are not forced against their will to adopt and embrace the dominant culture. In essence, it is the leverage of social actors which plays the role of persuading and convincing other people to assimilate the dominant ideology until it becomes learned and practiced in everyday decisions and judgements and pervades all aspects of everyday life.

The negotiations that took place in 1979 between the Sobonakhona Makhanya Tribal Authority and the representatives from the Department of the Interior of the KwaZulu Government regarding the resettlement of families from Malukazi in Folweni illustrate the subtle and elusive power of hegemony and how people, as Brookfield (2005: 101) indicates, take pride in learning to 'love and wear their enslavement'. Little did the leadership of that time know that by consenting to the resettlement agreement, they were embracing the dominant ideology and wilfully 'entering their ideological prison' (Brookfield 2005: 98), which ended up challenging their leadership, constraining their power and hurting them. While Brookfield (2005: 105) points out that dominant ideologies contain contradictions that generate possibilities for resistance, Gramsci (cited in Brookfield 2005: 111) is adamant that people can counter hegemony, and challenge and resist it, when they begin to learn to think critically. The considerable anger which the original land users of Folweni expressed in the wake of resettlement (von Riesen & Jewell 2000) is the kind of resistance that Gramsci would see as the essence of counterhegemony. Gramsci (Brookfield 2005: 105-107) argues that when people begin to learn to think critically they become conscious of their oppression and organize to change the status quo that works against their own best interests by opposing hegemony. The outcry of the original land users of Folweni was nevertheless suppressed when repressive state apparatus (the military and police) were quickly called in to confront and suppress their revolt against the process of resettlement. In this sense, attempts made by social actors failed to materialize and the state's coercive power was used to bend the will of the people to consent to the new order.

In South Africa in particular, traditional 'top-down' approaches which were engineered by the apartheid government were fraught with racial prejudice and excluded people on the ground in decision-making processes on matters affecting their everyday life. Top-down approaches thus failed to gain the acceptance and recognition of grassroots and it became a normal trend for people to distance themselves from all forms of development that were imposed on them. Jaffe et. al (2003) comment that a project's prospects for success and sustainability will be enhanced if

there is full participation of grass-root people during the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation process. Jaffe et. al go on to note that the process of participation "enhances community ownership and enables people on the ground to take responsibility for their own development" (Jaffe 2003: 17) – a perspective strongly endorsed by Clapper (1993), who warns however that in participatory processes government officials may fail to provide citizens with genuine and adequate information to make informed choices, for fear that revealing such information may invite repercussions and create antagonism and conflict between citizens and officials. Apartheid-engineered interventions used to strongly discourage participatory activities that aimed to thwart apartheid ideals, and did not take into cognizance the aspirations of the black masses – while at the same time expecting black citizens to be docile. Citing Hanekom, Clapper (1993) reveals that opportunities for citizen participation during the apartheid era in particular were provided through statutory research institutions for citizen elites who were regarded by officials as more informed about and interested in participation issues as compared to the masses who were perceived as primitive and backwards. The process of resettlement in Folweni appears to have involved the traditional leadership (citizen elite) in the negotiation process and excluded the original land users from responding to the new development that deeply affected their livelihoods. A process of inclusion was an absolute necessity and would have ensured community buy-in and ownership of the project and its outcomes; it would have addressed the uncertainty, resentment and mistrust that have fermented subsequent tension in the area. A significant dichotomy between newcomers, who are under the leadership of the democratically elected Ward Councillor, and the traditional community, who enthusiastically look upon the Sobonakhona Makhanya Tribal Authority as the legitimate group, threatens to cripple community participation which is key to promoting sustainable development in the area of Folweni.

To add weight to Shiva's claims, Gopal (in Abrahamson & Theodossopoulus, 2000: 138) records that the Kisan people believed that "an individual's life begins by imbibing the environment as the immediate source of nourishment, a process which becomes the very conditioning of the spirit." The Kisans defined their belonging and attachment to the soil and the land as an extension of the body and the human spirit whose paths were connected with God. The interconnection of the Kisans with their land and soil is traceable among most people who use land for survival purposes. Chandler and Wane (2002: 2) reiterate this point in relation to the

Embu women of Kenya, who regard their land and environment as an integral part of their life. The Embu women attach spiritual and ancestral values to the land – ancestral in the sense that Embu women believe they have a strong concretized bond with their land, soil and environment. Embu women have been nurtured and groomed in their early primary socialization to embrace nature with respect and reverence. They believe that the spirits of their ancestors and of "Ngai" (God) hover and watch over them and protect them and their field crops. Chandler and Wane (2002:2) record that Embu women go to the extent of touching the soil and talking to the plants, which symbolizes the interconnectedness of their mind, body and spirit with their land and environment.

Just as the Kisans and Embu women have this bond with their land, soil and environment, so too do land users elsewhere for whom these three essential are their primary source of nourishment and sustenance. Before resettlement, the traditional community of Folweni used land for multiple purposes. They ploughed it to secure food; they built their homes with the soil of their land. The traditional community also used their land to bury their loved ones within their homestead, to perpetuate and protect their interconnectedness with their ancestors: an underlying statement that land to them was life itself. Attachment to land has defined the traditional community of Folweni for many years, and the excavation of graves of their loved ones has gravely undermined their beliefs, cultural practices and identity, leaving them with nothing to hold on to.

In the perspective offered by the theorists mentioned above, the land, soil and environment complement each other in that they provide essential resources for human existence. Equally important to consider in relation to the current study are the legislative and policy frameworks that govern the new democratic South Africa.

2.3 Legislative and policy framework

When the new government of South Africa came into power in 1994 it inherited a multitude of different social ills from the apartheid system. It was imperative for the new dispensation to develop a document that would lay the foundations for a democratic and open society. The

Constitution (RSA 1996) was consequently developed and adopted as a supreme law of the Republic of South Africa, to establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights to address injustices of the past, free the potential of each person and improve the quality of life of all citizens in a sustainable manner. Especially pertinent to the current study, is the framework laid down in the Bill of Rights: set out in sections 9, 10, 24 and 25 of the Act. According to the Constitution Section 9 of the Bill of Rights (RSA 1996:8) affirms the democratic values of human dignity while section 10 (RSA1996:9) entrenches equality in relation to "the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and freedoms." Section 24 of the Constitution (RSA 1996: 10) deals with protection of the environment for the benefit of present and future generations; section 25 of the Constitution (RSA 1996: 11) deals with just and equitable compensation to redress land dispossession as a result of past injustices.

The Constitution further mandates the new government to take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve the progressive realization of human rights. Section 2 of the Constitution (RSA 1996: 5) spells out that "law or conduct inconsistent with it is invalid and the obligations imposed by it must be fulfilled." With regard to the current study, the resettlement of Malukazi families in Folweni, led to the deprivation of land of the original land users in Folweni and prevented them from pursuing their social, economic and cultural freedoms. In other words, the process of resettlement has led to the suppression of their potential, and impoverishment, and in terms of the Constitution this is a violation of their human rights. Failure to restore their potential constitutes an indignity since the traditional way of living which made this community self-reliant and self-sufficient and hence viable, has been devastated by the process of resettlement.

The White Paper on Local Government (RSA 1998) is another important document that governs response to constitutional requirements at a localized level. Developed as an engine to accelerate the implementation of constitutional mandates, the White Paper on Local Government (RSA 1998: 29) also referred to as a "mini-Constitution" for local government, requires local government to play a visionary and leading role in implementing constitutional objectives. It seeks to develop "a stable and enabling framework" and support mechanisms to assist local government and municipalities to become developmentally oriented so as to make transformation and democracy a reality. Such a role includes, among other things, supporting

and promoting environmentally sustainable urban and rural systems, which would address South Africa's "skewed settlement patterns" characterized frequently by great spatial separations and disparities between towns, townships and urban sprawls. As pointed out in the White Paper (RSA 1998: 35), skewed settlement patterns increase service provision and transport costs. As a constitutional mandate, local government is required to develop strategies for spatial integration of cities, towns and rural areas to provide and promote cost-effective service delivery. The White Paper (RSA 1998: 34) also points out that local government is strategically placed to "analyse and understand power dynamics" that enable (some) people to gain access to resources and power. As a development intervention, the White Paper requires the establishment of local government institutions. It is also stipulated in the White Paper (RSA 1998: 38, 39) that the task of maximizing social development and local economic growth be vested with local government to address the social needs that are essential for the wellbeing of local people.

For the realization of constitutional mandates, the White Paper (1998) stresses the need for local government to radically transform municipalities to become developmentally oriented. In this sense, local government would stand and act as a transformed miniature panopticon to ensure that government policies and constitutional mandates are accordingly implemented by municipalities. As a support mechanism, a Municipal Systems Act (RSA 2000) has been developed to provide a legislative framework for municipalities to work progressively towards addressing the existing inequalities and backlogs and transforming the social, economic and political advancements of people in the communities. The core business of the Municipal Systems Act is to give guidance to municipalities through principles, mechanisms, processes and procedures with a view to finding sustainable ways of meeting the needs of local communities through community participation and good governance. The Municipal Systems Act (RSA 2000: 652) includes in its framework the integrated development plan (IDP) which assists municipalities to become more developmental when planning to meet people's needs.

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) processes are, according to the White Paper, planning and strategic frameworks that help municipalities establish development plans for the short, medium and long terms, to help fulfil developmental mandates. Craythorne (2003:) argues that

the concept of IDP unfolded in the Local Act 97 of 1996 which required metro councils to establish integrated development plans. This Act was later replaced with the Municipal Systems Act 32 (2000) which also specifies all aspects of IDPs and requires IDPs to be developmental oriented to strive to achieve the objects of local government contained in section 152 of the Constitution. Local government requires IDPs to work closely with local communities to understand power dynamics that operate within the different communities, develop a concrete vision for the area and work in partnership with other stakeholders to finance and realize that vision. The discussion that now follows will attempt to examine the existing Communal Land Rights Act (RSA 2004) and animal by-laws with a view to creating a platform as a basis for further argument of the study.

According to the Constitution (RSA 1996), the rights of traditional communities are protected by the Communal Land Rights Act 11 (RSA 2004), which define communal land as "land contemplated in section 2 which is or is to be occupied or used by members of a community subject to the rules or customs of that community. In terms of the provision of comparable redress where tenure cannot be legally secured (sections 12-13, chapter 4 of Communal Land Rights Act 11 (RSA 2004:), it is stipulated that "The Minister may, on application of the holder of an old order right which is legally insecure as contemplated in section 25 (b) of the Constitution and which cannot be made legally secure, determine an award of comparable redress" to such holder. An award in terms of subsection (1) may comprise land other than the land to which the applicable old order right relates or a right in such other land or compensation in money or in any other form or a combination of land or a right in land contemplated in paragraph (a) and compensation contemplated in paragraph (b).

The general provisions (sections 36-47) of chapter 10 in the Communal Land Rights Act 11 (RSA 2004) stipulate that despite the other provisions of this Act and the provision of any other law, no law must prohibit a municipality from providing services and development infrastructure and from performing its constitutional functions on communal land *however held or owned*. This stipulation implies that the municipality can at any given moment choose to develop the infrastructure and provide services in a particular area to strive to achieve the objects of local government stipulated in section 152 (1) of the Constitution (RSA 1996: 21) and also to contribute to the realization of the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Constitution. The

implication of the stipulation cannot be overemphasized: that government holds the absolute right and power of land ownership; hence no one really owns the land. In relation to this perspective, development that is being undertaken in the Folweni settlement cannot be reversed to accommodate the interests of the original land users. It is thus important to find ways to redress the current situation in order to heal the wounds of the past that still plague the traditional community of Folweni.

Besides the above general provisions, animal by-laws appear to infringe on the cultural freedoms and advancements of traditional communities by actually spelling out the number of animals each person is allowed to keep once an area is proclaimed a township. The by-laws define animals as cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mules, donkeys, pigs, chickens, rabbits and any wild animals. The Public Health by-laws which apply in every province of the Republic of South Africa prevent residents from keeping or allowing any animal, other than an approved pet, on any erf in a proclaimed township. The by-laws further infringe on the freedoms of animals by threatening to impound those animals that roam about in an area proclaimed as a township. They also make provision for the keeping of animals on farmlands and agricultural holdings within boundaries of the city in compliance with requirements for stables and enclosures, general hygiene and sanitation, and Regional Environmental Health Units are committed to ensuring that animal by-laws are enforced. Residents who contravene the Environmental Health by-laws are liable for prosecutions and heavy fines, while animals that loiter freely in the streets and endanger lives, health and well-being of community members are impounded.

With regard to the current study, the number of livestock which the traditional community of Folweni used to rear has since declined due to lack of space (for building the necessary enclosures) and grass for grazing. Nevertheless, other local residents still keep animals such as cattle, goats, ducks, donkeys, pigs and chickens merely to preserve their status, cultural values and identity. Since the Folweni settlement has been proclaimed a township in 2001, the law has not been too kind to this traditional community and warnings to impound their livestock which roam the streets of Folweni have been issued. Besides, free-roaming of livestock in search of grazing grass pose a health risk and endanger people's lives as they are a frequent cause of road accidents.

2.4 Conceptual framework

In conceptualizing this study, this research is posited in a people-centred paradigm which employs a bottom-up approach and seeks to include the interests of grassroots in all processes of community development. Drawing on Cernea, Claasens and Shiva's theories, a response to the problem of Folweni traditional community resulting from resettlement ought to be based on the following four concepts:

2.4.1 Participation

According to Burkey (1996: 48), "development begins with and within the individual," and the Constitution (RSA 1996), the White Paper (RSA 1998), and other ancillary documents recognise participation as one of the most important tools that can be employed to help maximize development and transformation to enhance people's quality of life. Participation provides a platform for people to be listened to and take action collectively to support one another. It is through participation that people begin to learn, empower themselves radically, and adapt and respond to changes by making informed decisions about how they want to direct the changes. Participation creates an enabling environment for people to position themselves in relation to power in order to influence decisions that affect them and their existence. In the meantime, the South African government which is still new in its democracy is grappling with the challenge of addressing numerous inequalities resulting from stringent and discriminatory laws of apartheid, and has formulated development policies which require public participation at all levels. However, development cannot be realized unless the grassroots participate actively in local government matters that affect their life. Hence, promotion of good governance at local level requires developmental-oriented transformation of municipalities so as to accelerate service delivery, transformation and sustainability.

