

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, DURBAN

**CONTRIBUTION OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAMMES
TO BENEFICIARIES ON ROCKY DRIFT FARM, MUDEN,
KWAZULU-NATAL**

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DEDICATION

To my son, S'bonga and the family members, my mother and five brothers, particularly, the late two brothers, Jabulani and Elias. None of this would have been achieved without your support and courage. To all friends, this is the moment you have been waiting for. Your support is valued and much appreciated.

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to examine the contribution of land reform programmes to beneficiaries and focuses on post settlement development for beneficiaries once they have resettled on the farm. The contribution of land reform programmes is examined in this study through the investigation of the Rocky Drift Farm, a rural area in Muden, KwaZulu-Natal Province.

This case study has been chosen because it became one of the first Land Reform Pilot Projects transferred in 1997 to a Trust, representing a large number of owners (232 in total), under the government assisted land redistribution programme. It is now 12 years since the residents have returned to Rocky Drift Farm and this period is regarded as sufficiently long enough to enable the critical examination of development progress relating to land reform since 1997.

This research has hypothesized that "whilst the Land Reform Programme does generate some benefits for beneficiaries, it has proved to be an inadequate mechanism for improving the quality of life for beneficiaries, and thus needs to be supplemented by a number of other key support programmes in order to fully contribute to the lives of the poor".

While this investigation has proven beyond reasonable doubt that the lives of the beneficiaries have not fully improved as a result of Land Reform Programmes at Rocky Drift, improvement in infrastructure and service provision such as upgrading of 3 roads, construction and upgrading of 5 schools, building of 1 crèche and the supply of portable water, has been noticed. Furthermore, benefits such as a sense of belonging, identity, trust, hope and reconciliation, resulting from the implementation of the Rocky Drift Project have also not gone unnoticed.

However, despite the benefits mentioned above, it is strongly argued by this dissertation that these benefits are inadequate to boldly conclude that land reform programmes have improved the standard of life for Rocky Drift residents after 12 years of resettlement. Therefore, this study recommends, inter-alia, the following supplementary measures as

boost for land reform programmes to enable the beneficiaries to fully benefit from these programmes during post settlement;

- improving communication, co-operation and co-ordination among the government departments;
- maintaining the continuity of the key stakeholders;
- establishment of agri-villages;
- link land reform projects with IDPs;
- re-establishing the Rocky Drift community structures, and the
- letting of unused portions of Rocky Drift Farm, to mention a few.

Lastly, since the Rocky Drift Project piloted other farms, this study also recommends that a further investigation needs to be conducted. This will draw a comparative analysis and critically examine whether or not the lessons from this project were used to improve other similar projects.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGES
CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 The Research Problem and Research Questions	5
1.2 Research Methodology	8
1.2.1 Secondary Sources of Data	9
1.2.2 Primary Sources	10
1.3 Key Concepts to be Employed in the Study	16
1.4 Chapter Outline	20
CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	24
2.0 An Overview of Land Reform in South Africa	24
2.1 The Evolution of Land Reform	26
2.2 Land Redistribution	27
2.3 The Relationship between Land Reform and Land Restitution	29
2.4 Rural Development	30
2.4.1 Pre 1994 Rural Development	30
2.4.2 Post 1994 Rural Development	32
2.4.3 Relationship between the RDI's and Land Reform	36
2.4.4 Accessibility in Rural Areas	37
2.5 Approaches Employed by the Government to Development	38
2.5.1 Pre-1994: The State Centered Approach	38
2.5.2 Post 1994 Government	39
2.5.2.1 Decentralization	39
2.5.2.2 Bottom Up Approach	41

CHAPTER 3: INTRODUCTION OF THE CASE STUDY	43
3.0 Introduction	43
3.1 Background of Land Reform Pilot Programmes in KZN	43
3.1.1 Arrangement of Land Reform Pilot Projects in the late 1990s	44
3.1.2 Reporting and Accountability Arrangements	45
3.1.3 Provincial Land Reform Steering Committee	48
3.1.4 The Responsibilities of the Provincial Steering Committee	49
3.1.5 Present Arrangement of Land Reform Pilot Projects in KZN	50
3.1.6 Selecting of Pilot Projects in Muden	52
3.2 Location of the Study Area	53
3.3 History of Settlement on the Muden Pilot Project Farms	55
3.4 Reasons for Selecting Rocky Drift as the Case Study	58
 CHAPTER 4: EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE ROCKY DRIFT BEFORE AND AFTER SETTLEMENT	 60
 4.0 An Analysis of the Rocky Drift Farm before Settlement	 60
4.0.1 Pre-1997 Era	60
4.0.2 Brief Background of Beneficiary Community	61
4.0.3 Provision of Infrastructure and Services	61
4.0.4 Institutional Organizations	70
4.0.4.1 Muden Land Committee	71
4.0.4.2 The Rocky Drift Farm Community Trust	71
4.0.4.3 The Rocky Drift Development Committee	72
4.0.5 The Beneficiaries' Expectations from Rocky Drift Project	72
 4.1 An Analysis of the Rocky Drift Farm after Settlement	 74
4.1.1 Post -1997 Era: Provision of Infrastructure and Services	74
4.1.2 Rocky Drift Community Structures and Institutional Organizations	90
4.1.3 Conclusion	90

CHAPTER 5: REFLECTIONS ON ROCKY DRIFT EXPERIENCES	93
5.0 Introduction	93
5.1 The Challenges of the Rocky Drift Project	93
5.1.1 Complexity of Consultation and Communication at Rocky Drift	93
5.1.2 The Nature of Household's Settlement	95
5.1.3 The Nature of Co-ordination and Participation by Various Government Departments	96
5.1.4 Other Problems of the Rocky Drift Project	98
5.2 The Lessons from Rocky Drift Project	101
5.2.1 Lessons for Government as an Implementing Agent	101
5.2.2 Lessons for Rocky Drift Community	102
5.2.3 Lessons for Planning Consultants	103
5.3 The Achievements and Benefits of the Rocky Drift Project	104
5.3.1 The Transfer of Land to Rocky Drift Community	104
5.3.2 Infrastructure and Service Provisions	110
5.4 Conclusion	110
 CHAPTER 6: THE WAY FORWARD: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	 112
6.0 Introduction	112
6.1 Conclusion	112
6.2 Recommendations for Way Forward	114
6.2.1 Recommendations for the State	114
6.2.1.1 Ensure Effective Communication, Co-operation and Co-ordination among Government Departments	114
6.2.1.2 Maintain Continuity of the Stakeholders	114
6.2.1.3 Secure Adequate Funding for Development Projects	115
6.2.1.4 Integrate Local Knowledge and Technical Knowledge in Land Reform Projects	115
6.2.1.5 Establish Extension Officers	116
6.2.1.6 Establish Agri-Villages	116
6.2.1.7 Link Land Reform Projects with Municipal IDP's	117
6.2.1.8 Encourage all the Departments to donate unused Budget Funds to Land Reform Projects	118

6.2.1.9 Learn from Other Projects	118
6.2.2 Recommendations for the Rocky Drift Beneficiary Community	119
6.2.2.1 Re-establish Community Structures	119
6.2.2.2 Secure Sources of Funding from Other Stakeholders	119
6.2.2.3 Lease Unutilized Portions of the Farm	120
REFERENCES	121
Annexure 1: Personal Interviews	128
Annexure 2: Checklists and Questionnaires for Respondent Interviews	130
LIST OF FIGURES	
Figure 1: Accountability and Communication in the KZN LRPP	46
Figure 2: Management of the Land Reform Pilot Programme in the Department of Land Affairs	47
LIST OF TABLES	
Table 1: List of Key Role Players and their Responsibilities	12
Table 2: Access to Basic Services Questionnaire for the Rocky Drift Residents	133

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFRA	: Association for Rural Advancement
ANC	: African National Congress
B&B	: Bed and Breakfast
CBO	: Community Based Organization
DCOGTA	: Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CDC	: Sustainable Development Consortium
DLA LRPP	: Department of Land Affairs Land Reform Pilot Programmes
DLA	: Department of Land Affairs
DLGTA	: Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs
DoA	: Department of Agriculture
DPLG	: Department of Provincial and Local Government
DRD&LR	: Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
EPWP	: Expanded Public Work Projects
Ha	: Hectares
HSRC	: Human Scientific Research Council
IDP	: Intergrated Development Plan
IDPs	: Integrated Development Plans
IRDI	: Integrated Rural Development Initiatives
KZN LRSC	: KwaZulu-Natal Land Reform Steering Committee
KZN	: KwaZulu-Natal
LR	: Land Reform
LRPP	: Land Reform Pilot Project
LUMS	: Land Use Management Systems
NDA	: National Development Agency
NGO	: Non- Governmental Organization
NPA	: National Provincial Administration
PLAAS	: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies
PORD&LR	: Provincial Office for Rural Development and Land Reform
PLRO	: Provincial Land Reform Office
PSC	: Provincial Steering Committee
QOL	: Quality of Life
RD	: Rocky Drift

RDP	: Reconstruction and Development Programme
SA	: South Africa
SARPN	: Southern African Regional Poverty Network
SDF	: Spatial Development Framework
SDI	: Spatial Development Initiative
UDM	: UMgungudlovu District Municipality

CHAPTER 1

O R I E N T A T I O N



Photo 1 Rocky Drift settlements Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/2009

CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION

1.0 Introduction

The issue of land reform has become a major subject of debate in international forums. This is largely due to the fact that several Third World economies regard the acquisition of land as the right of landless communities, the source of power and the economic-well being leading to the alleviation of poverty and avoiding unnecessary tensions. One of the reasons for fighting for liberation from repressive regimes has been the issue of land rights for the communities who previously, due to racial laws and policies of the former government, were evicted from their land.

In response to the above, the 1994 democratically elected government in South Africa prioritized a land reform programme as party of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The purpose of which was to redress the injustices of the past, foster national land reform programme, to underpin economic growth and to improve household welfare and alleviate poverty (Green Paper, 1996:i). This helped to create conditions of stability at national and household levels. Land reform was regarded as a necessary factor for sustainable growth and development in South Africa. Land reform was presented as a policy for national reconciliation and development, as well as a policy for alleviation of poverty through broadening land access for marginalised groups and increasing security of tenure.

In terms of the 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy, one of the major focuses of land reform was its significant contribution to improving the quality of life and the alleviation of poverty for poor people in both urban and rural areas. Given the poverty focus as well as the improvement to the quality of life for poor residents of the programme, there is no doubt that the government should prioritise the areas of the greatest needs, particularly the rural areas where above six percent of the households live below the minimum acceptable substance level.

The purpose of this study is to focus on post settlement development for land reform beneficiaries once they have resettled on the farm. This will be done through investigation

of the Rocky Drift Development Project, a rural area in Muden, in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal.

Inspiration for chosen topic “Contribution of land reform programmes to beneficiaries: The case study of Rocky Drift Farm, Muden, KwaZulu-Natal”, has been influenced by a number of reasons.

The first and the main inspiration of this study is that fifteen years have passed since South Africa has achieved a true democracy and fourteen years after the Land Reform Pilot Projects were established. Linked to this is that the Rocky Drift Farm became one of the first Pilot Projects transferred to a Trust under the Government’s redistribution programme in 1997, it is now 12 years since the residents of Rocky Drift (RD) returned to the farm. Therefore, the researcher has strongly been motivated to evaluate the impact of the Land Reform Programme (LRP) on its residents by examining the development progress since 1997.

Secondly, there has been a lot of frustration, debates, arguments and critiques by South African Communities, land reform scholars, Non Government Organizations and other interested parties over contribution of the land reform programmes in improving the standard of living for beneficiaries. Most of the stakeholders are of the view that LRP does not contribute to improving the quality of life for land reform beneficiaries. In support of the above, Vaughan (1997:20-22) notes that:

“In spite of continued emphasis on land reform as a means to redress poverty and improve household food security, development strategies concentrate on emergent farmers and the creation of small farmer schemes. These strategies, in a context of poor infrastructure, services and land, are unlikely to benefit any but the most well off of rural dwellers. While they might lead to the participation of a minority of African farmers in historically White commercial agriculture, it is unlikely to address the class relations, which affect South African society and maintain the poverty of the African majority”. This suggests that class inequality may become submerged and hidden within concerns to address racial inequality.

Lahiff also points out that the approach of the African National Congress (ANC)–led government to land reform has been based on the use of free–market mechanisms, tightly controlled by public spending and minimum intervention in the economy, the so–called market led demand approach. To date, that has made little impact on the racially skewed distribution of land in South Africa. Lahiff continues to criticize land reform and concludes by arguing that the needs of the rural poor continue to be seen by government in welfare terms. Yet it is clear that welfare alone cannot resolve the growing problems of chronic poverty (Lahiff, 2003). This argument by Lahiff clearly indicates that the land reform programmes are yet to improve the quality of life for the affected households and alleviate poverty in rural areas.

Other scholars such as Cousins and Kepe (also including Lahiff) who have been involved with the evaluation of the land reform programmes in South Africa, argue for a radical approach in dealing with poverty and inequality inherited from oppression and exploitation from the past three centuries. These authors strongly contend that South Africa will never achieve sustainable rural development in the 21st Century with land reform if a radical approach is not employed.

Thirdly, this study will assist the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) now known as Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRD & LR) by giving feedback on the project, where a lot of money has been spent, to test whether or not the land reform programme contributes in improving the quality of life and alleviating poverty for its beneficiaries as intended by the goals and objectives of land reform as outlined in the South African White Paper on Land Policy (1997).

Fourthly, the researcher is employed by DRD&LR, and therefore has been inspired to choose a topic that is not only relevant to the Town and Regional Planning course but also to his Department (DRD&LR). Ultimately, the ideas and recommendations explored by this study will be useful to the Department as well.

Lastly, it will give the researcher an opportunity to engage with rural communities and assist them to improve their lives as he also grew up in a rural area. It has always been his wish to work with rural people and one of the factors as to why he developed an interest in

Town Planning and Regional Planning. It allows him the opportunity to give something back to the rural communities where he grew up.

These reasons have therefore motivated the researcher to undertake a thorough evaluation of the contribution of Land Reform Programmes in improving the quality of life for beneficiaries, this is carried out through the case study of the Rocky Drift Farm located in Muden.

Whilst the Reconstruction and Development Programme identifies land reform as “the central driving force of a rural programme”, it identifies three elements of land reform as being restitution of land to victims of forced removals, redistribution of land to the landless people and tenure reform that would provide security of tenure to all South African citizens. However, it needs to be pointed out that for the purpose of this project, this study will only focus on the first two land reform components, being land restitution and land redistribution, despite the Rocky Drift application having been approved through land redistribution programme, there was a strong restitutive aspect to the application. A member of Muden Committee was quoted as saying:

“We will be owners of the land ... At Keates Drift there are fights. [People] are outsiders ... even if they have been in the area for 10 years. If people come here they come as a group who know each other, they can plant and seek peace together. They are returning to places they know very well, they know what resources they can use to make a living. ... Here people can concentrate on important activities affecting their lives” (Sapsford and Hornby, 2006: 93).

The idea of the restitution element to the Rock Drift Project was also supported by another investigation conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in Muden in 2002 which noted among other things that:

“Curiously, because the area was designated as a pilot for the nascent redistribution programme, it did not go through the process prescribed for restitution even though there was a clear restitution rationale for the project, in addition, it was among the earlier and more contentious redistribution projects,

which may account for relatively challenging planning and the long period of time it took to finalise the transfer” (HSRC, 2002:21).

The above sentiments were also confirmed by personnel interviews with other key stakeholders, who agreed that the Rocky Drift Project has a restitution element and further questioned the rationale behind approving this application through the redistribution programme by the DRD&LR.

Therefore, in order to thoroughly examine the envisaged benefits of the land reform programme, thus avoiding leaving out valuable information related only to this study, the researcher has decided to include restitution and redistribution programmes as part of this dissertation.

The remainder of Chapter 1 describes the framework for the research in the terms of research problems and methodology. The topic of research is explained to reveal the main research problem, the content within which will be explored and the understanding of the problems. A central research question is revealed and its various subsidiary questions. Posing a hypothesis provides the readers as to what the answer to the research question is and the point upon which a conclusion is drawn at the end of the question.

Methods of primary and secondary research are explained as well as the rationale for adopting particular methods. The orientation of this dissertation is concluded by providing the definitions of key concepts that are central to the description and analysis that are contained by other Chapters.

1.1. The Research Problem and Research Questions

There is a growing consensus both within government and outside it, that the land reform programmes do not meet their objectives, particularly on post settlement for the beneficiaries of land reform. The principal shortfalls have been linked to various factors by the concerned stakeholders. Consequently, there have been critiques, debates and arguments about land reform programmes and whether or not they improve the quality of life and alleviate poverty for the beneficiaries after settlement, which was the intention of land reform policies. This resulted in a Quality of Life (QOL) surveys commissioned by DRD & LR in 1998, 2000, and 2003.

The main aim of these surveys was to assess whether or not the livelihoods of land reform beneficiaries have improved as a result of receiving land. While there were many challenges associated with the manner in which these surveys were conducted, the key findings demonstrated among other things that:

“widespread underutilising of land, both in the sense of land not being used at all and the sense that land that was potentially arable being used for less intensive forms of production, with neither grazing or cultivation occurring and the most common form of productive use is as grazing land” (May & Roberts 2000:13). Furthermore, “beneficiary households have alarmingly high levels of poverty, with 78% falling below the expenditure poverty line of R476.30 per adult equivalent per month and 47% classed as ultra poor” (May & Roberts 2000:14).

In summary, it is very difficult to determine livelihood impacts within the context of South African’s Land Reform Programme. Existing data from QOL studies on the livelihoods of land reform participants demonstrates that important correlations, on the whole, fail to show casual relations that tell us something about the ability of land reform to improve people’s livelihoods and lift them out of poverty. Therefore, it is arguable that the Land Reform Programme has produced few (if any) benefits for beneficiaries after settlement, and as this seems to be a critical issue affecting all role players in our democratic country. There has been a pressing need to explore this matter in order to achieve sustainable development after settlement.

In broader terms, the aim of this study is to examine the envisaged benefits of the Land Reform Programmes for the beneficiaries after settlement, as well as to assess whether or not the lives of beneficiaries have improved as a result of land reform, as it was implemented with the Rocky Drift Farm in Muden in 1997.

Specific focus of this investigation has been placed on post settlement development for the beneficiaries as there is a very strong argument by the researcher and other land reform critiques that post settlement support planning for beneficiaries after they have settled on the farm was inadequate. Eventually, land reform needs to be supplemented by a number of other key support programmes in order to effectively and fully contribute towards improving the quality of life and hence poverty alleviation for South African Citizens. As Rocky Drift settlement was one of the pilot projects, it is appropriate to assess

the impact of the program as to how it has improved the quality of life and alleviated poverty for the beneficiaries.

A more specific aim is to examine a particular incident in the Rocky Drift Project that challenged the development progress of this project. Essentially it is also to determine whether or not the project has achieved what it initially intended to achieve. This will be measured against objectives of the pilot project as stipulated in the South Africa White Paper on Land Policy as well as the Rocky Drift Business Plan (1996).

Another aim is to establish whether the project has met the expectations of the intended beneficiaries in relation to the government's (improving the quality of life and poverty alleviation) expectations.

Ultimately, the aim is to answer the following **main research question**:

“Do the beneficiaries of the Rocky Drift Farm enjoy a better quality of life as a result of the Land Reform Project and what benefits has this project delivered up to 2009”?

The following subsidiary questions are grouped into various categories emanated from the main question and played a critical role in unpacking the findings of the investigation.

History and Process

- How did the land reform project come about and how was it implemented?
- Who were stakeholders in the Rocky Drift Project in 1997 and what was the nature of the consultation process?
- What was the economic profile of the Rocky Drift residents prior to the land reform project?

Present Situation

- What services do the beneficiaries have to get somewhere else?
- What types of transport do they use to get there?
- How do the beneficiaries generate income?

- What is the current (2009) state of settlement and development on Rocky Drift?
- What are the prospects for economic improvement of the beneficiaries on Rocky Drift?

Expectations and Sustainability

- What did the beneficiaries expect from the project and to what extent were their expectations met?
- How sustainable is the land reform project for beneficiaries?
- Are all original beneficiaries still on the farm? If not and if others have moved in, under what circumstances has that happened?

The **Hypothesis** for this dissertation is therefore as follows:

“Whilst the Land Reform Programme does generate some benefits for the beneficiaries, it has proved to be an inadequate mechanism for improving the quality of life for the beneficiaries. It needs to be supplemented by a number of other key support programmes”.

While the research findings of this investigation will be revealed in Chapter 5, the land reform programme does generate some benefits to a certain extent. However, Chapter 6 of this study will further reveal a number of other key support programmes as recommendations that need to be employed to boost the land reform programme to fully contribute towards improving the quality of life for beneficiaries after settlement.

1.2 Research Methodology

The research methodology refers to the tools or procedures the researcher has employed to elicit information for the purpose of research. In this study both secondary and primary sources of data have been used. The study is explanatory in attempting to understand the manner in which post settlement planning happened in the Rocky Drift Farm after 12 years of settlement. It is also descriptive in trying to describe the factors that contributed in improving the quality of life for the Rocky Drift residents. In this regard both explanatory and descriptive study methods have been employed to conclude this research.

The study is qualitative because, according to Alreck and Settle (1985), it is based on concepts and meanings and is much more interpretative. In contrast, the quantitative

approach uses numbers to express scale, frequency and dimensions of issues. The focus of this study was based on land reform concepts, meaning and interpretation of policies under which land reform pilot projects were established, hence the birth of the Rocky Drift Pilot Project. The researcher also used interviews as primary research methods, which required flexibility so as to create an opportunity for subtleties that give more insight. Consequently, methods used in this study necessitated a qualitative approach.

1.2.1 Secondary Sources of Data

The first approach comprises of consulting extensive secondary sources, which is a literature review. The literature review is imperative since it consists of the records of material evidence gathered on theories, concepts, approaches, arguments, views, and debates of other writers that relate to the topic. Secondary sources of data include the following:

- **Published Books**

The books used include papers contained At Crossroads by Cousins B, et al, (Lahiff, Cousins, McIntosh, Hall, Kepe, Ntsebenza Shepherd, etc). These books have been used in order to explore local concepts, arguments, debates and assessment of land programmes in South Africa. It also comprises of getting an international conceptual, theoretical, argument and debate about the topic. A full list of books is contained in the bibliography at the back.

- **Journal Articles**

These journal articles include monitors and AFRA news papers and other articles on land reform. The use of these articles have therefore contributed in obtaining the latest information regarding the evaluation of land reform pilot projects, debates, arguments, challenges, lessons and achievements of land reform projects were informed by these papers.

- **Unpublished Papers**

Unpublished papers include Muden Rocky Drift Pilot Project, Rocky Drift Business Plan, Assessment of engineering services for Rocky Drift Farm, DRD & LR reports and minutes and other papers relevant to the Rocky Drift

Project. These papers among other things, contain valuable data regarding the history and background, existing infrastructure, services and economic activities of the study area.

- **Government Acts and Policy Documents**

Government Acts comprise of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, (Act No.108 of 1996) which sets out a legal foundation for all pieces of legislation and policy documents in South Africa. The Constitution also contains a section in the Bill of Rights which addresses the need for land reform, and further contains Land Restitution, Land Redistribution and Land Tenure Acts.

Policy documents include the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), White and Green Paper on Land Policy (1996 and 1997), which spell out goals, objectives, and principles of Land Reform Programmes that in turn serve as guidelines for the implementation of land reform in South Africa. In summary, these are critical sources that form the basis of debates and arguments on South African land reform.

- **Departmental Reports and Records**

These documents provide the latest information on the progress of land reform projects and thus have been used as secondary sources of data. Annual reports on land reform, evaluation of Land Reform Programmes, Land Reform Pilot Projects and Parliamentary statements, all fall under this category.

