

# Different routes of land reform programme by farmers and land reform beneficiaries in KwaZulu Natal Province; South Africa

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By  
Simphiwe Mngomezulu- 860819-574-03  
(24 ECTS)

Supervisor: Dr. Paul Hebinck

Wageningen  
The Netherlands

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

AgriBBEE	Agricultural Broad Based Economic Empowerment
ANC	African National Congress
CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
DAEA	Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs
DED	Department of Economic Development
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DoA	Department of Agriculture
IDPs	Integrated Development Plans
LRAD	Land Reform
MAFISA	Micro Agricultural Finance Institute of South Africa
PDA's	Provincial Departments of Agriculture
PLAAS	Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies
PTO	Permission To Occupy Land
RLCC	Regional Land Claims Commission
TIK	Trade Investment KwaZulu Natal
ZAR	South Africa Rand (R)

## ABSTRACT

The land reform program is one of South Africa's most determined tools of changing the society . It largely portrays its roots from Section 25 of the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution. The land reform programme in its broader sense has shown a less than satisfactory achievement in the first decade of democracy. The rate of land transfer remains far below official targets. Another major weakness in both land redistribution and restitution programmes is in relation to post-settlement support for beneficiaries. To understand the status and progress of land reform programme in KwaZulu Natal Province of South Africa, an exploratory study was conducted from three different municipalities (Umkhanyakude, AbaQulusi and Amajuba District Municipality) hence four case studies were produced (two case studies from one municipality). It is important to note that two out of these four cases were not from the land reform programme but there were obtained during the colonial period through tribal administration of land. The results showed that a post settlement support to land reform beneficiaries is still lacking, credit access is still a challenge to reform beneficiaries and also new outcomes are produced by land reform programme.

## Chapter one

### 1.0 Introduction

In 1994, the National Party bequeathed the African National Party (ANC) a starkly dualistic economy. The duality comprised a fully functionality modern industrial economy on the one hand, and a poverty stricken, disposed labour reserve economy on the other. The markets in South Africa were shaped to serve the needs of the white minority at the expense of the black people for decades. With regard to the land market, government policy from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards restricted black people from accessing it and the main aim of this strategy was to provide a supply of cheap labour (Levin, 1996). In spite of being in power for 10 years (now 15 years), the ANC has made a slow progress in bringing about substantive social and economic change for the majority a black South Africans. Many of socio-economic distortions that were introduced by previous governments are still in evidence. This can be explained by the great difficulty and slow process in the practice of refashioning segregated land, labour and capital markets. The democratic government addressed this highly controversial issue of land ownership and access to land, by initiating Land Reform Programme. The Land Reform Programme aims to return land to those who had been denied land based on racially discriminatory laws and to transfer ownership of land in the former homelands from the state to the people who lived on that land and had legitimate right to it (Turner and Ibsen, 2000).

A major weakness in both land redistribution and restitution programmes is in relation to post-transfer support for beneficiaries. Inadequate resources have thus far been devoted to such support; the recent announcement of a Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme is encouraging, but its budget allocation is still small (200 million ZAR in the first year) and the thrust and content of the programme is still unclear. In addition, land reform projects are poorly integrated into the development plans of local government bodies (Hall *et al.*, 2005). Capacity constraints are common in land reform programmes (Adams, 2000; Adams and Howell, 2001), and South Africa has been no exception. The Department of Land Affairs employs relatively few professionals relative to the magnitude of the task, has suffered from exceptionally high rates of staff turnover, and has struggled to provide its staff with appropriate skills. These problems have been exacerbated by the fact that the three main sub-programmes of land reform are poorly integrated, and the

potential for synergies between them have rarely been exploited. The general neglect of post-transfer support or post-settlement support and the failure to integrate land reform with a wider programme of rural development, has severely limited its contributing to livelihoods and to the revival of the rural economy. Therefore, stakeholders have come to realize that redistributing land and rights in land cannot, by itself, achieve the objectives of alleviating poverty, promoting equality and contributing to economic growth (Lahiff *et al.*, 2003). Hall and others (2003); defined features of policy as ‘a gradual and modest redistribution of land through consensual, market-based methods’; a ‘clear shift away from a programme aimed at the rural poor and landless to one aimed at the creation of a new class of commercial farmers’; non-interference with existing property rights (most evident in the ‘willing seller-willing buyer’ approach to land acquisition); and the failure to integrate land reform into a broader programme of rural development, together with a general neglect of post transfer support.

### 1.1 Problem statement

In response to South Africa’s history of land dispossession and skewed land ownership patterns, the constitution (1996) also plays the basis for a land reform program, which is also widely seen as having a crucial role in addressing poverty. It states in section 25(5) that, “The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis. Land reform generally consists of measures aimed at a more equitable and fair distribution of agricultural land. Usually, this entails the transfer (mediated by the government) of ownership of land from larger land owners to small-scale farmers or landless people (Manoma, 2005). The challenge for the democratic government lies in putting in place appropriate policies which will address the real and most pressing problem of eradicating poverty and resultant food insecurity, of which the land reform programme is a necessary but a sufficient condition to improve, the food security situation affecting the majority of the rural population. These include lack of post-settlement support to the emerging small-scale farmers as well as land reform beneficiaries.

## 1.2 Justification of the study

Since 1994, South African government has invested money in land reform programme such as land tenure, redistribution and restitution. The main aim of this programme is to improve the livelihood of the previously disadvantaged people. However, due to a number of challenges land reform implementation has been so slow and failing. This is according to many scholars and NGOs. In response to these challenges provision of post-settlement support to land beneficiaries seem to be one of the breakthroughs to these challenges in order to facilitate sustainable rural development and promote a highly equity in land reform and in sharing of land by all races in the Republic South Africa.

## 1.3 Objectives of the study

1. To identify key challenges that hinder land reform programme in KwaZulu Natal Province from different stakeholders (government and land beneficiaries) using a case study approach,
2. To explore the existing challenges and potential opportunities and to land beneficiaries in the communal areas of KwaZulu Natal Province and
3. To substantiate the importance of post-settlement support to land redistribution/restitution beneficiaries.

## Chapter two

### 2.0. Theoretical framework of land reform in the Republic South Africa

The conceptualization of land reform as a state planned intervention that is designed and implemented to facilitate social change was the first step for this study. This theoretical framework is supposed to help to make sense of the relationships of the factors that are relevant to the problem of providing farmers with post-settlement support and other relevant support to land reform beneficiaries. It also serves to provide the definition of relationships between all the variables of land reform challenges related to those that were discovered from the case studies of this research.

#### *Neo-liberal approaches*

To participate in the market, farmers must commit to systematically habits of farming; buy inputs and sell their products in such a way to maximize production and profit. Within this overall approach, there are perspectives within South African land reform program. Some noninterventionists suggest the maintenance of the large-scale commercial agriculture: they concede the need for black participation within the sector but dispute that the poor and landless are best supported by the development of the urban and industrial sector. They observe land reform beneficiaries as wasteful, naive and lack potential of handling farming enterprises. They eventually conclude by emphasizing that these problems have turned South Africa from being a food supplier to a food trade in. The second, more common position argues for land reform through the market. It states that farmers should decide whether they want to sell or buy land, which will then be valued according to its productive quality. Supporters of this position argue that South Africa's large-scale agriculture can be made more efficient through the development of a new class of capitalist family farms and increased competition.

#### *Political economy approaches*

Political economists argue that the increasing exposure of the poor to the forces of privatization and commercialization lead to the weakening of the poor and landless classes, with capitalism mainly benefiting and reinforcing the more powerful classes. Under this

view, even if poorer rural classes receive land, they are disadvantaged through lack of capital, access to technology and communication/information networks, and lack political influence. Their position is additionally weakened, as new technologies and scale enlargement lead to increased production, which in turn leads to a decrease in prices of the products sold and profit margins. As agro-food chains are increasingly integrated, smallholders depend on deals with supermarkets and other retailers, who use this dependency to increase their own value added, further cutting into the profit margin of the small farmers. Smaller farmers are thus excessively affected by this situation and eventually go out of the farming enterprise.

Promoters of this opinion charge that the political elite- businessmen and large-scale farmers- profile land reform. Beneficiaries fail to obtain good land, because the 'willing buyer-willing seller' mechanism allows landowners to sell land greater than the market price, and position the price for which beneficiaries try to obtain grants. Furthermore, marginalized groups such as women are often not beneficiaries as grants are often made to households instead of individuals- and men are more likely to control household resources. Political economists also argue that land reform beneficiaries are forced to conform to a specific vision of agriculture- large scale, capital intensive farming which is seen as the most prolific form of agriculture. The previously disadvantaged people who wish to attain land are obligatory to work in collective groups, on the hypotheses that the grouping will work as a single "feasible" unit. In pragmatic sense, such collective units are often inoperative and not sustainable at all.

All these disagreements by political economists wrap up by stating that the previous policies which were against the black farmers remain unchanged or else few changes are taking place (if ever there are benefiting the beneficiaries of land reform). This has been referred to as the 'same car different driver' principle (van den Brink, 2003).