2.4.2 Governance

Good governance requires municipalities to undertake developmental-oriented planning to build local democracy, which is the key element in local government. According to the White Paper (RSA 1998), local government employs integrated development planning (IDP) to strengthen its relationship with people in the communities it serves. IDP strategies cannot succeed in the

absence of strong and continuous participation of local communities and business sectors. Hence, local government is also required to ensure that progressive measures for social, economic and environmental development are implemented to enhance people's quality of life. Local government is required to become accountable to both the provincial and national spheres of government so as to entrench the culture of transparency. It is also required of local officials, including councillors, to ensure maximum transparency and accountability to the people they represent, and also work closely with them and become sensitive to the needs of people they serve. Good governance will ensure that integrated development plans assist grassroots in driving their own development in a manner that is sustainable.

2.4.3 Sustainable development

The Brundtland report (WCED 1987) stipulates that sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." Oelofse (2000: 1) puts it that sustainable development is the right approach to adopt if a greater balance between social, economic and ecological factors is to be achieved. Oelofse (2000: 1) adds that resources on which people depend for their survival are limited and argues that population increase leads to rapid consumption of resources at an unsustainable rate which in turn leads to the degradation of environment and depletion of natural resources, posing serious challenges for the community and for sustainable development. Arguably, the scarcity of resources is becoming a threat to the needs of both the present and future generations. To meet this challenge, local government must focus on its constitutional mandates by committing itself to working closely with people it serves and encouraging them to participate in development processes through strategies that will promote good governance and ensure that the interests of grassroots are included in all processes of community development to enhance sustainable development.

Oelofse (2000: 5) argues that "it is very difficult if not impossible" to achieve sustainable development, however, Oelofse puts it that it is vital to apply "the goals and principles of sustainable development to achieve a better quality of life while at the same time protecting the integrity of ecosystems." In terms of the current study, the land and environment of the Folweni settlement are two important assets that face degradation and depletion. The rapid penetration of

global culture such as the infrastructure that is being undertaken and the easy access to securing plots have attracted many people other than families from the Malukazi informal settlement; creating unprecedented population increase. The current situation gives rise to huge service backlogs and threatens to deplete and destroy the few available resources that people scrape together to pursue their livelihood strategies. It is thus apparent that future generations will not benefit from these resources, since the increasing population consumes these assets in an unsustainable manner.

2.4.4 Community development

Oelofse (2000:7) asserts that community development encompasses participation, good governance and sustainable development in striving to enhance quality of life. In this sense, community development seeks to develop people from the grassroots, and from within, and that includes their physical, emotional, social and intellectual beings. In this sense, community development focuses on empowering communities, and in particular the most vulnerable people in society, to manage their own environments by using technology that is appropriate in order to meet their basic needs in a way which does not degrade ecological systems. However, some groups of people feel marginalized and disadvantaged by the process of change, fail to adapt to changing circumstances, and struggle to grasp the importance and need for collective participation.

2.5 Conclusion

Development has good prospects for local economic growth and enhancement of the quality of life of people. At this point in time, it is important to note that development in the area of Folweni cannot be reversed, and as emphasized by the Constitution (RSA 1996) and other supportive legislative frameworks in South Africa, no law must prohibit municipalities from providing services and development infrastructure as this will be inconsistent with constitutional mandates. However, both the theoretical arguments and South African legislation and policies concur that land is an important natural asset that serves to maintain human life. Lack of access to land suppresses the potential of people and prevents them from pursuing their livelihoods in a sustainable manner. In this sense, land dispossession is an infringement of human rights, which,

as the Constitution (1996) and the Communal Land Rights of (2004) stipulate, requires equitable redress to meet the needs of the people and address existing dichotomies to heal the wounds of the past.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into eleven main sections. These sections address the process of the research such as the background and underlying issues pertaining to the research phenomenon, research design, and theoretical perspectives that give a meaningful understanding to the term 'qualitative research.' This is followed by an illustrative chart which presents the core of the hypothesis. The main research questions which acted as guidelines for the research study and in which the main hypotheses are embedded are followed by the research instruments, including different information-gathering methods utilized, along with the questionnaire, target population, sampling, inclusion and exclusion criteria, and the pre-test. The methodology section briefly explains the concept of interviews, interview equipment, venues, the thematic coverage of questions, impressions of the interview and challenges pertaining to problems encountered during the process of data collection. The data analysis follows and this includes steps taken in preparing the data for analysis, coding data pages and unitizing the data. The next section indicates the measurement instruments for validity and reliability of the study. The section on ethical considerations explains the ethical procedural steps that the researcher adopted prior to collecting research data from the interviewees and when conducting interviews. Ethical considerations are followed by an indication of the limitations of the study and the chapter concludes with a summary of the results gleaned in the course of the research.

3.2 Study area background

Before Folweni was established as a relocation area for the families in the informal settlement of Malukazi, it was communal land which fell under the Sobonakhona Makhanya Tribal Authority leadership and was occupied and shared by the traditional community members of Folweni. The original residents of Folweni had by right inherited the land from their forefathers, subjects of the then reigning iNkosi Makhanya. As set out by the KwaZulu-Natal Ingonyama Trust Amendment Act 15 of 1997, the Ingonyama and the board established by section 2A of this Act, had

delegated powers to the Inkosi Makhanya to administer the communal land. However, the land remained the property of the reigning King.

Von Riesen and Jewell (2001: 3) record that during the period of colonial rule, forty-two Native Reserves and twenty-one Mission Reserves were established in Natal to provide for land requirements of the African population. Von Riesen and Jewell mention that freehold tenure was offered to '*amakholwa* or Christian converts,' living on the Mission Reserves which include Amanzimtoti Mission (Von Riesen & Jewell 2001: 3). After 1903 the mission lands came under the control of the Natal Native Trust; all land transfers ceased and Amanzimtoti Mission land remained as part of the South African Development Trust holdings. In 1986, the Amanzimtoti Mission land was transferred to KwaZulu in terms of schedule 1 of Proclamation 226 of 1986; Folweni was made up of parts of the former Amanzimtoti Mission area and the former location lands which formed the basis of the Tribal Authority land holdings. The Sobonakhona Tribal Authority thus has part of its land included within the cadastral boundary of Folweni, and was established by Government Notice No. 2149 on the 4 December 1970, the year in which KwaZulu itself became a self-governing territory. The programme of expansion in Umlazi led to the relocation of Malukazi families to Folweni in 1981. Von Riesen and Jewell (2001: 4) state that residents of Malukazi informal settlement were given three months notice to relocate to the new area of Folweni or face eviction. The rationale provided for the 1981 relocation was that the Malukazi informal settlement was hindering the proposed expansion of Umlazi township.

Prior to the process of resettlement, the members of the traditional community, who are referred in this study as original land users (OLUs), depended on subsistence farming for their livelihoods, which enabled them to become self-reliant and self-sufficient with a minimum of outside help. The OLUs also embraced a system that incorporated cultural beliefs and practices to manifest and perpetuate their identity.

3.3 Research design

A qualitative research method was employed to guide this inquiry. The purpose was to explore and record the feelings, perceptions, emotions, ideas, attitudes and experiences of respondents on the impact of resettlement on their livelihoods. The study is descriptive and interpretive.

According to Denscombe (2003: 268), "qualitative research can be part of an information gathering exercise, or can be used as the basis for describing theories." Denscombe further states that the gathered information which comes in a raw form of data first needs to be analysed and interpreted. Tesch (1990:4) comments that qualitative research is more concerned with meanings of what people try to say in the gathered data and the way people attach meaning to symbols. Tesch (1990:22**)** adds that qualitative research is also concerned with people's behavioural patterns and activities in the form of rituals, traditions and relationships which are manifested in their cultural norms and values. Qualitative research can also be used as a tool to interpret peoples' behaviours and describe the study. In this study, the researcher adopted the views of both theorists.

3.4 Key concepts employed in the study

Figure 1 portrays key concepts which the researcher employed to illustrate the traditional way of living of the original land users of Folweni prior to resettlement. It presents the major elements in the sustainable livelihoods theory as noted in Chapter 1. Livelihoods assets work in collaboration with each other and enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies to enhance their quality of life and promote sustainability.

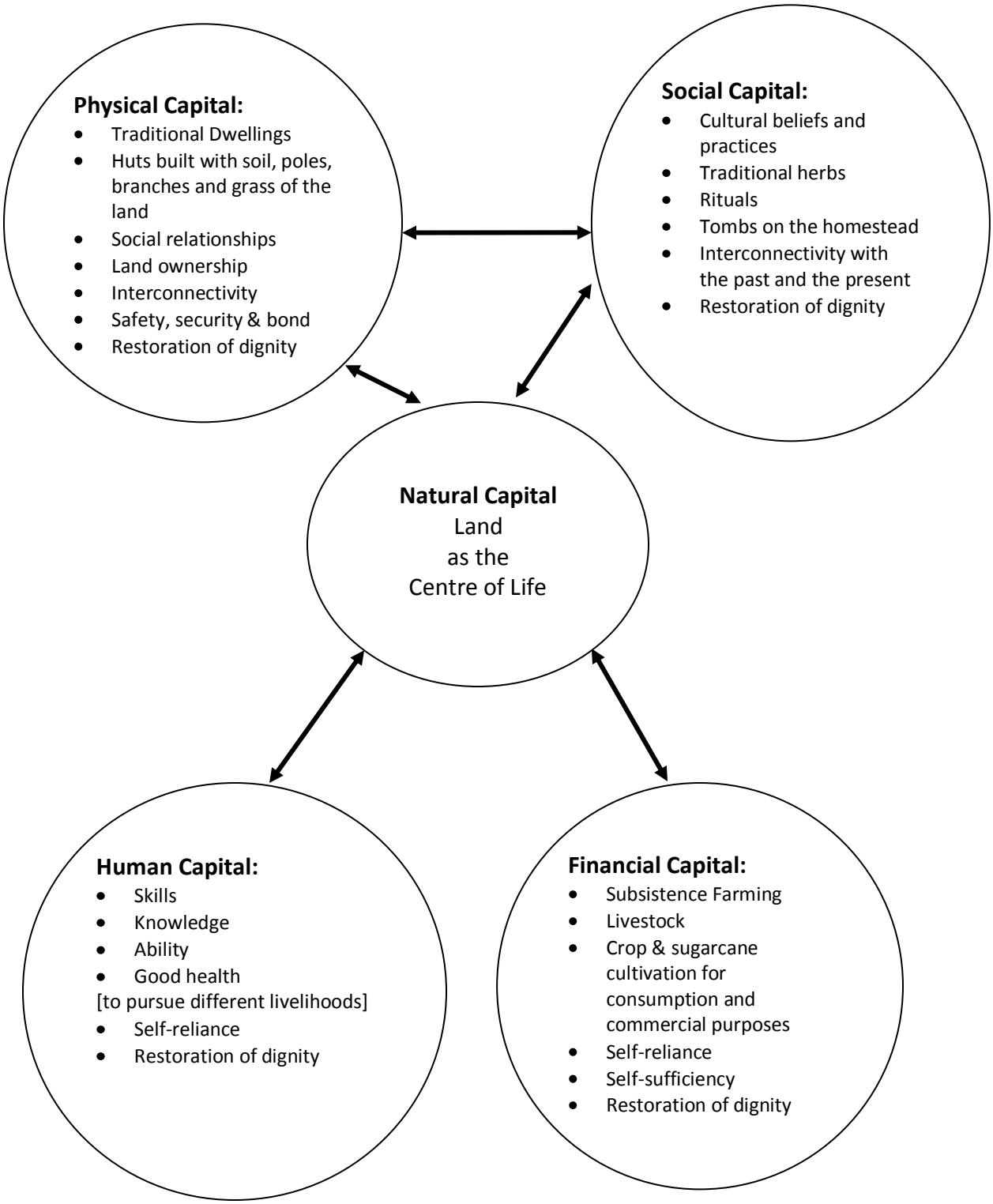

Figure 1: Core elements of the livelihoods system

In line with what Nefjes (2000) asserts, figure 1 depicts the way that, in the rural areas, land is the core element of life, inseparable from assets which help to mould and shape communities into viable settings. Subsistence farming is the backbone of the traditional community life, through which people free their potential to realize self-reliance and self-sufficiency, and in affirmation of their pride and dignity. The human assets which encompass skills, knowledge, ability and good health to utilize the economic capital of the person in order to pursue different livelihoods, combine, too, in affirmation of pride and dignity. Traditional dwellings, as a physical asset, ensure the provision of safety and security, the intimacy and warmth of family life, rank order and division of labour. Physical assets, which include basic infrastructure and producer goods, contribute to and enable people to pursue their livelihoods. Social capital comprises cultural beliefs and practices which serve to protect people's identity and also give greater meaning to life. Together these assets give direction to life and sustain community norms and values; all are testimony of the integral way of community life. It stands to reason that if land is appropriated, the equilibrium of existence becomes disturbed.

3.5 Main Research Questions

The major question of this study was to investigate how the process of resettlement impacted the livelihoods of the original land users of Folweni following the relocation of Malukazi families into Folweni.

The three main research questions asked were:

What effect did the resettlement of newcomers from Malukazi informal settlement have on the livelihoods of the Folweni traditional community?