- **Dissertations**

These include case studies investigated by other students on land reform. It also needs to be pointed out that the dissertations, like other source documents, have also provided valuable information on land reform issues.

- **Internet Websites**

The internet websites have also been used to obtain international theories, concepts, arguments and debates that are relevant to this research.

1.2.2 Primary Sources

While the secondary sources provide valuable information, these are not sufficient to answer the research question and address the hypothesis. Therefore, primary sources were also used to collect information through the interaction with the respondents in the form of interviews and observation.

The community of Rocky Drift was too large to be observed directly (there were about 232 registered beneficiaries), the author interviewed a number of key informants using checklists (see Annexure 2).

This interaction with the key respondents, through structured interview questionnaires, proved to be effective because they were comfortable to share and express their views and opinions which related to frustrations, challenges, lessons and experiences they had faced in the whole process of the Rocky Drift Project.

The interviewed stakeholders, who provided valuable information to conclude this dissertation, are listed on Table 1, which also provides a summary of their roles and responsibilities.

In addition, personal interviews were conducted with a number of the professionals who had been involved in the Rocky Drift Project (see Annexure 1).

Table 1 List of Key Role Players and their Responsibilities.

Main Role Players	Responsibilities
Beneficiary community	Committee to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Interact with planning team ▪ Keeping beneficiaries informed ▪ Manage settlements
Department of Local Government and Housing Planners(DLG& H)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Manage contractual arrangements between planning teams and beneficiary community. ▪ Interpret government policy and procedures in relation to project.
Planning Team(Consultants) (Town Planners , Engineer and Agriculturalist)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Technical planning to enable settlement to occur in a sustainable way. ▪ Business Plan to release funding.
Government Departments: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land Affairs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ District Office • DLG & H: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Planners ➤ Survey ➤ Engineering • Agriculture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Accountable officer ▪ Approval of plans for settlement ▪ Liaison with beneficiary group ▪ See above ▪ Survey of sites ▪ Approve services and design standards ▪ Approve settlement plans in terms of agriculture/environment aspects

Source: Ellingson and Robinson (1997).

▪ Planning Consultants

The planning consultants that were involved in the planning process of the Rocky Drift Project were interviewed to throw light on the history and objectives of the project. Furthermore, they provided insight as to what had transpired in the project, and their role in the project. They provided information related to other stakeholders that were involved in the planning processes. The role of the communities, the challenges faced, constraints discovered, experiences gained, recommendations and lessons learned from the projects were clearly spelt out in the personal interviews with the planning consultants. These form part of Chapter 4.

- **Project Manager**

The project manager who was in charge of the Rocky Drift Project was also interviewed to obtain information such as how the project came about, the choice of Rocky Drift as a pilot project as well as the goals and objectives of the project. The manager was also requested to share challenges, experiences, constraints, achievements and lessons learnt from his point of view with regards to the Rocky Drift Project. Chapters 4 and 5 will deal with the findings in order to conclude the dissertation.

- **The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform Representative (Manager)**

The DRD & LR's responsibility at a district level included inter alia, approval of plans for settlement, liaising with the beneficiary group and also playing accounting officer's role. It was therefore critically important for the researcher to interview the project manager who was involved with Rocky Drift Project in order to get information such as, the background and history of the project from the manager's perspective; the nature of co-ordination and interaction with other stakeholders; the management of the entire project; the extent to which goals and objectives of the project were met; challenges, experiences and lessons learned from the project.

It needs to be pointed out that although it was difficult to get hold of the responsible official, due to the fact that the official had left the department, the official who took over was interviewed and she also provided valuable information. Furthermore, additional information such as minutes, memorandums and other related documents were obtained from the Rocky Drift file.

- **Community Representatives**

The researcher used interviews and questionnaires to obtain information from community representatives. The information obtained with regards to this includes the history of the community; leadership structures; their involvement and the nature of interaction in the project; as well as services rendered before and after the land reform project. This was to establish

whether or not land reform brought about changes to the lives of Rocky Drift residents. It included issues such as the availability of essential services to Rocky Drift residents and related matters after the implementation of the land reform project.

It also explores the aspirations and expectations of the community and whether or not these were met. Therefore, the community representatives such as Councillors, chairperson of the local organization, and Izinduna (Headmen) among others were interviewed.

- **Local Authorities in charge of the area**

Two former officials (Government Planners) from the Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs (DLGTA) now called Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (DCOGTA) who were involved with the Rocky Drift Project were interviewed. The interviews were intended to obtain information regarding their roles and responsibilities as they were in charge of the project, as well as the goals and objectives of the project from their perspectives. It was also intended to obtain information such as the involvement of other stakeholders such as the community, other government departments, NGOs and the private sector, in the entire project and their contributions thereof.

Furthermore, the interview also aimed at obtaining data regarding the history, background and selection of Rocky Drift as one of the Land Reform Pilot Projects in KZN as well as information relating to the challenges and lessons drawn from the Rocky Drift Project. Lastly, and most importantly, it was to get the feel of how the project was managed. This included aspects of monitoring, implementation and the evaluation of the Rocky Drift Project. The local authority representatives were able to provide this data as they were in charge of the area.

- **The officials of the UMgungundlovu District Municipality (UDM)**

When the researcher was interviewing other key stakeholders, it transpired that the UMgungundlovu District Municipality was also involved with the

development projects at Rocky Drift with regard to the upgrading of roads, schools and making provision of water for the Rocky Drift residents. The researcher felt that it was critically important to interview these officials in order to get more information with regard to the nature of services that they were rendering for the Rocky Drift residents.

Consequently, two officials, one from engineering services and the other project manager, were interviewed. It then transpired from this interview that the UDM was responsible for providing certain services at Rocky Drift. The details regarding the type of services that were provided by UDM will be covered as land reform benefits for the Rocky Drift Project in Chapter 4.

▪ **Mpofana Local Municipality**

The manager of Mpofana Local Municipality was also interviewed because the Rocky Drift area has just been re-demarcated to fall under this municipality. The idea was also to learn about the implementation of development projects in the area as the local authorities are charged with this responsibility. Although not much has been done by this municipality to date, it was necessary to know about their future plans in terms of providing services for Rocky Drift residents.

However, the researcher was not limited by the above identified key informants to obtain critical information regarding the study area. The South Africa Police Services officials who are in charge of the area were also asked a number of questions, relating to the alleged stock theft, in order to understand the conflict going on in and around the area. The researcher was escorted by the police in his first site visit due to reported fights at Rocky Drift.

The research method was therefore flexible to include other stakeholders that appeared to possess the necessary data in the study during the site visit. The types of questions were determined by the data obtained from various participants and also informed by subsidiary questions.

This study was aimed at collecting information from different population groups. Hence, the inclusion of different participants in terms of age, race, and gender was critically important as their responses varied according to their interests and needs.

The main role players listed in Table 1 played a critical role in the development of the Rocky Drift Project. "The success of this and any project depends upon each of the role players fulfilling their respective responsibilities and on effective interaction between the role players" Ellingson and Robinson (1997:15). However, it needs to be pointed out that the other stakeholders not included in this table were also identified and interviewed because they were found to possess valuable information for this study.

1.3 Key Concepts to be employed in the Study

Discussion of the case study and the analysis of the material gathered make use of a number of relatively abstract concepts that need to be clearly defined. The aim is to give the working definitions in order to promote clarity at the outset and also to avoid misinterpretation of the terms.

- **Land Restitution**

A dissertation that examines land reform programme needs a careful assessment and explanation of the term "land restitution" as this term is open for interpretation. The term land restitution, according to the White Paper on South African Land Reform Policy (1997) and Restitution of Land Rights Act, (Act No 22 of 1994), refers among other things, to restoration of the land dispossessed, provision of alternative land, payment of compensation, provision of alternative relief including a combination of the above.

- **Land Redistribution**

As described in the White Paper on Land Policy (1997), the purpose of the land redistribution programme is to provide the poor with land for residential and productive purposes in order to improve their livelihoods. It is also intended to assist the poor of urban and rural areas, farm workers, labour tenants, as well as emerging farmers; and it enables eligible individuals and groups to obtain a maximum settlement/land acquisition grant of R15 000 per house household for the purchase of land. The acquisition of the farm Rocky Drift was approved through the government Land Redistribution Programme.

- **Sustainable Development**

Moore (2003) commented that sustainable development is essentially about people and the way they organize their social, economic and political systems to make critical decisions on who has the right to use which resources, in which ways, for how long and for what purpose. However, in this context this term will be used to refer to land reform elements that should achieve social-economic needs without compromising the biological environment. Projects should be implemented to reflect eight land reform principles, namely, social justice, poverty focus, needs-based, government as facilitator, flexibility, gender equity, participation, accountability and democratic decision-making, economic viability and environmental sustainability, as outlined by the South African White Paper on Land Policy (1997).

- **Sustainable Livelihoods**

This term is clearly defined by Titi and Singh (1994) as being more concerned with peoples' capacities to generate and maintain their means of living, to enhance their well being and that of future generations. These capacities are contingent upon the availability and accessibility of options, which are ecological, economic and political, and are predicated on equity, ownership of resources and participatory decision-making. Livelihoods are also considered to be sustainable when they can cope with and recover from stresses, shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in future, while not undermining the natural resources base (Carney, 1998). This term comprises of the capabilities, assets (material and social resources) and activities required for the means of living.

- **Livelihood Strategies**

Livelihood strategies refer to the range of services and combination of activities and choices people make to achieve livelihood goals (May, 2000). May contends that livelihood is often a dynamic process, where activities are combined to meet various needs at different times. The rural livelihood strategies include among other things:

- Employment, which may be formal, self-employment or informal (wage) employment.
- Natural resources based strategies, often farming activities.

- Off-farm activities, which are often in the form of receiving grants and pension and other form of remittances.

For the purpose of this research, it should be noted that most of the Rocky Drift residents depend on government grants and farming activities as their livelihood strategies.

- **Quality of Life**

In a rural context, this concept refers to the adequate provision of a bundle of services to people within a reasonable walking distance. It includes the provision of health facilities, social facilities, economic activities, access to clean water, sanitation, electricity and other infrastructures and services at least at a minimum required standard (Kruger and Krone 2002). This term will also be used in this study to refer to the above definition.

- **The Rural Service Centers**

For the purpose of this study the Concept of Rural Service Centers (a spatial entity which provides services) refers to the provision of the bundle of essential services for sharing by the beneficiaries. This concept is expressed as:

“a focal point at which a comprehensive range of essential services can be obtained by people living in its vicinity. Each Rural Service Center will act as a pool of human and physical resources from which the inputs necessary for rural development can be distributed efficiently, and from which rural people can draw to promote their development” (Robinson, 2005:363-364).

While the notion of a Rural Service Centre strategy was first introduced in South Africa in a planning study of Transkei, in 1979 and was redefined shortly thereafter to be more explicitly as part of a spatial development strategy for the north-eastern region of Transkei, the concept has proven to be a more cost-effective mechanism of providing services to rural people. The conceptual model was adapted in the mid-and late 1980s as a central element in an Integrated Regional Development Plan for the Maputaland and for planning the development of a small, emerging rural center (KwaNgwanase) in the northern part of the KZN province (Robinson, 2005:360-361).

After 1994 South African democratic elections, changes in the policy environment resulted in a renewed interest in Rural Service Centers as part of a spatial element of KZN's Integrated Rural Development Strategy (IRDS) was noted. Therefore, more emphasis was placed on the importance of a management system to improve delivery of services in rural areas through Rural Service Centers. Due to the emerging emphasis on co-ordination of service delivery, the concept was further reformulated in 1999 as 'rural service system' and applied in Mbazwana. The concept was finally re-introduced into the policy arena in 2003 (Robinson, 2005:361).

Despite these methods being in place for delivering services to rural areas, land reform projects are yet to implement them. Subsequently, these projects have not made sufficient contribution in improving the standard of life for beneficiaries after settlement. The Rocky Drift Project represents a very good example of this argument. IRDS is intended to improve the quality of life for rural poor through a reformulated approach to integrated rural development, aiding to close the gaps between urban and rural areas in terms of service delivery.

- **Accessibility**

The term accessibility will be used to refer to the adequate provision of basic services to the beneficiaries within reasonable walking distance. These services include the availability of health care such as clinics and hospitals, educational institutions such as schools, crèches, libraries and institutions for further learning, water, electricity, sanitation, roads, telephones, and any other services that are regarded as essential by the residents in rural areas. The benefits of the Land Reform Programme in this study will also be tested against the availability of these services for Rocky Drift residents and they must meet the minimum standard set by the RDP policy.

The relationship between these concepts as well as how they are enacted in practice is the subject of this dissertation. The aim of the first Chapter was to provide an orientation to the readers in making sense of the next five Chapters.

1.4 Chapter Outline

This dissertation comprises of six Chapters. The aim and composition of the remaining Chapters are as follows:

- **Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework**

This Chapter is of critical importance providing the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Guiding the research will be a particular lens which is appropriate as an analytical tool. Determining the theoretical framework is a literature review, the result of which is the source of synthesis and debate that underpins the conceptual framework. Chapter 2 presents the concepts but it begins with an overview of land reform in order to give background and meaning of this concept in the South African context.

This Chapter also provides the main theory relevant to this study which is Land Agrarian Reform theory. The authors such as Lahiff, Cousins, McIntosh, Hall, Kepe, Ntsebenza, Shepherd and others, are main contributors in this regard. Their views, arguments and thoughts are therefore explored further as they are relevant to this study. The debates and arguments relate to the contribution of these programmes in improving the standard of living to beneficiaries. While these critiques, like the researcher, acknowledge that land reform has at a certain extent improved the lives of the beneficiaries, they argue for other enabling measures to be provided in order for this program to full contribute to improving the quality of life and alleviate poverty for its beneficiaries, particularly on post settlement. They also go further to outline some contributing factors to this effect and further call for a radical approach to be adopted if the government is serious about effective implementation of the land reform concept.

Chapter 2 concludes by outlining approaches, strategies and models employed by the government in dealing with rural development and two eras are provided in this regard. The first is pre-1994 rural development era in which the former government laws created disparities in the provision of infrastructure and services for the people and used top down approach in dealing with development challenges, related inequalities and imbalances. The top down approach did not make a

positive contribution to all people as it did not involve people at grass roots level and therefore did not address their priority needs.

The second, post 1994 development approach, which is currently in place consists of decentralization and bottom up approaches. These are participative and comprise many models and strategies for development such as IDP, IRDS, and the LRPP, aimed at improving the standard of living and alleviating poverty for the beneficiaries including the rural poor. Although these approaches have also been strongly criticized by the land agrarian reform theorists for failing in the implementation phases, it needs to be pointed out that beneficiaries are involved in all planning processes in order to be afforded an opportunity of identifying their priority needs pertaining to development. Therefore, the land reform projects are participative because the beneficiaries are allowed through their representatives to participate in project planning.

It has also been argued by land reform authors that Land Reform Programmes have not significantly contributed in improving the lives of the beneficiaries after settlement, particularly in rural areas. Chapters 4 and 5 of this study will reveal whether the above arguments are also relevant to Rocky Drift Project.

▪ **Chapter 3: Introduction of the Case Study**

This Chapter provides a brief overview of the history of the evolution of Land Reform Pilot Programmes since their inception in 1995. It is aimed at introducing and linking these programmes with the Rocky Drift case study as it was one of the first pilot projects in KZN therefore, the two are interrelated.

Chapter 3 further provides the arrangements of Land Reform Pilot Projects in the late 1990s and the present arrangements. This includes among other things, reporting and accountability arrangements of the pilot programme, the structure of the Provincial Land Reform Steering Committee, its functions, composition and responsibilities in order to give brief background about the evolution and set up of this committee.

This Chapter also provides the readers with the geographical location of the study area, the history of settlement on the Mudén Pilot Project Farms and concludes by highlighting the rationale behind the choice of the Rocky Drift Project as a case study in order to give more insight about this project.

In a nutshell, these are meant to give the readers an orientation as well as background about the evolution of the entire project and therefore, present an important part of the dissertation.

- **Chapter 4: Evaluation of the Situation on the Rocky Drift Farm before and after Settlement**

Chapter 4 provides the readers with the assessment of the study area in order to answer the research's main question." Do the beneficiaries of the Rocky Drift Farm enjoy a better quality of life as a result of the Land Reform Project and what benefits have this project delivered up to 2009?" The evaluation of Rocky Drift is divided into two parts: The first part deals with the evaluation period before settlement (pre-settlement era), in order to give a clearer picture of the development prior to the land reform project.

Part two of this Chapter covers the period after the Rocky Drift residents had returned to the farm (post settlement-era). The main aim was to evaluate and critical compare two periods in order to conclude whether or not the quality of life for the land reform beneficiaries, at Rocky Drift, have improved as a result of the pilot project.

A comparative analysis and evaluation of these two periods is therefore critical important because the actual results will inform the conclusion of this research.

- **Chapter 5: Reflections on the Rocky Drift Project Experiences**

This Chapter explores lessons drawn from the Rocky Drift Project, which according to the goals and objectives of the Land Reform Pilot Projects, were meant to be

translated into ideas that would be carried over into other pilot projects in order to avoid repeating similar mistakes.

Furthermore, experiences and challenges are also discussed in order to uncover the difficulties that were shared by the respondents so as to reflect on the circumstances under which the Rocky Drift Project was implemented. The lessons and experiences from this study are not intended to expose and blame the stakeholders that were involved in this project but rather contribute in building a concrete foundation for sustainable development projects that will improve the economy of the country and subsequently improve the standard of living for all South African citizens.

▪ **Chapter 6: The Way Forward : Conclusion and Recommendations**

Given the frustrations, challenges, difficulties and the lessons encountered by the stakeholders from Rock Drift Pilot Project, Chapter 6 provides some recommendations as the way forward for future consideration in the implementation of other land reform pilot projects if they are to improve the standard of living for its beneficiaries.

Apart from providing recommendations, this Chapter also provides a conclusion that has been informed by evaluation of the Rocky Drift situation before and after settlement occurred which will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this study and a response for the research main question will be explored in this last Chapter of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

C O N C E P T U A L F R A M E W O R K

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 An Overview of Land Reform in South Africa

Reform of the highly unequal racial division of landholding inherited from colonialism and Apartheid was one of the greatest challenges facing South Africa in the transition to democracy in 1994. Expectations were high that the new democratic regime would effect a fundamental transformation of property rights to address the history of dispossession and lay the foundations for the social and economic advancement of the rural and urban dwellers.

Under colonialism, South Africa was divided into racial zones. Most of the country, including most of the best agricultural land was reserved for the minority White settler population with African majority confined to just 13% of the territory. At the end of the Apartheid era, approximately 82 million hectares (ha) of commercial farmland (86% of all farmland) were in the hands of the White minority, approximately 60 000 owners. Over 13 million Africans, the majority of them stricken and poor, remained crowded into the former homelands, where rights to land were generally challenging and contested, and the system of land administration was in disarray (except for in KwaZulu-Natal where issues of administration and tenure rights were clearly defined in terms of the KwaZulu Land Affairs (Act, No. 11 of 1992). These areas were characterized by low incomes and high rate of infant mortality, malnutrition and illiteracy when compared to the rest of the country. On private farms millions of workers, former workers and their families faced severe tenure insecurity and a lack of basic services. In the cities and rural towns, informal settlements continued to expand, beset by poverty, crime and a lack of basic services (SDC:2006).

South Africa continues to have one of the most unequal distributions of income in the world, and income and material quality of life are strongly correlated with race, location and gender. A deepening social and economic crisis in the rural areas, fuelled by falling formal employment, the ravages of HIV/Aids and ongoing evictions from farms has accelerated the movement of poor people from 'deep rural' areas to towns and cities throughout the country, while tens of thousands of retrenched urban workers make the journey the other way (SDC, 2006: 31).

The result of these continuing processes is a highly diverse pattern of demand for land for a variety of purposes, a complex pattern of rural–urban interdependency, and numerous hotspots of acute land hunger in both urban and rural areas.

Under the Apartheid regime, Whites were assisted by the state in every aspect of agriculture, including provision of land and infrastructure, generous financial support, regulation of markets and the legal coercion of farm labour. Since the mid-1980s however, the agricultural sector underwent major reform, through gradual reductions in state support, ongoing deregulations and trade liberalization. This has led to considerable restructuring and consolidation within the sector, which is now dominated by highly capitalized producers who compete in both domestic and international markets. Commercial farmland is held almost entirely in freehold title, and is actively traded on the market with minimal restrictions.

Demand for land in South Africa has a number of origins, both economic and political. Much of the demand for land is for the restoration of historical rights, and does not mean that people intend returning to an agrarian lifestyle. “Indeed, large numbers of claimants have opted for cash compensation rather than land, and it appears that many who regain their land will end up leasing it to established White producers, possibly in the form of joint ventures”(SDC, 2006:30-31). According to this report, farm workers on commercial farms are largely poor, and only a minority have either the resources or the inclination to engage in agricultural production on their own. Secure housing and paid employment thus tends to be the priority for this group. Within the former homelands there are variety of small and medium sized African farmers, many of whom would be interested in expanding production. However, many more people in these areas look to agriculture only as a supplement to other sources of livelihood in the urban industrial economy (SDC, 2006).

While its population is substantially rural (close to 50%), South Africans have long ceased to be an agrarian society. Widespread dependence on wage employment and a comprehensive social welfare system in sub-Saharan Africa means that the majority of the population, even in the rural areas, do not look to land-based activities as their primary source of livelihood, and are unlikely to do so in future. This helps to explain the relatively

weak pressure for land reform from below. At the same time, South Africa has the most developed agricultural sector in Africa, one which exerts a powerful political influence despite its racist past and the small number of farmers and farm owners. This sector has successfully lobbied government, both before and after the transition to democracy, for the protection of private property rights and agrarian reforms to be minimized (SDC: 2006). Land reform is essential for sustainable growth and development in South Africa. It is a precondition for the government's Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR).

2.1 The Evolution of Land Reform

Since 1994, South Africa has embarked on land reform programmes, designed to redress the racial imbalances in land-holding and secure the land rights of historically disadvantaged people. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, (Act No.108 of 1996) sets out the legal basis for land reform, particularly in the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2), albeit within a liberal-democratic framework that upholds the rights of all property holders. Section 25 allows for expropriation of property for public interest, subject to just and equitable compensation for owners. The Constitution places a clear responsibility on the state to carry out land related reforms and grant specific rights to victims of past discrimination.

The framework for land reform was set out in the White Paper on South African Land Policy, which divides land reform into three broad areas:

- *Restitution*, which provides relief for certain categories of victims of forced removals and dispossession under Apartheid.
- *Redistribution*, based on a system of discretionary grants that assists certain categories of people to acquire land through the market.
- *Tenure reform*, which is intended to secure and extend the tenure rights of the victims of past discriminatory practices.

Broadly, the state's land reform programme aims are to achieve equity and efficiency; equity by providing access to, and ownership of land, and efficiency by improving land use and its contribution to the rural economy.

2.2 Land Redistribution

Rocky Drift is a historical project. It was the first Land Reform Pilot Project to be approved under government Redistribution Programme in KZN in 1996, and as such, it represents a symbol of hope, trust, reconciliation and change in the new government for Rocky Drift residents (Mnyaka 2009, personal communication).

This project was approved through the government assisted Land Redistribution Programme, and it is appropriate that the researcher uses this land reform element as one of the concepts for this dissertation. The inclusion of the land redistribution concept is also important in this study because its contribution will also form part of the assessment of the benefits of the Land Reform Programme (as a mother body) in improving the standard of life for Rocky Drift beneficiaries. As the concepts have been defined above, the major focus of this part of the dissertation will be on the arguments and debates, and their relevance to the Rocky Drift Project.

