

Land Redistribution as a means to improve security of tenure, alleviate poverty and improve quality of life: the case of Onbekend, a rural area in Mpumalanga Province.

Prepared By: Theophilus Dlamini (981184758)

Supervisor: Prof Peter Robinson.

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List of Acronyms:

CBNRM: Community Based Natural Resource Management.

CPA: Communal Property Association Act.

DLA: Department of Land Affairs.

LRAD: Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development.

LRC: Legal Resource Center.

MDA: Mpumalanga Department of Agriculture.

NDA: National Development Agency.

OCPA: Onbekend Communal Property Association.

PTO: Permission To Occupy.

Chapter one. Introduction and Methodology.

1.1 Background.

South Africa's history has been marked by land dispossession, as most African people were dispossessed of their land on which they had relied for survival. According to Wildschut and Hulbert (1998) the need to dislodge peasants from their land in order to reduce black competition with whites in terms of agricultural production, had influenced the African's land dispossession. The two authors are quoted as saying that, " South Africa has one of the most skewed patterns of land distribution in the world, with most of the productive land being owned by the white minority group", (Wildschut and Herbert, 1998:5). After South Africa's first non-racial democratic elections in 1994, one of the first steps towards poverty alleviation was the adoption of a land reform program.

This was in an attempt to redress the skewed pattern of land distribution. All the people who had been evicted since 30 June 1913 were invited to lodge claims identifying the land from which they had been evicted. In 2002 South Africa is still at an early stage in the land redistribution process. It has been designed to ensure that people have security of tenure, as this is perceived as one of the mechanisms that will help to alleviate poverty and improve the quality of people's lives in the rural areas.

The South African land reform program is made up of three components. There is the land restitution program. According to Ericsson (2002), this program seeks to give back land to those forcefully removed during the apartheid era, while discriminatory laws such as the Natives Land Act (1913), the Native Trust and Land Act (1936), the Group Areas Act (1950&1956), were in place. There is also the land redistribution program, the focus of this study, which seeks to provide blacks with residential and farm land. The third element of the land reform program is the land tenure reform. This program seeks to improve the tenure

security of all South Africans and to accommodate diverse forms of land tenure, including communal tenure.

1.2. The research problem.

Insecurity of tenure has contributed to poverty, which is rife in South Africa's rural areas. The quality of life for the rural dwellers in this country is below acceptable international standards. This is partly attributed to the fact that most poor people in the rural areas do not have security of tenure of the land on which they reside. In most cases the rural communities have no other tenure option apart from "permission to occupy" (PTO) and this makes them cautious about investing on a land to which they do not have formal ownership. As a result, their land is not used as a means of generating income, as happens in some rural areas. This factor contributes to a high poverty rate and poor quality of life.

The land reform program is intended to bring about changes in the people's lives, through granting them title deeds, which will mean secure tenure. The main positive implications of having security of tenure is the collateralization effect of the land, which will help people to borrow money from financial corporations using their land as guarantee of payment.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the envisaged outcomes of the land redistribution component of the land reform program. A case study, the Onbekend rural area at Mpumalanga province, where a land redistribution project was implemented in 1997 has been selected to test the impact of the program in improving security of tenure, alleviating poverty and improving people's quality of life.

The approach used was to examine the situation of the Onbekend community in the mid 1990s, at which time they were still dependent on the permission to occupy, which does not provide secure land tenure, and the situation in 2002,

after they had attained security of tenure in a form of a title deed. This was done by comparing the economic profile, agricultural production and livelihood strategies adopted for each time period.

The Onbekend community resided at Baatjiesbult farm before being resettled in the newly purchased farm called Droogvallei. The Droogvallei farm is in the vicinity of Carolina, a small town in Mpumalanga Province (**See map 2**). While staying at Baatjiesbult they were dependent on the PTO tenure arrangement. The main disadvantage of this kind of tenure arrangement is that, it does not give legal protection to a person from eviction. It was in an attempt to redress such issues that the Onbekend land redistribution project came about.

1.3 Research questions.

The main research question is:

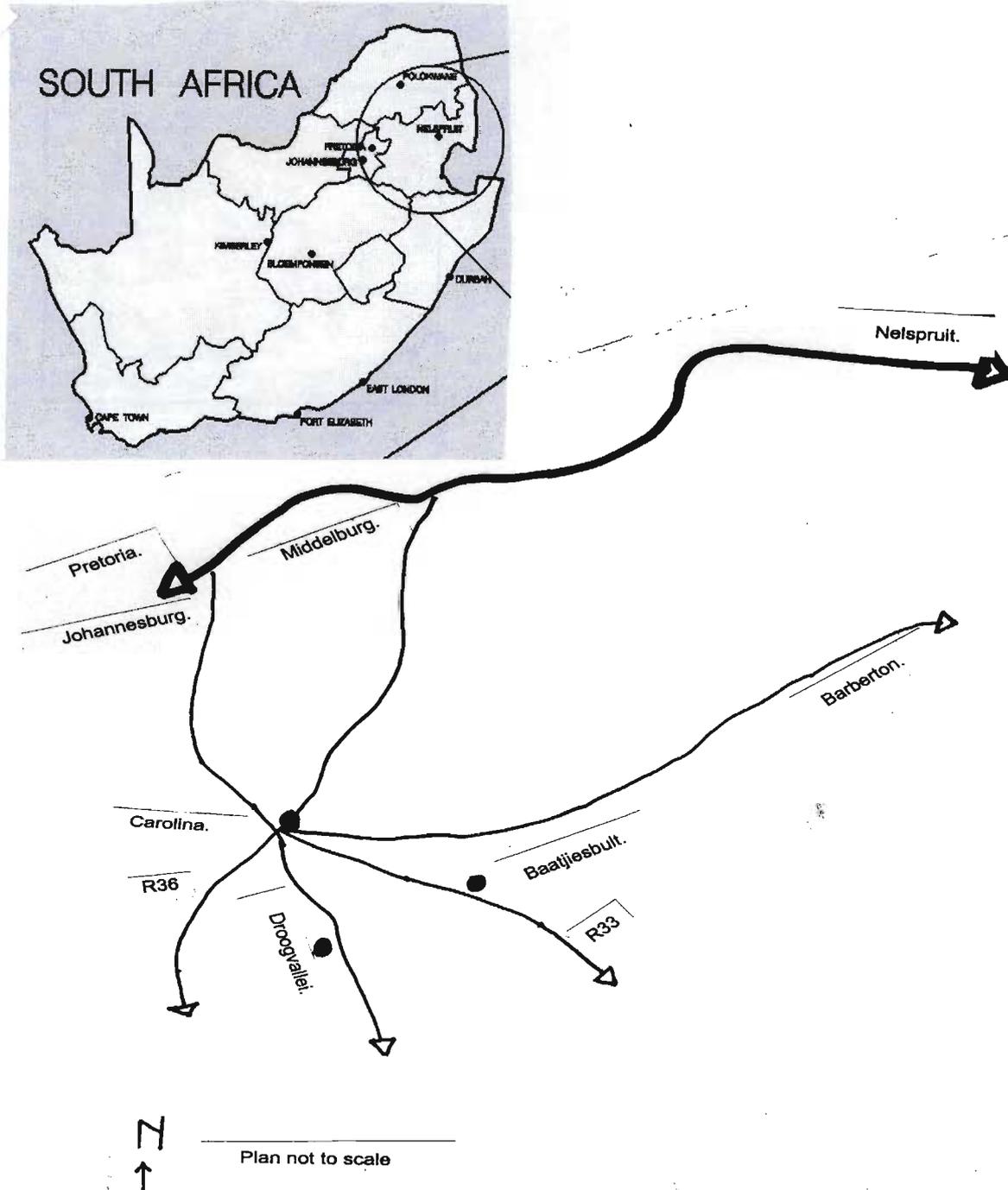
To what extent has the land redistribution project at Onbekend improved security of tenure, contributed to the alleviation of poverty and improved the quality of life of the beneficiaries?

Subsidiary Questions are:

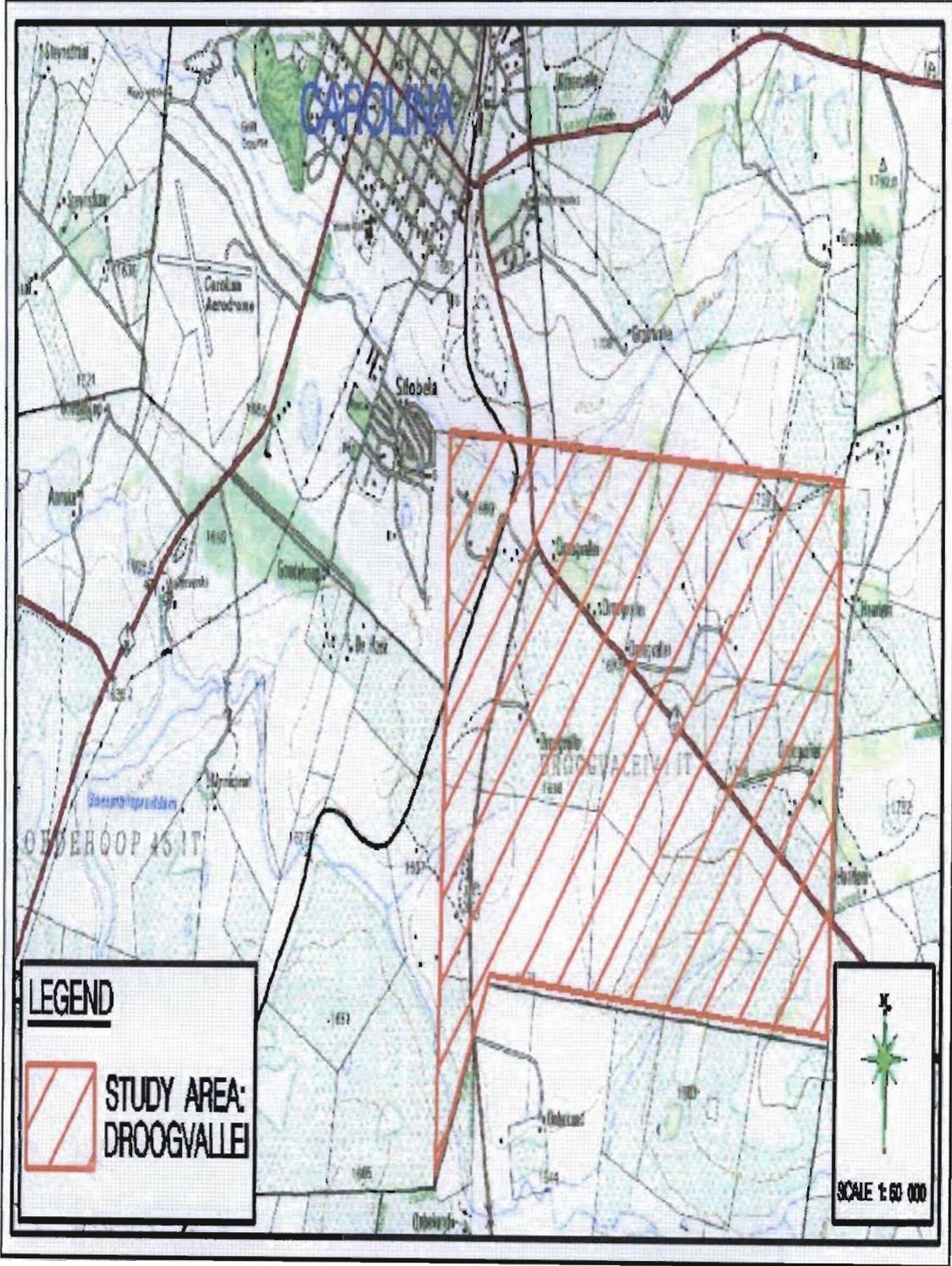
- What was the economic profile of the Onbekend community prior to the land redistribution project?
- How did the Onbekend land redistribution project come about?
- Who were the role players in the Onbekend land redistribution project and what was their nature of interaction?
- What was the relationship between poverty and land tenure rights in Onbekend?
- How can security of tenure improve the living standard of the rural poor living at Onbekend?

- Are there any prospects for the economic improvement of the people in Onbekend due to land tenure rights?
- Is security of tenure the only way to alleviate poverty and improve the quality of life of the Onbekend community?

Map 1 Locality.



Map 2: Droogvallei farm.



1.4 Hypothesis.

Land redistribution, resulting in communal tenure, has provided security and thereby assisted in alleviating poverty and improving the quality of life of the Onbekend community.

1.5 Research methodology

The research methodology involved a series of interviews, and answering of a questionnaire, as methods of collecting primary data. This was supplemented by observation using a checklist. Secondary data, where available complimented the primary research of the study area and provided most of the conceptual and theoretical sources.

1.5.1 Primary sources of data.

According to Alreck and Settle (1985) the process of empirical research uses both qualitative and quantitative research methods to collect information. The qualitative approach is based on concepts and meaning, and is also much more interpretative. Whereas, the quantitative approach uses numbers to express scale, frequency and dimensions of the issues. For the purpose of this study, both approaches were used.

1.5.1.1 Sampling method.

According to Alreck and Settle (1985) a sample is a representative section, which can be examined or investigated, in order to find out about the whole. There are various sampling methods that can be used to get a sample from a certain research area.

A stratified random sampling is one of the most useful methods of data collection, Fink (1995). As the land redistribution project had resulted in the 60 households being resettled in a regular pattern, the stratified random sampling approach was appropriate. The researcher's time and budget was limited to 30 households. Accordingly, every second household was eligible for selection as there are 60 households in the case study area.

1.5.1.2 Questionnaire

Both open ended and closed questions were used to elicit information from the respondents. According to Foddy (1993), open-ended questions allow the respondents to produce extensive information. The responses are free from bias of predetermined or suggested answers, and they also reveal the many facets of the respondents' behavior. While closed questions are easy to analyse, they also provide standardised responses and avoid difficult and irrelevant answers that are difficult to analyse. A sample of the Onbekend community members was asked to fill in a questionnaire.

Through the use of a questionnaire, the researcher gathered the following information from the community members: **(See Annexure A)**

- Has having security of tenure through the land redistribution program improved their lives?
- What is it that the community feels needs to be done to supplement land tenure rights if poverty and their quality of life is to improve?
- Has having security of tenure made it easier for the community to access loans from the financial corporation?
- Does the community have any economic revival projects underway?
- How was the land purchased? Was it through a government grant or money borrowed by the community from financial institutions?

1.5.1.3 Interviews.

This method of data collection was used in order to complement the questionnaire survey. This method of data collection allows the interviewer to note body language and facial expression, which are very important as they can determine the reliability of the respondents answer to a particular question. Though the body language cannot be documented, it is vital to take note of, because to a certain extent, it tells a story about the way a respondents feels about a certain issue.

Structured interviews were used for some data collection. This method presented an opportunity to gather rich and reliable information, as it allowed the interviewee to respond freely and to elaborate further on their response to questions. According to Fink (1995) interviews are central to the research process. They may take various forms, including those which are highly structured through the use of a questionnaire, or the informal exchange in which the interviewer is working with sets of guidelines but allows the respondents considerable scope to move the discussion in different directions. Fink (1995) argues that whichever form interviews take, its quality will strongly influence the validity of the information obtained. Richardson et al (1965) suggest that information obtained from interviews can either be factual, opinion, or knowledge.

The structured interviews were used when interviewing the community leaders as well as the professional town planners who worked on the project. The researcher interviewed 30 households and the Onbekend Communal Property Association executive committee.

Through structured interviews, the researcher gathered the following information from the Onbekend Communal Property Association leaders. (**See Annexure B**)

- How the land redistribution project came about.

- The problems they had dealt with due to the communal tenure arrangement.
- Whether they feel that security of tenure has contributed towards rural development.
- Whether the Association has been successful in accessing formal credit.
- Any development and economic revival projects that are in the pipeline.
- The institutional structure of the Onbekend Communal Property Association.

By using the structured interviews, the researcher gathered the following information from the town planner:(**See Annexure C**)

- The nature of problems that they encountered in this land redistribution project
- Whether he thinks security of tenure has so far improved the lives of the Onbekend rural Community and what indicators they are using to assess this?
- Whether he thinks security of tenure on its own is adequate to fight Poverty?
- Indicators they used to assess whether the project is a success or not.

It was very important to have the town planner who managed the project so that he can share with the researcher his views and the nature of problem they encountered when doing this project and how these were resolved. Also his involvement could have drawn the researcher's attention to certain important things that were initially overlooked.

1.5.1.4 Observation.

According to Alreck and Settle (1991) observation involves recording in detail everything, which is observed. These recorded observations become the raw data, which may then be analysed and possibly included in the report. Observation can be used in combination with other means of collecting data.

The fact that the nature of this research was reliant upon empirical data and what will be picked up on the ground, made the observation technique vital if the research was to achieve the desired outcomes. Observation helped the researcher to verify if there was correlation between what was said and the current reality.

The researcher has approached this observation technique very systematically by drawing up a checklist, which contained the matters that were to be noted in the research area.

The checklist was used to gather the following type of information:

- The type of water supply used by people at Onbekend (site tap, a communal tap, a communal borehole) etc.
- To check the number of houses with fencing.
- To see the type of building on site, (a formal or informal structure.)
- Establish the number of households with electricity.
- The type of street access, (gravel road, tarred road) etc.

This information was important to have since it helped the researcher to assess whether land reform, through the land redistribution program, has improved the quality of life of the Onbekend community.

1.6 Secondary sources of data.

Information was also gathered mainly through the use of published books, government policy documents, unpublished papers, and journal articles. This added to the information obtained from the survey and field observation. However the main purpose of the secondary sources was to inform the conceptual and theoretical discussions.

1.7 Assessment of the research methodology.

Most of the data collection methods were very helpful. The observation technique helped a lot to ascertain the validity of the responses. However, the most useful tool was the interviews. This method of data collection gives the interviewer adequate time to follow up on certain important things. It also gave this researcher an opportunity to note the body language, because a lot can be read about the facial expression of a person and that was helpful as it also ascertain the validity of the response.

Drawing a questionnaire that can elicit all the information required is a very challenging thing for researchers. This sometimes result in questionnaires that have gaps and lack depth. The interview is helpful in bridging this gap, because it makes it easier for the researcher to make follow up should the respondents touch on certain important aspects that were initially overlooked when drawing the questionnaire.

Chapter 2: Key concepts of the study.