What tensions have surfaced due to uncertainties or difficulties that resulted from personal acceptance of new conditions among the original land users of Folweni?

What impact has resettlement had on the sustainability of the original land users?

3.6 Research instruments

3.6.1 Questionnaire

The research instrument chosen for the study was the questionnaire. The questionnaire is useful in establishing uniformity so that all the respondents are asked the same question in the same way. It provides the researcher with a set of predetermined questions with which to engage participants during the investigation and is an appropriate instrument to employ to guide interviews. It is useful for giving order to questions so that they present a sensible sequence to both the interviewer and the interviewee. The questionnaire also provides a way of keeping a written record of the research data for later processing.

Information was collected by means of a semi-structured questionnaire with both closed and open-ended questions, and was administered to a sample taken from the original members of the Folweni traditional community. The questionnaire incorporated open-ended questions for two reasons highlighted by Geidt (1998:214), namely:

to prevent one word answers and passive participation of respondents, and

to obtain information that might not have been asked for, yet be very significant for the study.

Closed questions were also utilized to capture demographic information, as it was important to solicit the information from those who were directly impacted and who had been old enough at that time to appreciate fully the unfolding events.

3.6.2 Target population, sampling, inclusion and exclusion criteria

The target population was the entire traditional community of Folweni, who prior to the process of resettlement, occupied and utilized the Folweni land to pursue their livelihoods. A sample was taken from a population made up of the original residents of the Folweni traditional community – in particular, those who had been old enough at that time to appreciate fully the unfolding events. Respondents were selected using a random method of selection, where every sixth household was selected following the throw of a die**.** This resulted in a total of 24 respondents representing 121 households.

Sampling criteria for a study such as this are crucial in determining the reliability and viability of the information collected. In assembling the sample in this study, the criteria for inclusion or exclusion (see Fink: 1995) in determining the eligibility for participation in the study of given members of the community was whether or not those individuals had personally experienced and been affected by the resettlement. The inclusion criteria for this study required that:

the population under study had to have been directly affected by the process of resettlement;

respondents within the population parameters had to be fifty-five (55) years of age and above; and

respondents must have lived and owned property in Folweni prior to the resettlement.

The researcher restricted the investigation to a small but adequately chosen sample which was selected from a list of 121 households of traditional community members who still live in Folweni and who were directly affected by the resettlement. Fink (1995) defines a sample as a portion or subset that must be representative of the population of interest that the researcher has to investigate and from which the researcher can generalize its characteristics to the whole population. The complete list of households comprising the study population was compiled and made available to the researcher by the Sobonakhona Tribal Authority leadership, who also granted permission for their subjects to be interviewed.

3.6.3 Pre-test

Five individuals representing 21% of the sample were used to pre-test the instrument. The purpose of the pre-test was three-fold, namely:

- to determine whether the questionnaire was answerable;
- to determine whether the interviewees would be comfortable with the research study: and
- to establish whether the researcher would gain entry to the community and win their confidence.

The use of the pre-test helped the researcher to establish that the instrument was limiting. It turned out that respondents also opened up further categories of information that was relevant. These insights from the pre-test were captured through an addendum of further questions attached to the questionnaire.

3.7 Methodology

A descriptive research methodology was employed for this study. The methodology articulates the approach the researcher adopted when conducting interviews. Denscombe (2003: 164) describes an interview as being different from ordinary conversation in that the researcher sets the agenda for the discussion. This allows the researcher to exercise a degree of control of the proceedings during interviews. The methodology was taken into account in the interviews for collecting data and this procedure proved to be appropriate and useful for the study. Ethical reasons confined the researcher to this method as the only legitimate means of data collection in a study dealing with sensitive issues.

3.7.1 Interviews

The study employed interviews which are the most useful tools for the collection of information in qualitative research. The purpose of interviews was to explore the thoughts and feelings of participants and unfold the meaning of respondents' experiences in order to obtain a fuller picture of and understand the phenomenon from the participants' point of view (Denscombe: 2003: 165). The researcher was guided by the purpose of the research to choose the interview method as it allows for probing and delving into questions to provide an in-depth insight on the focus of inquiry, drawing on information provided by fewer informants than might otherwise be required.

The research data was collected through "one-on-one interviews" with 24 "key informants", using semi-structured predetermined questions on the questionnaire. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed the researcher to be flexible in terms of the order of the questions and, more importantly, enabled the interviewees to develop their own thoughts on the issue raised by the researcher to yield better data. The "one-on-one interview" entails a meeting between the researcher and one informant at a time. The chief advantage of having "one-on-one" interviews was that they were easy to arrange and control. Another advantage was that opinions and views expressed in the course of the interview were in each case from a single source, putting the researcher in the position of having to understand and interrogate just one person's ideas; it also made it more possible for new questions to be raised as the interview proceeded (Denscombe

2003: 168). Interviews helped to bring to the fore the participants' experiences prior to data analysis, and to deepen the responses and increase the richness of the obtained research data and the overall understanding of the phenomenon under study.

A guided interview approach which entails the use of a questionnaire document with a set of pre-determined open-ended questions was employed. This is a useful tool for interrogating and unpacking the participants' experiences to obtain information concerning the phenomenon under study. The researcher first obtained permission from the participants to be tape-recorded before proceeding with the interviews. The use of a portable tape-recorder allowed the researcher to concentrate on the proceedings of the interview. A sequential checklist covering relevant question areas was also prepared to ensure coverage of all crucial themes of the study. The portable tape-recorder used in conjunction with a note book made it possible to capture interview data and ensure a secure and permanent record. As a final precaution, the services of a scribe were employed to capture interview data from interviewees who were reluctant to be tape-recorded. The probing technique used in conjunction with the interview deepened the questions and increased the richness of the data obtained.

3.7.2 Venues

The interviewing process took place in various venues, principally:

at the homes of the respondents, specifically for those who were frail and unable to walk;

at the local community development office which is central and convenient to most respondents;

at the Sobonakhona Tribal Authority Hall for the Inkosi (Chief) because protocol demanded it: and

at the homes of headmen (Izinduna) - also for protocol reasons.

3.7.3 The thematic coverage of the questions

The themes covered in the interviews incorporated the following aspects:

- Demographic information: looking into aspects of gender, age, education, marital status and the number of children of each respondent.

- Human settlements: finding out information about the type of property that the respondents owned prior to resettlement and now, and the type of building material that they used to construct their houses.

- Information on livelihood patterns: focussing on livestock, crop cultivation, sugarcane plantations and indigenous herbs which were the backbone of the livelihoods of the traditional community members of Folweni.

- The process of consultation: looking at the level of satisfaction in the process of consultation and compensation.

- The negative and positive impacts of resettlement: delving into the effects the respondents experienced as a result of resettlement.

- Aspirations for the future: seeking the views of respondents with regard to the improvement of their life.

3.7.4 Impressions of the interview

Given the nature of the topic and the tensions that exist around it, a fair number in the sample was reluctant to be tape-recorded as they felt they were being investigated. However, during the one-on-one research sessions, respondents were willing to divulge information.

3.7.5 Challenges

The researcher found it imperative to interview members of the tribal leadership, who were selected for interviews through random sampling, for the following reasons:

they formed part of the team that went to Ulundi to represent the original land users on the issue of their land; and given the nature of positions they currently hold, the tribal leadership was likely to give information that others could not.

The traditional leadership were the most difficult to access because their protocol required that Izinduna (tribal headmen) first had to obtain permission from Inkosi (the Chief) to be

interviewed and tape-recorded. That process took nine months to complete before interviews could be conducted.

3.8 Data analysis

Qualitative analysis was employed in this study. It takes into account the consistency of the primary and secondary literature utilized in the study. In qualitative analysis, the significance of the data analysis process lies in its heightened attentiveness to the data, combining a focused attention to the data with openness to suitable tools of analysis for the study in seeking ways of understanding more about the phenomenon with a minimum of interpretation (Maykut & Morehouse: 1994: 126). The constant comparative method (CCM) was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and later known as Grounded Theory. CCM is a systematic qualitative methodology that highlights generation of theory that is grounded in collected data for analysis. In the collected data, key points are marked with a series of codes and the codes are grouped into similar concepts from which categories are formed as the basis for the formation of a theory. CCM has been successfully used by a number of qualitative researchers, among them Lincoln and Guba (1985). As claimed (Glaser & Strauss: 1967), the theory is grounded in the sense that it is developed inductively from a corpus of data. Grounded theory uses a rigorous methodology and employs a single, unified systematic method of analysis. In addition, grounded theory provides a framework for the interpretation of results.

These researchers have gradually added procedural detail to the steps involved in analyzing data using CCM. One of its characteristics is the inductive approach. In explaining the inductive approach, Maykut and Morehouse (1994: 127), citing Lincoln and Guba (1985), state that "what becomes important to analyze emerges from the collected data itself, out of a process of inductive reasoning," and the collected data generate categories that are arranged according to themes for further interpretation. CCM combines inductive category coding with simultaneous comparison of all units of meaning obtained. During the process of selection, each new unit of meaning is grouped (categorized and coded) with similar units of meaning. If similar units of meaning are no longer found, a new category is formed. The process of categorization and coding allows for more room for continuous refinement and this entails the changing, emerging

and omission of initial categories. The continuous refinement of categories helps the researcher to explore and generate new categories and discover new relationships to bring about a deeper understating of people and settings being studied (Maykut & Morehouse 1994: 134).

Maykut and Morehouse (1994: 139) point out that the aim for analyzing the research data is to develop propositional statements which convey meanings that are contained in the data cards gathered together under category names. They explain that data analysis involves a process of repeated reading, breaking down of collected data, organizing and identifying broken-down data into themes, and developing interpretations. The arrangement of units into themes during the interpretation of data heightens the understanding of the feelings, thoughts and actions expressed by the respondents. In employing the constant comparative method, the researcher was mindful of the procedural steps that are undertaken when analysing qualitative data.

3.8.1 Preparing the data for analysis and coding data pages

Individual interviews were conducted in isiZulu and translated into English. All research data, including field notes, audio-taped interviews and data from relevant documents, were typed and transcribed. Each page of data interview transcripts and field notes was coded for easy identification. The coding involved the writing of a code for the type of data, the source of the data, and page number of the particular data in the top right-hand corner of each page of data. Photocopying of each page of data followed the process of coding of data pages, and photocopied data pages were divided into, what Marshall (1981) in Maykut and Morehouse (1994: 128) refers to as "chunks" of meaning for analysis. The researcher also employed discovery sheets where a large collection of salient patterns, concepts, themes and experiences of the settings were continuously identified.

3.8.2 Unitizing the data

The next step involved the identification of the units of meaning in the data by carefully reading field notes, transcripts and relevant documents, which is referred to as unitizing the data. This entails that "each identified unit of meaning" must be understandable without additional information, other than knowledge of the researcher's focus of inquiry (Lincoln & Guba 1985). Photocopies of the data were utilized for unitizing the data, and this process also included the use

of blank 5"x 8" index cards, scissors, Cellotape, Prestik, markers and pens. Based on the 'look/feel-alike criteria, (Lincoln & Guba 1985), the next step involved the searching and identification of smaller units of meaning in the data. Every time a unit of meaning was identified, a line separating the identified unit from the next unit was drawn across the page followed by an indication (coding) in the left margin of where the unit would be located, to make it easy to go back to the intact data source in case further clarification of the meaning was needed. This step followed the cutting up of units of meaning from the photocopies of the data for easy "manipulation", with each unit being taped onto separate 5"x 8" index cards.

In the process, rules for inclusion were considered and written on the data cards. Data cards that did not immediately link with the content of the study were put in a box labelled 'miscellaneous', to be reviewed later for possible inclusion. Additional information concerning the gender, age and property of respondents and the venue of research interaction was taped to the back of each data card to avoid influencing data analysis. Data cards were repeatedly read for possible refinement of categories, overlapping and ambiguity of categories, and whether cards in each category were similar. The rigorously and systematically analysed data was subsequently arranged into descriptive and interpretive themes to determine the in-depth understanding of the major research question and the settings being studied. Data analysis also included a process of returning to the field to collect further relevant information. The process of data analysis took place in the community office, which was used as a venue at the week-end to ensure to secure room availability, with walls on which to tape up visual displays of data and other information**.** Large sheets of paper (flip charts in this instance) and markers were used to analyse the research data. The process of data analysis came to an end when the "theoretical saturation point had been reached" (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 188). Once data analysis was completed, data cards were put into similarly coded envelopes for storage.

3.8.3 Research team

A research team consisting of three research assistants to unitize the research data and three research assistants to analyze the research data were engaged in this study. The research team was used specifically to revive and foster the spirit and insight of the researcher and to maximize the credibility and trustworthiness of the analysed data, (Lincoln & Guba 1985). An outside

person was also involved to walk through the researcher's audit trail periodically to raise questions of bias.

3.9 Validity and reliability of the research design

Maxwell (1996) emphasises that the measurement instrument employed in the research design, including its content, needs to be guided by the type of information it seeks to obtain, the population to which it is administered, and its criterion-referenced validity. This ensures that the interpretated outcome of the study is valid, reliable and impartial. In addition, Yin (1994: 39) links the validity of qualitative research to the degree to which a study accurately reflects or assesses the specific concept that the researcher is attempting to measure. For instance, case study research will use multiple sources of evidence which all converge on a particular line of inquiry.

Anticipating the validity and reliability requirement, specific elements were built into the research design, including random sample selection with selection criteria which focused only on individuals who had experienced and had been directly affected by the process of resettlement. The selection criteria also identified the age bracket for interviewees that would enable the researcher obtain first-hand information. In addition, different methods of data collection, including interviews, permitted the researcher to cross-check information collected. The resettlement was lawful at the time it took place as it was undertaken in terms of apartheid government policy, although, in exploring the experiences and perceptions of the traditional community of Folweni, the researcher is questioning the present-day legitimacy of the resettlement process. The researcher's questions were shaped in reference to the resettlement policies of that time and by authoritative published material which helped to establish where the focus of inquiry should be.