Land reform (within redistribution) is heavily criticized for its slow pace in land delivery and its limited benefits for participants in terms of sustainable livelihoods. Overall, according to the Sustainable Development Consortium report (SDC) the 2006 on the land reform programme, there is a continuing tension between meeting quantitative targets and delivering sustainable and adequately supported projects. A total of 3.3 million hectares (ha) of land had been transferred by the end of 2005, benefiting an estimated 1.2 million people. Of this total, the greatest proportion was delivered through the Redistribution Programme, where 14 477 956 ha or 44% hectares had been supplied. This was followed by Restitution with 10 072 47 ha or 30% and Tenure Reform a small amount of land had addressed, only 1 265 19 or 4%. The other 7 615 24 ha or 22% represents the disposal of state land assets (SDC, 2006:35). While these figures represent substantial progress, they fall far short of the national target which aims to deliver 30% of agricultural land in the period 1994 to 2014 across areas of land reform. The area of land delivered amounts to approximately 4%, or more than one-eighth, of the target. The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRD& LR) now plans to deliver a further 21.3 million hectares by the year 2014, or 2.36 million hectares across all aspects of the land reform programme (SDC:35-36). Eventually, it is highly possible that the national target of distributing 30% of White-owned land to landless African will not be achieved by 2014.

However, in terms of the latest statistics regarding redistributed land, the new Minister for DRD& LR, Honourable Mr. Gugile Nkwinti, revealed that 2 864 farms have been acquired, “29 percent of 1,250 LRAD projects reviewed have failed, and a further 22 percent are declining” (Nkwinti, DRD& LR News line, 2/9/2009).

Hall (2009) noted in the DRD& LR news letter on land reform that the government has failed on two levels.

- Only 5% of commercial land had been redistributed, and there has been “extremely poor level of support (by government) for new, small and cash strapped farmers who have been settled on this land;
- The DRD & LR estimates that half of all existing land redistribution projects have failed, most independent research suggests that this is an optimistic reading of its track record” (Hall, 2009 DRD& LR in news letter of 21/8/2009).

These critics further associate failure to “illogic”, as they contend that splitting land reform and agriculture into two portfolios was at first glance illogical, hence they argued that it is also one of the main course of DRD& LR failure in this regard (Hall, 2009:1-2). “The blame for the dismal track record of production on redistributed farms must fall largely on the national and provincial departments of agriculture, which have simply failed to come to the party,” (Hall, 2009:1-2). Hall was further quoted: “despite the introduction of some agricultural support and funds for land reform beneficiaries in recent years, the agriculture departments have remained biased in favour of commercial farming, and unsupportive of smallholder farming and production systems of the poor.” The chairperson of Rocky Drift Committee also shared the same sentiments with this author when he stated very clear in the personal interview that the Department of Agriculture had played a passive role in Rocky Drift Projects. Kleinbooi was quoted in the DRD & LR's News Line on 2 September 2009 saying: “The biggest problem with land redistribution is that there is no real vision as to what the department wants to achieve with land reform.” (Kleinbooi, 2009:1-2)

The slow delivery of land and inadequacy of post settlement support have also been exacerbated by weakly defined intergovernmental relations, the general poor integration of land reform into municipal Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), and the limited capacity

within many municipalities and provincial line departments to support land reform (SDC:2006).

In practice, most Redistribution Projects (Rocky Drift as well) have involved groups of applicants pooling their grants together to buy formerly White owned farms for commercial agriculture purposes. This emphasis on group projects has been largely due to the small size of the available grant (R15 000.00) relative to the size and cost of the typical agricultural holding and many difficulties associated with subdivision of land. Also, rural communities view redistribution as a means of extending their system of communal holding and favour collective ownership.

2.3 The Relationship between Land Reform and Land Restitution

While Land Reform is presented as a national policy of the DRD& LR, the Land Reform Pilot Projects (LRPP) fall under the direct responsibility of this department and the Provincial Office for Rural Development and Land Reform (PORD & LR) has the responsibility for the development and implementation of the LRPP (Randall, 1995). Land Reform is therefore a policy, Restitution, Redistribution and Land Tenure are programmes through which land reform is to be accomplished. Land reform is further defined as an umbrella, which overarches Restitution, Redistribution and Land Tenure and, it formulates goals and objectives to be implemented at provincial level.

It is clear then that Land Restitution is interrelated with land reform. It is responsible for project implementation at provincial, local and district level including pilot projects initiated at national level. "At the policy level, the pilots act as test sites for identifying appropriate financing mechanisms for planning, land transfers, service delivery, appropriate systems and institutions to administer land in a sustainable way" (Randall, 1995:14). She explains further that experiences gained from these pilot projects are fed into-ongoing policy development for a more comprehensive Land Reform Programme.

It needs to be pointed out that provinces are responsible for identifying other areas for land reform projects at the district level. The Provincial Land Reform Steering Committee is responsible for deciding on how the policy should be applied in the province. At provincial

level, the core implementer of the pilot projects is the district offices reporting direct to the Provincial Steering Committee (Randall, 1995:14). Chapter 3 of this dissertation covers the composition, functions and responsibilities of the KZN Land Reform Provincial Steering Committee (KZN LRPSC).

Lahiff (2001) calls for a radical approach to land reform. He contends that all the evidence suggests that existing land reform policies have failed to bring about expected transformation of landholdings to date and more so, are unlikely to bring change in future. It is noted that all the arguments have one thing in common, a consistent criticism addressing issues of implementation, lack of funding, poor co-ordination, weak institutional arrangements coupled with lack of capacity are a real challenge to the pilot projects. There is no doubt that it is essential to address these challenges if land Reform Programmes are to better the lives of its beneficiaries.

2. 4 Rural Development

2.4.1 Pre 1994 Rural Development

According to May and Roberts, (2000) the rural areas of South Africa carry a legacy of squandered assets, inappropriate production and investment strategies. For many people in the rural areas, economic and social decisions have been conditioned by their unequal and distorted access to markets, services and opportunities.

This was caused by the Apartheid government that was characterized by state led rural development, prior to the 1994 democratic elections. This approach to development was top-down and it resulted in fragmentation, imbalances and inequalities in resource distribution. "Decisions with regards to development were coming from the top, excluded the poor and the women, and had enhanced aid dependency in numerous ways." (Shepherd, 2000:212).

There was no integration between urban and rural areas. Rural areas were characterized by lack of basic services provision, neglect of rural areas as sites of development, minimal resources or lack of government support and vast difficulties in organizing response.

Women bore the brunt of this underdevelopment the most. They were the majority in rural areas, they also took care of sick children and old people, they also fetched water and firewood very far from their homes. Women were discriminated against a lot more than males. This resulted in the formation of social movements. The unifying perspective of these old movements among other reasons was to resolve the fight against all forms of racial discrimination. Fighting for land restoration also emerged as a result of these movements hence the introduction of the intervention programmes such as land reform.

Given the history of inequalities and imbalances in resource distribution caused by the past policies, Mayer (1979) argues for adoption of spatial approach concept by planners as a solution to these problems. He calls for integrated development planning because it enforces community participation in development. His concept outlines inter-alia, the following elements to be considered by planners when implementing spatial basic needs strategy;

- **The Spatial Hierarchy of Immovable Facilities Required for Basic Needs Satisfaction**

Mayer calls for an order in locating immovable facilities that are of sufficient size for service to be taken into account. The strategy should also make provision for roads and transport for easy access by users. This is not applicable at Rocky Drift because of the reasons already highlighted in other parts of this dissertation.

- **Basic Needs and Participation**

The strategy must involve community in all phases of development in a democratic society. Mayer argues for institutions such as Trade Unions to mobilize people where no community organizations exist. Through this institution, she believes that local people can contribute to their development. Land reform projects are participative hence the community was one of key stakeholders involved in the whole project.

In order to implement some of the important strategies in an area, it is critically important that the area should have potential for economic development, thus be able to attract the private investors as well. This is influenced by a lot of factors such as a number of thresholds, the level of crime, and land administration.

Many people are unemployed at Rocky Drift, and there is crime associated with livestock theft. Much of the land is under the administration of traditional Councils. Some times, because of the negotiations involved which delay development, it is difficult to attract private investors to locate businesses for job creation in the area linked with crime and challenges related to land issues under the jurisdiction of Traditional Leaders. Furthermore, a site inspection by the researcher also confirmed that Rocky Drift is faced with infrastructure and services provision backlogs. It is difficult for private companies to invest in the area that is not stable in infrastructure and services. The area does not attract private investment at present.

It is therefore difficult for government institutions to provide services alone in order to achieve developmental goals. Having said that, it is critically important for local authorities to constantly engage with the local residents in order to provide basic infrastructure and basic services namely water, sanitation, electricity and others identified as basic needs by the community. This has also been negatively affected by various factors, such as poor intergovernmental co-ordination. Ntshebenza (2000) notes that poor communication, co-ordination and co-operation are interdepartmentally some of the reasons why implementation of policies has been unsatisfactory. Hence, a number of departments at national, provincial and local level need to co-ordinate with each other in order to implement land reform effectively.

Shepherd (2000:213) notes that a wider development debate of which rural development is a part, has shifted focus on getting enabling conditions right rather than attempting to direct development and substitute the markets. This means that accepting that there are private services supplying advice and products in health, education, and veterinary care and so on, may not necessarily achieve the social objectives. The neo-liberal view for the market failure has also been excessive state intervention. In terms of this thinking, the market should be taken away from the state in order to achieve social objectives.

2.4.2 Post 1994 Rural Development

The big emphasis after the 1994 democratic elections has been on policy transformation. The new government began a process of defining what the new South Africa would look like. Through a consultative and participatory process, the Reconstruction and

Development Programme (RDP) was adopted as a framework. This incorporated most of the demands of the oppressed and exploited communities.

The Rural People's Charter emerged thereafter with the aims of putting forward the demand that rural development must be given top political and financial priority, and that rural people must also be given space to play an active role in planning and implementing a Rural Development Strategy. The Rural Charter also provided the beginning of a strategic framework with which to develop infrastructure, focusing on local economic development as the key transformation of rural areas (Greenberg, 2000).

There was an agreement to formulate the Integrated Rural Development Strategy (IRDS) based on the parameters outlined by the RDP. The IRDS was then developed in the middle of the 1990s in KwaZulu-Natal. Eventually, the need arose for a coherent spatial framework to support the development of small towns in rural areas (Robinson, 2005). This was meant to improve the delivery of services to the rural areas and co-ordination of service delivery also increasingly emerged as important objectives. The Rural Development Initiative (RDI) emerged from the implementation of these agreements and the other rural sectors were formed to create a framework for mobilizing rural communities.

The RDP laid down the basis for direction in which development was expected to occur and set out a number of principles governing development. These were integration and sustainability, people driven processes, peace and security, nation building, meeting basic needs and building infrastructure, democratization, assessment and accountability (RSA 1994,8-9) However, the RDP merely created a developmental framework for government. Presidential lead projects (including land reform) were used to pilot the RDP, but an overall implementation strategy, which integrated sectoral developments still needed to be formulated. From then, rural and urban strategies were set up aiming to operationalize integrated development of the RDP.

Although the Rural Development Strategy (RDS) integrated some institutional aspects of the emerging local government framework with RDP's objectives, there was still no clear

and coherent plan on how to co-ordinate this institutional framework with sectoral departmental activities. In spite of all attempts, the strategy did not enunciate a way forward for integrated rural development with clear defined objectives, time lines, budget or monitoring and evaluating procedures. The aim of government was to publish a White Paper on Rural Development on the basis of public comment on the RDS, but there was no positive response from the intended role players.

Despite the above policies and strategies put in place by the government with the aim of transforming rural development, land reform programmes have frequently failed to link land transfers to the poor with provision of basic infrastructure and services. Rocky Drift residents are no exception as they still have no proper access to services such as sustainable water, electricity and sanitation. Poverty still persists due to the lack of economic activities that would create job opportunities. The failure of the land reform programme to improve the quality of life for its beneficiaries, particularly in rural areas, has been exacerbated by many factors which have already been highlighted and which will also be explored further in other Chapters in this study. However, one key factor that always dominate and influence other factors is budgetary constraints. This has been widely agreed upon by other stakeholders who also argued strongly that no projects could be effectively implemented without adequate budgets that ultimately lead to the failure to implement government projects.

The research conducted by Natural Resource Institute (NRI) in association with university and Non Governmental Organization partners in 2004 about rural development and land reform in South Africa and Brazil also revealed that land reform programmes have failed to make an impact in the lives of the poor in rural areas (NRI report, 2004). At the same time, constructive academic and political debates on land reform have been overshadowed by ideological divisions about whether the state or market should take the lead in transferring land to the poor. There are many critics today who argue that this responsibility must be privatized if this country is serious about land reform achieving its goals and objectives.

Given the above challenges, a new research project undertaken by NRI in collaboration with universities and NGO partners in both Brazil and South Africa in 2006, came out with a new approach that could link land access to sustainable opportunities for the landless and socially excluded and to more equitable economic development in the longer term.

According to this research, 'Participatory Territorial Development approach' has been introduced in Latin America for rural social and economic change and has proved to be effective. This approach focuses among other things, on the common cultural identities (frequently larger and less clearly bounded than the administrative units of local government), their unique characteristics and comparative advantages, the dynamic markets and patterns of urban-rural change. The Participatory Territorial Development approach seeks to reconfigure decentralized institutions and the delivery of investment programmes so as to enable more equitable and participatory planning, facilitate civil society and private sector partnerships, and build social capital and competitiveness. Integral to this approach are efforts to open up space for dialogue and democratic control by stakeholders in a given territory, the recasting the role of the state as enabler, and the strengthening the voice of the poor in prioritizing use of limited resources (NRI report, 2006). In the light of the above, the Participatory Territorial Development approach has also been recommended for South African Land Reform Projects if they are to make significant contributions to the lives of the poor in rural areas.

In a nutshell, the government has spent a lot of time in developing policies in this country, however, the implementation part has remained as a challenge. This was in part because of problems associated with lack of capacity in the government institutions, budgetary constraints, poor co-ordination among government departments and inadequate post supplementary support planning for land reform beneficiaries. As a result, land reform has not managed to fulfill its goals and objectives of improving the quality of life for its beneficiaries. These policies and concepts are applicable to Rocky Drift but the residents are yet to fully benefit from land reform programmes.

Poor infrastructure viz, water, electricity, telephone and road infrastructure (including access roads) impacts negatively on the investment promotion drive, and limits the

exploitation of multipliers (spin-offs) by local communities and entrepreneurs (Mathati, 2000:248). Rocky Drift, as a rural area is experiencing these challenges and development progress in the area is very slow. Unless drastic changes take place and the local municipality seeks funding from sources that are available to this effect, the situation will deteriorate.

2.4.3 Relationship between the Rural Development Initiatives and Land Reform

The concern is that there is no integrated development and implementation strategy in place, yet people out there are demanding service delivery. Land reform policies are there but implementation processes are posing concerns. Services are very slow in rural areas where most of the poor people are living. Land Reform Programmes seem to be failing to achieve its intended goal and objectives as outlined on White Paper on Land Policy (1997). The Rural Development Initiative (RDI) seek to draw rural communities into direct engagement with policy and political processes, by basing itself at the grassroots and amplifying implementation experience into a popular development strategy.

Providing infrastructure and basic services to the rural poor requires an integrated implementation strategy which detail precise steps, targets, budgets, and time lines. In order for the Land Reform Programme to achieve its intended goals, full community participation in the form of IDP should be central, there must be institutional arrangements, coordination planning and inter-governmental co-operation. However, as already pointed out earlier, many government policies, strategies and projects fail to achieve their goals and objectives in the implementation phase simply because there are no linkages between them and the budget. Greenberg was quoted as saying: “at present there are many partial documents emanating from government but no integrated rural development strategy and no concrete implementation strategy” (2000:380).

Greenberg further pointed out that: “the aim of the rural strategy is not to add more policies to the reams of policy already in existence. Most of what needs to be said at a policy level has been said, and there is general agreement with most of what has been said..... there is a requirement now to implementation of policy that is to delivery” (Greenberg, 2000:374).

To date fewer attempts to this effect have been practiced. Many government policies are “stand alone” yet they have similar goals and objectives. Integration of these policies that would lead to implementation as a final phase is now compulsory to ensure that service delivery is achieved. Rocky Drift is one of the government projects that had its success overshadowed by lack of policy integration and problems related to implementation. While there were some noted achievements from Rocky Drift Project which were shared by other stakeholders during personal interviews, the project did not actual meet the high level of expectations that was created when it commenced.

2.4.4 Accessibility in Rural Areas

The government has acknowledged the difference between urban and rural areas in South African context and in policy circles such that the definition in the National Rural Development Strategy (1995) has been expanded to read as rural areas are those areas that have the lowest level of services and the greatest average distance to the nearest service point. This definition also includes the under resourcing of rural communal areas including infrastructure, human resources, finance and opportunities (Cousins, et.al, 2000).

Based on the 2004 data on poverty statistics, which has been confirmed as updated by Southern African Regional Poverty Network (SARPN) website to date, 57% of all poor people (those below the poverty lines) reside in rural areas, 61% of all rural people are poor and KwaZulu-Natal as one of the former homeland areas is worse in terms of poverty (HSRC, 2004). Poverty is therefore prevalent in this province and it is one of the key challenges facing not only this province but South Africa as a whole.

Accessibility in this study basically refers to the adequate provision of services to the beneficiaries that are within reasonable walking distance. It includes provision of services such as health care, social and economic activities, water, electricity, sanitation and other infrastructure and services that will promote health, convenience, improve the quality of life and alleviate poverty for the beneficiaries.

South Africa can be awarded high scores in terms of policy formulation but it is criticized by many land reform critics in that it lacks the most important part – implementation, which

results in service delivery. One can further argue that these policies really mean nothing to the poor in rural areas. The LRP being one of these policies was unable to benefit the rural poor in providing basic services. As many authors argue, there is no integration between purchasing of the farm for the beneficiaries and post settlement planning. This is one of the reasons why land reform does have huge impact in improving the life of its beneficiaries.

Rocky Drift is a typical rural area. The residents rely heavily on small scale agriculture to earn living. Most of them have small gardens at the back of their yards and others have livestock such as cows, goats and chickens used as survival strategies.

2.5 APPROACHES EMPLOYED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOPMENT

2.5.1 Pre-1994: The State Centered Approach

This approach considers that the state should be separated from the society and to have identified interests that the state attempts to pursue. In most cases the interests of the state will not correspond with the community's interests, simple because decisions are taken by the state and imposed on communities, without any community involvement in policy formulation. While the state on the other hand is seeking to address the problems facing the community, it is very unlikely to achieve the developmental goals because this approach does not encourage community involvement, and therefore does not address the priority needs of its community.

This approach is relevant to South African situation. It was practiced by the former Apartheid government to promote laws and policies that created divisions among the citizens of this country. Consequently, developmental challenges facing South Africa today such as the demand for infrastructural services in both urban and rural areas, the demand for houses, the need for land and tenure reform, the need to restructure cities and regions, the need to address inequalities and inefficiencies, the need to initiate sustainable development processes and to integrate the development of human settlements among other things, were caused by the former traditional top-down planning approach to development.

In response, the formation of social movements emerged later challenging the state centered approach by protesting and demonstrating against this approach, thus demanding change in all forms of racial laws and policies that were in place at the time. These movements adopted a radical approach to development in order to accommodate all citizens of this country, prioritizing those that were deprived equal opportunities by the Apartheid legacy. Most of land reform authors such as Cousins, Adams, Lahiff and Kepe (2000) argue that a radical approach in some land reform issues was inherited from the past three centuries and therefore concur with the social movement thinking of applying radical approach in South African land reform in order to achieve its goals and objectives as it is seen as the central and driving force for programme of the rural development.

The issue of land rights therefore was among those demands, which resulted in marches and rallies by the communities demanding an access to their ancestral land. After the 1994 democratic elections, the way of governing the country was changed. The new government adopted neo-liberal approach, drafting new Constitution, legislation, acts and policies. Contrary to the former government, the new government involved all its citizens in this process. The main aim of the new government was to transform the country so that the challenges experienced in the past were prioritized in order to close the gaps created by the former approaches to development. To date, the policies are being updated and reviewed to address the developmental challenges facing the community of this country. It is very interesting to observe that there has been a noticeable shift in the old development paradigm to the modern, which adopts the latest models, strategies and approaches that are not only community orientated but also rural focused so as to achieve a ruling party's vision of "a Better Life for All".

2.5.2 Post 1994 Government

2.5.2.1 Decentralization

Mayer (1979:69), argues that the basic needs strategy reinforces the theory of administrative decentralization which maintains that decision-makers, administrators and administered should preferably all come from the same ranks. According to Mayer, the devolution of statistical operations is not good enough, he argues that essential data must be collected and evaluated as close as possible to the base. His argument calls for a participative approach to development, he contends that the active and permanent co-operation of the population concerned is essential in order to determine:

“The most flagrant deficiencies, the maximum tolerable divergence between the local situation and the national standard, the priorities for the action programme, the resources (natural, human, financial) that the locality is prepared to contribute towards the implementation of the programme and lastly, the success level of the programmes and plans adopted” (Mayer, 1979:69-70).

Based on these elements, he suggests that special procedures have to be worked out in order to obtain co-operation. Basically, Mayer calls for organization of communities to take part in development decisions that affect them because they understand their priorities better than any one else. Therefore, he highly praises co-operation as significant in participation. Mayer also calls for community participation in project's pre-planning until implementation phase, and further calls for representation of all groups, viz, gender, youth, disability, in the whole process to ensure transformation.

His arguments are supported by the radical approach adopted by social movements with regards to slow pace in land reform projects, and land delivery. Other authors such as Lahiff and Cousins argue that the existing land reform policies have failed to bring about expected transformation of landholdings in South Africa and are unlikely to do so in future (Cousins, et. al, 2000). They believe that these issues demand a new vision of land reform and a major public debate on the subject.

It needs to be pointed out that Participatory componental decentralization theory is relevant to Rocky Drift and it was applied to the project. Rocky Drift community was identified as the main role players (see Table 1). However, Ellingson and Robinson (1997:18) noted some concerns regarding the composition of the Rocky Drift Committee in that it was dominated by the male property owners. Robinson further commented in a personal interview that if few women were present in the meetings they would stay at the back and not effectively participate. However, as it has been indicated earlier, Rocky Drift residents are typically rural and they fall under Traditional Council leadership. In the olden days women were discriminated against such that they were regarded as house keepers. Therefore, an exclusion of women in Rocky Drift structures was also influenced by such traditional thinking and stereotypes.

The above view was also confirmed by Sapsford and Hornby (2006:104-105), when they asked Rocky Drift men about their attitude towards giving women land, "there is no rule against giving women land but what would be the identity of the household that was initiated by a women, what surname will the household have " one respondent answered. It therefore shows that the people of Rocky Drift are traditional and conservative therefore, they still prefer men to hold leading positions over women.

2.5.2.2 Bottom Up Approach

There has been a transition in sociology generally and rural sociology in particular, from the focus on the macro theory of social change and dominance to a greater concern with micro practices and micro institutional relations (Long, 1997). The participatory method has been indicative of this transition and has brought to the front the importance of the role players in development. This method recognizes that development is about people hence consultative participation is central to development in the democratic societies.

People centred methodologies (Cernea, 1985) have arisen around this emphasis on local participation in research. Long (1997) follows this focus on the micro construction of reality, arguing that macro formulation narrows the focus on inquiry to politico-economic institutional structures of social reproduction, rather than considering the everyday problematic of producing, consuming and transforming networks of social relations and cultural identities (Long, 1997:2). He argues that rural development is composed of a complex series of interlocking practices forged through micro encounter and negotiations between different social actors commanding different types and scales of resources, interests, values and institutional capacities.

Long argues that we should "address the problems of how, in differing historical and cultural contexts, rural development interventions and livelihoods are materialised and socially constructed through the interplay, contestations and negotiations of values and interests within specific domains and arenas of social action" (Long 1997:2). In this sense, rural development "... is a complex drama about human needs and desires, organizing capabilities, power relations, skills and knowledge, authoritative discourses and institutions and the clash of different ways of ordering and transforming the world" (Long, 1997:2).

