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POVERTY, HOUSEHOLD FOOD PRODUCTION: EVIDENCE FROM

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This article presents the results of a survey that explored the economic status among rural households in the former communally-owned developing areas in South Africa. It examines household demographics and farming in the study area to identify food-surplus from food-deficit producers. The results illustrate the socio-economic status among rural households in South Africa and its crucial role in determining the availability of sufficient food. The article has important policy implications for reducing food insecurity.

INTRODUCTION

The changing ideas and definitions concerning food security have been summarised by Falcon *et al* (1987) as follows: "... experts no longer perceive the hunger problem as one of starvation or protein deficiency, but rather one of chronic undernutrition, affecting a range of vulnerable groups whose common bond is their poverty". This emphasis on the links between hunger and poverty is the most important change in thinking about world food policy since the World Food Conference (Gittinger *et al*, 1987). These issues are now receiving renewed attention with the forthcoming second World Food Conference.

There is growing empirical and policy support for two fundamental premises about the linkages between food availability, poverty and access to food (Eicher, 1988). These premises can be described as the two sides of the hunger equation, namely the supply of and demand for food. The first premise is that increasing food production, storage and trade can assure food availability. This suggests that appropriate government policies should aim to address identified constraints to increasing food production and marketing. However, this strategy will not necessarily ensure that all people have enough to eat, thus, reducing hunger. This leads to the second premise, which is that because poverty is a central cause of hunger and malnutrition, special efforts are needed to help increase the access and entitlement to food.

This article presents the results of a household survey that was carried out in the Izingolweni, Nkandla and Hlabisa magisterial districts in the former-homeland of KwaZulu in South Africa. A total of 198 households were interviewed of which 173 questionnaires were usable. The survey was conducted during the first two weeks of March 1993.

The objective of this paper is to explore and highlight the relationship between agricultural production and socio-economic status among rural households in South Africa. To achieve this, the paper provides a brief overview of the household demographics obtained from the survey—household income levels and asset ownership, together with a description of farming enterprises—labour, agricultural land, inputs, credit, and crop and livestock production. This is followed by an analysis of the factors that distinguish between food-surplus and food-deficit producers. The paper concludes with some observations and recommendations for

Table 1 : Household Income Sources and Average

INCOME SOURCE	Proportion earning an
Informal jobs	
Formal employment	
Pension	
Crop income	
Livestock income	
Daily trading	

economic status (Table 2). The ultra poor (income <R1 000 per annum) derive most of their income from pensions, while for the more affluent (income >R3 000 per annum), formal jobs are the most important source. For middle-income earners, agriculture plays a fairly consistent role with a relatively constant contribution to income over the spectrum of around 15 percent, but contributes significantly less for both the ultra poor and the affluent, who have many alternative sources of income.

An important aspect of this statistical analysis is that there are no significant differences ($p < 0.05$) between the results obtained for each of the three surveyed areas, namely Ezingolweni, Nkandla and Hlabisa, suggesting a commonality in demographics and household income and asset levels, including sources of income or specific assets.

FARMING CHARACTERISTICS

Agricultural Land

Almost half of the respondents indicated that the land they currently occupy was given to them by a chief, while 17 percent inherited land from their family, and 10 percent occupy land given to them by an *induna*. The majority of respondents occupy land that falls within traditional tribal structures, although eleven percent indicated that they had bought the land from a chief. Respondents generally use all their land, but 19 percent of the respondents said that they do not fully utilise their land.

Sixty percent (60 percent) of respondents indicated that they need more land and that they do not have enough land to grow agricultural produce to feed their household. The shortage of land was listed by 46 percent of the respondents as the major factor preventing them from increasing their food production. Another major reason (30 percent) was that family members do not provide enough money for the agricultural enterprise of the household. If households were able to get more land, the majority of respondents indicated that they would either plant vegetables (24 percent) or maize (20 percent). Ten percent of respondents, however, indicated that they do not need additional land.

The existence of a rental market for land was investigated. Nine percent of the households rent land from neighbours, and 11 percent of the households rent land to neighbours. Share-cropping arrangements are an exception rather than the rule as only 3 respondents (3 percent) indicated that they are involved in such arrangements. Nevertheless, taken together these results indicate that there is a limited land rental market that could be developed, given a favourable policy and institutional environment.

Table 2: Annual Household Income Distribution, by

Income source	R≤1 500	R1 501-3 000
Crops	6.4	16.3
Pension	89.0	63.7
Informal jobs	2.6	13.7
Formal jobs	3.7	6.3

Table 3: Type, Location and Size of Arable Land, 1992

Type of land	Respondents with access	Distance	
		Next to	
Community gardens	41.6	19	
Crop fields	79.4	47	

* Mean sizes are:

Community gardens: Large = 0.31 ha; Medium =

Crop fields: Large = 2.56 ha; Medium =

Labour. In general the head of the household and/or the spouse take charge of household agricultural activities, spending around 25 hours per week during the summer and 14 hours per week in the winter on agricultural activities. Most respondents (63.6 percent) employ no labour from outside the household. Those households that do hire in labour employ between 1-5 labourers, with some employing as many as 12 labourers. The wages paid to these labourers are around R4-R5 per day. These labourers generally earn only the wage but about one-quarter of the respondents that do employ labourers indicated that they also provide in-kind payments, e.g., potatoes, maize, or meals.