According to Maxwell (1996: 92), the reliability of the study is measured by the consistency of data attained by the measurement instrument. Yin (1994: 40) affirms that qualitative research is reliable according to the extent to which an experiment, test or any measuring procedure yields the same results on repeated trials: whether, for instance, multiple listening to research audio

recording by the same or different people will produce same results. The goal for this reliability is to minimize the errors and biases in a study.

In this study, reliability checking was incorporated to minimize bias and errors. The consistency of data collected and analysis done were ensured by the inclusion of the population that was directly affected by the process of resettlement.

3.10 Ethical considerations

In this study, the researcher took care to consider the safety, confidentiality and privacy of all engaged in the study. Individual letters of consent were formulated, written and submitted to targeted interviewees requesting their permission to be interviewed. The content of each individual letter indicated clearly the aim and purpose of the study. The researcher was at pains to explain to potential interviewees that they were not forced to take part in the research interviews and that their participation was voluntary, and also that they could withdraw their participation at any point if they needed to. Participants were assured that the material gathered would not be published or distributed without their permission and that their identities would be protected. Participants were also informed that it was an academic requirement that the materials and information gathered in the course of the study had to be shared confidentially with the University Supervisor, but that the completed work would remain property of the University of KwaZulu-Natal to the benefit of that community.

The most crucial ethical issues in the study revolved around the politics of that time. Some of the respondents reported that the relocations were a political move aimed to garner votes for the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) which was the dominant political and ruling party in the KwaZulu homeland at that time. This reportedly caused a move by the original land users to join forces with the African National Congress (ANC) in retaliation, and as a means of showing their anger and dissatisfaction. For this reason, the researcher had to be careful not to stir tensions and exhume issues that had taken some time to resolve.

3.11 Limitations

3.11.1 Feedback

The political tensions indicated above prevented feedback sessions from being conducted with respondents as had been planned. The researcher felt that interviews had invariably opened old wounds and that it was time to let them heal.

3.11.2 Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The sample selection criterion which targeted only those original land users who owned property at the time proved to be a limitation because most of them have passed on, leaving behind dependents who at the time did not own property and therefore were not part of the target population. In hindsight, the researcher realized that the dependents of the original land users could have provided the study with deeper insights and a different perspective on the impacts of the resettlement at the time and now.

3.12 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to describe the research methodology of the study, explaining how the questionnaire, target population, sampling, inclusion and exclusion criteria, pre-test and interviews were all determined. In the study, the researcher interviewed participants of diverse personality and social standing and that triggered information from participants about their perceptions and attitudes and unleashed feelings and knowledge about their concerns, beliefs and experiences concerning the effect of resettlement on their livelihoods. The exercise enriched data gathered and influenced the route for qualitative information, without data having to be first influenced by preconceived ideas of the researcher's "self." The gathered information was organized in a way that informed the purpose and objectives of the study. The next chapter deals with the presentation and discussion of the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 presented and discussed the research methodology, highlighting the main research questions, the sampling and research instruments. Ethical guidelines and limitations of the study were also discussed. The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings around the following key research questions:

What effect has resettlement of newcomers from Malukazi informal settlement had on the livelihoods of the Folweni traditional community?

What tensions have surfaced due to uncertainties or difficulties that resulted from personal acceptance of new conditions among the original land users of Folweni?

What impact has resettlement had on the sustainability of the original land users?

The above research questions sought to examine how the process of resettlement and misappropriation of land, to accommodate families being relocated from the neighbouring Malukazi informal settlement impacted on the livelihoods of the original members of Folweni community. The research also sought to understand the types of the tensions that surfaced such as uncertainty, resentment and apathy among the original land users. The responses were elicited from Folweni individuals who experienced the phenomenon; a person falling into this category is referred to in the study as an original land users (OLU). The analysis of this chapter's themes are based on the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) which is part of a wider approach of development that is mentioned in chapter one. SLF builds upon the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) which is a holistic approach that attempts to improve understanding of the livelihoods of poor people and aims to help them to achieve sustainable livelihoods (Majale 2002: 3). It focuses on the main factors that affect poor people's livelihoods and the relationship between these factors (Nefjes 2000: 63-66). In this chapter, the researcher examines how OLUs perceived the effects of the resettlement process and how resettlement impacted their livelihoods. In order to answer the research questions, the study focused on key sustainable livelihood

capitals such as the social, human, physical, natural and financial capitals, as noted in Chapter 1. The chapter also presents demographic profiling of respondents which encompassed aspects of age to ensure that all respondents fell within the required age bracket as well as taking into account gender, education, marital status, the number of children of each respondent and the number of respondents interviewed.

4.2 Report on findings

4.2.1 Demographic profiling

Table 1: Demographic profile of respondents

Respondent	Gender	Age	Education	Marital relationship	No. of children
1	Male	56	Secondary level	Monogamous	4
2	Female	59	Secondary level	Monogamous	7
3	Female	56	Primary level	Monogamous	5
4	Male	66	Illiterate level	Polygamous	11
5	Female	60	Primary level	Polygamous	6
6	Female	72	Illiterate level	Polygamous	3
7	Male	65	Illiterate level	Polygamous	9
8	Male	68	Illiterate level	Polygamous	12
9	Female	81	Illiterate level	Polygamous	5
10	Male	56	Secondary level	Polygamous	15
11	Female	73	Illiterate level	Polygamous	7
12	Male	64	Secondary level	Polygamous	11
13	Female	71	Illiterate level	Polygamous	6
14	Female	65	Illiterate level	Polygamous	4
15	Male	58	Secondary level	Monogamous	8
16	Female	75	Illiterate level	Polygamous	7
17	Female	71	Illiterate level	Polygamous	6
18	Male	64	Primary level	Polygamous	14
19	Female	75	Illiterate level	Polygamous	5
20	Female	60	Secondary level	Polygamous	3
21	Female	80	Illiterate level	Polygamous	6
22	Male	82	Illiterate level	Polygamous	10
23	Female	59	Primary level	Monogamous	5
24	Male	60	Primary level	Monogamous	4

Table 1 sets out demographic particulars of the respondents, fourteen being females and ten being males. The sampling method is explained in Chapter 3.

The study revealed that thirteen respondents were illiterate and eleven were literate. It emerged that illiterate respondents fell between the ages of 65 and 82. Literate respondents fell between the ages of 56 and 64. The researcher believes that the literacy disparity is due to a lack of interest in education by elderly people. Elderly people gave greater priority to traditional education and considered secular education to be for younger generations, because they were old already and had no hope of educational success.

The table also reveals that 18 respondents described themselves as being in polygamous relationships. This indicated that polygamy was widely practiced among the OLUs. Respondents were questioned about the number of children that they had and it emerged that men had more children than women. This implied that male respondents, seven of whom were in polygamous relationships, gave the numbers of children from all their wives. Women only gave the number of children they had with their husbands even if they were in polygamous relationships.

4.3 Social Capital

The social capital theme embraces the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihood objectives, such as membership of groups, networks and relationship of trust. According to Nefjes (2000:65), social capital addresses social issues such as the power of cooperation and problem solving. Social capital is found and expresses itself in the nature of the individual's strengths and capabilities, their good will and willingness to cooperate with each other. This study explored social resources such as family set-ups, polygamous relationships, bio-diversity, tombs on the homesteads, and the consultative process. Here, the researcher intended to find out how resettlement impacted those social capital issues.

4.3.1 The concept of extended family settings

The extended family set-up is an important social asset among the OLUs. An extended family reinforced family networks by keeping family members close to one other, and it also created a relationship of trust within family members. For instance, in an extended family set-up, family members visit each other more often, creating close and strong networking amongst them. A

closely connected extended family helps build a strong society. Barret (2005), cited in Hoff and Sen (in print)) describes an extended family system as "a system of shared rights and obligations encompassing a large number of near and distant relatives." Barrett goes on to say that an extended family system is characterized by a strong sense of family obligations and a tight network of mutual dependence. In similar vein, Shimkin et. al (1978: 27,73 & 197) state that an extended family system operates as "a vehicle for economic cooperation, childcare, emotional support in crisis situations, caring and respect for the frail and elderly" which is "symbolically carried over to respect for ancestors." Hence the concept of an extended family is an important social capital which defined the family set-up of OLUs. In this part of the study, the researcher sought to ascertain how OLUs lived in an extended family environment and how the resettlement process impacted on this family setting. To answer these questions, respondents were asked about the composition of their family structure prior to resettlement. These were some of the responses

Respondent 4:

> *In my family, there were about twenty-six of us. My father had three wives and each wife had more than six children. I also have three wives and eleven children.*

Respondent 5:

> *We lived together as one and drew our strength and courage from that.*

Respondent 18 :

> *The extended family structures acted as an indirect buffer to protect children in case of the death of their parents.*

Respondent 13:

> *We lived with our grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins and even indigent members of the family and we worked collectively to increase our agricultural productivity to improve our quality of life.*

However, respondents also complained of the negative impact that resettlement had on the family set-up:

Respondent 4:

> *When these people (newcomers) came, they occupied most of our land and as a result, we had experienced a massive land shortage. Now, when we need land, we do not have access to it. That is why most of us had to relocate to other areas, resulting in the disintegration of the original family structures.*

Respondent 7:

> *Families are disintegrated now and some children do not even visit their grand parents, uncles and aunts and other close relatives because they live far from each other.*

The above responses indicate that extended families played a crucial role in the social life of the OLUs, testimony to the care and support that was expected and enjoyed and taken for granted by all in the community.

However, the findings revealed that resettlement contributed to the disintegration of families in Folweni. It emerged that members of extended families amongst OLUs used to build huts in one big homestead in order to accommodate all extended family members, but after resettlement, land was given to newcomers, and OLUs could no longer continue with the practice of building many huts on the homesteads. This resulted in some family members going to search for land somewhere else. Consequently, extended family members began to live apart from each other and communication and networking started collapsing. The abandonment of this traditional practice had a negative outcome especially for orphaned children no longer able to access the care and support of the extended family. Taken together, these findings confirm that in the strictly pursued traditional way of life, extended family settings are an integral part of life from which people draw strength and courage. The extended family setting reinforces social identification and is a source of social support in crisis. The findings also imply that resettlement had a negative impact on the extended family settings.

4.3.2 Polygamous relationships

Polygamous relationships in this study refer to the traditional practice of polygamous marriages amongst the OLUs. In this context, the definition of polygamy provided by Hendricks (2004: 3) makes a distinction between two kinds of polygamous relationship: polyandry and polygny. A polyandrous relationship refers to the marrying of more than one man, which is a rare practice, and the polygynous relationship refers to the marrying of more than one woman, which is a common practice. This theme was included in the interviews as an aspect of social resources to

enable respondents to answer questions on polygamous relationships. The theme was designed to determine the perceptions of respondents about polygamous relationships prior to and after resettlement.

When respondents were asked about the status of polygamy prior to resettlement, they all confirmed that polygamous marriages were a traditional practice:

Respondent 13:

> *Polygamy was our way of life and it brought peace on the homestead. Jealousy never worked because our husbands were experts in the handling of polygamous set-ups. It is through polygamy that some of us had large families of more than thirty people on the homestead.*

Respondent 21:

> *The practice of polygamy was a traditional way of preventing infectious diseases. There were four of us in the polygamy and we all looked upon one man, our husband, to satisfy our desires and we never experienced any infectious diseases.*

Respondent 16:

> *One of my husband's wives did not have children and we put our heads together with the other wives (*omnakwethu*) and gave the infertile wife two of our children. An infertile wife was never thrown out of the house or divorced simply because she was barren. That was a rewarding traditional way of life.*

Respondent 1:

> *Our forefathers practiced polygamous marriages and everything went very well. I was brought up by my father's second wife who regarded me as one of her children and loved me unconditionally after my mother's death.*

Respondent 15:

> *I had three wives and sixteen children. My wives and children got along very well and worked collectively on the household and fields.*

Respondent 24:

> *Although I did not practice polygamy on my homestead, I used to envy my male counterparts whenever harvest time approached, because they produced more crops than I could.*

These responses indicate that polygamy was a common practice among OLUs and respondents agreed that it was traditionally acceptable and practiced. The plurality of wives was a manifest signifier of a man's high and exceptional status in the community. Ogden (1999: xvii) comments that it demonstrates a man's possession of wealth and power: the plurality of wives advertises the possession of sufficient wealth to keep so many women in a satisfactory manner. It is also a common belief that there are more women than men in the world, therefore polygamous marriages are advised and justified in most cultures.

The next section considers respondents' perceptions on the impact of resettlement on polygamous marriages.

Respondent 16:

> *After resettlement, the practice of polygamous relationships in a traditional set-up could not be pursued anymore because of lack of land to build many huts for our big families. We, as parents, found it not feasible anymore to encourage our own sons to have more than one wife because without land, there is no future.*

Respondent 4:

> *After resettlement, land to build huts for big families, keep livestock and cultivate crops to feed our families was not available anymore and our children were starving. Most men could not afford to have many wives; instead, they began to have mistresses who also had other affairs with other men. This led to the contraction of multiple infectious diseases including HIV and Aids. Men and women infected one another and women in turn infected their new-born babies. The HIV and Aids began to spread like wild fire and left many children orphaned.*

Respondent 12:

> *The process of resettlement discouraged the polygamous practice and encouraged the one-man-one-women marriage. Today, one of my sons could not have a child with his first wife and he divorced her for her infertility. Before resettlement, there was no such thing as a divorce. My son would have simply taken another wife without having to divorce his first wife.*

The findings reveal that polygamous marriages were no longer practiced after resettlement. Respondents complained that the OLUs did not have land to build enough huts to accommodate larger families. The discontinuation of formal polygamous marriages resulted in illicit extra-marital relationships or monogamous (one-man-one-woman) marriages. As mentioned by

Respondent 5, the polygamous marriages have been replaced by monogamous marriages because most men cannot afford a polygamous marriage. As a result, a paradigm shift from overt polygamy to monogamy and covert relationships presented itself.