A major focus of Long's work has been to develop an actor-oriented framework to looking at these complexities. An actor-oriented approach entails understanding and analyzing specific arenas and social domains of action, the process of knowledge or power constraints contained in those arenas and the critical interface, or points of communication between actors and institutional domains (Long, 1997:3). Similarly, Marcus (1994:511) has argued for greater focus on the micro processes involved in policy implementation, as "...policy is negotiated and reformulated at every level by the people involved in and excluded by its realization.

Shepherd (2000) also argues that rural development thinking has shifted to a more holistic and participative adaptive approach such as that embodied in sustainable agriculture and farming system development, from state top down to the building of sustainable and often local institutions, and from blue print to learning process approaches that allow for social and gender sensitivity. He further recognizes an important aspect of this shift in thinking revolves around reduced role of the state to increased role of other actors such NGOs, private sector, to ensure that community projects are successfully implemented (Shepherd, 2000:212). Focus has shifted to partnerships in development projects to ensure that these projects address the priority needs of the intended receptions.

It is therefore evident that new approaches, models and strategies are central to sustainable rural development and hence could contribute in improving the quality of life for the Land Reform beneficiaries if these approaches are implemented correctly.

CHAPTER 3

INTRODUCTION OF THE CASE STUDY

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter has four main parts. It begins with the background to the Land Reform Pilot Projects in KwaZulu-Natal in order to give the readers an understanding of this concept. This section is divided into six sub-sections; the arrangements of Land Reform Pilot Programmes (LRPP) in the early 1990s(3.1.1), reporting and accountability arrangements (3.1.2), the Provincial Steering Committee's composition(3.1.3), functions and responsibilities (3.1.4), the present arrangement of LRPP(3.1.5), and within this historical context, the selection of Pilot Projects in Muden in 1995 (3.1.6).

The second section, 3.2, covers the location of the study area and the third section, 3.3, deals with the history of settlement relating to the Pilot Project on Muden farms. The last section, 3.4, concludes with the reasons for selecting the Rocky Drift as case study for this dissertation.

3.1 Background of Land Reform Pilot Projects in KwaZulu-Natal

During the mid-1990s, the Department of Land Affairs (now called Department of Rural Development and Land Reform) established the Land Reform Pilot Programmes in all provinces, with the intention of initiating land reform, transfer and testing the most appropriate and sustainable financing mechanisms for planning, registrations and infrastructure delivery. They also wanted to test which appropriate structures and systems for administration at a local government and community level.

Through Land Reform Pilot Programmes, the Department of Land Affairs had hoped to build the institutional capacity of rural people to plan and manage development and to build relationships between different levels of government, government departments and Non-Governmental Organisations to address land reform in the context of rural development (Macdonald, 1998:46-47). The pilot districts were identified in all provinces, and the KwaZulu-Natal opted for Estcourt and Weenen in February 1995 (Randall, 1995:14-15).

3.1.1 Arrangement of Land Reform Pilot Projects in the late 1990s

At the beginning of the KwaZulu-Natal Land Reform Pilot Programme in 1995, the Department of Land Affairs and the Department of Agriculture were two separate departments. The pilot programme was the responsibility of the Department of Land Affairs.

a) The Aims of Land Reform Pilot Programmes

Randall (1995:14) summarizes four main practical aims of the pilot programmes as:

- to ensure that bulk state resources for land reform reach sections of communities who were disadvantaged;
- to create an environment that enables historically disadvantaged farmers to get increased access to land;
- to build rural people's capacity to plan and manage development and to build co-operation between different levels of government, government departments and Non-Governmental Organizations so that rural development and reconstruction is approached in an integrated way; and
- to get extra resources from other government departments and the private sector.

b) The Purpose of Rocky Drift Land Reform Pilot Project

The purpose of the Rocky Drift Land Reform Pilot Project, according to the Business Plan prepared for it, was to develop efficient, equitable and sustainable mechanisms of land distribution in rural areas, as a kick-start to a far-reaching national Land Reform Programme and to create a healthy living environment for 232 beneficiary families who were expected to resettle on the farm (Robinson and Associates, 1996:1-3).

c) The Objectives of the Pilot Project

The objectives of the pilot project, as contained in the Rocky Drift Business Plan, included infrastructure (for potable water, sanitation, road access) and plans for economic development of the applicants, through enhancing income earning potential for the Rocky Drift Farm (Robinson & Associates, 1996:3). In specific measurable terms, the objectives were to:

- identify areas of the farm for settlement and agricultural purposes;
- prepare a detailed settlement plan, to a level where surveyors could survey individual sites;
- plan for infrastructural services at RDP standards;
- prepare plans for agriculture and other economic sectors; and
- to prepare a business plan that indicates the above.

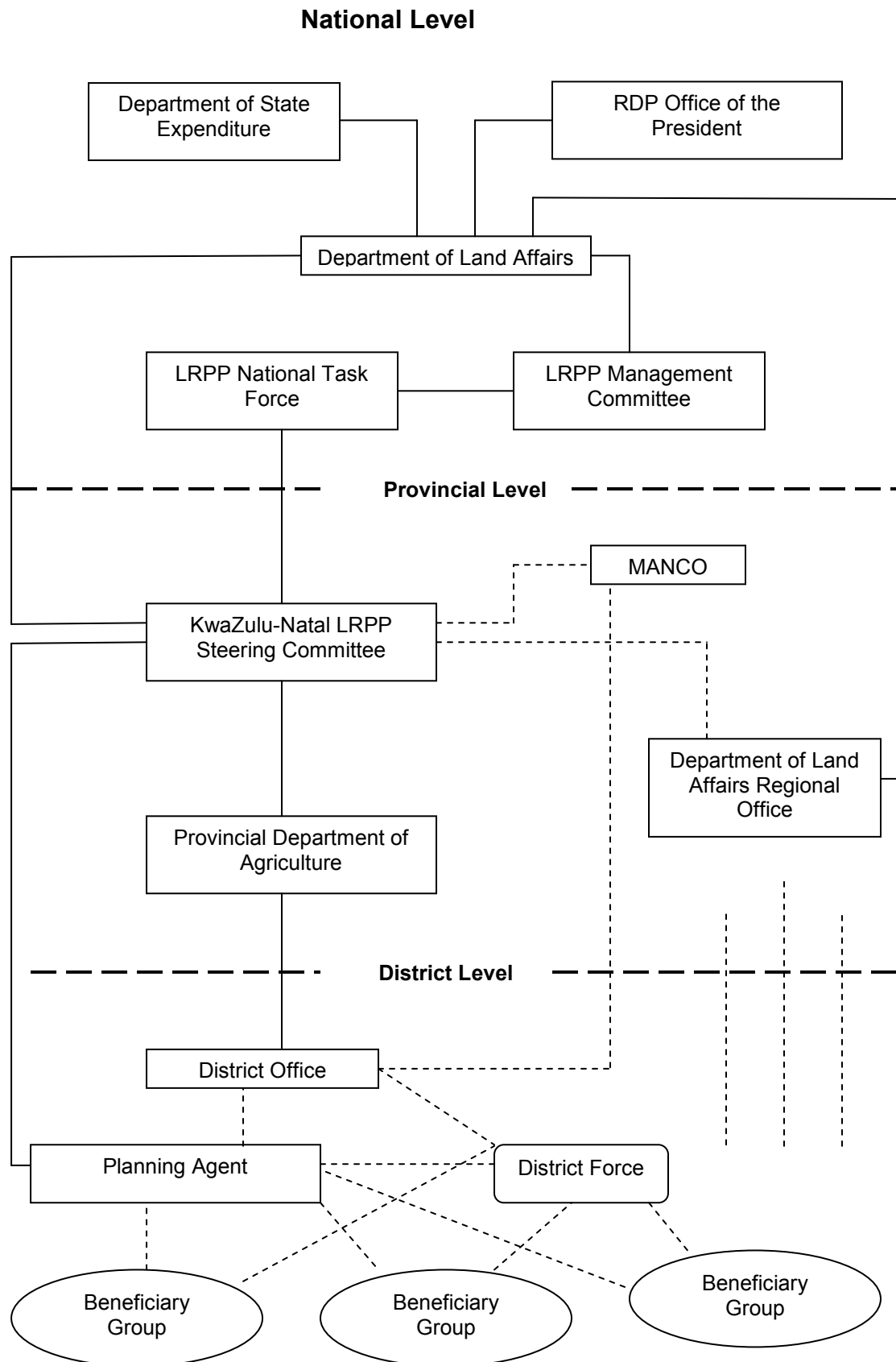
These goals and objectives of the project are very important because they have been used in this dissertation as measures to evaluate the benefits of the land reform project for the Rocky Drift beneficiaries.

3.1.2 Reporting and Accountability Arrangements

As indicated earlier in this Chapter, the pilot programme was the responsibility of the Department of Land Affairs and as far as reporting and accountability was concerned, the Department of Land Affairs was reporting and accounting to the then Department of State Expenditure (the Department of State Expenditure and Finance were combined into the Department of Treasury in 1997), the RDP and donors for expenditure incurred (Macdonald, 1999:58).

The channels of communication within the government departments regarding Land Reform Pilot Programmes in KwaZulu-Natal in 1995 are illustrated diagrammatically in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1 Accountability and Communication in the KZN LRPP.



Source: DLA (1995b)



3.1.3 Provincial Land Reform Steering Committee

The KwaZulu Natal Land Reform Steering Committee (KZN LRSC) was set up in 1995 as a facilitator between government departments and to build commitment to delivery. The KZN LRSC convened its first meeting on 15 March 1995 (Randall, 1995:15) and its head office was based in Estcourt (Sapsford 2009, personal communication).

The functions, composition and the responsibilities of the KZN LRSC are discussed below in order to give a clear picture regarding the structure and the scope of this committee.

a) Functions of the Provincial Steering Committee

The Steering Committee's functions include among others, supervising the planning and implementation of the Land Reform Pilot Program in terms of the District Business Plan as well as other land related matters under the land reform program in the province (KZN LRPP Business Plan 1995:14).

Furthermore, the committee was established to oversee the implementation of plans and to report to the accounting and responsible officer on compliance with the Core Business Plan (DLA, LRPP 1994:2).

b) Composition of the Provincial Steering Committee

The KwaZulu-Natal Land Reform Steering Committee (KZN LRSC) was constituted by a representative from each of the following institutions:

- **Provincial Government**

The KZN LRSC was composed of members at provincial level from the Department of Agriculture, Department of Local Government and Housing, Department of Environmental Affairs and Traditional Affairs, Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism, RDP Office: KZN, and from the Department of Finance who served in an Ex-Officio capacity (KZN LRPP Business Plan, 1995:14).

- **National Government**

The national Department of Land Affairs, as the driver and implementing agent of the Land Reform Pilot Programmes, was represented by two officials.

- **Non-Statutory Sector**

Macdonald (1999:61) noted that there were also three non-statutory representatives chosen by the Regional Economic Forum (to represent the interests of the NGO/CBO sector, the business sector and labour) and two ex-officio members, (a consultant to the DLA from Afra and the financial officer for the responsible agent-the Department of Agriculture). According to Macdonald, the NGO/CBO representative was from Afra; the labour representative was an academic, who had written extensively on commercial farming and the impact of changes in this sector on farm workers in KZN; and the business representative was the president of the Natal Agricultural Union, which represented mainly white farmers in this province.

3.1.4 The Responsibilities of the Provincial Steering Committee

According to Randall (1995:15), the Provincial Steering Committee was responsible for the following:

- determining cash flow and time plans for implementation in the province;
- identifying and selecting a pilot project district manager, pilot project facilitator and restitution support facilitators;
- examining and proposing changes to core business plans for planning, in consultation with the Department of Land Affairs;
- identifying and appointing agencies for district planning, in consultation with the organized beneficiary groups in the district;
- ensuring that beneficiaries are properly chosen in terms of national policy;

- recommending to the provincial government how funds should be distributed for planning and projects in terms of agreed cash flow plans and approved procedures or plans;
- receiving and appraising project plans from beneficiaries and from the district;
- ensuring that the relevant government departments have approved the of project and district plans;
- resolving disputes that may arise during the implementation of the RDP land reform programmes;
- ensuring that information on the progress of the programmes is disseminated in the province;
- making recommendations to the Department of Land Affairs about changes and expansion of the land reform policy as lessons are learnt through implementation; and,
- making monthly reports to the Department of Land Affairs on progress around the RDP Land Reform Programmes in the province.

Therefore, the success of the Land Reform Pilot Projects in KZN depended on the commitment and dedication of this committee in fulfilling the above responsibilities. However, this committee did not last long following its disbandment in the late 1990s, which is discussed in the following sub-section.

3.1.5 Present Arrangement for Land Reform Pilot Projects in KwZulu-Natal

A personal communication between the researcher and Mr. Sapsford, who was working for the DLA, Land Reform Provincial Office before LRPP were introduced in KZN, and who was involved with the evaluation of land reform projects as a planning consultant, now currently contracted back to the Department of Land Affairs, revealed that Land Reform Pilot Projects were permanently absorbed into the structure of the Department of Land Affairs in 1998. Subsequently LRPP lost “a special status” as a pilot project in a sense that since 1998 these projects were treated the same as any other land redistribution project in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (Sapsford 2009, personal communication).

Sapsford further confirmed that all LRPP files were handed back to the Department of Land Affairs by the Chairperson of the Provincial Steering Committee after the disbandment of the LRPP committees in 1998. It also transpired from this communication that the Provincial Land Reform Office (PLRO) was newer and experienced capacity constraints. Subsequently, DLA recruited most of the officials who were serving in the LRPP committees to permanent positions in the PLRO with a view that they had gained extensive experience relating to the monitoring and evaluation processes of these LRPP.

Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the Land Reform Pilot Projects were not functioning effectively as a result of the above changes that occurred in the late 1998, and also because of a moratorium placed in all land reform projects due to budget constraints following the overspending experienced by this department in that year. There has therefore been no further expansion, growth or any development in land reform pilot projects to date, except monitoring and evaluation of these projects which have been confirmed to be still in progress (personal communication with a PLRO official).

However, a change in the South African administration in April 2009 resulted in the appointment of a new Minister, the Honourable Mr. Gugile Nkwinti, who has changed the name of the Department of Land Affairs to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRD and LR) to show and emphase a new strategic direction the department has embarked on in prioritizing rural development in order to ensure radical transformation and sustainable rural communities throughout the country. To this effect, a new concept called Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) has been initiated and officially launched as a pilot project in Limpopo on 17 August 2009. This project has also been launched in the Free State, Northern Cape and Mpumalanga and will soon be rolled out to five other remaining provinces, including KwaZulu-Natal.

Among other aims of the CRDP, according to the PLRO Communication Officer and the Land Reform Office's District Project Manager, is to revive Land Reform Pilot Projects that did not benefit the beneficiaries due to the challenges experienced during the implementation processes.

According to the National Progress Report on CRDP (6/7/2009:1-2), this programme seeks to achieve social cohesion and development in rural communities and is based on three key pillars namely:

- co-ordinated and integrated broad-based agrarian transformation;
- an improved land reform programme; and
- Success through strategic investments in economic and social infrastructure in rural areas.

While it is arguable that this is a completely new project, it is fair to conclude that since the goals and objectives are also similar, this new project will hopefully translate the lessons of the previous pilot projects into actions. Therefore, CRDP can be regarded as an extension of the previous LRPP and hence likely to address the challenges of land reform.

This new project will be co-ordinated and implemented by a Rural Development Agency (RDA). To this effect, the DRD and LR is in a process of establishing this agency (Budget speech by the Minister for DRD and LR, 17/06/2009:5). The Comprehensive Rural Development Programme is expected to be launched in KZN early in 2010 (personal communication).

3.1.6 Selecting of Pilot Projects in Mudén

The selection of pilot project in Mudén came following a transition in the South African government after the 1994 democratic election. The new government committed itself to changing the laws and policies of the former government and hence resolved to prioritize inter-alia, land reform programmes for the previously evicted, dispossessed and or those denied equal rights to land.

According to Mnyaka, the former Department of Land Affairs Minister, the Mr. Honorable Derek Hanekom's first meeting with a local community in response to their sorrows and frustrations caused by landlessness was organized by the Mudén Land Committee, Weenen and Land Committee and two local Amakhosi back in September 1994 (Mnyaka 1997:5).

“His assertiveness and commitment to the rural landlessness poor helped us find solutions, together with the minister, and the people became part of the solution, hence the initiation of the Land Reform Pilot Project in this region” (Mnyaka 1997:5).

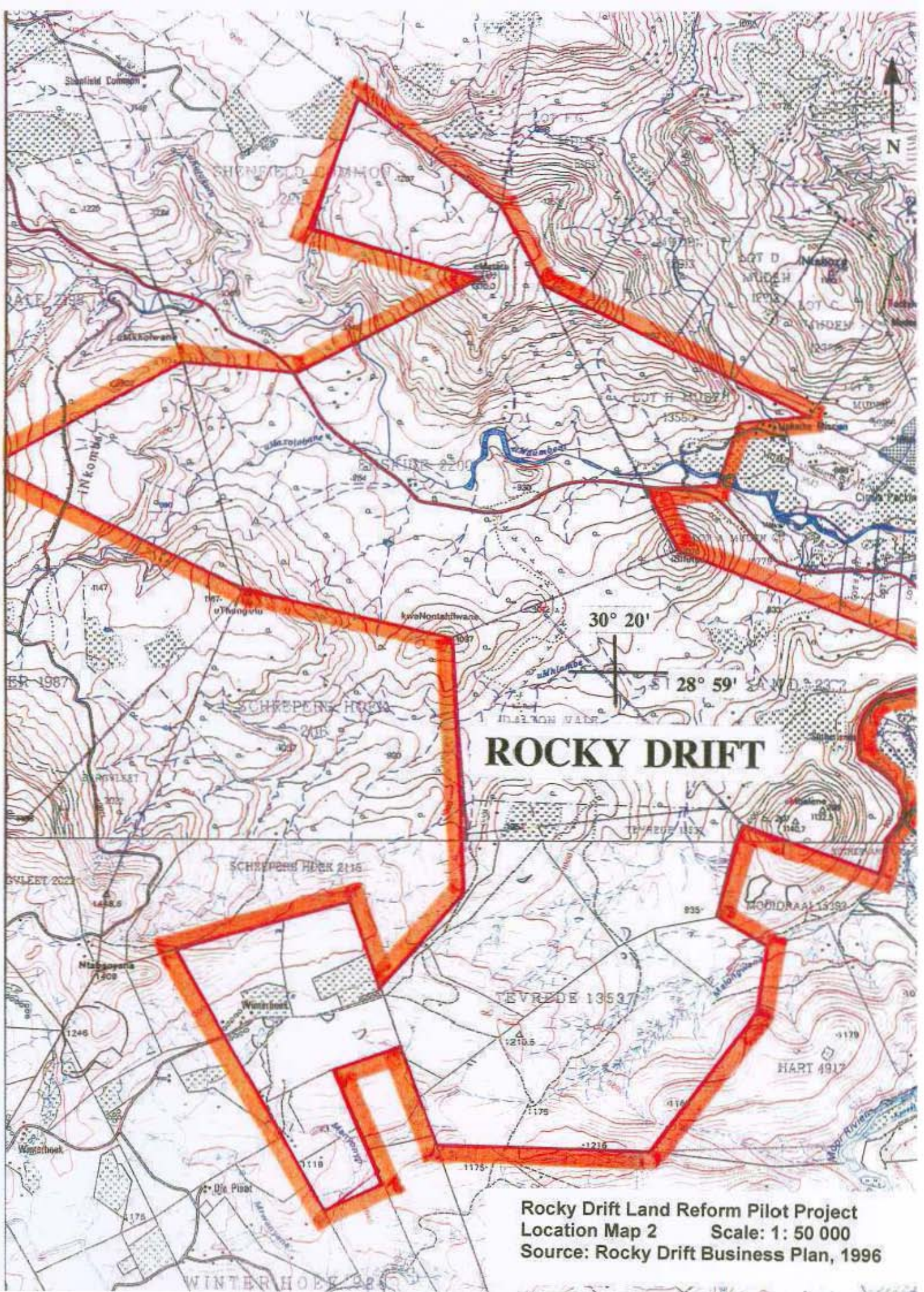
Therefore, after negotiations and participation by the relevant stakeholders, the Muden District which comprised of four farms, Rocky Drift, Lonsdale, Lunenberg and Hazerwoude, was selected as a pilot project. Rocky Drift then became the first farm in Muden and KwaZulu-Natal province to be purchased through a government assisted Land Redistribution Programme representing 232 families, ahead of the other three farms. The lessons learned from the Rocky Drift Farm as a pilot project were intended to inform the other land reform projects in the Muden area and the whole province at large. Chapter 5 of this dissertation examines lessons that were learned by various stakeholders from the Rocky Drift Project.

It would be fair to conclude that a selection of pilot projects in Muden came as a result of effective communication, co-operation and a proactive approach by both the former Minister for the Department of Land Affairs, Mr. Derek Hanekom and the local stakeholders.

3.2 Location of the Study Area

Rocky Drift is approximated 15 km south of the Muden area and is located within the Mpofana Local Municipality, which forms part of the UMgungundlovu District Municipality. The property is on the edge of the Mpofana Local Municipal boundary, on the border of Msinga Municipality and the Umvoti Municipality. Rocky Drift is on the main road between Muden and Weenen. See Maps numbers 2 and 3.

There are inherent disadvantages to the spatial location of Rocky Drift Farm. The study area is located on the edge of the local municipality and is not easily accessed by the municipal officials from Mooi River. This was confirmed by the Community Representative (CR) and the Chairperson of Zibambeleni Community Trust (Mr. Mnyaka) in a personal interview in which he stated that Rocky Drift and the surrounding farms were under the Umvoti Municipality in Greytown, the main town situated approximately 20 km away from the case study area. Mr. Mnyaka further revealed that due to the official demarcation of



ROCKY DRIFT

Rocky Drift Land Reform Pilot Project
Location Map 2 Scale: 1: 50 000
Source: Rocky Drift Business Plan, 1996



boundaries by the municipalities, and that Rocky Drift is situated on the edge of the Mpofana Municipality, it was decided that the Farm-Rocky Drift be incorporated into the Mpofana Municipality.

Due to the fact that Rocky Drift is closer to the Umvoti Municipality, the community demonstrated signs of dissatisfaction with the decision of changing the municipality that they had worked with for so long. On the other hand, Mpofana Municipality was newer at the time and hence did not have a sufficient budget to initiate development projects that would create hope for development for the Rocky Drift community. Consequently, the community felt isolated and excluded from acquiring services due to this administrative change. The telephonic interview with a Mpofana official also confirmed that the Municipality had scheduled a meeting with the Rocky Drift community in order to introduce themselves and identify developmental projects in an attempt to improve the life for the residents. However, due to financial constraints, the Municipality being still new and not having sufficient funds, the meeting did not bear any fruit and therefore frustrated the community of Rocky Drift.

The other Land Reform Projects in the Muden area were still part of the Umvoti Municipality based in Greytown, an area that is easily accessed by all residents, unlike Mpofana Municipality which is in Mooi River 85 km away from the study area. This fact, according to the research conducted by Sapsford and Hornby at Rocky Drift, has often been given as a motivation for Rocky Drift to be re-demarcated as part of Umvoti (Sapsford and Hornby 2006:91-92).

The study area is bordered by commercial farms. The land use, land management and outlook of these neighbouring farmers was very different to the community of Rocky Drift. The community at Rocky Drift considers itself to be part of the Mchunu Traditional Community (Sizwe-Nation). However, the main Mchunu area is part of the Msinga Municipality and Rocky Drift is not immediately adjacent to the Traditional Council Area. The community is thus, somewhat, isolated, in terms of access to a local municipality as a result of the municipal boundaries and its proximity to the community that it identifies itself with.