2.1. Introduction.

This chapter contains the key concepts of the study. The understanding of these is important since they help the reader to understand the essence of this research.

2.2. Land redistribution.

This forms one of the most important aspects of the land reform program. According to De Wet (1997) and the South African White Paper on land policy (1997), the main aim of the land redistribution program is to provide the poor with land for residential and productive purposes in order to improve their livelihoods. Its scope includes the urban and rural poor, labour tenants, farm workers as well as the emergent farmers. The Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) program, give grants for these groups of people.

Within the land redistribution program, the government envisages a facilitative rather than interventionist role for itself and a market assisted approach as the principal mechanisms to access land. Redistribution will effectively be based on the willing buyer-willing seller basis, with expropriation as a last resort. The government is to make land acquisition grants available to individuals who will therefore pool their grants together and purchase the land.

The settlement or land acquisition grants are a one-off grant of R17, 500 for household with income less than R1500, or less per month. The intention is that the grant will be used for infrastructure and development. The government encourages people to club together and form a communal property association and buy the land together. To make sure that this type of tenure arrangement

works out effectively, the Communal Property Association Act 28 of 1996 has been promulgated.

2.3 Security of tenure:

According to the White Paper on South African land policy (1997) this refers to legally protected rights of land ownership, which are granted to a person occupying a piece of land in a form of a title deed. The title deed protects the holder from eviction. According to Smith and Henk (2002) security of tenure is generally used to describe the quality of the rights of the tenure holder. Security of tenure can take many models like freehold property right. It can also be in a form of communal ownership through land redistribution. However, more importantly about security of tenure, are the benefits attached to having it. Some of the benefits include using the land as collateral, using it to generate income, increased access to credit, and allowing for investment in your land without fear of eviction. Also if people have security of tenure it will be easier for the government to provide them with services and infrastructure. Having security of tenure allows a person to do the following:

- Occupy a homestead, to use land for crops, make permanent improvements, to bury the dead, to graze animals, and have access for gathering fuel, fruits, grass and minerals among other things.
- Right to transact which is a right to give, mortgage, lease, rent and bequeath areas of exclusive use.
- Right to exclude others from the above listed rights at community or individual levels.
- Right to enforcement of legal and administrative provisions in order to protect the rights holder.

However it is important to note the fact that the privileges, depend on the tenure arrangements. For example, communal tenure makes it difficult for individuals to use the land as collateral and to sell it, since it is collectively owned.

2.4 Communal tenure.

According to the White paper on Land policy (1997), this refers to a defined group of individuals exercising authority over a defined area of a land and the resultant resources. Whilst communal systems can function democratically, there are those that can discriminate against other members. This can be in two ways, firstly, in terms of their ability to participate effectively in decision-making structures, and with respect of access to land. The South African government has an obligation to ensure that group based land holding system do not conflict with basic human rights of members of such system. To meet its obligation, the South African government has developed a body of law to regulate and support group ownership systems such as, trusts, schemes and sectional title schemes, through the Communal Property Association's Act 28 of 1996.

2.5 Freehold tenure.

This refers to legally recognised rights that have been granted to an individual owning a certain piece of land. Unlike the communal tenure, freehold tenure is private right with exclusive rights to the land. Its main advantage is transactability and alienability.

2.6 Poverty

According to May (2000) despite the large number of people living in poverty, the definition of poverty has been the subject of protracted debate amongst policy analysts. An emerging consensus sees poverty as generally characterized

by the inability of individuals, households, or entire communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living. Poverty is multi-faceted and everyone's experience of poverty is different. The definition that will be used for this study is the one that views poverty as:

- Food insecurity; which is the inability to provide sufficient or good quality of food for families as an outcome of poverty. Households where children go hungry or are malnourished are seen as living in poverty.
- Use of basic forms of energy; the poor lack access to safe and efficient sources of energy. In rural communities, the poor, particularly women, walk long distance to gather firewood, and this increase their vulnerability to physical attack and sexual assault.
- Lack of adequately paying and secure jobs; The poor perceived lack of employment opportunities, low wages, and lack of job security as major factors contributing to their poverty.

2.7 Quality of Life.

According to Kruger and Kroner (2002) this refers to the adequate provision of a bundle of services to the people within a reasonable walking distance. It include provision of a range of services like pay points, health facilities, trading facilities, provision of water within a certain radius of all erven, and being able to provide all the households with electricity and other necessary infrastructure and services that promote health and convenience. According to the Zululand Regional Council report (1996), a cost effective method that can be used in providing services to the rural dwellers is the setting up of rural service centers.

2.8 Rural Area.

Onbekend has all the characteristics of a rural area. The major type of activity the communities are involved in is agriculture. This most dominant activity forms the most important component of the people's livelihoods. According to Cousins (2000) accompanying this notion of the predominance of agriculture, is one of the rural areas as greener, less built up and not much variety of land use. There is also lack of access to services and infrastructure and lower human population densities than in urban areas. The Onbekend farm is located next to Carolina town, which is three kilometers away from the farm.

2.9 Conclusion.

This chapter provided the working definitions that are used for this study. It is important to define these concepts clearly since they have a bearing on the overall understanding of this study.

Chapter 3. Conceptual framework: poverty, property rights and land reform.

3.1 Introduction.

This chapter presents the important debates and arguments put forward by different theorists about the effects of undertaking land reform. It also contains arguments about the different forms of ownership that occur under land reform. These theories serve as the magnifying glass, which help to thoroughly understand the study and the issues it is dealing with. Two main bodies of theory will be discussed in this chapter. These are the land and agrarian reform theory, (as found in the writings of scholars such as Cousins, Van Zyl, Kirsten and Binswanger and Helm). The other body of theory is the evolutionary theory of land rights.

The land and agrarian reform theorists are discussed because they explore solutions to the kind of problems faced by the people who had difficulties accessing land. They also deal with certain issues that are peculiar to South Africa. They discuss the market assisted land reform program and offer a critical perspective to that approach. The debate about which forms of tenure arrangement is the most appropriate is also dealt with in this chapter and is a subject entertained by both bodies of theorists. This is very important because the community in the research area uses communal tenure, which is one of the two tenure arrangements that are being debated by these two main bodies of theory. This also justifies the reasoning behind focusing solely on these two types of ownership, as these are also the two most debated forms of ownership in South Africa.

In addition, this chapter presents some of the important issues around land reform, such as the fact that South Africa's land reform policy is interested in healing the symptoms of poverty, which will be done through providing people

Putting these enabling measures in place will assist the program to deal with the real sickness, which is poverty. This chapter also talks about the South African LRAD program, explaining what it is meant to do and the problems it pose for rural communities.

The argument of this research is that, although the Onbekend land redistribution project, through communal ownership, will improve security of tenure and contribute towards poverty alleviation and improve people's quality of life, there are certain enabling measures which need to be put in place for the project to fully exploit the major economic potential it presents for the beneficiaries.

3.2 The relationship between poverty and property rights.

With the majority of poor South Africans based in the rural areas and living under crushing poverty, often with limited or no access to land, the land reform program is one of the strategies that has been adopted so as to contribute towards the alleviation of poverty and to change the fortunes of the rural settlers for the better. According to Van Zyl et al (1996), the relationship between rural poverty and access to land is very complex. This is because there are many factors that contribute to poverty, such as the differences in land quality, availability of complementary inputs, access to credit, markets and opportunities for off- farm employment. This simply means that, while we can facilitate access to land for the poor, if these complementary inputs are not put into place, victory in the fight against poverty will be far from being achieved. The Onbekend land redistribution project clearly demonstrates what the absence of such complimentary measures could mean, as the projects are stagnant.

According to Van Zyl et al (1996), successful rural development and poverty reduction is not only dependent on agricultural growth. The latter can provide food security, as is the case at Onbekend and reduce consumer prices of non-tradable or semi-tradable food, unless the markets are heavily protected or

tradable or semi-tradable food, unless the markets are heavily protected or monopolized. However for successful rural development and poverty alleviation, the policy of the government should encourage investment in agricultural infrastructure for the small farmers, tax the small farmers lightly, etc. This will give support to the land reform process so that it can produce the desired results. Van Zyl et al (1996), draws from international experience to support his claim. He contends that China has done the same for her small farmers, hence she has experienced rapid agricultural growth, modernization of technology and sharp reduction in poverty.

Griffin et al (2002) also shares the same sentiment as Van Zyl et al (1996) that land reform must be complemented by other measures to promote rural development, such as improvement in agricultural terms of trade, liberalization of output market, and improved access inputs. They suggest that this would lead to sharp acceleration in the rate of growth of agricultural output.

It becomes apparent that land reform on its own cannot solve the problems relating to poverty in rural areas, without other forms of support from the government such as public investment in roads, irrigation infrastructure, such as bore holes, research and extension, subsidizing of credit, and electricity. These are some of the enabling inputs that the South African government needs to provide to the small-scale farmers instead of directing these only to the large-scale farmers. International precedent has shown that this is the right approach if adequate agricultural growth is to be achieved, and poverty reduced in rural areas.

There is a well established body of literature which argues that one of the ways to make the poorer less poor, is to give them proper title to what they own and that the land reform program has the potential to address poverty. A leading Peruvian economist, Hernando De Soto (2000), contends that the poor are not as "poor" as it might be thought. He points out that, the total value of the fixed

property held but not legally owned by the poor of the Third World countries is at least \$9,3 trillion, and the lack of formal ownership to these properties contributes to the poverty rate faced by the poor as people cannot use their property as collateral to access credit and improve their lives.

De Soto (2000), further states that a uniform property system is also a way of sharing knowledge. When information about ownership and value of houses, and other assets is centrally recorded and freely available, it makes it easier for people to see economic opportunities outside their own neighborhood. This means that formal property laws allow people to do business with strangers, as those who are part of the formal property system have addresses, credit records and identifiable assets.

The land and agrarian theorists strongly emphasize that land reform through restitution, redistribution, or land tenure reform, will not succeed alone in the fight against poverty in the rural areas. According to Van Zyl et al, " there is a need for matching grant resources for poverty alleviating projects and the delegation of their execution to poor communities where technically feasible. This can be done through provision of social funds. The second choice is to strengthen the political representation of poor and disadvantaged groups in local bodies" (1996:154). To be precise, Van Zyl suggests that there should also be equal representation of small farmers and large farmers, women and rural workers on boards, supervisory committees of extension as well as on land and labour committees which deal with rural land and labour issues.

In Latin America increased access to land has seen increases in crop output as results of redistribution of the land to the tiller. According to Adholla et al (1991) in Africa, especially countries like Kenya and a place in Ghana known as Anloga, when small farmers have received more secure tenure, either through individual or communal titling, there seems to be an increase in yields. However, the land and agrarian theorists are quick to point out that increased access or improved

tenure rights is not a sufficient condition. According to Bruce (1993) land redistribution can only achieve positive impacts on production in co-ordination with appropriate arrangements for access to inputs. Other land and agrarian theorists like Wildschut and Hulbert (1998) also state that security of tenure is vital but is only a partial component required for successful agrarian reform.

Platteau (1996), shares the same sentiment with the land and agrarian reform theorists when he points out that, an improvement in land rights does not appear to have an effect on agricultural investment and yields. Platteau (1996) says policy makers and governments need to be warned that explicit development of private land rights should not be viewed as a universal solution for problems of low growth and investment. The effect of land title on various types of agricultural investment is found to be low. He states that "comparison of small holder untitled and titled farms showed little difference in investment in equipment, fencing, drainage, irrigation pumps, and the overall level of investment was extremely low", (1996:65).

For Platteau (1996) the main concern for the poor is security of tenure in its most fundamental sense, which will mean absence of risk, no loss of land and the right to bequeath land to children. This vital concern makes people wary about any radical change of rules, which could threaten their customary rights of access to land. He states that, "the weak people may demand titling if they consider it the only effective means of protecting them against outsiders. They may want collective rather than individual titles as they feel stronger when around traditional social structures and he argues that this attachment to old forms of security is likely to persist as long as economic opportunities are scarce or perceived as unstable", (1996:69).

3.3 Different forms of ownership under land reform.

Most of the land and agrarian theorists discuss different property models, and happen to share the same sentiment that communal tenure is the most preferable land holding system than freehold tenure. At Onbekend, a register that gives individual household formal rights of ownership of the land has been prepared. This means that each and every household can therefore establish its own residential and arable land within the area and common access to pastoral land can be regulated by community rules.

According to Alston et al (1996) the communal tenure system tends to move towards allowing individual members to transact within a larger land market. This has led to some people concluding that gradual adaptation of communal tenure over time, led by rights holders, is more appropriate than government attempting to replace customary systems with more modern systems, whether through individual or collective ownership. Big institutions like the World Bank, which earlier saw communal tenureship as a constraint to development that needed to be replaced by individual tenure rights, have since changed their stance as far as the issue is concerned. According to Platteau (1996) the World Bank now views communal tenure as a cost effective way to increase tenure systems. This simply means that the implementation of this tenure arrangement has limited cost implications compared to when implementing freehold tenure through the Land Tenure Upgrading Act 112 of 1991.

According to Small and Winkler (1992) the apartheid policy of land dispossession has created the need in African people for security of tenure, but not necessarily in the form of individual ownership of a registered piece of land. Generally speaking, people want legally respected property rights in the form of title deeds to land, but they still wish to retain community involvement in internal land allocation especially in rural areas.

tree planting, manuring, soil and water conservation and other farm improvements is more likely where property rights are secure. An important aspect of security of tenure is the confidence with which one can transact one's right. Cousins point out that " with population growth, specialization and the incorporation of rural areas into market economies, the importance of being able to transact property right can increase", (2000:113). Therefore the main objective of land reform, regardless of the form of ownership, will be to help in alleviating poverty and improving quality of life, although it appears to be that land reform on its own is inadequate in the fight against poverty.

Most of the land and agrarian theorists basically agree that land reform may be necessary in order to avoid the suffering and social instability caused by evictions and landlessness. According to Cousins (2000) the nature and strength of property rights profoundly condition economic decision-making through their effects on people expectations of a return on their investments of labour and capital.

3.4 Evolutionary theory of land rights.

According to Platteau (1996) the evolutionary theory of land rights focuses on types of tenure rights. It argues that the communal tenure rights to land use are defined as general rights to use of land, which fail to include the rights to deprive others of access to it, except by prior or continuing use.

In economic terms, the evolutionary theory is based on the supply and demand principle and is explicitly grounded on the private ownership. According to Plateau (1996) there is a political market, in which demand for institutional innovation, such as land titling is expressed. Supply is as a response to institutional innovation demand. According to Runge, " institutional innovations are similar to technology in the market for property institutions. The demand

results from the assurance which certain arrangements of rights provide and the supply is a function of the relative cost of providing particular rights”, (1984:808 – 810). In this issue of land titling, the price regulating demand may be thought of as the cost price of registration of titling.

According to Platteau (1996) the evolutionary theory of land rights argues that when there is a growing competition for the use of land as a result of population growth, or growth in product demand, communal ownership becomes unstable and produces harmful effects in the form of mismanagement or overexploitation of the now valuable resource. Efforts in carefully managing and conserving the land are discouraged and potential social benefits are lost, simply because property rights are not there to guide incentives to achieve adequate internalization of externalities.

Platteau argues that, “ when gains of internalization become larger than the cost due to an increase in the value of the land or enforcement costs, economic efficiency justifies the replacement of communal by private ownership rights”, (1996:31). However, it must be clear that merely changing land rights cannot succeed in making land tenure conducive to agricultural growth for these people where land has come to acquire a scarcity value. The evolutionary theory is based on the assumptions that increase in population and increasing commercialization of agriculture somehow works out its own institutional solutions. Demsetz argues that, “the emergence of new property rights takes place in response to the desires of interacting persons for adjustment to new benefit-cost possibilities, which in purely economic terms can be translated to be property rights developed to internalize externalities when gains of internalizations becomes larger than the cost of internalization”, (1967:350).

This evolutionary theory is based largely on the experience of Sub-Saharan countries. In these countries, there is considerable flexibility of land tenure arrangements. The growth of population has also led to increasing

This evolutionary theory is based largely on the experience of Sub-Saharan countries. In these countries, there is considerable flexibility of land tenure arrangements. The growth of population has also led to increasing commercialization of agriculture. This has in turn, given rise to gradual but meaningful change in land tenure practices in the direction of enhanced individualization of tenure, larger incidence of land sale transactions, and the increasing use of money in connection with land loans. According to Platteau, “the greater integration of rural areas into the market economy and increasing population pressure, have led to acceleration of modifications in African customary land tenure arrangements in the post independence period”, (1996:33). But the most disturbing issue about the traditional land tenure systems appear to be the inalienability of land by individuals through commercial sales, rentals, or credit related pledging.

There have been criticisms of the principles underlying evolutionary land rights. Platteau (1996) argues that the evolutionary theorists have downplayed the dynamic potential of the indigenous African land system. This is because they have failed to see that an individual's tenure can exist under a general system of corporate ownership. They have also failed to realise that communal arrangements are genuine multi-tenure systems with different land uses calling for different tenures. Under this system, individuals or household have the rights to a specific plot of land. Such a system is flexible enough to allow the proportion of lands held under relatively well-secured rights of individual possession to increase as the need arises for agricultural intensification and the accompanying long-term investments. Platteau is quoted as saying that “the African tenure systems appear to be a dynamic arrangement which has come to recognize increasingly individual rights for individuals and household under the pressure of rising land values, therefore they can be best thought of as a system where individual rights are maturing”, (1996:34).

makeshift structures on the land and cultivate in a desultory fashion to create the illusion that the land is occupied and under cultivation.

The evolutionary theory of land rights is also criticised because it has some loopholes, especially, with the process of land adjudication, which can be subverted by the elite for their own advantage. This was the case in Thailand where powerful government officials so as to allow elites with high level of political connections to obtain ownership of land manipulated land records.

Evidence in Sub-Saharan countries points to the very same phenomenon, where enormous malpractices have been observed. Platteau is quoted saying, "it is clear that registration supplies a mechanism for transfer of wealth for the educated, economically, and politically elite, as a result it creates new sources of tenure insecurity for influential rights-holders, given the high level of politicization of wealth allocation in Sub-Saharan Africa and the highly unequal chances of getting access to strategic information or influencing bureaucratic and judiciary decision-making", (1996:45).