4.3.3 Biodiversity (traditional knowledge of herbal resources)

Another social capital this study examined is traditional understanding of biodiversity resources which include items such as herbs. Here the researcher intended to examine the role played by herbs in the lives of OLUs and to assess the impact of resettlement on the biodiversity.

Respondents were asked to elaborate on the significance of indigenous herbs.

Respondent 6 responded with particular excitement to this question:

> *We used to have an abundance of herbs in our fields and also in the nearby bushes prior to resettlement. We never experienced hunger even in winter because there were plenty of herbs in the fields.*

Respondent 20:

> *We had different types of herbs which we used for our consumption and fodder. These were mainly* intshungu, uqadolo, ushukeyana, imbuya *and many others.*

Respondent 5:

> *We had different types of herbs that we used for medicinal purposes and the most common medicinal herbs that were found in the nearby bushes were* utshwalabenyoni *or* isichathabantwana *(*leonotis intermedia*) used as an enema on a newly born baby to remove food that the baby absorbed while in the womb;* umagwazucaca *also known as blue stars (*Aristea ecklonis*) to cure backache and also for a particular skin problem called* iband*e (shingles);* umnungumabele *also known as forest knobwood (*zanthoxylum davyi*) to cure a toothache;* umadolwana *also known as citronella spur flower (*plectranthus laxiflorus*) used as an enema to cure flue;* unsukumbili *also known as two-day cure (*senecio serratuloides*) for sore healing and others, (Ngwenya, Koopman and Williams : 2003).*

These responses demonstrate that prior to resettlement; the OLUs depended on various herbs that were at their disposal for consumption, medication and fodder. Herbs were used as a supplement for various household purposes. This is emphasised by one respondent's adamant statement that 'they never experienced hunger like they do today.' The OLUs collected herbs for consumption

and sold the surplus for cash income purposes. Shiva (104:2000) offers further examples of the significance of herb usage: women in India use approximately 150 species of uncultivated plants for medicine, food, or fodder; in a Tanzanian village over 80% of the vegetable dishes are prepared from uncultivated plants; in West Bengal 124 "weed species" collected from rice fields have proved to have an economic value to farmers. However, Hendrik Verfaillie (Shiva, 97: 2000) perceived herbs as "weeds that steel the sunshine, and therefore had to be destroyed".

Respondents were also asked how they thought resettlement impacted on their consumable and medicinal herbs; in response, they blamed it for the destruction and extinction of their herbs:

Respondent 1:

> *After resettlement our land was appropriated, roads constructed and plots measured for allocation to the incomers. During the process of resettlement, herbs in the field, including those found in the adjacent bushes nearby were completely destroyed. Today we walk long distances to search for herbs.*

The findings indicate that resettlement annihilated herbs that OLUs depended on for various household purposes such as medication and consumption. It also appears that the OLUs previously sold the herbs for profit, which helped to enhance of their quality of life; this, too, was brought to an end by the resettlement. The study reveals that resettlement contributed to environmental destruction and deforestation which caused further impoverishment for indigent members among the original land users of Folweni.

4.3.4 Graves on the homesteads

Another social capital issue that the researcher examined was the establishment of graves on the homesteads of OLUs. Here the researcher intended to find out how resettlement impacted this particular cultural practice. Respondents declared that to have graves of their loved ones established on the homesteads is a sacred and ritualistic belief which they claimed protected them and their land.

Respondents were asked about the significance of having graves on the homestead:

Respondent 22:

We buried our loved ones on the homestead to keep their spirits close to us. Their closeness gave us a sense of protection. We believe that the spirits of our ancestors look after us and protect us from social ills. The spirits of our ancestors also protect our livestock and our crop production.

Respondent 16:

Our ancestors are closer to God; hence more powerful and influential in determining our destiny. We kept their tombs close to us and it was our cultural practice to visit them to share our problems and successes. Tombs were a good reminder for our children to know who they are and where they come from.

Respondent 6:

The cultural practice of burying our loved ones on the homestead is a means of "entrenching and perpetuating our beliefs and practices and to uphold our identify for the benefit of our children and future generations.

These responses indicate that the presence of graves on the homestead also played an important role in the experience of safety and security for OLUs: OLUs believe that the presence of the graves of their loved ones on the homestead protected them from evils – natural mishaps and social ills. Chandler and Wane (2002: 2) describe a corroborating parallel among the Embu women of Kenya, who claim that the spirits of their ancestors and that of "Ngai" (God) hover over them, watching and protecting them and their field crops. Respondents also stated that cultural practices such as this were passed down to them by their ancestors and had to be protected in order for the next generations to benefit from these practices.

To find out how resettlement impacted the cultural practice of having graves on the homestead, the researcher asked respondents how they felt after the graves were exhumed:

Respondent 1:

When more land was needed for resettlement, the tombs had to be exhumed. This occurred through an "unceremonious" exhumation of our loved ones and it involved taking them away to a far off place. Although the authorities gave us a goat each to appease the dead, we miss more the cultural practice of visiting them to share our problems and successes, and matters of importance regarding the clan.

Respondent 15:

> *After our culture of setting up tombs on the homestead was abolished, our traditional and cultural identify was also destroyed. We began to experience a lot of social ills such as teenage pregnancy, drug abuse, crime and rape.*

Respondent 2:

> *The municipality's by-laws dictate that burial sites must be located far away from residential sites and this was a bitter pill to swallow among many of us.*

These responses imply that the OLUs felt insecure after the resettlement process. The resettlement took away their spiritual security and exposed them to social ills that prevail in their community today. In brief, the findings revealed that resettlement had a negative impact on the traditional practice of setting up tombs on the homesteads of the OLUs. The destruction and exhumation of tombs brought along a sense of insecurity and anxiety amongst OLUs.

Nevertheless, the OLUs claimed that even though some of their key cultural practices were abolished through the resettlement process, they still continue to acknowledge the spirits of their ancestors through rituals such as goat slaughtering, so that their spirits remain a vivid memory, even though resettlement has interfered with their relationships.

In conclusion, it appears that social capital, which entails cultural practices and beliefs, played a significant role in the lives of the OLUs. What is interesting is that the knowledge that the OLUs' forefathers had imbibed from their environment left an indelible mark on which the OLUs and their future generations draw in pursuit of their livelihood strategies.

4.3.5 Consultation process

This interview theme was designed to determine the participation mechanism used to solicit community views about the idea of resettlement. The researcher wished to find out whether appropriate consultation methods were employed to obtain community approval for resettlement. The researcher assumes that if communities were involved in the decision-making process about resettlement it would have enhanced community accountability and prevented uncertainty, resentment, conflicts and apathy amongst the OLUs. Questions asked to address this theme were:

"Were you ever informed about the resettlement?

If “yes”, then

“Do you think that the views of the community were solicited?”

Figure 2 illustrates the differing views of respondents on the issue of consultation prior to and during the resettlement.

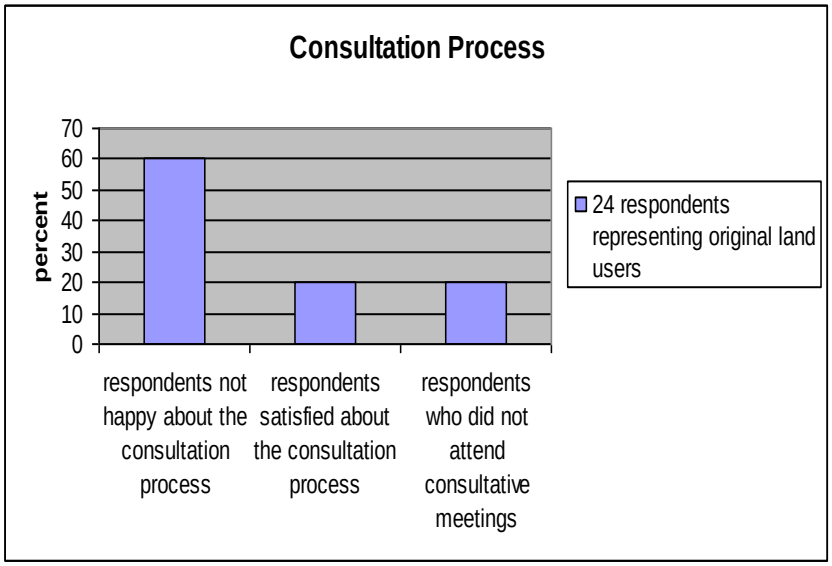

Figure 2: Respondents, views of consultation process

Figure 2 indicates that 80% of respondents claimed to have attended the first public consultation meeting that was held at the Induna’s premises. Of those who attended the meetings, 60% were not happy with the way the consultation process was conducted.

Respondents were asked whether they were informed about the resettlement:

Respondent 17:

> *We were informed and our first meeting was held at the Induna’s premises. Other meetings took place at the Sobonakhona Tribal Authority and in Ulundi. We were however not happy at all about the way those meetings were handled, because officials were not asking us about our views on the resettlement, but were telling us about the decisions that have already been taken about our land.*

Respondent 5:

When we were called to attend the meeting, the whole process of consultation was conducted in a one-way transfer of information methods. Officials that we did not even know came to address us about our land and our leaders were not even there. Where were they? What happened to them?

Respondent 12:

When we raised issues concerning our land and the future of our families, our views were ignored, instead, soldiers and KwaZulu policemen threatened to beat and shoot us. To add to that, the soldiers and KwaZulu policemen were pointing guns at us. We could not face them because we did not have the guns and had to accept the situation. There were other meetings that followed the first one, but we did not attend them. What was the point of attending the meetings when we were threatened?

However, 20% of respondents who attended the consultation meetings showed satisfaction with the consultation process.

Respondent 9:

We felt that the apartheid officials who were well known for their discriminatory and suppressive laws on black people showed some respect by at least consulting us on what the government intended to do, which was something very rare during that era.

Respondent 11:

We welcomed the process of resettlement because we believed it would create employment opportunities.

Respondent 21:

*the process of resettlement did not become a threat on some of us because in the meetings that were held, we were advised that the Malukazi families were going to spend a maximum period of six years in Folweni and return to Malukazi as soon as their houses were built. We only regretted it at a later stage when we realized that the Malukazi families were not going anywhere, instead more and more people began to occupy our land. In other words, '*sabhecwa ngodaka emehlweni*,' (meaning we were deceived). Again, people who were truly benefiting from the prospects of resettlement were the so-called political activists. And as I am speaking to you now, it is the same politicians who still benefit from the various government projects that are tendered even today.*

The other 20% of the respondents shown in the graph make up the number of OLUs who did not attend the meetings after they had been advised by other OLUs about the strong presence of soldiers and police force in the meetings.

Respondent 8:

> *We were frightened to attend the first meeting after we were informed by other community members about the presence of soldiers and policemen that were carrying guns like toys.*

Respondent 20:

> *It was asking for trouble to attend these meetings. There was a heavy presence of soldiers and policemen in all the meetings and it was clear to us that we would not be able to participate and express our views and concerns freely about our land.*

Respondent 3:

> *We appointed among ourselves representatives who were sent to Ulundi to talk to the KwaZulu Prime Minister about the appropriation of our land. All our attempts were ignored and overlooked by the officials who were present in that meeting. A certain official in the meeting commented that if land and livestock were our main concern, we should go back home and carry our cattle on our backs.'*

The information supplied by the 60% of the respondents indicates that the consultation and communication mechanisms were not properly followed. OLUs were not given a chance to express their concerns at the public meetings that were held and they were threatened with force if they protested against the idea of resettlement.

With the 20% of respondents who were satisfied with the consultation process, the researcher believes that some OLUs were too blind to realize the implications of resettlement and the long-term havoc it was leading to. As indicated by Brookfield (2005: 101), people take great pride in learning to 'love and wear their enslavement.' The OLUs and traditional leadership of that era did not know that by consenting to the resettlement agreement, they were embracing the dominant ideology and wilfully 'entering their own ideological prison' which ended up constraining their power (Brookfield 2005: 98).

The researcher asserts that the presence of the soldiers and KwaZulu policemen in the meetings led to the disinclination of OLUs to participate in the meetings. The researcher also believes that the first consultative meeting marked the onset of apathy, which continues to exist even long after the resettlement process.

As stated by the OLUs, although meetings were held, the process of resettlement was not consultative and participatory. Intimidation and threats were employed by the soldiers and policemen to prevent the OLUs from protesting or demonstrating against the dispossession of their land. Fifteen respondents declared that if resettlement was intended to bring development then a high degree of participation was required at grass-root level and the original land owners should be actively engaged in the decision-making processes concerning their future. This is a principle which is underpinned by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA 1996) which recognizes participation as one of the most important tools that can be employed to help maximize development and transformation so as to enhance people's quality of life. Participation provides a platform for people to be listened to and take action collectively to support one another. Authorities of that era failed to realize the importance of participation and the OLUs were, as a result, engulfed in an uncertain future about their livelihoods.

The respondents who have been cited here evidently regarded that the repressive force of the legislation at that time as being too powerful to challenge. The OLUs felt overwhelmed and disempowered by it, and seem to have lost interest in participating in any developmental interventions that were implemented in the township, claiming that it is pointless to participate in matters concerning your affairs when you have no say in them.

4.4 Physical capital

This interview theme relates to physical infrastructures and tangible resources such as energy, housing, and the means and equipment for production. As identified by Nefjes (2000), land and housing are the mainstay of physical capital in the rural areas. The theme was included to examine the effect of resettlement process in Folweni on the above-mentioned infrastructures.