#### *Actor-oriented approaches*

In land reform programmes society is seen as uniform groups, in which all members in the group share the same needs, and have the same reasons for their decisions related to use land. They are represented as victims of wider processes and external pressures in society: policy decisions by the government or economic processes at the national or global level. In both approaches, disadvantaged groups are not considered to have "agency". However,

there has been much evidence that individual farmers act differently from how both neo-liberals and political economists predict (ARD resource book, 2009). The ARD resource book (2009), continues to state that it is crucial to study farmers as actors in their own terms, to see how they make sense of the world, how they behave, identify and deal with constraints as well as opportunities they face. In other words, farmers themselves have knowledge of their situation, they can reflect on things that are happening to them and they can find ways to cope under pressure. So even though the market may be a force that restricts the behaviour of small-scale landowners, these may still devise ways to cope without disappearing (as theorized by political economists) or turning into entrepreneurs (as theorized by neo-liberals). They do not necessarily adopt the profit maximizing logic, nor only value production as promoted by neo-liberals. They may have another logic, which is embedded in their personal circumstances and values (Mr. Nyembe's case clearly depicts this). This logic differs for different people and localities. By understanding this common sense and by understanding the livelihoods of rural households, as well as views, assumptions and objectives of other stakeholders-the actor oriented approach helps to understand what actually happens "on the ground", and to develop alternative strategies that may offer sustainable land reform programme

## 2.1 Stakeholder analysis

Table 1: Stakeholders analysis

Stakeholders	Roles and responsibilities of stakeholders
Department of Agriculture (DoA)	It offers technical advice (including post settlement) and extension service to farmers/land reform beneficiaries. Research and training is also conducted by the department. Infrastructural provision by agric engineering is also included
Land reform beneficiaries	Targeted groups of land reform and restitution
Microfinance institutions: Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP)* Micro Agricultural Finance Institute of South Africa (MAFISA)* Ithala bank Land Bank	All these institutions are supposed to provide financial support to land reform beneficiaries.

\*Institutions are currently not actively involved in case studies

### 2.1.1 Department of Agriculture

Agricultural extension is the process of transferring agricultural information and technology to farmers for use in production and marketing decisions and similarly transferring information for use in production from farmers to researchers (Swanson, 1984; Eicher, 2002). Extension has weakened by increasing fiscal constraints whilst extension providers covered too wide an area and range of activities amidst poor linkages Rukuni *et*

*al.*, 2006). After democracy, there were swift changes in the agricultural sector. The first of land reform and resettlement exercise added a new dimension to extension. As acquired commercial farms were converted into resettlement schemes, with more small farmers on the ground, the need for greater numbers of extension personnel became obvious. Government was forced to face the daunting challenge of providing not only personnel but also the infrastructure of providing not only personnel but also the infrastructure in the newly resettled areas (Rukuni *et al.*, 2006).

These has however contributed to the decreased extension support by government in the Republic of South Africa. The other challenge that is facing extension officers in South Africa is that small-scale farmers operate differently as compared to commercial farmers as a result extension officers do not understand how to assist these new emerging or new farmers rather that land reform programme is bringing out because their training does not encompass activities that are adopted by small-scale farmers to farm.

### 2.1.2 Land reform beneficiaries

Policy specifies certain categories of people as priority groups to be targeted, namely the four ‘marginalized groups’ of women, farm workers, disable and the youth (35 years and below). These are apparently a proxy for the ‘poor’, introduced after the removal of the income-based criterion that limited eligibility on the basis of a means test. Whether the poor in fact predominate among beneficiaries is far from clear; available data do not show whether or not is the case. These groups might get preference in the evaluation of project proposals, but there is not differentiated strategy seek them out and then give them priority (Hall, 2009).

Most fundamentally, the focus on ‘marginalized groups’ is in tension with the ‘own contribution’ required by LRAD, which according to policy is intended to demonstrate and lead to a degree of commitment by beneficiaries to dedicate themselves to farming, which in turn is supposed to lead to project success (MALA, 2001). These arguments, however are more moral than experimental; they also imply that the better-off are more committed since this is recognized in the form of own contribution of capital, assets and loans (Hall, 2009). The requirement to submit business plans also generate exclusion. The use of income targets in some provinces requires applicants to demonstrate their anticipated profit

in the first year of operation- effectively making the majority of poorer applicants ineligible (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003). Hall (2009), conclude by stating that the criteria being applied in provincial Grant Approval Committees (PGACs) might result not only in applications being rejected, but may also lead consultants and planners to encourage applicants to take out loans as one way of making the figures work on paper.

### 2.1.3 Microfinance institutions

Historically, large-scale commercial farmers were the major beneficiaries of most formal agricultural credit facilities in the agricultural sector. Formal institutions and successive colonial governments traditionally supported the predominantly white sector and neglected black rural led enterprises. This bias resulted in a highly skewed distribution pattern between the large-scale and smallholder farming sectors as smallholder farmers could not access formal credit facilities. The availability of credit facilities enabled commercial farmers to mechanize and capitalize most of their operations such as irrigation development and other farm operations. As a result of mechanization in the large-scale commercial farming sector and also the added advantage of bonding of properties as loan collateral. (Zumbika, 2000). Same as in Zimbabwe, two distinct farming sectors have emerged during the land reform programme in South Africa. Firstly, the smallholder farming sector that is comprised of communal, resettlement and new emerging farmers-this category of farmers require short-term credit for inputs like chemicals, fertilizers and working capital and to a lesser extent, medium-term loans for machinery such as tractors, ploughs and irrigation development. Secondly, the large-scale commercial sector comprising of small-scale commercial farmers (mostly, owned by black farmers)-this category require both short-term loans for inputs and working capital and medium term and long-term term loans for farm machinery (Rukuni *et al.*, 2006).

According to Bradstock (2006), if the ANC government continues its commitment to strict macro-economic policies, then the land reform programme will experience difficulties in meeting its poverty reduction objectives. Alternative policies that aim to enhance human capital that in turn provide individuals with more options to develop their own poverty reduction objectives. Alternative policies that aim to enhance human capital that in turn provide individuals with more options to develop their own

poverty reduction strategies as well as widening the scope of the social security system to target South Africa's most vulnerable groups may be a more effective policy strands than continued investment in the government's land reform programme that paradoxically, is constrained by some of its own policies (Bradstock, 2006).

### 2.1.2.3 Ithala Bank

Ithala bank is the bank that was established as an institution in 1959, an institution known as Bantu Investment Corporation Limited (BIC) by the state to be responsible for the development of all black areas in South Africa. In 1968, the legislation governing the BIC was amended, to enable the establishment of regional development corporations for each of the various "homelands" and in due course the KwaZulu Development Corporation Limited (KDC) was established for the development of the black areas in KwaZulu Natal. This bank is currently sponsored by DED and it offers a number of agricultural loans including acquisition of agricultural land, acquisition of livestock, acquisition of equipment, fixed improvement loans and working capital. The repayment terms on these loans vary between one month and 240 months depending on the nature of the business. The repayment frequency can also be structured to coincide with the cash flows of the business. Security of agricultural loans is arranged based on the assets being financed. This bank work hand in hand with Department of Land Affairs for supplying land grant and this grant is used as a prerequisite to obtain a loan at the bank. The Land Affairs department provides people with 10% and Ithala provide the rest of the loan (Ithala bank website).

The minimum loan they provide is 115 000 ZAR and the maximum is 400 000 ZAR. The other requirements are that a borrower must not be a government employee and a farm can be purchased only from the commercial farmer. However, it is not easy for this bank to release a loan if people come as a group but they need to come as a legal entity. The land that is acquired through land restitution programme cannot be used as collateral due to some difficulties that has been encountered in the past such as unplayable loans because of no appointed person to be dealt with. So this means that a co-operative must have something else to use as collateral not land that has been obtained through land restitution or reform programme. There are other challenges that were mentioned when land restitution projects are sponsored since there is no collaboration between Ithala, Department of Economic Development and Land Affairs yet they are all supposed to work

together. This makes the process of acquiring a loan by land beneficiaries to move very slowly. Apart from acquiring a loan; lack of skills and other management capabilities of emerging farmers were stated to be one of the challenges that is facing land reform beneficiaries.

At both macro and sectoral levels, government economic policies have not created an environment or incentive to encourage the development of viable smallholder/land reform beneficiaries farming. There is still a huge demand for agricultural finance and most new farms being established lack access to adequate funds. Small-scale farms have been particularly disadvantaged. For most commercial banks, it is difficult to finance smallholders, communal farmers and land reform beneficiaries because in the past or even now they have been tended to be regarded to be high risk group. However, a number of public organization, private banks and private companies' avail credit to farmers in one form or the other, lack of coordination of the operations resulted in an unfair and uneven distribution of credit to farmers in some cases (Zumbika, 2000).

## **Chapter three**

### **3.0 Literature review**

#### **3.1 Background of land reform in the Republic of South Africa**

The extent of dispossession of the indigenous population in South Africa by Dutch and British settlers was greater than in any other country in Africa and persisted for an exceptionally long time. European settlement began around the Cape of Good Hope in the 1650s and progressed northwards and eastwards over a period of 300 years. By the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century most of the country, including most agricultural land, was reserved for the minority white settler population, with the African majority confined to just 13% of the territory the 'native reserves', later known as African Homelands or Bantustans (Thompson, 1985). The current Constitution of the Republic of South Africa sets out the legal basis for land reform, particularly in the Bill of Rights (Act 108 of 1996); section 25 places a clear responsibility on the state to carry out land and related reforms, and grants specific rights to victims of past discrimination. It allows for expropriation of property for a public purpose or in the public interest, subject to just and equitable compensation, and states explicitly that 'the public interest includes the nation's commitment to land reform and to reforms to bring about equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources'. The policy framework for land reform was set out in the 1997 White Paper on South African Land reform (Department of Land Affairs, 1997):

- land restitution, which provides relief for victims of forced dispossession;
- land redistribution, a discretionary programme to redress the racial imbalance in landholding;
- tenure reform, intended to secure and extend the tenure rights of the victims of past discriminatory practices.