Another problem faced by the Sub-Saharan African countries is incomplete cadastral surveys and lack of diligent record keeping about changes in landownership, especially due to the inefficiency of administrative capabilities compared to the Asian countries. The problem is bound to have serious implications on credit investment.

Available evidence seems to suggest that the impact of individualized titling on small holders is nil or negligible. According to Platteau (1996) there are different studies that were undertaken by the World Bank, which showed that there is no significant relationship between the possession of title and the use of formal credits. Moreover the former does not appear to implicate an increase in loan maturity or loan size. He is quoted as saying, "there is no significant correlation between the extent of informal individualization of land tenure and recourse to

credit, there is no significant relationship between percentage of household receiving formal credit or any credit and the proportion of land held with complete transfer rights”, (1996:60).

According to Platteau (1996) this means that access to credit for agricultural purposes, is not only determined by land titling but by putting together enabling conditions. This becomes interesting because, the land and agrarian reform theorists also suggest that land can be given to the people, but that this alone will not contribute towards poverty alleviation. Therefore the existence of legally registered titles, even in conditions where land is easily appropriable, is not a sufficient condition for increased access to credit for agricultural investment.

However, apart from the criticism leveled against the evolutionary theory of land rights, the theory should not be discarded altogether for it makes two essential and valid points. Firstly, the fact that land arrangements and practices are evolving autonomously under the pressure of growing land scarcity due to growth of population. Secondly, the significant shift that takes place is geared towards increased individualization of tenure rights and increased transferability of land.

3.5. The South African LRAD program.

The Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) program is designed to provide grants to black South Africans to access land specifically for agricultural purposes and to make better use of the land already accessed. According to Ericsson (2002) the LRAD program aims to give farmland to 30% prospective black farmers. Of the land that will be distributed, the state will contribute only 5% of its own land, which will be underutilized state land and municipal commonage. The other 25% of land is expected to come from commercial farmers. Ericsson is quoted as saying, “it seems that most of the land to be redistributed will come from white commercial farmers, considering that

86,2 million hectares, which constitute about 85,6% of the country's agricultural land is white commercial farmland", (2002:5).

The LRAD program also gives grants ranging from R 20,000-R100, 000, depending in the contribution made by the beneficiaries. The LRAD states that the people making a minimum contribution of R5000 per individual will receive the minimum grant of R20, 000. Those who make higher contribution of own assets, cash, and labour, will receive higher grants. Some of the beneficiaries, who have the skills and would like to manage larger farms, will need a total project cost estimated to be R500, 000 or higher. Of that project cost, the LRAD grant will cover R100, 000 and the remaining R400, 000 will have to come from the beneficiaries contribution in a from of loans and own cash, (www.pwv.gov.za).

The beneficiaries are expected to make their own contribution, which will ultimately determine the amount of grant they will get. This is an attempt not to give the 100% grants to the beneficiaries because, it is hoped, that by making the beneficiaries contribute, will enhance their feeling of ownership and a greater sense of responsibility on their part. It will also make beneficiaries strive for success in their projects, (Deininger et al 1999). This means that rural communities who are struggling to feed themselves will have to make financial contributions. This approach is not a bad one when considering what it is trying to achieve, but its implementation is sub-optimal, especially when taking into account the political history of this country and the poor spending power of the rural communities.

Another problem with this approach is that it now has a cost recovery element as beneficiaries have to make a contribution. The problem is that most of the poor rural communities will struggle to raise the contribution required. In cases where the contributions are made, most people would only afford to access the R 20,000 grants because little amount of contribution would be required for accessing it. If therefore the people access the R 20,000 grant, this amount of

money is far too little for running a farm and putting together the complimentary measures needed for productive use of the land, especially in dry Provinces like the Mpumalanga, and Northern Provinces.

3.6 Market assisted land reform program.

The South African land reform program is grounded on the market-assisted principle. This means that the land reform program involves a willing seller and willing buyer. This approach taken by the South African government is deemed to be correct because it provides a unique opportunity to alleviate some of the problems caused by market liberalization and removals of privileges. The market driven land reform program is designed to create a market for the land, assist in solving the employment problem by generating self-employment on the new farms and non-farm economy at a low cost per job.

According to Deininger et al (1999), the decision to use the market driven approach in South Africa was based on the fact that expropriation was seen to be inconsistent with the protection of private property rights, thus causing irreparable damage to private investment and international confidence in the economy.

There are two main objectives of the market led land reform program. Firstly it aims to effect the widespread land transfers to the landless, dispossessed and dispossessed people of South Africa. Secondly is to ensure that, when supported by the cost effective provision of services, increased agricultural production and entrepreneurial activity, secure livelihoods will result. According to Van Zyl et al (1996), the ultimate success of South Africa's rural land reform program should be tested against its ability to redress equity in land redistribution and livelihoods upgrading, reduction of poverty, creation of employment and income generating opportunities.

According to Helm and Van Zyl (1994) market assisted land reform should assist the small scale farmers who cannot afford to purchase land and other inputs and pay for them the proceeds of their farming operations. It is a promising approach because small-scale farmers may find it difficult to borrow money to purchase land and to pay the loan from the proceeds of farming. Van Zyl et al contend that, "for market assisted land reform to be successful it must offer good financial assistance to the beneficiaries of such a program. In this way the desirable debt/assets ratio can be reached and maintained. For this to happen, reasonable amount of grants are important because they are immediate, transparent, and their effects are small on the part of the beneficiaries", (Van Zyl et al 1996: 419). These grants should not be structured the way the LRAD program has structured them.

Another criticism that has been leveled against the market led land reform program, is from the work of Levin and Weiner et al (1996). They contend that the market will do the selecting, generally favoring those already empowered and leaving out the poorest and the landless. But at the same time they acknowledge that there are imminent dangers in relying solely on bureaucratic institutions to effectively distribute land. A recent example is the case of Zimbabwe, where because of lack of a proper land reform program, there has been social, political and economic instability.

Land and agrarian theorists also argue that any program aimed at rural economic development in South Africa should have a strong social orientation component not purely welfare oriented. In a land reform program this would take the form of a process of land allocations accompanied by the provision of adequate and appropriate support to those without resources to be able to use land effectively to secure livelihoods.

- Use of market assisted approach involving willing buyer and willing seller, with targeted financial assistance to poor buyers
- Using self-selection by communities and individuals through the rules and incentives structure of the programme.
- Using grants to target the poor and to provide appropriate self-selection incentives.
- Limiting restrictions on the beneficiaries, for instance on renting or selling farms or choosing alternative enterprise and community models
- Involving beneficiaries in the planning of infrastructure and services
- Making use of decentralized institutional structure
- Decentralizing supervision.

Helm and Van Zyl (1994:126)

The objective of reducing poverty justifies the targeted interventions to promote access to rural finance for particular groups of the population. Financial interventions must be shown to be cost effective means to achieve poverty reduction compared to other targeted interventions.

It is important to support the redistributive land program because it creates a new rural economy, which brings about changes to the rural livelihoods. The cost per livelihood in terms of land, livestock and machinery priced at a current market value, as well as the institutional and infrastructural investment needed is relatively small compared to the likely cost of job creation in other major sectors such as industry or mining.

3.7 Land tenure rights and rural development.

One of the expected benefits from the land reform program is that, once problems around tenure issues have been resolved, development in the rural areas will be fast tracked. Cousins (2000) argues that land reform will facilitate decisions and actions by rural households, government bodies and the private

sector to speed up service provision and infrastructure delivery as well as encouraging economic development in rural areas. It is hoped that it will also benefit rural livelihoods.

Land and agrarian theorists estimate the economic benefits of land reform. They suggest that the benefits will include the promotion of farm and non-farm household production, improving delivery of housing and infrastructure provision, facilitate investment in spatial development initiatives projects. This implies that the benefits of undertaking of land reform will outweigh the cost incurred. On the other hand, the cost of not undertaking land reform, as an essential component of a comprehensive rural development strategy, will be to entrench rural poverty, cause a continued drain on society's resources, and continual tension and instability in high conflict situations characterized by severe crowding and contested rights and claims.

Cousins is quoted as saying, " the provisional appraisal of potential economic benefits strongly suggest that reform is well worth undertaking", (2000:112). Although the estimation appears to be more general, it is a valuable contribution that gives more insights as to what the benefits of undertaking land reform may be in economic terms. One problem is that economic indicators are not the only key indicators that will inform the success of a land reform program, as land has some other significance attached to it such as social and political stability. There are aspects that cannot be defined purely in economic terms.

3.8 Food security and defining of rural livelihood strategies.

According to Van Zyl (1996) the major argument for land redistribution from a food security point of view, is to achieve a shift in income earning opportunities in agriculture. He is quoted as saying; " it is crucial to understand that the rationale behind this argument is based on increase in income rather than only increase in production for domestic consumption purposes. This therefore means that

behind this argument is based on increase in income rather than only increase in production for domestic consumption purposes. This therefore means that attention should not only be paid to the issues of land and production, but must also be focused on entitlement and income earning potential of vulnerable people”, (1996:500). Land redistribution should be structured in a way that allows new entrants to increase their income levels and become financially viable, since it is part of a rural development strategy to address poverty and introduce equitable access to the land market.

According to Cousins (2000) agriculture is one of the most important livelihood tactics used in rural areas after remittances and wages from low-skilled jobs. He is quoted as saying, “ cultivation of land, particularly garden plots, is an important safeguard for many rural households and it appears as if agriculture in many parts of the world, is more important for the poor household”, (2000:29). Even though pensions and remittances make a significant contribution to households’ income, due to their irregularity, agriculture still forms one of their most important and reliable livelihood strategies.

Land reform has the potential to address the situation of the rural poor and perhaps forms the single most important action taken by the South African government in dealing with issues affecting national and household security. The program has the potential to profoundly restructure the agrarian economy of South Africa and thereby to change existing patterns of inequality in rural areas.

If land reform is to contribute towards poverty alleviation, there is a parallel need for agrarian reform, which will enhance the level and stability of income for the rural poor. It should be the necessary component of an anti-poverty policy in South Africa as is in other countries. Cousins (2000) questions the extent to which South Africa’s land reform program, as currently implemented, has the potential to contribute towards this goal. He argues that an appropriate strategy for the reduction of rural poverty in South Africa would be to implement a series

assets base of the poor and the promotion of livelihood activities based on these assets.

But to a large extent it appears that the foundation for successful initiative to redress poverty has been laid in South Africa by the present government policies and programs concerning land redistribution and the promotion of agriculture. Cousins (2000) warns that in case of agricultural production, additional land does not necessarily translate into higher production and strengthening the asset base of the poor, therefore it requires state action that does not only transfer assets, but also seeks way in which markets can be restructured in a manner that benefits the poor.

According to Lipton et al (1996) livelihoods are defined as two hundred working days a year to produce enough income to keep worker and dependents out of poverty. Titi and Singh (1994) define sustainable livelihoods, as people's capacities to generate and mainstream their means of living, enhance their well-being and that of future generations. The capacities are contingent upon the availability and accessibility of options, which are ecological, economic and political and are also predicated on equity, ownership of resources and participatory decision-making, (Titi and Singh, 1994:127).

These definitions both acknowledge that livelihoods are complex and are aimed at managing risks, reducing vulnerability and enhancing security by individuals and households. According to Cousins (2000) rural livelihoods are like rural communities and are highly differentiated by social identity and vary on their make up depending on class, gender, age, location, and education, relative power and political influence. It is these factors that play a role in determining livelihoods options and opportunities. For example, the poorer and the more marginalized households are, the less the choices available to them for securing their livelihoods and the more dependant on land and the natural resource base they become. Therefore it is important for households to have diversified

they become. Therefore it is important for households to have diversified livelihoods because they act as a buffer to risk, something the Onbekend community did not have the privilege to engage in, because of the tenure arrangement they had prior to the attainment of a legally secure tenure.

Livestock is viewed as playing an important role in rural livelihoods. This is because it is kept for a number of reasons and they supply range of goods and services, including milk, manure, meat, dung, and are used as savings and for ceremonial and customary purposes. This therefore benefits the household with and without livestock.

The majority of rural households engage in some form of arable agriculture, from cultivation of home gardens within homesteads, through to the planting of large arable fields within the vicinity of their homesteads and villages. Most rural households grow a range of crops usually in an intercropping or agro-forestry system. The results of this may be that, the yields of any specific crop are lower than would be anticipated under a commercial, high input system, however, it is frequently seen as a risk avoiding strategy.

The big question is whether land and agrarian reform can enhance the potential for livelihoods through raising productivity levels or by providing increased access to these resources. According to Cousins (2000) experience in Africa has shown that productivity can increase when the previously neglected small farming sector begins to receive appropriate support in the form of infrastructure for transport, marketing and storage, and support services which include research and extension, credit, input supply, marketing advice and information and economic policies which recognize and encourage investment in agriculture.

3.9 Equity between small scale farmers and large scale farmers.

The land and agrarian theorists argue that the concept of equity should also be extended to the agricultural context as they say that equality of opportunity is

probably most important when it comes to ownership of land. The reasons for this are that, small-scale farmers do not receive the kind of support received by large-scale farmers. This is because, the agrarian reform theorists view small-scale farmers as having the potential and more meaningful ways to contribute towards poverty alleviation, compared to large-scale farmers.

Van Zyl et al (1996) warn that it will be inappropriate to only believe in the superiority of the large-scale farmers, because they are very capital intensive and they generate very little employment. They are quoted as saying, " big farms are often well-managed and technically efficient. Due to this, they have high volumes of output. However, their economic cost of production exceeds those of small enterprises relying primarily on family labour. This leads to them generating few employment opportunities, and in that way, makes a very minimal contribution towards poverty alleviation and income generating for the rural poor. On the other hand, the small farms which have less wealth and access to credit markets, use an input mix which relies much more on labour than capital, thereby generating far more employment and self employment than their counterpart", (1996: 20)

Griffin et al (2002) argues that the agricultural policies have often discriminated against small farmers in favour of large farmers. They refer to such policies as being "landlord biased" (2002:284). This kind of biasness takes many forms. They are quoted as saying" the biasness can be in terms of research policies favouring export crops and superior grains and neglect inferior grains. Credit policies also discriminate naturally in favour of large landowners who have large marketable products and are against small farmers where the lender's risks and administration costs are higher", (2002:284). They therefore suggests that for the small scale farmers and new entrants farmers to be able to match their large scale counterpart in terms of productivity, these issues need to resolved by the government and all the other stakeholders involved.

Security of tenure will allow the small-scale farmers to invest more and with lot of confidence on their land like the large-scale farmers. The reason why small-scale farmers are not yet able to match up with the large-scale farmers in terms of productivity has nothing to do with technology as some scholars have argued. Van Zyl et al point out “that small scale farmers rarely lag more than few years behind their larger counterparts as they have adopted divisible technology such as fertilizers, new seed, pesticides and they have also adopted machines through rental arrangements and markets where economies of scale are pronounced”. (1996:21)

3.10 Conclusions: the relevance of the theories to this study.

The first thing that must be picked up from these theories is the debate around the most appropriate property models. They present different views, where the evolutionary theory argues that communal tenure is a constraint to development as it leads to mismanagement of resources due to its failure to respond to the pressure of population growth. In contrast, the land and agrarian theory argues that communal tenure is appropriate as it presents opportunities for development and is the most cost effective way of titling.

The debate about the relationship between security of tenure and poverty reduction is also important because it draws out the complexity of the relationship. At face value, it appears that the secure tenure automatically resolves poverty, but according to the literature, this is not the case.

The common factor among these theorists is that they all agree that land reform is a step towards a right direction if poverty is to be alleviated. However the land and agrarian theorists are quick to point to the fact that land reform, whether through redistribution, restitution, or though tenure reform, is inadequate and will not succeed in the fight against poverty on its own. Instead it needs some enabling factors if land reform is to achieve its desired outcomes.

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The land and agrarian theorists view land reform as presenting opportunities for agrarian reform in South Africa. They view land reform, particularly the land redistribution for agricultural development programme, as very significant, especially considering the rural character of this country, where most of the rural population depends on “agriculture for subsistence”, (Cousins, 2000). It is expected that land reform will provide rural communities with an opportunity to use and invest in their land with confidence. However they are quick to state that the program on its own is inadequate in the fight against poverty. They therefore elaborate about the complimentary inputs that must accompany the land reform program

The relevance of the debate by evolutionary theory of land rights is that they focus on the debate about the most appropriate form of property model, whereas the land and agrarian theorists concentrate on exploring the opportunities that are available due to changes in the policies and the land reform program.

The land and agrarian reformists also point to the need to bridge the gap between the small and big farmers. They feel that the bigger farmers get preferential treatment compared to their small farmers and new entrants farmers. They suggest that dealing with this issue, will go a long way towards poverty alleviation, as they contend that small farmers generate more employment opportunities than large-scale farmers, and that makes them investment worthy.

The land and agrarian theorists also explore the advantages and disadvantages of the market driven approach. They compliment this approach taken by the South African government in its effort to redistribute land, but they also suggest how it could be made better.

The South African land redistribution program is also discussed. Problems posed by the implementation of the recently revised LRAD program, especially for the

rural communities who still want to access land, have been discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Four: Onbekend: before and after the land redistribution project.

4.1. Introduction.

The purpose of this chapter is to present the research findings. It will start by introducing the case study area and providing background information about the study area and beneficiary community (4.2). The findings are divided into two sections. The first section (4.3), deals with the period before 1997, before the attainment of the title deeds by the Onbekend community members. Section (4.4), gives background information about the Onbekend land redistribution project and the community, while 4.5 presents the post-1997 findings. Section 4.6 draws conclusions. The importance of looking at the era before 1997 is that this period will be used as a barometer to gauge the contribution made by the land redistribution project in improving the quality of lives of the beneficiaries. It will also be used to assess the extent to which the project has contributed towards poverty alleviation, as well as improving security of tenure. It should also be borne in mind that the findings presented in this chapter intend to answer three important questions, which are to what extent the land redistribution project has improved security of tenure, contributed to the alleviation of poverty and improved the quality of life of the beneficiaries?