4.4.1 Land ownership

This theme covers ownership of land as an important physical asset amongst the OLUs. The researcher intended to ascertain how OLUs owned land and how the resettlement process impacted on land ownership. Respondents were accordingly asked whether they owned land and the conditions attached to land ownership prior to resettlement.

Respondents confirmed that they had owned land:

Respondent 1:

> *Our land ranged from 5 to 14 hectares. We lived and shared our land communally and our livestock had a communal grazing area.*

Respondent 13:

> *My husband owned a lot of property, but upon his death, I became the owner of it.*

Respondent 7:

> *We inherited land from our forefathers who were born here and therefore we remain the rightful owners of it.*

Respondent 4:

> *We owned the land and we have documents to prove it. These documents were issued to our fathers by the traditional leadership and in a communal setting like ours; each one of us knows who owns what land, mainly because most of us are relatives.*

These responses indicated that respondents understood that the land they owned belonged to them on a permanent basis. However, as set out by the Ingonyama Trust Act 3 of 1994, it is stipulates that land in the rural areas is communally owned, which means that villagers would share the land if the need arises.

Findings reveal that OLUs did not have title deeds to give them full ownership of land. But all respondents did claim to have PTO documents in their possessions as proof of their ownership of land. Fourie and Hillermann (1997: 5) explain that PTO documents relate to a title which is not registered but is administratively created with the approval of the tribe and the regional level authority; PTO documents allow occupants to stay on the land as long as they live. This implies that occupants cannot really claim permanent ownership of land; the limited title conferred by these documents is restricted to lifetime ownership of the land.

Some female respondents who were married at the time claimed to have owned land even though the PTO documents were in their husband's names. But since women were then regarded as 'minors' and they were not allowed to enter into any formal arrangement without a male

guardian, as set out Bantu Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, their assertion of land ownership would not be valid. The researcher believes that if the OLUs had title deeds (a deed of grant rights), which would have given them full ownership of land and property (Fourie & Hillermann (1997: 5), their land and property would not have been appropriated. Regardless of all that however, respondents saw the land they occupied, as their "forefathers' land" and "a heritage for generations to come".

When respondents were asked to elaborate on how resettlement impacted on their ownership of land, Respondent 28 lamented,

> *I had hectares and hectares of land that I utilized for farming purposes and to plough sugarcane, but the resettlement left me impoverished. The plots that we were allocated after resettlement are only sufficient to build a small house and accommodate a small family.*

Respondent 21 had a similar story:

> *After resettlement, we lost all the land we owned and we were allocated small plots. Now our offspring have to look for land somewhere else in order to pursue their lives.*

These responses indicate that resettlement process has dispossessed OLUs of their land, which implies that resettlement had a negative impact on the ownership of land of OLUs.

4.4.2 Traditional dwellings

This interview theme concerns dwellings that the OLUs owned on the homesteads prior to the resettlement. Here the researcher intended to find out how resettlement impacted on these dwellings.

All 24 respondents claimed that they owned property prior to resettlement – which was, however, constrained due to land shortage:

Respondent 9:

> *My husband owned a lot of huts which were shared by all the members of the family. My husband, as the head of the family (*umnuzane*) had his own hut and other huts were there to accommodate his other wives (*omnakwethu*), other members of the family such as my in-laws, his sisters, brothers, children and the other two of his wives. After his death, we (wives) became the owners of the property.*

Respondent 10:

> *We had many huts on the homestead because we were a big family. We built many huts from the soil of our land, big and small poles for support as well as grass for thatching the roofs were all collected from the bushes nearby and at no cost.*

Prior to the resettlement in 1981, the Folweni area was surrounded by patches of bush from which building material was collected to build traditional dwellings, mostly in the form of huts. Having many huts (*amanxuluma*) on the homestead indicated the existence of a large family. These huts provided safety and security, the intimacy and warmth of family life, and also indicated rank order and division of labour. On average, about thirty individuals lived on each homestead, with corresponding dwelling accommodation. However, it appears that the building materials that the OLUs utilized for their huts were easily worn out, destroyed and washed away by heavy rains, and the huts had to be built again and again – meaning that dwelling structures did not really constitute durable investment in monetary terms.

When respondents were asked about the impact of resettlement on their property, all of them expressed anger and sadness at the thought of their experience:

Respondent 18:

> *After resettlement, most of our huts were knocked down and we were left with only three huts. Those few huts failed to absorb all the members of my family that lived on the homestead at the time. Some of my relatives were as a result forced to look for land somewhere else.*

Respondent 20:

> *More than seven huts were demolished and we had to be crammed in four huts. Our life was never the same. Even my two married sons had to leave the area and look for land somewhere else.*

These responses indicate that the OLUs suffered a series of setbacks other than the appropriation of their land. The study also establishes that resettlement led to the demolition of many huts on each OLU homestead, leaving them crowded into inadequate accommodation in the few remaining huts. This disturbed the equilibrium of their traditional way of life and affected the intimacy and warmth which they had embraced prior to the resettlement.

The OLUs who could not adapt to the new order had to leave the place of their origin to look for land somewhere else.

4.5 Human capital

This interview theme focuses on the human capital issues such as knowledge, skills and health. Here the researcher intended to investigate how resettlement process influenced the traditional knowledge and skills of OLUs.

4.5.1 Knowledge and skills

This theme relates to the human resources which the OLUs possessed prior to resettlement. The researcher included this section to ascertain how the process of resettlement impacted on the human resources of the OLUs.

When respondents were asked about the knowledge and skills that they possessed prior to the resettlement, they all cited their farming skills and knowledge that had been passed down to them by their forefathers:

Respondent 1:

> *Most of our land was steep but we worked hard to change it into workable plots by digging long tunnels which held water for a long time so that during summer when it is hot, water is gradually absorbed by the soil to irrigate plants in summer and winter. This also helped to prevent soil erosion and this method was believed to be safe for our type of soil and crops.*

Respondent 5:

> *We used cow dung and droppings from other domestic animals as manure to fertilise and preserve the soil. We also alternated crops to prevent soil erosion and this knowledge was passed down to us by our forefathers.*

Respondent 22:

> *We used our own seeds, dried and saved seeds in preparation for the following season to avoid buying seeds that were costly.*

These responses suggest that OLUs possessed rich and valuable traditional knowledge and skills which they used to pursue their livelihoods. A related point which Shiva (2000) makes is that cultivating conventional crops is cheaper because inputs are provided on the farm.

Respondents were also asked what impact they felt resettlement had had on their traditional knowledge and skills:

Respondent 6:

> *The practice of digging tunnels for irrigation had to be stopped because land was taken to be developed.*

Respondent 17:

> *After resettlement, there was no longer a need to dry seeds because there was no land to plant them.*

These responses indicated that the resettlement process eroded the traditional knowledge which OLUs used as a means of livelihood. The rapid acceleration of socio-economic and political changes which took place during the resettlement process radically changed the lives of OLUs and impacted negatively on their acquired traditional knowledge and practices. It emerged that resettlement introduced new institutions of knowledge such as schools, churches and clinics, in Folweni. This intervention interfered with the traditional processes of knowledge transmission. For instance, parents found it hard to transmit the traditional knowledge to their children because they were taught different type of knowledge which did not conform to traditional knowledge and skills. As a result, traditional skills and knowledge gradually started to fade away. The extinction of traditional knowledge and skills implies that the OLU community had to find other alternatives to pursue their livelihoods.

The knowledge and skills of the poor and vulnerable that are passed down to them by their forefathers is often ignored by government agencies and development practitioners (in this context the resettlement officials). Freire (1970: 72) refers to this process as a "banking method of education," which views the poor and vulnerable as empty-headed or passive, overlooking their accumulated knowledge which they have internalized from their environment. In the same

vein, Chandler and Wane (2002: 19) affirm that the modernist development-project perspective continues to regard the innovative practices of the poor as "untechnical" or "unnecessary."

The study establishes that knowledge, skills, information, capacity for labour, and good health all enable the poor and vulnerable (such as the OLUs) to become self-reliant and self-sufficient with a minimum of outside help.

4.5.2 Health

This theme relates to the traditional methods of health care that OLUs observed prior to resettlement. The theme also concerns the impact of resettlement on those health care methods and how resettlement influenced the traditional health care industry.

Respondents were asked to say what they remembered about traditional health care:

Respondent 22:

> *There was not even one clinic in the area and our community depended on traditional healers who had a sound knowledge of traditional herbs and medication.*

Respondent 8:

> *Many people in the community had a lot of knowledge about the use of different medicinal herbs that were easily found in the nearby bushes.*

This gives an indication of the way OLUs depended on traditional medication and herbs for health care. Traditional medicines were used to combat most of illnesses and it was accessible at low cost. Those who did not have the means to pay for medical services were treated for free.

Respondents were also asked to describe the kind of changes that occurred after resettlement:

Respondent 13:

> *Most of the bushes where herbs were collected were destroyed during the development phase of the resettlement. This prevented us from maintaining our traditional methods of medication which could have helped in the curing of many illnesses that prevail amongst us today.*

In relation to these issues of human capital, incorporating the knowledge, skills and medicinal practices passed down from generation to generation, Nefjes (2000: 64) comments of the potential inherent in these kinds of assets for enabling people to pursue multiple livelihood strategies. What became clear from the study was the community's inability to utilize as much land as they had previously been able to, for purposes of their choosing, and in their own terms, remained one of the most painful points in the resettlement ordeal. Almost all the respondents affirmed that a number of their practices, cultural and social, had suffered tremendously as a result of the resettlement.

4.6 Natural (Environmental) Capital

This theme relates to natural resources of Folweni such as land, firewood, livestock, biodiversity and environmental resources. Natural resources play an important role in any community's aspect of life as identified by Nefjes (2000: 65) who asserts that natural resources are the core aspect of life. This aspect of the study was developed to examine the effect of resettlement on the resources mentioned above.

4.6.1 Land

As mentioned earlier, land is an important asset to any community. This section of the chapter discusses the value of land as a natural resource and examines how OLUs valued land and the effect that resettlement had on the value of land.

Respondents gave various responses when asked how they valued land prior to resettlement:

Respondent 1:

> *We had plenty of land that we inherited from our forefathers. We were able to build our huts, kraals, and rear livestock and cultivate crops on it.*

Respondent 14:

> *We had hectares and hectares of land that we utilized for ploughing. We even cultivated sugarcane which we sold to the mills around the area.*

The responses indicate that, for the OLUs, land lay at very centre of their lives and was the foundation for their livelihood strategies; land was a crucial resource which provided economic benefits for the OLUs and they utilized it to pursue multiple livelihood strategies that were available to them.

Respondents were also asked to give their perceptions of how the resettlement process affected the value of land in Folweni:

Respondent 24:

> *When resettlement was introduced in our area, we lost most of our land. Today, we have small plots just to build a small house and there is no space even for a small garden.*

Respondent 15:

> *Without land you cannot have livestock and without livestock, you do not have wealth and without wealth, you cannot have life. That is how we feel today. So land is a valuable asset to us. The appropriation of land snatched our livelihoods away from us.*

Respondent 20:

> *After the process of resettlement, we lost our land and our dignity too. Today, our children and grand children have no land to claim as their own.*

These responses show that the resettlement process deprived the OLUs of the most valuable natural resource that had been available to them. Respondents complained that resettlement took away the land which they depended on for survival and counted on to sustain their offspring. Nefjes (2000: 65) argues that land appropriation interferes with "futurity", the principle of sustainable development which considers the well-being of future generations, (the intergenerational equity). Nefjes points out that land cannot be created or substituted; therefore it is essential that it be protected so that both the present generation and future generations are able to pursue their livelihoods from it. Ife (2000) explains that the concept of intergenerational equity entails prioritizing the needs of future generations, putting emphasis on policy decisions that take into account their welfare. Nefjes' and Ife's arguments both suggest that the resettlement process should have considered the spatial needs of future generations.

4.6.2 Firewood (energy)

This theme was designed to find out the kind of resource the OLUs utilized as a source of energy prior to the resettlement and ascertain how the process of resettlement impacted on this resource.

Asked what energy source they used for household needs, 23 respondents said that firewood was the main resource and formed part of their livelihood strategies.

Respondent 11:

> *Your question brings back sweet old memories of our traditional way of life. We collected firewood from the nearby bushes. This is a job that was mostly assigned to our teenage girls, because we believed in the division of labour. They used to leave home early in the morning and come back in the afternoon with a pile of firewood on their heads and would prepare food in the kitchen for supper.*

Respondent 17:

> *There are practices that we used to take for granted when we pursued our livelihoods in our traditional way of life and firewood is one of them. It was mainly used for cooking and heating water for bathing and it kept us warm in winter. Today, we have to pay a lot of money for electricity bills and that makes me look back and wonder how one could change the situation.*

The study revealed that the area of Folweni which the OLUs occupied was rich with bush vegetation which, among other things, also provided firewood. The responses indicated that the source of energy that the OLUs used for various household needs was obtained at no cost. It also appeared that firewood was an absolutely central resources because they used it to prepare food and to heat water; firewood was the mainstay of life.

When respondents were asked how resettlement impacted this resource, there were some very emphatic responses:

Respondent 5:

> *When the process of resettlement was introduced, the first thing to go was the clearing of bushes that surrounded us. That led us to start buying and using paraffin which was quite costly. Some of us were not earning a living and that made it difficult for us to pursue our livelihoods.*

Respondent 2:

> *Look at Folweni settlement, we hardly have trees, yet nature demands that we keep trees here and there. The process of resettlement destroyed all the bushes from which we collected firewood. Afterwards, it became very difficult to adapt to the new lifestyle and it is even worse today because we pay high electricity bills to maintain our household needs.*

These answers speak to the problems faced by the OLUs with regard to energy resources, which are a crucial necessity. The findings reveal that the bush vegetation that provided the OLUs with fuel wood were completely cleared to make more room for the construction of roads and the establishment of plots for the Malukazi families at that time.