The objectives of the redistribution programme, and the preferred means of achieving them, are described in the White Paper:

The purpose of the land redistribution programme is to provide the poor with access to land for residential and productive uses, in order to improve their income and quality of life. The programme aims to assist the poor, labour tenants, farm workers, women, as well as emergent farmers. Redistributive land reform will be largely based on willing-buyer willing-seller arrangements. Government will assist in the purchase of land, but will in general not be the buyer or owner. While tenure reform and restitution include an element of redistribution, it is the redistribution programme itself that is expected to make the most substantial contribution and benefit the greatest number of people. The legal basis for redistribution is the Provision of Land and Assistance Act of 1993 (Act 126 of 1993) but this is no more than an enabling act that empowers the Minister of Land Affairs to provide funds for land purchase. The details of the redistribution programme are thus contained in various policy documents, rather than in legislation (Lahiff, 2000).

The end of apartheid found a high proportion of the South African population residing in rural or semi-arid rural areas, but functionally dependent on the urban-industrial economy. Access to land by black people was effectively limited to the 13% of land that made up the former homelands, much of which was overcrowded and unsuited to agriculture. Agricultural activities tended to be on a small scale and made only a minor contribution to household livelihoods. Ten years on, poverty and unemployment are still heavily concentrated in rural areas, particularly in the former homelands but also in the former white commercial farming areas. Agricultural land is concentrated in the hands of approximately 45 000 cooperate and individual owners who are white (Lahiff and Cousins, 2005). However, the government has set a target for redistributing 30% of white-owned agricultural land to the disadvantaged communities by 2014. This target equates to approximately 24 million hectares. To date the Department of Land Affairs has only redistributed approximately 4% of this target (DLA, DED and DAEA report, 2009).

These targets were clearly unrealistic. The progress was very slow to begin with, and by the end of the Mandela era very little land had been restored or redistributed. Under the Mbeki administration that took office in 1999, the targets were revised: the completion date for restitution was extended to 2008, and then again to 2011, and the date for redistributing 30% of farm land was extended to 2014. By 2008 a total of 5.8 million hectares (around 5% of commercial farmland) had been transferred to blacks through a combination of restitution and redistribution. Over 90% of land claims had been resolved,

most of them urban claims, but the majority of large rural claims were still unresolved. Laws and programmes aimed at protecting the tenure rights of farm workers and labour tenants have been ineffective: evictions have continued, and more people have lost access to rural land in this way than have gained it through land reform. Legislation on communal land rights that strengthened the powers of chiefs over land was passed in 2004, but is subject to a constitutional challenge and has not yet been implemented (Cousins, unknown).

Critics have chided government for the slow pace of land reform, and warned of the possibility of the land question becoming politically explosive, as in Zimbabwe. Land activists see the 'willing seller, willing buyer' approach as expensive and cumbersome but also unjust, given that land was forcibly appropriated by the racial minority in the past. The small budget for land reform (around 1% of the national budget) has also been heavily criticized. The National Treasury, however, has been reluctant to vote more money to land reform because of the failure of many projects and lack of evidence that land reform is making any impact on rural poverty. Critics have in turn pointed to the almost complete failure of government to provide adequate post-settlement support, and to badly designed business plans. Water reform has not been integrated into land reform. Should land reform support the emergence of large- and medium-scale black commercial farmers (which will limit the number of people that benefit), or promote small-scale agriculture (thus broadening the spread of benefits)? This has been a highly controversial issue. The Mbeki administration tended to favour emergent commercial farmers, but the 2009 ANC manifesto emphasizes small-scale production within a programme of agrarian reform that will be implemented in communal areas as well as on land reform farms. A major constraint on land reform is weak capacity in the relevant government departments. There are insufficient staff members, many are not adequately trained, and staff turnover is high. The government agricultural extension service is very weak. Many agricultural officials see household-based production systems as inefficient and 'backwards', favour large scale farming methods, and are not motivated to support land reform for the poor (Cousins, unknown).

### **3.1.1 Current status of Land Reform in KwaZulu Natal Province**

In KwaZulu Natal Province there are 4 631 235 hectares of white-owned agricultural lands (SG report, 2008) and the 30% target would amount to 1 389 370 hectares. The Provincial Land Reform had already redistributed 322 309 hectares. Therefore, the Department is expected to deliver 1 067 061 hectares from 2008 to 2014. This would mean that the Department of Land Affairs needs to deliver 152 437 hectares annually up to 2014. In terms of restitution, all claims had to be settled by December 2008, as per Presidential deadline. However, the Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs has already signaled that this deadline will not be met. The remaining claims are primary rural claims on commercial farms. Currently, the province has a total of 1322 outstanding claims with over 1000 still to be verified. These claims are primary rural claims on commercial properties and the impact on the rural economy could be devastating if a comprehensive post settlement support programme is not firmly in place. The draft Provincial Growth and Development Strategy cites agricultural production as a major driver for economic growth in KwaZulu Natal. This affirmed in the Provincial Spatial Economic Development Strategy which has identified key agricultural corridors and nodes for focused intervention by the Departments of Land Affairs, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Affairs and the Department of Economic Development. The challenge for the Provincial Government as captured in the Provincial Spatial Economic Development Strategy is that the scaling up of land reform transfers needs to be matched by opportunities to increase agricultural production. Failure to do so would result in the collapse of local economies of many exiting rural towns that rely on commercial agriculture for their livelihoods, and the loss of jobs potential and require concerted effort in this regard (DLA, DED and DAEA report, 2009).

### **3.2.1 Challenges that hamper the success of Land Reform implementation in the Republic of South Africa**

Substantial research and reviews have been accomplished in South Africa on land and agricultural reform initiatives implemented and a number of lessons have been learnt, amendments made to implementation policy and processes and reasons advanced to explain why land reform and developmental projects especially those that are more linked

to land reform and restitution has been slow and collapsing. The following reasons were found:

- The first reason is that the existing policy on grants resulted in beneficiaries being forced into large group ownership schemes so as to qualify for purchase price of land, as opposed to individuals. The complexity of group dynamics has not been adequately taken into consideration in terms of project design and implementation. Grouping, often consisting of a number of individuals some who do not even know one another, leading to collective action problems, free riders and passive shareholding amongst other problems. The reality is that if the grant structure is not reviewed; no discernible progress will be made anytime soon. The National Land Summit amongst other forums gave specific proposals on how it wanted the LRAD grant reviewed. Furthermore, it is important to note that while land prices kept rising, the grant was never indexed on such inflationary occurrences;

In South African tradition; land is the source of livelihood, which cannot be owned by an individual. It is owned by the community for the benefit of members of that community. The communal land is owned by the community for the benefit of members of that community. The communal land is owned by the tribe. Although name, most of the communal land in South Africa is owned by the state, who holds it in trust for the community. The chief is in charge of all the land occupied by tribe. The district chiefs and the headmen divide the land over the different households. They also determine the use of different areas (Schapera and Goodwin, 1962). The system of land tenure is based on the principle of group survival. Every member of the group that owns the land, has the right to the use of land and is protected (Adegboye, 1996). All the natural resources of the land are common property and can never be reserved for the use of only one particular person (Schapen and Goodwin, 1962).

- The second reason is about the pace of land reform itself. Getting land has been a lengthy and tedious process. The time from application to approval is estimated to be around 10 to 20 months, with a further six months between approval and transfer of land. As a result of such delays, farms intended for land redistribution are often in a state of flux over this two-year period with the resultant deterioration in

operations and infrastructure. In other cases, land owners have withdrawn their farms from the market rather than wait forever. Situations are abound where planning have been done around farms that are no longer available for land redistribution, resulting in the waste of resources. It is therefore not a surprise that only about 4% of the redistribution target of 30% by 2014 has been met. At such a pace it is estimated that no more than about 5-6% would have realistically been achieved;

This issue was also addressed by Hall and Lahiff (2004); “one reason the impact why land reform is barely impacting on poverty is because it is chronically under-funded”. Between 1994 and 2004 the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) received no more than 0.5% of the national budget, and only in 2005 did this increase to around 1.0%. By August 2004 it had transferred a total of only 4.2% of commercial agricultural land, through all three sub programmes taken together - restitution, redistribution and tenure reform (PLAAS, 2004). The pace of land reform is not only constrained by the budget of the DLA but also by the supply of land. Current policy primarily rests on the open market acquisition of land by beneficiaries and is thus dependent on private owner’s willingness to sell. Anecdotal evidence points to a general lack of willingness on the part of these owners to sell their properties, often deterred by the lengthy and bureaucratic process involved in a land reform transaction. The far-reaching political and economic implications of this slow pace of transformation should not be underestimated especially in light of Zimbabwe’s recent experience (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003);