4.2 The study area and beneficiary community.

The study area is located at Mpumalanga province near a small town called Carolina, which is three kilometers from the Association's farm. The Onbekend farm falls under the Eastvaal District Council. The study area is situated to the South of Nelspruit town, which is the province's capital (**See Map 1**). The farm that was acquired by the Onbekend Communal Property Association is Droogvallei 41 IT, which measures approximately 398 hectares and it can be reached from the Carolina and Chrissiesmeer tar road that runs through the farm. The farm will be used for both settlement and agricultural purposes. (**See map 2**)

4.3 The pre-1997 period.

Before relocating to their new farm, the Onbekend community members resided on a farm called Baatjiesbult. They lived and worked there as labour tenants. The landowner gave them permission to stay on the farm, which is referred to as a permission to occupy, (PTO) and that was in a form of a verbal agreement between them and the farm owner. The respondents claimed that they worked on the farm and sometimes their children would work on the farm too during school holidays. According to one of the respondents, one of the conditions for residing on the farm was that they would not seek employment elsewhere. If anyone decided to seek work elsewhere, they would have to pay rent for staying on the farm. This shows that there was no proper tenure arrangement for the community, as a verbal agreement can be easily subverted in favour of the owner and is not as binding as a documented agreement could be.

4.3.1 Problems with this type of tenure arrangement.

According to Smith and Pienaar (2001) lack of security of tenure means that there is no protection of the rights of the holder against eviction and interference by others. The land is neither transferable nor transactable, either through inheritance, lease or sale. There is a lack of credit worthiness, as it is not accepted as security and surety for credit by bank; a lack of certainty and durability of the length of time of the right; and a lack of assurance or respect for the status of the rights holders, whether as individuals or a collective.

The beneficiaries experienced most of these problems prior to the granting of a title deed. They complained that they did not feel secure enough in their previous farm and that meant that they could not use all the money they had to uplift their standard of living since they feared they might be evicted at anytime when the farm owner decide or sell the farm. One respondents pointed out that " I was

afraid the owner will sell the farm and the prospective buyer might not have liked to have us as labour tenants and we were going to end up with no place to stay”.

The lack of security meant that even those households who could have managed to undertake some form of capital investment to improve their lives, could not do so. Some of the respondents said that considering the time they have stayed in the farm, they could have set up their own formal houses many years ago but they could not do so because they did not have any real rights of ownership to the land, nor any proof or guarantee that they were not going to be evicted. One respondent said, “ a house is an immovable property and once I'm told to leave the place, I would have lost a lot of money which I have used to build the house and even the farm owner would not have been prepared to compensate me”. They said that they lived in shacks, which were made of mud, and wood, others of cardboard. Those living conditions did not provide indoor comfort, as in winter they are very cold and hot in summer.

The lack of security of tenure also raised concerns about the future of the families. The respondents complained that they could not bequeath the land to their children. This meant that should they have died at that time while they were staying at Baatjiesbult farm, their families would have suffered a lot more than the suffering they endured when they were alive. They felt that “it was better to be poor than not having a place you could call your own, because then you know that your children will have their own place to stay once you are gone”. So the inalienability of the land was a major concern for them when they were staying at Baatjiesbult.

The non-transactability of the land was another serious concern for the community members. They felt that not having legal ownership meant that they could not sell the land even if they decided to move to another place. They felt that such issues meant that if it was not for the government land reform program, they could have stayed in that farm for the rest of their lives. They feel that

Baatjiesbult farm presented them with little opportunity to grow and develop themselves, and if they had formal ownership to the land, they would have sold the land and gone in search for greener pastures long time ago. But the problem for them was that they could not sell something they do not own, as one respondent said, “ it is the same as stealing”. Table 1 below shows the rating of their overall sense of security under the previous land holding system.

Table 1: Rating of the respondent’s sense of security:

Rating	Response	Percentage
Not secure	26	87,0%
Secure	0	0,0%
Very secure	0	0,0%
Highly secure	0	0,0%
No comment	4	13,0%
Total	30	100,0%

Source: Survey (2002)

There were also respondents who chose not to comment on the issue because they said while they were still residing at the Baatjiesbult farm, they were never threatened with eviction and they did not know, at the time, the difference between secure and insecure tenure. However, the respondents who commented on their security were nor threatened with eviction either, but said these were issues that they thought about throughout their stay.

4.3.2 The impact of lack of secure tenure on the livelihood strategies and on food security.

According to Khuzwayo (2002) rural people have talent and know about their resources and how to use them in a much more productive way. The Onbekend community members stated that while they were staying at Baatjiesbult, they

relied heavily on agriculture as their main livelihood strategy and source of food. The problem with agriculture was that they could not diversify it and they practiced it on a small scale. Most of the respondents said they had small agricultural plots, and these were often located adjacent to their homesteads rather in fields at a distance. They were practicing agriculture mostly for domestic consumption and self-provision.

According to Cousins (2000) agriculture is an important form of livelihood for the people in rural areas. This is particularly true because agriculture did not only provide them with food security, but it also helped them to save money as they produced some of the goods they would have had to buy for themselves. This meant that money that could have been used to buy agricultural products was used to serve another essential household needs. Some of the respondents said that they sometimes got involved in bartering; "sometimes I'll give a certain agriculture product to my neighbour in exchange of any household necessity that I need and that was the way we use to survive at Baatjiesbult and even now we still do that". Table 2 shows the type of livelihood strategies that were mostly used at Baatjiesbult.

Table 2: Livelihood strategies other than working on the farm.

Type of livelihood	Response	Percentage
1. Agriculture	21	70,0 %
2. Rental housing	0	0,0%
3. Hunting.	5	17,0%
4. Other	4	13,0%
Total	30	100,0 %

Source: Survey (2002)

The table clearly confirms Cousins view about the importance of agriculture in the lives of the rural community. Some of the community members also

explained that they also relied on hunting, however that is something they used to do outside the farm. Fishing was another type of livelihood strategy that provided the respondents with food security. They said fishing provided them with more meat than hunting, since when hunting they could go for days without catching an animal, whereas fishing was easy as they hardly ever came back empty handed.

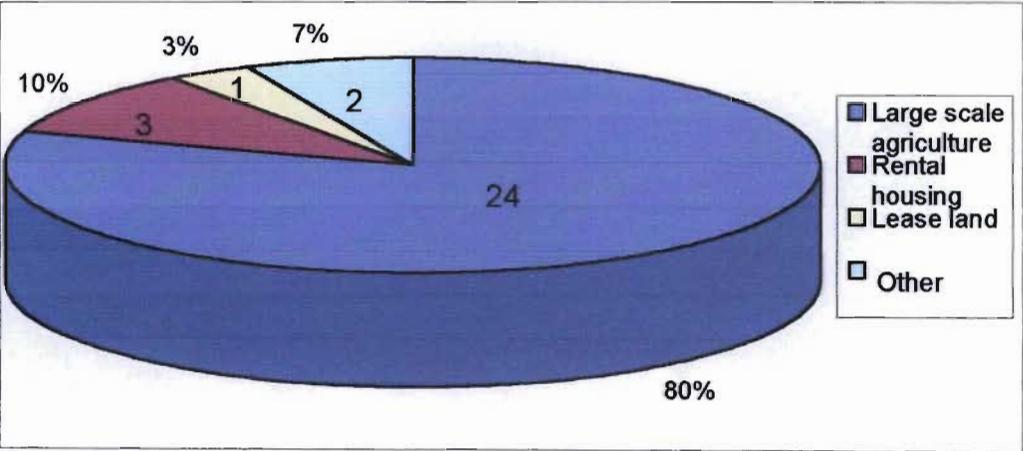
The respondents also claimed that they used the natural resources for survival. One respondent said, we use to get "Imifino", which are natural and self-growing resources in the farm and they would use that as a relish. They also claim that they used the natural resources for medicinal purposes, since health care facilities were far away from their residences and sometimes they could not afford to pay for treatment. The natural resources also provided them with source of energy since they did not have electricity. They said they used different sources of energy, as they could not rely on one energy source. A group of women interviewed said, "we mostly used wood to prepare evening meals, we occasionally used paraffin but it was expensive as we sometimes had to pay a bus fare to get it, especially during the course of the month. But for light we used candles".

However, the majority of the respondents felt that the lack of formal ownership of the land meant that they could not diversify their livelihood strategies, as they only had to rely on agriculture. When asked what sorts of non-agricultural livelihood strategies they could have adopted, they raised different views about the issue. They said they could have built rental housing, while others said they could have undertaken large-scale agriculture, some proposed running a shop. They said they preferred livestock farming as that would boost them financially and they would also use the livestock for subsistence purposes. 7% of the respondents raised a very interesting point when they said they would have kept cattle so that they could lease them to those who want to plough, as cattle can assist in cultivating the land. They said that for them cattle had significance that

explained in economic terms as they show that “you are a man”. However, the fact that cattle provide people with milk which can be sold, and also provided them with dung which they used as floor in their house, further motivated them to practice livestock farming.

One of the respondents explained that he could have leased a certain piece of his land to a commercial farmer for grazing purposes, while others preferred engaging in other types of livelihood strategies and that includes shops etc. What is of significance to note here is that most of the respondents strongly believed in agriculture as the main source of a livelihood strategy. See diagram 1

Diagram 1: Preferred livelihood strategies.



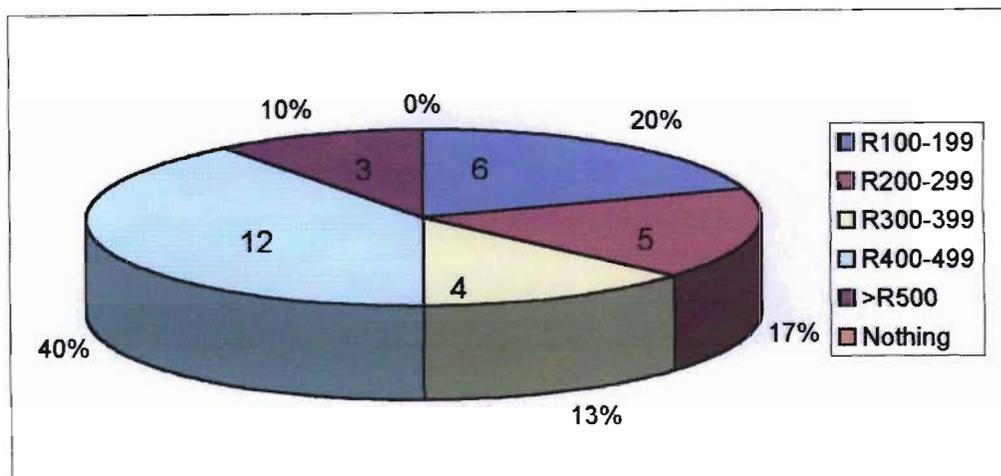
Source: Survey (2002)

When taking into account the views of the respondents it is justifiable to conclude that one of the impacts of unsecure tenure was that it limited the livelihood strategies they could adapt, as they could not engage in non-agricultural livelihood strategies, even when they had engaged in agriculture, it was at a small scale.

4.3.3 Economic assessment.

Since all the respondents stayed and worked on the farm, they said they did not make enough in economic (money) terms, to sustain themselves. They all showed that the lack of security of tenure impacted heavily on their economic circumstances. The diagram below shows the amount each household was able to generate monthly.

Diagram 2: Monthly income



Source: Survey (2002)

This diagram clearly shows the income distribution of the households. Majority of the households who had their members working on the farm were earning between R400 –R499, with a very few earning more than R500. The respondents who earned more than R500 explained that they had senior positions on the farm, as they were referred to as “Induna”, meaning supervisors.

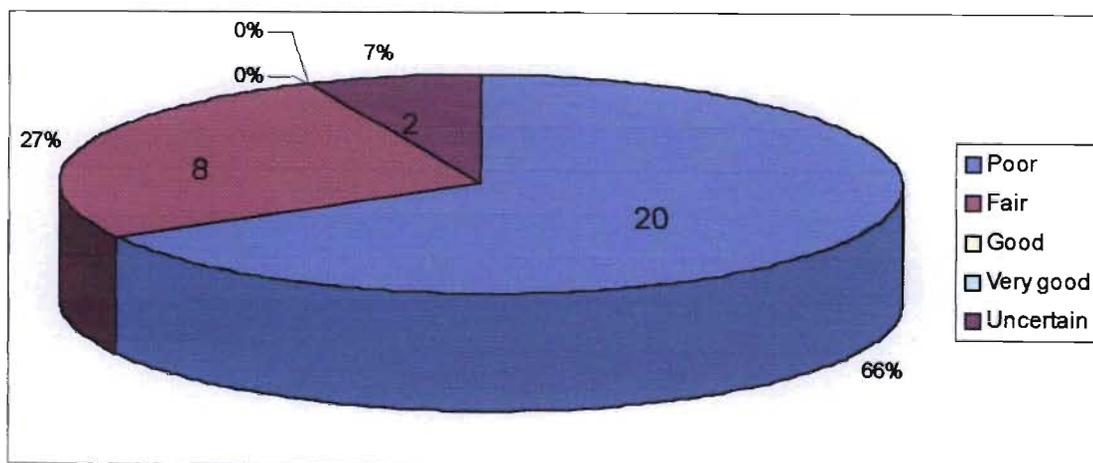
According to the respondents who worked on the farm, salary was dependent on gender. Women usually earned very little compared to males, even though they were performing similar kind of work. This reflects gender inequality and is supported by the fact that the supervisors were male. The gender issue in South

African agriculture is beyond the scope of this dissertation, as it requires its own specific research if it is to be substantially dealt with.

It should be pointed out that this table does not reflect the total household income, which is the income of the spouse and his wife. Rather it reports on the income generated by one of the two heads (husband and wife) of the household. However it should be noted that there were families which had more than one member of the household working on the farm. It will therefore be fair to suggest that families where both the head of the household and the spouse were working were far better off than those who relied on income from one member of the households.

The respondents felt that their overall economic well-being was below the poverty datum line under the previous land holding system. This was attributed to many factors, such as the inability to use the land for income generating, and their inability to adapt non-agricultural livelihood strategies to supplement their income. The respondents said if they were allowed to use that land for other income generating strategies, they could have made better money compared to what they made monthly. Diagram 3 below reflects the rating of the overall economic well-being under the previous land holding system.

Diagram 3: Rating of the respondents overall economic well-being.



Source: Survey (2002)

The reasons provided in support of the “fair” and “good” responses were similar, as most of the respondents felt that on the previous farm they were able to get certain things like wood without having to pay for the transportation fare. They said that usually the farm owner would give his truck to gather wood and other natural resources they needed for survival without having to pay anything for using the truck. During month end the farm owner would make the truck available to transport them to town. But since they had arrived at their new farm, they had to pay for such services. There were also households where more than one member of the household was working on the farm, and as earlier indicated, their income was far better off than those of the households where only one person was working.

4.3.4 Infrastructure and service provision.

4.3.4.1. Water Provision.

The proper and adequate provision of services and infrastructure is one of the fundamental issues that needs to be adequately addressed if the government’s objective of promoting a healthy nation is to be achieved. The respondents felt that this service was not adequately provided for where they resided before relocating to their new farm. Table 3 below shows their water sources.

Table 3: Sources of water

Category	Response	Percentage
On site tap	3	10,0%
Communal Tap	0	0,0%
Dam/ River	7	23,0%
Rain water	0	0,0%
Wind mill	20	67,0%
Total	30	100,0%

Source: Survey (2002)

Most people relied on windmill as their source of water. This they attributed to the fact that it was within a reasonable walking distance of their houses and they preferred water from the windmill to water from the dam or river, due to its clean quality. Hygiene of the water was an important factor in deciding the water source to be used. Only 10% of the respondents had an on site tap as their water source.

Almost a quarter of the respondents (23%) used dam and rivers as their main source of water. This they attributed to factors such as proximity of such sources of water to their houses. However they stated that in most cases, the water from such sources was used for washing and watering of their gardens, but for drinking and cooking they would use water from the windmill as they considered it safer. They reported that most people would dump any form of waste in the river or dams, and that is what made them reluctant to rely on river or dams as their sources of water.

Overall they felt water provision where they were staying was inadequate. Sometimes they had to boil the water to reduce the health risk. They also felt that since they did not generate more income, poor provision of water affected their only livelihood strategy, which is agricultural production.

4.3.4.2 Provision of electricity.

Electricity serves as one of the most important and reliable sources of energy. But surprisingly none of the population had electricity. This explains why they used different energy sources at different times. They also explained that because they had shacks constructed out of wood and cupboards, they feared for their safety as such houses could easily catch fire. They said the different energy sources they used were inconvenient and some required lot of time, such as the chopping of trees. They also feared that since energy was important,

sometimes some of the trees that could serve medicinal purposes were chopped down.

4.3.4.3 Sanitation.

This was also poorly provided for in the previous farm. All of the respondents used pit latrines. Sometimes families would share cost of establishing the pit-latrines and more than one family would therefore use them. But according to the respondents, most of the households had their own pit latrines. Nevertheless they felt that this level of services was not good enough.

4.3.4.4 Waste disposal.

Putting together effective means of dealing with waste is important as that has positive health implications to the community members. The respondents claimed that they used the “dig a hole and burn” method to deal with their waste because there were no proper waste disposal mechanisms in place. The respondents’ claims that the farm owner once gave them a waste-dumping site, but they decided not make use of it, because it was very close to their residential area, and felt it would have health implications, such as respiratory diseases. Table 4 below sums up their ratings as far as infrastructure and service provision was concerned.

Table 4: Service and infrastructure provision rating

Rating	Response	Percentage
Poor	23	77,0%
Fair	4	13,0%
Good	0	0,0%
Very good	0	0,0%
Uncertain	3	10,0%
Total	30	100,0%

Source: Survey (2002).

4.4 History of the Onbekend land redistribution project and the community background.

The Onbekend Communal Property Association (OCPA) was formed in 1995. It is constituted of 60 beneficiaries, who decided to pool together their government grants. The beneficiaries resided and worked at Baatjiesbult and Droogvallei farm. The community has been living on this land for some time. According to Mr. A Mahlangu, some of the families have lived there for more than three generations, families like the Mahlangu, Nkosi and Mthimunye families. These three families and other families, decided to purchase the Droogvallei farm from the owner. The families then decided to contact the Mpumalanga Department of Land Affairs (DLA) to assist them in acquiring the farm through the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development program. It was after the completion of all the technicalities involved in a transfer of land ownership process that they were constituted into a legal entity called the Onbekend Communal Property Association (OCPA) under the Communal Property Association Act, (CPA) 28 (1996). It is interesting to note that after the community was physically relocated to the Droogvallei farm, and despite being declared a legal entity, they preferred to retain the name Onbekend. Reasons provided for that, was that, most of the families have historical linkages with the area.