Chandler and Wane (2000: 4) note that indigenous women in Kenya who collected wood for household consumption were blamed for deforestation, yet most of the wood was used by big companies for timber, logging, housing and charcoal production. In Folweni, it emerged that OLUs collected dry branches for fuel wood which meant that their contribution to deforestation was minimal, if any; they did not chop down fresh trees for fire wood, because fresh wood does not burn well. Firewood is also a very efficient source of energy because it does not seriously contribute to air or environmental pollution. Respondent 13 stated that the ash from firewood was recycled and used as fertilizer for their plants – further confirmation that firewood was an important renewable source of energy.

4.6.3 Environment

This theme relates to environmental resources as an important natural capital. It was designed to highlight how OLUs valued their environment. The researcher assumes that the environment is a significant component of human life which helps determine people's well-being. A healthy physical environment provides freedom from avoidable diseases such as respiratory and infectious illnesses. This section of the chapter examines whether resettlement affected the environmental set-up in the Folweni area. Asked what they perceived as significant environmental elements prior to resettlement, all respondents stated that prior to resettlement; the area of Folweni was surrounded by patches of thick bush vegetation which used to be home to many animal species. Two of the respondents who spoke about this in detail were:

Respondent 14:

> *We were always in touch with our environment to the extent that even snakes did not frighten us. I remember that we used to be awakened every morning by two birds that were called '*uMbalane*' and '*uMehlwana*' and used to sing so sweetly and loudly that we would all wake up. We turned to call that particular noise our 'wake up call.' At the beginning of summer rains in particular, the '*uMbalane*' would herald the time for ploughing and sawing. We equated its chirping (music) to urging the sluggards to pick up their hoes and start ploughing their fields.*

Respondent 16:

> *We protected our environment from exploitation. We were very sensitive when it comes to environmental issues, for instance we all had unanimously agreed not to cut down all the trees in order to prevent deforestation. Cutting down trees was regulated and those who violated those regulations were punished.*

These responses indicate that the environment played a crucial role in the lives of the OLUs and it was highly valued as a natural resource. The researcher believes that the OLUs preserved their environment in a sustainable manner so that it would continue to sustain them and generations to come. Highlighting the significance of the environment, Gopal (in Abrahamson & Theodossopolos, 2000: 138) describes the Kisans' belief that "an individual's life begins by imbibing the environment as the immediate source of nourishment, a process which becomes the very conditioning of the spirit." This interconnectivity with the environment is traceable to most rural people who use land for survival purposes. They protect their environment and look at it as something sacred and therefore not to be disturbed.

Respondents were asked to elaborate on the impact of resettlement on their environment. They complained that the state of their environment has deteriorated tremendously as a result of resettlement:

Respondent 24:

> *The clearing of bushes to accommodate the Malukazi families led to the extinction of many animal species and we no longer hear from the birds that used to wake us up every day to prepare to go to the fields. The state of our environment has deteriorated tremendously as a result of resettlement.*

Respondent 17 (who complained about the difficulty of getting firewood):

> *You know, some of us still depend on firewood for cooking and heating water, because the cost of electricity is too high and my family depends on my pension for survival. That is why we have to use firewood as a supplement. Now, we have to walk long distances to collect firewood.*

Respondent 18:

> *The heavy public and private transport is polluting the air that we inhale and the government is not doing anything about it.*

These responses suggest that resettlement destroyed the OLUs environment, with the removal of nearby bush leading to deforestation, emigration and extinction of some of the animal species that used to live in the bush around Folweni.

Respondents claimed that prior to resettlement; the existing bush vegetation had sustained their forefathers for many years and also did the same for them. The same bush areas provided shelter for many birds, snakes and insects which played a vital role in conserving the ecosystem. Chandler and Wane (2002: 11) comment that people in developing nations are often blamed for causing deforestation, but in their study they show that deforestation is the product of colonization and postcolonial development practices. Chandler and Wane also add that the degradation of ecosystems is a global concern of the 21st century, due to destructive practices sponsored by educational philosophies, uncontrolled global capitalism, and advancements of western scientific progress over hundreds of years.

The study also found that resettlement has led to the construction of roads which exacerbated land shortage, and, by increasing the number of cars in the area, has caused air pollution from fuel emissions. When employment opportunities are created, people's quality of life is enhanced but transport needs also increase. In a densely populated area, demand for public transport becomes extremely high and the resultant air pollution affects the health of all residents. According to Oelofse (2000: 1), air pollution leads to the decrease of the ozone layer, desertification and water pollution; Oelofse adds that if the use of resources by people is not changed at local level, the environmental quality of life of communities and individuals cannot be sustained.

4.7 Financial Capital

This theme relates to the aspects of financial resources such as regular remittances or pensions, savings, supplies of credit as explained by Nefje (2000: 66) as well as capital stocks such as natural or human or other capital that have been converted. Nefjes adds that financial capital is an intermediary in all kinds of transactions between the other capitals, and represents wealth and utility. Pertinent to this study is the issue of employment, livestock and means of production through which people obtain financial resources to pursue their livelihoods and means of production. This section discusses the impact of resettlement on OLUs financial positions.

4.7.1 Livestock

The previous section discussed the issue of land as an essential resource of the natural capital. This section considers livestock as a component of natural capital and the significant role it played in the lives of OLUs. One objective of the present research was to find out whether resettlement had an impact on the livestock of the OLUs.

When respondents were asked whether they kept livestock prior to resettlement, all of them confirmed that they kept cattle on their homesteads and five respondents mentioned that they reared goats prior to the resettlement. Some of the individual points that they made were:

Respondent 22:

> *We reared cattle and goats because we benefited from them in various ways. Goats in particular were mainly kept for cultural reasons. You see, in our traditional way of life, a goat is the only animal that connects us with our ancestors. So, it is slaughtered strictly to pursue our cultural practices and beliefs.*

Respondent 16:

> *The idea of rearing cattle and goats is a practice that was passed down to us by our forefathers.*

Respondent 5:

> *We sometimes used to sell our livestock to obtain money to send our children to colleges and also to obtain other household needs.*

These responses revealed that the OLUs valued livestock not only as a domestic possession but as spiritual assets which connected them to their ancestors, and also as economic possessions which enabled them to pay for their children's education.

Nefjes (2000: 89) notes that livestock rearing as a natural capital can be turned into a financial or physical asset through the employment of human capital, which suggests that no capital can function in isolation and that the various capitals are strongly interlinked. Cattle in particular were highly valued and considered as a primary source of wealth – a point that emerged in the respondents's description of how kraals were strategically located close to the huts so that household members would be able to keep better watch over their cattle. OLUs said that they benefited enormously from the cow dung and used it for various household purposes. For example, 17 respondents mentioned that they used cow dung as floor polish (*ukusinda*), or as coals (*amalongwe*) once the dung was dry; cow dung was used as organic manure (*umanyolo*) to fertilise soil in order to increase crop production; and it was also used medicinally to treat ailments such as a running stomach. Cattle themselves were used for ploughing the fields, they constituted a principal element in the "*ilobolo*" payment made for a bride, and they might also be slaughtered for a feast.

When respondents were asked about the impact of resettlement on their livestock, most of them indicated that Public Health animal by-laws, which were introduced after the resettlement, compelled them to cut back on their livestock or sell it:

Respondent 9:

> *After resettlement, there was severe lack of land for grazing and the Public Health animal by-laws forced us to curtail our livestock and most of us sold it at a loss.*

The study discovered that after the Public Health animal by-laws were introduced, some OLUs resorted to geese and chicken farming.

As explained by Respondent 2:

> *Most of us started raising chickens and geese, because the Public Health animal by-laws did not prohibit the chicken and geese farming."*

These responses indicate that after the resettlement process, OLUs had either to reduce the numbers of their livestock or sell them off in order to comply with the Public Health animal by-laws of the Municipality. The prohibition on rearing livestock in Folweni after resettlement interfered with the OLUs' cultural beliefs and practices that connected them with their ancestors. It also devalued what was considered as a symbol of wealth amongst the OLUs. In a traditional way of life, livestock is perceived as a symbol of wealth and power and is mainly kept for reasons of status. Livestock, and cattle in particular, attests to the recognition and dignity of *umnumzane* (the head of the family); the more livestock a man has, the wealthier he is. In the traditional culture, livestock-keeping plays a central role in shaping and sustaining the social, economic and cultural existence of the human community, and can be regarded as the symbolic and economic backbone of the land users' lives. Therefore the study findings plainly denote how negative the impact of resettlement was on livestock-keeping for the OLUs

Subsequently, however, the value and utility of cow dung in particular, has diminished – in the first place, because most houses now have cemented, carpeted or tiled floors. But its significance has also been tarnished by the fact that it has been identified as a source of tetanus (an infection which strikes through open wounds), and is thus perceived as a threat to people's health. The keeping of livestock for reasons of status is also problematic in today's unstable economic and global circumstances, and needs to be radically revolutionized for commercial purposes.

4.7.2 Means of production and production equipment

This interview theme relates to the kind of production equipment which the OLUs utilized to pursue their livelihoods. The researcher incorporated this theme to ascertain how the process of resettlement impacted this particular element of physical capital.

When respondents were asked about the methods and resources they utilized to prepare the soil for planting crops, interesting answers were offered:

Respondent 4:

> *We could not do this kind of work physically due to the vastness of land to be ploughed. So the cattle were utilized to till the soil.*

Respondent 7:

We were a big family and worked collectively to plough our land in preparation for planting our crops.

Respondent 16:

We used hoes and spades to till the soil and remove weeds. We also used cow dung to fertilise the fields. You see, cow dung used to increase our produce and we never experienced hunger.

Cattle played an important and crucial role in shaping and determining the way of life of the OLUs. Supporting this point, Makgoba (1999: 1) asserts that "the suitability of land for growing plants and cattle used to determine where people settled" – noting that "the contest for suitable land has resulted in many wars." Makgoba also points out that the status of the head of the family (*umnuzane*) was determined by the number of cattle that were reared on his homestead.

Respondents were asked how the process of resettlement impacted on their means of production and equipment for production.

Respondent 1:

Upon the introduction of resettlement, there was no land to till anymore.

Respondent 5:

The process of resettlement led to the appropriation of our land and there was no need for cattle dung to fertilise our land. Some of our equipment such as hoes and spades lie rotting in the tool room, but we managed to sell some to people who could use it productively. It is a pity; our children will grow up not knowing about our past.

The study reveals that the appropriation of their land prevented OLUs from pursuing their livelihood strategies and compelled them to abandon their traditional technique of fertilizing the soil with cow dung, the safest means of production for enriching and preserving the soil. The study also reveals that resettlement also affected the scientific and technological knowledge of the OLUs.

4.7.3 Employment

This part of the study sought to establish whether respondents were employed prior to resettlement and to assess the impact of resettlement on the employability of OLUs.

Respondents gave a variety of responses when asked about their employment status prior to the resettlement. The majority of the OLUs said they were either informally employed or self-employed. The formally-employed respondents emphasised that prior to resettlement there were very few jobs in the village.

Respondent 1 (who was formally employed):

> *I was young and had just completed standard nine. I was eager to do something different from what my parents have been doing all their life, 'tilling the soil' for a living. Job opportunities were available for those who could read and write.*

Respondent 12:

> *I was the eldest son at home and just before my father was pensioned prior to the resettlement, he recommended that I should take over his position at his work place, telling me that it is advisable to have one member of the family working, to guard against external and unexpected shocks such as drought, of which I did.*

Respondent 11:

> *Before resettlement, I worked as a security guard and the salary I was earning was not much. However, my three wives and family members worked collectively in the fields to produce crops and the surplus was sold to the neighbouring black townships, of which I appreciate.*

Respondents who had never been employed before and had depended on subsistence farming for survival gave interesting views:

Respondent 4:

> *Before resettlement, I worked on my land, ploughed different crops, consumed them and sold surplus to all the neighbouring Black and Indian townships. I also reared livestock, sold some whenever extra money was needed urgently. My family never depended on government hand-outs.*

Respondent 8:

> *We lacked education and skills to market ourselves to the nearby companies. Subsistence farming was the only tool we could use to survive and sustain our lives.*

The study also indicates that of the 20% of the respondents who had been employed prior to the resettlement, only one female respondent was formally employed. She explained how this came about:

Respondent 16:

> *Before the death of my husband, I used to manage household chores, worked in the fields and looked after my children and other members of my family. After his death, I was compelled to work for a living to support my children and in particular my two sons who were at the boarding school.*

The responses revealed that most respondents were either self-employed or informally employed. The study also finds that most respondents who were not formally employed were self-employed on their own fields. It appeared that most of the OLUs depended on subsistence farming as one of their multiple livelihood strategies.

The responses also revealed that subsistence farming directly or indirectly contributed to the country's economy in that the majority of OLUs were not dependent on government grants. There were no employment opportunities in the village and job opportunities that were available in the nearby factories at the time required qualified and experienced people. Most of the original land users did not conform to the required standards of employment at those factories. The researcher believes that although the OLUs had a strong passion for agricultural activities, lack of education entrenched their strong connections with the land and environment.

Respondents were also asked how the resettlement process affected their employment status:

Respondent 1:

> *After resettlement, my family lost their land and could not practice subsistence farming anymore and I was faced with the challenge of supporting the entire family including my three wives and nine children.*

Respondent 12:

> *After resettlement, although I was still formally employed, it became a very difficult task for me to support my extended family on the homestead who turned to become dependent*

entirely on me. It became even worse after I retired because I did not get much from my pension fund. My family now depends on the government grants that my first wife and I are collecting. My other wives are still below the age of accessing the old age pension. The cost of living has gone so high and it would be better if we still had our land because we would be able to cultivate crops to supplement the government grants. The process of resettlement shattered our dreams and destroyed our hopes. Today we live the life of beggars and accept hand-outs as if we were physically challenged.