- A third reason relates to the ability of the current implementation framework to effectively differentiate between primary empowerment aimed at black entrepreneurs in agriculture and agribusiness and; social security type land reform needs, aimed at targeted beneficiaries- labour tenants, farm occupiers and farm workers. It is noted for, example that whereas AgriBBBEE seeks to ensure ownership by black entrepreneurs, the current programme does not adequately cater for this imperative;
- A fourth reason is about the lack of post settlement support. The transfer of productive land is not an end in itself, but a means to wealth generation,

employment creation, foreign exchange earning but if such land is productively used. The bulk of the recent land transferred is commercially productive and requires continuity of sustainable agricultural production which skills and know how is needed. This support is sadly lacking. The reality is that post-settlement support has not been well coordinated between district and provincial levels on the one hand, as well as between the Department of Land affairs and the Department of agriculture and Environmental Affairs on the other. Coordination measures in place between these spheres have not been effective and

- The fifth reason is about the institutional framework and public private participation in support of land reform and developmental projects has had certain weaknesses. For example, business plans drawn by third party service providers, are often theoretical and often do not form the basis for actual project implementation post approval. Further, more the remuneration of service providers is not based on the implementation outcome of their plans. As a result there is lack of commitment from service providers beyond submission of business plans to Department of Land Affairs. This is one of the reasons why post settlement support for land reform beneficiaries has not happened to the scale required. The last reason is that there has been an implementation capacity challenge. State officials try their best, in most instances their competence is not in farming where the coal face of land reform actually lies. Furthermore, the officials are thinly spread across projects to ensure effective post settlement land holding support, training and monitoring (DLA, DED and DAEA report, 2009).

These bring lots of challenges to land beneficiaries and a bundle of research has been carried out about lack of proper post-settlement support. A lack of support services to newly resettled beneficiaries of land reform has of late, been identified as a major weakness in South African's land reform programme according to the Ministry of Agriculture. In terms of market-led reform beneficiaries are not expected to rely exclusively on the state for post-settlement support services, but to access services from range of public and private provider. Recent studies show that land reform beneficiaries experience numerous problems accessing services, inputs and producing for markets. Services that are available to land reform beneficiaries tend to be supplied by PDAs and a

small number of NGOs, but the available evidence would suggest that these only reach minority (Human Sciences Research Council, 2005). According to Jacobs (2003) the lack of post-settlement support stems from general failure to conceptualise land reform beyond the land transfer stage, and from poor communication between the National Department of Land Affairs; responsible for land reform, nine PDAs; responsible for state services to farmers and local governments; responsible for water, electricity and other infrastructure.

The need for additional support for land reform beneficiaries has of late been acknowledged by the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs and has led to the introduction of a new Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP). This programme was introduced in 2004 with an objective of enhancing support services, targeting in particular the beneficiaries of land and agrarian reform programmes with a new micro-credit programme. The MAFISA programme has also been established by the state services to provide loans to small farmers, including land reform beneficiaries. However, the well developed (private) agri-business sector that services large-scale commercial agriculture has shown no more than a token interest in extending its operations to new farmers. The principal explanation for this of course is that land reform beneficiaries are on the whole so cash-strapped that they are not in a position to exert any effective demand for the services on offer, even if these services were geared to their specific needs. The problems of post-settlement support have been raised by various commentators and analysts but have not been a major concern for some of the radical populist groups, which can perhaps be seen as part of a general tendency to focus on the 'headline' political issue of a land acquisition rather than on the more mundane technical details of agricultural production (Jacobs *et al*, 2003).

Some studies suggest that land reform mainly restitution is not encouraging a range of settlement options, such as small family farms and instead promotes more commercially oriented single-entity farms which address the needs of small minorities within the claimant communities. Complementary support services for land reform are not being adequately planned or implemented and no clear role has been allocated to municipalities. But instead there is a pressing need to augment the current land reform with services such as affordable credit, extension support, affordable inputs and agricultural training relevant to new entrants to the farming industry (PLAAS, 2006). According to Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies for Sustainable Development Consortium (2006); access to

land is an important step in redressing the injustice of apartheid in South Africa. However, if land is to contribute to people's lives, especially those of the poor, complementary support services are a critical intervention. Such services are widely expected to come from the state because the majority of land reform beneficiaries are poor people because of land dispossession of the previous apartheid government. As a result it came to pass that many rural people, especially the poor and unemployed are and willing to farm on a small scale if they are given the opportunity. For them farming is largely driven by food needs and lack of alternative employment possibilities. The production of food crops can make a significant contribution to household food needs, even without cash sales. Another break in post-settlement is in local co-ordination for service delivery which is a critical gap in post-settlement support. In South Africa, land reform is the core responsibility of the DLA and PDAs deal with the matters of agricultural support (this includes the post-settlement support). Local government, which is legally responsible for co-ordination of local development or rural development rather, typically does not see land reform as part of its mandate and appears to be reluctant to include support to land reform in their Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). Local municipalities, where land reform is implemented, could play an important role if they understood their roles properly and if were given the necessary resource (PLAAS, 2006).

For the post-settlement to be implemented there has to be proper planning and apparently most studies show that post-settlement support consists of poor planning which is the cause of failure and collapse of land reform projects. The formal plans are in most cases dictated by private consultants hired by the state to assist communities and tend to focus narrowly on agricultural production, with neglect of alternative land uses, including housing. In some instances land beneficiaries reside between 20 and 70 kilometers away from the farm and it is difficult to understand how they will farm the land under these conditions. Yet again, business plans are claimed to be unrealistic in that they rely on huge loans and high levels of expertise in farm management and marketing. Therefore, this raises important questions around the nature of the planning process, including the imposition of inappropriate models of commercial farming, the lack of popular participation in the process and around whose needs are being met. For the institutional development and support which forms a critical base for sustainable settlements: Common Property institutions such as Common Property Authorities (CPAs) and Trusts require extensive support. This is partly because in most cases they are foreign to the land reform

beneficiaries and it takes time for people to learn new ways of administration of land which is completely different from customary ways in which decisions are made about land allocation and use in tribal areas (PLAAS, 2006).

### **3.3 The chieftaincy in communal lands of KwaZulu Natal Province**

Control over communal land officially lies in the hands of so-called ‘traditional leaders’- chiefs and headmen- and remains central to the power of this largely conservative element within rural black society. Tribal structures, having been virtually destroyed over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by military defeat and loss of land, were revived in new forms by the South African government in the period after 1913 as a form of administration and control within the African reserves (Lacey, 1981). The foundation of the system of administration along tribal lines were laid down by the 1927 Native Administration Act, and much expanded during the apartheid era, despite widespread opposition, as what Lodge (1983) describes as ‘a cheap repressive administration for a potentially rebellious population’. Tribal Authorities, composed of chiefs and village headmen appointed and paid by the central government, became (and to a certain extent remain) the principal organs of the local governance in the homelands, being responsible for the collection of local revenues, payments of pensions and welfare, the administration of justice (through the Tribal Court) and the allocation of communal land (Lahiff, 2000).

Many chiefs have been able to use their positions- based on a mixture of modern law and ‘traditional’ status, backed up in many cases by the threat of physical force- to advance their own material interests and those of their supporters, while denying resources, especially land, to those who opposed them (Haines and Topscott, 1988). They also played an important part in the moves towards ‘self-government’ and ‘independence’ for the homelands, and many were able to strengthen their local power base through participation in the homeland government apparatus. Despite the formal dissolution of the homeland system in 1994, ‘traditional leaders’ have been able to retain many of their powers, particularly with regard to the control of communal land, and the new democratic government has shown a marked reluctance to challenge their authority in this sensitive area (Maloka, 1996). Nonetheless, there is evidence that the position of the chiefs, both as local leaders and the specific area of land allocation, is being contested by the new local

government representatives, elected since November 1995, and emerging 'civic' organisations at the village level (Levin and Weiner, 1996; Lahiff, 1997).

## **Chapter four**

### **4.0 Methodology and findings**

Consultations were made with government officials from Department of Economic Development (DED) in KwaZulu Natal Province and later Trade and Investment KwaZulu Natal (TIK) was involved during site visits of projects. Two farmers (king Zondo and Mr. Nyembe) and two cooperatives (eZimtoti Agricultural Cooperative and Jabulani Vegetable Garden) were visited. All these projects and farmers were in different places of the province. The first case study was in Newcastle (Mr Nyembe, the individual farmer), the second one was in Vryheid (the emerging commercial farmer; king Zondo), the third case study was situated in Jozini area and the last one; was situated in eMpangeni area. The two co-operatives were under one municipality which is Umkhanyakude. Mr. Nyembe's farm falls under Amajuba District Municipality and the new commercial farmer (king Zondo) is situated under abaQulusi Municipality. In depth interviews and field visits were the tools used for data collection.

The case studies are as follows:

#### **4.1 Mr. Nyembe- Individual farmer**

Mr. Nyembe is a farmer who got a capacity building training about farming before he undertook farming in 1988 when he lost his job from a firm in Johannesburg. He decided to enter farming after he lost his job in the late 1970s. He started farming with five sows and one boar. He is currently farming with sheep, goats and cattle. He also breeds dogs. He owns a land of 250 hectares and this land was given to him by chief because he is a hard working famer and he now possesses the formal title deed. For keeping his pigs he is using backyard of his home which is approximately 2.5ha and he obtained this land through PTO (Permission To Occupy) land from the local chief. This 2.5 ha backyard house pigs, goats, sheep, cattle, dogs and poultry.