3.3 History of Settlement on the Mudén Pilot Project Farms

a) Arrival of the Settlers in Mudén (early 1840s)

The history of land claims and perceptions of tenure rights in the province of KwaZulu-Natal date back to the period between 1830-1860 when settlement was re-established after Mfene wars and the expansion of Zulu power. This settlement was typified by attempts to re-establish ethnic power (Macdonald, 1999:48).

The settlers did not inhabit the valley of Mudén, as part of the Great Trek, when they first arrived in the area in the early 1840s. The settlers began stock farming and the cultivation of wheat for their own consumption and renamed the valley as Golden Valley (Moran, 1994:7). The introduction of agriculture in the area created job opportunities for the labour tenants as there were no economic activities for employment at that time.

Completion of the railway line to Greytown in the early 1900s and the introduction of citrus orchard farming, started by the Pan African Citrus company in 1917 until the 1960s, also contributed to promoting development in the area. Reverends, Filter and Prigge who were given a grant by Queen Victoria to start a mission for the Lutheran Church renamed the valley as Mudén in 1859. The tenants on the mission farm were able to find jobs closer to their homes. Furthermore, orange wine, which popularized the Mudén area, was still produced in 1983 (Moran, 1994:7-9).

Various agricultural projects such as vegetables, pecan orchards and sugar cane ventures, provided much opportunity for work between 1950 and 1980 (Erskine, 1983:3). The agricultural industry was the main source of employment for mission farm tenants and people from the surrounding settlements from the 1950s onwards.

Between the 1960s and 1970s the Mudén area and the surrounding areas were characterized by tensions caused by inter-alia the following:

- widespread labour tenancy;
- extensive land deprivation and stock clearances by the settlers;
- widespread evictions and land dispossessions;

- escalating population densities as well as contested land claims expressed in terms of ethnic identity;
- poor socio-economic conditions in the district leading to high levels of unemployment, and
- high level of violence linked to fighting over boundaries and livestock theft (Sapsford and Hornby, 2006:86-87).

However, despite this conflict and the displacements, the Mudén area has a strong traditional character, with powerful links to cultural identity, traditional land administration systems and historical boundaries. Traditional life styles have provided both cultural familiarity and certainty, and a place of refuge.

Sapsford and Hornby noted that commercial farming (basically the white owned farms) formed part of this concept of space and delineation. They noted that “the undrawn map of underlying tribal boundaries remains and are still acknowledged by members of different tribes” (2006:86).

Therefore, applications for acquiring land through the Land Reform Pilot Programmes were guided by both the history of dispossession (restitutive aspects) within Mudén and the cultural and traditional identity of the applicants.

The main Tribal Councils within Mudén magisterial district are the Mthembu, Mchunu, Mabaso and Mbhele tribes (Sapsford and Hornby, 2006:87).

b) The Introduction of Pilot Projects on the Mudén Farms in Mid-1990s

As the land reform programme was a national priority, a decision was made under the leadership of the former Honorable Minister for the Department of Land Affairs (now called the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform) Mr. Derek Hanekom back in 1995 to launch land reform pilot programmes in all nine provinces. Subsequently, the province of KwaZulu-Natal had chosen Estcourt and Weenen district due to the reasons discussed in subsection 3.1.6, earlier in this Chapter. Randall noted that each province was allocated a budget of about R315,81million to implement Land Reform Pilot Programmes (1995:14).

The Mudén area fell under Estcourt and Weenen Magisterial Districts and the people of this area satisfied all the qualifying requirements of land redistribution, as they had suffered evictions at the hands of their white counterparts in the early 1960s. Negotiations around the identification of land began soon after the former Minister for DLA, Mr. Derek Hanekom had visited Mudén district to popularize the Land Reform Programme (Macdonald 1998:50). Eventually, Rocky Drift and the other three farms viz, Lonsdale, Luneberg and Hazerwoude, received the first priority for these programmes in 1995. The post 1994 South African democratic election afforded the Mudén residents an opportunity to reclaim their land and hence resulted in a launch of the pilot project which comprised of the above four farms in Mudén area in 1996.

The local organizations such as Zibambeleni Community Trust, Mudén Land Committee and Rocky Drift Development Committee lodged the application on behalf of the beneficiary community for acquisition of land through the government assisted Land Redistribution Programme and subsequently, the beneficiary community and the former Minister for DLA, Mr. Hanekom, celebrated the first provincial land transfer on 27 July 1996 (Mnyaka, 1997:5).

Although it has been evident in this Chapter that the Land Reform Pilot Projects are no longer popular following the changes that took place in 1998, the Mudén area, particularly, Rocky Drift Farm will always be remembered not only for being one of the first Land Reform Pilot Projects in KwaZulu-Natal but also for the challenges, complications and lessons experienced by the stakeholders who were involved in the planning processes. It is believed that these challenges will be addressed by the new project (CRDP) to be launched in 2010. It would therefore be fair to conclude that while these pilot projects are currently not functioning effectively, it was interesting to note that monitoring and evaluation of these projects is in progress.

3.4 Reasons for Selecting Rocky Drift as the Case Study

The selection of the Rocky Drift Project as a case study was influenced by a number of considerations. Some of these have already been covered in Chapter 1 as an inspiration for choosing a topic for this dissertation. Nevertheless, the fundamental reasons for this chosen topic are summarized as follows:

Due to the fact that Rocky Drift residents were dispossessed of their land under the Apartheid regime they suffered and experienced difficulties because they had to move out of their settlements and to secure alternative accommodation elsewhere. The new government that came into power after the 1994 democratic elections committed itself, among other things, to improve the quality of life for all South African citizens, particularly the previously disadvantaged people who, due to Apartheid laws and policies of the former Apartheid government, were deprived of equal access to services and land.

As a result of the above the Land Reform Programme, like any other post 1994 intervention, was prioritized to improve the life of the poor. The government has since then embarked on this programme and spent a lot of money purchasing farms in order to fulfill its promise of “a better life for all”.

Rocky Drift became one of the first farms in KwaZulu-Natal to be purchased through the government Land Reform Pilot Programmes in 1996. It is now almost 14 years after the Rocky Drift residents returned to their land and 15 years since this country has gained freedom in 1994. The Land Reform Programme outlines excellent goals and objectives on paper in terms of its contribution to improving the life of land reform beneficiaries. Learning about the historical background of the Rocky Drift residents and considering the time elapsed since these people returned to their land, it seemed appropriate to select the Rocky Drift Project as a case study to evaluate the contribution of the land reform programme to its beneficiaries.

The selection of the Rocky Drift area as a case study was also influenced by a large number of the owners (233), the extent of the property (4753 hectares), and the history of being the first farm to be settled under a government Land Reform Programme in KwaZulu-Natal. The researcher then developed an interest in investigating how planning for basic services was implemented for this large number of residents in relation to government budget constraints, and further to observe how this large piece of land would be utilized to benefit the residents.

It was further noted by many stakeholders that there were threats of invasion by the Rocky Drift residents resulting from delays relating to transferring procedures, and that the area was under the administration of the Traditional Leaders. Therefore, it would not only be

interesting to observe how the bureaucratic government policy requirements were implemented but further observe how communication occurred in relation to emotions and the nature of administration of the Rocky Drift Farm.

The Rocky Drift Farm is best described as an inhospitable area to live in (Sapsford and Hornby 2006:101). This was also witnessed by the researcher's site visit. The absence of water, the rocky ground, and harsh climate, are additional characteristics which prove that the area is difficult to live in. It therefore poses a question as to what motivated the residents to choose the Rocky Drift Farm, given the fact that there were also a number of other properties with better agricultural potential and infrastructure in the Muden area. Subsequently, the researcher also developed an interest in investigating the motive behind the resident's choice of the Rocky Drift Farm.

While it transpired during the investigation that Rocky Drift was one of the more complicated projects due to many factors that will be discussed in Chapter 5, it would be very interesting to investigate the farm and observe how the project's challenges were managed. Therefore, the challenges of the Rocky Drift Project for all the stakeholders who were involved inspired the research of such project.

The researcher was also inspired to investigate the Rocky Drift Project as a case study in order to explore and share his views and arguments regarding land reform. Possibly, the lessons, experiences and recommendations of this study will not only add value to the department but will further assist other authors who will research Land Reform Programmes in the future.

CHAPTER 4

EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE ROCKY DRIFT FARM BEFORE AND AFTER SETTLEMENT

CHAPTER 4: EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE ROCKY DRIFT FARM BEFORE AND AFTER SETTLEMENT

4.0 AN ANALYSIS OF THE ROCKY DRIFT FARM BEFORE SETTLEMENT

4.0.1 Pre-1997 Era

The aim of this Chapter is to present the research findings. Since the case study and the background of the study area have been dealt with in Chapter 3, this Chapter will only give a brief background about the community beneficiaries.

The evaluation of the study area is divided into two parts. The first part covers the period before 1997, which is the period before settlement occurred (pre-1997). This is aimed at assessing the period before the implementation of the Rocky Drift Project. This assessment is critically important as it reveals the situation of Rocky Drift residents before a Land Reform Project was introduced in the area and hence, enables the reader to compare whether or not the project brought about improvement in the lives of the beneficiaries.

The second part of this Chapter deals with the main focus of this dissertation, post settlement period (post 1997). This part is the main focus of this research because it deals with the actual development progress after the beneficiaries have resettled on the farm. The assessment of these two periods has therefore been informed by the use of primary and secondary data collection.

It should also be borne in mind that the findings that will be presented in this Chapter seek to answer the main question of the research, “Do beneficiaries on Rocky Drift Farm enjoy a better life as a result of the Land Reform Project and what benefits has this project delivered up to 2009”? It also seeks to gauge the contribution made by land reform in terms of alleviating poverty for its beneficiaries.

To this end, since Rocky Drift is a rural area, this Chapter will use indicators such as the availability of basic services and infrastructure for the beneficiaries to evaluate the impact of land reform to this area. Furthermore, the community expectations will also be considered in evaluation of land benefits for its beneficiaries.

4.0.2 Brief Background of Beneficiary Community

While the agricultural sector was the main source of employment within Muden areas, the respondents revealed during the interview that when the Africans were evicted and forcefully removed from their land by the white farmers back in the early 1960s, there were a few African people who remained as labour tenants to search for employment. Others were people from the surrounding areas who also went to Rock Drift to seek employment from the new farm owners.

According to the respondents, the labour tenants were given a very small piece of land to live on with very strict conditions, for instance, they were not allowed to keep more than ten cows on the farm. After democratic elections in 1994, these labour tenants were given rights in terms of the new acts Labour Tenants Act, (Act No. 3 of 1996), which discouraged the White farmers from abusing and throwing them out of properties as they pleased. As a result, these residents and the others who went away due to forced removals, came back to claim their land and to qualify to be known as Rocky Drift beneficiaries.

4.0.3 Provision of Infrastructure and Services

The 1997 initiative started with the assessment of the prevailing situation which formed the basis for recommendations. The following sections draw on those assessments by the planning engineering and agricultural consultants.

a) Economic Assessment

It has been extremely difficult to obtain economic data for Rocky Drift Farm prior to 1997. However, the participant's responses and the literature consulted demonstrated among other things that, there was not much economic activity available at Rocky Drift. The area, like many other rural areas in KZN, was relatively very poor with no institutions for employment. Therefore, the agricultural sector remained the main source of income for labour tenants. Worse, it was reported that these tenants were not allowed (by the White farmers) to keep more than 10 cows at that time. This complicated life for the tenants in that they did not have enough livestock for selling as a survival strategy. However, the local people

sustained living from hunting and stokvels, as these are popular survival strategies in rural areas.

The investigation by Sapsford and Hornby revealed that the population around Muden areas was characterized by high levels of poverty and unemployment in the sense that they heavily relied on remittances and social grants as main sources of income. A survey at Rocky Drift in 1996 indicated an average income of R911.00 per family per month where a member of the family was employed, with the average across all households dropping to R306.00 per family per month (Sapsford and Hornby 2006). This is a clear indication that the Rocky Drift residents were living below the poverty lines before the Land Reform Pilot Project was implemented.

Furthermore, Robinson (1996) noted the economic prospects as a fundamental concern for the Rocky Drift community. "It is expected that the economic prospects will be very limited due to the small incomes that beneficiaries will be able to earn from farming (dry-land cropping, irrigated gardens, livestock sales) and the severe limitations on other earning opportunities either on the farm or in the locality" (Robinson and Associates 1996: 29-31).

To this end, the Rocky Drift residents had to travel to Muden village (15 km away) in order to access economic activities and facilities that were available prior to 1997. These services included inter-alia the following (Moran, 1994:35):

- General dealer;
- Café;
- Supermarket;
- Herbalist;
- Hair Dressing Salon;
- Butcher;
- Bottle Store;
- Post Office;
- Police Station;
- Hotel (no longer in use);and
- Informal traders.

In addition, Greytown which is approximately 30 km from Rocky Drift was the nearest biggest town from where the local residents obtained employment and variety of facilities and services. Rocky Drift therefore had poor level of economic development before the settlement period (pre-1997).

b) Water Sources

▪ The Mudén Canal

According to the Rocky Drift Farm Business Plan, the Mudén Canal was the most reliable water source available to Rocky Drift. However, it was not functional, it needed to be repaired before this source of water could be used. In terms of this report, the pump house was not in a good condition and required repairs to its roof, door and control panel (Robinson and Associates, 1996:10-12).

This report further revealed that an orbit pump powered by an electric motor was in place and capable of delivering 50 kl of water per day pumping for 12 hours per day and it was used in the past to pump water from the canal to two reservoirs on Rocky Drift. This was regarded as sufficient for the current and future domestic demand.

The Mudén canal is approximately 10-15 km from the study area and the planning consultants had strongly recommended that the Mudén canal water source should be maintained for the success of the Rocky Drift Project.

The planning consultants were of the view that after the proposed repairs were finalized, (the pump house and control panel) water would be pumped from the canal to the two existing reservoirs and further recommended that a third reservoir be constructed on the other side of the area so that water supply could be improved to supply all areas of the farm.

However as financial implications were involved in the process of repairing these resources, the post settlement era will reveal whether or not the consultant's proposals were implemented.

- **UMdumbeni River**

The second source of water before 1997 at Rocky Drift was the main river, UMdumbeni. This river rises on the high well-water ridge to the west of the area (refer to map 2 for direction). According to the report on an Assessment of Agriculture Resources and Capabilities (1996:7), the UMdumbeni river flows for most of the year but dries up in the late dry season. There was a perennial pool near the eastern edge of the property.

The engineering consultants noted that this river was suitable as a source of water for livestock and could also be used for irrigation purposes. However, it was also revealed by the local stakeholders in the interview that due to the unavailability of water in the area, the communities were also drinking water from this river and were therefore vulnerable to diseases related to unclean water.

The assessment report of the Rocky Drift Agricultural Resources (1996:7) also revealed that there were two main seasonal tributaries, the Maxolobane and Mhlumbe rivers. See map 2 for location of these rivers.

- **Boreholes**

There were four boreholes at Rocky Drift that were also used as water sources in the area.

Borehole 1: This borehole is situated near the farmhouse on Winterhoek and it pumps water into a network supplying the farmhouse and a number of stock watering troughs. The engineering consultants also recommended that this borehole should be removed and examined for effective utilization before being used again. This supply would be used for stock watering purposes and other domestic purposes in case of the shortage of water in the Mudén farm area.

The three other boreholes were not operating because pumps were not fitted at the time. Like the first one, these three boreholes were also required to be tested and repaired if need be before being utilized. To this end, these facilities were suitable for livestock and irrigation purposes. However, from experience, rural people would drink any water available to them. To date there are still many reported incidents

relating to sickness and diseases caused by people drinking stagnant water from rivers. It is therefore concluded that people in rural areas are often subject to unsustainable water and the assessment of the Rocky Drift water sources prior to 1997 also proved beyond doubt that water remained a challenging issue. The post settlement era in the second part of this Chapter will show whether or not this problem still persists at Rocky Drift.

c) Energy Sources

The sources of energy include electricity, gas, paraffin, candles, solar and firewood. The respondent's interview questionnaire revealed that the majority of households are still using candles, gas, paraffin and gas for lighting, heating and cooking. Electricity was not available to Rocky Drift residents before 1997. While there were electricity poles on the R74, the Rocky Drift residents could not afford to pay for such services considering the average income amount (an average of R306-00 per household) that they were earning at the time. More so, the unemployment rate was very high and the resident's main source of employment was from the seasonal agriculture sector and others relied heavily on government's remittances and grants for sustaining living.

d) Types of Sanitation

Good sanitation is as important as a potable water supply for the safeguarding of public health. However, it appeared from the respondents that many households did not have toilets as it is common in deep poor rural areas that people use surrounding bushes for toilets. The Rocky Drift people were also relieving themselves in the bush. People simply did not have enough income to built toilets.

They therefore prefer a non cost toilet system. However, it was reported that other households had built unsustainable toilets in their backyards.

However, it was interesting to learn that the planning consultants had recommended, in the Business Plan, that an appropriate sanitation technology was the VIP latrine which was estimated to cost between R600 and R1500 depending on the choice of superstructure, labour and administration costs. With a high level of demand on available funds and priority placed on potable water, the Rocky Drift

Committee together with the planning team decided that the cost to each family be subsidized to the value of R600.00 (Robinson and Associates, 1996:16).

The budget for sanitation when working at a cost of R600 per site was estimated to be R139.200. (Robinson and Associates, 1996:16).The assessment of whether or not these ideas were implemented will be explored later in the post settlement era (4.1.1) of this Chapter.

One of the recommendations by the engineering consultants, who prepared an assessment of the engineering services required for the Rocky Drift settlement, was that all families wishing to settle on the farm immediately, would be compelled to provide themselves with a basic pit latrine comprising a hole in the ground with a wattle and daub or corrugated iron superstructure.

It will be revealed later in this dissertation if this actually happened, because the residents settled on the farm early due to delays caused by unforeseen circumstances relating to the projects. As Sapsford and Hornby noted that the Rocky Drift residents did not care much about services as they were willing to trade off standards of services in order to maintain important aspects of rural life. All they were concerned about was to get back to their ancestral land, which meant a lot to them in the sense that they did not want to think of other factors that may impact negatively after settlement, such as provision of services (Sapsford and Hornby 2006:103).

e) Waste Disposal

Refuse disposal is critical in creating an enabling environment for every resident of this country, especially for the young generation as they are more exposed to unhealthy conditions. However, in deep rural areas the local municipalities are not prioritizing these services. Consequently, the rural people use different means of waste disposal that are unsustainable. The most common one is to dig a hole in a household's yard and burn the waste. The investigation also revealed that the residents of Rocky Drift were using this method before 1997. This method is not safe when it is windy and is the cause of fires in many rural areas. It therefore

demands very strict observation by a responsible resident in order to avoid the fire outbreaks.

Other forms of waste disposal in rural areas include communal points which require a municipal collection and dumping points. These forms of waste disposal are health hazard in that waste is left unattended.

f) Educational Institutions

Educational institutions in this study, include access to schools (both primary and secondary schools), crèches, libraries and tertiary institutions for further education such as colleges, Technikons, Universities around the study area.

Moran, (1994:20-21) noted that there are 4 schools within the Mudén area:

- “The Ophathe School with 280 pupils accommodated in 7 classrooms from class 1 to standard 5.
- The Mudén Aided School with 447 pupils accommodated in 9 classrooms from class 1 to standard 7.
- The Lambethe School with 203 pupils from class 1 to standard 5.
- The Mount Estina School with 200 pupils from class 1 to standard 4.”

In terms of the above, it is very clear that there was an urgent need for a high school as pupils had to travel to Greytown about 35 kilometers from Mudén (Moran, 1994:20-21).

Whilst, Rocky Drift Farm is approximately 15 kilometers from Mudén, the investigation proved that there was only 1 primary school on the farm prior to the settlement period. Other pupils had to travel to Mudén and Greytown, 15 and 35 kilometers respectively, for secondary schools. However, it needs to be pointed out that no further information related to the number of pupils in class was obtained from the participants. They all seemed to have forgotten since it happened long time ago.

g) Health Care Centers

It was apparent during the interview that there was no hospital, clinic or any other form of health care for communities living on the Rocky Drift Farm prior to 1997. The residents used to travel to Muden for the mobile clinic which came twice a month. The hospitals are found in Greytown 35 km away from the study area. There was a proposal for the establishment of a clinic, since the community indicated an urgent need for this service. However, it was pointed out by the assessment report of engineering services that it was unlikely that the Department of Health would consider placing permanent staff at a proposed clinic at Rocky Drift Farm due to the limited size of the community (Still, 1996:9). To date establishment at this facility has not happened.

h) Telecommunication

The respondents confirmed during the interview that there were no public or private phones in the area. In many rural areas you would find telephone containers such as Cell C, Vodacom or MTN located by the spaza shops for residents use. However, this has not happened in Rocky Drift. There has been no communication and no plans reported by Eskom to introduce at least a cheap telephone card system that would be more affordable for rural communities.

The only way of communicating with relatives working on mines and other places was by way of writing letters, which could take about a month to be received. In cases of emergency such as the death of a family member, it was revealed that post office telegrams were used as they were the quickest means of communication. Therefore, the residents had to travel to Greytown to access the post office.

i) Transportation

The availability of different modes of transport are very critical to the residents, because like roads, transport links the residents with areas of great importance such as places of work, schools and health centers.

In terms of transport, the tarred road from Greytown to Colenso and Mooi River cuts through near Rocky Drift and it is in this road (R74) that the communities were able to catch buses and taxis, according to the report about the farm Nietgedacht

1192, Muden. This report noted that the above transport came past approximately three or four times a day, the transport fare to Greyton was about R5, 00 for a single trip. Residents were paying approximately R2, 00 to Muden prior to 1997. One of the respondents confirmed and concurred with the above as he indicated that they use to walk for almost an hour from Rocky Drift Farm to the R74 for taxis and or buses.

j) Road Conditions

According to the reports by the engineering consultants, the farm roads were classified into two categories, access roads and farm roads that were available on the property prior to the settlement period.

- **Access Roads**

Due to the fact that these roads were in a terrible condition, the engineering consultants recommended that these roads should be graveled with a combination of brown shale quarried on the farm, and blue shale which could be found at the borrow pit used by the NPA to gravel the district road used to approach the farm from the west. However, it is not clear whether the recommendations by the engineering consultants were implemented due to budget constraints in government projects.

- **Farm /Internal Roads**

These roads give access to the site and because of budget limitations the planning team recommended that these roads be graveled (Robinson and Associates, 1996).

The overall comments regarding the above roads can be concluded as they were both in a bad condition in the sense that they were passable by bakkies however, some sections could only be negotiated by four wheel drive vehicles.

k) Shops

As has been highlighted under the assessment of economic activities in this part that supermarkets, butchery, bottle store and general dealers were only found in

Muden. Therefore, Rocky Drift residents had to travel to Muden and Greytown in order to access these services.

However, it was revealed by one respondent that there was in fact one general dealer owned by the white farmer. This 'shop' was built to cater for labour tenants prior to 1997. Photo 2 below shows an old trading store.



Photo 2: The old store at Rocky Drift prior to 1997. Source: author's shoot on 1 5/11/2009

I) Other Services/ Community Facilities

According to the responses by the participants, other critically important services such as, a police station, a post office, recreation facilities, funeral parlors and other related services were all located in Muden and Greytown during the pre-1997.

4.0.4 Institutional Organizations

According to Robinson and Associates (1996: 40-41), there were three institutional structures in the study area.

4.0.4.1 The Mudén Land Committee

Rocky Drift was represented by five members on the Mudén Land Committee listed below:

- J. Mnyaka;
- G.Sosibo;
- J.Ngobese;
- M.Mnyaka; and
- S.Dladla.

The Mudén Land Committee was responsible for, among other functions:

- Addressing issues of land affecting communities within Mudén areas.
- Empowering the emerging small farmers with agricultural knowledge.
- Negotiating and co-ordinating land reform matters within the area.