The responses indicated that after resettlement the self-employed OLUs lost their land and livestock as well as jobs they had created for themselves and on which they depended to pursue their livelihoods. Even those who were formally employed were affected because their relatives who worked and depended on the land became unemployed in the process and turned to depend on them for survival. Respondents expressed ultimate dissatisfaction with the resettlement process because it snatched their livelihoods away.

After resettlement, many of potential employment opportunities were ruled out for those who were not educated, and in the meantime the cost of living sky-rocketed and the OLUs felt the pinch. The development process that has since been underway in the area of Folweni after resettlement does indeed hold out prospects for local economic growth and social development through the creation of more job opportunities, but population density in the area forces people to scramble for the few available resources, which as Oelofse (2000: 1) puts it, are being "consumed at an unsustainable rate". Besides, the jobs that were available at the time were for contract work and only lasted for a short period of time – thus not sustainable. It appears that the only hope for the OLUs was through subsistence farming, but without land that could not be achieved.

4.8 Conclusion

The researcher therefore concludes that the apartheid government's failure to consider OLUs' concerns and views on resettlement, contributed substantially to the tension, uncertainty, resentment and apathy that continues to exist amongst the OLUs even today. It was important for the apartheid regime to engage with and involve the OLUs in the decision-making processes of resettlement. As pointed out by Jaffe et al. (2003), for a project to succeed, and succeed sustainably, requires the full participation of grass-root people which should begin at the early

stages of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Jaffe et. al (2003) add that participation enhances community ownership and enables people to take charge of their own development.

The above results imply that the resettlement process had a negative impact on the livelihoods of the original land users. The dissatisfaction and resentment amongst respondents indicate that those who were in charge of the resettlement process did not take into account the negative impact it could have on the livelihoods of OLUs. Such disregard may result in physical conflicts between OLUs and the newcomers, as the population grows and more land is utilised for housing purposes.

This chapter presented the discussion on findings of the study. The following chapter discusses the conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presented findings around the three main research questions. This chapter concludes the study by first discussing a short summary of each chapter. The research findings will follow in order to ascertain whether the research objective was achieved. Thirdly, recommendations based on the outcomes of the research findings will be provided. Finally, the researcher will provide suggestions for future research work.

This study was developed to examine the effects of resettlement on the livelihoods of the traditional community members of Folweni. The objective of the study was to examine how the process of resettlement impacted the livelihoods of the original members of the Folweni community as a result of families from the Malukazi informal settlement being settled in Folweni.

5.2 Summary of Chapters

The first chapter introduced the subject title. It discussed the background of the study, research problems and objectives, key questions, and broader issues to be investigated. It also presented the structure of the thesis. Chapter two presented the theoretical framework, a brief survey of the local and international literature and the policy and legislative framework relevant to the study. It also included the conceptual framework which discussed key relevant concepts such as participation, sustainable development, governance and community development. The third chapter discussed the research methodology applied in this study and presented a brief study-area background. It also discussed research matters such as the research design, and key concepts employed in the study which included the core elements of the livelihoods system. The main research questions, research instruments, data analysis methods, ethical considerations, limitations as well as the validity and reliability of the research design were also discussed in chapter 3. Chapter four presented the findings and analysis of findings, encompassing the five core elements of the livelihoods framework, namely the social, physical, financial, natural and

human capitals. Chapter five discussed the conclusion, recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

In approaching the above objective, the researcher investigated issues relating to the social, physical, human, financial and natural capitals, and the research findings produced the following conclusions:

5.2 Conclusions

The empirical findings revealed that the resettlement process interfered with the livelihoods system of the OLUs. The process of resettlement had a negative impact on all five forms of capital mentioned in Chapter 4. This denotes that OLUs were not satisfied with the resettlement process or did not like the way it was implemented. The study discovered that the key problem which led to the dissatisfaction of OLUs was the consultation process. The consultation process was conducted through consultative meetings between the change agents and representatives of the OLUs, but the research findings revealed that those meetings were a one-way transfer of information and did not consider the views of the OLUs. It appeared that change agents knew very well that OLUs were going to reject the resettlement process.

In order to block any opposing views, the change agents used soldiers and KwaZulu policemen to intimidate participants. A process that is marred by intimidations creates fear in people and discourages them from participating in matters of vital concern to their lives. It may have a permanent effect on people's perception of leadership and development processes. People come to believe that they are not entitled to make decisions and that leaders' decisions are final and non-negotiable. As a result, people become passive recipients of services and that increases the sense of apathy within them.

The researcher asserts that most OLUs became reluctant to participate in other social change and development matters, because they felt that their participation would not influence the decisions that are made. The researcher therefore concludes that a poor consultative process may create apathy amongst the people and it may lead to resentment and tensions. On the other hand, an authentic participation process, where all stakeholders are treated equally, may contribute to

better chances of success and sustainability of the project. As mentioned by Jaffe et.al (2003), the success and sustainability of a project depends on the full participation of grass-roots people during the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluating processes. Jaffe et. al maintain that the process of participation enhances community ownership and enables people on the ground to take responsibility for their own development. If people are actively involved in development processes such as resettlement, they feel that they have ownership of the projects that concern their livelihoods. This will ensure the sustainability of those projects as well as community accountability and transparency.

Therefore, the researcher suggests that change agents should always engage with people at grass-root level, not only to inform them, but to let them actively participate in all processes and solicit their views and opinions. People's opinions should always come first because they are the key recipients of the process of change. For a sustainable and long lasting change process, change agents need to realize that the recipients of change are in fact the owners of that process. Therefore, disregarding their opinions may affect the objectives of the change process.

To conclude, the empirical findings have answered the research objective successfully. The study has proven that the resettlement process was not a successful project and it had a negative impact on the livelihoods of OLUs, because three decades after the resettlement intervention, a sense of resentment and uncertainty still remain within the community of Folweni, more especially amongst the OLUs. The OLUs still feel that they have been deprived of their land and livelihoods by the resettlement process.

The above conclusion implies that a resettlement process that disregards issues discussed above may have negative implications on the livelihoods of people. The resentment that exists amongst OLUs may results in conflicts between OLUs and newcomers. The dispossession of land and destruction of the natural environment, bio-diversity and sacred places also played a critical role in creating a negative influence on how people relate to their environment and spiritual self.

5.3 Recommendations

The study proposes the following recommendations to guide the future resettlement processes:

Firstly, it emerged that an ineffective consultation process contributed to the failure of change processes and their sustainable development. The researcher recommends that future resettlement interventions should include the views of all stakeholders in all decision-making processes, from planning to evaluation. This would enable communities to take charge of their own development. It would also ensure accountability, transparency and approval of the process by all stakeholders. If communities share a mutually beneficial relationship with change agents, it would enhance the quality of decisions that are made.

Secondly, the study also discovered that the resettlement process interfered with the traditional way of life of the OLUs. It destroyed the traditional practices such as polygamous relationships and the extended family systems. The traditional life style plays an important role in the livelihoods of local or indigenous people. People tend to appreciate their culture and long-established ways of doing things, because they depend on that for survival. Interfering with traditional life style of local people creates anger and apathy amongst them. Therefore, the researcher proposes that in future, change agents should consider the implications that the change process will have on the livelihoods of affected communities. This will help them to develop integrated change processes.

Thirdly, it also emerges that the resettlement process had a negative environmental impact. This implies that resettlement agents did not conduct an environmental impact assessment to ensure that the environment is protected from destruction during the resettlement process. The researcher suggests that future resettlement processes should consider the impact that resettlement would have on the environment. This would help save the ecosystems and the wild life that depends on them. It would also prevent the extinction of many indigenous plants and animals.

Fourthly, the study also showed that the resettlement process overlooked the importance of the traditional knowledge and skills base of the OLUs. The resettlement process hampered the method of transmitting traditional knowledge and information by changing the character of the area. Local people possess rich traditional knowledge which could be used to solve some of today's problems such as contribution to food security and treatment of some illnesses. The

researcher proposes that future resettlement processes should consider the sustainability and maintenance of the traditional knowledge and skills base.

5.4 Suggestions for further studies

This study was confined to the effects of resettlement on the livelihoods of the traditional members of Folweni. It only explored views and perceptions of OLUs who are 55 years of age or older, thus leaving out the views and perceptions of the newcomers and of younger traditional members. The researcher believes that it is important to obtain the views of all concerned stakeholders on how the resettlement process affected their livelihoods. Therefore, the researcher suggests that future studies should focus on the effects of resettlement on the livelihoods of both the OLUs and the newcomers from Malukazi as well as on the traditional members who are under the age of 55.

The researcher also suggests that future studies could focus on a comparative investigation of the effect of resettlement in communities where participation was employed as a principle of the resettlement process and the effect of resettlement in communities where participation was not applied. This would help demonstrate whether practical participation can have an effective impact on the success and sustainability of a resettlement process.

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Appendix 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

According to the Wikipedia (2009), the free encyclopedia defines the word 'questionnaire' as a research instrument/document consisting of a series of questions (arranged in a sequence) and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents and aimed at answering the main hypothesis.

For this study, the researcher had structured questions in the following sequence:

Questions on the Folweni traditional community

Section A: Questions on demography

1. How old were you when the resettlement was introduced in your community?
2. How old are you now?
3. What is the position of your marital status?
4. What standard of education did you acquire?
5. How many children do you have?
6. Did you have property of your own when resettlement was introduced in your community?

Section B: Questions around homestead

1. What kind of homestead did you have prior to resettlement?
2. What kind of homestead do you have now?
3. How did you value land prior to the resettlement?
4. Did you have tombs on the homestead prior to resettlement?
5. Do you still have tombs on the homestead?

6. Did you visit the tombs and why?

7. What happened to the tombs on the homestead?

8. How did the removal of tombs affect you?

Section C: Questions around the livelihoods

1. How did you sustain your livelihoods in Folweni prior to the resettlement?

2. How many people were employed in the family prior to resettlement?

3. How many people are employed now?

4. What specific knowledge and skills did you employ possess to sustain your livelihoods?

5. Did you cultivate your land? If yes,

6. What did you cultivate?

7. What did you do with the produce?

8. What methods and resources did you use to prepare the soil for planting crops?

9. Did you have herbs on your homestead?

10. What type of medicinal herbs did you have?

11. What type of consumable herbs did you have?

12. What did you do with the herbs?

13. What means of health care measures did you utilize to take care of your illnesses?

14. Did you rear livestock?

15. What kind of livestock did you own?

16. Why did you rear livestock?

17. Did you have grazing land of your own or was it communal grazing land?

18. Do you still rear livestock? If yes,

19. Where and how do you keep your livestock?

20. What type of energy did you use for household needs?

21. Are there any significant environmental elements that you may have lost as a result of the resettlement?

Section D: Questions on consultation

1. Were you ever informed about the resettlement? If yes,

2. How were you informed?

3. Where were you informed?

4. Do you think that the views of the community were solicited?

5. How did you feel about the resettlement?

Section E: Questions on the impact

1. How did the resettlement affect you and your household negatively?

2. How did the resettlement affect you and your household positively?

3. What did you do to address the challenges? Please enumerate

4. Were you granted any compensation prior to or during the resettlement? If yes,

5. What kind of compensation were you granted?

6. Were you satisfied with the compensation? If not, why?

7. What kind of compensation would you have preferred?

8. How do you feel about the new development? Please enumerate

Section F: Questions on cultural values

1. Are there any particular kinds of cultural practices you may have lost as a result of resettlement? Please enumerate

2. Do you have ideas of how these cultural practices can be restored? Please enumerate

Section G: Questions on coping strategies

1. What are the new challenges that you are facing as a result of the resettlement?

2. Do you have ideas of how some of the challenges can be resolved? Please enumerate

3. Is there a community structure responsible for attending to these challenges?

Section H: Questions on recommendations

1. If you have one request to make to improve your life in the area of Folweni, what would it be?

Appendix 2 Letter of Consent

A 997 Folweni Township
P O Isipingo
4110

27 September 2007

Address

Dear Sir/Madam

Letter of Consent re: The effect of resettlement on the livelihoods of the Folweni traditional community

I am a Masters student from the University of KwaZulu Natal in the Department of Community Development. I would like to obtain your consent to interview you regarding a research study I plan to conduct in the Folweni settlement.

The aim of the study is to examine how the process of resettlement has impacted on the livelihoods and sustainability of the Folweni traditional community. In particular, the study seeks to understand the tension which has surfaced in the form of uncertainty, resentment and apathy among the original land users of Folweni who felt dispossessed of their land as a result of the resettlement.

The purpose of the interview is mainly to gather your perspectives on the Folweni resettlement. I wish to conduct a one-on-one interview with you and to inform you that the estimated time of the research will be one (1) hour.

I wish to state that material gathered will not be published or distributed without your permission and that your identity and that of other research samples will be protected through the use of alphabets instead of your name. I further wish to state that the information or material gathered while conducting this study will strictly remain the University property to benefit other students. On completion of the dissertation, all gathered data (documents and cassettes) in my possession will be shredded or incinerated. However, I wish to highlight that I am obliged to share this information with my Research Study Supervisor and Committee.

It is also important to state that your participation in this study is voluntary and that you are free to withdraw from participating in the study at any given moment.

My contact details are as follows:

Name: Ms F N R Dlamini,
Telephone: (031) 900-0016
Cell: 072 841 3279

The contact details of my Project Supervisor are:
Name: Dr S. Kaye
Institution: University of KwaZulu Natal
Telephone: (031) 260 1417

Thanking you in advance.

Yours faithfully

Ms F N R Dlamini
Research Student

Consent:

I …….. (full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT: **DATE:**

…….