The brief information about his livestock is as follows:

Table 2: Information about Mr. Nyembe's livestock

Animal type	Number	Breed
Sows	18	Landrace, Duroc and Large white
Boars	02	Unknown
Piglets	Varying	Crosses
Cattle	17	Mostly Brahman
Sheep	25	Dorper and Merino
Dogs	Varying	Bulldozer and greyhound
Poultry: Chickens & turkey	Varying	Indigenous breed

Mr. Nyembe is using cattle dung as manure for crop production and fossil fuel for household consumption. The number of his animals is varying from time to time especially during winter periods due to mortalities and due to theft. The mortalities especially for piglets is mostly caused by cold since there is no proper infrastructure for pigs. Nevertheless, he is able to keep records of his livestock information such as date of birth, weaning periods, etc. Mr. Nyembe is not having a formal market with all his animals (this include dogs) and other commercial farmers buy his livestock especially piglets and dogs. Local people also buy dogs because they use them for hunting. Sheep and goats are also purchased by local people when they have funerals, weddings and other activities. He is also sending his piglets to an auction called BKB to the nearest town; Utrecht but this was mentioned to be very occasionally due to transport problems. The commercial farmers come directly to his home for buying of piglets. For livestock grazing and goats browsing he is using the communal land or camps. The reason why he is selling piglets at an early age is because they demand high inputs such as proper housing and suitable feeds and he does not afford all these hence he decides to sell them. In some instances he can sell his piglets to other nearest town such as Newcastle and Dundee depending on the high demand of pigs. Since 1999, he has been producing pigs almost every month and he is selling more than 100 piglets at each month. When commercial farmers or local people come to buy his livestock he gives them a discount because they come with their transport. In a month he sells two or three cows with 4000 or 5000 ZAR depending on the condition of an animal.

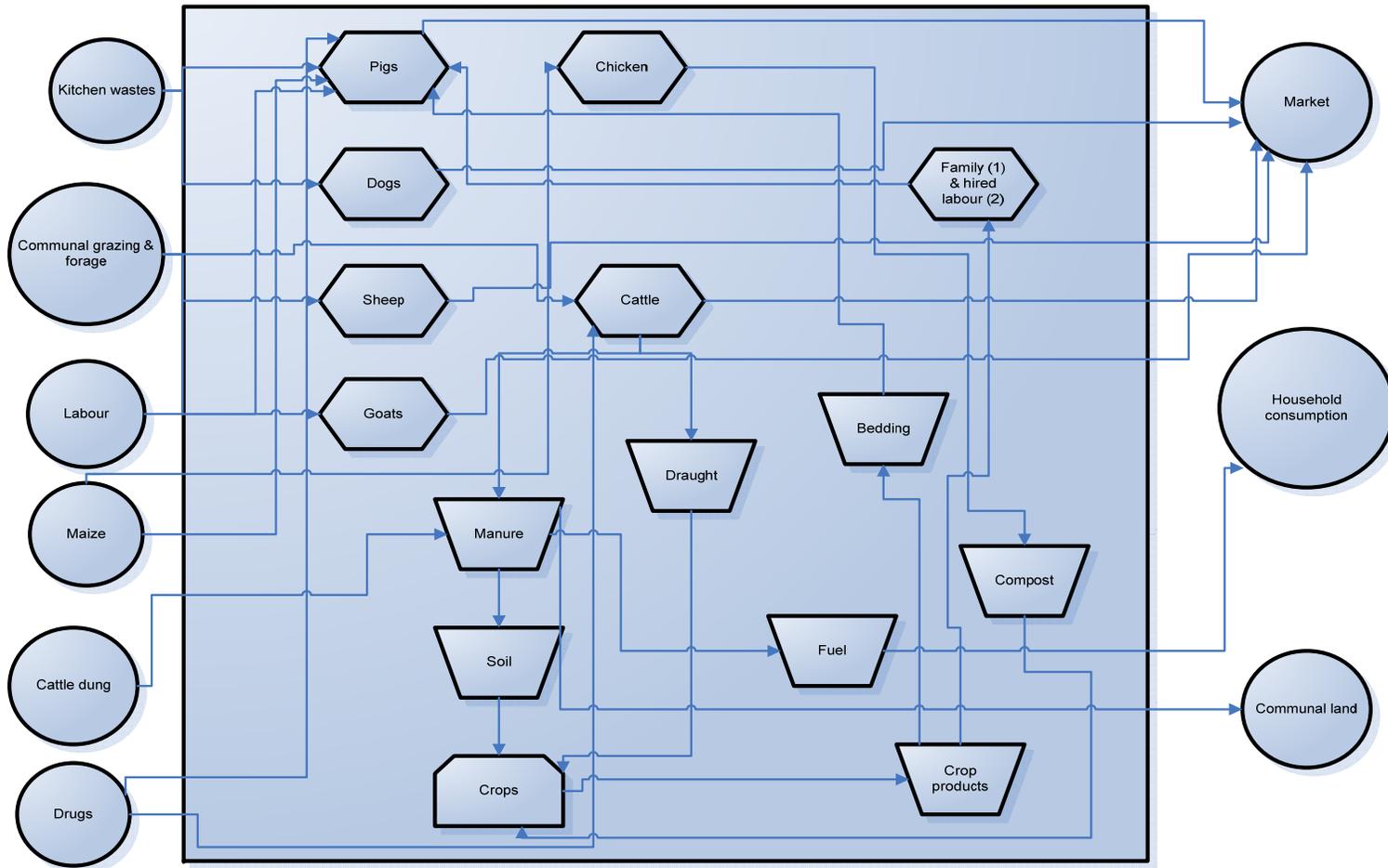
The winter period was mentioned not to be favourable because of high mortality rates even for small stock.

Mr. Nyembe is a chairperson of Amajuba Livestock Association and they usually hold meetings at every first week of the month to discuss issues of dipping cattle. Apparently, he and other livestock farmers are being supplied by the Department of Agriculture for dipping facilities including the concentration (3.5 l) that is used to control ticks. Cattle, sheep and goats are being vaccinated by Animal Health Technicians from the Department of Agriculture. Livestock (cattle) is vaccinated against black quarter and anthrax since these are State controlled diseases. Diseases that are not state controlled are not receiving proper attention as compared to the state controlled ones but there were negotiations that were taking place for this matter according to Mr. Nyembe. Both the Department of Agriculture (Veterinary services unit) and livestock farmers were involved when negotiations were taking place. For feeding his pigs he is collecting kitchen wastes from the nearest prison and for dogs also kitchen wastes are used. Maize is also grown at the back of his yard for feeding pigs and he is mixing it with other ingredients. However, pig's feed is supplemented by pig meal which costs 1000 ZAR per ton. Similarly, with dogs there is no formal market though there is high demand for Greyhound dog breed due to their high speed. Traders mainly, local people and commercial farmers come to his farm to purchase them. They are being sold at the age of six weeks with 1000 ZAR. The income from livestock particularly pigs was used to educate Mr. Nyembe's children. Nevertheless, his children are not interested in farming so he is afraid that when he gets too old his farming enterprise will stop.

For assistance Mr. Nyembe mentioned that since the late 1990s Department of Agriculture has been coming to his farm to do soil surveys and taking soil samples but till today nothing has happen. So that is why at some point this year (2009) he went to the media to look for some help (he went to Farmer's Weekly magazine journalists) and someone came forward to assist him though that particular person asked him not to disclose him/her. He is willing to operate with piggery enterprise because of their high returns and high demand in future so that is why he is claiming that if he can get a financial support he can develop his pig enterprise.



**Figure 1: Mr. Nyembe's piggery house**



**Figure 2: Mr. Nyembe's production system**



## Mr. Nyembe's production system

The kitchen wastes are the inputs from the prison and his household and they are used to feed pigs and dogs. The communal grazing is where his cattle, sheep and graze. Goats also browse in the communal land. For the labour; two men from the local are employed and him and he is representing family labour. Maize is grinded for feeding poultry (chicken and turkey). It is also used to feed pigs. Cattle dung is used a manure to fertilize soil for crop production mainly maize and fuel for household consumption (replace fire wood). The compost from poultry is used to fertilize the soil also. The drugs are purchased for piglets and cattle. All the circles that are going inside the big square are the inputs to the system. Inside the system there are crops which produce some products such as maize straw for bedding of pigs; cattle that generate draught power for crop production and labour for herding of goats, sheep and cattle and also for grinding maize and mixing it with other ingredients to feed pigs. There are three outputs in Mr. Nyembe's farm: Sheep, goats, cattle and dogs all goes to the market while fuel goes out to be consumed by household. Lastly, manure is also excreted to the communal grazing since livestock (cattle, goats and sheep) spend lot of time in grazing areas during the day. The other loss that is occurring and that is not appearing on the figure is the livestock theft; it is regarded as a loss because no returns are obtained from it.

### **4.1.1 Discussion: Mr. Nyembe's case**

Mr. Nyembe is a farmer who is highly diversifying his income just like other smallholder farmers in South Africa. Goldman and others (2000) assert that the key to empower rural people is to broaden the range of strategy options through diversification of livelihood choices. Diversification of income refers to the allocation of production asserts among different income-generating activities (Abdulai and CroleResees, 2001). According to Evans and Ngau (1991); diversification is undertaken to manage risks and cope with shocks. This indeed helps him to have means of different earnings or different sources of income. He is also breeding dogs which are a rare source of living especially for black farmers in South Africa.