Some members of the Association qualified as labour tenants and their rights as labour tenants were thoroughly explained to them. It was also explained that their rights as labour tenants, would be waived, due to their decision to use the settlement grants offered by the Department of Land Affairs to purchase the land and they were given the waiver of rights forms to sign. After they had signed the waiver of rights forms and the legal processes were completed, the community through the government grant, managed to purchase the Droogvallei farm 41 IT. It is important to note that two pieces of legislation were applied for this land redistribution project. These are the Communal Property Association Act 28 of 1996 and the Land Reform (Labour Tenant) Act 3 of 1996. The objectives of the

land reform labour tenants Act are two fold, on the one hand, it provides for protection of the existing right of labour tenants, On the other hand, it makes provision for the acquisition of land for existing labour tenants who would be able to access the land acquisition grant, (White Paper on Land Policy, 1997:49)

4.4.1 Demographic profile of the community.

In the absence of a socio-economic report on the 60 households in the beneficiary community, the following Tables provide a profile of the 30 households interviewed.

Table 5: Gender Classification.

Category	Response	Percentage
Male	14	47,0%
Female	16	53,0%
Total	30	100,0%

Source: Survey (2002)

Table 6: Age groups.

Category	Response	Percentage
21-30	9	30,0%
31-40	11	37,0%
41-50	3	10,0%
51-60	4	13,0%
<60	3	10,0%
Total	30	100,0%

Source: Survey (2002)

Table7: Marital Status.

Category	Response	Percentage
Married	15	50,0%
Single	9	30,0%
Divorced	2	7,0%
Widowed	4	13,0%
No response	0	0,0%
Total	30	100,0%

Source: Survey (2002)

It is very important that this study briefly looks at the demographic profile of the Onbekend community. It must be clear that this demographic profile represents

the sample of people who were interviewed, not that of the beneficiaries as a whole. In a research study of this magnitude, it makes perfect sense to give this demographic background, so that a mental picture of the kind of community we are talking about can be created for the reader.

4.4.2 Purpose of the Onbekend land redistribution project.

The issue of rural landlessness and lack of security of tenure is rife in South Africa's rural areas. The Onbekend community was not an exception to this problem, as they had resided at Baatjiesbult farm for many years without a legal title deed. Due to the fact that they did not have legal ownership of the land, they were unable to use the land more productively and to improve their economic circumstances. Mr. A Mahlangu, who went on to be elected as chairperson of the Association, initiated the project together with other community members.

According to the Mpumalanga Department of Land Affairs report on the Onbekend project, (1995), the purpose of the Onbekend Communal Property Association redistribution project is to provide residential stands for the beneficiary households. The Association also intends to provide adequate levels of infrastructure, in particular water and electricity, which are lacking in the area. In addition the Association intends to take advantage of the farm's agricultural potential in order to provide beneficiary households with income earning and income saving opportunities. The development of this property was to be done in a way that ensures environmental sustainability. The Association would also like to develop a capacity building program for its members by establishing community facilities and conducting training and adult education programs. The overall intention of the project was to improve people's quality of life and the first step towards achieving that goal was to grant them security of tenure with a hope that, that would encourage capital investment on the land.

step towards achieving that goal was to grant them security of tenure with a hope that, that would encourage capital investment on the land.

South Africa uses the market assisted land reform program, as highlighted in chapter 3. The Onbekend project was executed using the tenets underlying this approach. The farm owner was a willing seller and the Association was the willing buyer. The government was the bearer of the financial burden, as it provided the R 15 000,00 grants which the different households therefore pooled together. An extra R60 750.00, planning grant was awarded to the Association. The market led approach is strongly advocated by land and agrarian reform theorists discussed in chapter 3.

The Mpumalanga Department of Land Affairs played a major role in assisting the Association to purchase the Droogvallei 41 IT farm. There were many role players that were involved in this redistribution project and they had different roles to play. In most cases, as will be shown, the nature of their interaction was collaborative, as all the stakeholders involved were afforded an opportunity to be involved in decision making. The success of the project was dependent on delegation of certain tasks to certain groups of people with specific expertise. This necessitates a brief look at the role of the various stakeholders that were involved in the Onbekend land redistribution project.

4.4.3 The role players in the Onbekend redistribution project.

4.4.3.1 Mpumalanga Department of Land Affairs.

The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) represented the interests of the government and the Association. It also helped in dealing with matters that would have hindered the smooth execution of the project. Acting on behalf of the Mpumalanga DLA was their planner, Mr. David Manzini. The Department also undertook settlement Planning of the farm to ascertain its suitability for

construction of a housing estate. The department also developed a plan for the provision of bulk infrastructure, services and community facilities taking into consideration the potential for service upgrade over time.

4.4.3.2 *Mpumalanga Department of Agriculture.*

The Mpumalanga Department of Agriculture (MDA), was tasked with evaluating the agricultural potential of the farm so as to assess the extent to which the farm would assist the beneficiaries in income generating and income saving through large scale agricultural activities.

4.4.3.3 *The Legal Resource Center.*

The Legal Resource Center (LRC) and the Mpumalanga DLA have been assisting the Onbekend Communal Property Association in drafting its constitution. The formulation of a constitution gives powers to the leaders of the Association to make decisions provided that they communicate all matters regarding the Association with the community members. The constitution was scrutinized by the LRC to ensure that it did not clash with the provisions of the CPA 28 of 1996

One of the important provisions in the Association's constitution is that governing the withdrawal of the members from the Association. The constitution states clearly that should members of the Association want to withdraw, they need to get someone to take their place and that particular person must have been a tenant in any farm for a minimum of three years. If that condition is not satisfied, the withdrawing members will not be refunded their grants. This is a very important provision in the as it makes it difficult for the members to leave the financial burden to other members of the Association, so every member must fulfill their financial obligations as stipulated and initially agreed upon.

4.4.4 Gender equality and the Onbekend institutional Structure.

The OCPA has women with dependents participating in the project. The Association has always encouraged equal participation and the constitution clearly states that women should be active in decision making within the Association and that is supported by the findings of the research. The constitution clearly states that tenure security for women will be guaranteed and that both sexes will be granted equal powers and will have equal opportunity to voice their concerns. In order to ensure that the principle of gender equality is upheld, women were included in the executive committee of the Association.

The Association has an executive committee, which is made up of the following portfolios:

Chairperson: Mr. A.O. Mahlangu.

Treasurer: Mr. F. Dlamini.

Secretary: Ms. L. Mahlangu

Additional members: Mr. S.S. Mahlangu.

Mr. F. Ndzimande.

Mrs. Nkambule.

Mrs. Shabangu.

This executive committee oversees the development and management of the OCPA. The OCPA executive committee was democratically elected.

4.4.5 Agricultural potential.

According to the physical data gathered by the MDA (1995), the Droogvallei farm has four types of soils, namely the shallow Dresden soil, the Glencoe soil, there is also the Avalon soil as well as the Clovelly soil. The agricultural potential of these soil types varies, from medium to high potential. But there was a small

fraction with excessive wetness during high rainy seasons and that will have negative influence on crop rotation.

The farm has high potential agricultural land, in terms of crop production has a medium potential as 36,2 ha were evaluated as high potential soil, 60,2 medium potential and the low potential soil is only 16,9 ha.

285.4 hectare of land is available for grazing and has a grazing capacity totaling to 114 cattle that can be kept on the farm, exceeding this figure will cause overgrazing and that will lead to veld degradation and soil erosion.

From an agricultural point of view and considering the number of beneficiaries, the evaluation undertaken on the farm shows that, the farm if it can be properly used, it has the potential to help the community to generate income and save income. The next section assesses the extent to which the farms' agricultural potential has contributed towards poverty alleviation in the Onbekend community.

4.5 The post-1997 era.

As stated in the preceding section, the Onbekend community members got its title deed in 1997. The researcher now turns to the period from 1997 to the present in order to assess the extent to which the land redistribution project has contributed towards alleviating poverty and in improving the quality of the lives of the beneficiaries.

4.5.1 Tenure arrangements in the post-1997 period.

As briefly highlighted, the Onbekend community members use communal tenure, which according to CPA Act 28 (1996) requires that the land be registered under a Trust or Association. For this reason the OCPA had been registered as a legal entity. All the members of the Association had voted democratically for this type

of tenure arrangement. According to the Chairperson of the Association, Mr. A. Mahlangu, the community members' decision to opt for communal tenure was influenced by the fact that they felt that by pooling together their government grants, they could collectively work towards improving their lives and with their passion for agriculture, they decided to buy the Droogvallei farm. Some of the respondents said the fact that it is easier to resist collectively than individually, also influenced their decision to settle for this kind of tenure arrangement.

The respondents explained that to allocate individuals to their residential plots, the Mpumalanga DLA professional planners undertook subdivision of the farm on behalf of the Association. According to the secretary of the Association, Ms. L. Mahlangu, individuals can do as they wish on their plots, but those rights are limited to selling the plots and undertaking any development that will contravene any of the regulations that are stipulated in the constitution of the Association. The community members were satisfied with their individual residential plots as they claim they are big enough compared to what they had at Baatjiesbult, and that will allow them to produce more agricultural produce than they previously had.

4.5.2 Problems with communal tenure.

The respondents claim that so far they have not had any serious problems with the tenure arrangement but they did acknowledge that they do realise some of the shortfalls with the tenure arrangement. One of the problems they discussed was the non-transactability of the land. They said that, should they decide to leave the farm, selling the land would become very difficult, as the Association owns it. One respondent points out " I've contributed my government grant to the buying of the farm, and now I'll have a problem when I decide to leave this place, because I will not get any money from the government to buy myself another piece of land to reside on".

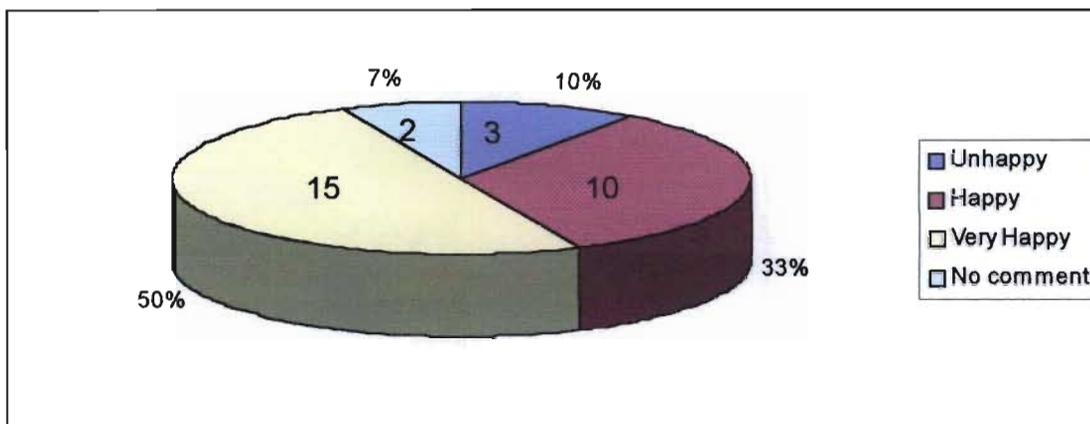
According to the chairperson, the Association constitution's deals with such issues and the members know exactly what they have to do if they want to leave the place, or are no longer interested to be part of the Association. The Association members have expressed issues regarding inheritance as major complaint. According to Rawlins (2002) the CPA Act 28 (1996) states that members of the households are not regarded as members of the Association, and therefore have no rights on the land. The land rights are vested only on the household member registered with the trust or Association.

The chairperson of the Association Mr. A. Mahlangu responded by stating that they have a clause in their constitution that deals with such issues, and they have a constitution that slightly differs with the CPA Act 28 (1996) because they anticipated such things might happen. Hence the constitution of the Association has addresses such issues. According to Mr. A.Mahlangu the clause states that Association members are allowed to register their children or next of kin to whom they would like the land rights to be vested to when they are no longer part of the Association, either through death or any matters thereof. The chairperson also stated that the Association members know that the Association decisions can be tested and challenged for reasonableness, fairness and discrimination as well as for lack of transparency. He went further to say that their constitution draws on some parallels with the CPA Act 28 (1996), which also guarantees the members right of protection against discrimination and unfair treatment and the right to participate in decision making and elections of representatives.

According to the professional town planner from the DLA, Mr. Manzini, who was in charge of the project, a series of workshops were organized between his Department and the beneficiaries to discuss some of the shortfalls of communal tenure. This was done so as to make them aware about what they were entering into so that there could be no regret.

Despite all the shortfalls about this type of land holding system, the community was satisfied with the system so far, as they reported that they do not regret that and they testified to the words of Mr. Manzini that a series of workshops were convened to educate them about various land holding options and they thought this was the best for them. The diagram below shows how they feel about this land holding system.

Diagram 4: Rating of the current land holding system.

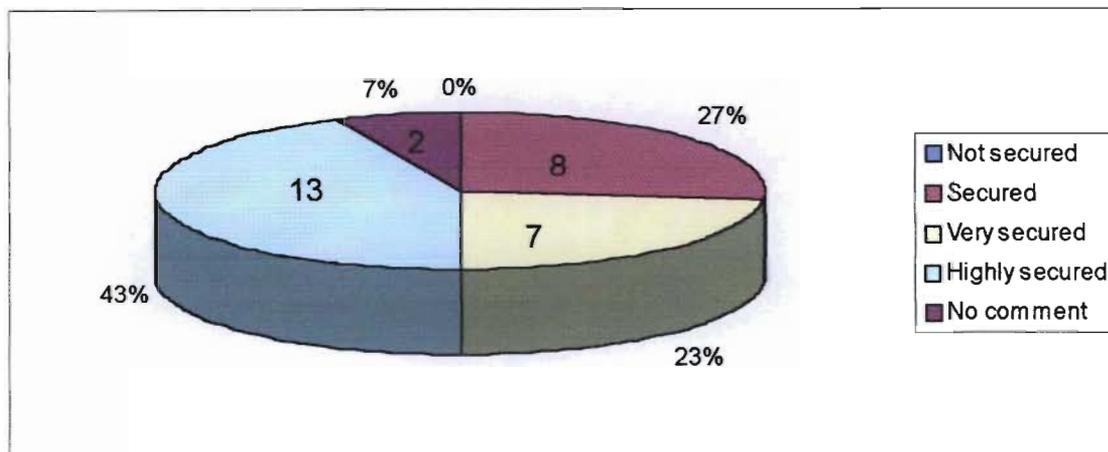


Source: Survey (2002)

4.5.3 Perceptions of security.

The majority of the respondents felt secure from eviction due to the fact that the association has a title deed and that means that they will not be evicted. Some of the respondents said they felt more secure to undertake capital investment on their land compared to when they were staying at Baatjiesbult. The diagram below shows their overall sense of security.

Diagram 5: Rating their sense of security.



Source: Survey (2002)

As the diagram above shows, the majority of the respondents felt secure enough. Some of the respondents have already undertaken some form of capital investment to improve their lives, while others indicated that they will be doing so in the near future. Those who have undertaken capital investment have built formal houses. The title deed to them brought the indoor comfort they have long yearned for since they have now built safe houses, and others have fenced their plots. Some of the respondents said though they now see the difference between secure and insecure tenure, they feel that it has not brought major benefits for them since they still live in similar houses and conditions as before when they were at Baatjiesbult. The following plates show the indicators that are used to assess the overall sense of security of the beneficiaries:

Plate 1: A fenced plot



From Plate 1 above, it can be seen that some of the Onbekend community members have already started to fence their plots so as to increase their protection and improve their safety. This is because the community now has a title deed and they can do as they wish to make their living environment safe and interesting to them

Plate 2: Formal house structure and a tractor bought by the Association



The above Plate shows the tractor that was bought by the Association so as to start practising large scale and intensive agriculture. In the background is a formal house. This physical structure of the house clearly promotes indoors

comfort, unlike the majority of the households who live in much more basic structures which are referred to as “cardboard houses”.

Plate 3: Formal house structure and two rental houses.

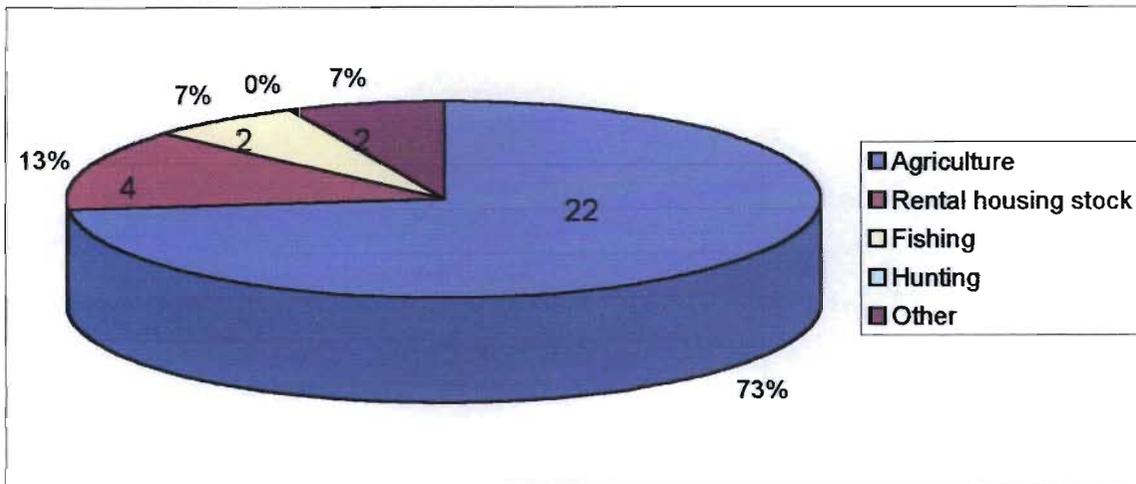


Plate 3 above shows a formal house and two informal structures, which are for rental. There is also a fence, which surrounds the whole plot. In one of the informal structures, there is an aerial for a television, which shows that the area has T.V coverage and provides an indication of tenant’s assets.

4.5.4 Livelihood strategies.

The beneficiaries are still using similar livelihood strategies to those adopted prior to 1997. However, there is a slight difference, in that some of the respondents have diversified their livelihood strategies to use both agriculture and non-agricultural livelihood strategies. The diagram bellows shows the mostly used livelihood strategies.

Diagram 6: Mostly used livelihood strategies.