4.0.4.2 The Rocky Drift Farm Community Trust

This trust was established on 26 April 2006 in order to facilitate development and administration of the Rocky Drift Farm and comprised of the following members:

- J. Manyaka (Chairperson);
- D.J. Leromo (Deputy Chairperson);
- M. Tshapha (Secretary);
- W. Sithole (Assistant Secretary);
- S. Dladla;
- S.Z. Mzolo;
- B. Mzolo;
- B. Mahlaba; and
- T.G. Sosibo.

The overall responsibility of this committee was the management and implementation of projects on behalf of the Rocky Drift residents. Therefore, the Rocky Drift residents had to first satisfy the government criteria related to land acquisition and the qualifying requirements for settlement grants. Hence, the establishment of this trust was compulsory in order to facilitate the approval of the Rocky Drift application.

4.0.4.3 The Rocky Drift Development Committee

The above committee comprised of the following members:

- D. Lerumo (Chairperson);
- W. Sithole (Treasurer);
- G. Sosibo Secretary;
- J. Mnyaka; and
- S. Dladla.

Its responsibility was mainly to liaise, facilitate and co-ordinate with other stakeholders in order to promote developmental projects that would benefit the residents by improving their standard of living.

Despite concerns over equity and representation in terms of gender, youth and disability of the above structures, as required by the White Paper on Land Policy, Rocky Drift satisfied the qualifying requirements in terms of establishing the institutions. However, it remains to be seen whether or not the above structures are still existing and functional. Part 4.2 of this Chapter will cover this information because the functionality and effectiveness of these structures (their responsibilities) are critically important in influencing the development progress of Rocky Drift Farm thus far.

In addition, Moran, (1994), included Church for Agricultural Project (CAP) as one of the institutions that was operating within Mudén areas before 1997. According to Moran, this institution was run by Greena Alcock and was responsible for inter-alia, a soil protection programme, vegetable growing project and a training centre for adults and children within Mudén areas (Moran, 1994:42). Although the respondents did not mention this institution during the interviews, its existence within Mudén areas serves as proof that CAP also played a significant role on Rocky Drift Farm prior to 1997.

4.0.5 The Beneficiaries' Expectations from Rocky Drift Project

Ellingson and Robinson (1997:17) were quoted in the article "Planning through great expectations" saying "Other complications relating to Rocky Drift arose from the high profile that this project has assumed and the associated expectations on all sides....". This

comment clearly indicates that there were high expectations from stakeholders in relation to what the Rocky Drift Project was expected to deliver, particularly from the beneficiaries. It appears that there was constant consultation and participation during the pre-planning process (through meetings) where planning facilitators were also responsible for briefing the community/and community representatives about the government's intentions for this project.

It was therefore assumed that these representatives were informed in meetings, about the government's goals and objectives for Land Reform Pilot Projects, but the community's expectations were very high and included among others, the following:

- the provision of infrastructure and services such as water, electricity, roads, sanitation, schools, health centres, employment for poverty eradication;
- agricultural support systems, such as finances, crops, tractors, training and other related matters to ensure they could earn a living from the land;
- job creation in order to help eradicate the prevailing poverty in the area and,
- Above all, the use of their ancestral land for different purposes, such as residential homes and agriculture.

It is therefore evident that the Rocky Drift residents were hoping for a better life as a result of the Land Reform Programme.

It would be very interesting to observe whether or not the expectations of the beneficiaries were met. What makes this part further critical are the difficulties, obstacles and challenges under which land reform projects are expected to deliver in South Africa. While the Rocky Drift Project was also implemented under complicated and difficult situations, the beneficiaries expected nothing but improvement of their livelihoods. Part 4.2 of this Chapter will reveal as to what extent the expectations of the Rocky Drift beneficiaries were met by exploring what has been achieved up until 2009.

4.1 AN ANALYSIS OF THE ROCKY DRIFT FARM AFTER SETTLEMENT

4.1.1 Post- 1997 Era: Provision of Infrastructure and Services

The main aim of this part is an overall evaluation of the Land Reform Pilot Project at Rocky Drift after the beneficiaries had resettled on the farm, this being referred to as the post settlement period (or post 1997 era). In simple terms, this part seeks to observe the developmental progress of Rocky Drift up to 2009. This will be done through examining the provision and accessibility of infrastructure and basic needs services, as has been done in the first part (4.0) of this Chapter.

Furthermore, it will also uncover other important issues such as the existence and functionality of the Rocky Drift institutional structures viz, Muden Land Committee, Rocky Drift Farm Community Trust and Rocky Drift Development Committee as it is widely agreed that the effectiveness of these structures are critical in influencing other stakeholders in bringing development to Rocky Drift. The findings of this part are based on research conducted by the author in 2008 and 2009.

a) Economic Assessment

The level of income contributes significantly to improving the standard of living for the households. If they have a sustainable economic base they can afford to pay for basic infrastructure and services such as electricity, telephones, health care, and to help sustain community projects introduced by the stakeholders in the area such as community gardening, and poultry. This will not only relieve them from depending on government subsidies such as pension, grants and remittances but can even encourage the private sector to invest in the area by locating businesses, as the local people will have the buying power to support developments that could be located in this area.

The local residents are desperately in need of services such as electricity, telephone, and a supermarket. However, as indicated above, no one is willing to take a risk of locating such services because the local residents do not have sufficient income to afford such services. The scenario is that the Rocky Drift

residents will experience this problem for the next ten to twenty years because the situation is unlikely to change in the near future.

Sapsford and Hornby (2006) noted in the study of Rocky Drift undertaken on the subject of indigenous knowledge and spatial planning for the kwaZulu-Natal Provincial Planning and Development Commission that the population within the Muden and broader Msinga areas is characterized by high levels of poverty and unemployment, with remittances and social grants being the main sources of income. A survey conducted in 1996 indicated an average income of R911.00 per family with employment, with the average across all households dropping to R306.00 per family per month (cited in Sapsford and Hornby, 2006:92).

This information has not been updated and the researcher could not find the latest data in this regard. However, it is very likely that the above information is still applicable since no economic activities have taken place since 2006. People still rely on small scale agriculture and government grants. On a number of occasions the researcher tried to access economic profile data from South Africa Statistics and the Mpofana Local Municipality however, they both confirmed that this was the latest information available for Rocky Drift Farm (also known as ward 4) hence the above economic profile is used for the Rocky Drift area.

Furthermore, the interviewed respondents representing the community such as Senior Headman (Induna Nkulu), two Councilors and the Chairperson of the Rocky Drift Trust could not give the estimate of the resident's income but only pointed out that the communities were living below extreme poverty lines and eventually depended on government grants and remittances for living. It is evident therefore that the Rocky Drift beneficiaries's standard of living has not improved in economic terms.

It is therefore safe to conclude that land reform has not contributed in improving the standard of living for its beneficiaries economically. Therefore the pre-1997 and post settlement periods remain unchanged at Rocky Drift in that no employment opportunities have been created as a result of land reform. The respondents have all confirmed that the local communities are traveling to big towns and cities such

Greytown, Durban and Johannesburg to seek employment. Therefore, agricultural industry and local schools remain the main sources of employment in the area. However, it must be pointed out that the majority of educators come from outside the study area hence, schools are arguably not a main source of employment for local residents.

Sapsford and Hornby (2006:101-102) further commented;

“It needs to be pointed out that no economic activities were available on the Rocky Drift Farm by then however, only the agricultural/farming sector was a source of employment for residents”. It was also noted by these authors that the only place with economic activities such as super markets, butchery, filling station, B&B and informal traders was Muden, which is about 15 km from the study area. It is therefore extremely hard for Rocky Drift residents to access employment. Mr Mchunu, a local Councilor also expressed his concerns about the level of poverty in the area and further revealed that some residents supplement government grants with hunting, stokvels and others by selling their livestock in order to sustain living.

b) Water Source

As clean water is life, it means that without clean water there is no life. Therefore provision of clean water is one of the critical and key elements that promote sustainable development. More so, the government has pledged to provide this service to all its citizens as a way of improving their lives. The Rocky Drift residents were struggling to access clean water before the land reform project. However, there have been noticeable changes at Rocky Drift in terms of water supply in the area.

A personnel interview with a UDM official revealed that the District Council as an implementation agent is responsible for supplying water from a Truck to the Rocky Drift communities at least twice a month and pointed out that they were challenged by the settlement pattern that households are scattered all over the farm. It then makes things too complicated for them to locate this service in central points where all residents shall have easy access. The provision of water by UDM was also

confirmed by the current Rocky Drift Councilor Mr. Mchunu who further confirmed that this service is still in progress, when he was interviewed by the researcher on 15 November 2009 during a final site visit to check the latest development progress and a final observation in order to conclude this dissertation.

Mr. Mchunu further commended the District for their effort to provide potable water in this area and confirmed that the water project has been intensified by the installation of pipes to ensure the future sustainability of a water supply at Rocky Drift. Photo 3 shows a truck supplying water for Rocky Drift residents.



Photo 3 The truck providing water for RD residents. Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/2009

The Land Reform Pilot Project has therefore brought changes in this field compared with the previous era before land reform was implemented at Rocky Drift. However, it needs to be pointed out that the Rocky Drift Councilor also revealed that the other water sources include among others, wind mills, rivers, communal taps and boreholes.

He further confirmed that the recommendations by the engineering consultants of repairing some of these boreholes and the construction of one additional borehole were not implemented due to financial constraints.

Other sources of water supply include four dams and are used for irrigation and livestock purposes. Photos 4, 5, 6 and 7 demonstrate different sources of water at Rocky Drift.



Photo 4 Windmill supply water to the tanks for residents. Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/2009



Photo 5 Dam as a source of water. Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/2009

One can then safely conclude that the lives of the beneficiaries have been slightly improved in terms of the provision of water. This service can only be improved through proper communication with the community leaders, which appears to be missing because the Senior Headman denied that there was any water project in the area. However, it appeared during the interview with the UDM officials and the Rocky Drift Councilors that water project is progress at Rocky Drift.



Photo 6 Rocky Drift residents washing in the river. Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/2009



Photo 7 Communal tap for Rocky Drift residents. Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/2009

c) Energy Source

The study area still does not have an electricity supply, as a result, they rely on other sources of energy such as candles, fire wood, paraffin, gas for cooking and lighting purposes. It appeared in a personal interview with the chairperson of the Trust, Mr. Mnyaka, that no application has been made to request such services from the service providers and with the high level of unemployed people in this area, it is not possible that the residents could afford to pay for electricity.

It was interesting to note that one of the community representatives was quoted as saying “we do not need electricity in this area because it will make life easy for thieves to steal our livestock at night”. This respondent was sharing an experience of the reported livestock stealing incidents in this area. One could therefore conclude that with this kind of thinking by one of the senior community representative that it would be extremely difficult to introduce this service in the area.

Furthermore, Rocky Drift is a rural area under Traditional leadership where Traditional Leaders are to be approached before locating development in the area of their jurisdiction. It is therefore very unlikely that this service would be available in the near future considering the above comment by the community leader.

The Rocky Drift residents are still using candles, gas, paraffin and fire wood as the main sources of energy within the study area. There are no changes in this regard, between the pre and post 1997 periods.

d) Types of Sanitation

There were no sustainable toilets observed in the area during a site inspection. Other residents have built their own toilets outside their sites, and others have no toilets at all. Many residents are still using bushes to relieve themselves. This results in a spread of diseases, because on the one hand, some households are still drinking water from the rivers and on the other hand there is no clinic available in the area. The residents are vulnerable to sicknesses such as diarrhea and cholera.

The government toilets projects have not reached this area yet. However, it came out in the interview with Councilor Mchunu on 15 November 2009 that the sanitation project is in the pipeline and he confirmed that if everything goes as planned, this project should commence in December 2009. No further details were available regarding this project except that it is a government funded project hence, expected to comply with the required government standards. It remains to be seen whether or not they will revisit the recommendations put forward by the planning

consultants regarding the choosing of the VIP latrine as appropriate toilets for the area.

e) Waste Disposal

The households are using a traditional option of digging a hole outside homes and then burning the waste. There are no other proper waste disposal mechanisms in place to deal with refuse collection. The Mpofana Local Municipality has not come up with a plan regarding the collection of refuse for the Rocky Drift residents. This was further confirmed by the local municipal Social Development Manager in a telephonic interview that nothing has been planned for the rural areas including the Rocky Drift residents. Furthermore, the Local Councilor agreed that the municipality does not have a budget for this service, hence, the local residents are disposing waste in the rural way as mentioned above. The two periods therefore share a similar approach for disposal of waste at Rocky Drift. Therefore, there is no improvement as far as waste disposal as concerned.

f) Educational Institutions

Educational institutions play a very critical role in human development worldwide and South Africa is no exception. Schools are where the future leaders are educated. In order for this vision to be achieved, the government has promised to build and improve schools to ensure that all South African citizens have access to education (free education for lower level classes).

It was observed through site inspection and the respondents also confirmed that at least three schools have been upgraded at Rocky Drift since the return of the beneficiaries to this area. It was also confirmed by a UDM representative that one of the schools upgraded from standard five to nine was funded by the District Municipality.

In terms of the report of the Acting Strategic Executive Manager dated 30 November 2004, the UDM has also embarked on building one crèche at Rocky Drift. Consequently, the Rocky Drift residents have at least one crèche as a result of land reform.

However, it needs to be pointed out that the researcher spent about four hours at Rocky Drift on 15 November 2009 with two local Councilors. This final site visit was aimed at finding out about the latest developments and observing the study area as a whole. It must be placed on record that this visit yielded good results in the sense that it revealed other interesting developments that were not mentioned by respondents during the interview process. Driving through the area in order to visit all the settlements within the study area, the following findings became evident.

- That Rocky Drift has a total of 6 schools. Of these six schools 4 are primary schools and 2 secondary schools and lastly, 1 high school with standard 10.
- There is 1 hall known as Middelrus Hall. This was used by the White farmers in the pre-1997 era to holding meetings. The local community is now using this facility for meetings. See photo 15 of Middelrus Hall.
- One old trading store previously owned by the White farmers and now owned by one of the African farmers. See photo 14, the trading store at Rocky Drift Farm.
- It transpired that Rocky Drift has six settlements (clans-“izigodi”),eLangeni, eMakhuzeni, Nkanini, Mphumela, Nkomba and Mdukuzeni. Each clan has its own Headman (Induna) reporting to 1 Senior Headman (Ndunankulu, the late Mr. Dladla, who has now been replaced by Mr.Ntshaba) who reports directly to Chief Mchunu.
- That there was a women Garden Project funded by DoA which collapsed and is about to be reinstated. It was not specified as to when this project will resume again, however, the DoA has been holding meetings with the beneficiaries in this regard.
- Playing facilities such as soccer and net ball fields at schools are also being used by local residents

To this end, land reform has brought remarkable changes in the education sector in the post settlement era as compared to the pre-1997 era. Photos 8 and 9 show the upgraded schools as a sign of the improved post settlement era.



Photo 8 The upgraded secondary school funded by the UDM. Source: UDM records



Photo 9 Eyethu Primary school funded by private sector in partnership with the local residents. Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/2009

It was apparent that the residents had high hopes, trust and faith in the new government and hence expected drastic changes in their lives. Unfortunately some of their high expectations have not been met and they were therefore not clear about the intention of this research, despite this being clearly explained to them in the researcher's introduction, which was also supported by a declaration form and consent letter from the University.

They confessed later that there was a DRD&LR Project Manager who had visited the area doing Rocky Drift Project evaluation, they therefore argued that the lady tried to force them to agree that the LRP has benefited the residents in terms of development. They further revealed that due to empty promises by some of the government officials who had visited the area in the past, they do not trust anybody

anymore, especially if you are working for DRD& LR, (by whom the author is employed). It was assumed later after they had voiced their frustrations that they deliberately did not reveal all positive developments as that would create a wrong expression that the land reform has improved the standard of their lives which they were in total disagreement with.

g) Health Care Centers

Despite a clinic being indicated as a priority need by the Rocky Drift beneficiaries during the pre-planning phase, this service is not yet available in the study area. Councilor Mchunu and other key stakeholders that were interviewed in this regard revealed that the local residents still travel to Muden to access the mobile clinic that comes twice a month. Mr. Mchunu further mentioned critical issues such as unavailability of electricity and sustainable water as counting against the building of the clinic at Rocky Drift. However, he indicated that a site close to Muden Police Station had been donated by a certain individual and widely accepted by all stakeholders to be an appropriate site for the building of a clinic.

Furthermore, it was also reported that after a visit by the former Provincial Health Minister, the Honorable Minister Nkonyeni, to ensure the implementation of this proposed clinic, the person who had donated the property changed his mind. Therefore, everything has been reported to be on hold due to the decision by the property owner. It is therefore not known whether this service will ever be available for Rocky Drift residents.

h) Telecommunication

The final site visit and interviews with respondents both confirmed that nothing has happened in terms of the telecommunication infrastructure at Rocky Drift. There are still no telephone facilities available for the Rocky Drift households. The local councilor was further asked about the position of the community regarding this critical infrastructure and confirmed that there were very few people that have shown keen interest in this facility and commented that even the cheapest Telkom prepaid card system could not be afforded by all residents considering their level of income.

To this end, there have been minor changes between the pre-1997 and post settlement periods in terms of telecommunication infrastructure. There are very few Rocky Drift residents who own cell phones today and hence cell phones remain the only means of communication for those residents who can afford them.

i) Transportation

In terms of transport, the respondents revealed that the Rocky Drift residents only use the local bakkies to travel to Muden. It was further confirmed that tax which do not come through to Rocky Drift but are found on the R74, cost about R 12 and R 32 to Muden and Greytown respectively, including return trips.

It was also observed that others residents are still using bicycles as a mode of transport for local trips. It is then safe to conclude that the only noticeable change in terms of transport between the two periods is that there are now more local residents who own cars, then there were before. While it cannot be assumed that these cars are locally owned, the local Rocky Drift residents are now able to hire these cars from owners in cases of emergency such as accidents and illnesses. Changes were therefore noted, in terms of transportation at Rocky Drift post the 1997 era.

j) Road Conditions

The conditions of the roads play a major role in the routing of transport which link Rocky Drift residents with places such Muden, Greytown and other areas where they are able to access services.

As mentioned earlier, there are insufficient services at Rocky Drift and the local roads should therefore be kept in good condition in order to enable the local communities to go elsewhere for services that are not available at Rocky Drift.

However, it was noted during the site visit that there is progress in development relating to this infrastructure in the area. This was also confirmed by the UDM official during a personal interview with the researcher, that a District Council, as an implementing agent, was involved with funding the upgrading and maintenance

of District Road D 586 at Rocky Drift. Photo 10 shows the improved main road at Rocky Drift.



Photo 10 Upgrading and maintenance of Rocky Drift main road. Source: UDM records

This basically means that the UDM was responsible for funding the Rocky Drift Road Project which also included the appointment, monitoring and evaluation of the service provider which was offered a tender for this road. In terms of the UDM minutes dated 3 June 2004, in the above regard, UDM was also responsible for upgrading the road that branched off District Road D 371 and which leads into a right of way over private property and into the Rocky Drift area.

It was also noted that this project was the first to be implemented in line with Expanded Public Work Projects (EPWP) guidelines, which state inter alia, that certain items of the contract could be constructed by a labour intensive method, hence the loading and offloading of the gravel wearing course, about 30% of the total value of the contract was assigned to the local people. This project therefore also provided employment for the local people. It is therefore evident that there is progress in terms of developing a road infrastructure. See photo 11 showing that the project employed the local residents in compliance with EPWP guidelines.



Photo 11 Rocky Drift resident's involvement in upgrading the road. Source: UDM records

In addition, Mr. Mchunu, the local Councilor confirmed that the District Council is still responsible for upgrading these roads. He further disclosed that there is also a new road project in place funded by the Department of Transport. He stated that this department is responsible for building a new road (called Dladla road) intended to link Emakhuzeni settlement with other settlements within the study area and it was noted that this new route will also connect households with Rocky Drift main road. As Councilor Dladla further confirmed, there was no road for this settlement before and the residents of this area used to walk almost two hours in order to access transport from the Rocky Drift main road. Therefore, this new project was highly praised and regarded as a great achievement by the local people. See photos 12 and 13 showing the construction of a new road and a bulldozer on site respectively.



Photo 12 Construction of new road. Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/09



Photo 13 Bulldozer on site for construction of the new road. Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/2009

The above photos demonstrate great improvement of the road infrastructure to Rocky Drift, which confirms developmental progress in the area. It is also widely agreed by the respondents that even the smaller vehicles are now able to go through to the farm, which was not the case in the past.

This has therefore been seen by many stakeholders as laying a good foundation for development in the area because they are of the view that a good road system will encourage and attract other stakeholders to invest in the area. Therefore, services such as mobile clinics, ambulances, police and the municipal officials are now able to go through to Rocky Drift to serve the local people. This was not the case before the 1997 era, as Rocky Drift's main road was easily washed away by storms, hence obstructing access to the area.

k) Other Public Facilities and Services

There are still growing concerns relating to the unavailability of services such as a police station, especially because Rocky Drift is well known for its high levels of crime, associated with livestock theft and violence linked to fighting over boundaries. There is only one Police Station at Muden. Supermarket and post office also pose concerns since they are also found in Muden and Greytown. Insufficient buying power unable a supermarket to be viable. However, it was noted upon a site inspection that one trading store is found at Rocky Drift. The local Councilor Mr. Mchunu also confirmed that this store was owned by White farmers before 1997 and still exists to date but is now owned by the local residents. See

photo 14 showing an old Rocky Drift trading store situated at Middelrus area within the study area.



Photo 14 Rocky Drift trading store. Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/2009

The site observation also revealed that there is one community hall at Rocky Drift commonly known as Middelrus Hall. This hall was also confirmed by the local Councilor, Mr.Mchunu to have been there before 1997 and used by the White counterparts in holding their meetings. It was reported to be now owned by the local municipality and hence currently used by local residents for meetings (see Middelrus Hall as photo 15). However, it was not revealed as to why these important community facilities were not mentioned by all respondents during the interviews but is assumed that they do not regard these facilities as relating to the Land Reform Project. However, for the purpose of this research these facilities are very necessary for the local communities and are therefore recorded in this dissertation.



Photo 15 Middelrus Hall. Source: Author's shoot on 15/11/2009

4.1.2 Rocky Drift Community Structures and Institutional Organizations

As it transpired in the first part (4.0.4) of this Chapter, three existing structures at Rocky Drift were responsible for purchasing, managing and also serving as community representative at Rocky Drift. It was therefore appropriate for the researcher to follow up on whether these committees are still functional, as they should co-ordinate and facilitate community projects in this area and hence contribute significantly in improving the standard of living for Rocky Drift residents.

However, the investigation revealed that when the re-demarcation took place in 2005 at Rocky Drift, part of the residents fell under the Umvoti Local Municipality and others were absorbed by Mpofana Municipality. Consequently, some committee members who served in critical positions such Mr. J. Mnyaka, a Chairperson of the Trust and also a member of the other two committees, was moved to Umvoti Municipality pending the re-demarcation of municipal boundaries.

It was further reported that there are also many other committee members (not specified) who moved to Umvoti Municipality and subsequently resulted in the disbanding of the three committees. Since then no committees have been established at Rocky Drift. There are six Headmen (Izinduna) in total, one per clan and one Senior Headman who reports direct to Chief Mchunu (Inkosi yeSizwe) as has been revealed earlier in this study.

Their roles are not clear in terms of development for Rocky Drift but it must be pointed out that there are also two ward Councilors for the whole of the Rocky Drift Farm (known as ward 4). The currently serving Councilors are Messrs Mchunu and Majola, other than that no other structures were reported to exist in the area.

4.1.3 Conclusion

While it was noticeable that some of the beneficiaries expectations were not met, it should also be remembered that they were involved in a pre-planning phase hence should have understood the goals and objectives of the project as were explained to them by the facilitators.