This shows that he is able to identify opportunities and this means that he is not focusing in domestic/farm animals. It is also clear that Mr. Nyembe is no longer diversifying for his livelihood only but for his prosperity of his farm. With his livestock he was able to educate his children up to the higher educational institutions. However, he is worried about his farming enterprise coming to an end in a couple of years to come when he gets too old due to the fact that his children are not interested in farming. This is not a surprise because most youth in South Africa lack interest in agriculture (Adey, 2007).

About the market; Mr. Nyembe seems to be content or satisfied about the way he is conducting market of his livestock and dogs though it can be unsustainable in a long run because if ever traders can find another opportunities from somewhere else Mr. Nyembe will be left out of this informal market chain. Smallholders find themselves at a major disadvantage. Many do not understand the market well, how it works and why prices fluctuate, they have little or no information about market conditions and prices, they are not organized collectively, they have no experience of market negotiation (Freeman and Silim, 2000; International Institute for Tropical Agriculture, 2001; Heineman, 2002). Poole and others say: Smallholder farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa face a range of marketing problems among which informational constraints are widely acknowledged but little researched. Smallholders often do not have timely access to salient and accurate information on prices, locations of effective demand, preferred quality characteristics of horticultural produce, nor on alternative marketing channels, produce often experience a weak bargaining position vis-à-vis traders. Information that is available to rural communities may not be equally distributed and small scale producers and those distanced further from the market are more disadvantaged (1998:7).

Killick and others (2002), define market access's the processes by which people access markets and the nature, efficiency and costs of these processes. According to them, market access is determined by the following: 1) Information about the product availability, attributes and prices, including the frequency, quality and cost of this information; 2) Information about counter-parties to transactions, as trustworthiness is critical if payment is not instantaneous or checking of quality is costly; 3) The extent of confidence in market conduct for example; how well markets are regulated

(voluntarily or by government); and 4) The physical costs of accessing the market, which are a function of the quality of infrastructure and the organisation of the transport sector, and the actual prices found in the markets in which people transact. Moreover, the relevant literature often cites the following additional factors as determinants for smallholder market access: access to credit, availability of extension services, level of organisation, relevant training and the farmers' socio-economic conditions (for example, Kherallah *et al.*, 2000; Makhura and Mokoena, 2003). Even though some of the issues that determine and limit small-scale farmers' access to commodity markets in South Africa are related to policy, most are location specific, farmer specific and/or commodity specific and some are more pertinent to some provinces than others (Makhura and Mokoena, 2003). In addition to the problems, Makhura and Mokoena include farmer discrimination and lack of institutional responsibility in the list of small-scale farming problems in South Africa. They argue that some farmers experience discrimination through their products being traded last and this affects their prices. They also argue that there is a lack of responsibility regarding ensuring market access for small farmers, with various government departments and organisation bouncing the responsibility between themselves (Magingxa *et al.*, 2003).

This farmer never acquired the land through the land reform programme but rather was given because of being a hard working farmer so he needed a large piece of land and indeed he was given these 250 hectares. However, the Department of Agriculture acknowledges his contribution to the society but he does not get any support from them.

#### 4.2 King Zondo's case: Sokotshana farming and construction

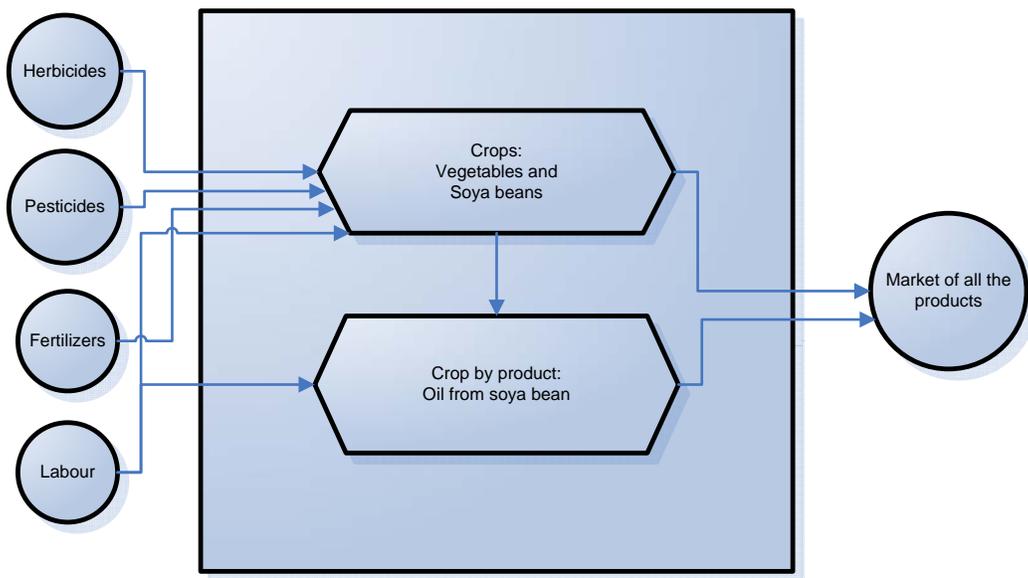
King Zondo; the king of the Empangisweni people was a previously disadvantaged farmer because he did not have access to land hence he was farming on small scale. Due to the restitution programme the king and his people were able to get land from DLA. As a result, he is able to enter a commercial sector but the initial challenge and his people was how to procure inputs. This however, prompted them to approach the Ithala bank for the loan but they failed to attain it as a group. Later on, the king went alone and he got the loan of 4 million ZAR. After acquiring this loan king Zondo

eventually came at the forefront of the farming enterprise. At the moment he has expanded the farming enterprise to more than 2000 hectares. With this loan he planted soya bean in 420 ha piece of land and he is having another 2500 ha also for soya bean plantation. He is currently producing 4000 tons of soya beans per year. He is also planting cabbages, brecon, beetroot and butternut.

Under irrigation soyabean of three tons can be produced while under dry land (without irrigation) 1.5 ha of soyabean is produce. A total number of 100 people are employed and all of them are from the local village and he is having a good relationship with commercial farmers because they help him with techniques to apply herbicides, artificial fertilizers and pesticides. Commercial farmers were also mentioned to assist with technical advices. However, cabbages and brecon are planted organically and other crops are planted conventionally. Apart from crop production king Zondo is having a herd 400 Nguni cattle for beef production and he is still fattening them. During harvesting more people get employed (more than this 100); the number that is hired can reach to 450 because 1ha needs about 20 people. Soya bean was mentioned to have high returns out all the crops. Machines for extracting oil from soya bean are also available in the farm meaning to say this soya is processed on the farm. People that are employed are of different age groups: youth (matriculants- the ones that have just finished high school) and old people as well but not pensioners. Despite the fact that there are constraints on road infrastructure, irrigation and storage facilities, crop theft (in the evenings) and water scarcity the market of all his produce is good This means that king Zondo needs to rely a lot on the irrigation for his plantation. To deal with some of these challenges the security guards are available to protect fields remarkably in the evenings. Political unrest situations has occurred and it resulted to the burning of king Zondo's two tractors.



**Figure 3: King Zondo's cabbage field**



**Figure 4: King Zondo's production system**

NOTE: It is important to note that cabbage and brecon are planted using the organic method way of farming

#### **4.2.1 Discussion: King Zondo's Case**

This is the case whereby people got land through restitution programme but later one person owns it because they failed to get financial assistance/loan from the bank collectively so afterward the king went alone and got the loan. The meaning of restitution programme in South Africa is that there is a direct return of land to the previous owners that had been removed due to racially discriminatory law or practice; Act 22 of 1994 (Adey, 2007). Since it was difficult for the king and his people to get a loan collectively one person (king Zondo) took over. The land was going to be fallow and this was going to be regarded as a failure of land restitution in this particular village. This was according to king Zondo and that is why he took an initiative of going back to the bank as an individual.

After these people got the land there was no follow-up whether they get assistance or not. This also draws an attention about the issue of post-settlement support to land beneficiaries. Yes, jobs are being created for local people and land is used efficiently but does the aims, expectations as well as implications for this restitution take place accordingly? This is a question that remains behind about this case study. Another point that is important about this case is that indeed restitution is not encouraging a range of settlement options, such as small family farms but instead promotes more commercially oriented single-entity farms which address the needs of small minorities within the claimant communities. This land that was obtained through restitution seem to open doors for king Zondo and though weak linkages between stakeholders; mainly Department of Agriculture were mentioned. King Zondo mentioned that the Department of Agriculture is not assisting in any form in terms of technical advise and extension services. The collaboration between him and other white commercial farmers was mentioned to be very helpful and benefiting him a lot in terms of prosperity of his farming enterprise. Though on the other side this shows that commercial farmers are willing to help the emerging farmers but to the Department of Agriculture this raises some questions somehow about their involvement with farmers in general. This unrest was mentioned to be between two political parties and the king was associated to be the member of the other party hence his two new tractors were burned as a result. There was no opening of the case after that because the king was afraid of his life also for his people's life. According to the king, people always think

that if a person is having businesses he or she is being supported by the ruling political party and this cause a friction between the people of two different parties

Furthermore, king Zondo is also a farmer who is highly diversifying his farming enterprise just like Mr. Nyembe though for him he is expanding at a larger scale as compared to Mr. Nyembe. The other important issue that is raised by this case study is the way people find means of moving forward if necessary stakeholders are not performing their roles and responsibilities.