Source: Survey (2002)

The mostly used livelihood strategy remains agriculture. The respondents claim that now they are producing more agriculture produce because they now have bigger plots compared to what they had at Baatjiesbult and they practice crop rotation. They said that practicing agriculture does not generate them any income, but it helps them to save more money. They find themselves spending less as they do not buy some of the agricultural products since they produce them on their own. This means that the money they would otherwise have used to buy some of the produce ends up being used to serve other purposes. However, they still feel that they do not practice agriculture at a large scale, because the Association has been struggling to generate money that could be used to practice large-scale agriculture.

Amongst the 73% of the respondents practicing agriculture there were those practicing livestock farming. These respondents claimed that they would like to practice livestock farming for commercial reasons. Others said they would like to practice livestock farming in the near future, since it would provide them with dung, milk, meat etc. Some of the respondents suggested that they would farm livestock so that they can lease their cattle during the ploughing process and they will be able to generate income from that. One of the respondents claims that

cattle have more significance to them that cannot be explained in economic terms.

At time of this research (13%) of the households had their backyard room hired by people who work on nearby farms. This supplements their income because the people pay a monthly rental fee. They said that this kind of business might not be viable in the area in the long term because they are competing with the town, which is only three kilometers away. Fishing is the least used type of livelihood strategy, while some chop wood and sell it to the neighbours to make a living. So there are basically different types of livelihood strategies that are used by the community members to sustain themselves. Natural resources remain a major contribution on the survival of the families, since some of the families use them for medicinal purposes, and as a source of food security, as one of the respondents said, “we sometimes uses the self growing or natural resource, (Imifino) as our relish”

4.5.5 Economic assessment.

The majority of the respondents are informally employed in the agricultural sector. This explains a lot with their incomes, as some are still working at Baatjiesbult. Others have gone on to search for better jobs. Table 8 below shows the sectors in which the people are employed.

Table 8: Employment sector.

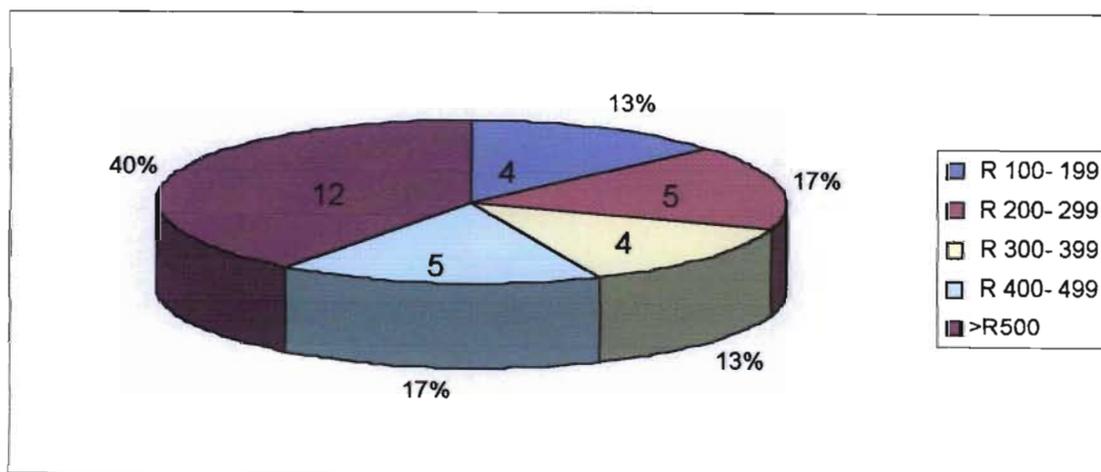
Sector	Response	Percentage
Informal Sector	19	63,0%
Formal sector	5	17,0%
Self employed	0	0,0%
Unemployed	6	20,0%
Other	0	0,0%
Total	30	100,0%

Source: Survey (2002)

In this context the Informal sector is used to refer to all people who work without paying tax to the government. This is the case with people working on farms since most of the respondents are working in the informal sector, they claim that they are able to supplement their income by doing other kinds of activities when they are not at work. Only a few of the households had more than one person working. Some of the people who are formally employed are working in Carolina town for firms, which pay low wages.

Comparatively speaking, they feel that the secured tenure has made a slight economic improvement to their economic circumstances compared to where they lived before. But they feel that there is lot to be done in order to get them out of poverty. Most of them still feel they are in absolute poverty. There has been a slight increase in the number of people earning more than R500, 00. The income distribution pattern is still very similar to when they lived Baatjiesbult. See the diagram below.

Diagram 7: Monthly income generated per household.



Source: Survey (2002).

Those who have improved economic circumstances attributed this to the fact that they can now engage in non-agricultural livelihood strategies. Some of them have got jobs in the formal sector, and now have more than one household

member working. Those households where the people are informally employed in the agricultural sector still earn very little and they are unable to do a lot with their income. They rate their overall economic well being in the Table below.

Table 9: Overall economic well-being.

Rating	Response	Percentage
Poor	22	73,0,0%
Fair	6	20,0%
Good	2	7,0%
Very good	0	0,0%
No comment	0	0,0%
Total	30	100,0%

Source: Survey (2002).

Even though the respondents felt that their economic well-being had slightly improved, but overall their economic well-being is still very poor compared to other groups of people. They are however optimistic about the future as they think that the land redistribution project will yield a positive and desirable outcome. Some of those who said their economic circumstances were poor attributed that to the fact that the government had not put together any enabling measures to assist their land redistribution project to create more positive outcome.

The fact that they have to pay for everything here also makes their economic circumstances unsatisfactory. One respondent said, "now we have to pay for the transportation of wood, but previously we did not do that". So it is clear that this land redistribution project has not, so far, improved the economic circumstances of the beneficiaries.

4.5.6 Assessment of the beneficiaries' quality of life

4.5.6.1 Water provision

Adequate provision of service and infrastructure is one of the key elements that help to promote sustainable development and plays a huge role in promoting a nation with a healthy state of mind. The poor provision of such services and infrastructure has serious health implications. Overall the respondents felt that there is poor provision of services and infrastructure in their farm. The only service that they feel is being adequately provided for, is water, but overall their situation is not different to the one where they were previously residing. Table 10 below shows the level of water provision services.

Table 10: Water provision level of service.

Category	Response	Percentage
On-site tap	8	27,0%
Communal tap	22	73,0%
River	0	0,0%
Windmill	0	0,0%
Rain water	0	0,0%
Total	30	100,0%

Source: Survey (2002)

Over a quarter of the households with on site taps have borne the cost of connecting the pipes from the communal taps to their houses. More than two thirds of the households now have access to a communal tap that provides them with water. They are satisfied better because the communal taps are located within a reasonable walking radius of their houses. As far as water provision is concerned, the households are all happy because they now use potable water and they feel water is very important, as it is indispensable to life. Previously while they were still residing at Baatjiesbult they were getting water from windmill and from river, so water provision has improved tremendously.

4.5.6.2 Electricity.

There is still no electricity supplied to the Onbekend community and due to that they rely heavily on different sources of energy. They feel this inconveniences them since some of these energy sources are time consuming. According to the chairperson of the Association, they have processed a request to the electricity service provider. He says it will not be long before they have their own electricity.

4.5.6.3 Sanitation.

There are different levels of sanitation services, but the Onbekend community continues to use the pit-latrines since it is affordable for them. They said they would like one day to have the water borne, but they acknowledge that it is expensive. Most of the households have their own pit-latrines.

4.5.6.4. Waste disposal.

The community uses the old technique of “dig a hole and burn” to deal with waste. This is due to the fact that there is no other proper waste disposal mechanisms in place as the Association does not have money to finance refuse collection. They said they do not want to have a waste disposal site on the farm at the moment, because that might lead to environmental hazards.

4.5.7 Projects planned by the Association.

According to the chairperson of the Onbekend farmers, there are quite a number of projects that the Association plans to undertake. One of the projects is an agricultural project, where they are to produce sugar beans. They hope that by achieving success on this project, the lives of the Association’s beneficiaries will change for the better.

The only problem that the executive committee of the Association raised was in connection with the “failure to access credit”. The treasurer, Ms. L. Mahlangu, states that the Association is not in a good financial situation and the only way they are hoping to get this project off the ground, was through formal credits, which have not been successful so far.

But there is hope from the executive committee that their economic circumstances might change for the better. At the time when this research was conducted, the Association was involved in talks with an undisclosed mining company from Benoni. The mining company is said to be interested in leasing a 10-ha piece of land from the Association, because they want to run a coal siding. The decision to lease that 10-hectare is influenced by the fact that, it is located next to a railway line, which serves as a coal line corridor. So they hope that should all the technicalities be sorted out, this might change the fortunes of the Association by providing a steady flow of income.

In a bid to attract the investors, the Association has purchased a tractor, a plough, and wire, gates, and building materials for a storeroom. But nevertheless, the Association’s executives shared the same sentiment with their constituencies, that, so far this land redistribution project has not improved the quality of life of the Onbekend community, except for the provision of accessible potable water. They also feel it has not done a lot in terms of monetary gains, because, they feel that monetary gains is the only way to contribute to alleviating poverty. But they sounded optimistic about the future of this project, suggesting that, in the near future, the project, with good funding, might bear the desired outcome. They were however pleased, with the fact that some of the households, have undertaken capital investment on their land, which shows that so far the only discernable gain for them has been the secure tenure.

When asked to comment about the problems they have faced so far with that kind of tenure arrangement, the executive said they have resolved some of the issues, but the biggest problem is when they have to reach consensus over certain business decisions.

But they nevertheless feel the project presents major potential economic spin-offs, which are still yet to be taken advantage of. They feel that the government needs to give the necessary financial assistance to enable them to get their projects off the ground. Mr. F. Dlamini said that, with a little bit of government support, they could at least get one project off the ground.

4.6 Conclusions.

The purpose of this chapter was to assess the impact of the land redistribution project on the lives of the beneficiaries, and the perceptions of the benefits at this stage. It is apparent from the above research findings that the lives of the Onbekend rural community have not greatly improved to date. This could be attributed to many reasons, some of which are going to be discussed in the next chapter. But in a nutshell, the community members now feel much more secure than they were at Onbekend and the plates clearly confirm the perceptions of the respondents about security.

In economic terms, the project has not improved the lives of the beneficiaries a great deal, since most of the households can still be categorised as indigent. However, for some families there has been a slight improvement compared to when they were still at Baatjiesbult. A very important point to note is that, these responses are comparing the situation at a relatively early stage after the resettlement on the new farm. But it is obvious that the living standard of the beneficiaries is still far below compared to the people who are based in the urban areas.

The quality of the lives of the beneficiaries has not improved that much either. The only achievement has been the provision of potable water. However, the Onbekend leaders are hopeful that things might change should they be able to get their projects off the ground. They stated that this depends on the deal that they are trying to finalise with the undisclosed Benoni Company. Should that fail, they will have no alternative other than to rely on government assistance or accessing credit, which they have been unable to access so far.

The problem is further compounded by the fact that the relationship of dependency between the white commercial farmer and the Onbekend community has been broken. This means that the people have now to pay for those minor things that they never thought of before, such as wood, transport to town etc. The next chapter of this dissertation reflects on the experiences of the Onbekend community and draws out lessons for future land redistribution projects.

Chapter Five: Reflections on the Onbekend experience.

5.1 Introduction.

This chapter intends to revisit the theoretical framework that has been used to analyse the findings of this study. The research analysis is informed by the different debates that were discussed by the different theorists discussed earlier. This is vital, because it will assist in reaching a meaningful conclusion. It is only after the identification of the gaps that exist between things as they are on the ground, what is in the literature, and the government land reform policies, that meaningful and concise recommendations can be made by this study.

It is almost six years since the Onbekend land redistribution project was implemented, and the research findings do not really correspond with the six years age of this project. This chapter seeks to understand the reasons behind the status quo at the Onbekend rural area. Despite the implementation of the land redistribution project, under the land redistribution for agricultural development program, the lives of the Onbekend people have not changed a great deal.

5.2. Lessons learnt from the Onbekend land redistribution project.

5.2.1 Complexity of the process and the need for capacity.

During a visit to the Onbekend rural area and consultation with the different role players, who participated in this land redistribution project, the researcher learnt that getting a project of this magnitude off the ground, and up to the implementation stage, takes significant capacity and patience. However, what was discovered was that, during the different stages of this project, the principle of consultation was embraced and enshrined throughout the different stages of the Onbekend land redistribution project. This was a positive finding.

The researcher also learnt that a land redistribution project of this nature, involves several different role players. The Onbekend project involved the government, which was represented by the Mpumalanga DLA planner, Mr. D. Manzini. The government was the willing buyer in this regard. There was also the MDA and the LRC. All these role players were contributing their different expertise in order to ensure that the Onbekend land redistribution project is a success. The lengthy period it took to implement this project suggests to us that successful rural development might take more time to be achieved.

5.2.2 The nature of the complexity between poverty and property rights.

According to the land and agrarian reform theorists, Van Zyl et al (1996), the land reform program, through the LRAD program has the potential to contribute towards the alleviation of the present crushing poverty faced by the rural South Africans by encouraging its beneficiaries to practice large-scale agriculture. There has been evidence that agriculture is the most dominant and preferred livelihood strategy by the Onbekend community. This corresponds with the views made by Cousins (2000) that agriculture forms the most important livelihood strategy used by rural people after remittances and wages from low skilled jobs. The disturbing thing is that, it was not practiced at a large-scale, but mainly for food security rather than as an income generating strategy, as the Onbekend community has homestead gardens adjacent to their houses.

This therefore contradicts some of the claims made by some of the land and agrarian reform theorists. Van Zyl et al (1996), suggest that, agriculture is used as income generating strategy. This is not to imply that, the statement is incorrect, but rather, to imply that it is not applicable to all families or rural areas. The fact that most of the families at Onbekend do not practice large-scale agriculture in a farm, deemed to have high agricultural potential, shows that, for agriculture to serve as a reliable income generating strategy, the government

needs to purchase the necessary infrastructure that will assist the OCPA to get most of their agricultural project off the ground. Van Zyl et al (1996) refers to these as enabling measures.

The absence of these enabling measures defeats the main government objective of purchasing the farm. Because initially, the farm was bought for commercial agriculture, which has not taken off thus far. Secondly, this will defeat the objective of sustainable rural development, because the failure of the project to yield economic gains will result in it not being able to yield the desired outcome and hence it will not be sustainable. This also proves that the claim made by land and agrarian reform theorists that the land reform program will encourage a shift towards income earning from production for consumption, is too broad. This might not be the case in some of the land redistribution projects, as the findings of the Onbekend land redistribution project have shown.

According to Lieten (1971) in India, land was redistributed with intent of increasing agricultural productivity, increasing security of tenure and living space. These were achieved, and the success of the project was attributed to the support rendered to the people by the local council, as they were supported with irrigation infrastructure. Lieten (1971) further suggests that the project could have done better, but the problem was that, they were using homestead gardens, which are not meant for production, but they provide secure living space.

From the above experience, there can be some parallels that can be drawn with the Onbekend land redistribution project. The first is that, both communities used homestead gardens, which served both the purposes of agricultural production and living space. The difference is that, unlike the India community, the Onbekend community does not get adequate support, for example, the majority of the households do not have on-site taps to irrigate their homestead gardens. Due to that they are unable to use the land, as an income generating strategy and their production is not as high as it could have been, if they had on site taps.

As earlier alluded to, the OCPA is currently underutilizing the maximum agricultural potential of the farm. During the research, it was discovered that, a certain number of the families were practicing livestock farming. There has also been an attempt to diversify the livelihood strategies, as some of the community members got involved in non-agricultural livelihood strategies. These strategies were geared towards supplementing the households' income. Cousins (2000) points out the importance of diversifying the livelihood strategies as they act as a buffer to risk.

The Onbekend land redistribution project presents some major economic opportunities, but so far, it appears as if they have not yet been fully exploited. This could be attributed to the absence of the enabling measures that have been discussed above. The diversification of the livelihood shows that there is an attempt to optimally make use of the opportunities that are presented by the project and the attainment of a secure tenure.

But what can be learnt from the above issues is that, though secure tenure has afforded the Onbekend community an opportunity to diversify their livelihood, their agricultural productivity has not yet increased. Platteau (1996) predicts this when he contends that, improvement in land rights does not necessarily translate into increase in agricultural productivity. But of great importance is the realisation that even if people have land to which they have formal ownership, that does not necessarily translate into poverty reduction. It only provides them with an opportunity to diversify their livelihood strategies.

5.2.3 The rationale behind Onbekend community opting for the communal tenure arrangement.

The fact that the Onbekend community opted for the communal tenure, even after a series of workshops were convened to clarify the tenure options they

could choose from, clearly shows that they understood what they were entering into. The researcher was touched by the zeal shown by the community members to make the project a success. The fact that each household realised that they need to pool together their resources in order to multiply them in the future clearly indicates that, the Onbekend community was committed to making this a successful agricultural business venture.

Platteau (1996) suggests that poor people engage in communal tenure because they find it easy to resist collectively than it is individually. The community also suggested that though individual titling is desirable, it was not viable for them, considering their area of interest. They explained that the desire to pursue large-scale agriculture was a motivating factor behind opting for this kind of tenure arrangements. A lesson that can be learnt from this is that, the decision to choose this tenure arrangement was influenced by the need to pursue a certain business venture. Secondly, it has been influenced by the need to maintain their social network and trust, as some of the families have lived together for quite a long time. This shows that decision about tenure options cannot only be purely explained in economic terms.

Platteau (1996) suggests that communal tenure is a cost effective way to implement titling on the part of the government. This view can be taken to another avenue, as the research findings have shown that, communal tenure also presents a simpler way for poor communities to engage themselves in business through pooling together their resources, as envisaged by the government.

The evolutionary theorists comment on this type of land holding system, drawing our attention to the problems that can emanate from the communal tenure arrangement. In the process they have failed to pick up some significant elements that exist under this tenure arrangement. According the evolutionary theory, communal ownership becomes unstable and produces harmful effects in

research findings at Onbekend do not confirm the prediction made on this tenure arrangement. However this is not to suggest that what they are suggesting does not take place, but rather to highlight that it was found not to be the case at Onbekend.