Apart from agriculture, unemployed household members are involved in few other income-earning activities. Some sell sorghum beer, soft goods, chickens and wood. These activities are not, however, important sources of income, though it does illustrate possible scope for expanding informal rural enterprises.

Credit. Only 17 percent of respondents utilise credit, which comes from a variety of sources (Table 4). Most respondents (65 percent) were not interested in ever taking out loans. Those who did indicated that they did not anticipate using the credit for agricultural or other productive purposes, instead using the loan either to "earn more money" and/or to "build a new house". Few respondents, however, seemed to have any idea of how they would repay such "unproductive" loans.

Agricultural Production

Crops. Crop production is largely to satisfy subsistence needs, with only a small proportion of households

Table 5: Crops Produced by Respondents, 1992

Crop	Respondents who grow crops (Percent)	Average Yield (kg)
Maize	92.5	
Dry Beans	57.2	
Pumpkins	45.1	
White potatoes	54.9	
Cabbages	38.2	

Table 6: Livestock Ownership, Sales and Purchases

Item
Average number owned
Respondents with livestock (percent)
Respondents buying/selling (percent)

The dry conditions in KwaZulu during 1991, 1992 and 1993 probably contributed to these perceptions.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SURPLUS PRODUCTION

The previous section revealed a number of important findings with respect to agricultural production and income. Only a small proportion of agricultural output is marketed in the three areas surveyed. Most output is retained to satisfy household food requirements. Although most respondents indicated that they have access to land, almost one-fifth said they were unable to utilise the resource fully. Few respondents were able to utilise credit channels, thus, the usage of agrochemicals is low and little extra labour is hired in.

Overall the agricultural production system is characterised by subsistence, and its further development is constrained by limited access to important support services. Nevertheless, some households are able to produce a surplus. For the purposes of this paper, we distinguish between two groups of producers: those households that produce more than subsistence needs (12-14 bags of maize) and earn an income from maize production are classified as surplus producers or emerging farmers, and those who are only able to meet their basic household food requirements are classified as subsistence farmers.

Discriminant analysis was used to determine which factors are associated with surplus production. It was postulated that emerging farmers can be considered as part of the rural élite and would therefore own more cattle (CATTLE), have greater liquidity (LIQUID) resulting from remittances and pensions, have more contact with extension staff (EXTENSION), control larger farms (LAND) and more irrigated land (IRRIGATION). They would also tend to rent in or have access to more land (RENT) than subsistence farmers. In addition, it was anticipated that the incidence of households owning farm machinery and implements (MACHINERY) would be higher among emerging farmers, where this would also tend to give emerging farmers greater access to credit (CREDIT).

The calculated results show that, as expected,

Table 7: Discriminant Function Analysis Based on

Discriminant variable	Standard discriminant	
	Standardised Coefficient	
CREDIT (R)	0.418	
LIQUID (R)	0.326	
LAND (ha)	0.294	
IRRIGATION (ha)	0.188	
Number of cases		

* Subsistence farmers are defined as those who do not earn an income from sales of maize. Emerging farmers are those who do.

Table 8: Discriminant Function Analysis Based on Ex

Explanatory variable	Discriminant function	
	Standardised coefficient	
CREDIT (R)	0.483	
LAND (ha)	0.414	
LIQUID (R)	0.338	
EXTENSION (Visits)	0.208	
RENT (percent)	0.149	
Number of cases		

* Subsistence farmers are defined as those having less than R4000 of assets and are classified as those spending more than R4000 on consumption.

rental and extension are less important, their combined effect is greater than that of liquidity. Irrigation and machinery are not significant at the ten percent level of probability, but as expected show higher means for emerging farmers.

DISCUSSION

The results obtained above indicate that both supply and demand factors are important in determining rural household food security. This suggests that policies aimed at improving food security will need to address both supply-side and demand-side factors. A variety of characteristics of the food security problem and institutional capabilities need to be considered when making policy choices (Von Braun *et al*, 1992). These include macroeconomic policies, storage policies, production policies and programmes, income and employment generation policies and programmes, targeted distribution and food subsidies and emergency relief programmes. Although all these are important and relevant in the South African situation as depicted by the survey results in KwaZulu, specific emphasis needs to be placed on production policies and programmes, as well as income and employment generation policies and programmes.

Direct support to farmers plays a particularly important role, as is illustrated by the Farmer-Support Programme (FSP) of the Development Bank of Southern Africa. Results of the FSP (Van Zyl *et al*, 1991; Lyne and Ortmann, 1991; Kirsten *et al*, 1993) indicate that the programme contributed to increased household production and household income. The programme enabled households to produce sufficient staples, releasing resources that could be used to purchase other foodstuffs and/or durables. This in many cases resulted in a better balanced diet of households and a higher quality of life. A further expansion of this type of programme to reach more rural households should be one of the aspects to be considered in a food security policy for South Africa.

The results of this study illustrate the relationship between poverty, household food security and agricultural production. Rural households have few income-generating opportunities apart from the marketing of agricultural output that is surplus to household food requirements. Therefore key policies should aim: (i) to support farmers to increase production through productivity-enhancing investments; and (ii) to encourage the formation and deepening of a land market to enable more efficient producers to acquire more land and boost production.

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