### **4.3 Jozini: Jabulani Garden Vegetable- Cooperative**

Jabulani Garden Vegetable started in 1987 with 12 members but has now it has extended to 42 members. In this group women of different ages are found starting from the youths to adults; this includes pensioners and they mentioned that the money that they receive from selling vegetables is much as compared to the pension grants. The following vegetables are planted: Beetroot, butternut, cabbage, onion, spinach, carrots. Maize and beans are also planted. Banana as a fruit is planted but in small quantities and there is no formal market for it. They started by having backyard gardens from their homes but they could not sustain themselves and they asked a piece of communal land from the chief and they got 10 ha meaning to say that each woman is having 0.2 ha but some can have more than 0.2 ha because they lease an extra land from other owners. They group themselves so that they can specialize with certain crops. The technical advices are obtained from extension officers and there is a good collaboration between the Department of Agriculture and this co-operative according to the co-operative members. They are operating with cash economy also called “food to mouth” meaning to say they produce, sell and use money for other needs (no savings or investments from this gardens) There are clashes between their them as a co-operative and other farmers with large pieces of land because farmers with large pieces of land produce large quantities of produce and have reliable transport for their produce to be taken to the markets such as supermarkets in towns. These cause co-operative members to lose a lot because their produce become spoilt and thrown away and also they have problems of pests such as white-fly. This fly makes some holes on their cabbages. They use a certain pesticide but it is no longer useful because this is continuing even if this pesticide is applied. They buy inorganic

fertilizers collectively. For harvesting and weeding they use manual labour and they do not use herbicides.

With beans there is market though it is not formal and it was mentioned to be better as compared to other crops since traders from Durban come and buy it. These traders were said to come and employ local people to harvest and they are the ones who determine the price of dry beans. They determine the price because they say the value of the rand is low hence they can buy it with high price. This cooperation pays an amount of 120 ZAR per plot for irrigation and every year this amount is paid to a certain Trust called uMjindi. Every harvesting season a tractor is hired and an amount of 120 ZAR is paid per plot. The uMjindi was claimed to have control on such lands so the rental money is paid to them. They also use mulching to conserve water and prevent erosion which makes one realize that the indigenous knowledge system that they possess is in line with expectations of preventing severe land degradation. Crop rotation is also practiced so as to prevent diseases and improve soil fertility. Crop residues are ploughed in the soil to improve moisture content of the soil. This will contribute towards sustainability of the project since they are taking care of the land. The extension officers are always available for technical advices.



**Figure 5: Jabulani cooperative members**

### **4.3.1 Discussion: Jabulani Community Garden**

The collaboration of these 42 women shows the high ability of social capital even with a small proportion of land each person. This has showed how emerging farmers are struggling to have land occupation and use. They have decided to produce for the market whereas the primary aim was to produce for the household. This also means that somehow they are able to identify the opportunities even if circumstances are not favourable enough for them to sell the produce.

The group started in 1987 after they realized by then that they could do much better other than waiting for the money from their husbands who were away from home. However, it still exists regardless of so many changes that have occurred during the past years. As it was mentioned in previous chapters, most places in KwaZulu Natal the system still enjoys relatively high level of tribal chiefs and headmen when it comes to governing land. The primary aim of this co-operative was to provide security but after sometime they then decided to produce for both market and for

household consumption. This group faces many challenges such as having excess produce with no market at the end, competition between them and other farmers which are privileged when it comes to resources such as transport and pests. Their produce results in poor quality due to these reasons. An additional problem that was mentioned is the lack of storage facilities such as cold rooms. The rise of food processing and retail sectors has compounded concentration. Buying power is now concentrated in the hands of a small number of food processing firms and supermarkets that have significant power over producers and other actors in the supply chain. This trend is not just true of the developed world. In Africa too, supermarkets chains such as Shoprite, are coming to dominate food retailing. Supermarkets account for 30% of the food retail trade in Kenya, and 55% in South Africa (FAO, 2003). The supermarkets enforce exacting standards for the produce they buy. They want their beans to be a uniform length, their mangoes to ripen at exactly the right time, and their bananas to be free of bruises. They have developed new standards and rules, and have created certification and auditing systems to make sure they get the product they want. These rules enable the supermarkets to sell what consumers want and to be left with as little unsaleable produce as possible at the end of the day. The supermarkets pay growers attractive prices to ensure they get produce of the right quality. Nevertheless the rules are hard for smallholder farmers to comply with: they lack the right technology and management skills. So smallholders are being squeezed out of a lucrative market (KIT, 2008).

These cause this co-operation to be totally out of the supply chain and hence waste lots of their materials such fertilizer and their labour. There is something unique about this co-operative comparing it with other cases because the stakeholder linkage between the Department of Agriculture and the co-operative was mentioned to be strong because most technical advices are obtained from crop scientists and extension officers. This was also illustrated by the extension officer who was explaining/clarifying some issues when the co-operative members were unable to clarify some matters during the research.

Traders from Durban without any formal market contract were mentioned to come and determine the price of beans and they bring their labour for harvesting. According to KIT 2008, governments collect a great deal of information on market prices every

day, but this is mainly used to gauge long-term trends for food security purposes, and it is almost never made public quickly enough for traders' needs. Producers face similar problems. They do not know what a fair price is, and they do not know if the trader is creditworthy. They have to sell their perishable produce quickly, or risk watching it rot in the fields. Cheating, mutual suspicion and distrust are rife. When it comes to productivity, this co-operative is showing potential because they claimed that last year (2008) they had returns of 17 000 ZAR; this was regarded to be better than nothing. However, they mentioned lack of infrastructure, some inputs and proper market as a major constrain to their cropping enterprise.

#### **4.4 Ezimtoti Agricultural Cooperative**

Ezimtoti cooperation started in 2005 but was officially launched in 2007 by the former Minister of Agriculture as an agricultural cooperation legal-entity. They started operation with a farm of 285 ha. They got this land through land redistribution. The Department of Land Reform bought the farm for them and now they are leasing it meaning to say they pay installment to the department every month though at times it is difficult to pay it due to the high price of the land since they have just started to own this farm. Out of these hectares 1.4 hectares is utilized for peanut butter processing plant. For 2005 and 2006, the research/ feasibility study took place in order for them to see how demandable a peanut butter was. Then in 2008, the factory started to operate with a loan of 420 000 ZAR from Ithala bank and grant from land affairs. When they started they were eight members with age group ranging from 18 to 35 years but now they are five members. The three members that resigned were women and five men decided to remain. The members of the co-operation started by having capacity building courses such as production, quality, exports and import short courses; business management. They have extended to vegetables such as onions, carrots, spinach and this involves other projects because they work together with. The market was in a form of pilot market because they wanted to test their product by supplying local supermarket (Spar) but it has grown in such an extent that they are now supplying local hospital (NPA hospital), Isilulu company buys almost 80% of their peanut butter as well as local people. However, the demand is now high hence they have decided to increase production. In future they want to have a farm size of 3000 ha which was said to cost 2.7 million ZAR and equipments that are required to function in that particular farm were said to approximately cost 568 000 ZAR in order

to plant and process peanuts for peanut butter. The peanut butter processing is currently in full operation of about five kinds and sizes of peanut butters; starting from 300g, 410g, 1kg and 20kg. They produce smooth in large quantity and crunch in small quantity. Their machines are divided into roster, cooler, skinner (peanut pillar) and pusher packing. This cooperative runs a fully operational factory with fully furnished commercial machine i.e. 18 piece peanut butter plant processing machine.

The total production output of this plant is 1000 tons per month. For planting of peanuts they are also planning to have another project that is going to plant and supply them with peanuts so that they can have more collaboration with other farmers so as to reduce costs. In addition, they also want to shift from convectional to organic production of peanut butter in future. They also have by-product from peanut butter processing which they sell to broiler farmers. In future they want to produce peanut oil and peanut porridge. However, finding sponsors is difficult since they tried some micro-finances such as CASP and MAFISA but they never succeed. This cooperative stated that the Department of Agriculture as well as the local municipality; UMkhanyakude is collaborating with them in every manner and lastly they do not have conflicts among each other.

#### **4.4.1 Discussion: Ezimtoti Agricultural Cooperative**

This co-operative is operating at a larger scale and it is clear that they also have a linkage with the local municipality and the Department of Agriculture. The other point in this case is that the members undertook capacity building course before engaging themselves to the business. It really a show how crucial is the training before people embark on any kind of enterprise. The eagerness to involve other people in their value chain shows how collaborative they are. This is a good example of how important is the post-settlement support to emerging farming enterprises. They are linked to the market for each and every produce they are producing and the most important thing is that they did a pilot study of testing how demandable was the peanut butter and vegetables. This case study is unique due to the fact that the local municipality was mentioned to be one of the supportive stakeholders and this show how important is their role in facilitating rural development particularly for emerging farmers.

All members of this co-operation are men and women decided to leave because they had too many commitments and this can be regarded as inequality. According to Mosse (forthcoming); women participation in projects is minimal and their involvement is discontinuous. In South India it was found that women's interest revolve around health care, child care, nutrition, domestic work and acceptable home based income generating activities (Mehta *et al.*, forthcoming). The other factor is that women face major obstacles especially when it comes to women's articulation of interests in farming, natural resource management, or any other area of concerns which fall beyond the publicly endorsed definition of women's roles (Ardener, 1975a). Moreover, women are rarely free of work responsibilities for substantial lengths of time and it is hard to find times when women would be available collectively (Mehta *et al.*, forthcoming). In other words they are overworking. One of the elements of AgriBEE is possess employment equity and this entails the issue of gender equality of both men and women. Some sponsors look all these matters before releasing funds. This can be a constrain in future for this successful co-operative when they need financial intervention from outside.