More importantly, the beneficiary's decision of site allocation that was against the initial endorsed layout plan by all stakeholders (including the beneficiaries) subsequently impacted negatively on infrastructure and services provision, which were also on top of their expectations list. Therefore, the way in which the beneficiaries settled on the farm as revealed by Sapsford and Hornsby's investigation, compromised their chances of fully gaining access to services. According to this investigation they were aware of these consequences. However, it was revealed that they were willing to trade off standards of services in order to maintain certain aspects of rural life. This dispersed pattern is expensive to service contrary to a compact settlement pattern that had been endorsed initially.

Having pointed out the above, it was widely agreed by all stakeholders that the beneficiary's greatest expectation "*priority need*", that being the restoration of their ancestral land, was met, beyond reasonable doubt. Consequently, it is fair to conclude that the Land Reform Programmes have achieved its goals and objectives at Rocky Drift in this regard.

However, a major focus for this study has gone beyond just handing over the land to the beneficiaries to thoroughly examine the contribution of these programmes in improving the standard of living for its beneficiaries during post settlement. It is apparent from the research findings revealed in part 4.1 of this Chapter that the lives of the Rocky Drift residents have not fully improved as a result of land reform, after 12 years of settlement.

Whilst, the improvement in infrastructure and service provision such as upgrading of three roads, construction and upgrading of five schools, building of one crèche and in part, the supply of potable water have nevertheless been noted by this investigation, the study further argues strongly that these services are not enough to boldly conclude that the lives of Rocky Drift beneficiaries have improved as a result Land Reform Pilot Projects after 12 years of settlement. While many of these projects could have been implemented without the land reform initiative, had it not been for land reform the residents would not have been settled on the farm.

While, the psychological contributions created in terms of mindset as a result of this project, which include inter-alia, the sense of belonging, identity, trust, hope and reconciliation, for Rocky Drift beneficiaries have also not gone unnoticed, this does not

change the argument that the Land Reform Project should have achieved much more in improving the lives of the rural poor at Rocky Drift after 12 years. Hence the hypothesis of this research reads:

“Whilst the Land Reform Programme does generate some benefits for the beneficiaries, it has proved to be an inadequate mechanism for improving the quality of life for the beneficiaries. It needs to be supplemented by a number of other key support programmes”.

To this end, challenges contributing to the Land Reform Pilot Project’s inability to fully benefit the beneficiaries of Rocky Drift, as noted, will be discussed in Chapter 5. The other key support measures will be discussed as recommendations in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

REFLECTIONS ON THE ROCKY DRIFT EXPERIENCES

CHAPTER 5: REFLECTIONS ON THE ROCKY DRIFT EXPERIENCES

5.0 Introduction

This Chapter intends to unpack the reality about the difficulties, problems and experiences of this land reform project, particularly problems that were encountered by the key stakeholders of the Rocky Drift Project.

This is a very important part of Land Reform Projects. This Chapter does not only dwell on the problem areas but it also provides some solutions to the problems. “Planning in a land reform context should be developmental rather than judgmental, as in blaming one another” (Mnyaka, 1997:7). Mnyaka’s views simply concur with the main theme of Land Reform Pilot Projects, that of providing lessons to be carried forward and used in other similar projects, thereby avoiding the repetition of mistakes and problems that have already been experienced. The Rocky Drift Project was declared a pilot project and hence, lessons are important as they form a foundation on which future projects can be built.

Chapter 5 is divided into four main parts. It begins with an introduction, which is followed by exploring the challenges for the Rocky Drift Project as part two (5.1) and part three (5.2) provides some lessons for the stakeholders. The last part (5.3) highlights the achievements and benefits of this project for beneficiaries.

5.1 The Challenges of the Rocky Drift Project

The term challenge is very broad and in this context it encompasses inter-alia, problems, obstacles, difficulties and milestones that were faced by the Rocky Drift stakeholders during the development of this Land Reform Project in the study area. It is also necessary to mention as a point of clarity that the challenges in this context can be divided into three broad phases within which development took place at Rocky Drift viz, pre-planning, planning and implementation. These challenges, determined via interviews and literature from the various stakeholders, are presented below:

5.1.1 The Complexity of Consultation and Communication at Rocky Drift Project

In simple terms communication and consultation in this regard relate to the effective interaction between all stakeholders throughout the three developmental phases i.e., pre-planning, planning and implementation, under which Rocky Drift Project took place. Contrary to the above, this part focuses on the negative impacts that occurred during the Rocky Drift Development Project.

It is evident that the community representative committee (Trust) did not effectively report back to the community about the decisions taken in meetings. This became apparent when the beneficiaries objected to the layout that had been agreed to by the committee. This in turn created havoc and delays in that it necessitated substantial revisions to the layout after the surveyors had started work. Ellingson and Robinson (1997) noted the settlement pattern for Rocky Drift (widely dispersed) as another factor that contributed in hindering communication between the committee and the beneficiaries (Ellingson and Robinson 1997:18). Pitout (1997) in the article “Milestones and milestones” also agreed that there was a communication break down in the Rocky Drift Development Project and hence admitted, “communication and co-ordination between government departments and at local level needs to be clearly defined and maintained” (Pitout,1997:8). Channing (1997) in her article “Lowering the walls of misunderstanding “ also confirmed that there was a communication break down in the land reform process and hence, issued a warning in this regard “ the first step is to keep the channels of communication open”(Channing,1997:8). Mnyaka (1997) further echoed the same sentiments when he was quoted as saying “....these should provide better ways of understanding how effective the interactions for development are at Rocky Drift and other land reform sites” (Mnyaka,1997:6).

There is no need to interpret the above statements of these authors as they clearly indicate that there was a communication break down in the Rocky Drift Project, which had a negative impact on the development as it disrupted the progress of the Rocky Drift Pilot Project as a whole.

It is therefore fair to conclude that the success of the Rocky Drift Project was hampered by poor communication between the stakeholders in the project.

5.1.2 The Nature of the Household's Settlement

It was widely agreed by many respondents that planning in Rocky Drift was distinct in the sense that it was characterized by pressure on the beneficiaries to settle early on the farm. According to Ellingson and Robinson (1997), this pressure continued to dominate the community and committee meetings through out the planning stages, to the extent that the beneficiaries were even reluctant to discuss other issues. Consequently, the planning team was forced to conduct the investigation within a very short period of time in order to identify settlement areas on the farm and as a result, the approval for early settlement with conditions was granted (Ellingson and Robinson, 1997:16).

Condition two, of these conditions, stated very clearly that the method of site allocation would be fair and equitable and that the recipients would be restricted to that of the beneficiary list held by the district office. In terms of this condition, the responsibility of site allocation was held by the Rocky Drift Trust, meaning that the Trust would take full responsibility for allocating the sites and checking the register in order to ensure that only the registered Rocky Drift beneficiaries settled on the farm.

It was further stipulated, in that condition, that the sites would be allocated once individual contributions had been paid by the registered beneficiaries. According to one of the government planners, this had been agreed to by the Steering Committee.

However, it transpired later that certain individuals and the Local Izinduna (Head Men) had taken it upon themselves to allocate sites (Pitout, 1997:13). This in many ways disrupted the legal allocation method that would ensure that only the Rocky Drift beneficiaries settled on the farm, and not outsiders.

Pitout's statement on site allocation was further confirmed by Mr. Mchunu, a local ward Councilor, during a personal interview, who also concurred that the allocation of sites were done by the Induna who was in charge of that area (clan-isigodi). Mr. Mchunu further admitted that no consideration was given to whether or not you were an original resident or a beneficiary of the Rocky Drift Project, as long as you provided a strong motivation which convinced the Induna as to why you wanted to reside at Rocky Drift. Mr. Mchunu also created an interesting argument around site allocation when he pointed out that other original Rocky Drift residents did not want to go back to Rocky Drift for various reasons and subsequently sent their relatives to stand in for them. In so saying, he was trying to support his argument as to how difficult it would be to control site allocations and further admitted that there are currently many outsiders who are living at Rocky Drift.

In a nutshell, the manner in which sites were allocated also created problems because the legal procedure was not followed and as a result, the non beneficiaries ended up benefiting from the Rocky Drift Project. Consequently, it affected the infrastructure and service's budget negatively because the outsiders did not pay the contribution of R1000-00 to the Rocky Drift Trust. What ever amount they paid, was paid directly to the local leaders. This then posed a lot of questions as to how this project would be expected to deliver under these challenging circumstances.

5.1.3 The Nature of Co-ordination and Participation by Various Government Departments

Poor communication, co-ordination and co-operation among government departments are regarded by many land reform critics, such as Ntsebenza, as reasons why the implementation of land reform policies have been unsatisfactory in South African Land Reform. Ntsebenza notes that a number of government departments at national level need to co-ordinate with others in order to implement land reform and local government reform.

The Rocky Drift Project is no exception, as this project was also crippled by poor communication, co-ordination and co-operation between other government departments. As outlined by Table 1 regarding the key role players for the Rocky

Drift Project, the Department of Local Government, Department of Agriculture and Department of Land Affairs (now known as the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform), were the only departments which were involved in the project. Other departments could have contributed significantly in the development of the Rocky Drift Project if the communication, co-ordination and co-operation among the government departments were effective.

However, as many respondents noted, some of the reasons for the lack of contribution by other departments are the following:

- Other departments argued that there were not informed of the land reform project and therefore would not have known what their roles and responsibilities would be in the Land Reform Project.
- Others knew about the project but assumed that the project was not going to be a success, therefore, they were reluctant to associate themselves with a failing project.

However, the interesting point that was common amongst other departments was the lack of clarity in defining the roles and responsibilities to be played by each department in the Land Reform Project.

This was confirmed by one of the government planners, who admitted that communication and co-ordination between government departments and at local level needed to be clearly defined and maintained. She admitted, “maintaining co-ordination throughout the progress of Rocky Drift Project has become the issue, due to decreasing participation of both government and community representatives” (Pitout,1997:14). This in many ways proved beyond reasonable doubt that the poor co-ordination and participation at the Rocky Drift Project was also one of the main problems that denied the beneficiaries fully benefiting from this project. These two factors are therefore listed as the main constraints to the progress of the Land Reform Pilot Project at Rocky Drift.

5.1.4 Other Problems of the Rocky Drift Project

There were many other problems that seemed to constrain the progress of the development at Rocky Drift. At the beginning of this Chapter the researcher was tempted to separate these challenges according to the various stakeholders that have participated in the project. However, as it is not the intention of this dissertation to expose and blame the efforts and contributions made by various stakeholders in ensuring that the Rocky Drift Pilot Project contributed positively to the lives of the rural poor, these challenges are listed and summarized as follows:

a) Lack of Appropriate Skills and Capacity by the Other Stakeholders

As Ellingson and Robinson (1997:18) highlighted in the article “Planning through great expectation” the beneficiaries lacked the appropriate skills and capacity to staff whatever management structures that were set up at Rocky Drift. This had a negative impact in that it resulted in a non participatory attitude that was noticeable at the meetings and also created a misunderstanding with regard to the layout plan that was presented at the meetings.

Accordingly, it was not possible to discuss a detailed layout. This was a concern to both planning consultants and the then DLGH (now called DCOGTA) who with the agreement of the community, would be responsible for the demarcation of sites for early settlement.

A lack of capacity from the government, as a driver and implementing stakeholder for the whole Land Reform Pilot Project at Rocky Drift, was a complete nightmare because all other challenges experienced during the project, could not be forgiven if the drivers were the main cause of the problems. For instance, it transpired that the process ran into difficulties due to capacity constraints from the Land Surveying Department. In terms of this, the surveyors were not available to survey Rock Drift Farm, this delay raised the emotions of the beneficiaries and prompted them to threaten to invade the land thus causing a breakdown in control of the project.

It was also revealed by the Rocky Drift record of minutes that some high profile government officials did not attend crucial meetings in which important decisions regarding the project were to be made and this resulted in the postponement of meetings leading to further unnecessary delays. The beneficiaries, being the main recipients of service delivery, unfortunately suffered more than any other stakeholders in the process.

Therefore, the lack of skills and capacity among other stakeholders raised major concerns and further contributed negatively to the project's inability to benefit the intended stakeholders.

b) The Lack of an Adequate Budget

Many government projects fail in the implementation phase because of the lack of adequate budget.

Land is bought at full market value as a result of the state adopted market-assisted approach to land redistribution in South Africa. As a result, the state spends more of its budget acquiring land, which is sold at a high price by land owners. Therefore the state does not secure adequate budget for post settlement support for the beneficiaries. Although the money for the project is linked to a subsidy programme similar to housing, which is used for services and land tenure, the money is not sufficient to provide for post settlement support for beneficiaries.

Therefore, as the budget is centrally important to land reform's ability to improve standard of living for beneficiaries, substantial funding is required for the implementation of Land Reform Programmes and post settlement support for beneficiaries.

It is therefore critical important that government allocates sufficient budget funds for Land Reform Projects.

c) The High Profile of the Project

Another important issue that complicated the project arose from the high profile nature the Rocky Drift Project had assumed and the associated expectations from all sides, as well as from it being the first of the Land Reform Pilot Projects to be implemented under Provisional Land Assistance Act, (Act No.126 of 1993). This Act was made applicable throughout the country with effect from April 1994 in terms of Section 13 of the Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Amendment Act, (Act No. 26 of 1998) and also amended by the Developmental Facilitation Act, (Act No. 67 of 1995).

Everything was therefore new to all stakeholders. On the one hand the beneficiaries had high hopes and expectations after their victory for freedom however, there was no real time to experiment with such a sensitive and emotional project related to land, as land is perceived by most South African citizens to be of great importance due to the historical background of this country.

On the other hand, it was a necessary learning curve going through such problems because it not only assisted in understanding what land really means to the rural poor but also in assisting with the review of policies, models and approaches that are currently in place in South Africa in order to improve government projects and the service delivery thereof.

It is therefore concluded that the high profile associated with the Rocky Drift Project also contributed negatively to the implementation of the project. Therefore, it resulted in delays leading to threats of invasion by the beneficiaries and hence added to complications related to the project.

To this end, it is fair to conclude that the Rocky Drift Project will always be best remembered by its role players, for the complications and challenges that were prevalent rather than for the fewer achievements that resulted in the whole project. The achievements will be discussed in section 5.3.

5. 2 The Lessons from Rocky Drift Project

As Ellingson and Robinson, one of the planning consultants for this project were quoted as saying “In order for land reform as a whole to benefit from the experience gained at Rocky Drift , it is important to focus not only on the problems experienced , but also to look for creative solutions”(Ellingson Robinson,1997:18).The researcher shares the same sentiments. The main outcome of the Land Reform Pilot Project was to be a success and pave the way for other projects of a similar nature. As stated earlier in this research, Rocky Drift was the first farm to be approved before 3 other farms viz, Lonsdale, Lunenberg and Hazerwoude, and hence, lessons learnt from Rocky Drift were aimed at improving the processing of these 3 farms and other projects in KZN. It would therefore be critically important to also reflect on how the process could have been improved.

5.2.1 Lessons for Government as an Implementing Agent

The government as a driver and the implementing agent of land reform projects has a lot to learn from the Rocky Drift Pilot Project. These lessons include among others the following:

- The government should give serious attention to, and budget for, institutional capacity building at project level, otherwise many communities will be unable to maintain even small projects identified in the detailed planning. Institutional and management issues are the key to sustainable Land Reform Projects yet receive little attention from government and other role players.
- As Ellingson and Robinson (1997) recommended, there must be a closer integration of the pre-planning, planning and implementation stages of a development, which could in part be achieved by retaining the pre-planning facilitators throughout the project and in part by the provision of adequate budgets for work-shopping issues such as allocation of grazing, stocking rates, farm management and allocation of financial resources (Ellingson and Robinson, 1997:18).

- The government should provide intensive training programmes in order to prepare committee members and inform them of their responsibilities in the project before the project reaches its implementation stage.
- There must be integration in terms of the budgets for both the process of purchasing the farm for beneficiaries and post settlement planning. At the moment the two are “stand alone” projects and that is why the Land Reform Project fails in providing infrastructure and services, the two are separate in terms of budget allocation.
- Communication and co-ordination between different government departments and at the local level need to be maintained as land reform is not a responsibility for few departments but all departments, NGO's and the private sector have an important role to play in this programme.
- The roles of the Traditional Councils should be clearly defined as they are administrators of land in many rural areas in KZN. At Rocky Drift, the duties of the Rocky Drift structures and Izinduna were noticeably overlapping and resulted in a lot of confusion which manifested itself in the allocation of the sites.

5.2.2 Lessons for Rocky Drift Community

It is extremely difficult to attempt to provide lessons for the community beneficiaries because many problems that occurred at Rocky Drift are simply associated with a lack of knowledge and information. Therefore, it is strongly argued by this study that the community leaders need to be provided with more lessons than the ordinary Rocky Drift residents who are desperate for the delivery of basic services. However, the following lessons have been learnt:

- Pressures and threats of land invasion should not take precedent over planning. Mechanisms and support structures from the government and the trustees must be clearly defined in the project.

- The community should consider leasing out some portions of the farm for possible game farming because there are large portions of unutilized land.
- There is a very strong need for regular interaction between community structures and beneficiaries to ensure that the latter receive feedback on a regular basis. At Rocky Drift it appeared that there was a missing link between the two parties and hence it disrupted the process when the beneficiaries refused to endorse the layout plan that had already been agreed to by their committee.
- The beneficiaries should learn to be accountable for their decisions, for instance they insisted on returning to Rocky Drift due to their reasons associated with tradition, and that is respected. However, 12 years down the line they are crying about service backlogs and infrastructure. Honestly, how the area could be developed because the households are scattered all over the farm due to the fact that they opted against a proposed settlement plan, from which the government could be held accountable for services, should the formal planning initiatives be interrupted. Now it is extremely expensive to locate services in the area and who is to blame? The Rocky Drift issue is very complex.
- There is a need for much more contact between beneficiaries and planners in Land Reform Projects, so that participative planning can lay the basis for community self-planning and evaluation.

5.2.3 Lessons for Planning Consultants

It is also very challenging to caution the private planning consultants because they were accountable to the Department of Local Government and Housing and as far as they are concerned they complied with all the government requirements and hence achieved their goals and objectives in that regard.

They could only provide proposals and recommendations based on their assessment of the area, which they did accomplish. The issue of implementing a

proposal is the responsibility of other stakeholders. However, the consultants are also interested in knowing how far the Rocky Drift Project has gone in terms of development and hence in getting feedback regarding their proposals and recommendations.

In so saying, it is fair to conclude that maybe they should have obtained more indigenous knowledge regarding the beneficiaries, in the pre-planning phase of the development. But on the other hand it was also very difficult for them considering the pressures and tensions from both parties under which the whole project was developed. At the end of the day it was a question of doing a job to one's best ability and knowledge, however, in a rush.

5.3 The Achievements and Benefits of the Rocky Drift Project

The achievements have been broken down into two categories. The first category deals with the process of transferring land to the beneficiaries. This is aimed at understanding the meaning of land from the beneficiaries' perspective and getting more insight as to their reasons for choosing to return to Rocky Drift, as this farm is perceived by many respondents to be suitable for a nature reserve.

The second part deals with the post settlement progress (benefits) and it is very broad as it includes all the development progress after the residents have resettled on the farm. In simple terms, it deals with development progress such as the provision of infrastructure and services to Rocky Drift up to 2009.

5.3.1 The Transfer of Land to Rocky Drift Community

a) The Meaning of Land to the Beneficiaries

It was evident in the interview with the former Chairperson of the Trust that land was perceived by the beneficiaries to be of more sentimental than monetary value and to be of more value than other forms of compensation. Hence the Rocky Drift residents opted to return to this farm.

Therefore, the debates and arguments put forward by various stakeholders relating to the description of the property in terms of its characteristics and other related questions raised by the resident's choice to return to the area, were silenced by the value attached to the land by the beneficiaries.

The investigation conducted by Sapsford and Hornby (2006), also revealed that the historical eviction of the Rocky Drift resident's ancestors and the rural nature of the area together with the cultural and traditional customs associated with the rural life and confirmed them as the main reasons for deciding to return to Rocky Drift. The people at Rocky Drift value their culture and customs and therefore wanted to be closer to their ancestor's graves to protect them. It was also uncovered by this investigation that the Rocky Drift residents believed that the ancestor's spirits would protect, guide and make them lucky. So they wanted to be close to them in order to communicate with them.

In conclusion, their return to their ancestors land was worth more to them than what many other people thought and this was regarded as an achievement on its own. On the other hand it created a number of concerns from a planning point of view because one must consider how to locate services for residents.

It is therefore very important to deal with this issue in a broader context so as to understand exactly what the beneficiaries wanted in relation to government land reform objectives. It is then that the main question can be answered and a conclusion be made as to whether or not the land reform project benefited the residents at Rocky Drift. However, it was noted that the resident's choice of returning to Rocky Drift and the manner in which sites were allocated, arguably, due to frustrations resulting from the slow pace during the process of land transfer, somehow impacted negatively in terms of services provision.

To this end, no matter in what context this issue is debated, the truth prevails, the ancestor's land meant a lot to the residents. The Rocky Drift

residents highly value their land in such a way that they did not care much about other things but cared more about returning to their fore father's home soil.

b) The Sense of Identity and Belonging

Many respondents engaged in the investigation were asked why the Rocky Drift residents chose to return to Rocky Drift, which was defined as rural and a difficult place to live for human beings with demanding needs. The reasons, according to the study conducted by Sapsford and Hornby for Rocky Drift, were found to be complex and tied up with identity (personal, family, community and Tribal Authority) stability and opportunity. In order to be real to people, opportunity must translate into a familiar, concrete reality where the risks involved in choosing change are mitigated by the knowledge of what this change means(Sapsford and Hornby,2006).

The possibility of returning to Rocky Drift would have been an opportunity to improve one's life both because of the promises of land reform and because it was a return to a known habitat, social structure, authority and a way of life embedded in the history of generations of ancestors. Rocky Drift represented a choice for safe change, a critically important concern for poor people who generally have few resources to cushion risk and particularly for this group of people who had recent memories of instability and upheaval.

There would therefore be no fears and uncertainty of the unknown and this will as a result distinguish them from other tribes. It then relates to their sense of identity, they are passionate, proud and have an identical history amongst themselves.

The Rocky Drift Project granted the beneficiaries an opportunity to identify themselves and belong to Mchunu tribes and broadly, a sense of belonging to the new South Africa and hence this benefit is regarded as an achievement on its own.

c) Rocky Drift brought back Hope and Trust in the New Government

The victims of Apartheid had long forgotten and lost hope about equal redistribution of scarce resources including services and infrastructure distribution in the country due to the policies of the former government. The new government then came and brought hope to the previously disadvantaged people with its commitment to land reform programmes which were identified as a pre-requisite in building a “Rainbow Nation”.

The introduction of new policies, including land reform, gave the previously excluded communities a hope of change for a new dawn. It is then that one of the respondents (Mr. Mnyaka) argued that the attitude of the Rocky Drift residents changed after the restoring of their land and they regained hope from a new government. This was a positive action and a critical part in getting people to trust and hope that through Land Reform Projects the new government would provide services to improve life for all, as promised.

It is safe to conclude that land reform brought about hope to the Rocky Drift residents in the sense that they started to listen and expect land reform projects to improve their livelihoods and hence to provide a better life for all. It is therefore argued that the returning of the Rocky Drift residents to their land brought about hope and a belief that a new government will address their priority needs.

d) Acceptance of Reconciliation

The new South African government under the former leadership Mr. N. Mandela decided to resolve land issues through negotiations rather than evicting the farmers who were then owners of the land. The pace of this process has been criticized by many politicians and land reform scholars, however, it has positively contributed to a number of issues in this country inter-alia, economic stability, reconciliation and the like. South Africa is a role model to many countries today due to the way in which land issues are being addressed.