One of the techniques that can be used to ensure that when using land, the principles of sustainability is upheld by the Onbekend community is by introducing a land management technique. This can be in a form of community based natural resource management approach, (CBNRM). According to Whande (2002), this is an ongoing evolutionary process, which has been designed due to the realisation by conservation officials that it will be almost impossible to achieve goals set for the conservation of natural resources, unless the people who live face to face with and use these resources are included in the equation. This approach makes sense, especially once people have been granted secure tenure, in that security of tenure creates the necessary incentives for sustainable development, because everybody with formal ownership to land, would like the land to sustain them and their future generations.

Taking into cognisance that, there are quite few complaints that were raised about this tenure arrangement at Onbekend, it is justified to suggest that, contrary to claims by evolutionary theorists, this kind of tenure arrangement has not been problematic at Onbekend. Because the minor complaints they had, were amicably resolved and laid to rests. However, it appears to be that, every tenure arrangement might have its own problems. This is according to Platteau (1996), who contends that even individual titling, can lead to a situation where many people end up owning many sites and in the process, underutilizing the resources. Instead of leaving these resources for those in dire need, who could better utilize them for survival. But probably its greatest advantage, unlike the communal tenure, is its transactability and credit related pledging.

5.2.4 Security of tenure and investment incentives: puzzling evidence from Onbekend.

Let us briefly consider the relationship between secure tenure and investment. The majority of the households now feel secure, but the big debate is whether there is any relationship between security of tenure and investment. This issue is a very complex one and one that warrants thorough discussion. What was apparent was that, some families have already undertaken some form of capital investment on their land. As we have seen in the preceding chapter that, families have taken measures to improve their indoors comfort, by building themselves formal housing structures. It is easy for individual households to undertake investment, because they know that they are now legally protected. Some of the families at Onbekend have already started investing on their land because they know they can bequeath the land to their family members, since the Association's constitution has a clause that clearly deals with this issue.

On trying to establish whether there is any positive correlation between security of tenure and access to credit, research were conducted in many different parts of the world and these have yielded different outcomes. According to Braselle et al (2001) there are many factors that are taken into consideration by investors before investing in a land. The first is the "assurance effect", (2001:02) this simply refers to a situation whereby the investors themselves feel more secure in their right or ability to maintain long term use over their land. When the returns on long-term land improvements and conservation measures are higher, these translate into a greater incentive to undertake investments.

The second factor that is usually taken into account by investors, is what Braselle et al calls " realizability effect", (2001:02), this is when land can be transferred to liquid assets through sale. When the superior transfer rights have the effect of lowering the costs of exchange if the land is either rented or sold, and the improvements made through investment can be better realized, thereby

increasing its expected return. Thirdly, is the "collateralization effect", which is when the land acquires a "collateral value". This is very important, especially for formal lending sources, which often have imperfect information about the borrower.

Braselle et al work has some relevance to this debate in that these are some of the factors that can be useful in explaining the sudden reasoning behind the decision by the Onbekend community to start undertaking their own capital investment. Because they know that they now have the assurance factor, which is in a form of a title deed, which legally protects them from any form of victimization or eviction. The second and third factors, which are realizability effect, and Collateralization effect, are the one's missing on the OCPA farm. It is because of the absence of these two factors that the Association has not been able to access credit.

At the time when this research was undertaken, it was observed that there has not been much investment undertaken on the farm. It is because of the lack of such investment that the farm has not yet reached the realizability and the collateralization effect. This makes financial institutions reluctant to lend the Association money, because they are not confident whether the Association would be able to service its debt. Furthermore, they realise that, even if they transfer the land to liquid assets through sale, chances of them regaining their investment are nil because no major investment has been undertaken on the farm. This could explain the reason why most of the Association's projects have not yet taken off.

The conclusion that can be reached from the above, is that, land titling does not necessarily translate into credit accessibility. However due to the assurance effect offered by the title deed, individual households can undertake capital investment so as to improve their lives. What one needs to note is that, in dealing with the issue of investment, the researcher has made a distinction between

with the issue of investment, the researcher has made a distinction between formal credit sources from financial institutions and investment that can be undertaken by an individual or a household so as to improve its living conditions.

The Onbekend research findings confirm that the two are not dialectically linked. However, it will be absurd to conclude that titling does not translate into investment at all, because, research conducted in other countries, confirms that the two are positively related. According to Midhola et al (1994a), in Ghana, it was concluded that titling clearly has a positive impact on investment. Feder (1987) also confirms the same view as Midhola, when he conducted a research in Thailand, and concluded that land titling has a decisive influence on investment behavior of both the financial institutions and individuals. These are just but few of the many research undertaken which showed that secure tenure in the form of land titling and registration has a significant and positive effect on long-term on farm investment. It is because of such findings by other scholars, that, this dissertation does not want to completely discard the likely possibility that the two could be positively related.

Platteau (1996) confirms that a series of research undertaken by World Bank, suggested that there is no significant relationship between percentage household receiving formal credit or any other credit and the proportion of land held with complete rights. This comment corresponds with the research findings. As earlier alluded to, the OCPA has not been able to access funding even though they have formal ownership of the land on which they reside. The White Paper on South African land policy says that, "it is important that the redistribution program is designed in a way that will allow it to respond to different needs and circumstances in appropriate ways so that it contributes to the alleviation of poverty and economic growth", (1997:28). If this objective is anything to go by, then the Onbekend land redistribution program has not yet lived up to this expectation.

The reason why this requires special attention is because it is one of the few ways in which the OCPA and its members could improve their lives. The failure of the Onbekend land redistribution project to fully exploit the economic opportunities presented by the project, stem from many things. Amongst these is the inaccessibility of formal credit. This therefore translates to a situation where the projects that have been planned by the Association, get stalled, because to get them off the ground, they need financial injection. The research findings have shown us that, most of the households still belong to the indigent category, because their average household monthly income is below the prescribed minimum of R1500, 00.

The Onbekend community members however stated that, compared to the previous land holding system, "PTO", they are able to make a little extra cash for themselves by doing other kinds of work when they are not at their permanent place of employment. This should not be misinterpreted to mean major economic improvement, because their response is a comparative response, as it compares the situation then and now. But it does not really suggest that they are entirely pleased with their economic situation. So, the bottom line is, the lack of financial assistance and other enabling measures to date has hindered the progress and success of the Onbekend land redistribution project.

The lack of funding defeats one of the important objectives of undertaking land redistribution, which is poverty alleviation. Poverty alleviation can be achieved through monetary gains amongst other things, and the Onbekend land redistribution project has so far not yielded any major financial gains for its beneficiaries. It is on such grounds that the researcher refutes the claims made by Cousins (2000), who suggests that the provisional appraisal of potential economic benefits suggests that land reform as a whole is well worth undertaking. In fact, one will tend to agree with Van Zyl et al (1996) who contend that for land reform to be deemed successful, it must focus on income earning opportunities of vulnerable people by helping them to become financially viable.

The Onbekend research findings contradict the views of highly idealistic writers like De Soto (2000) who claimed that the poor are not as poor as thought of, but their poverty stems from the fact that they do not have formal ownership of their property. He suggests that, by simply giving the poor formal ownership, you would have contributed towards changing their fortunes for the better. The Onbekend research findings have shown that his view has no basis. He believes that a title deed alone will go a long way towards alleviating poverty, because that will allow formal business transactions to be carried out by those in dire need and those who own the means of production. This view is fundamentally flawed and the Onbekend research findings justify this comment.

5.2.5 Bridging the gap between small and large-scale farmers: a practical or a very idealistic endeavour?

The above discussion has sparked off another complicated but interesting debate brought by Van Zyl et al (1996), when they contend that there is a need to bridge the gap that exists between the small-scale farmers and their counterpart, the large-scale farmers. These theorists suggested that, the new entrant farmers' needs to be given equal opportunity as the large scale farmers. The concept of equity should be incorporated even when processing credit application. This sounds to be a good and a desirable statement, but one that will be difficult to achieve.

The reason why it will be difficult to achieve this is because, the large-scale farmers have already undertaken some form of capital investment on their farms, and that makes them investment worthy. Whereas the small-scale and new entrant farmers are struggling to put in place the necessary enabling measures that will make the farms to be productive and investment worthy. This can be linked to the three factors that were enacted from the work done by Braselle et al (2001) about the three factors that are taken into account before investors before investing. Without repeating their statement, the investors, which in this case

simply refers to financial institutions, will prefer to invest in land where the three factors coexists, and where there will be much more opportunities for them to regain their loans back. This makes sense from business point of view and it is almost inevitable as it is the standard procedure for most financial corporations to invest where they are likely to regain their investments, and there is no way they can be faulted for that. Unfortunately for the new entrant and small-scale farmers like the OCPA, the land reform program has only brought them the “assurance affect”.

However, there is a slight problem that has been identified with the technological advancement of the large-scale farmers, which is their failure to create employment opportunities. The literature however argues that, what makes the small-scale farmers to be credit worthy is their ability to give back what they have accumulated, through generating employment opportunities. In that way, they make a significant contribution towards alleviating poverty and income generating compared to the large-scale farmers, who are capital intensive and have high output volume yet still generate very little employment. This argument raised by land and agrarian reform theorists, is valid, but will never make the small scale and new entrant farmers like the OCPA, to be credit worthy.

The researcher tends to agree with them that the small scale and new entrant farmers can play a significant role in the fight against poverty through job creation. But without the necessary financial injections, they would end up failing to even create those perceived employment opportunities, as the Onbekend project has shown us. This means that, in order to convert these aspirations to a reality, there must be that infrastructural investment, which in the case of Onbekend, will have to come from the government. The financial institutions in their lending criteria will only consider the productivity of the farm and the amount of investment undertaken by the borrower as equity. They will be less concerned about the number of job opportunities that the farm will create. The ability of the large-scale farmers to produce high output will always take them a step ahead of

the small-scale farmers, unless of course, the latter get the infrastructural investment needed.

The debate about land titling, productivity and investment is very important for this study. Mainly because, investment, whether in terms of infrastructure or finance, can assist the OCPA to contribute towards changing the lives of its constituencies and easing poverty through making their land to be used more productively. As earlier alluded to in chapter 3, the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development program has come up with grants that are meant to help those who had already accessed land to use their land productively and those who still want to access it. However, the way in which the LRAD grants have been structured requires that the each member of OCPA will have to make a contribution of R5000, 00, or contribute in a form of labour. This will be very difficult for the OCPA and their members considering that their treasurer stated that their cash flow is not in a healthy situation and it is unlikely that the community members might be able to raise such an amount of money.

It is upon such grounds that this researcher in chapter 3 criticised this approach undertaken by the government, even though one can see what they are trying to achieve with that, as alluded to in chapter 3. The idea of also contributing with labour power will also make things difficult for the members of the OCPA and prospective beneficiaries. This is because it implies that that all the beneficiary members of the OCPA will have to stop working and give up their permanent salaries and dedicate their labour power towards working on the farm in order to make up for their inability to raise the required contribution.

5.2.6 The provision of adequate Infrastructure and services: the key to successful rural development and improved quality of life.

The most important thing to note about the importance of this land redistribution program is that, its success and failures is not only supposed to be measured in economic terms only. This is what exactly this dissertation does, looking beyond the economic benefits and focus on the other issues that might touch human life and contribute towards a well-developed rural area. According to Kruger and Kroner, the following will be what constitute a developed area, "improved access to water, sanitation, energy, and shelter, educational and health facilities as well as growing sign of income " (2002:15).

The Onbekend research findings seem to suggest that, since the implementation of the project, the quality of the beneficiaries' life, has not improved a great deal. As a departure point in our bid to understand why is that so, let us take a quote from the White paper on South African Land policy," the lack of clarity of the status of blacks land rights often mitigates against service provision and infrastructural development. The government department and development agencies, are reluctant to finance community schemes when the community does not have legally protected rights to the land on which the development should take place", (1997:33-34). This seems to suggest two things. Firstly, that the poor service and infrastructural provision that existed before, were due to the insecure land tenure. Because the government department and agencies could not undertake development on the land to which people did not have formal ownership. Secondly, that quote implies that in areas where the problems around land tenure has been resolved, proper and effective provision of service and infrastructure delivery should be expected.

If the argument that has been posed to explain the poor delivery of services and infrastructure holds any water, one would have expected the quality of life of the Onbekend community to have improved, considering the fact that the Onbekend

project was implemented almost six years ago. But the research findings tell a different story, as the Onbekend community still lives in the same conditions as they did while staying at Baatjiesbult. The only difference is that they have now been provided with potable water, which is provided mostly through communal taps, located within a reasonable radius from the households. The Eastvaal District Council initiated the provision of water to the community.

The poor provision of services has a profound impact on people's quality of life. Cousins (2000) suggest that land reform will facilitate the provision of infrastructure and service delivery. The Onbekend community was found not to have electricity and they had to rely on other energy sources, which can be inconvenient at times. Wood was one of their energy sources amongst many. It is known that trees are very important in our lives as they help in combating or reducing the chances of global heat. They also prevent soil erosion, and this has more relevance for the Onbekend community, considering their aspirations to get involved in large-scale agriculture. Nevertheless all the other energy sources, which were used by the Onbekend community, have disadvantages and they do not promote indoor comfort, as does electricity. This simply shows that so far, the lives of the Onbekend land redistribution's beneficiaries have not been greatly improved, even though the issue of land tenure has been successfully dealt with.

According to the LRAD program (2002), if farms are to be productive, especially those farms that have been acquired through government's grants like the Onbekend, there is a need to encourage infrastructure investment and land improvement. These could take the forms of productive capital and operational inputs. This will go a long way towards helping that land redistribution project towards achieving the desirable outcome, because proper infrastructure will make the farms to be productive.

Van Zyl et al (1996), support this view, when they point out that the government needs to come up with policies that will encourage investment in agricultural infrastructure for the small-scale farmers. If the government is so serious about its objective of achieving equity, increased productivity of the small and new entrant farmers, and to mainstream the poor back to the economy, it should heed the call made by the scholars such as Van Zyl, et al. However in order to achieve these objectives, adequate resources needs to be devoted to such activities by the state.

The LRAD program attempts to provide infrastructural investments but the grants it offers are inadequate for purchasing infrastructure. In a nutshell, this policy approach seems to present very few opportunities for the OCPA to convert its aspiration of alleviating the poverty faced by their members, into a reality. There is one factor that needs to be incorporated within the market driven land reform program as currently undertaken in South Africa. Proper income generating strategies need to be developed to ensure that redistribution projects like the Onbekend are successful. By so doing the objectives of offering the beneficiaries the land will be fulfilled.

It is because of such policies that this dissertation argues that the land reform policy, amongst many policies that our government has such as housing policy, seems to address the issue of entitlement, through giving people access to land. However, it does not help the communities to get their projects off the ground by giving grants that will be utilized to at least kick off one project and putting in place the necessary infrastructure. The way the LRAD grants are structured, they do not appear to be geared towards helping the beneficiary communities, rather they come across as a device that will be used by the state to ensure that fewer people makes use of its resources to buy land by requiring them to make a contribution.

The government has a responsibility to enhance social stability and economic rights to all rural and urban dwellers, whether they live on public or privately owned land. International precedent seems to suggest that modernization of technology, rapid agricultural growth, and putting good infrastructure in place, all goes a long way towards reduction of poverty. In the light of that, it is hoped the OCPA will be able to get the necessary infrastructure, which at the time of this research, was found to be lagging far behind. Attaining of the infrastructure will enable the Association to contribute towards the betterment of their member's lives.

According to Mr. Manzini, the planner who was involved throughout the project, the Onbekend land redistribution project is a success. He says that people now have residential sites, which are legally protected and they also have potable water, things they never had before while at Baatjiesbult. The researcher's view's slightly differs with Mr. Manzini's view. This is because, giving people residential site and potable water, were amongst the many objectives of this project. It is then unjustified to use the word "successful" because these are the only two out of the many objectives of the project that have been achieved. Although the researcher agrees that water is indispensable to life and provision of residential sites is important, there are other equally important things that this projects sets out to achieve and thus far these have not been achieved.

According to Hornby, " you can give people land rights but they cannot eat these land rights", (3:2002). This is exactly what is happening to the Onbekend community, as only their land rights have been improved through the granting of title deed, and they are therefore expected to survive through it. This shows that there are many things that the project still has to achieve before being deemed a success, and most of these are dependent upon the proper provision of infrastructure. There is a need to promote large-scale agriculture so as to go beyond domestic consumption to income generating.

5.2.7 Secure land tenure: a key to maintaining social and political Stability.

One of the main objectives of the Onbekend land redistribution project, apart from practicing large-scale agricultural, was to provide the beneficiaries with security of tenure. Our country's history of land dispossession and political history means that, there is a great need to provide people with security of tenure.

The research findings emphasised the importance of having security of tenure, as it was realised that, after the Onbekend community had attained security of tenure, they were able to engage in certain activities that they would not have been permitted to engage in under the previous "PTO" land holding system. The benefits of having security of tenure are immense, as stated on chapter three and some of them cannot be explained purely in economic terms.

As the plate on the research findings chapter shows, the Onbekend community is now able to build formal house structures, something they could not do before, because of the "PTO" land-holding system. Though the study area has so far achieved very little economically, there are still some interesting observations which clearly reflect on the importance of giving people secure tenure, as the research finding chapter has presented.

The South African government needs to be complimented for putting together a proper land reform policy based on the market driven approach. This has gone a long way towards contributing to the social and political stability of the rural areas of this country. However, there remain an unresolved debate about the inappropriateness of the land reform legislation and programmes for urban areas. It is argued that legislation that is only applicable to rural areas is applied in urban areas and they are met with greater resistance by the urban people.

The Zimbabwe case clearly shows what are the dangers of leaving land reform program in the hands of bureaucracy. The Zimbabwean government does not have a proper land reform program in place, and that has led to social, political and economical instability in that country. Unfortunately this is not affecting Zimbabwe alone, but has also affected the investors' confidence in investing in Southern African countries. According to an Internet source, " Zimbabwe's government intends to continue with the resettlement program with or without donor supports as it attempts to fast track land reform and resettlement program. There is no pressure that will make the government to deviate from this policy", (www.zanupf.pub.zw). So our government needs to be applauded for foreseeing the implication of not having a proper land reform program in place.

Not only was this approach towards addressing land reform in South Africa a desirable one, it was also inevitable, considering the country's political background and the poor spending power of the rural community.