## Chapter five

### **5.0 Analysis of all case studies**

In KwaZulu Natal, it clear that indeed the system still enjoys a relatively high level of chiefs or tribal authorities when it comes to governing the land. This is showed by two case studies; Mr. Nyembe and Jabulani Community Garden cooperative. These two case studies show this kind of land administration since land from these case studies was obtained through chief or tribal authority arrangement. In agrarian communities of Africa some countries operate land right regime through customary control of land. This customary land rights offer access to land and security of tenure to many poor households but provide limited access to formal credit and input markets (Nwosu, 1991; Adedipe *et al.*, 1997). This may be true even in South Africa especially in KwaZulu Natal Province because both of these case studies do not have credits from any financial institutions; either a bank or from any micro loans programmes such as MAFISA and CASP. Mr. Nyembe shows a potential of taking control over even though he is not a land beneficiary but the bottom lone is that he owns land that is productive and that needs capital investment. He is not waiting for the State to provide and deliver services to him and this shows that people are no longer willing to wait any longer (Wegerif, 2006).

The potential importance of this ‘taking-control-over-land-reform,’ irrespective of the limited scale in which it occurs, it may be expected to see land use patterns that are in tune with people’s cultural repertoires and experiences. Such land use and development scenarios are potentially challenging the current script of the agricultural expert system in the country and perhaps stands for a counter-modernity development strategy that analytically can be labelled as re-peasantisation (van Ploeg, 2008; Hebinck, 2007; Hebinck and van Averbeke, 2007). In addition, to Mr. Nyembe and credit issue he seemed to be very reluctant to take a loan from any financial institution because he was not feeling confident enough that he would be able to repay the loan and besides it is also clear that it cannot be easy for the financial institutions to release a loan for him because he is operating his farming enterprise differently from the commonly know commercial way of farming. This also goes back to re-peasantisation.

For Jabulani Community Garden cooperative none of the members attempted to get a loan from anywhere. However, it is not clear whether they can access loans since they are operating at a relatively small-scale (0.2 ha each member) and since they did not get land through land reform programme and perhaps this deserves a special attention of government (Land Affairs Department). But all in all this implies that women are still finding it difficult to access some resources hence they continue to remain poor in terms of sustainable livelihoods.

The study also reveals that the implementation of land reform programme still lack effective communication between various institutions such as land beneficiaries themselves, DED, DAEA, micro finance programmes (MAFISA and CASP) and local municipalities to be actively involved from the initiation of the projects so as to provide a proper post settlement support. The role and responsibility for land reform beneficiaries is not addressed and clearly defined before the land is being handed to over. In view of Jabulani cooperative, it is important to note that the success of farming is dependent on properly planned marketing strategies and it is important that farmers practice market oriented (demand) production, rather than supply driven production. Regarding microfinance programmes such as MAFISA and CASP almost all two case studies of land beneficiaries did not show any interactions between these programmes yet it was developed to assist land reform beneficiaries and this portrays that there is a lack of consultation or linkages rather of relevant stakeholders. However, it is important to note that black farmers in the Republic of South Africa may take some time to adapt to new changes due to the literacy rate which is very low and matters become worse if useful information (credit and market information) is not disseminated to them on time. In other words, intensive involvement of stakeholders for proper progression of land reform is important.

The lack of consultation between relevant stakeholders has yield so many setbacks such as farmers like king Zondo and Ezimtoti cooperative members going to commercial banks with high interests instead of going to appropriate financial institutions for land reform beneficiaries; political unrest between king Zondo and his people in the same village are seen; Mr. Nyembe going to the media to expose the DAEA and asking help because he was tired of waiting for the State support. These

are all responses and routes of farmers when they do not get proper support from the State and when they possess land. However, more empirical research in this direction is being planned in South Africa to examine the dynamics and outlook of peasant responses to government interventions (Hebinck *et al.*, 2008).

It is vital to acknowledge that above all these challenges of implementing sustainable land reform that were mentioned there is an institutional framework called Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) that is proposed by the Provincial Land Reform ministry in KwaZulu Natal. The Provincial Land Reform Office, Regional Land Claims Commission has indicated for sometimes that they do not have the resource, or the experts' capacity to provide a post transfer function to land reform beneficiaries. Both components of the DLA have also experienced difficulties in coordinating the "silo – approach" to support that is provided by sector departments. There have been debates around whether or not the proposed structure and functions of SPV would be necessary or simply duplicating the functions currently performed by Provincial Departments and other organs of the State. Firstly, land reform beneficiaries, especially those engaged in farming have complained for some time that they would want to access support services at a single point, rather than being sent to various institutions with their own bureaucratic approval processes. The SPV will provide black farmers with a single entry point where a 'grant envelope' (grants and loans and other resources) which is coordinated and combined can be accessed within a single institution for maximum benefit. It will also facilitate the coordinating expenditure to ensure that resources are released at the appropriate quantities. (DLA, DED and DAEA report, 2009).

The SPV also referred as a One-Stop-Shop is to be created in order to co-ordinate government support to land reform beneficiaries. The strategy also notes the critical role of the agribusiness sector, organized agriculture and NGOs in the provisions of a holistic support programme. The collective pooling of funding (approximately 1 billion ZAR for 2009/2010) and human resources would result in a comprehensive package to beneficiaries of land reform including equipping the beneficiaries with skills and packaging of projects prior to the delivery of farms (Budget Policy Speech, 2009). Secondly, there is a need to focus on post-settlement support. This function is currently fragmented in various institutions. It will allow the Provincial Land Reform

Office and the regional Land Claims Commission to focus on land acquisition, and let the SPV coordinate post settlement support. Thirdly, SPV is to serve other interest, private sector as well as programme of government such as housing, agriculture and municipalities that are not answerable to the Department of Land Affairs. This coordination is best undertaken by an independent entity catering for the interest of each of the parties. In order to access a wider range of skills (from the public and private sectors) that is not easily accessible in the public sector. The fourth role of SPV is to provide a more efficient means to deal with implement public-private partnerships. Requisite skills and structures have been proposed to ensure that this does take place either at the designated provincial agency level or, more importantly, at the accredited service provider level (DLA, DED and DAEA report, 2009)

## **Chapter six**

### **6.0 Conclusions and recommendations**

The land reform programme in South Africa has received enormous attention from a range of national, regional and international standpoints. From the media, international aid agencies, governments in Africa and elsewhere to academia and private investors. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge the fact that considerations are being given to this important matter and slightly progression have been achieved since 1994 though it is indeed extreme beyond the expectations.

In terms of support from the state DoA have effectively denied responsibility of assisting land reform beneficiaries by the look of things and apparently, DLA has no involvement with farmers beyond provision of the initial grant for land purchase or for providing the relief to victims of forced dispossession by apartheid government. It is not clear whether these departments are unsure of what their roles maybe or they have too many commitments since there are still many claims that still to be settled. For Mr. Nyembe the DoA has been coming to his farm to take soil samples and doing farm surveys but until today nothing has happened. Mr. Nyembe's request for financial assistance may be still undergoing processing since there are so many red tapes or bureaucratic measures that are needed before funds can be released in government. This however, calls the speeding up of things when farmers are being assisted or else, farmers may decide to take radical measures as in Zimbabwe.

Another critical factor that is illustrated by almost three case studies is the difficult to access credit by farmers. Two of the cases (Ezimtoti cooperative and king Zondo's case) have something in common because they both got credits from the same bank not from the microfinance programme such as MAFISA and CASP that were initially formulated for land reform beneficiaries. Ezimtoti cooperative tried these two microfinance programmes but they failed to get the credit. They then went to Ithala bank and hence got the credit. Reasons were not clear why their application was declined from MAFISA and CASP. It is also significant to acknowledge the collaboration between king Zondo and other white commercial farmers; this shows that if indeed commercial farmers can contribute to the mentoring of emerging farmers new black

farmers can come into view to another stage so as king Zondo and his neighboring farmers are doing. On the other hand, king Zondo's case still shows that elites tend to capture the benefits of land restitution.

In addition, it is clear that in South Africa; land reform is the interior responsibility of the Department of Land Affairs. It is important for stakeholders to understand that development is a complex process of change and cannot be driven or facilitated by individuals or institutions working in isolation. Once more, collaboration and joint intervention of various stakeholders such as local municipalities, the Department of Land Affairs, Provincial Departments of Agriculture, financial and research institutions or organisations, Department of Social Development and others is thus important (ICRA, 2008). The IDPs of each and every local municipality should certainly include support to land reform programmes. Lastly, the issue of youth not interested in agriculture should also be taken into consideration. As Hebinck *et al.*, (2008), stated that there has not been widely research about the role of the younger generation. Little is known about why youth is hardly present in land reform projects. The majority of land reform beneficiaries are older people combining land ownership with old pensions. However, the Ezimtoti cooperative members were observed to be young (early and mid 30s), but still most land beneficiaries or else people that are actively involved in agricultural sector are generally old in South Africa are an old generation.

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