It is in this spirit that the residents of Rocky Drift had an opportunity to reconcile with their White counterparts, so as to forget the manner in which they were evicted from their land, and to start looking forward to transformation as a result of Land Reform Programmes.

Consequently, the Rocky Drift residents were ready to be engaged in land reform and be part of the process in order to achieve the goals and objectives of the programme.

It is in this regard that it is argued by this dissertation that the Rocky Drift Project has achieved reconciliation for the residents. It was also very interesting to note that the farmers associations, comprised of Whites, served as proof that there was willingness from both parties to join hands together and move forward in support of the land reform initiatives.

Despite emotions, anger and hatred experienced by the beneficiaries as a result of forced removal during the Apartheid era, Rocky Drift Project contributed significantly in the psychological mindset of many role players and hence afforded an opportunity for reconciliation in support of the new government's policies on land reform. This is argued as the benefit and achievement of the Land Reform Pilot Project.

e) Rocky Drift is a Symbol for History

Above all, like any other high profile project in South African history such as Cato Manor Presidential Project, Rocky Drift deserves to be recognized as it represents a historical event that needs to be well documented and preserved for future generations.

To date, many authors have written articles and conducted investigations about Rocky Drift and it is now popular for many people to still read and debate about how the land reform project was implemented in this area. It is a symbolic history and all stakeholders that were involved in this project deserve respect, as it was a learning experience for them.

This project does not only give a historical background of where South Africa is coming from in terms of land reform but it also sets a new tone and calls for revision of policies and approaches to rural development.

f) Pilot Project

The fact that this project was declared as a pilot project together with the efforts by Non Governmental Organizations, Community Organizations and other stakeholders who joined hands together to identify the farm and to lodge an application to the DLA, and hence became the first farm in KZN to be approved and declared a pilot project, deserves a round of applause, and is an achievement for the project.

Whilst there were arguments by few respondents, which can not be ignored, that the lessons from this project were not carried over to other land reform projects and hence the rationale behind declaring this as a pilot was questioned, this project will be remembered for the fact that it actually happened and that other stakeholders were proud of their contributions to the project despite the challenges encountered in the process. Furthermore, the fact that the processes of this project were documented and resulted in literature about this project, meant that people could read and debate about it. This is an achievement on its own.

Perhaps there are many other authors who will develop an interest and conduct further investigation about Rocky Drift, which will in return draw attention to the area and thereby exert more pressure on the government to go back there and improve on what they has been done for the community thus far.

The DRD &LR, for example, under the new Minister, has re-committed itself to focus on rural development. Subsequently, a new directorate that will only focus on improving rural development through land reform has been introduced by the new Minister and is in the process of being launched. The Rocky Drift Farm might stand a chance of being revisited under the new leadership as development is ongoing process.

5.3.2 Infrastructure and Service Provisions

Although development progress in terms of the provision of infrastructure and services has been noted in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, this research argues strongly that these achievements do not match the period of 12 years since the residents have returned to Rocky Drift and therefore argue that the upgrading and construction of 3 roads, the upgrading and building of 5 schools and lastly, slight improvement in water supply to Rocky Drift residents is not sufficient to conclude that the lives of the beneficiaries have improved as a result the Rocky Drift Pilot Project. Therefore, this investigation calls for employment of other key support measures in order to ensure that Land Reform Projects fully benefit its beneficiaries during a post settlement phase.

These key support measures will be presented in Chapter 6.

5.4 Conclusion

This Chapter has presented the difficulties and problems that were experienced by the key role players at Rocky Drift Project in trying to understand the whole process and further identify the gaps leading to the inability of the Rocky Drift Project to fully benefit the beneficiaries as was the primary goal for the project.

It was very disappointing to learn that the Rocky Drift Project shares similar challenges to other land reform projects that have previously failed to improve the lives of the beneficiaries. Some of these being poor communication and co-ordination, weak capacity and budgetary constraints to mention but a few. The drivers of these projects need to be questioned as to how long these challenges will keep compounding and why these projects are being declared “pilots” if the lessons from these projects are not being used to improve other projects.

Many respondents confirmed that the lessons of the Rocky Drift Project were repeated in three other land reform pilot projects (Lonsdale, Lunenberg and Hazerwoude) that were implemented immediately after Rocky Drift. This is a very serious concern that negatively affects land reform projects in this country. However, having learnt about the problems and

difficulties under which the Rocky Drift Project was implemented, it is fair to conclude that “whilst the Land Reform Programme does generate some benefits for the beneficiaries, it has proved to be an inadequate mechanism for improving the quality of life for the beneficiaries. It needs to be supplemented by a number of other key support programmes”. These key support programmes will be discussed as recommendations in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER 6

THE WAY FORWARD: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 6: THE WAY FORWARD: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This Chapter provides some recommendations as a way forward to improving the quality of life for the beneficiaries of Land Reform Projects during post settlement. This study calls for employment of other key support programmes in order to boost these Land Reform Programmes to fully benefit the Rocky Drift beneficiaries.

Chapter 6 is divided into three sections. The first section is an introduction which covers the structure of this Chapter. Section two covers a brief conclusion of this dissertation and section three provides some recommendations of this investigation and is further broken down into two parts, the first part being recommendations for the government and lastly, recommendations for the Rocky Drift beneficiaries.

6.1 Conclusion

The central question often referred to in this research was “do the beneficiaries of the Rocky Drift Farm enjoy a better quality of life as a result of the Land Reform Project and what benefits has this project delivered up to 2009”? The subsidiary questions emanating from this main question further prompted and facilitated the findings of this research.

An assessment of the Rocky Drift Project as a case study has been divided into two periods, pre-1997 and post 1997, in order to draw a comparative analysis and evaluation of these periods and hence obtain the actual results that have also confirmed the hypothesis of the research as “Whilst the Land Reform Programme does generate some benefits for the beneficiaries, it has proved to be an inadequate mechanism for improving the quality of life for the beneficiaries. It needs to be supplemented by a number of other key support programmes”.

The investigation of Rocky Drift has proved beyond reasonable doubt that despite difficulties, frustrations, challenges and complex circumstances under which this project

was planned and implemented (refer to Chapter 5 for more details), that land reform programmes have benefited Rocky Drift beneficiaries to a certain extent and acknowledges that these benefits are not sufficient after 12 years of settlement.

Furthermore, this dissertation recommends that in order for these programmes to fully benefit the beneficiaries during post settlement a number of key support programmes should be employed as supplementary measures and subsequently explores these recommendations in part 6.2 of Chapter 6.

Nevertheless, this dissertation contends that the main benefits and achievements of Rocky Drift beneficiaries, as discussed in Chapter 5 and 6, were:

- the actual transfer of land to Rocky Drift beneficiaries, which included other aspects such as a sense of belonging, identity, trust, hope and reconciliation for Rocky Drift beneficiaries, hence regarding these as benefits from the project.
- the improvement in infrastructure and service provision such as upgrading of three roads, construction and upgrading of five schools, building of one crèche and in part, the supply of potable water to Rocky Drift beneficiaries.

While these benefits have been accepted as insufficient to improving the standard of living for the beneficiaries after 12 years, supplementary measures are discussed as recommendations in part 6.2 of this Chapter.

In light of the above, it is fair to conclude that Land Reform Programmes at Rocky Drift Farm have proved to be inadequate mechanisms to improving the quality of life for beneficiaries after 12 years and hence other key support programmes are required as supplements to ensure that these programmes fully benefit its beneficiaries.

To this end, as the major focus of this research was to investigate Rocky Drift development progress since 1997. It has also been revealed (although it was outside the scope of this research) that there were 3 other farms that formed part of Rocky Drift Pilot Projects viz, Lonsdale, Lunenberg and Hazerwoude, which were processed immediately after Rocky Drift.

It will therefore be recommended that a possible further high level investigation, be undertaken, which will compare and critically assess whether or not the lessons from the Rocky Drift Projects were used to improve these 3 farms. Some respondents claimed that the Rocky Drift mistakes were repeated while others noted improvement to the above farms. This calls for a further investigation.

6.2 Recommendations for Way Forward

6.2.1 Recommendations for the State

6.2.1.1 Ensure Effective Communication, Co-operation and Co-ordination among Government Departments

As noted in Chapter 5 of this dissertation, most of the land reform projects have suffered from poor communication, co-operation and co-ordination within the departments. This is in part, due to the fact that other departments still believe that land reform is a responsibility of only the DRD & LR.

It is therefore recommended that all spheres of government should also play an active role in ensuring that effective communication, co-ordination and co-operation improves among all government departments. It is further recommended that all spheres of government should also play a critical role by fully participating in the implementation of the Land Reform Programmes as provided by the Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act, (Act No.13 of 2005).

6.2.1.2 Maintain Continuity of the Key Stakeholders

Chapter 5 identified the lack of continuity amongst the key stakeholders in land reform projects as one of the challenges that has hampered development progress at Rocky Drift. It is strongly recommended therefore that the government should ensure closer integration of the pre-planning, planning and implementation stages of developments in land reform pilot projects.

This could in part, be achieved by retaining the pre-planning facilitators throughout the project and in part by the provision of adequate budgets for the work-shopping of issues such as the allocation of grazing, stocking rates, farm management and allocation of financial resources.

6.2.1.3 Secure Adequate Funding for Development Projects

Land is usually bought at full market value as a result of the state adopted market-assisted approach to land redistribution in South Africa. Consequently, the state spends more money acquiring land, which is sold at a high price by land owners rather than securing money for the post settlement support of beneficiaries.

Therefore, as the budget is centrally important to land reform's ability to improve the standard of living and alleviation of poverty for beneficiaries, substantial funding is mandatory for the implementation of land reform programmes and post settlement support for beneficiaries.

If land reform is aimed at improving quality of life and poverty reduction for beneficiaries, it is highly recommended that the state should first secure adequate funds for post settlement support before acquiring the land.

6.2.1.4 Integrate Local Knowledge and Technical Knowledge in Land Reform Projects

Hornby (1997) noted that planning for the post settlement phase of land reform projects holds the key to many land reform objectives. It is where the government policies, regulations and procedures are superimposed on the beneficiary communities' socio-economic needs, hopes and expectations. As a result of this, there is clash between local and technical knowledge. It is therefore very critical in development planning to understand the participant's history for it enables development practitioners to understand how people prioritize different aspects of development.

To this end, it is recommended that government increase the level of participation to include local knowledge, if land reform projects are serious about fully benefiting beneficiaries after settlement.

6.2.1.5 Establish Extension Officers

It has been argued by many land reform critiques that people get the land back but then what happens there after? In an article, "A sense of security", the Provincial Chief Director for the Land Reform Office (KZN) was interviewed by AFRA officials and admitted that land reform occurs in an institutional vacuum where there is no wall-to-wall local government to provide planning and development and to provide other services for people they have acquired the land. He further indicated that those were very serious policy issues that the department has to review (AFRA News, 2003:3-7). While the Municipal Systems Act, (Act No.32 of 2000), enforces among other things, a wall to wall local government in order to ensure that service delivery is achieved at local level, this concept has not yet been applied in the Rocky Drift Project.

This is a clear confirmation that the DRD & LR has not thought of supplementing land reform with a policy that will give a framework for the assistance of beneficiaries after settlement. It is in this regard that the researcher recommends the appointment of full time Extension Officer (Town Planner) in the Department who will work with the planning consultants to ensure that planning for beneficiaries is prioritized.

This Directorate will work closely with the local government in order to ensure that the beneficiaries of land reform receive basic services. To date many people are blaming the DRD & LR for "dumping" the beneficiaries on farms with poor planning for basic services.

In a nutshell, it is recommended that DRD&LR pro-actively appoints extension officers in order to ensure proper planning for land reform beneficiaries.

6.2.1.6 Establish Agri-Villages

It was apparent and clearly stated by the Rocky Drift respondents that they do not want a compact urban life style but on the other hand, it is very expensive to integrate services in a dispersed settlement like Rocky Drift. It is therefore advisable that the government consider the establishment of an agri-village for the beneficiaries. This type of settlement will accommodate both parties in the sense that it is a semi urban rural style and hence will not be expensive to locate services in the area.

It would therefore make it easy for service providers to locate services, when funds have been secured, whereas at the moment not much is being done to accelerate service delivery in the area. As revealed in Chapter 4, the UDM has also struggled to supply water in suitable points due to Rocky Drift settlement pattern.

The former Chairperson of the Rocky Drift Trust has supported the concept of agri-villages for the beneficiaries and hence commented that they would recommend the same concept if they were properly consulted during the pre-planning phase.

6.2.1.7 Link Land Reform Projects with Municipal IDPs

While the local municipality is charged with the provision of basic services for residents within its jurisdiction in terms of the Municipal Systems Act, (Act No 32 of 2000). It was evident from the interview with a Mpofana Municipal official and the local Councilor that there were no development plans for the Rocky Drift residents and prompted questions which revealed that this is due to budget constraints, as this municipality depends heavily on government grants.

Therefore, if the IDPs are about development and bringing the necessary transformation to the poor and if land reform is a crucial aspect of this development and transformation, it is recommended that there must be a sectoral plan for land reform in the IDP process in order to ensure that the two processes are integrated when projects are rolled out. Land reform projects are still rolled out separately from IDPs, SDF and separately from LUMS. This proved to be correct when the researcher read the IDP document for Mpofana Local Municipality and found out that this document is silent about Rocky Drift.

The above statement is supported by a recent overview commissioned by the then DPLG (now called COGTA), of how land reform is featured in the IDPs. The investigation revealed that few municipalities have even considered land reform in their development plans. It was further revealed by this investigation that where farm residents or tenants have been considered, proposals for addressing their developmental needs only focused on solutions under land reform and housing (Del Grande, 2006:10).

In summary, all the municipalities should work together with community forums in order to identify developments and link their budget with the needs of the land reform beneficiaries. Where no community forums exist, the municipality should ensure that those forums are established.

6.2.1.8 Encourage all the Government Departments to donate unused Budget Funds to Land Reform Projects

It is common in South Africa that Ministers are blamed and or fired for under spending and as a result, some of them have adopted a strategy of purchasing unnecessary equipment towards the end of the financial year in order to avoid under spending. Yet it is always argued that the government does not have sufficient budget funds for projects.

To this end, the National Treasury should encourage all government departments to donate unused budget funds to assist land reform and other projects, rather than to misuse tax payer's money by buying unnecessary expensive office equipment. The money should be allocated to the most needy community projects out there.

It is also critical that private companies and other organizations join hands together to help the poor. There are also funds available from overseas organizations such as the European Union, however, it requires capable officials to apply for those funds.

6.2.1.9 Learn from Other Projects

Although problems encountered in other countries may not be the same, it is still very important to learn from the experiences that have faced with similar challenges, and to learn how they managed such projects.

Furthermore, there are also other successful pilot projects in South Africa. Therefore, those projects need to be identified and the lessons learned should be used in improving other projects, such as Rocky Drift, thus ensuring that beneficiaries fully benefit from land reform programmes.

6.2.2 Recommendations for the Rocky Drift Beneficiary Community

6.2.2.1 Re-establish Community Structures

The Rocky Drift Trust and Development Committees hold the key for the future success of the beneficiaries in terms of development, because amongst other critical functions, these committees were responsible for the management of the farm. This involved communicating and liaising with the relevant stakeholders to ensure that they play an active role in bringing services to the area. Since these committees are no longer functioning, they disbanded in 2005, nobody is charged with these responsibilities. It is now extremely difficult to draw the attention of and to attract and convince stakeholders to locate services if there are no existing structures at Rocky Drift.

Therefore, it is recommended that a first step in creating an enabling environment and to opening communication channels for Rocky Drift beneficiaries is the re-establishment of the two committees. It is further recommended that the duties and responsibilities of these committees should be clearly defined to avoid clashes between Izinduna, Councilors and the Chief and of course, the process must include consultations with the relevant stakeholders.

6.2.2.2 Secure Sources of Funding from Other Stakeholders

Due to the establishment of community structures the Rocky Drift residents will not only be reliant on government intervention regarding development, but will be able to seek funding from other Non-Government Organizations, the private sector and from other available sources, so as to secure funding that will assist in poverty alleviation.

For instance, the National Development Agency (NDA) is the organization through which the South African government channels development funds. Other organizations include, European Union, Independent Development Trust, Mvula Trust to mention a few. These organizations could be approached for assistance in the quest for poverty alleviation and the improvement of the standards of living for beneficiaries.

6.2.2.3 Lease Unutilized Portions of the Farm

On behalf of the Rocky Drift residents, the established committees could be advised to approach the professionals in seeking advices regarding the possibility of letting unused portions of land to the interested stakeholders. This would benefit the beneficiaries.

For instance, there was a feasibility study conducted in 1997 regarding the possibility of a nature reserve at Rocky Drift, as Rocky Drift looks suitable for such land use. Therefore, one of these committees could be tasked to follow up on the outcome of that investigation in order to take an informed decision.

It is further recommended that the Rocky Drift committees could approach and revisit the planning consultant's recommendations, as they also have vast experience and a better knowledge of the area. It is only through strong and good leadership that Rocky Drift residents will be able to communicate effectively with other stakeholders and hence obtain assistance, advice and support in terms of development.

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ANNEXURE 1

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

ANNEXURE 1: PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

BARKER, D. L. UMgungundlovu District Municipality Technical Representative, Interviewed by the author on 25 October 2009 at the Municipal Office in Pietermaritzburg.

DLADLA, J. Chief Induna representing the Rocky Drift Community. Interviewed by the author on 29 September 2009 in the Rocky Drift area in Muden.

GREENE, P. L. Project Manager in the Rocky Drift Project –Lima. Interviewed by author on 25 October 2009 at Lima' office, Pietermaritzburg.

GUNKEL, B. The Communication Officer for Provincial Land Reform Office, KZN. Interviewed by the author at the office in Pietermaritzburg.

HLONGWANE, T. UMgungundlovu District Municipality Technical Reps, Interviewed by the author on 03 November 2009 at the Municipality office in Pietermaritzburg.

HOOLE, R. J. Former Local Government & Housing Planner in the Rocky Drift Project, Interviewed by the author on 11 October 2009 at DLA Office Berg Street, Pietermaritzburg.

MCHUNU, B. J. Project Manager for DLA District Office; interviewed by the author on October 2009 at DLA Office Pietermaritzburg.

MNYAKA, J. The former Rocky Drift Councilor, Chair Person of Ezibambeleni (NGO) and Member of Community Trust and Muden Land Committee. Interviewed by the author 27 October 2009 in Grey Town.

PITOUT, K. The former Local Government & Housing Planner, Interviewed by author on 20 October 2009 at Lima's Office in Boom Street, Pietermaritzburg.

ROBINSON, P.S. Planning Consultant in the Rocky Drift Project: Interviewed by the author on 16 November 2008 at University of KwaZulu-Natal Durban.

SASPSFORD, P. Project Manager (Consultant) Monitoring and Evaluating of the Rocky Drift Project. Interviewed by the author on 18 October 2009 and on 22 December at DLA Office, Pietermaritzburg.

SHABALALA, M. District Project Manager for Ladysmith Land Reform Office. Interviewed by the author on 22 December 2009 (telephonically).

TRENCH, T. Pre- planning Facilitator of the Rocky Drift Project. Interviewed by the author on 28 November 2009 at her House at Presbury.

ANNEXURE 2

CHECKLISTS AND QUESTIONNAIRES FOR RESPONDENT INTERVIEWS

ANNEXURE 2: CHECKLISTS AND QUESTIONNAIRES FOR RESPONDENT INTERVIEWS

A) Questions for Planning Consultants

1. Would you briefly tell us about your role in the Rocky Drift Project?
2. What were the objectives of the project when it started?
3. To what extent do you think the objectives have been achieved thus far? Elaborate and comment.
4. To what extent do you think the project was a success and if so what were the indicators?
5. What were the reasons for success and or failures?
6. Who were other stakeholders who were involved in the planning process?
7. What was the role of the community in the project?
8. What were challenges and lessons learnt from the projects?
9. What do you think the DLA should do to improve the quality of life for the beneficiaries after settlement?
10. What do you think should be done to ensure that land reform projects are effectively implemented?
11. If you have to tackle this project again what would you do differently and why?

B) Questions for Project Manager(s)

1. When did you become involved in Rocky Drift project and in what capacity? How long were you involved?
2. How did the project come about?
3. Why was Rocky Drift Farm chosen?
4. What were the goals and objectives of the project?
5. To what extent have the goals and objectives of the project achieved?
6. Who were the stakeholders who were involved in the Rocky Drift Farm in 1997 and how can you describe the nature of the communication?
7. What methods did you use to ensure full participation for all stakeholders?
8. If you were to compare this project with other previous land reform projects, what would you say were similarities and differences?
9. What do you think were challenges and lessons learnt from the project?

10. If you are to tackle this project again what will you do differently and why?

C Questions for Community Representatives

C. 1 Senior Headman (Induna Nkulu)

1. Will you tell us about the history of the Rocky Drift Farm?
2. Please tell us about the leadership structures of the Rocky Drift Farm community?
3. How did the land reform project come about?
4. What support services do you receive from the government?
5. What did the beneficiaries expect from the project and to what extent were their expectations met?
6. What were sources of income for the Rocky Drift Farm residents prior to land reform project?
7. How has that changed?
8. Are all original beneficiaries still on the farm? If not what happened?
9. Have any new beneficiaries moved in, under what circumstances has that happened?
10. What do you think needs to be done to ensure that land reform projects yield positive results?

C 2 Questions for the Former Local Council

1. Will you tell us about the history of the Rocky Drift Farm?
2. Please tell us about the leadership structures of the Rocky Drift Farm community?
3. How did the land reform project come about?
4. What support services do you receive from the government?
5. What did the beneficiaries expect from the project and to what extent were their expectations met?
6. What were sources of income for the Rocky Drift Farm residents prior to land reform project?
7. How has that changed?
8. Are all original beneficiaries still on the farm? If not what happened?
9. Have any new beneficiaries moved in, under what circumstances has that happened?
10. What do you think needs to be done to ensure that land reform projects yield positive results?

11. What is your overall comment about the whole project? What else would you like to share with the author about the whole project?

D Questions for Local Authorities

D 1 UMgungundlovu District Municipality

1. Please tell us about your involvement in the development of Rocky Drift Farm?
2. How would you describe progress in land reform programmes?
3. What challenges did you face in the Rocky Drift Farm?
4. What did you do to prioritize development on the Rocky Drift Farm?
5. How would you describe your communication with the main stakeholders?

D2 Mpofana Local Municipality

1. Please tell us about your role in the development of Rocky Drift Farm?
2. How would you describe progress thus far in land reform programmes?
3. What challenges are you facing in the Rocky Drift Farm?
4. What has been done by the municipality to prioritize development on the Rocky Drift Farm?
5. How would you describe your communication with the main stakeholders?

Table 2 Access to Basic Services Questionnaire for Rocky Drift residents: Pre-and Post 1997 periods (Community Representatives and Councilors helped to complete this Table).

SERVICE	SOURCE/TYPE	TIME(MINUTES)	PRE-1997 PERIOD	POST 1997 PERIOD	COMMENTS FOR PRE-1997 & POST 1997 PERIODS
Water	Communal tap water, river, bore holes, portable water	1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			
Energy	Electricity, gas, candles, fire woods, paraffin, other	-			
Sanitation	Bucket system, Septic tank, Pit latrine, Water borne, Other (specify)	-			
Refuse removal	On site collection, Waste disposal, Other (specify)	1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			
Healthcare	Clinic, hospital	1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			
Transport	Bus, tax, train, bicycle, other				
Schools	Primary, secondary,Pre-school	1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			
Tertiary Institutions	(Colleges, Technikons, Varsities or other	1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			
Telephones	Cell phone container,telkom or other	1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			
Post Office	Post box ,	1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			
Community halls		1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			
Police Station	Mobile, institution	1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			
Shopping center/Town	Spaza, supermarker,town	1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			
Pension points		1-5, 6-10, 11-15 or more			