5.2.7 The prescriptive nature of South Africa's land reform policy.

Perhaps the Onbekend land redistribution project offers us an opportunity to reconceptualise the whole notion of rural development. What this researcher has picked up in some of the literature is the emphasis placed on increasing agricultural production as a way to stimulate rural development. Even though agricultural production provides for food security that does not necessarily translate into income generation. The research findings show that agriculture might be practiced at different scale, in the case of Onbekend, they are practicing it on a small scale and that means they are unable to generate income from their produce other than producing for domestic consumption.

The problem with the emphasis on the above is that, it leads to restriction in terms of the business ventures that land reform beneficiaries can engage in. This policy ought to realize that not everyone who lives in the rural area aspires to be

a farmer. The research finding shows that some people in rural areas would like to own shops, butcheries, etc. According to Hornby (2002) the problem is how we think about rural development as many theorists have focused on explaining the “economies of agricultural capitalist development”, (3:2002). The results being that the policies that have been formulated tend to encourage the development of small farmers and their growth into bigger farmers. However, the problem with this mental approach towards rural development, forces us to think naively about vast groups of people who are not interested in agricultural activity, but they live and survive in the rural areas.

Cousins (2002) share the same sentiment with Hornby, when he contends that we should not deny the fact that agriculture remains an important aspect of the agrarian reform question. However, if we are to encourage income generating within the rural development paradigm, we must broaden the enterprise models that land reform beneficiaries can undertake. This would help in accommodating those who do not want to take the agricultural route. Cousin is quoted as saying, “there are new groups of surplus people in rural and urban areas, whose existence is obscured by the emphasis on agricultural production rather than focusing on non-agricultural livelihoods”, (12:2002)

This narrow approach to rural development is inadequate, because it obscures the different economic development strategies that land reform beneficiaries can follow. The advantage of this is that the different activities they might decide to engage in, might complement each other, and that might create a market for the different goods produced. For example, if one of the beneficiaries at Onbekend decides to open a butchery, and the Association engage in livestock farming, they might decide to do business together and in that regard, both parties will benefit, because there will be demand for the cattle nearby and the suppliers will also be nearby.

We need to acknowledge that the rural areas are highly differentiated and many people depend on different or multiple livelihood strategies. The country's LRAD program must encourage the emergence of micro enterprises. This is because most of the land redistribution projects, like the Onbekend, seem to be narrowly defined towards agricultural production and eco-tourism business ventures. Linked to the idea of encouraging micro enterprises, is the offering of business supports. This is important because being involved in the Onbekend project, one realised that this is a model that needs to be incorporated into our land redistribution program. This may include capacity building, community base natural resource management approach, (CBNRM), consensus building, which was found to be a problem at Onbekend when a business decision had to be made, mediation and arbitration exercise. More importantly research and market information for the products produced needs to be also incorporated as part of the business support model.

The last view about the market information about produce is very important. This is so because, the Onbekend executive committee intends to farm sugar beans in the near future and it will make sense if they would understand who they are going to sell their product to and the demand of the product, and probably, the kind of profit they can make from such a project. Because, as is the case right now, they do not know about the market opportunities of the product. This also corresponds with van Zyl et al (1996), views that entrepreneurial activity is important and can play a huge role in accessing this kind of information. These are some of the things that our country's LRAD policy needs to outline and emphasise on, because these are the necessary conditions for successful businesses.

There is a need to acknowledge the new group of what Cousins calls "new class of emergent petty commodity producers", (12:2002). So the crux of the matter is that, though agriculture is still one of the most relied upon livelihood strategies, the agrarian question should not be understood on the basis of an increase in

agricultural production only. There is need to encourage multiple forms of petty commodity production.

For that to happen our policy must not be prescriptive because by so doing it limits the economic base of the beneficiaries from such program. This is a very serious concern for this researcher, because during the research process, some of the people commented that they would like to be engaged in other business ventures other than agriculture. The country's ability to earn foreign currency, promote sustainable economic growth, job creation and the general economic empowerment of indigenous community, is dependent on the diversification of the business sector and offering of the necessary support for such business ventures to prosper. This makes sense because for every business to function, it needs land, and it is not that the beneficiaries will be deviating from the policies but they will be adding another dimension to it.

This is not to undermine the role of agriculture in alleviating poverty, as this research and other research findings undertaken by great scholars, have shown that this is the most reliable livelihood strategy. However, the Onbekend scenario presents a challenge, and makes it necessary to try and look for ways that will encourage rural development and improve income generating, other than solely focusing on agriculture. This dissertation challenges the notion that once the beneficiaries from such program have been granted land, they only have to undertake agriculture to sustain themselves, as this appears to be the case in most land redistribution project, where agriculture is practiced either at a large or small scale. The researcher would like to emphasis that at the center of our LRAD policy, there must be a will shown by the government to promote various rural enterprise in order for these to complement agricultural production.

5.3 Conclusions.

It should be noted that the intention of this chapter was to draw some links between the theoretical framework and the research findings. In the process critical perspectives were made where necessary. Throughout this process certain lessons for future land redistribution projects emerged. Amongst those is that the relationship between poverty and land titling is more complex than it appears at a face value. Key to that, is the realisation that land reform either through redistribution, tenure reform, or restitution, is inadequate on its own in the fight against poverty. There are many more enabling measures that need to be put in place if the land reform program is to achieve its desirable outcome.

Secondly, the researcher has learnt that there is no dialectical relationship between improved land rights and investment, more specifically when talking about investment from the financial institutions, which is in a form of credit. But once people have the assurance value, they can undertake capital investment on their own so as to improve their indoor comfort. However security of tenure is still more important because it gives people the confidence they need to invest in their land and has other significance that cannot be explained purely in economic terms.

Admittedly the researcher's knowledge about the land reform subject might be shallow, but it is that, that motivated the undertaking of this study, so as to improve the vocabulary around land issues, as it is an integral part of rural development.

In a nutshell, there is no need to jump to a bold conclusion that the land redistribution program has failed to improve the lives of the people, because one study does not warrant such a bold conclusion. However, this research presented its own perspectives and findings about how has the Onbekend land redistribution project fared so far. There could be many more successful land

redistribution project out there, and it is for that reason that it is suggested that we do not jump into premature conclusions about the abilities and inabilities of this program to improve people's quality of life and contribute towards poverty alleviation. The Onbekend land redistribution project presents many economic opportunities for the beneficiaries, and it is likely that in the near future, it will improve the quality of its beneficiaries' lives, and contribute towards their overall betterment. Considering that success is an unending process, these are likely to be achieved in the near future.

Chapter six: Conclusions and Recommendations.

6.1 Background.

This dissertation has assessed the contribution that has been made by the land redistribution program in improving the lives of the Onbekend community. It started by looking at the pre-1997 period and the post-1997 period in order to establish what difference the implementation of the project has made to the lives of the beneficiaries.

The concluding remarks will assist in answering the main research question and to test the hypothesis that inform this study. The recommendations which follows are informed by the concluding remarks and are not only relevant to the Onbekend land redistribution project, but are lessons that can be applied in future land redistribution programs.

6.2 Conclusions.

The security of tenure for the beneficiaries has improved tremendously. This means that the issue of land tenure has been adequately addressed in the Onbekend rural area. This is a very important aspect of rural development, and is one that is often not given the attention it deserves. For rural people to invest in their land they need to have formal ownership. Also the government claims that, it is very difficult undertake infrastructural investment and providing adequate services on land to which people do not have formal ownership. Therefore addressing of this issue of land tenure is crucial and has been successfully addressed at Onbekend rural area in a form of communal tenure. The Plates in chapter 4 show indicators of security of tenure and confirm the beneficiaries' perceptions about their overall sense of security.

The contribution that was expected to be made by the implementation of the land redistribution project at Onbekend towards alleviating poverty has not yet yielded the desired and expected outcome. However, it is justified to say that, so far, the project has provided the beneficiaries with food security as they have homestead gardens. On the other hand, for poverty to be alleviated, the project needed to encourage income generation, but that has not taken off so far. It is therefore safe to conclude that, from a food security point of view, the project has done reasonably well so far, but from a monetary point of view, it has not yet live up to the expectations. Overall however the project has the potential to do much better and improve the contribution it makes towards poverty alleviation. Factors that have led to the project not performing up to its expectations have been addressed in chapter 5.

The quality of life of the beneficiaries has not improved a great extent. The only kind of service that the beneficiaries now have access to is potable water. The government needs to be applauded for this. There is still poor provision of other services and infrastructure at the study area, and this is something the executive committee of the Association needs to address with greater sense of urgency. For every business to prosper, a certain amount of infrastructure investment needs to be undertaken. It is therefore safe to suggest that, in this respect, the Onbekend land redistribution project has not yet done very well.

This has a negative implication on the hypothesis. The above conclusion disproves the hypothesis, because the project has not yet fully exploited the potential opportunities that exist. A crucial lesson learnt from this study, is that, for the land redistribution program to yield a positive outcome, a lot of enabling measures need to be put in place. By simply giving people land, the poverty problem will not disappear.

In the light of the above, this dissertation makes two categories of recommendations. The first category of recommendations (6.3) has to do with

improvement measures that need to be provided for by the state if the land redistribution program is to yield the desired outcome. This is influenced by the fact that, despite the government market led approach to the land reform program; there are certain missing elements that need to be augmented in the land redistribution policy if positive outcomes are to be achieved. The second sets of recommendations (6.4) are directed to the Association.

6.3 Recommendations to the state.

6.3.1 Business Support Program.

The government needs to come up with strategies or programs that will direct their effort at capacitating the beneficiary communities. This can take many forms such as capacity building, training in leadership skills, negotiating and conflict management and financial management.

As part of the business support program, the agricultural research and extension perspective needs to be augmented. This will help the beneficiaries to be aware about what products are in demand, and market opportunities that exist locally and outside the country. This is particularly relevant because even the recently revised (LRAD) specifies that only agricultural and eco-tourism projects will be funded. So, it will be helpful for all the beneficiaries from this program to know about products that are in demand to assist them to generate income through agriculture.

6.3.2 Encourage a variety of rural micro enterprises.

The land reform policy is prescriptive and has restrictions. It must be geared towards encouraging different rural enterprises. It is a fact that people have different aspirations, even people from the rural areas. It is upon those grounds

that this dissertation recommends that other enterprises other than agriculture be encouraged. Business like shops and butcheries, are other kinds of rural enterprises that can be encouraged by way of fewer restrictions in the business choices that beneficiaries from this program can choose from.

6.3.3 Proper infrastructure and service provision.

The absence of agricultural infrastructure was found to have had a profound impact in the plans of the OCPA. The poor provision of services meant poor quality of life for the beneficiaries. The government needs to provide both agricultural and non-agricultural infrastructure if the beneficiaries are to take advantage of the potential presented by the project. Agricultural infrastructure might take a form of irrigation infrastructure, fertilizers, technological packages, and etc. the non-agricultural infrastructure may include things such as roads, trading health facilities, and etc. Adequate provision of infrastructure is a prerequisite for all businesses to function properly. The provision of services such as sanitation is equally important and needs urgent attention. Without putting these enabling measures in place, the government will not achieve its main objective of providing the land, which is poverty alleviation.

6.3.4 Expand access to rural financial services.

A sustained process of income generation requires improved access to rural financial services. These may include savings, credit, insurance, and collateralisation of fixed and moveable property and trade finance. A major focus of the rural financial strategy is to bring the commercial institutions closer to rural clients and encourage them to lend the finances required by rural people. This can be achieved by giving benefits such as tax rebates to institutions that lend to poor rural people and Associations. The government can subsidise the borrower, by paying for the 10% deposit of the total amount required to the lender or make a guarantee of paying the loan should the Associations fail. However for this

strategy to work, the borrowing Associations must be attractive to investors, and that can only be achieved through infrastructural investment.

6.4 Recommendations for the Onbekend Communal Property Association.

6.4.1 Lease a portion of the farm.

The OCPA needs to lease the land out to other people interested in pursuing a business venture of different kind. The leasing of the land to the coalmine company is a very good idea. This will create employment opportunities for the Onbekend community and will immensely contribute towards income generating for some of the community members and a steady cash flow for the Association.

6.4.2. Source funding from non-governmental organization (NGO)

The OCPA should not wait for the government interventions because they might take longer to come. They need to seek funding from non-governmental organisations which funds projects geared towards poverty alleviation. One such organisation is the National Development Agency (NDA). This is an organisation through which the South African government channels development funds. The NDA only requires a detailed business plan. Below is a list of other NGO's that funds project that are geared towards poverty alleviation:

- European Union. (EU)
- Center for Development Enterprise.
- Department of finance
- Department of Social Development
- Independent Development Trust
- Mvula Trust
- Kagiso Trust

- Transitional National Development Trust.

The NGO's and the government departments listed above perform the same function as the NDA though they might have different requirements that the OCPA might have to comply with.

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ANNEXURE A

Demographic questions for the community members.

1. Your age group

- (a) 21-30
- (b) 31-40
- (c) 41-50
- (d) 51-60
- (e) >60

2. Your Gender

- (a) Male
- (b) Female

3 Are You

- (a) Married
- (b) Single
- (C) Divorced
- (d) Widowed
- (e) No response

Assessment of the economic well being of the Onbekend community prior to the 1997 period.

4. What was the name of the farm on which you resided before relocating to here?

5. How was the land that you previously resided on allocated to you? By

- (a) Tribal authority
- (b) Land owner
- (c) Local authority
- (d) Other

6. Did you have any document or any agreement that confirmed your right of Ownership to the land, if yes, was it a:

- (a) Permission to occupy (PTO)
- (b) Title deed
- (c) Letter
- (d) Verbal agreement.
- (e) Other proof

7. Are you formally or informally employed, and in which sector are you employed?

8. What form of survival strategies did you have in your previous land holding System?

- (a) Agriculture.
- (b) Rental housing stock.
- (c) Other.

9. What influenced your choice of livelihood strategies?

10. How would you estimate the monthly income that you were able to generate in your previous land holding system?

- (a) R 100- R 199
- (b) R 200- R 299
- (c) R 300- R 399
- (d) R 400- R 499
- (e) > R 500

(f) No response

11. How would you rate your overall economic well being on the previous land holding system?

(a) Poor

(b) Fair

(c) Good

(d) Very good

(e) No response

Land Holding System.

12. What would you say are the advantages or disadvantages of the previous land holding system?

13. Did you have freedom to do capital investment on your previous land holding System? Give reasons for your response

(a) Yes

(b) No

Quality of life assessing questions.

14. In your previous land holding system, what was a source of water supply?

(a) On site tap

(b) Communal tap

(c) Dam/River

(d) Site bore hole

(e) Rain water tank

15. Did you have electricity supply in your house?

(a) Yes

(b) No

16. If no, what was your source of energy?

- (a) Candles
- (b) Generator
- (c) Wood
- (d) Paraffin
- (e) Other

17. Did you have well planned and designed streets access

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

18. What was the nature of street access?

- (a) Gravel
- (b) Tarred road
- (c) Paved
- (d) Other

19. What was the type of sanitation you were using?

- (a) Water borne
- (b) Septic tank
- (c) Bucket system
- (d) Pit latrine
- (e) Other

20. How did you deal with solid waste disposal?

- (a) Waste disposal site
- (b) On site collection
- (c) other

21. How would you rate your overall quality of life before relocating to here?

Assessment of the post-1997 period.

22. Ever since you had security of tenure, had it made any significant difference
To your economic well-being? Give reasons for your response.

(a) Yes

(b) No

23. Are the survival strategies that you have adopted different to the one's you
used previously? Explain how

(a) Yes

(b) No

24. Do you now use your land for the purpose of income generating?

(a) Yes

(b) No

21. If yes, what form of income generating activities are you involved in?

(a) Built rental stock houses

(b) Rented land for grazing

(c) Explain

25. To what extent has that improved your economic circumstances?

26. Are there any problems you have encountered with the current tenure
arrangement?

27. Has security of tenure made the credit market much more accessible to you?
Give reasons.

(a) Yes

(b) No

28. Have you undertaken any form of capital investment in your land so far?
Explain

(a) Yes

(b) No

29. Rate your overall feeling about the current tenure arrangement.

- (a) Good
- (b) Fair
- (c) Poor
- (d) No response

30. Would you say the land redistribution project has helped improve your
. Security of tenure, quality of life and assisted in alleviating poverty?

Give reasons

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

31. Do you think the attainment of security of tenure is an efficient way to
to improve your life? Give reasons.

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

32. Is there anything you feel need urgent attention if the quality of your life is to
Improve?

Quality of life checklist.

Electricity	
Type of sanitation	Water borne, septic tank, bucket system, pit latrine, other
Source of water	On site tap, communal tap, Dam/river, site borehole, rain water
Waste disposal	Waste disposal on site, On site disposal, other means

ANNEXURE B

Interview questions for the leaders of the Onbekend community.

1. Tell us about the leadership structure of the Association
2. Tell us about the history of the Onbekend community?
3. How did the land redistribution project come about?
4. Who were the other stakeholders involved in the project and what was the nature of their interaction?
5. What is the form of land holding system in the Onbekend community?
6. What problems have you encountered with this type of land holding system?
7. Since the attainment of security of tenure, has there been an upsurge in development of Onbekend community, whether state or community initiated project?
8. Has the Association made any attempt to access formal credit? If so, what was the outcome?
9. Has security of tenure assisted in alleviating poverty and improved the quality of life of the Onbekend community? What indicators do you use to assess that?
10. What else do you think needs to be done to assist the land redistribution project to achieve its desirable goals?
11. Do you have any projects in pipeline, whether agricultural or development projects?
12. Briefly tell us how does the constitution of the Association deal with issues surrounding inheritance of land, and bequeath?
13. What does the future hold for the Onbekend Communal Property Association?

ANNEXURE C

Interview questions for the professional planner.

1. What was your role in the Onbekend land redistribution project?
2. When the project started, what did you intend to achieve?
3. Do you think you have achieved that thus far?
4. Do you think the project was a success and if so what indicators do they use to assess that? And what were the reasons for the success and failures of the project?
5. What were the benefits and downfalls of the land holding system that is used by the Onbekend community?
6. Have you witnessed any problems so far with that type of land holding system?
7. Do you know of any projects that have been successfully implemented so far to improve the quality of life of the community?
8. In what ways do you think that security of tenure will improve the living standards of the Onbekend community?
9. Do you think providing people with security of tenure is sufficient in addressing the poverty scale faced by the Onbekend community?
10. Are there any enabling measures that you think needed to be put in place to assist the program to yield positive results? Elaborate
11. If you were to tackle this project again, what would you do differently?
Motive your response.